

## **Declaration of the Central Committee of Bolshevist Party Northern Kurdistan/Turkey**

### **11<sup>th</sup> Congress successfully held**

Comrades

fighting for a new world without exploitation in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey and all over the world, a world of socialism and communism...

workers and toilers in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey...

proletarians and oppressed peoples of the world...

we are appealing to you!

Recently our Bolshevist Party has successfully finished our eleventh congress. Our congress was constituted by delegates elected in all party cells. Also a delegation from a sisterly organisation, Bolshevist Initiative Germany, has participated.

Our congress has assessed the economic and political development for the period between 2015 and 2019. The political and organisational development of our party was self-critically examined. Fruitful discussions were held about the Political Report and Activity Report presented by the 10th Central Committee for discussion within our party. Both were passed with some amendments adopted and as well minority positions of a few comrades were recorded in the minutes.

Several drafts presented for party discussion before the congress were passed after detailed discussion. Our congress has also performed very advancing debates about the activities in the coming phase and decided about recommendations concerning the activity plan in this regard. Our congress has completed its tasks with the election of the members of the new CC which was done on the basis of in-depth assessment and debate about all candidates nominated.

### **The Path to Preventing War: Revolution under the Leadership of the Proletariat**

Our congress took place in a time when the struggle for redistribution of the world among the imperialist powers has intensified. The big changes within the relation of forces of the imperialist powers have been leading to the inevitable aggravation of contradictions as well as the intensification of the struggle for redistribution among these powers.

At the moment, these contentions do not happen in the form of a new imperialist world war with the big imperialist powers in various alliances directly waging war against each other. But they happen in form of fights of rivalry in which they are trying with all means to enlarge their own area of influence in countries dependent from imperialism and to tighten the areas of influence of their rivals.

Their means are especially trade and economic wars, judiciary and military coups and proxy wars. But the imperialist world is quickly moving in big steps towards a third world war. On accord of the enormous shifting in the relation of forces, the conception that the redistribution could happen without war is – in the best case – a dangerous illusion.

Alone and only bolshevist revolutions can stop the drifting of the imperialist world into a new world war and can generally save the world and mankind from imperialist wars. Within the struggle for peace against the rapidly increasing danger of a world war the present task of communists is to spread this truth indefatigably among the peace-loving masses. Our congress has once again stressed this task.

### **The struggle against increasing racism and fascism must be waged as part of the struggle against capitalism!**

In the interior politics of the very countries the imperialists' preparations for a new world war are, among others, reflected in the development of racism and fascism in nearly all countries in the world. The paint of lies spread by bourgeoisie after the collapse of the social-imperialist camp about "the end of communism", "the victory of the liberal democracy", "the end of history" has peeled off totally within short time. The development in the last four years has shown that generally a rightist development is prevailing as a tendency.

This becomes manifest first of all in the development of racism, fascism and the search for a strong "leader". In all capitalist/imperialist countries, including the "most democratic" ones (!), and in the countries dependent from imperialism the rulers fan racism under the false flag of "struggle against terrorism".

Using the means of racism the rulers direct the just anger boiling among the working masses at the daily reduction of achieved rights against the "others" who are not part of "us".

In western imperialist countries racism is mainly developed in the form of anti-Islam and anti-Semitic racism. Struggles of the masses against the current situation such as the movement of the yellow jackets in France are suppressed with methods of open terrorism.

Racist, fascist civil organisations are tolerated by the states and partly openly supported or covered up by state institutions.

In countries of reactionary bourgeois democratic systems the bourgeoisie is preparing for the option of fascist power. In this context of course also reactions, resistance and struggles against this development gain ground. The task of communists in these just struggles developing against racism and fascism is clear. We must tirelessly and systematically depict the connection of racism and fascism with capitalism. A real anti-fascist struggle, a real anti-racist struggle is only possible if this struggle is at the same time waged as a struggle against the capitalist-imperialist system as a whole. Our congress has once again stressed this fact.

### **Capitalism is the enemy of whole nature**

The development of the last four years has definitely proved again and again that capitalism is not only a system hostile to workers and toilers. At the same time it is hostile to nature. The devastating aberrations of climate currently accumulating are clear signs of climate change produced by the capitalist mode of production.

More and more people see, experience and recognise that the capitalist-imperialist system destroys the natural balance to an irreparable extent. Its prime mover is maximum profits in shortest time possible. Unless this development is stopped our world will step by step be converted by capitalism into a planet uninhabitable for human lives. Capitalism is destroying the natural environment and leading the world into ruin.

The students' strike actions of "Fridays for Future" are directed against this development. In many countries world-wide, tens of thousands of pupils and students of elementary, middle and high schools are chanting at these actions, *"We are here and we are loud 'cause you're stealing our future!"* They are displaying posters such as, *"System change not climate change!"* Theirs is our future.

If they understand that it is the imperialist global system that is stealing their future then, "Woe betide this system!"

In all sectorial struggles it's the task of communists, our task, to put the question of system to the focus of the struggles.

This applies to the struggles of women against patriarchy and for equal rights. This applies to the struggles of migrants forming their self-organisation. This applies to the struggles of the oppressed peoples standing up against imperialist interventions. This applies to the struggles of the oppressed nations for their national rights. This applies to all struggles of all oppressed, all disenfranchised, all those defined, defamed, persecuted and oppressed by the rulers as "others", such as the LGBTQ movement.

### **Socialism or regression into barbarism!**

And of course this applies to the class struggle of the proletariat against bourgeoisie. The proletariat, the working class of all countries, is growing in numbers more and more! Despite the bourgeois ideologists and propagandists spreading the assertion that it would no longer exist or would disappear.

Imperialism drives itself and the world into ruin and barbarism unless it is stopped.

The only force being capable of stopping this development is Socialism reborn in the revolutionary struggles of the working class, the labourers and the oppressed peoples. Either Socialism or regression into barbarism!

Even the development of the last four years has proved that mankind is facing this alternative. There is no time to lose with illusions about reformability of imperialism, with illusions about a crises-free, welfare state capitalism, about an imperialism compatible with peace etc. Everybody must make up one's mind! Our congress has once again stressed this fact.

### **Main task: Construction of Bolshevik Parties!**

\* The international development in the last four years has once again made clear that the main task of communists in all countries is the forming of Bolshevik Communist Parties and strengthening the construction of those already existing.

Again and again we have experienced that class struggles developing on an objective basis either break down without a true communist leadership or are finished with some temporary reformist concessions of the bourgeoisie, or even misused as leverage for fascist movements.

We consider strengthening the construction of our Bolshevik Party – unfortunately advancing very slowly – as our main task and put all our effort in it. Our call goes to the communists in each country to tackle this task all-out.

In our opinion, it is the main task of communists on a global scale to struggle for the forming of a Communist World Party like the Comintern. This is a must, an organisational precondition for gaining victory in the proletarian world revolution.

We know that at present the subjective conditions for forming a Communist world party, like the Comintern, are not existent. This however does not alter the fact that this is the decisive aim on an international scale. On an international scale, organising the debate among the communist forces for advancing the construction of a common platform of the world communist movement is the chain-link that can be tackled for approaching this decisive aim. In this context we assess the closing of ICMLPO (International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations) in the previous working period as a setback. We assess the attempt of ICOR (International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organisations) to coordinate the world revolutionary movement as positive.

We actively participate in ICOR as a founding member. ICOR however is not the instrument of unification of the communist forces. And we are in special need of such an instrument.

### **Aim of Turkish bourgeoisie: Development to an imperialist power!**

All that we have experienced in our countries (Northern Kurdistan/Turkey) within the last four years is of course not independent of the international development. The Turkish monopoly bourgeoisie getting stronger in the 2000ies want to be interventionist as an independent political actor in the current struggle of imperialist powers for redistribution.

They want to sit at the negotiation table of the wolves in order to seize the biggest chunk possible for them when the prey is distributed.

On trying to put this plan into practice the Turkish bourgeoisie often forget that they are still weak in relation to the old-established imperialist powers – despite their becoming stronger within the last decade they are still a dependent bourgeoisie. So they are often bragging. In such cases they are “reminded” of their limits by big imperialist powers.

They must strengthen the inner front to be actually in a position of taking part in redistribution. Therefore fascism is intensified at home, racism is advanced and open fascist terror is practiced against the Kurdish national movement and every, even bourgeois, democratic movement. All kinds of resistance movements, all strike activities or demonstrations with development potential are suffocated with fascist terror from the beginning. Abroad colonial wars of occupation are waged in Rojava as we have seen in the occupation of Cerablus and Efrin.

### **Dimension of power struggle within the bourgeoisie – the failed military coup**

The interior infighting of the Turkish big bourgeoisie has enormously intensified in the last four years. The coalition of AKP and Fethullah sect (also called Gülen movement) has jointly fought against the ruling Kemalist elite. After this coalition had to a large extent removed the ruling bureaucratic Kemalist elite from state institutions and when it was the time to share power among themselves the “fraternal strife” started.

In the last four years, the struggle of the Erdogan AKP for removing the Gülen movement from positions of power in state and society and the resistance of the Gülen movement became the decisive element of politics in Turkey. In this situation the Gülen movement could gather nearly the whole bourgeois opposition behind them in the name of fighting for democracy, freedom etc.

On 15 July 2016 Turkey experienced a failed military coup. This attempted coup was waged by the Gülen forces within the army. The coup manifesto called out on TV and radio was Kemalist to the bone and addressed to all forces in opposition against the Erdogan AKP.

The attempted coup was complaisantly watched by the Western imperialist powers, first of all the US. This coup, an opportunity at least to align the Erdogan government that was no longer under their firm control, failed. Within 12 hours the coup collapsed.

There are many factors leading to the failure of this bloodiest attempted coup in Turkish history really very rich in coups. Without doubt however one of the main factors was the misjudgement of the organisers of the putsch about the potential of mobilising the basis of AKP and the preparations of AKP against a possible coup. Unexpectedly tens of thousands of people took to the streets against the coup.

### **Counter-strike against the coup**

The attempted coup in vain offered the favourite opportunity for the Erdogan government for the complete liquidation of the Gülen movement, for consolidating their own power and for enforcing the transition to a presidential system.-

Right after the failed coup a large mopping-up operation was started. On 20 June 2016, five days after the coup, the Erdogan government was authorised by parliament to rule under emergency law and proclaiming government orders with the status of laws. The liquidation of the Gülen movement was brutally continued by using government orders. And is still going on.

On 17 April 2017 a referendum about a constitutional amendment was held in Turkey and was adopted with narrow majority. The parliamentary ruling system existing hitherto at least on paper was transformed into a Turkish type presidential system.

After the early elections for president and parliament on 24 July 2018 also the legal and practical basis of the presidential system was completed. Erdogan was elected president in the first ballot the first president of the new system.

Indeed since the beginning of the 1980ies the demand for a presidential system had been again and again put forward by the Turkish big bourgeoisie but was meeting harsh resistance. The atmosphere created by the failed attempted coup was the crucial door opener. The attempted coup cleared the way for the cooperation of AKP with MHP. MHP procured the necessary majority of 50 percent plus one vote for the transition to a presidential system for the Erdogan AKP.

The coalition of AKP with MHP was essential both in the referendum about the constitution and the election of Erdogan as president. After the failed coup MHP in fact became part of government. Also today MHP leaves the mark on the fascist government politics in Turkey.

### **Intensified fascism**

The most important political shift during the last four years is without doubt the abrupt stop of the development called "process of dissolution of fascism" by us in the previous working period. This process was suddenly stopped and replaced by a period of intensification of fascism. There the Kurdish issue plays the main role. The peace negotiations with PKK in fact lasting from 2008 until April 2015 were cancelled shortly after Newroz 2015 by the Erdogan government.

This is a turning point in the abrupt end of the "process of dissolution of fascism" and a change in politics towards intensification of fascism. Referring to the solution of the question of Kurdish rights, when terminating the negotiations the AKP Erdogan government left the line of "solution by negotiation" followed from 2008 to 2015. They returned to the "traditional line" of the Turkish state to destroy PKK by war. In this context the development in Rojava played an important role too. On account of their heroic fight against the attacks of IS in Kobane, PYD-YPG was recognised as "the most effective armed force in the field against IS" by western imperialist powers, especially the US. Through PYD-YPG suddenly PKK became ally of the anti-IS coalition in Syria. This development strongly troubled the rulers in Turkey.

### **Our congress also wants to stress the following assessments of the development in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey**

#### ***Struggle of "firm communities of faith" against each other***

In our countries the democratic awareness, even in a bourgeois sense, is quite under-developed. The political struggle is waged as a struggle of "firm communities of faith" demonising all "others" except themselves and regarding and fighting them as an enemy to be destroyed.

Referring to the political struggle the present society consisting of "firm communities of faith" has essentially split up into two big camps. Those camps define themselves mainly in respect of their attitude towards state president Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

#### ***R.T. Erdogan camp***

For this camp Erdogan is a divine present from heaven for Turkey. He is the one proclaiming his opinion against the rest of the world, "standing upright", "never bending", "local and national boss" leading Turkey to her old greatness of the times of the Osman heyday. In a way he is a messiah.

Since 15 July 2016 in this camp MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) has been the most important political force beside Erdogan's AKP. At present these two main parties in this camp are closely working together on the common basis that can be summed up in the slogan, "One fatherland, one nation, one flag, one state". They claim to be the sole defenders of "the existence of a Turkish state against the inner and outer enemies". At present they are acting as one party.

They pretend that their alliance would last "not till next Sunday but to the grave". They who are pledging loyalty today seem to have forgotten that before 15 July 2016 they cursed at each other badly. But it's a fact that the two parties have striking differences both regarding their programmes and their real politics in practice. There is enough explosive substance for blowing up this coalition as soon as AKP do not need MHP any longer and vice versa.

#### ***Anti-R.T.Erdogan camp***

For this camp however Erdogan is a corrupt thief and murderer, a pompous dictator leading Turkey from a democracy to a fascist one-man dictatorship. So he is isolating Turkey from the whole civilised world and directing her to the abyss.

The “secular, democratic, constitutional state of the Republic of Turkey” is in great danger under Erdogan. The values of this modern state are trampled under his foot. He wants to annihilate this republic. For some time this camp alleged that Erdogan would convert the Republic of Turkey into a sharia state.

In recent years this narrative was altered. Now he is accused of converting the democratic state into a one-man dictatorship. Erdogan is a great plague and a curse. Turkey must be saved whatever ways or methods be applied.

This camp is led by CHP (Republican People’s Party) headed by Kemal Kilicdaroglu who was made chairman using an illegal taping operation. Iyi Parti (Good Party) founded by renegades of MHP and Saadet Party (Happiness Party), a succeeding party of Erbakan’s party, are the other official forces of this camp. A big part of their anti-Erdogan propaganda materials are given by Gülen organisations. They are the natural allies of this camp.

Nearly the complete reformist left is adhering to this camp in the name of “unity of all democratic forces in the anti-fascist struggle” or playing the role of a satellite of this camp. Regrettably also part of the revolutionary left waging the anti-fascist struggle as a struggle against Erdogan join this satellite and become satellites of a satellite.

### ... and us

We Bolsheviks have always been saying and repeat it once more: Fascism in the Republic of Turkey is the main form of ruling of the Turkish bourgeoisie. The Turkish state is a fascist state. Every bourgeois government that has come to power up to now has practiced fascism.

In certain short periods the Turkish bourgeoisie was forced both by class struggle and by international competition to concede certain bourgeois democratic rights. During those times these rights could be partly used in the course of the development of class struggle of the workers and toilers, the struggles of women’s liberation movement, youth movement, the Kurdish national movement. The fascist character of the state however has not changed during those periods.

The process we are experiencing now is not a process of transition from bourgeois democracy to fascism. It is the process of transition from a form of fascist dictatorship that was masked with parliamentary democratic elements to a form of fascist dictatorship with a presidential system.

The struggle against fascism in our countries must not be restricted to a struggle against this or that fascist government of the bourgeoisie but must be waged as a struggle against the fascist state of the republic of Turkey on the whole. Although the struggle at a given moment must be focussed on the ruling government there must not be allowed any doubts or misconceptions of any kind about the struggle being directed against the fascist Turkish state as a whole.

The anti-fascist front in our countries is no anti-Erdogan front but a front against the fascist Turkish state. There is no room in this front for those forces that are fascist themselves and would practice fascism themselves as soon as they came to power in a government.

This is our call to all democratic, revolutionary, communist forces: Get rid of positions making yourselves satellites and useful idiots of one part of the rulers in their struggle for power.

**There is our own front:** It is the front of the struggle of workers and toilers independent of all parts of bourgeoisie, clearly separated from all parts of the bourgeoisie and presenting itself with a revolutionary line as a real alternative for the people. Let’s build up this front in joint action!

Our congress has put the stress of our work on discussion, assessment and solution of organisational issues and problems of our development on an organisational level. We have realised that both in our countries and on an international level our ideological-political influence is bigger than our real organisational strength.

The congress has adopted practical organisational steps to overcome this discrepancy. The congress has confirmed the general organisational line saying that the major organisational work must be done among the working class.

Furthermore we assigned the task of intensifying the discussions about disagreements with groups who rate us as communists and we rate as groups close to communism with the aim of unification of communists.

In this context we appeal to all persons, groups and parties calling themselves communists: Read and study the documents of our party and look at them critically. If you are doing this we are sure that also you will look for ways to unification.

### Our call

Our 11<sup>th</sup> congress is:  
A red challenge of all the capitalist imperialist world!  
It's the repeated declaration of truth:  
DESPITE EVERYTHING:  
WE WERE, WE ARE, WE WILL BE!

It's a call directed at the working class, the toilers, the oppressed peoples:  
Organise for uprising and revolution against the global imperialist system!

It's a call directed at the communists, all comrades:  
Let's dedicate with all our existence to the struggle for socialisms and communism, our great thing!

Or hope is based on uprising; liberation is based on the revolution under the leadership of the proletariat!

The call of our 11<sup>th</sup> congress is the call of the **Communist International!**  
PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!  
PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

We intend to win a new world without exploitation!