

TKP/MİL

(COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY MARXIST LENINIST)

Anti Imperialism, Civil Society Policies and our Tasks.

What do we mean by anti imperialist struggle?

Capitalism is a world system and imperialism can be described as the last stage of capitalism or dominance of financial capital or most importantly monopolist capitalism. As can be understood from this short description, every consistent anti imperialist struggle implies anti capitalist struggle in its general meaning.

Fighting against imperialism is part of our new democratic revolution struggle. Because of the existence of semi feudalism and semi colonialism in our country, our minimum revolution programme is the new democratic revolution. This revolution's first duty is to resolve contradictions of anti feudal and anti imperialist nature. This duty requires us to fight and defeat three big enemies in our country.

This duty also requires us to expel imperialism from our country and end the hegemony of the comprador bourgeois and big landlords. This is the main frame of our anti imperialist struggle. At the time of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the concrete aims and the style of anti imperialist struggle in semi feudal-semi colonial countries are not the same as in the advanced capitalist countries. The reason for this is the unchanging law of capitalism, which puts the countries at different economic, social and developmental stages. Consequently, countries experience different revolutions and historical periods.

In advanced capitalist countries anti imperialist struggle is directly anti capitalist, faced with defeating monopolist bourgeois and aiming towards a socialist revolution. However in semi feudal and semi colonial countries, anti imperialist struggle is aiming towards new democratic revolution that ends hegemony of comprador bourgeois and big landlords.

Even though their historical contexts are different, both these revolutions are components of the world socialist revolution and aim to establish proletarian dictatorships. Socialist revolution, succeeding to proletarian dictatorship is direct and its coalitions are narrow. New democratic revolution, succeeding to proletarian dictatorship is indirect and its coalitions are wider. Even though their ways of succeeding are different, both of them are aiming to end the class oppression of the bourgeois, create proletarian's hegemony and a society without class exploitation and finally communism.

In today's world, the ones giving the real fight against imperialism and consistent in doing so are revolutionary communist organisations who aspire to achieve communism, to destroy the political power of the reactionary classes, to change the society economically in a revolutionary way and to carry out the new democratic revolution with the perspective of socialism.

Petit bourgeois nationalist forces which give national and social liberation struggles against imperialism and its lackeys are anti imperialist and revolutionary. But their understanding of being anti imperialist is limited and narrow. These forces can cause serious damage to imperialist hegemony and can achieve important successes. They can even achieve a nationalist petit bourgeois revolution. But they cannot push forward the revolution achieved by themselves to a stage of ending the dominance of bourgeoisie due to their lack of proletarian ideology and characteristic.

From previous experience, we know that these movements at a certain stage of progression would find a place within the imperialist capitalist system and become integrated with it. However, as long as they keep their revolutionary nature, these forces are our closest allies in the anti imperialist revolutionary struggle.

If they do not fight against imperialism and its lackeys in a revolutionary way without aiming towards political power, if they do not attack the heart of the problem and do not create alliances with revolutionary forces, then it does not matter how beneficial the activities that they do are - they cannot be considered as anti imperialist.

The source of all kind of exploitation, cruelty, poverty and injustice is the imperialist-capitalist system and the owners of this reactionary system who are imperialist bourgeoisie and its collaborators and lackeys. Therefore it is not possible to have real freedom, peace and brotherhood without ending the economic-social-ideological-political-cultural and military hegemony of this reactionary power, destroying the state and founding the dictatorship of the exploited and oppressed.

Nowadays, there are other organizations who try to show themselves as anti imperialist and democratic by doing many beneficial activities. But in our opinion, the criteria for being anti imperialist is; supporting and validating the revolutionary struggles of social and national liberation movements, seeing the source of economical and social problems as the imperialist system and taking on all these issues on democratic grounds from the point of view of advancing the class struggle.

Concepts of Civil Society and its Importance for Bourgeois

We have mentioned our general perspective. Now we will analyse in detail those organisations and their policies, which have grown globally, such as; environmentalists, anti sexists and peaceful organisations. These organisations are against war and institutions like NATO, IMF, WB, WTO, MAI, MIGA, G-8, EU, APEC and NAFTA.

With restoring of capitalism in USSR after the 20th congress of the Communist Party of Soviets in 1956 and in China and Albania after the death of Mao in 1976, modern revisionist

theories gained power. Consequently, the economical crisis within the imperialist capitalist system deepened and its attacks against the working classes intensified.

With the rise of modern revisionism and intensifying ideological attacks by neo liberals, there came an increase in ideas such as, the working class lost its historical revolutionary role, collaboration of classes have replaced class struggle and the fight for a classless and non-exploited society have lost its viability

Obviously, these are comprehensive attacks. But in this article we will concentrate on the ideological attacks via NGOs which is also an important part of attacks by neo liberals. We have started to hear the names and activities of such organisations in the last decade more than ever in all over the world. Their appeal has increased more and more for wide range of groups. We are faced with a duty to expose the real nature of these organizations.

Communist are aware that they need to organize themselves even within the most reactionary organizations. This does not mean that those organizations are not part of reactionary system. We should distinguish between these two statements. Firstly, not all NGOs are in our opinion against revolution. They contain progressive and democratic people who could believe in class struggle and help advance it. Not realising this difference could be explained by political innocence. We understand this difference and are aware of this reality.

When communist and revolutionaries treat these organizations with the perspective of advancing class struggle and benefiting from them skillfully and if these organizations are used in the way as mentioned above, they can offer certain contributions in the forming of a mass opposition to the system and reactionary classes by mobilizing the people within the framework of the peoples own problems. If we take a class perspective, we will see that these contributions can be channeled in a strong way into political power struggle. Therefore, we believe that communists should organize themselves within these kinds of organizations.

We do not impose on NGO's or any other democratic organizations, (though they may be close to the revolutionary movement) to lead the class struggle or to carry out the political power struggle. Those with a contrary understanding to the above, do not fully comprehend the political power struggle or the tools which lead this struggle, most importantly they do not understanding the role of the leadership of the Proletarian Party. It will suffice for us to say that with respect to class struggle, for now we treat each tool only accordance to the duties and responsibilities it has undertaken.

The issue that we will consider in this section is; the importance of NGOs and the concept of civil societies for the bourgeoisie and the ideological and political role that the bourgeoisie wants these types of organizations to take on. The direction that we will take on this issue is; how the bourgeoisie lays duties on the NGOs in order to weaken the working class struggle, destroy and divert working class solidarity and to undermine the revolutionary movement. In other words, the concept of civil societies strengthens the theory and practice of class collaboration instead of revealing that there is an inherent antagonism between the classes.

Our focus here is not whether communists and revolutionaries are organized within these sorts of organizations, nor is it whether these organizations carry out actions for the advantage of revolution, but it is to expose the mission which imperialism places on these organizations in

order to combat the class struggle. Because of this our aim is not to talk about each individual NGO, but to expose what the bourgeoisie wants to achieve by using them. However we will mention some "famous" NGOs when it is appropriate to do so.

In this field there will be many dangers and traps awaiting communists and revolutionaries. Unless we decipher the real face of these kinds of movements and the mission which bourgeoisie places on them and unless we also expose the aim of the actions carried out by them, we may face many difficulties in the future. We are aware that we are at a time where we are facing a wave of liquidators and reformists who strengthen themselves in an even more sly deliberate way.

If NGOs have a strong influence in a country, apart from some exceptions, it will mean that; communists and revolutionary forces are weak, whereas reformists are strong and class struggle targeting political power is lagging behind the civil society movement which deal with social problems.

Initially, this evaluation for some will be wrong or will not reflect reality. However, when the developments taking place in those countries are considered through a class struggle perspective, it will be seen that this general evaluation, is in fact true.

All reactionary classes and imperialist bourgeoisie, apply unprecedented policies and methods in order to continue with their dominance that is based on exploitation, oppression and with the aim to divide and dispel the class enemies. They carry out their desires through the ideological agents who exist within the revolutionary ranks and through the concept of civil society and also through the new fashioned faithless who try to overhaul MLM. Through a strong and common ideological propaganda it creates confusion and ideological damage not only among workers and oppressed masses but also among the revolutionary forces.

The basic principle of NGO mentality is this: NGOs do not explain the society according to the mode of production and from the economical point of view. In other words, they try to reconcile the contradiction between bourgeoisie and the proletariat under the hegemony of bourgeoisie and try to divert the aim of class struggle of the working class by using powers which do not intend to change the system.

The mentality of NGOs does not want to disturb hegemony of ruling classes but aim to pacify the working class struggle. This way, they want to show that there is no alternative to the imperialist capitalist system. The theory of "middle class" is to keep the working classes as a slave to the bourgeoisie dictatorship rather than reconciling both classes equally. This is the most dangerous and the biggest trap.

The damage of ideological attacks will become much more harmful especially when the communist and revolutionary movement is weak. There will be confusion between revolutionary movements about the historical role of the working class, in the theory and practice of revolutionary achievements, the belief and trust towards socialists and communists, the determination and confidence of carrying out revolutionary struggle, the necessity of organizing illegally and inevitability of destroying the current system and the issue of state and revolution.

NGO policy would assume important duties during those times. What are these duties? In order to achieve the goals mentioned above and to make their trap more effective, these duties are to strip the economical and social problems from the class perspective, and to place the social struggle in to the acceptable borders of bourgeoisie, by destroying the unity and organized strength of the working class, by turning the political power struggle in to a social movement, by pacifying the radical revolutionary struggle and trying to place it within the system and finally by limiting social struggle so that it is accepted by the bourgeoisie.

They are post modernist and post capitalist. They claim that the inherent contradiction between the classes is resolved and the class struggle of oppressed people and working class has ended. Instead, what is important for them is struggle inside the system by nationalists, environmentalists, anti-sexist, pacifists, etc.

The Communist Manifesto “The history of all societies to date is the history of class war and struggle” completely opposes the above in an objective, universal and scientific principle aspect. It takes it into hand by braking off the scientific and objective grounds of MLM’s class analysis and with this condition politics that’s leaning to class foundation is losing its objectivity, which means instead of class-ideological-politic identity it defends bourgeois-pacifist, economic-social struggle on the social grounds that does not incline towards the source and the identity.

These “middle class” neo-liberalist ideologists, “third way” mind teachers base their views (in general) on this:

“When Civil society (society that is not bound to mode of production and which does not have an economic foundation (?!)) expands, the state will narrow down/ or will become restricted. When state becomes restricted civil society will expand and this way the democracy will deepen.”

“The inherent antagonism between the classes has been solved, this means that the solidarity that depends on classes should be removed. As society has been broken down into individuals everybody is living in the axis of individualism. Therefore various concerns and interests of the individual should be centralized. Party’s now should withdraw from being representatives of social classes, the lines and principals that separate right and left politics should be indistinct and should become more individual based. This way stability will be provided in the society (capitalist, semi-feudal). Imaginative democracy does not suit today’s society. Instead there should be a move to participatory (individualist reactionary groups participation) democracy. Partisanship policies should be abandoned...”

This project serves neo-liberal ideology and the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie. It aims at alienating the working class and labourers from their class-ideological identities, deviating them from the class struggle, politicising them and driving them away from the powerful means that will dethrone the reactionary classes from power, which is the communist party. Though this project eliminates social democracy and reformism via its ideological agents within the revolutionary mass, it also propagates as if it preserves the class interests of the labour frontier and as if the democracy which is just a form of class domination of bourgeoisie develops in favour of labourers and in opposition to bourgeoisie.

Civil society understanding never poses a danger to reactionary classes and to the pressure apparatus of their class domination, the state. On the contrary, it relieves them much and allows them to repair and develop their revealed aspects. It is possible to illuminate this by referring to two journalists and writers, as the spokesmen of the reactionary classes of our country. The first example is; S. Kohen, in his column in Milliyet dated 11th November '99, he gives advises to the state about NGOs and says:

“Among NGOs, there may be those which oppose Turkey in its policies in certain subjects and those which are biased (even those who act in position to the state). But this is no reason to be against these institutions.”

... Recently, it was seen in the conference in Istanbul that the majority of the Turkish and foreign NGOs are respectable institutions acting in favour of Turkey and deserving to be taken seriously.”

The second example is; on behalf of many NGOs representatives “the democratic society summons” was written by A. Taner Kislali. In this summons Kislali is struggling to win over the masses again for the Turkish state. He is calling on all NGOs to save the fascist state. He on purposefully distorts the states ideological-class core and its role as an oppression mediator, is saying this:

“The secular democratic republic is under threat. (abc)... the state organizations in fighting situation with these are mostly degenerated... political parties are broken up from the society... the hopelessness that is becoming widespread amongst the masses are the cause of this dilemma.”

“...The most important hope in this negative picture is the growing numbers of “civil society” organizations as a result of loss of hope from the state and political parties. (abc) ...the state has lost its impartiality and is now far from being everyone’s state.”

“...for the welfare of society, and to prepare the country for the 31st century, the state should be purified from sickness. ...the state neither is holy nor an ideological element. It’s only a go between to reach a balanced, healthy and peaceful society.”

The NGO concept and project externalizes the class-ideological stand, produces policies under the command of reactionary classes, wins various social forces needed by the capitalist system under its name and wants to deviate the class reaction of the masses and choke it in the bottomless pit of civil society. Their claim that society and the working class has been atomized, leads to the conclusion that the policy based on class is no longer valid. And this means to want the eternal ruling of capitalism and waged slavery. In reference to master comrade Lenin, they “struggle to get under the commandment of imperialism and be in harmony with it, in order to consummate it from the reformist path.”

The project aims at ‘restructuring’ capitalism without touching its bases and repairing the weary and exposed sides by hiding the class core of the bourgeoisie from the masses. The bourgeoisie, by this way, targets to restructure the politics by civil society arguments. Thus, it wants to revise under its own sovereignty, the social classes, firstly being the working class. This is because the civil society concept is primarily the project to integrate society into the

reactionary state apparatus and reconcile all the labour classes on the basis of waged slavery. It is because of this reason that it does touch the bases of bourgeoisie state and the notion of private ownership on the production means. Just the opposite, it constantly changes its appearance to bless it.

Here the target on the one hand is to render the class struggle unnecessary, which aims at destroying the imperialist-capitalist system established on exploitation and tyranny and the reactionary state. On the other hand the target is to erase the revolutionary role of the working class. This is exactly the trap of 'middle class' ideology used by neo-liberalism to reconcile the classes, and the 'third way' furnished before the left.

The activity field of NGOs is rather wide and colourful. However, none of them involves a holistic approach based on class struggle. They consider every problem, every field and subject as abstracted from the system, class, ideological-political identity and class struggle. Problems of women, children, the environment and ecology, war and peace, national-ethnic-cultural, health-education-services-debts... it tears everything off the capitalist system, imperialism and the notion of class-state-power.

It spreads thick lines between all kinds of injustice, hunger, misery, exploitation and tyranny and between the national and social liberation struggles against imperialism and capitalism. And even, as in Porto Alegre, Brazil, the movements radically running the social and national liberation, and as armed revolutionaries are not taken to the forum, while bourgeoisie-liberal ideologues and the reactionary states representatives are given a broad field.

Those whose actions run in the plane of 'civil disobedience' favour spontaneity. Thus, though there are a few anti imperialist powers among them, the force that dominates its composition, policy and action has never been anti imperialist. They do not consider the problems they face by their class roots. Contrarily, they act by the results of the problems. And they do this not with the aim of solving the problems, but only 'improving' and 'repairing'.

The Financial Problems of the WSF and NGOs

In the last a few years, some of the NGOs have established an international organisation, called the "social forum". World Social Forum (WSF) was established in January 2001 in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and the European Social Forum (ESF) was established in March 2002, in Brussels, Belgium. In the very near future, Asian, Latin and North American, and African social forums, respectively, are going to be established. The social forum aims at being organised not only in the range of continents and regions, but also in the basis of individual countries. For instance, endeavours to institute an "Istanbul Social Forum" and the task of extending it country-wide continue.

ATTAC (the international movement for the democratic supervision of financial markets and institutions) has been the leading force in the creation of the WSF. This organisation was established in France in 1998. It improved its relations especially through the internet networks and it extended itself worldwide. In the face of the extremities of neo-liberalism, it demands a capitalism, which is more "temperate", "humanist", and "supervisable". Its ideologists are mostly gathered in the periphery of Le Monde Diplomatique. It has close relations to the French state, several monopolies and funding institutions.

Now we will present a part from the declaration published by the "World Social Forum"

following its 2nd assembly, explaining what they are struggling for; this declaration largely reflects the civil-society understanding and its demands:

"We are struggling for:

- 1 Democracy; peoples have a right to know and criticise decisions of their governments, especially the decisions involving the relations with international institutions. Governments have to account to their peoples. We give a worldwide support for the establishment of democracies based on election and participation, and we emphasise the necessity of democratisation of states and societies, and the struggle against dictatorships.
- 2 Cancellation of external debts and reparations; We demand the establishment of special taxes, such as Tobin tax, on speculative activities, and demand abolition of tax paradises.
- 3 We demand the right to information, women rights, liberation from violence, exploitation and poverty.
- 4 We are against war and militarism, against foreign military bases and interferences, and against the systematic spreading of violence, we concede priority to counsellings and solutions not involving violence. We recognise the right of people to demand an international negotiation with the participation of independent actors from the civil society.
- 5 We support youth's rights; free education and social autonomy and abolition of compulsory military service.
- 6 The self-determination right of peoples, especially local people and communities."

Which one of the above goals and demands, for which they are struggling, targets imperialist-capitalist system?

Carrying out big and ostentatious propagandas and actions, where does this social forum carry the hatred and reactions to? Where does it lead class struggle? What kind of a world or order does it demand? Where does it seek to find the sources of exploitation and tyranny, hunger and misery, faced by hundreds of millions of labourers and oppressed people?

In asking these questions, no communist considers such absurd of; the WSF must pioneer the class struggle, and verbalize its demands in this way. What we ask is just, with which world view they handle the problems (economic, social, political, democratic, academic, ecological, minorities, women, children, debts, war, peace etc) of hundreds of millions of people, in which economic-social system they seek their solutions, which basic social class and order they side by and whether they handle these problems within the framework of advancing the class struggle. This is the sole level of answer we ask about. Otherwise, no one asks them questions like why do they not struggle for power and maintain the revolutionary struggle etc., and no one waits for answers in this axis.

Since the WSF and in general, Social Forum is a typical and upper example of NGOs; it will be useful to take this organization and some of its approaches into consideration, though limitedly. The WSF carried its assemblies (three times) in Porto Alegre, the capital city of the province of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil (southeast of the country). The place of assembly was not chosen haphazardly. This is one of the places where civil-society understanding is most powerful. Rio Grande do Sul is the province where the valid understanding is like that

mentioned in the previous pages, such as “we must establish to close relations with central government, and make an effect on the decision-making mechanism of the local government” and where there is a “participatory-budget”. And by this characteristic, it is in the position of being the laboratory of the “anti-globalist” theorists. How? When the Labour party was in power in the province, masses decided how and where to use 10% of the province budget.

But this authority on the 10% was blocked. The province administration was bound to do what the central government, or to put it better, what the compradors and imperialist godfathers told them to do because they had the economic and the political power. And of course, what they say would take effect. This project is still having partial success in its task of digressing workers from the power-based class struggle and steering them to seek the solutions of the problems within the reactionary order.

Notions such as “localism”, “local administration”, “municipality”, which are erected against the power-targeted policy of class struggle, constitutes another trap of the civil-society concept. We view all these as a trap because they are put in place against the power struggle and because they are alienating people from the perspective of power. Otherwise, when they are taken with the perspective of progressing the class struggle, these institutions would actually contribute to the development of revolutionary struggle. Today, in our country, KADEK, DEHAP and ÖDP are the leaders among those who consider these as a trap.

Organizing WSF assemblies requires great finance. And, where does this finance come? Which reactionary force would not support a project which aims at “repairing” and “developing”, instead of destroying the reactionary system that is based on exploitation and tyranny! We are going to give just two names providing finance for the 2003 assembly of the WSF; one of them is PETROBRAS, the giant oil company possessed by the Brazil state, and the other one is the world’s second biggest automobile monopoly, the Ford Foundation.

The UN, the EU, imperialist monopolies and foundations established by them, intelligence agencies, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, reactionary states, one by one, all do their best for emptying the class struggle of civil-society understandings and powering the effort of deviating the revolutionary struggle. For instance, Switzerland grants 30%, and the USA grants 40% of its foreign aid for “developing” via NGOs. Thus, the finance of majority of the NGOs comes not from their members, but from the above listed imperialist and reactionary institutions. Currently, the sum of the money flowing to NGOs annually is not expressed in hundreds of million dollars, but in milliards of dollars. The biggest share (50-500 million dollars, annually) of the cake is received by such NGOs as World Vision, Foster Parent Plan, Misereor, Oxfam, Medecins Sans Frontiers, Care, etc. The number of NGOs in the position of counsellor to the United Nations exceeds two thousand and five hundred. The number of those giving counsel by communicating their demands to the IMF, the WB, and the World Trade Organization, is again in their hundreds. The number of international NGOs in relation to important imperialist institutions is above 20 thousand. And these have relations to at least 500 thousand national/local NGOs.

As a result of the intense and devilish attacks by neo-liberalism, especially after 1980, the working class and peoples and nations were faced with great destructions. There is no doubt that the biggest of these destructions was experienced by the oppressed people of half-colonial, half-feudal countries. Exploitation, tyranny, poverty and misery increased rapidly along with the “free market”, “discharge of KITS” (state-owned economic enterprises) and

“privatisation” attacks of neo-liberalism. In parallel to these, the hatred and reactions of masses and their search outside the order gained speed. The imperialist bourgeoisie knew that it would face a great problem, a revolutionary resistance and struggle as a result of this destruction.

Now the imperialist bourgeoisie has organized civil-society concepts in a more powerful way and involved them in order to decrease the momentum of the revolutionary fight, weaken its organized strength and deviate the social energy from the class struggle to its own canals, or to take it under its control. Besides this, they broke the society into its atoms, explored new activities, new fields, new problems, new identities and put these before NGOs as projects. By this way, they are both destroying the organized power of the working class and creating new market-commodity fields on those expressing themselves by sub-identities.

Is a revolutionary struggle developing in a country or a region? Soon, a multitude of NGOs are arranging projects on “culture and entertainment”, “health and sport”, “social services”, “religion and sects”, providing “voluntary services”. Upon this, new fields of interests and occupations are created to impede the revolutionary struggle and to alienate the masses from this struggle. Is there going to be an attack on a country, is it going to be invaded or is there going to be a coup d'état? Before everything, altruist NGOs with activities on “economic advancement and infrastructure”, “human rights and democracy”, “health and social services”, “education and scientific research” etc. are involved. The most important and the hardest tasks are assumed by them. In some cases they undertake the mission of a “pioneer group”.

Various people are found among these “voluntary”, “altruist” and “harmless” NGOs called to the “sacred” mission! Intelligence officers and agents, those working by army and police power, those undertaking special researches on behalf of governments and monopolies... So many people! Just taking Yugoslavia and Afghanistan and the current Iraq invasions into consideration is enough to understand the activities of these organizations. Moulding public opinion in the direction of their purposes, creating disinformation, manipulation, all are so easy, since we live in the “age of communication”.

NGOs are “creative” organizations, seemingly independent of governments and private sectors (monopolies), maintaining harmless, altruistic activities among masses, professionally moving the social energy of masses and providing “useful” projects and being able to find financial sources from the above and outside for their projects thanks to their “skilful” intelligent managers. They have reached such a high level that, they are endorsing thousands of projects, and they have become effective institutions “negotiating” between giant neo-liberal economic powers and the local free markets, again thanks to their “skilful” managers.

Majority of NGOs have become both the supporter of the spreading of neo-liberalism among masses, and the powerful base of neo-liberalism among the masses through integrating. With their anti-state character, they made demands for the liberal economy, the IMF and the WB so that the monopolies and KITS be privatized, that the state has to be minimized and that capital must be given freedom. By their “useful” and diffused social projects (economic, social, cultural, identities etc.), they are attracting crowded masses and thus they deviate the social energy of masses from the track of the class struggle and directing it to individual social-economic problems.

The target here is the alienation of the working class and labourers who have the potential of being politicized after the attacks by neo-liberal policies and the discharge of social state, from the politics, from the struggle of political power. So the revolutionary fight will have a blow and the imperialist-capitalist system will have a strong base among masses via NGOs.

WB and NGOs; Theses of “Middle Class” and “Third Way”

It will be useful to have a look at the attempts by World Bank in this direction, for it to set an example. The WB has a close relation to thousands of NGOs carrying out activities on such important issues as the economy, society, human right violations, democracy, environment, debts etc. in order to better implement the sovereignty of imperialist bourgeoisie. It maintains these relations via special units it has created under the names of “dialogue” and “counselling”. In this article, we are going to take only a few of these special units.

The cooperation unit it created targets to form strong relations with NGOs, to bring them to a point where they will be “reconcilable” instead of being “dangerous” and “opposite”, and to demonstrate that the WB is not opposite to them but by them. In order to render this unit active and “effective”, it organizes a special programme named “The WB in close in Cooperation with NGOs”. By this programme, it provides financing to socially based (those deviating masses from the class struggle) projects under the name of “social funding”. Moreover, by incorporating NGOs to its own assemblies under the name of “new initiative”, it strives to show that it is not opposite to them but with them.

The WB also has a unit called “the institute of economic development”. One of the most important tasks of this institute is to give special education to NGO representatives, administrators and managers. By these special education programmes, it makes NGOs comprehend its own (neo-liberal) ideology and policy, and at the same time it possesses the opportunity of drawing plenty of NGOs directly to its side and get them away from being opposite and get the control through these educated administrators. For example, by these programmes, by sponsoring the “international hunger and poverty conference” in Brussels, it was able to get together over a thousand of NGOs, various pressure and lobby groups.

The WB, one of the creators of the hunger and poverty, discusses how to get rid of this problem. The WB also has a unit named “the counsel of global environment possibility”. One of the most important tasks of this counsel is to get into contact with NGOs with an interest in environment and related issues, creating “friendly” dialogue with them. Likewise, it organizes conferences for NGOs under the name of “dialogue policies” in Asia, Africa, Latin and Middle America.

With the help of these conferences and financial aids, it was able to draw to its side hundreds of NGOs which previously opposed it. In order to establish better relations with NGOs, the WB hired J. Clark, one of the Oxfam’s administrators, through the “interchange programme” and used this as a “NGO funding window”. Why will not the IMF and the WB, prime representatives of neo-liberalism, like NGOs? We will not be making a serious mistake when we say that institutions such as the WB and the IMF are more interested in the “economic frontier” of private sectors, while NGOs are mainly more interested in the “social frontier” of private sectors. Actually, the notion that NGOs, apart from the public and private sectors, constitute a third sector is nothing but a misconception. It is the representative of neo-

liberalism and private sector among masses.

In addition, the civil society concept says nothing about the bourgeoisie nor the proletariat, but only the "middle class". What we wrote up to here and the examples given shows amply how the civil society understanding is not against the bourgeoisie, its class sovereignty and reactionary system. So when it says that "I oppose bourgeoisie", this is nothing but misleading and a digression. The main reason for it to embrace the thesis of "middle class" is for the acceptance of the anti-revolutionary theory that the working class has lost its historical revolutionary role. The aim of this thesis is to weaken the organized power of the working class and break it, by identities not related to class, ideology or policy, into its atoms.

Bourgeoisie ideologues could "compromise" bourgeoisie with proletariat only depending on the thesis of "middle class". And they could set this forth only on the intermediate strata of the society. And who are these intermediate strata? These social layers differ based on the social developments. But in all cases, they are not the class or classes occupying the social production. They have close relationships with basic social classes (bourgeoisie-proletariat) and they are just the extensions of them. They are fluid and variable. As an instance, the petit bourgeoisie, officials, intellectuals, technicians, freelancers, small businesses, each is a social layer.

The thesis of "middle class" is based on the fact that the service sector harbours more employment compared to industrial and agricultural sectors, or to put it different, that labourers work mostly in this sector. The vast majority of NGOs, various identity groups, pressure groups, lobbyists, are essentially organized on the intermediate strata. Therefore, more financing was carried to here. Based on this, they render NGOs the organized power of middle class, and, with the most innocent expression, weaken and dilute the role of the working class in the social production, and its historical revolutionary role.

NGOs are also the "third way" of the new period. Class disagreement has been replaced by class cooperation. Socialism-communism has died, and capitalism has exhibited its improbability. The distinction based on class (bourgeoisie and proletariat) and its ideology and politics has caused great conflicts and problems. The fight between capitalism and socialism has been replaced by the fight between democracy and totalitarian regimes. Civil society politics and formations were going to deepen democracy and bring freedom. The individual was going to be activated in politics only through civil-society politics. Market and production were going to be livened only by civil society politics...

By these ideological manipulations, the capitalist system and the sovereignty of bourgeoisie are being celebrated through the democracy game which is just one of the forms of dictatorship of the sovereign class in class societies, and the task of the "democratization of democracy" is set before the mass of labourers. Thus they want to centralize the conflict between democracy and the totalitarian regimes (those producing problems to free market), in place of the conflict between the boss and the worker, and between the oppressor and the oppressed.

Conflicts have been shifted from the base of class and made a technical notion; conflicts between various identities (Kurdish-Turkish, Alevite-Sunnite, Masculinist-Feminist, laicist-antilaicist, urban-country, eastern-western, those from Kars-those from Artvin, environmentalist-antienvironmentalist, animal-lover-anti animal-lovers, militarists-pacifists...) are emphasised and it is aimed to deviate the exploited and oppressed masses

from the class struggle. In this way, the relation between the employer and the worker and between the employer and the employer's state is clouded, and thus an ambience will be created for serious fractures in the class-consciousness. Because the most important element of the notion of class-consciousness is that the working class, in the awareness of its social role, must know its real enemies and run against them a class struggle for power.

Illuminating what is civil society concept, is also possible by heeding some special participators of the WSF. The new president of Brazil, Lula, for instance, participated in the "anti-globalist" World Social Forum of the paupers of his country, and just the following day, the most wealthy generals of the imperialist globalism participated in the World Social Forum in Davos, Switzerland. Similarly, the UN and the representatives of World Bank, the Socialist Party of France and the upper range authorities of the Labour Party of Brazil (liberals), ATTAC administrators, and rich ideologues of neo-liberalism, were among the big guns of the World Social Forum.

It is impossible not to suspect that the Social Forum and the similar formations are nothing but the re-marketing of the exposed neo-liberal ideology being masked by social democracy, and they are imperialism's operation of re-capturing working class and world's people!

And the World Social Forum makes itself clear as the extension of the World Economic Forum among masses.

Things to be done and our role in the new period:

Up until now we have discussed the attacks of the imperialist bourgeois, their traps which they have set through the civil society agenda and the dangers those are facing us. We have tried to put forward what we understand from the anti imperialist struggle, the activities of NGOs and their attempt to remove the masses away from the class perspective. We pointed out the importance of ideological and political vigilance. In short we have tried to decipher the counterrevolution's projects, aims and targets in this area and where they aim to reach by using such methods.

It is now the turn for us to consider what we should do in the direction of class perspective. What will be our stance towards NGOs and certain progressive -democratic organizations and what will be our roles in the anti-imperialist democratic struggle. What will we do at a time where hundreds of thousands of people are out on the streets speaking out against the imperialist aggression and organizations even though they have reformist demands?

We treat every problem and development with a class perspective, with the aim of advancing the class struggle, destroying the imperialist and capitalist world order and also by a strategy of breaking the hold it has over our country (People's war). We had actually tried to show this strategic, ideological and class line while deciphering the bourgeoisie's traps and scenarios.

Not every NGO, democratic mass organization, village or provincial association, trade union and sectorial institutions pursue civil society policies or acts to realize civil society's aims, and we should not assume that this is so. The scope of NGOs is very wide and complex. Employer organizations, trade unions, environmental or regional societies, human right organization, charities or mosques, Alevi association, football clubs and reactionary - fascist

organizations can all be classified as NGOs. We should therefore take each organization separately and in a concrete way. We should also determine our approach towards these sorts of organizations by considering each of their own political situations. Not every NGO necessarily supports the civil society agenda issued by imperialism. However, we will stand against civil society politics in all circumstances, no matter whoever supports them.

Some NGOs are directly linked with counter revolutionaries and they deliberately and in organized way support and apply civil society policy. We openly oppose them. Even though some NGOs are on the side of the people and revolution, in practice they make serious mistakes (by their tendency of giving more importance to particular individuals rather than the actual class struggle) because they do not fully understand what the reactionary classes target through these civil society policies. Certain Alevi and provincial associations can be classified in this way.

Some democratic organizations which fall within the group that NGOs comprise of, take on economic and social problems in a way that helps to advance the class struggle. We know about the existence of those organizations because of their practices and approaches. We support and help to develop those individual organizations which organize the masses with regards to their problems in the direction of class perspective and contribute to the political power struggle in doing so.

Imperialist neo liberal aggression has led to whole sections of the society living in extreme poverty and destitution. Now even if it is only as a reaction to this aggression, there are huge demonstrations in semi feudal and semi colonized countries as well as in imperialist capitalist countries in which hundreds of thousands are participating in. These actions are primarily a reaction to imperialist globalisation aggression and the end results of this aggression, which are destruction and poverty.

Until now the majority of the participants of these demonstrations can not be classified either as real anti imperialist or anti capitalists. The main line of the demonstrations has been that of spontaneity and bourgeois pacifism. Because of the communist and revolutionary movement being weak, our inefficiency of taking part in and not providing the right political leadership in such demonstrations we have not been able to, until now use this opportunity of advancing class struggle and expanding the revolutionary struggle which revealed itself through those demonstrations in which the wide range of society participated in.

So far it has been anarchist and Trotskyite who have really left their mark on the line of these demonstrations. Both of them are movement which are the enemy of MLM and the working class. Anarchism opposes all sorts of authority including even proletariat dictatorship. The cornerstone of anarchism is the individual. According to them, the emancipation of the masses is not possible until the individual is emancipated. Trotskyites do not believe that socialism can exist in just one country. They are against the leading role played by the proletariat in the revolution and the alliance of workers and peasants. They are petty bourgeoisie opportunists who have an appearance of being on the left while destroying the union of international communist movement and the working class movement; however the soviet experience has shown us that they are essentially counterrevolutionary.

Up to now, the majority of activities, which have been organized have not been inclined towards the actual source of the problems, have not been targeting the imperialist-capitalist

system and have not considered the political power struggle as a focal point. Yes it is not communist or revolutionaries who have been leading, but the bourgeois pacifists and civil society groups.

So what will we do in view of all of this? Will we be leading the demonstrations of hundreds of thousands by watching them from our homes, community centres and small units? Or will we just watch from a distance because we know where this kinds of movements eventually end at; No!!! We will not and cannot do any of these.

We are in the position of expanding the anti imperialist democratic struggle both nationally and internationally, which takes on board the economic, social, political... problems of the masses, the advances of the revolutionary struggle and strategy under the guidance of MLM. Imperialist fearless attacks on the people of the world and oppressed people in particular, will strengthen the revolutionary struggle.

The neo liberal attacks of imperialist bourgeoisie, economical crises, privatisation, post September 11 US aggression and the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq have all created strong grounds for the masses to be politicized and become revolutionary. As communists, we are faced with directing the social energy of the masses and their revolutionary potential into revolutionary channels in order to destroy the reactionary classes' dominance and advance class struggle.

In order to succeed we must be sympathetic and interested in the problems of the masses. It is our utmost duty to deal with the economical and social problems of the masses much more than others and we must carry out our revolutionary activities with determination among them in a way so as to strengthen the people's war. Wherever we exist we must be mass-organized and be leading the masses by being at the forefront of the activities. We must show the masses the right and progressive aims and we must have revolutionary militancy and proletarian consciousness. Those who do not do this according to comrade Lenin;

"Whoever forgets to put into practise their responsibility of bringing any type of general democratic issues into the agenda and public domain and does not resolve them before others, is not a social democrat."

The existence of ILPS which; condemns civil society policies, is distinguished easily from those NGOs that are under the guidance of imperialists. ILPS takes on the various problems and demands of the masses as their own, aims to organize its anger in the direction of class perspective, is determined to expand its struggle in the anti-imperialist democratic line and brings about a big opportunity for all anti-imperialist, democratic forces.

Even though ILPS is a civil society organisation (NGO) itself, it does not fall into the classification of the WSF and we assume that it will play a very important role in the anti-imperialist struggle. The issues that ILPS puts into the agenda are those problems, which affect the wide section of society as a whole. The field of activities which ILPS undertakes is far wider than WSFs and their characteristic are so different that they are virtually incomparable.

ILPS is primarily against imperialism and all forms of reaction. It supports social and national

liberation struggles which are against imperialism and reactionary forces. It is this essential element which makes ILPS, anti-imperialist and democratic organisation and which distinguishes it from hundred of other NGO's. We acknowledge and support this. We hope that ILPS becomes an organised anti- imperialist democratic force of the people against world reactionaries, and takes on the problems of peoples especially the working class in the world and our country. We call upon all progressive, democratic and patriotic people who are against imperialism and reactionaries to come together, to unite their strengths and to organize themselves under the umbrella of ILPS.

We call upon those organizations which get their ideological nourishment from MLM, to take on the economic, democratic, social, natural, academic problems of the masses in all areas through the ILPS and its country sections

The primary duties of all democratic and progressive forces are to ensure that ILPS is strongly organized and to spread its propaganda to all areas, specifically; among the oppressed and exploited masses, among the poor and unemployed, among women and youth, among intellectuals and students and among those masses who have been subjected to injustice and inequality.

While such a civil society organisation exists, we should not support those NGOs which are under the guidance of imperialists. However, this does not mean that when there are overlaps in certain activities with other NGOs we can not be with them and organise campaigns together. If the time and circumstances are suitable, we should participate in open meetings and conferences of other NGOs for example; The Social Forum in order to condemn civil society policies with our anti imperialist democratic line and to increase the political alertness of other democratic forces.

The importance of anti-imperialist democratic struggle will increase both nationally and internationally, because the rebellion, revolt, anger and reaction of the masses against this exploitive and oppressive system will increase also. We should intensify on our alliances, political tactics and plans in order to organise strong campaigns which will embrace, organise and advance the energy of the peoples. It is possible to categorise the problems which have caused the huge demonstrations into two main headings.

The first is the increase in imperialist aggression, regional wars, terror, social oppositions, oppression and tyranny which began especially after the September 11, under the leadership of US imperialism by using the so called "war against terrorism". Under the concept of bourgeois democracy, countries rights to natural sovereignty, international law and fundamental human rights will be disregarded. The tyranny of imperialism and its lackeys will attract more anger and reactions from the wide range of people and will cause even more social rebellions.

We should carry out concrete campaigns with various forces, against US imperialism's occupation and aggression. We should also prepare new campaigns which states that social and nation liberation struggles are not terrorism, that USA imperialism is the no 1 terrorist and that they are the enemy of all the oppressed people around the world.

The second is the basis of what we have already said in the first heading which is that

imperialist-capitalist system is in a deep crisis as there is a drop in the profit margin, production is coming to a near end and speculative capital is crashing. Is gaining huge profits, increasing production and finding new areas to export capital not the reasons behind these reactionary wars and aggressions in the first place?

Neo-liberal economic and social attacks will further increase and this will lead to greater: hunger, poverty, destitution, bankruptcy and destruction. As a result of IMF's, WB's and MAI's destruction and eradication plans and projects, the poor and middle peasants in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries will face great losses; agriculture and stockbreeding will be destroyed; small and middle businesses will bankrupt more; privatisation will increase and there will be snowballing unemployment.

We should prepare now, for the campaigns which will deal with wide social issues, some of which we have just mentioned above.

Of course, communist of all countries should treat those activities which are about various economic social and political issues towards the direction of their revolutionary strategies and should try to channel all of this into the principal struggle. In our country the proletarian party takes on these developments through the direction of the new democratic revolution struggle and People's War strategy in the aim of supporting and advancing them, in a conscious and well planned way. But it does not mean that we should do this only by shouting and continuously repeating the slogans of "Long live People's War, Long live the Democratic Revolution" we should also put our policies into practise.

The proletarian Party will succeed in its struggle by adapting its strategy, ideology and theory to the current situations, by producing new policies which suit the developments of the time and by bringing all of this together with the concrete problems of the masses and putting the policies into practise in a creative way. Only then will the science of the working class MLM, New Democratic Revolution and People's War become a real and concrete strength among the masses. The decisions taken in the 7th Conference of the Proletarian Party already tell us this.

We do not agree on the concept of; "marching whenever the masses march, shouting whatever slogans the masses shout." Agreeing on such a concept would primarily mean we support the ideas of; becoming a follower of the masses, wanting to stay behind rather than at the forefront of the masses and not wanting to improve the knowledge of the masses but to lowering down the party's knowledge to the same level as that of the masses. These kinds of understanding (as mentioned above) are the enemy of the communist movement of the working class. We are definitely against such understandings.

We know that bourgeois pacifist and spontaneous movement is not a danger for bourgeoisie and its reactionary system, on the contrary, their position of taking part in the "least resistance" line and struggling only for certain few economic and democratic rights, reinforces the bourgeoisies ideological and class dominance.

We have already discussed what anti-imperialist struggle is and is not in the previous chapter. As our stand towards the US/UK imperialist aggression and invasion of Iraq is known we do not need to mention these issues again. The fundamental issues we will talk about are the

sensitiveness and politicisation of the wide section of the society against this aggression. We cannot take on these issues and activities either as rightwing-liberals who are the followers of the masses or as leftwing-sectarians who are broken away from the masses. Through concrete conjecture of our country, region and world we are in a position of applying our general strategic line in a creative way.

For example, with regards to the Iraq issue, in the current circumstances, from among the imperialist forces, we should specifically emphasize on US/UK imperialism however we should not entirely forget about the other imperialists either. Even though he is a representative of the counter revolutionary classes, it is wrong to give too much emphasis to Saddam himself. It would also be wrong to support those Kurdish groups who are co-operating with the US/UK occupiers even though they may be the political representatives of the oppressed Kurdish people.

There are so many people who are either victims of aggression, affected by aggression or are sensitive to aggression, therefore as we are in extraordinary times, this is great opportunity to successfully expand our revolutionary struggle. Our politics cannot be as though these are ordinary /normal times.

While creating politics, differences have to be taken into consideration, because politics is specific. The most important thing is to bring together the strategy with the tactic, the general with the specific and the leadership with the masses.

We should have a broad front and keep our targets narrow. In these activities we should emphasize more on the slogans which target to increase the conscious of the masses to higher levels and to organize their reactions on these issues, rather than on the radical slogans which only we shout and consists of only our final demands.

We should try to mobilize not only ourselves and revolutionary forces to these activities but also the widest section of the society which are against imperialist occupation. These common activities should not be just among the revolutionary forces but on the contrary we should organize cooperation and platforms where as well as revolutionary forces, wide sections of the community also take part in.

Are our organizations and their names not able to respond to this process and the concrete tactics of this process to organize such common activities? If so, we should immediately find new alternatives. We should not be afraid of finding new alternatives because, all of these are tactical steps which aim to respond to the process. There is no space in the tactics for habits and determination which do not respond to the process.

Most importantly we must work unrelentingly without departing from our general line and strategic targets by being at the forefront of the masses without being too distant from them, with our revolutionary practice we should give the masses confidence and hope and show them the source of the problems and direct them towards more advanced targets.

Will we take on the struggle against imperialism just as; "when we achieve revolution, we will expel imperialism from our country and get out of NATO anyway?" Will we not support the anger and demands of the masses towards the imperialists and some of their intuitions? Or

will we bring this into the agenda but not want the masses to support us? Will we not revive the patriotic feelings of the masses with revolutionary conscience against imperialism and mobilise them in the anti imperialist struggle?

For instance, will we not demand that our country should get out of NATO and the EU's Custom Union, that the US and NATO military bases in country should be shut down and that the strategic agreement between Turkey, US and Israel be cancelled? Is demanding such reforms contrary to our class struggle, strategic line and our people's war struggle? No! Definitely not

Those who think like that do not fully comprehend the dialectic between revolution and reform and confuse strategy with tactics. The most important thing is to treat reforms not as a reformist but as a communist and utilise them in such a way as to advance revolutionary struggle. Comrade Lenin says that the most important thing is; "... to see those (reforms) just as a by product of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat..."

Or will we say the new democratic revolution will mean that our country will no longer be economically and politically dependant on imperialism and we will get out of the IMF, WB, WTO and not accept any of the debts that were previously owed anyway and; stay silent about the protests against and demands towards the IMF and WB which are carried out by, workers and labours who have lost that jobs and who face poverty, destitution and destruction; peasants who are not even able to run their land and small business owners who are unable to pay back that debts and who have become bankrupt due to the stand-by and structural adaptation programmes?

With regards to imperialist organisation and their aggressions, will we not target the imperialist-capitalist and their reactionary system and will we not organize the masses by drawing them into these activities, educating them and helping them to reveal their revolutionary energy with respect to the people's war strategy? Will we not take on such issues as; not accepting stand-by and structural adaptation programmes, cancelling of the state debt, the campaign against the IMF and WB stopping privatisation and flexible working and shutting down free zones?

Yes, all of these are reformist demands and tactical matters. However, when they are considered by as a communist and not as a reformist, those demands actually will nourish our revolutionary struggle and help to bring into really our strategy among the masses.

When we say that the communist movement of the working class should be at the forefront of the masses - does this mean that it should be far away from them? Will it ignore the problem faced and the economic democratic demands of the masses? Will it build walls between itself and the masses and between the problems that it faces and the problems that the masses face? Will it always show the final aim and purposes? Are there no intermediate stops of this revolutionary movement?

Will we simply say that the New Democratic Revolutionary programme with socialist revolutionary perspective will solve everything and that there is no need to deal with and solve the problems of alienation and losing of one's self identity which is a result of

imperialist - capitalist aggression?

Will we not take on these problems in a concrete way and channel them towards the political power struggle through a working class perspective, with the knowledge of the real source of these problems? Will we not create concrete policies which will reach the oppressed member of society who are continuously expanding as a result of the aggression carried out by the imperialist bourgeoisies?

Will we win over the masses by just saying that "class struggle will solve everything" without producing concrete policies and without giving any concrete examples?

As a result of capitalism's aggression which causes alienation and loss of self-identity, the individual not only categorizes himself along his ideological and political lines but has also begun to define himself as belonging to different groups (sexist, environmentalist, nationalist, ethnic, religions, etc.). This is what imperialist bourgeoisie is trying to do through the concept of "civil society". Will we not do anything about this through a class perspective?

The Civil Society Concept has set traps to the class struggle in various sectors such as; the Alevi's who have revolutionary and progressive potential, the oppressed Kurdish nation, many minority groups, women who are suffering under not only oppressive but also male dominated system, environmentalist etc. Will we not create concrete alternative policies regarding these sectors?

Will we not bring together and organize all these sectors under the ideological and political umbrella of class struggle.

In the light of its 7th Conference, the Proletarian Party is faced with the duty of leading the class struggle in general and more specifically in advancing the people's war through concrete policies.

The party as a whole with its communist conscience and revolutionary militancy must reinforce its own unity and mobilize itself among the masses in order to achieve its objectives under the guidance of MLM.