

Rome, April 28, 1977
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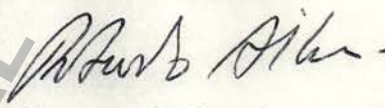
Mr. Mete TUNCAY
Milli Kütüphane
A N K A R A
(Turkey)

Dear Mr. Tuncay,

Some weeks ago, within the framework of our project on Communist parties of the Northern Mediterranean, we received the paper concerning the Communist Party of Turkey.

In your letter of November 27, 1976 you said that you would be willing to revise, and should it be necessary, to take into consideration some additional suggestions. We are now asking you to do so. Enclosed you will find a copy of the paper, and we would ask you to revise it and send it back to us as quickly as possible.

Sincerely yours,


Roberto Aliboni

Enclosure.

il direttore

iai istituto affari internazionali
88, viale mazzini • 00195 roma
tel. 315892-354456 • cable: Intaffari-roma

RA/ac.
December 8th 1976.

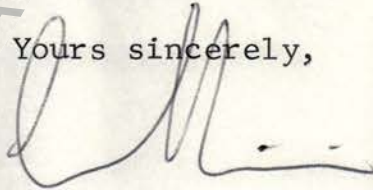
Mr. Mete Tunçay
Milli Kütüphane
ANKARA
Turchia.

Dear Mr. Tunçay,

I received your very interesting and kind letter of November 27th 1976. I am very sorry that you are not able to accept our proposal, but I am aware of the reasons which back your refusal. On the basis of your letter we will take some time in deciding about the relevance of a paper on the Turkish Communist parties and movements within our project. In any case I have taken good note of your availability to make comments on papers on the Turkish situation we might produce in the course of the project. I am very grateful to you for this.

Looking forward to the opportunity of meeting you whenever I am in Ankara, I send you my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,



(Cesare Merlini)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİHİ
TÜSTANİYE HAKKINDA
ROMA VAKFI

MED/1976+24/INT

Rome, September 27th 1976

Research Project : "The Communist Parties of Southern Europe : Internal Developments and the International Scenario".

MEMORANDUM ON THE DATA TO BE COLLECTED BY THE ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI.

- 1 - As far as the first point in MED/1976-23/INT is concerned, we plan to collect data on :
 - members
 - electorate
 - organisation and structure of the party
 - number, type and importance of parallel organisation
 - declarations towards leftists and social movements
 - declarations and policy towards interest groups.
- 2 - As far as the 2nd point in MED/1976-23/INT is concerned, we plan to collect available data on the internal structure of the party : such as formation of the leadership group, changes of leadership, internal fractions, actions against dissidence etc.
- 3 - As far as the 3rd point in MED/1976-23/INT is concerned, we plan to collect some relevant information on parliamentary activity of the party and participation in the legislative process, on electoral programmes, on the party's share of government power at national and local levels.
- 4 - As far as the 4th point in MED/1976-23/INT is concerned,

MED/1976-24/INT

Rome, September 27th 1976.

we plan to prepare a brief review of the changes that have taken place in inter-Communist relations, between the CPSU and the Southern European Communist Party, and an overall picture of parties attitudes towards the International Political scene, alliances, security agreement and European integration process.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

MED/1976-23/INT

Rome, September 27th 1976.

Research Project : "The Communist Parties of Southern
Europe : Internal Developments and the
International Scenario".

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE AUTHORS OF THE PAPERS ON THE COMMUNIST
PARTIES OF THE DIFFERENT SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.*

1. Relations with Society. Does the Communist Party act in
its society according to the class model and the leninist
paradigm? How does it judge its society?

We would like the authors to consider

- whether the Communist Party is more a class or a
popular party.
- what the relationship between social stratification
and party decision-making and programmes is.
- through which channels the party maintains contacts
with society (territorial sections or factory cells
or other cultural and political channels).
- how the party considers trade unions (whether inde-
pendent or a transmission belt etc.)
- the party's relations with extra-parliamentarians and
leftists ; what importance the party gives and how it
treats them.

*In this questionnaire the term 'communist party' must be
taken as 'the communist party of the country concerned'.

Rome, September 27th 1976

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2. Is the Communist Party a closed society of its own or is it open to dynamics from outside?

This question should be partly answered in the former one, but we would like the authors to concentrate specifically on the internal nature of the party and consider

- how much the party is internally influenced by its nature of 'parti de cadres' or of mass party or of popular party.
- whether the democratic centralism is still working and how long it will last ; whether the internal discussion appears to influence the decisions of the top leadership.
- whether someone (for instance the USSR) would be able to reverse a decision of the party appealing directly to the members themselves.
- which conclusions, if any, could be drawn from previous attempts to reverse the chosen line of the party, from the USSR.

3. Domestic role and policy of running the state : reforms or revolution?

We would like the authors to consider :

- whether the Communist Party is convinced of the likelihood of a rather definitive and immediate shift towards socialism or, on the contrary, if it believes in a gradualistic approach.

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- whether the party thinks that the means chosen to run the state will influence and shape the future socialist society.
- in the former case, how the party considers the state. Whether it thinks that the state can be utilised as it is or that important changes are necessary (and which ones)
- (the question can be applied to the constitutional rights or civil rights etc.) ; whether those rights should be considered part of the socialist society and of the way to socialism.
- what the importance given to the political and popular consensus is and through which means the consensus should be achieved.

4. International environment : from the traditional links with the Soviet Union to the Euro-Communism. What does that mean?

We would like the authors to consider :

- what internationalism today means for the Communist Party and how it influences the party's ideology, structure and policy choices.
- whether the CPSU influence is stronger on the internal policy decisions of the party or on the international one.

MED/1976-23/INT

Rome, September 27th 1976

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- whether the party is credible for the Western powers and whether it has succeeded in maintaining its credibility towards the USSR.
- whether the party has alliances (with other parties in its own country or with other political forces of outside countries) coherent with its declarations.
- whether the party has an international policy programme for its country coherent with its declarations (nationalistic policy, European integration policy, participation in NATO etc.)

All in all, we would like the authors to consider whether they feel the Communist Party is becoming a sort of new social democratic party or whether it still maintains its former leninist character.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİHİ ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

MED/1976 - 21/INT.
Rome, September 20th, 1976.

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF SOUTHERN EUROPE : INTERNAL
DEVELOPMENTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL SCENARIO.

INTRODUCTION

In the history of European communist movements, the moment of Mediterranean Europe has come. In these countries, the communist parties have a relevant role : in Yugoslavia and Albania they govern alone, and in Portugal they participated in a coalition government ; in Italy they are the strongest opposition party, and in France, along with the Socialists, they are a potential majority force ; they may play a similar role in Cyprus and in Spain ; only in Greece and in Turkey they seem to be a less relevant feature of internal equilibrium though even there their importance is not negligible.

These communist parties have undergone big changes from the post-war years. Not only have many of them now a different leadership, but in many cases

- their strategies for the conquest or for the use of power,
- their relationships with the moderate forces inside each country,
- their relations with the Communist Party of the USSR have also changed.

Studies are lacking that would allow for a more probing and detailed understanding of these changes. The existing analyses generally concentrate on separate national si

tuations. We, on the contrary, are proposing to study these parties within a common framework in order to draw some general conclusions. Such a widesweeping approach is justified by the following considerations:

First, southern Europe is assuming a growing importance in international relations. This strip of countries that goes from Portugal to Turkey shares strategic problems such as the impact of the Middle East conflict, the Soviet navy military build-up, the shifting of military tensions to the "flanks", etc. They all are experiencing political "changes", coups d'état, or government instability with consequences also abroad. None of them has succeeded in establishing such stable relations with the superpowers that will resist internal political mutations. All together they are confronting problems of slower development, emigration, deficits in the balance of payments, unrealistic and degenerating public spending policies, etc.

Second, it is a fact that in all these countries the foreign policy choices have played a very important domestic role. In 1948-49, for instance, the Italian and Greek decisions to stay inside the West and the Atlantic Alliance helped to draw a line between government and opposition forces, thus serving as a cohesive factor for both fronts; the institutional equilibrium of the new Yugoslavia has certainly been made easier by the policy of non-alignment that Tito has followed ever since his

disagreement with the Soviet Union ; the change of régime in Portugal, and maybe now in Spain, are greatly influenced by the external relations of political forces. Even from such a rapid glance, it is possible to understand what great international implications there could be from certain changes being made in the policies of the southern European Communist parties. Among other things, and if these changes were confirmed over a longer period, the establishment of a new European communist center could take form, independent of the CPSU and could be considered as part of the western world : something that could definitely affect the future outlook and role of the communist movement.

Third, a comprehensive study of these problems and of their international interplay would enable a better understanding of some key issues, such as:

- the Soviet policy towards western Europe and the European Community (in so far as it will be influenced by the assessment that the Soviets make on these communist developments);
- European-American relations (with special consideration for a redefinition of NATO);
- consequences of closer relations with the European Community.

Thus, it appears to us that such problems should be seen globally through a parallel examination of the parties in each of the countries of the southern European strip bor-

dering on the Mediterranean.

SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

This research project is entitled "The Communist Parties of Southern Europe : Internal Developments and the International Scenario".

Attention will be given here to the Communist parties that play a dominant or at least an important role on the local scene. The less relevant they seem, the less attention they will be given unless their country's role in the international scene is considered to be of paramount importance for the understanding of the whole. According to these criteria the parties of the following countries will be considered : Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey.

The analysis will be conducted along three main lines:

1. The domestic role

The study will consider political programs, official or semi-official publications, and relevant statements dealing with the problem of participation in coalition government, the "model" of communist régimes, the proposed relations with other parties and political or social forces, the justifications held for un-orthodox political moves, etc. The study of the changes in communist programs and analyses should allow for an appraisal of the new (if any) political and ideological characteristics

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of communism in southern Europe and of the differences existing among the individual parties. The cohesion of the parties, or the differences between parties, if more than one exists in the same country, will be discussed. Trends and likely effects of changes (e.g. change of government) will be considered.

2. The International Environment.

This part of the project will provide a quick review of the changes that have taken place in inter-communist relations (between the CPSU and the southern European Communist parties). There are some key historical issues (Hungary in '56, Czechoslovakia in '67, the stance towards China, the acceptance of the de-stalinization process, etc.) that will have to be more closely evaluated, because they represent steps towards a progressive differentiation. Then relations established with non-communist political forces (such as the Socialist and Christian Democrat western European parties), on an international level will be considered. A comprehensive picture of attitudes towards the international political scene, alliances, security agreements, and the European integration process will be given.

As for the prospects for the future, this part will single out the alternative strategies followed by the southern European Communist parties, their relative importance with respect to the continuation of special relationships with the CPSU and their future intentions, if indeed they have been able to assess them. As far as they

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have been actively researched by these parties, the study will try, therefore, to ascertain the new policy lines followed in their international relations, and to determine the effects that international relations can have on a more stable grouping of western European Communist parties, whether they be unifying or divisive. Consistency between internal and international strategies will be discussed.

3. Attitudes towards society.

The study will deal with the social basis of each party (whether urban or rural, homogeneous or differentiated along the lines of the country's social structure, etc.) An evaluation will be made of the pre-eminence of intellectuals, working class, peasantry, new bureaucratic class, etc. in the party's ruling élite. Attitudes towards civil rights movements, revolutionary and extra-parliamentary groups will be investigated as well as attitudes towards public and private entrepreneurs, industrialists, and trade unions.

This part should make possible the evaluation of the available data in order to assess a more detailed picture of these Communist parties and of their relative importance and likely achievements in their national societies. It will assess the limitations that their social composition imposes on their programs, or, on the other hand, further changes that may be induced on them by societal evolutions. It will attempt to evaluate the degree of

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independence of the various Communist parties from external pressures and from the initiatives of other political forces.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROJECT

The project is conceived to involve the smallest possible staff. It will have one project coordinator and one junior research assistant. They will benefit from about ten external contributions requested of well-known international experts, and from documentation and opinions obtained from inside the above-mentioned countries through means of the IAI's already well-established contacts with local institutes and scholars. Also, the IAI will provide secretarial assistance. The study will consist of the following main divisions:

A. Documentation

Collection, translation (if needed), and review work will be carried out at the IAI, focusing on political programs, statements, and documents published by the Communist parties or elsewhere. This work will result in a collection of selected documents (duly organized and annotated) available to the project. A full-time junior researcher will concentrate on this work.

B. Analysis of each party

Eight papers of about 4000 words each will be asked of well-known experts, one on each of the Communist parties under study. A questionnaire to unify these papers will be sent out by the project coordinator and will be formulated

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in such a way as to focus the reader's attention on the three areas previously outlined.

The documentation collection will proceed parallel to the preparation of these papers so that each of the two activities should reap mutual advantage from the other.

C. Cross-examination of party policy lines

The above eight papers will be reproduced and sent, together with the first appraisal of the documentation work and guidelines, to three well-known scholars, each of whom will be asked to write a report on one of the subject matters described in the first section. The reports, 6000 words each, will be discussed with a few other experts in a small seminar to be held at the Institute.

D. Project Coordination.

The project coordinator will be asked to i) supervise the documentation work; ii) to formulate the questionnaire and to review the papers under topic B; iii) to coordinate with rapporteurs under topic C and organize the seminar; iv) to edit a book containing the three reports under topic C and selected documentation.

Dr. Heinz Timmermann has accepted to act as project coordinator on a part-time basis. He will be making a few trips to Rome and will spend a total of about four months at the Institute.

Heinz Timmermann, age 37, doctorate on Eastern European Studies at the Freie Universität, Berlin, now lecturer with the Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche

und Internationale Studien, Cologne, is a well-known author of several publications on Italian and French communism.

E. Conference (optional)

After a careful evaluation of the national papers (see section B) and of the results of the documentation work, the IAI and the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk will decide whether to organise a conference with the participation of some selected leaders of the Communist parties considered in the study. The three reports and the selected documentation would then be used as working papers. The conferences, with an attendance of about 30 people (15 party representatives, 3 rapporteurs, 4 IAI staff, and international experts), should be held in Rome.

F. Publications

The working document under topic ^D or, if agreed on, the proceedings of the conference under topic E, will be published in Italian by the IAI at its own expenses. Publications in English and/or German will be encouraged.

TIME SCHEDULE

The project will last one full year. The following is a tentative timetable : november 1976 starting of the documentation work, formulation of the questionnaire, and selection of the authors of papers under B ; december 1976 to april 1977 - continuation of documentation work and commissioning and writing of papers ; may 1977 - distribution of papers to the authors under C previously selected and commissioning of the new papers with time allowance of 4 months ; october 1977 - preparation of publication.