

**Resolutions adopted  
at the expanded meeting of  
the Coordinating Committee of  
the Communist Party of Turkey**

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**Workers of the world unite!**

**Resolutions adopted at the expanded meeting of  
the Coordinating Committee  
of the Communist Party of Turkey**

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## Announcement

The Coordinating Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey has held an expanded meeting with the participation of the leaders of party organisations in Europe.

The meeting considered party questions, the "new party" trend which has emerged in the revolutionary movement and the tasks posed by the new situation in the country.

In considering party questions, the meeting reviewed the situation into which the party has been driven by the official liquidationist leadership of the TKP, and called upon all comrades who oppose this situation to join in a united struggle. It evaluated the results of the organisational mobilisation and stressed that, although it has come to an end, the mobilisation to consolidate and develop its achievements must continue. It discussed the conditions which must be present in order for the 5th Congress of the TKP to be a genuine congress and called upon all communists to work for this. Finally, in connection with all these matters, the meeting enumerated the organisational tasks facing the party.

In connection with the "new party" trend which has emerged in the revolutionary movement, it was stressed that, from all sides, an attack is being mounted against the

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understanding of the disciplined and centralised party which is the irreplaceable weapon of the working class. Attention was drawn to the dangers of this new trend in the revolutionary movement.

In connection with the new situation in the country, attention was drawn to the appearance of small manifestations which may indicate that discontent has reached a level which is being reflected in action. It was emphasized that both the opportunities and dangers have increased, and that all organisations must prepare for May Day enthusiastically and with this in mind. The main tasks at the present were declared to be to develop conspiratorial methods of work and to take advantage of legal opportunities.

It was resolved that the decisions taken at the meeting should be published.

*Bureau of the Coordinating  
Committee of the TKP*

Resolutions adopted at  
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# I. Party questions

## The new situation in the party

Today there is a new situation in the party. In order to arrive at a better understanding of this situation it is necessary to take a brief look at the developments of the past ten years.

From 1950 to 1970 there was no communist party in Turkey. The need for a communist party was clearly felt, in particular after 1960. On this basis a generation grew up which declared that there must be a communist party in the country no matter what, and which fought for this. This generation played a role in the reestablishment of the TKP in 1973.

In the first period, which stretched from 1973 to 1978, the party was genuinely reestablished and experienced significant development. For the first time in Turkey's political life, the communist party became a factor which had to be taken into account politically.

The fact that the cadres, particularly the high-ranking cadres, who participated in the reestablishment of the party in 1973 had come together with widely differing intentions began to come out into the open as time passed. The ten years' development of the TKP confirmed this. At that time, the idea that there must be a communist party, no matter what shape it took, covered the eyes of these cadres like a curtain. It was a



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matter of inexperience. While reestablishing the party, these cadres did not discuss the question of what kind of party it was to be. Later it was realised that there were differences on this question and, in connection with it, on the ideological questions which must form the basis for organisational unity. This matter openly came onto the agenda in particular after the 1978 Plenum. The differentiation in the TKP began.

The party organisations were left entirely on their own. Having in any case existed until then without any centralised supervision, and now left entirely on their own, the organisations began to pursue completely different paths on the initiative of their own leaders and in regard to both organisational matters and day-to-day political tactics.

In 1979 *İşçinin Sesi* came out openly against this situation. In doing so, it also brought a correct platform for ideological unity and placed it before the party. Together with this, it opened the way for a significant section of the party to oppose the course that was being pursued, and to the appearance of a new situation in the party.

Whether or not they took sides with *İşçinin Sesi* at the time, all comrades began to reconsider all spheres of party activity which they had not thought about and which had been accepted until then. They began to ask themselves questions. However, such an organisational attitude was adopted towards *İşçinin Sesi* that it caused the cadres who were asking questions to themselves, not to ask them openly to the party. It led to the questions being kept secret from the party and to the adoption of a hypocritical attitude towards the party. A large section took the side of *İşçinin Sesi*. The remainder, the entire party organisation aside from a small minority, began to worry seriously about the views being advanced by *İşçinin Sesi*. However, at the same time, there emerged a contradiction between the behaviour of these comrades and their thoughts.

A very important situation which emerged with the 1978 Plenum was the following: until then it was thought that the organisational and political line being followed by the party had its source in two or three members of the Political Bureau who

did not adhere to Marxism-Leninism. Now it was understood that this was not the case at all. One began to understand why these two or three people were in this position.

After the 12th September coup, the differences within the menshevik gang reached a new level. This was accompanied by and met with outside intervention which was incorrect on both the political and organisational levels. This outside intervention once again led to many comrades seeing the situation as it really was.

On the political level, the intervention was manifested in the political line followed by the official leadership. This is the main source of the refusal to characterise the regime as fascist. It is the main cause of party work being reduced to work for the establishment of bourgeois democracy.

On the organisational level, however, a complete liquidation was effected, both within the country and abroad, at the 1981 Plenum. A large number of party members within the country were declared traitors and expelled from the party. In regard to all the remaining party members, it was declared that they were known to the police or that they would not be able to carry out illegal activity in this way, and their organic relations with the party were cut. The idea of a non-centralised party was put into practice. According to this liquidationist, anti-Leninist party understanding, there was to be no question of a party, a political line would be announced over the radio stations, and the "party members" listening would apply it as individuals. This is the understanding underlying the slogan which we have frequently heard on the radio and read in *Atılım*: "Wherever there is a comrade, the party is there". The excuse made for this understanding is security and the bourgeois terror.

This liquidation, disintegration, had some consequences, the main ones which may be enumerated as follows:

Firstly, the ideological and political hypocrisy of the cadres under the influence of the official menshevik leadership developed further. Despite the fact that no one accepted the policies being pursued within the organisation or outside it, despite the fact that they opposed them, they were reluctant to

express their thoughts and kept them to themselves. Under the pretext of "defending my party" against others, they were defending the liquidationist, opportunist leadership. No party in which hypocrisy has become so established and spread so much can be a communist party.

The second result, connected with this, was the emergence of a federative structure. A variety of groups were formed, large and small. Differences, not having been brought out into the open, on the ideological level, were being expressed surreptitiously in various bargainings and compromises. Such a mosaic-like federative structure does not suit a communist party. Once they have emerged for various reasons, it is necessary to try to solve the problems by putting one's views openly, instead of conducting surreptitious negotiations.

Another development brought about by this disintegration is the drift to other trends. An example of this is the drift to the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) seen among comrades having legalist tendencies. In particular, comrades went over to TİP when the comrade responsible for West Germany in the TKP menshevik wing took up the same responsibility in TİP. Some are openly leaving the TKP while others, still appearing to the outside as TKP members, are secretly becoming members of another organisation. We see another example of the drift to other trends among young cadres who have little political experience and want to act in a militant manner. They drift into movements which seem to be more militant than TİP.

A peculiarity of the present period is that the Politburo which led the TKP from 1973 to 1978 has completely withdrawn from the leadership. A Saydan is dead. H Erdal declared his opposition and left. I. Bilen has been pushed into the background. It is rumoured that the other two members have been expelled. The Partisan group was brought to the head as a team that did not seem to be worn out.

After the Partisan team had been brought to the head in an inner-party coup in 1981, the search began for a scapegoat who could be declared responsible for the existing situation. The natural candidate to take the blame for the disintegration and

collapse was, as had been the case in previous periods, the last leader of the TKP, i.e., I. Bilen. Nevertheless an alternative to I. Bilen was sought both within and outside the party. When one could not be found, comrade H. Erdal was chosen to be the victim and the attempt was made to hold him responsible. This was not very convincing either, however. For this reason, after comrade H. Erdal resigned from the Politburo, they considered it necessary for I. Bilen, to whom no other alternative had been found, to at least withdraw. Now we hear that they are explaining this situation to their cadres as follows: H. Erdal knows a lot. He knows how the *Işçinin Sesi* event developed and the weakness of the leadership at that time. We can no longer defend I. Bilen and, for that reason, let us pull him back now.

Another characteristic of the present period appears in the chain of alliances that has been established by the Partisan group.

An important sphere of alliances for the Partisan group are the members and leaders, who have since gone abroad, of the legal organisations which had previously taken part in the Unity Solidarity movement. The legalism which is very strong in this section accords with the liquidationism of the Partisan group. However, it must not be forgotten that there are those in this section who want to struggle.

Another important sphere of alliances for the Partisan group is former legal publicists. The most concrete example of this is the group which will bring out *Türkiye Postası*. These people say that they do not belong to the Partisan group and that they oppose the policy it follows, but it appears that they have chosen to work together with them politically.

In conclusion, the TKP which was reestablished in 1973 is today in a state of disintegration. In 1979 *Işçinin Sesi* saw and showed, that this would be so, and organised as a separate wing because of the attitude that was adopted towards its efforts to rectify the situation. Today, in regard to both its organisational character and ideological correctness, *Işçinin Sesi* is experiencing a sound development and is the determining factor in rescuing the party from this state. The disintegration in the other wing,

however, continued and increased with the 1981 Plenum. Today this wing is made up solely of the Partisan group gathered around the radio editorship and groups which have made unprincipled alliances with it. Aside from the centre, the Partisan group has only two organisations. It is a matter of a compromise with the Unity Solidarity legal movement's cadres abroad. They are cooperating with *Türkiye Postası*. And, as has been seen in the example of the West Berlin opposition, they have also established alliances on the basis of subjective animosities from the past. Aside from this, there are many unattached individuals and groups both inside and outside Turkey.

We have the task of gathering all communists of Turkey under one organisational roof. The congress will be the product and highest stage of such a gathering. For this reason the Coordinating Committee of our party makes the following call to all party members:

### Call to all TKP members:

Comrades,  
Menshevik leadership have brought the Communist Party of Turkey, our party, which we reestablished in 1973 after a long interval lasting several decades, into a state of disintegration and dispersal. Today several factions and groups have taken shape, hundreds of party members are each in a state of not knowing what they will do.

A group of intellectual friends sharing petty-bourgeois views and coming from TIP's Eminönü branch has taken over the radio as the so-called TKP leadership. There is absolutely no ideological or political difference between this group of friends which has no right whatsoever to be the leadership of the TKP and the TIP leaders. Between them there is only a superficial fight over their respective preserves. In essence this petty-bourgeois minded group is a partisan of TIP.

For reasons such as a feeling of hopelessness, inability to see a political way out, ideological insufficiency, the tendency to

take the easy way out, and sometimes petty calculation of interest, there are those who are seeking to arrive at an understanding with this extreme opportunist group.

Another tendency is that of going over to other opportunist movements as an alternative to this group which has been parachuted to the head of the TKP. For a member of the communist party, this is like exchanging a horse for a donkey.

For communists of Turkey who are ready to struggle, resolved to join in the front ranks of the struggle for revolution, there is only one alternative: Our duty is to raise the TKP, our party, as a Marxist-Leninist organisation able to carry out the revolution. In order to succeed in this task, the only genuine and lasting alternative is the TKP's Leninist wing, with its pure communist politics and the character and strength of its party organisation.

Only *Işçinin Sesi* can gather all communists, all the TKP members who are in a state of dispersal, under the banner of a Leninist party.

Only *Işçinin Sesi* can successfully carry out a congress of our party by doing so.

Practice will confirm these. With the flexible policy it will follow, the Leninist wing of the TKP will help all party members to derive the lesson from practice and to see the truth. In the end, the TKP will consolidate communist unity under the banner of *Işçinin Sesi*. If all the comrades saw this today, very favourable conditions would emerge to accelerate the development of our party by dealing a heavy blow to liquidationist opportunism and without the need for long and painful experiences. As communists, we must be aware of the history which we are living. We must march ahead of developments.

Due to the factionalist and private preserve understanding of the menshevik leadership, *Işçinin Sesi* began its organisational development as a wing (of the party — trans.) *Işçinin Sesi* is not factionalist. Being from *Işçinin Sesi* has none of the various ugly preconditions or consequences which are a determining characteristic of the menshevik wing. Being on the side of *Işçinin Sesi* means to be on the side of the fundamental and genuine

interests of the world working class, the working class of Turkey, the world revolution and revolution in Turkey as a part of it, the socialist countries, and the Communist Party of Turkey. That is, it means to be on the side of communist theory, politics and organisation, to wrestle with difficulties and work self-sacrificingly for them.

Let us close our ranks in the TKP!

Let us raise the banner of revolution in Turkey!

## Evaluation of the organisational mobilisation

1. Although three years have passed since the 12th September fascist coup, the bourgeoisie has been unable to make any lasting progress towards solving the social and economic problems. The economic crisis persists and is becoming deeper. Resentment is accumulating among the masses whose living conditions have deteriorated in the extreme and who have been deprived of all manner of democratic rights. Indications of this are now being seen more often.

On this basis, the activity which began in the political sphere with the preparation of the constitution and which is gradually accelerating, has brought the country into a period in which both the dangers and the opportunities for political activity are increasing at the same time. The organisational mobilisation was launched as a means of preparing our party for the trials of the new period.

At the same time the organisational mobilisation was part of fulfilling the tasks in the present reactionary period of deriving lessons from past experience, strengthening the party, and preparing for the coming period. It was conducted with the concentrated and collective effort of all organisational units.

2. The 17th September 1982 Plenum of the Coordinating Committee placed the main emphasis of the organisational mobilisation on (1) strengthening mass work, (2) modernising the forms of organisation and leadership, (3) deepening ideological understanding. It was foreseen that our party would

emerge from its organisational mobilisation having consolidated its discipline and centralism and having strengthened comradesly trust and ties with the masses.

3. The party organisations and members met the organisational mobilisation with a high level of consciousness. They correctly understood the essence of the mobilisation. The organisational units worked hard to achieve the concrete aims set out in the Plenum resolution. Under the slogan, "Organisational mobilisation for revolution and socialism" enthusiastic and intensive work was carried out in our party.

4. The mobilisation in the party units started with a preparatory stage:

In one sense, every organisation set out by first putting its own house in order. In general these preparations included determining their shortcomings, setting out the concrete tasks, and listing the forces which would undertake these party tasks. At the end of this stage, work plans and corresponding new divisions of labour began to appear.

The preparatory period was followed by one in which a process of institutionalisation developed in the work of party units:

The concrete tasks and responsibilities of units and members began to be defined. The unchanging functions which make a party organisation an organisation entered further into consciousness and efforts to perform them in a regular manner intensified. The shortcomings observed in meetings and education were reduced and the provision of information increased. Organisation on the basis of the distribution of literature began to be a regular job. Supervision from above increased in all party organisations.

At its previous plenum the Coordinating Committee evaluated this development and set the task of intensifying mass work while preserving the development achieved for the organisation in regard to institutionalisation. Having effected improvements in regard to planned and regular work, our organisations did not delay in responding to this task:

Our organisations are gaining a certain expertise in using



the distribution of the central organ as a means of establishing lively political relations with others. Distribution of our literature is increasing, not only on the street, but also at factories and in workers' homes.

The struggle on the part of our organisations and members for the economic and democratic rights of the masses, as well as their efforts to participate as leaders and organisers in every sphere of life, are advancing. Working with a correct understanding, the socialist mass organisations are gathering strength.

The upsurge which can be observed in mass work recently is being reflected in the rise in the number of socialist mass organisations that have been newly established or revived, democratic mass organisations and workers' correspondence groups.

5. Both as individuals and as a single entity, party organisations and members have achieved gains in the organisational mobilisation which are not to be underestimated.

The organisational mobilisation has been an experience for all party units in distributing their organisational forces according to the requirements of their political tasks.

In fulfilling their political tasks, as well as the organisational tasks connected with them, organisations and members made progress in developing their ability to seize the main link and to concentrate their forces accordingly in a planned way, create opportunities suited to the tasks with a flexible style of work which does not restrict itself to set methods, and strive stubbornly to achieve the aims which have been set at every period.

For the party, the organisational mobilisation was a test of our ability to change gear in a political atmosphere of increasing activity, accelerate the tempo of work, and conduct fruitful work.

The organisational mobilisation also contributed to ridding our organisations and members of liberal tendencies and strengthening party discipline and centralism. Their efforts to fulfil the tasks of the mobilisation helped our members to unite

initiative and disciplined work in their character as communists and party members.

In the course of the organisational mobilisation, there was an increase in the amount of information passed on to the party centre and in the number of articles sent to the central organ. This is an indication that our members' sense of responsibility towards party tasks and aims is developing.

The organisational mobilisation also contributed to the development of the party's ability to act as one in all spheres of work.

Throughout the course of the organisational mobilisation, our organisations made significant advances in terms of a more effective and professional style of work.

In accordance with one of the aims of the mobilisation, the authority and responsibility of women comrades was increased.

6. When compared with the points at which our organisations started, the amount of ground covered with the organisational mobilisation is not small. However, from the point of view of the tasks which must be fulfilled, the level which has been reached today constitutes only a good start. The gains which have been achieved will become permanent to the extent that the party organisation, taking this as its basis, continues to place stone upon stone with an inexhaustible energy.

In the forthcoming period, all party organisations must give great importance to making the gains achieved through the organisational mobilisation permanent, and developing them further.

Throughout the organisational mobilisation, the results of the work of individual units became, at the same time, gains of the entire party via their publication in the central organ. The accumulated collective experience increased. In achieving this, the publications organisation worked with success. In the forthcoming period, party organisations and members, and the Workers' Correspondence Groups, must work conscious of the fact that lively and constant communication with the central organ will play an important role in consolidating these gains.

Our ties with the masses must be developed in a manner

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which will allow the working class, gathered around our party, to rise as one at the moment of action. Towards this end, our organisations must persist in their work to further strengthen and develop our ties with the masses which began to develop during the organisational mobilisation.

The *Organisational Mobilisation* has come to an end. Our organisational mobilisation continues.

### Concerning the TKP's Fifth Congress

Half a century has passed since the last congress of the TKP. This long period without a congress testifies to the scale of the liquidation. The isolated upsurges which are encountered in party history were never able to arrive at a genuine congress platform. Not a single leadership which received its legitimacy from a founding congress was ever able to take the party to a second congress.

In this sense, the 1973 advance did not even rest on a founding congress. Communists supported the new leadership on the basis of comradely trust and out of the good intentions arising from their hope that the party would become a party. Despite the shortcomings and contradictions it bore from the beginning, the 1973 advance enabled the TKP to become a force on a nationwide scale. Unlike previous examples, the revolutionary opposition started by the Leninists against opportunism and liquidationism was one of the reasons why this sound development was able to continue and gather strength. Today, the Leninist wing of the TKP, the party's genuine and powerful representative, is the only alternative which will take the party to a congress and thence towards becoming a communist party worthy of the name.

The TKP's Leninist wing has been waging a struggle for the convening of the Fifth Congress of the TKP since 1979. The First Conference, held in 1980, issued an appeal placing the aim of a congress before the entire party. The Second Conference commissioned the TKP's Coordinating Committee to convene

the Fifth Congress of the TKP.

In the period which followed the Second Conference, our party began preparations for the convening of the congress. All the party organisations voted in favour of the conference resolutions concerning the congress. All the provincial committees held their own congresses and elected their delegates.

In the same period, the TKP's "official" wing was pushed into a real dilemma by the clique in the leadership. The party organisations were dispersed. Several groups which opposed the liquidation appeared. The TKP's Leninist wing gained strength through the participation of new comrades from this section.

The thoroughness of the process of collapse and disintegration of the TKP's "official" wing, the increasing strength of the TKP's Leninist wing and its rising stature as a centre of attraction, and the fact that both these processes are particularly accelerating today, affects the significance, preparations and timing of the congress which is to be convened. The goal of a genuine congress is a fundamental pillar of the struggle against opportunism in the party. From all sides, everyone must raise the demand for a genuine congress.

A genuine congress must fully meet the conditions enumerated below. The central clique, which has long since forfeited its legitimacy as well as the *confidence* of the majority of the party, has no intention of convening, and no right or authority to convene, a congress which would meet these conditions. The possibility of their agreeing to a genuine congress is a very remote one. Still, we do not push aside at the outset any possibility or alternative for convening a congress which would meet the following conditions and constitute a genuine rendering of accounts:

1. The Congress must be a congress at which a revolutionary programme corresponding to Turkey's economic, social and political structure will be adopted. Towards this end, the draft programme must be discussed as widely as possible both within and outside the party.

2. In the course of preparations for the congress, those

aspects of the TKP's history which have remained in the dark and have been hidden from the working class and communists, must be brought out into the light of day and documented in a manner free of subjective, personal judgements and in accordance with the nature of the historical facts.

3. Another aspect of preparations for the congress is to gather together and organise party organisations which, and comrades who have been dispersed and whose relations (with the party — trans.) have been severed. *In addition*, the following conditions must be met if the congress is to be a truly representative one:

- The delegates must be elected, not appointed.
- All the trends, groups and organisations in the party must be represented at the congress in proportion to their strength.
- All the organisations of the TKP's Leninist wing, both within the country and abroad, must be represented in proportion to their numbers.
- It must be ensured that comrades Veli Dursun, Hasan Erdal and Vural Demir participate in the Congress as members of the Central Committee, and that former TKP CC members still living who have neither gone over to the ranks of the bourgeoisie nor retreated into their own private lives also participate as natural delegates.

*Members of the Communist Party of Turkey!* Only a TKP which has been purged of opportunism and which has adopted a Leninist line can carry out a revolution in our country. To work for a Fifth Congress towards this end!

*Non-party communists* who have not joined us because of the attitude of the opportunist leading clique! Join the party. Participate in the organised struggle against opportunism and the work for the Fifth Congress.

*Kurdish communists* who have not joined us because of the social-chauvinist attitude of the former opportunist leading clique! Unite with the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey.

The bourgeoisie cannot be destroyed without destroying

opportunism!

Let the TKP build our future!

## Concerning the development of the party organisation

The *Organisational Mobilisation* launched by the Coordinating Committee of the TKP has come to an end. The experience of these five months shows that we, the party as a whole, have advanced from the point of view of institutionalisation and the aim of developing ties with the masses, and that our norms in regard to the organisational functioning of a communist party have risen. In order to make the gains of the organisational mobilisation permanent, and to create a more powerful, more modern party, it is necessary to advance beyond the point we have reached and to make the level achieved during the mobilisation the normal level of party activity.

In this period, during which our party launched and conducted an organisational mobilisation for revolution and socialism in Turkey, important developments also took place in the other wing of the TKP. The open liquidation into which the Partisan clique drove the party, once again led to a strong reaction in the sections which believe in revolution. A large number of opposition groups appeared. After a separation which lasted four years, the cadres who made a determining contribution to the 1973 advance are today waging a united struggle from within the TKP's Leninist wing, to raise the revolutionary communist party of the working class of Turkey.

Unity between the ideological, political and organisational accumulation of the TKP-*Işçinin Sesi*, and the opposition forces within the party which today stand against liquidation, is an extremely important event which will profoundly affect Turkey's communist movement. It is the first time in the history of the Communist Party of Turkey that the forces which oppose liquidation have created such a strong and organised revolutionary alternative. It is the duty of all communists who

believe in revolution to come out for this alternative, to support and unite with it.

All these developments necessitate that we fully understand the tasks and aims of our party organisation and that we reconsider the organisational means of achieving them.

1. We must draw up a detailed and workable plan for the top-to-bottom review of our party's organisational structure and operations, and the establishment of a division of labour and mechanisms suited to the tasks we face.

2. The main link in the work of our party today is the development of our organisation. The foremost tasks are to strengthen and increase the effectiveness of the existing illegal party organisation, *establish new organisations* in industrial regions and proletarian centres in Turkey, and develop their ability and possibilities to fight against the political police. In carrying out organisational work, we will look first to the *new forces* determined to struggle among the working class and working people.

3. Following the wide-scale arrests of TKP members in Turkey, the Partisan clique did not reestablish relations with many comrades who remained free. While one section of the comrades who remained cut off has abandoned politics, a significant section is establishing new organisations, trying to pull the party together. The efforts of these comrades, who represent the militant, revolutionary tendency in the TKP within those sections which remain under the influence of the party's "official" leadership, to pull together and reorganise have a very serious potential. The structure of these organisational attempts, their formlessness and vulnerability to strikes by the political police, constitute their weakest point. One of our most important and urgent tasks is to establish communication with these comrades, to win them over, to give order to the structures they have established under the illegal and central roof of the communist party. Hundreds of party members in the prisons are also organising among themselves. The provincial organisations of our party must place on their agendas the tasks of providing literature to the comrades in prison in the regions where they

work, and of organising solidarity with them.

4. The negative effects of the reactionary period, such factors as the dispersal and disorganisation of TKP organisations and the fact that we have as yet been unable to gather together all of these scattered forces, create a new "opportunity" for the high-ranking opportunists who appear in such periods. In particular, the opportunists of the Workers' Party (TIP) in Europe are exerting "extraordinary" efforts to prevent the cadres who have turned away from the "official" leading clique from coming over to the TKP's Leninist wing, and to win them over to their own groups which have united with the Partisan clique. In order to foil these efforts, we must establish communication with every area and every comrade in the most energetic manner and establish face-to-face relations without delay. *Wherever* there are Leninist organisations of the TKP, they must make this a compulsory article on their agenda. The work to be done *must be organised* immediately. This activity must be *supervised* directly by the most responsible member of every organisation.

5. Our organisational work among the large masses from Turkey abroad is one of the areas which we must develop. In Europe, we must create new party organisations by expanding in the regions where the party already exists and moving into new regions.



## II. The “new” trend that has appeared in the revolutionary movement: for a “new party”

Any movement which does not really rest upon a scientific basis, which has not fully grasped the theoretical meaning of what it does, gives way to a mood of repudiation after every defeat, declaring whatever it has done and believed until then to have been wrong. The extent of the repudiation grows in proportion to the extent of the defeat. This is a law of the class struggle.

For the revolutionary movement of Turkey, the 12th September was a great defeat. Consequently, the mood of repudiation is spreading, together with the idea that everything that had been done, known and learned before was wrong. All the “investigations” set out from directions which appear to be different, including the idea that “I will do whatever I decide, not what the leading organ or the majority of the organisation says”, and the demand, once the leader is chosen, that all the decisions that should be taken by him be taken “jointly, through discussion”. There are also those who go directly to the essence of the matter and ask “what kind of party?”

Recently, a certain revolutionary newspaper and one of its writers in particular has been bringing to the fore, with rising intensity, the question of “the Marxist left in Turkey forming a party”, and advancing this party which is to be formed as *an*

*alternative to the 'classical' communist party form of organisation which has gone bankrupt in every sphere.*

If the newspaper in question were not published by a militant trend which occupies a very important position in Turkey's revolutionary movement, and particularly if the articles of the above-mentioned writer were not considered among revolutionary public opinion to be the views of this trend, it would not have been necessary to distinguish these views from the general current of repudiation and treat them *separately*. However, that is not the case.

The aim which this militant, revolutionary circle has set for itself, the aim of forming a party, will, objectively, bring about some positive developments. A discussion which will be conducted around this aim will inevitably favour the achievement of a better understanding of Marxism among revolutionary public opinion. Discussion of the question, "what kind of party model?" will consequently help to bring about a genuine differentiation — separation on a fundamental question as opposed to superficial divisions within the front that defines itself as Marxist. Again, such a discussion will be helpful in arriving at a better understanding of the shortcomings and mistakes of the world socialist system and the world communist movement as well as of those aspects of them which must be defended, in stimulating more thought about these. And, no matter what else, such a discussion will help to increase the influence in society of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the party.

In the manner in which it is being posed (For example: The question of creating a working class party is a question of alliances. It is impossible to win this struggle by means of small journals. We are opposed to models of organisation imposed from above or worked out "*behind closed doors*" and devoid of any democratic structure. A party which will embody all socialist potential, etc.), this "*new party model*" will perhaps help to raise the theoretical level in the revolutionary movement. However, if its falsehood is not widely exposed through an intense ideological struggle, this search may indicate a most extremely

harmful deviation which, for a certain period, will draw the *practical revolutionary struggle* into an impasse.

The "new party model" trend is observed to have two main sources.

The first lies in the way in which ideological views are formed. The militant trend in question is under the profoundly negative influence of the shortcomings, mistakes and, from time to time, disreputable practices of the world socialist system; of the attitudes of the world communist movement which sacrifice ideology to political expectations; and of the fact that not a single communist party is prepared for revolutions in the capitalist countries today.

The fact that perhaps not a *single* member of the trend in question has any relations with the communist parties and socialist countries that go beyond the bourgeois press and bourgeois noises makes it difficult for just criticism, which is our right, to halt at a *just* border. Consequently, the entire activity of the socialist countries and what are called the "*classic*" communist parties are considered as mistakes which history has shown to be bankrupt.

"The rules of the Communist Party must be considered with a view, not only to today, but also to tomorrow. The period being experienced and the specific characteristics of the class struggle must be reflected in the rules; on the other hand, the rules must also meet the long-term needs of communist organisation." (From the new party rules adopted at the Second Conference of the Leninists of the TKP in March 1981) However, if the correct idea that the party must bear within itself the future is cut off from its other essential elements, and it is said that the question of "what kind of party" depends on the question of *what kind of socialism we want*", this would be a fundamental mistake which equates the party with society. The question "what kind of party" is essentially determined by the answers to the questions: "*in what kind of society, under what conditions, for what aims and with what weapons*" (are we fighting — trans.). Just as the insistence on maintaining, under the settled conditions of socialism, all the characteristics of the pre-revolutionary party, is

a mistake which brings about a deep freeze, so too the search after "models" which deny the need to form parties *essentially* in a manner suited to the conditions under which they work is a mistake which endangers the revolution.

As an inevitable consequence of the manner in which this ideology was formed, the framework of this "new" trend (in actual fact, not new, but one which leads to a door which has been tested several times since the days of Marx) has to a great extent begun to be determined, at once and in an eclectic manner, by the Italian Communist Party, an organisation which in one sense (but only in one sense) has been successful in the peaceful conditions of Europe, and the views of the "new left", of the radical left in Latin America.

The second source of the "new party model" is *practical necessity*. This revolutionary trend is being driven into the "what kind of party" discussion under the profound impact of the concrete situation in which it finds itself today.

As is known, this trend is one of the most numerically strong trends in the revolutionary movement of Turkey. Until today, it has not taken shape as a complete organisation. It is exactly a movement around a small and disciplined group, in which everyone gives as much as he wants, which has no regular power of enforcement, and where various different views are able to co-exist within the same loose structure. In the past, this characteristic was one of the most important reasons for its breadth.

Now this trend is seriously bringing the aim of "forming a party" onto the agenda. However, its main concern in approaching the question is to *find* "a party model which will not disperse this crowd".

Because this point of departure has been accompanied by the mistake of equating strength in society with the number of heads, the answer to the question "what kind of party?" was really given from the beginning. The aim is to find a "model" which will allow this crowded "movement" to be turned into a crowded "party". For this reason, this party must be an *extremely democratic* party, one which, moreover, allows

factions and groups. In this party, there must be no "membership procedures"; whoever says he is a member must be able to be a member.

For this reason, it is attacking the discipline and centralism of the communist party which, especially in situations when there are no political rights, is the granite basis of its existence, as "ordering about", "handing down from above" and "lack of initiative".

If those who put forward these views believe in what they say, and if they act in a manner consistent with their beliefs, the result will be that they *render disorganisation constant*, rather than turn a militant section into an organised force. However, in a situation where there are no political rights and where a struggle will be waged using illegal methods, no force which will take part in the struggle can do anything without an understanding which includes iron discipline and centralism. Consequently, what will happen will either wander here and there without creating a serious organisation and become food for the vultures, or (and this is most likely what will happen) a separate, centralised and disciplined nucleus will be formed in order to meet the demands of the struggle, but in a manner kept secret from the party rank-and-file in one way or another. This, however, would be a rare example indeed of sacrificing ideology to day-to-day political interests, a case of treachery on the part of the leadership (perhaps unaware of what it is doing) towards its own rank-and-file.

For the moment, the writer to whom we have referred is not coming out against the views of Lenin, and is saying that Lenin must be rescued from the hands of today's crude economist distortions. It is quite correct and timely to oppose the negation of the revolutionary essence of Leninism and the real sacrifice of it to crude economism. However, that is not the case here. Here the fundamental teachings of Lenin are being undermined without taking direct aim at Lenin himself. For this reason, it is not an attitude which can last for long. The discussion has just begun. As it develops, one will either take the side of Leninist teaching or be compelled to say that Lenin too was wrong. It

remains to say that the view which is expressed to the effect that "The teachings which are called Leninism consist of the application of Marxist theory to one country (to Tsarist Russia)", makes one think that progress is already being made towards the second alternative.

This militant trend, with which we are working together in the United Resistance Front Against Fascism (URFAF), must see that views which repudiate the discipline and centralised structure of the communist party in the name of a "democratic party model" which, in the political conditions of Turkey, can only be a fraud, *in one sense* fall into the same position as that of the Partisan clique which has seized the leadership of the TKP in a Byzantine coup.

For very different reasons, the Partisan clique has recently been developing the thesis that, "in difficult periods the Communist Party is de-centralised", and is openly pushing aside the Leninist party theory which says it must be most centralised and most disciplined especially in difficult periods.

If this similarity does not serve as a warning for the the aforementioned militant trend, perhaps an even more striking similarity would be of help. The fascist junta, the mortal enemy of our people is very well aware of the threat posed, under presentday conditions in Turkey, by *any* party which exhibits a certain amount of inner discipline and concentrates authority in its leading bodies, never mind the iron discipline and voluntary centralism of the communist party. The political parties law which the fascist junta has brought in has a content of decentralisation which provides opportunities for factions within parties, eliminate the understanding of party discipline and "prevents the parties from becoming da plaything in the hands of a small group of leaders".

As can be seen, crying crocodile tears over the "rank-and-file" and screaming for "democracy" against a high level of discipline and centralism, this *new trend* is surrounding the revolutionary movement from all sides. Its meaning is to deprive the fighter of his only weapon — organisation. The entire revolutionary movement of Turkey, including first and foremost

the militant movement which the "new views" claim as their own before revolutionary public opinion, must stand opposed to this repudiation, this fraud.

For those who want to struggle, forms of organisation are necessary which *determine their level of democracy according to time, place and work being carried out, but which are centralist and have an iron discipline*. This is a law demonstrated by the history of class struggle.

We want to carry out a revolution in Turkey and establish a new system. Revolution is the most authoritative work in the world.

Opposed to us is an enemy which is organised in the most centralised manner, with its army, police, courts, prisons and secret services. One can withstand this enemy only with a centralised force. This enemy can be destroyed only by a centralised organisation with iron discipline.

Given the conditions which have been summarised briefly above, the Communist Party of Turkey will defend the Marxist-Leninist theory of the party against all attacks. It will raise higher the banner of communism.

### III The new situation and our tasks

When launching the organisational mobilisation, our party said that we were entering a period in which the opportunities and dangers had increased. And truly it was so. The opportunities and dangers increased and are increasing rapidly. Heading off the increasing dangers cannot be accomplished by supporting the lesser of two evils claiming to be taking advantage of the contradictions, as the mensheviks do. The task which befalls us is to correctly evaluate the increasing possibilities, to make use of them correctly and to work to head off the mounting dangers permanently, through revolution.

There is a new situation in the social and political life of Turkey. The pressure of discontent which has been accumulating for some time and which is reflected in political life as open class struggle, is placing increasing strain on fascism. Recently, there have been small but very important indications that this strain may have reached the point at which it may explode into activity. These indications *may* be the herald of a slowly approaching revolutionary resurgence.

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There are more than enough causes for the discontent in society to accumulate to an extent that will lead to such a



resurgence. The cost of living and unemployment are both rising rapidly, reaching truly unbearable levels. Inflation is not falling, as they constantly claim, but rising. The fascist junta is preparing to tear shanty-towns down around the heads of the working people while there is a huge housing shortage due to the decay of buildings, the unbelievably high rent levels and the lack of a sufficient number of dwellings for rent.

After the fascist constitution, came the political parties law which aims to hold political life under the tight control of the fascist dictatorship. While the "discussions" around this law are continuing, the new labour law is being rushed through as if there were a fire.

On the agenda is the trade union law, the passage of which our working class previously prevented with bloody struggles and an uprising. Even liberal teachers are being thrown out of the educational institutes. After the prisons were attached to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, repression increased and new regulations are being imposed such as those concerning the wearing of uniforms.

The fascist regime too sees the strength of the resentment against these which is accumulating in society. In opposition to it, the junta does not hesitate to increase the repression and terror as much as possible. Nevertheless, when we look from the point of view of the essence and function of fascism, the fascist regime has begun to waver. It is taking steps backward in its economic policy and falling into obvious inconsistencies. In this situation, the ferocious attack it has mounted with hangings, torture and various laws is only aggravating the mounting resentment while the manoeuvres it is making in regard to other laws serve no purpose other than to provide openings for this resentment.

Undoubtedly, there is the possibility of fascism changing this situation with new exertions *in every sphere*. Fascism may try to change the situation by climbing to a higher stage, by refusing even to allow any of the elements of the fascist manoeuvre called the "timetable for democracy" to live. This danger is increasing, but, at the same time, another conclusion which can be drawn from the general situation is that the possibility of discontent

exploding into action has increased as well. And concrete indications of this have appeared.

At the Political Sciences Faculty, there was a boycott against the fascist junta's sacking of even liberal members of the teaching staff. In itself a small event, this boycott is nevertheless of great importance today from various points of views.

Firstly, under presentday conditions in Turkey, the action has the character of a rebellion. Secondly, the Political Sciences Faculty (PSF) has traditionally taken the lead in the intellectual and students' movement in Turkey. The boycott at the PSF may be an indication that the entire students' movement may experience an upsurge of activity.

Thirdly, and most importantly, if the students' movement revives, this may be the herald of a revolutionary upsurge. In world revolutionary practice, the first indications and reflections of an upsurge of activity in society have generally been students' movements. In the words of Marx, even the most absurd students' movement from the point of view of its aims and means, may be of great importance as "symptom" of a revolutionary upsurge of activity. The boycott at PSF may also be an extremely important turning point from this point of view.

There are also other indications that point in the same direction. In large cities such as Istanbul and Izmir, the shanty town populace are engaged in concrete and intensive preparations to protect their homes against destruction. In the face of this, the fascist junta can be seen to have retreated, with announcements to the effect that "only 50 shanties in Istanbul will be torn down". But if it does not retreat, there is a great possibility that it will find itself confronted with action on the part of a prepared shanty-town populace.

Moreover, revolutionary prisoners have begun a widescale action against new impositions such as those concerning a uniform style of dress. The prisons and courtrooms have turned into arenas of resistance. Families and nearby residents are providing support for the resistance of imprisoned revolutionaries.

The working class, the revolutionary leader of the society of

Turkey, has been in a state of silent anger for some time. In recent months, small, local economic actions have increased. From these we may conclude that the frightening silence of the working class may tend to turn into much more frightening activity. However, the response to the new trade union law by the bourgeois leadership of Turk-İş shows even more clearly the extent to which such a tendency poses a real "danger". The Turk-İş leadership is warning the fascist regime that practices such as strike bans, postponements, etc., "may lead to problems which must be evaluated extremely carefully", of the scale of the "threat" that may come from the working class. It wants to say that "If the working class goes into action, neither we nor you will be able to halt it."

## Prepare for May Day

May Day is approaching in such a situation! All party organisations are obliged to prepare for May Day very carefully.

In the light of the new experience they have gained through the organisational mobilisation, the party organisations and sympathizers will work intensively so that the May Day activity takes place in an effective and enthusiastic way. The party organisations in Turkey as well, aware of the changing situation in the country, will conduct intense propaganda to recount the crimes of fascism and expose the bourgeois opposition which, even with its opposition, is serving to whitewash the regime! They will explain how even the smallest economic and democratic rights won by the working class in bloody struggles are being destroyed, the necessity today of waging a mass revolutionary struggle for every type of economic or democratic right, and the necessity, if we want to consolidate these, of achieving revolution!

In connection with May Day, the day of international struggle and solidarity of the world working class, they will stress the importance for the world revolution, of the revolution we will achieve in Turkey!

The revolutionary tradition and revolutionary future of  
May Day are with us!

Down with fascism!

Long live the world working class!

Long live the world revolution!

Let us both develop conspiratorial methods  
of work and take advantage of  
every legal opportunity

The repression and terror being brought to bear against revolutionary and communist movements and organisations has not lessened in the present period. The attacks are increasing and assuming a cruder form.

The newspapers are often reporting news to the effect that such and such a number of "anarchists", "revolutionaries", "communists", etc., have been "seized" as they "attempted to reorganise". At the same time, the trials of those arrested earlier are continuing and many people are leaving all political trends for various reasons.

The simultaneous development of these two processes shows how important it is for us to increase our communist vigilance in the forthcoming period. The fact that the attacks are assuming cruder forms and the superficial appearance that the terror has decreased, must not lead to a relaxation of conspiratorial methods of work.

What must be done is not to relax conspiratorial methods but, on the contrary, to develop them. Close conspiracy, which is an essential requirement for the communist party in every situation, is of much greater importance today. Here it is vitally important to be extremely careful in relations which will be established with comrades released from prison.

On the other hand, our organisation is developing despite the difficult conditions under which it is working. Many new comrades are joining us and we are expanding into new regions.

Alongside the fact that this development is extremely pleasing, we must not overlook the dangers it brings with it. The party organisations must take no step without examining everything and everyone in the most careful manner, without considering conspiracy down to the last detail. Organisation, the organisational mobilisation, must be conducted in the most active manner, but not without observing the necessary precautions. One of the most important slogans under presentday conditions must be "let us develop conspiracy".

At the same time, the present period is one in which the resentment which has built up against the junta in various sections of society has begun to appear on the surface from place to place. It is obvious that the appearance of the political parties law will lead to a further political resurgence in the country. Whatever may be the character of the parties which will be established under this law, it is clear that legal political activity will still be concentrated in this sphere. In this situation, "taking advantage of legal opportunities", already now of great importance, will become even more important.

The necessity to take advantage of every type of legal opportunity to establish ties with the masses is a truth taught to us by Lenin. In the forthcoming period, in which political activity in the country will increase, but intense supervision and repression will be maintained through fascist laws, this necessity will become valid to an increasing extent.

Raising the slogan: "Let us take advantage of every type of legal opportunity without prejudicing the illegal character of our party, without neglecting to intensify conspiracy", will ensure that our party's ties with the masses and its political influence increase.

In the forthcoming period, the party organisations must conduct their work under the slogan: "Let us develop conspiratorial methods of work and take advantage of every legal opportunity."