

**Second Conference of the Leninists
of the
Communist Party of Turkey
1981**

RESOLUTIONS

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE LENINISTS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

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Declaration

To the working class!

The Second Conference of the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey has taken place.

The Conference discussed the features of the new period entered into since the 12th September fascist coup and the attitude of our party. The aims of the First Conference of the Leninists, which met in 1980 under the conditions of a revolutionary situation, had been to rescue those cadres of the TKP truly loyal to communism from liquidation and to transform them into an organised force. The Second Conference of the Leninists determined the path to be followed by this now organised force in the period of reaction.

Meeting under conditions incomparably more difficult than those under which the First Conference was held, the Second Conference nevertheless constituted a greater advance than the first in every respect. The Conference, in which participation more than doubled in relation to the first, demonstrated that, within the space of one year, our Leninist party organisations have won over the *active majority* of the

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party. The period of work covered by the Second Conference was also double that of the previous conference, comprising 22 sessions. Comradely, intense debate resulted in the adoption of 14 important resolutions. In addition, the obsolete and defunct old party Rules were replaced with new Rules. All decisions were taken unanimously.

While the opportunist leadership of our party has failed even to convene a Central Committee Plenum in the 6 months since the fascist coup, the Second Conference of the Leninists thus rounded off the preceding period in an orderly manner and illuminated the problems of the new period.

The Conference met under the slogan, "Those who come with tanks will go by revolution".

All communists are now faced with truly difficult tasks waiting to be fulfilled under a fascist regime: 1. To strengthen the party organisation and improve illegal work; 2. To expand and improve the organisation of the ideological struggle against all kinds of deviations; 3. To prepare our party for its Fifth Congress, its first since 1932; 4. To raise up our party as the spokesman of the working class against the fascist regime.

Our party will fulfil these tasks, combining collective work and collective thinking with communist discipline and unshaking trust among comrades.

May the Second Conference of the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey be a sure step forward in the struggle of the working class for socialism.

*Coordinating Committee
of the Communist Party of Turkey*

**Resolutions Concerning the Tactics
of the TKP in the New Period
Brought About by the
12th September Fascist Coup**

1. Theses on the Characteristics of the New Period and General Framework of Party Tactics

On 12th September 1980, a fascist dictatorship was imposed on our people by means of the black generals.

Our country has been in the midst of a profound economic, social and political crisis for many years. All contradictions had become extraordinarily sharp as a consequence of the emergence of finance-capital on a medium-level developed basis dependent on imperialism. The revolutionary situation and the danger of fascism emerged on this basis. The crisis would either be solved positively, through revolution, or negatively, by imperialism and domestic finance-capital, through fascism.

By 1980 the economic and social crisis had greatly intensified. Unemployment grew at a speed that increased every year. Prices reached intolerable levels. The class struggle rose. The working class marched at the head of all the working masses with strikes, resistances, demonstrations and barricade battles. The conflict between revolution and counter-revolution was becoming the main factor determining everything else. On the one hand, the bourgeois state apparatus had virtually ceased to function; on the other, the process of its fascistisation made headway.

In 1980 the dilemma of either revolution or fascism came to

a head. The 12th September fascist coup was carried out in such an atmosphere. It came with the aim of solving the crisis in a negative manner to the benefit of imperialism and domestic finance-capital by weeding out the parts of the bourgeois state which had disintegrated and ensuring a qualitative turning-point in the process of fascisation.

As has been the case in various episodes of counter-revolution in history, with the fascist coup in Turkey too, in the final analysis, the people will profit from the shattering of their legal illusions. Every deceptive mask of the bourgeois state and army will fall and their violent essence will be exposed to the people.

The Revolutionary Movement was Really Defeated by Social-Democracy and Opportunism

Prior to the coup the revolutionary movement was rapidly maturing but the level of consciousness and organisation of the forces of the revolution, the subjective factor, lagged behind the objective situation.

The primary political reason for this lagging behind was the influence of social-democracy and opportunism over the revolutionary movement. This influence exhausted the accumulated energy of the maturing revolutionary situation by imparting wrong consciousness, wrong aims and invalid forms of struggle. It exhausted and divided the revolutionary movement. It obstructed unity of action between the proletariat of Turkey and the Kurdish national movement.

In 1977, when the revolutionary movement was rising rapidly, hope in the Republican People's Party also began to spread among the masses. While the struggle against this "hope" was an urgent ideological duty, the opportunists helped to spread it with appeals to the RPP for a front. Leave aside isolating the RPP from the masses, they could not detach themselves from the tail of the RPP. Failing to fulfil the tasks of the revolutionary situation, their reformist tactics confined the struggle within limits acceptable to the bourgeoisie. In this way, and with their propaganda white-washing the army, restricting

fascism to the Nationalist Action Party, introducing mistrust between the Turkish and Kurdish workers and peoples, and ascribing revolutionary potential to the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, they committed a grave crime against the consciousness of our working class.

Through the mouth of Ecevit, social-democracy expressed its fear of revolution countless times, declaring openly that it was trying to prevent a social explosion. In this fear, the RPP government set out to strengthen the bourgeois state and inevitably aided the formation of a police-state and the fascisation of the state. Martial law was proclaimed and emergency powers were given to the army. Strikes were postponed. These were followed by the preparation of draft legislation covering emergencies, associations, private security forces, etc. As pointed out in the 29th November 1980 statement of the TKP Coordinating Committee: "As for the non-monopoly bourgeoisie and its political organisations, they showed once again that, in a society dominated by finance-capital, they are unable, as an independent force, to wage a struggle against fascism, imperialism and the monopolies. All they did was to pave the way for and facilitate the emergence of the fascist dictatorship".

While the task of eliminating the RPP government's influence over the masses was at once both facilitated and made more urgent by these measures, in 1979 the opportunists launched an attack against the Leninists. Attempting to expel the Leninists from the TKP, they drove the party into liquidation. While life itself was destroying legal illusions, they spread legalism with their cries for a "united legal workers' party".

In 1980 the gap between the maturing objective conditions and the subjective factor became wider. When the demands of the new stage into which the class struggle burst with the Izmir uprising were left unfulfilled, May Day 1980 resulted in a tactical victory for the bourgeoisie.

Under conditions of the relative weakness and dispersal of the revolutionary forces, the class struggle became at once both a drift towards defeat and a process in which mistakes were

exposed in practice, a process which could strengthen the correct line. The revolutionary forces had not yet been defeated and there was still the possibility of reversing this trend. For this reason, throughout 1980, while pointing out the weaknesses of the revolutionary movement and the roots of those weaknesses, the Leninists also showed the ways of reversing this trend. They advanced the slogan: "Workers, to arms! Prepare for the revolution!"

This slogan was echoed across the country, primarily by the force of life itself. Among the workers, in the shanty-town districts and in Kurdistan, the people armed and committees were formed. Following the bankruptcy of social-democracy and opportunism, the Leninist alternative began to gain strength. The TKP Leninist movement was developing in the direction of becoming a serious "threat" The coup came at this stage. "At a moment which also suited the general policy of imperialism in the region, and availing itself of the approval and support of imperialism, the finance-capital of Turkey passed over to an open dictatorship with the 12th September military coup".

The fascist gangs did not and could not defeat the popular classes. It was the enemy within which defeated us — opportunism and its ally, social-democracy.

The 12th September Coup is a Fascist Coup

On 14th September 1980, two days after the coup, the Bureau of the TKP Coordinating Committee issued a statement which contained the following evaluation:

"Imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie, using the reactionary generals, have staged a *fascist* coup aimed at putting an end to the revolutionary situation through counter-revolution and resolving in the negative the profound economic and social crisis. By means of this coup, the domestic monopoly bourgeoisie seeks to bring about a further significant stage in the process of turning Turkey into an imperialist country, and in the development of state-

monopoly capitalism.

“The fascist junta’s abolition of parliament, its suspension of the constitution and all political parties, the unprecedented scale of arrests, the appeals for increased production and production geared to exports, all incontrovertibly expose the aims of the counter-revolution.

(...)

“The junta represents a *qualitative* step in the process of fascisation of the state, a process which has been advancing for years. The generals’ junta does not disguise its aim of achieving the corporative social and state system of fascism. It does not disguise its aim of achieving the monolithic structure of the fascist state.

“The generals’ junta is confronting the symptoms of the revolutionary situation in our country with a clear-cut programme.

(...)

“The fascist junta will now try to speedily disperse the forces of revolution through a bloody terror, to extinguish the revolutionary situation, cow the people into submission and stabilize its fascist rule.”

Although the nature of the coup was clear to all with eyes to see, the opportunists, western Trotskyists and some communist parties concurred on the point that the coup was “not a fascist coup”. The following views were advanced: the coup is a military coup from above; it has no separate ideology; the junta harbours various wings; it is also hitting at the Nationalist Action Party. The “lefts” in Turkey, on the other hand, label as fascist anything that strikes out against them, whatever it may be. All these are examples of a wrong approach which tries to understand fascism by reference, not to its essence, but to its form, and for this reason, becomes bewildered in the face of the diversities of life.

It is necessary to look at fascism, first and foremost, from the point of view of its essence, its function. As a generalisation, fascism is counter-revolution of the imperialist stage.

As in every social structure, under the conditions of the domination of monopoly capitalism as well, if a gap has opened between the relations of production and the forces of production, a gap which can only be overcome by a qualitative leap, and if the ruling class has no room for manoeuvre in which to accomplish this leap through reformist means, a period in which violence will act as the mid-wife becomes an objective necessity. Revolution resolves this in a positive manner and permanently. Fascism, on the other hand, attempts to close the gap temporarily and in a negative manner, with counter-revolutionary violence under the open dictatorship of finance-capital. It both constrains the forces of production, and attempts to expand the relations of production within the existing structure. This means repressing the working class, the most important productive force, consolidating the centralized, bureaucratic structure of state-monopoly capitalism, organising the whole of production under this structure, strengthening large property and heading towards expansion abroad.

Fascism is finance-capital's striving to "save the regime" under a dictatorship resting on open violence. As such it is spearheaded by the finance-capital group, the group interests of which most closely coincide with the objective demands of rescuing capitalism. In other words, the fascist dictatorship is "led" by the finance-capital group which, proceeding from its own concrete requirements, sees the need to apply the most severe violence against the masses and expand abroad by any means: inflaming chauvinism, arming, and, if necessary, with war. However, the fact that, proceeding from its own concrete demands, one group sees those "requirements" most clearly, does not alter the fact that these are the objective requirements of saving, not only that particular group, or even finance-capital alone, but capitalism as a whole.

Fascism's striving to save capitalism as a whole is the objective basis for its gaining the support of the entire

bourgeoisie. The facts that the country has experienced high class struggles and that the bourgeoisie is filled with fear of the working class is a powerful subjective basis for it not to withhold this support.

No open dictatorship which rests on a minority can survive merely by the use of crude force against the other classes. The fascist dictatorship too has its alliance policies which it promotes with various economic manoeuvres along with intense propaganda. For this reason, we cannot allow the fact that the fascist dictatorship is led by this or that section to lead us to forget those sections whose interests are also directly or indirectly served by this. These facts must be taken into account and the anti-fascist struggle must never be reduced to the struggle against only one section of finance-capital.

Looking at Turkey in the light of this general understanding, the fascist nature of the coup is perceived from the domination of finance-capital over the country's economy, the dimensions assumed by the crisis and the urgency of the dilemma of revolution or counter-revolution. It is clear from the fact that the coup came by suspending parliament, the constitution, etc., by purging the disintegrated parts of the state, and from the fact that those who carried out the coup constitute finance-capital in uniform. It is clear from the fact that the aims proclaimed on the very day of the coup itself are the objective functions of fascism that finance-capital has longed for for years.

The Leninists correctly determined Turkey's economic, social and political structure. They were the *first* to show the existence of the revolutionary situation and it is they who have widely propounded this view since 1976. Again since 1976, the Leninists were the *first* and *only* ones to show the underlying cause of the danger of fascism: finance-capital's desire and striving *to become imperialist*. They discerned very early the processes of disintegration and fascisation operating within the state. In 1978 they said that the danger of fascism was not restricted to the NAP and in 1979 that, on the contrary, it was much more likely to be imposed by "our patriotic army"(!). The

identity of those who carried out the coup (identity both in the sense of the army as the institution involved, and finance-capital in uniform as the leading clique) was obvious to them. They immediately and correctly evaluated the fascist coup.

The opportunist wing of our party, which for years denied the revolutionary situation being experienced by our country, is now denying the fascist nature of the coup as well. It is trying to justify this by pointing to the sham persecution of the NAP and the existence of a "more evil" wing within the junta. They are even trying to make the "good" wing "take steps forward" against the "evil" wing. Striving to broaden the front with the RPP so as to include this "good" wing, they are ascribing anti-fascist inclinations to the junta.

These are all indications of the shallowness of opportunism's understanding of fascism. Firstly, the NAP-hunt is a sham, a piece of demagogy aimed at exploiting the anti-fascist sentiments of the masses and obscuring the junta's real target. Even if this were not the case, however, the existence of various wings within a fascist leadership is not surprising since, under capitalism, the general interest emerges out of the conflict between particular interests. The most striking example of this in history is provided by the Nazis. When the fascist dictatorship was established in Romania, its first act was to murder the leaders of the fascist party.

While earlier publications of the TKP did not hesitate to call even the 12th March 1971 a fascist coup, today it is said that the 12th September is not a fascist coup. At the same time, their publications still refer to the "fascist escalation", a phrase dear to the hearts of the opportunists. Having said that what is real is the danger of fascism and then helped fascism to become real, they have now withdrawn the slogan, "Fascism shall not pass". Moreover, they have again "raised" the slogan, "Freedom to the TKP". In this way, the TKP leadership's bourgeois tailism has risen to tailism towards the junta. Without regard to who has done what to whom and for what reason, they are seeking something good in everything they see as "reforms".

If they suppose that their long-awaited "social progress" has come at last, they are sadly mistaken. The 12th September was a fascist coup.

The Junta's Acts Confirm its Fascist Nature

In our day, in countries such as Turkey, the army is an institution in the service of the bourgeoisie in general and of finance-capital in particular. In Turkey, however, the relationship between the army and finance-capital goes even further than this. The high echelons of the army are the owners and administrators of the military-industrial complex made up of OYAK and similar holdings. As stated in the 29th November 1980 statement of the TKP Coordinating Committee: "The military junta ruling the country today is not only an instrument of finance-capital at the highest level, but also a section of finance-capital itself: *finance-capital in uniform*".

Long before the coup, a spokesman of this section openly expressed its aspirations:

"... Turkey should not regard the question of foreign capital merely in terms of the import of capital. Without expanding into foreign markets through capital investment, we cannot remove the imbalances in export competition which exist between ourselves and developed countries. In order that Turkey's exports should increase, Turkish entrepreneurs, even the State Economic Enterprises, must invest capital in foreign countries, must enter into joint ventures, must set up enterprises there which are based in Turkey.

"Even the much criticised automobile industry in Turkey — criticisms which I do not share — can do this.

"Our main problem in industry in recent years has been, to use a none too sympathetic expression, whether growth and social democracy are compatible. The labour question has become a very serious

question in Turkey today and is also forcing our foreign trade" (*Banking and Economic Comments*, January 1980, pp.26-28, in Turkish).

The aim of the OYAK'ist section is clear.

The fascist dictatorship in Turkey is being led by the uniformed and civilian section of finance-capital which embraces such spheres as the military-industrial complex and the automobile industry. This section is sparring with the sections concentrated around the textile industry in particular, to impose its leadership.

All the measures of the fascist junta are directed towards becoming imperialist and reorganising strictly controlled production under the centralised bureaucratic structure of state-monopoly capitalism.

The loyal men of finance-capital are filling the ministries and advisories and strengthening its direct control over the state bureaucracy.

The first preparations are underway in regards to the status in the fascist bureaucratic control network of the State Economic Enterprises, which will hold a very important place in the operation of state-monopoly capitalism. Those employed in the public sector are being subjected to control over everything from dress to eating habits. The junta is also giving to the SEEs the task of "supporting" agricultural products. The SEE's are to become so profitable that they will at once channel surplus-value to the monopoly bourgeoisie, not be a burden on the fascist state and subsidise agricultural products. The implications of this for those employed in the SEE's are obvious.

The fascist regime is turning school teachers and class monitors into functionaries responsible to the state. It is replacing headmen in villages and neighbourhoods and holding them responsible for discipline. Since they are directly bound to the state, state employees have already had all their behaviour placed under supervision.

In this manner, the fascist regime is aiming to arrive at the corporative and monolithic social structure of fascism. It intends

to establish control over all production in the country, and thus society as a whole, in the interests of finance-capital. Corporativism is the organisation of society as a whole (production as a whole) under the fascist state discipline. Monolithicism is the fact that this organisation takes place on behalf of a single interest (the general interest of finance-capital as the saviour of capitalism as a whole).

The aims of the fascist regime are most clearly reflected in workplaces closely associated with the army. Military discipline has long been imposed on workers employed in the military sector. Personnel directors, foremen and civil servants in this sector were regarded as military personnel and the Harp-Is trade union operated on these lines. Since the 12th September, the aim has been to extend this state of affairs to all workplaces. The first examples are being observed in the SEE's and the Machine and Chemicals Corporation in particular.

With the banning of DISK, Turk-Is become the single trade union, "represented" in the government and bound to the state. According to this scheme, Turk-Is's task is not even to put up a show defence of workers' rights, but to impose the fascist state discipline among the workers. A hierarchy is to be established in the workplace, which will combine the functions of workers' representative, foreman and "sergeant" of the junta. And they aim to call this hierarchy, stretching from the factory to the fascist state, with military-style subordinate-superior relations, and even in some places, uniforms and saluting, a trade union!

The fascist junta's new income-tax legislation appears to reduce the amount of tax paid by workers and working people. Firstly, this "reduction" is a ludicrous amount. Secondly, it will not apply to broad sections of the working class until 1982. Thirdly, it is worthless and deceptive in the face of price increases. Moreover, the same tax law exempts OYAK, MEYAK and monopolies investing abroad from having to pay company taxes. This law is a clear example of from whom the fascist regime takes and to whom it gives, of its promotion of large property and striving to become imperialist.

As in other spheres of the economy, in agriculture as well, the fascist regime is turning to measures which will increase large property. TUSIAD is talking about an upsurge in the export of agricultural products. Vehbi Koc says: "Let us eat and drink less and export our agricultural products". Simultaneously with the promotion of the formula "wheat+bread+petrol", industrial crop areas are being restricted. Priority in agriculture is being accorded to wheat.

Many enterprises in Turkish agriculture became capitalist though intensive production on small plots of land. For this reason, it would be wrong to categorise Turkey's rural population according to how much land they own. The fascist junta's agricultural policy is directed towards eliminating the rural petty-bourgeoisie and semi-proletarians from this complex structure of Turkish agriculture. The criterion for tax exemptions has been set, taking grain as the standard. Minimum prices and unrestricted interest rates will ruin the rural petty-bourgeoisie and semi-proletarians. Again, the transition to Virginia tobacco will ruin half a million tobacco producing families.

With the fascist junta's agricultural policies, those who are well-off today will be better-off tomorrow, large property will be strengthened, and the rural petty-bourgeoisie and semi-proletarians will be expropriated.

The fascist regime is saying that the Middle East is experiencing a critical period and that, for this reason, the army is maintaining its war-preparedness uninterruptedly: "...Our soldiers are ready for war". As part of this "preparedness", the junta is trying to strengthen the military industry. It is channelling "donations" to the foundations for strengthening the armed forces, actually collected from various sections by decree, into the military industry, for example, OYAK, the Foundations Bank (Vakiflar Bankasi) and the state partnership ASELSAN.

The bolstering of the military industry, war-mongering and support for investments abroad, etc., demonstrate the fascist junta's aim of becoming imperialist. The junta's foreign policy,

its cutting off of diplomatic relations with Israel, etc., are also directed towards this. The occupation of northern Cyprus and various foreign investments have long confirmed the existence of this tendency. Today, Eczacibasi is building Africa's largest pharmaceutical plant in Nigeria with an investment of 120 million dollars. In partnership with the Nigerian government, Eczacibasi's share in this investment is 37.5%. The machines, tools, technology and experts are all being provided from Turkey. As this itself shows, the tendency towards becoming imperialist is fairly advanced. Now the junta is striving to strengthen this tendency even further.

All the actions of the fascist regime constitute an effort to expand the relations of production to the benefit of finance-capital by organising domestic production under centralised bureaucratic control and becoming imperialist abroad. The terror being waged against the working class and the Kurdish people, communists and revolutionaries, all working people, is a consequence of this effort. The more than 100,000 prisoners are a consequence of this effort. Fascism hopes to achieve its anti-popular designs by repressing the people.

The Fascist Junta will not be Long Lived

The fascist junta came to power by taking advantage of the exhaustion in the revolutionary movement created by social-democracy and opportunism. To retain power it is conducting on the one hand, severe repression, and on the other hand an intensive campaign of demagogy and brain-washing. In the time it gains by these means, it is trying to solve the economic and social crisis by forcing the workers and working people to pay the cost and by preparing to wage war on other peoples.

Theoretically, fascism has a chance of solving the economic and social crisis *over a prolonged period* but, even then, only temporarily. Fascism's solution would be a painful one, the cost of which would be borne by our own and other peoples. It would mean subjecting the people to a long period of extreme economic and political violence. And, because the contradiction-ridden structure of the mode of production would

remain intact in such an eventuality, a permanent solution would not have been reached and the country would be pregnant with new crises.

Nevertheless, the fascist dictatorship is trying and will continue to try, any and every means to realise this chance. It is using Ottoman and Republican history; religion in general, and Turkey's influence over Islamic countries from the days of the caliphate in particular; the fact that Turkey is relatively more developed in terms of capitalism than these countries; and its national liberationist sheep's clothing. It is exploiting Turkey's geopolitical significance. The lack of character, even as an organisation, of the non-monopoly bourgeois party, the RPP, and similarly the spinelessness of the opportunists, facilitates the junta's efforts.

Theoretically, fascism can solve the economic and social crisis, but, viewed from a practical point of view, we say that it will fail in this effort. This too is scientific. It is a matter of determining the more probable outcome from a number of factors operating in various directions. In spite of certain trumps at the junta's disposal, finance-capital's desires will not be realised in practice.

The fascist junta has created for itself a temporary base through the intense demagogy it is directing towards the petty-bourgeoisie. But this does not go beyond being an ideological influence. In the economic sphere, the junta appears to have handed out something only to the bureaucrat section of the petty-bourgeoisie.

The petty-bourgeoisie is an intermediary class. It is always susceptible to bourgeois influences. Moreover, ideological influence has a certain relative independence from economic policy. Even still, the fascist junta both needs much more time than that afforded by this relative independence and is compelled to rapidly impoverish the mass of petty-bourgeois.

Turkey is not Germany. The economic base on which the fascist junta rests is far weaker. It has little room to manoeuvre by redistributing wealth from one section to another. It cannot

bribe the petty-bourgeoisie into silence with a small part of what it steals from the workers. The fascist junta's ability to effect such a redistribution reaches only as far as the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. From all other sections, it must only take, and take for a very long time at that. This restricts the power bloc which fascism is striving to form in our country, solely to the bourgeoisie.

As can be seen, the *alignment of classes* has not changed in our country with the establishment of a fascist regime. On the contrary, some sections which formerly provided a base for the RPP have serious misgivings about the way the junta seized power and its policies. The junta is differentiating between the spineless liberals, the lethargic social-democrats on the one hand, and the petty-bourgeois democrats under their influence on the other. This broadens the base of opposition to the junta.

The fascist junta's policies are serving to shatter the legal illusions of broad masses. The attitude of the bourgeois liberals is exposing those who nurture these illusions. The division of labour between the fascist junta and liberal advisors who remain silent in the face of the repression against revolutionaries, workers and working people, and who counsel expanding into the Middle East, is clear.

Turkey harbours the seeds of a violent political crisis. In today's world conjuncture, the fascist junta will be unable to solve the economic and social crisis on the medium-level developed, dependent basis on which finance-capital in Turkey rests. Turkey is not Germany, and the world is not the same world it then was. In today's conditions, Nazi-type repression and demagogy are neither sufficient to solve the economic crisis, nor possible to keep up for very long! This being the case, even if the struggle for revolution is temporarily suppressed through demagogy and violence, this period will be for the forces of revolution a period of drawing lessons from the past and present, of gaining strength and raising consciousness and of rapidly fertilizing the seeds of political crisis.

The crisis in Turkey is so profound that only an advanced democratic people's revolution under the leadership of our

working class can solve it. Revolution is Turkey's destiny. Fascism will not be able to block this path.

The General Outline of Our Tactics

In the 14th September statement of the Bureau of the Coordinating Committee, it was said that the fact that the attempt to establish fascism is taking place from above by means of the generals' junta, rather than from below, provided the revolutionary movement with important footholds for overthrowing fascism before it had a chance to consolidate itself. It was said that the coup itself may spark off a mass uprising, a nationwide crisis, and that it was the duty of communists and all revolutionaries to work to bring this about.

This expectation did not materialise in the period that has passed since the coup. A stabilization determined by the domination of counter-revolution was established in political life. Fascism has still not been completely consolidated as a system but a situation has been born in the country which is radically different from both the pre-12th September situation and the transition period that immediately followed the coup. The TKP Coordinating Committee evaluated this difference in its statement of 29th November and openly declared to our working class and people that the revolutionary situation had ended and that the country had entered a period of reaction.

The finance-capital in uniform which carried out the coup has either abolished or reorganised the bankrupt parts of the state apparatus, an apparatus which had virtually ceased to operate and which the revolutionary forces had failed to deal the death-blow. It has strengthened the state against the people and brought the bourgeoisie into a position from which it is able to rule again. With varying degrees of violence, it has put a halt to open conflicts within the bourgeoisie and to various forms of resistance on the part of the working people. It has suppressed the revolutionary situation.

The fascist regime has eliminated the revolutionary situation for the time being, but it has not been able to eliminate the many-sided crisis which gave rise to it. It has superimposed

on it a naked dictatorship which has abolished the already restricted democratic practices and freedoms. It has thrust the country into a period of extreme counter-revolution. For this reason, there is no revolutionary situation in Turkey today, but rather a situation persists which can be resolved only by way of revolution.

The period of counter-revolution differs greatly from the conditions of western-type bourgeois democracies. In the western democracies, the bourgeoisie is able to water-down the struggle of the masses by distributing crumbs from the riches it has attained by exploiting the world. As it delays the abolition of exploitation and serves to maintain the bourgeois dictatorship, this too is in essence but another form of repression. However, it is a method which mitigates the economic and social contradictions which lead to a revolutionary situation and temporarily removes from the agenda the possibility of revolution. In exchange for reforms, the bourgeoisie saps the masses' energy to struggle and obscures their consciousness.

The situation in the period of counter-revolution is different. The economic and social crisis which gave rise to the revolutionary situation persists. The ruling class, whose sphere for manoeuvre is narrow, and which has only limited crumbs to distribute for the purpose of hood-winking the people, is trying to resolve the crisis with counter-revolution. In order to gain the necessary time for counter-revolutionary "reforms", or "reactionary radicalism", it is conducting an attack of extreme violence and intense ideological pressure.

There are two conditions which determine the tactics of communists in Turkey today. The *first* is the fact that the economic and social crisis which gave rise to the revolutionary situation is persisting. To this has been added open violence. The necessity of resolving the crisis by way of revolution, of overthrowing the fascist regime with revolution, retains its validity. As long as counter-revolution is unable to resolve the crisis, a new and more powerful upsurge of the suppressed revolutionary situation is inevitable. The *second* is the fact that counter-revolution reigns in Turkey today. The bourgeoisie is

attacking the working class and all working people with unprecedented ferocity.

The first of these conditions demands that the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship be connected with the struggle for the advanced democratic people's revolution which will grow into socialism; that intense revolutionary propaganda be conducted; and that the accumulation of revolutionary energy be accelerated. The second entails that the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship with revolution is today on the defensive.

The fascist dictatorship has not changed the mutual alignment of classes in the country. For this reason, there is no new situation necessitating a change in our views on the way to revolution. The *tactics* of our party have not changed: to carry out the advanced democratic people's revolution which will grow into socialism against the collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie and imperialism by isolating the non-monopoly bourgeoisie from the popular classes and by establishing alliances with the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie and the Kurdish national movement under the hegemony of the proletariat.

However, in implementing this tactical line, our party will take the new conditions into account in determining the *methods and forms of struggle* it will use today.

- The foremost task of the day is to rapidly reorganise and strengthen the party organisation in accordance with the new conditions. Conditions of fascism make illegal party organisation much more important than it was yesterday.
- To conduct intense revolutionary propaganda with a content which will accelerate the accumulation of revolutionary energy and aid a new upsurge of the revolutionary situation. To connect the struggle against the fascist dictatorship with the struggle for revolution.
- To conduct intense propaganda of the lessons of the previous period. To show that a revolutionary movement under the hegemony of the proletariat which has derived lessons from its past experiences is a force which nothing can restrain.

- In order that the proletariat may be prepared for the inevitable new revolutionary wave, to consolidate its socialist consciousness; to purge opportunism rooted in the petty-bourgeoisie from the party; raise the struggle against every form of bourgeois ideology and raise the red internationalist banner of the world proletariat against the chauvinism which is being fanned.
- To accord great importance to the struggle for economic and democratic rights today, when the fascist regime is attacking the working class and working people with all manner of economic and political violence. To connect this struggle with general political tasks.
- To exert persistent efforts for unity of action with all political movements which aim at overthrowing the fascist regime, at revolution, and which are working in a manner suited to present-day conditions. Alongside this, not to reject unity of action with any political movement which is opposed to the fascist regime, to the extent that this accords with the interests of the working class.
- To accord greater priority to routine every day work with true communist perseverance.
- To seek and apply forms of action which will enable the working class to gather the strength it senses it needs and which do not involve it in untimely and unsuitable actions.

A class which does not know how to retreat, does not learn from its lessons and which is unable to benefit from a period of retreat in order to prepare to go over to the attack once again, cannot achieve victory. Our working class is now learning how to win. It will fulfil the historical destiny of Turkey and carry out the revolution.

Those who come with tanks will go by revolution!

2. Political Trends, Unity in the Anti-Fascist Struggle and the TKP

The necessity and possibility of establishing the unity of the revolutionary forces in Turkey in the anti-fascist struggle against the fascist junta have immeasurably increased. It is the duty of communists to utilise and unite this potential, and to strive for its development along the correct line.

A correct policy of alliances is a powerful means of overthrowing the junta by way of revolution. The present-day situation of our country, the fact that the alignment of classes has not changed, and the general framework of the alliance policy have been outlined in the *Theses*. Within this general outline, our Conference strongly emphasizes the following points in regard to our party's attitude towards other political trends and its alliance policy:

1. Events have clearly shown that the non-monopoly bourgeoisie in Turkey is not in fact an anti-fascist, democratic force. Day by day, it is losing its ability to act independently of the monopoly bourgeoisie, let alone oppose it, and, notwithstanding certain misgivings, has today come to terms with the dictatorship. The fascist regime is conducting an economic attack against the working class and the petty-

bourgeoisie. Moreover, it is attacking the working class and that section of the petty-bourgeoisie which has taken a political stand with counter-revolutionary terror. When it comes to the non-monopoly bourgeoisie however, it is ready to bargain.

The RPP, which is primarily the spokesman of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, is exerting all its energy not to create any "obstacles" in the way of fascism. This confirms that the RPP leadership is not an anti-fascist force and that it lacks the ability to fight against fascism.

The influence of the RPP leadership over the masses is rapidly diminishing. The left social-democratic section in this party is preparing to assume the tasks of diverting the revolutionary actions of the masses against fascism, strangling a new revolutionary wave with bourgeois reformism, and, replacing the right-wing leadership which has been exposed, do itself what that leadership did in the recent period. It wishes to emerge from the new period as the new "hope".

The principal aspect of the tactics of the working class towards the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, that of isolating it from the popular classes, has not declined but, on the contrary, gained in importance in this period. Making use of concrete experiences as well, it is necessary to eliminate the influence of the RPP leadership over the masses in order to overthrow fascism with revolution.

The other aspect of the tactics of the working class towards the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, that of neutralising it, has also gained in importance in the present period. The fascist regime's total abandonment of any democratic appearances, its suspension of the constitution and parliament, closing of political parties, etc., have evoked a reaction within the non-monopoly bourgeoisie which, slight though it may be qualitatively, must still be taken into consideration. This situation is fanning the trend towards fragmentation within the enemy class.

Taking advantage of all types of contradiction within the bourgeoisie and expanding the fissures within it, are of importance in accelerating the emergence of a new and more

powerful revolutionary situation from the continuing crisis in the country and in rendering the bourgeoisie unable to rule once again.

2. The fascism regime is conducting an intensive brainwashing campaign directed towards the petty-bourgeoisie. With demagogues of "justice", "preventing terrorism" and "Ataturkism", it is trying to establish a base for itself within this class. In the political arena, it is supporting this ideological attack with violent repression.

Due to its nature, the petty-bourgeoisie is influenced by ideological attacks and political repression. However, the fascist regime is at the same time attacking the economic and democratic rights of this class. It is disbanding its organisations and rapidly expropriating it. As illustrated by the tax legislation and measures related to agriculture, it is forcibly imposing its demand for "belt-tightening" and "sacrifice". The fact that the fascist dictatorship has no alternative to further impoverishing the petty-bourgeoisie renders the latter's support for the fascist dictatorship superficial and temporary.

Eliminating all manner of bourgeois influence over the broad petty-bourgeois masses, and winning them over to the hegemony of the proletariat are of decisive importance in the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. It is the duty of communists to work towards this end.

In the present period of reaction, when the prospect of revolution still exists, the most important criterion to consider when forming alliances with petty-bourgeois political movements is still whether they are reformist or revolutionary. However, given the existence of a fascist regime, the essence of this criterion appears in a new form: whether or not they have the ability to fight against fascism. Those trends which are able to fight against fascism, that is, *genuine anti-fascist* trends, are those which aim to destroy the fascist dictatorship with *popular force* and work towards this end. It is the fundamental attitude of our party to undertake unity of action with anti-fascist political

trends without compromising on ideology or organisational independence.

To specifically bring anti-Sovietism to the fore as a criterion in assessing the ability to wage an anti-fascist struggle, is a pretext for abandoning that struggle. Whatever their appearance, in essence all political trends outside the Leninists are anti-Soviet to this or that degree. In determining the trends with which a joint struggle must be waged, instead of such a criterion, the only scientific and revolutionary criterion is that of setting aims determined by the conditions in which the country finds itself, and undertaking to work towards this end. The genuine interest of the world revolution and, related to this, of the Soviet Union as well, is revolution in Turkey. Unity of action can and must be undertaken with trends struggling in this direction. Moreover, anti-fascist unity of action does not preclude ideological struggle against the mistakes of other trends, including their anti-Soviet attitudes.

There has been defeatism and dissolution among petty-bourgeois political trends in our country for a long time. The 12th September has accelerated this process. A section has rapidly moved closer to the "liberal" bourgeoisie. It became clear that most of these movements were unable to effect an orderly retreat.

Despite the "advanced" aims they professed only yesterday, petty-bourgeois socialist parties such as the Workers' Party of Turkey (WPT) and the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (SWPT) repudiated these advanced aims by remaining aloof from revolution, the only way of achieving them. Today as well, despite their protestations that it is necessary to destroy the junta with an anti-fascist struggle, they do not propose that this should be done by way of revolution. They are not conducting their activities on a revolutionary basis. Thus their talk about the anti-fascist struggle assumes an essentially reformist character. Communists will wage an ideological struggle to prevent the old bourgeois illusions from re-emerging now as mistaken illusions about anti-fascist "struggle".

Individual outbursts on the part of revolutionary petty-

bourgeois trends which are based, in particular, on students concentrated in large cities and which are undergoing a process of rapid disintegration, are decimating the revolutionary cadres and must be prevented through persuasion. Ways towards unity of action must be sought insistently.

The Kurdish revolutionary-democratic trends based on the broad rural and urban petty-bourgeois masses of Kurdistan, hold a special place among anti-fascist trends. At this moment, when the fascist dictatorship is fanning chauvinism and engaging in bloody attacks against the Kurdish people, it is essential to raise the banner of internationalism, to defend all the rights of the Kurdish nation, including the right to secede, and, on this basis, to establish unity of action with Kurdish revolutionary-democratic trends.

3. The opportunist leadership of the TKP stands historically guilty in the coming of the 12th September fascist coup. By asserting that the junta is not fascist and by continuing to confine fascism to the Nationalist Action Party, it has raised this guilt to the level of "historical treachery". It is calling on the junta to disperse the fascist centres and trying to form a Chilean style "opposition front".

After the fascist coup, which came just when they were planning to become legal by means of BIP (United Workers' Party), the mensheviks withdrew the name of BIP. However, with talk about how, "the possibilities of unity among working class parties have increased since the coup", they are trying to reimpose the unity which they think to establish with petty-bourgeois socialist trends on the working class under new names and forms. Our Conference calls on the working class to be vigilant against such undertakings in the name of the political unity of the working class in the future as well.

The political unity of the working class can only be established in the Communist Party and around its class policy. The main condition for strengthening the party is intense ideological struggle and the pursuit of policies designed to tell the working class the truth and expose in practice the falseness of

trends which obscure its consciousness.

Temporary and limited agreements and unity of action may be established with various political organisations as long as these do not contradict the long-term interests of the working class or involve any concession from its ideology. However, such unity of action does not constitute unity of the working class. It is a means of strengthening the political unity of the working class to the extent that it exposes incorrect attitudes, points out correct ones and, in this way, rallies ever larger masses of the working class around the Leninist policy.

Our working class cannot fulfil its historical mission without destroying opportunism in the TKP and purging it from our party. Communists must further step up the ideological struggle against the mensheviks and, by driving this opportunism not worthy of the name of communist out of the party, embrace the new revolutionary wave with the Leninist TKP.

4. In order to establish the unity of the revolutionary forces of Turkey in the anti-fascist struggle, illegal centres of anti-fascist struggle must be established in important factories and districts, centres which will be concealed among the people and be closely linked with the masses.

The leaders of our party are charged with establishing regular contact and exchanging information with all revolutionary forces in the regions for which they are responsible, and for informing them of our activities.

5. Our Conference summarises the attitude of the Leninist forces of the TKP towards other political trends as follows:

— It is one of the most important tasks of this period to establish unity of action with anti-fascist revolutionary forces which are struggling to destroy the fascist dictatorship with popular force.

— Temporary and limited agreements may be arrived at with reformist forces. It is necessary to take advantage of the contradictions within the bourgeoisie in the interests of the class

struggle. There is no reason why a party which has confidence in itself and imparts correct consciousness to its class should have any fear in this respect.

3. The Struggle against Bourgeois Ideology

Bourgeois ideology is the world view which spreads the propaganda of the permanency of capitalism and absolutises the bourgeois social system. Its function is to mould the consciousness of the masses in line with the interests of the bourgeoisie and thus to ensure the maintenance of its political domination. Bourgeois ideology, with its roots in the functioning of the capitalist mode of production, with its gigantic superstructure (its legal system, institutions, media apparatus, terror organisations, etc.), has imposed itself upon the entire society. It seeps into every corner, every pore. Leave aside the popular masses, revolutionaries and communists must also make intense and continuous efforts to rid themselves of the influence of bourgeois ideology. Continuous and consistent struggle against bourgeois ideology is the precondition for revolution and the main task of the communist party at all times.

Bourgeois ideology assumes a concrete identity within the context of the historical development of each country. For the Turkish bourgeoisie, this identity has been Kemalism-Ataturkism. Ataturkism, which has been the official ideology of the state for 60 years, today, with the fascist junta, constitutes the strong and stubborn ideological influence of reaction on the

masses.

The fascist regime has embraced Ataturkism in the ideological sphere against the people, the working masses. Social democracy, which paved the way for the 12th September fascist coup by its measures while in government or in opposition, has always inscribed Ataturkism on its banner. The mensheviks, who are poisoning the working class with opportunism, are "fighting" by calling "left" Kemalists, "genuine" Ataturkists, to a "front"; by asserting that Kemalism is anti-imperialist and that the junta is distorting this. The common denominator of all three is Ataturkism.

Any "struggle against the junta" which is to be carried out without waging an intense ideological struggle against Kemalism-Ataturkism can be no more than a reformist struggle.

Today, a consistent ideological struggle must be organised against the fascist junta. The correct waging of this struggle will mean not confusing the main target to be hit, but also not forgetting for a moment the vitally important ideological struggle against both opportunism and social-democracy. Today, the struggle against bourgeois ideology, in the form of Kemalism-Ataturkism, has gained just such a significance.

Kemalism is an ideology which took shape on the basis of the experiences of the ruling classes of the 600-year old Ottoman state and which retains many things from these experiences.

The evolution of Kemalism was closely linked to the structure of the Ottoman Empire and to the evolution undergone by this structure. The Ottoman Empire was a centralised feudal empire. In the Ottoman Empire, capitalism, as far as it developed, developed in the Prussian way, parallel to the process of disintegration of the empire and mainly through the central authority. An important factor which put its stamp on the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois ideology that appeared with this process was the fact that the Ottoman Empire was a *colonising semi-colony*. This situation caused the Turkish bourgeois ideology which sprung up within the empire to assume, right from the beginning, an expansionist character in regard to regaining lost colonies, and a bias in favour of the

status quo in regard to protecting the state.

As a result of the Prussian-style development of capitalism, the bourgeoisie in the Ottoman Empire arose from within the old ruling class and, for this reason, adopted from the beginning the conservative attitude of preserving the status quo. The development of bourgeois movements in the Empire's colonies and the achievement of independence by these colonies one after the other, i.e., the break-up of the status quo, entailed that the bourgeoisie would be even more reactionary.

The centralist ruling class and the newly forming bourgeoisie which wanted to halt the disintegration of the empire and the breaking away of the old colonies, at first defended Ottomanism. The essence of Ottomanism was the dream of a *powerful* empire which would prevent the breaking away of the colonies, an "innovationist" empire which would keep abreast of developments in the world. However, the higher level of development of the bourgeoisie in the colonies in Europe in particular, and the predominance of the development towards national states in a Europe of bourgeois revolutions made the realisation of this dream impossible and the European part of the empire broke off.

Confronted with this situation, the second attitude embraced by the Turkish bourgeoisie was Islamicism. The aim of Islamicism was to retain the Muslim countries within the empire, once the Christian European countries had broken away. However, the weakness of the central authority and its inability to control the Muslim countries prevented the realisation of this aim as well. As a result of the growth of the bourgeois movements in these countries, and of various imperialist manoeuvres using these movements to seize these regions, Islamicism, which had reached its peak during the reign of Abdulhamit, began to lose its influence.

The Turkish bourgeoisie's third recourse in this situation was Pan-Turkism. Pan-Turkism is the striving on the part of the Turkish bourgeoisie, faced with the loss of, first, the Christian European countries, then, the Islam countries, one after the other, and trying with all its might to protect the status quo and

restore the disintegrating empire, to unite Turks throughout the world. This aggressive and expansionist bourgeois nationalism led ideologically and politically by Ziya Gokalp, Enver, Talat, etc., culminated with the defeat at the end of the First World War, with the destruction of the armies in the Caucasus and the shattering of the Turan illusion. Thus the Turkish bourgeoisie, which, in the years 1917-18, was squeezed completely into Anatolia, was forced to adopt the Turkism of Turkey as a compulsory fourth stop and to retreat to "realistic" borders in the hope of *expanding* again later on. Kemalism-Ataturkism is the name of this fourth stop.

The formation of Kemalism thus took place on the basis of this historical development. Kemalism, both ideologically and from the point of view of the identity of Kemalist cadres, is the direct inheritor of this historical process.

The primary factors which played a role in the formation of Ataturkism, the ruling ideology of the Turkish bourgeoisie, and their consequences may be summarized as follows: It is expansionist, as it reflects the bourgeoisie of a colonising empire. It is an ideology of the status quo as it reflects the bourgeoisie of a country which was becoming a semi-colony and collapsing. It has never been democratic as it reflects a class which emerged with a primarily Prussian-style capitalist development. It is counter-revolutionary as it reflects a class born old on the historical stage.

This process of historical development which produced Kemalism, and many measures after the Republic, cannot be considered in isolation from the function the Kemalist movement played during the War of Liberation. The opposite approach entails absolutising the limited progressive role objectively played by the Kemalist movement at a particular historical moment and extending it to our day. This attitude would amount to the bourgeois tailist attitude of the liquidationist opportunists who for years have degraded our party to the level of the left wing of Kemalism.

Refusing to consider as an integral whole the limited objectively progressive role of the Kemalist movement at a definite

historical moment and the chauvinist, colonialist and anti-Soviet essence of Kemalist ideology, this opportunist approach results in arbitrarily dividing the Kemalist cadres, attributing the limited progressive role to M. Kemal and the reactionary essence to other cadres who constitute a "deviation" from Kemalism.

Given the fact that the murder of Comrade M. Suphi, the first leader of the Communist Party of Turkey, and our other 14 comrades was a premeditated act of the Kemalist cadres, M. Kemal *formost* among them, the opportunists' disassociating of M. Kemal from this murder and attributing the responsibility for it to "reactionary pashas like K. Karabekir", is a betrayal of the history of our party, of our martyrs, of communists.

The wholesale massacres of Kurdish people carried out by the Kemalist administration in the years 1919, 1925, 1929 and 1937-38 were a continuation of the conquering and raiding tradition of the Ottoman Empire. As soon as the bourgeoisie began to breathe freely again, the Kemalist administration regarded the country of Kurdistan as non-existent, both denied the existence of the Kurds and tried to eliminate them. Pretending to be on the side of the so-called independent state of Hatay, it annexed it at the first opportunity. It tried to link everything in the world to being a Turk or to the Turkish language with absurdities like the sun-language theory.

The Kemalist bourgeoisie openly supported the German fascists during the Second World War. It concentrated the army on the Soviet border in the most difficult period of the war. It played an active role in cold war provocations after the war.

Seen in the light of these facts, it is not at all surprising that the fascist junta is holding fast to Kemalism-Ataturkism. Ataturkism, the fourth stop in the ideological evolution of the Turkish bourgeoisie, which inherited a colonialist past but which has been beaten at the hands of more powerful imperialist bourgeoisies, is today a chauvinist-expansionist ideology used by the Turkish bourgeoisie in an attempt to raise the country to an imperialist position. Today, Kemalism is gaining new impetus as the ideology of the stage at which the Turkish

bourgeoisie is becoming imperialist. By taking advantage of the popularity won for Kemalism thanks to the liberals and opportunists, the fascist junta is trying both to increase the ideological influence of fascism on the masses and to create an expansionist Turkey which would constitute a serious danger to the Soviet Union and the Arab peoples.

The Turkish bourgeoisie occupied Northern Cyprus as a result of its need to expand abroad. The fascist junta is openly declaring that Northern Cyprus is an integral part of Turkey. It is quite possible that, feeling the need to expand within a constricted and divided world imperialist system, finance-capital will assume an aggressive attitude towards other Middle-Eastern countries apart from Cyprus. The campaign started around Kirkuk and Mosul in the press is a serious indication of this.

It is obvious that a Turkey militarily stronger, a lever for direct NATO intervention in the region, and fighting for "leadership" in the Middle-East, is a factor which threatens the Soviet Union as well. There is no genuine basis for pretending that Ataturkism is not, in its essence, an anti-Soviet ideology. To refer to assumptions devoid of any class essence such as the Ataturk-Lenin friendship is an unforgivable obscuring of consciousness.

Just as the Kemalist administrations used Islamicism for their interests in the past, today the fascist junta is using the same method. Islamicism, which is being talked of increasingly often in these days when the fascist junta has limited its diplomatic relations with Israel to the minimum, when it is often said that Turkey is the "leader" in the Middle-East, is a lever used by Turkish finance-capital in an attempt to increase its influence on the Arab countries.

Ataturkism can easily encompass all these measures because of its essential characteristics on which fascism can easily breed. Historically, Ataturkism did not come into being as a fascist ideology. But today it is nicely accommodating the demands of finance-capital which is becoming imperialist with its basic propositions such as

"classless, united society without privileges", "one party - one leader" and "centralised-powerful state". The fact that the fascist regime is embracing Ataturkism arises from the fact that it both has these characteristics and is the ruling ideology of the bourgeoisie. It is not without reason that the fascist junta, which has set out to establish a corporative society and monolithic state structure, has connected peace between classes, the understanding of the powerful state, sacrifice and bureaucratic discipline in society with Ataturkism.

In consideration of all these facts, our Conference declares the waging of an ideological struggle against Ataturkism, which the junta is trying to popularise inside the country with campaigns such as "Ataturk year" and outside the country via UNESCO, and which forms the ideological basis for the fascist junta, to be an urgent task both inside the country and abroad.

4. The Economic Struggle and the Trade Union Movement

The revolutionary situation which began in 1968 showed itself in actions involving up to 500,000 workers and in frequent acts of resistance. Several times, the workers came into armed conflict with the bourgeoisie and its state. In the 1970's Turkey was the country where the sharpest and most violent class struggle in Europe was raging. The massiveness, content of and methods used in working class actions in Turkey are the clearest confirmation of this.

This spontaneous rising of the working class was held down by the ideological and organisational influence of opportunism. The attitude of opportunists in the trade unions played an important role in this.

Trade unions are class organisations. Communists, "know that sooner or later all the unions will take their stand on the basis of Marxism. They are convinced that the future belongs to their ideas and, therefore, they do not force events, do not goad the unions on, and do not stick labels on them or split them. Steadily and confidently they carry on their Marxist propaganda". The menshevik leadership of the TKP flouted this Leninist principle in the trade unions. They came into the leadership with methods of intrigue. They reached agreement

with the social-democratic trade union bosses by "making them communists".

Communists respect trade-union unity. They are in favour of the gathering of workers in large trade unions. When opportunities existed to overthrow the yellow leaders, and these opportunities were further augmented by the revolutionary situation, the establishment of small trade unions which lacked a base and calling on workers to join them isolated the vanguard revolutionary workers from the masses. Under capitalism, the splitting up of trade unions is a permanent feature. Faced with the increasing influence of communists in a trade union, the bourgeoisie will always attempt to split it. However, the opportunists did not lag behind the bourgeoisie in applying such methods. Proceeding from the logic, "Let it be small, but let it be mine", the TKP's menshevik leadership had sham trade unions set up. Petty-bourgeois revolutionary trends too followed the same path. This attitude showed the lack of confidence of opportunism and petty-bourgeois revolutionary trends in both their own ideology and the working masses.

Communists defend the trade unions' organisational independence from but political dependence on the party. The bourgeoisie says that trade unions must be "neutral". By talking only of "independence", the yellow trade unionists repeat the same thing. The opportunists, on the other hand, accept "organisational independence from but political dependence on the party" in words. But, in the trade unions in which they held the leadership, they flouted this principle twice over. On the one hand, they treated the trade unions like an organisation of the party and affixed a corresponding label to them. On the other hand, they tacked the party onto the tail of the trade unions, restricting party actions and propaganda to the trade union level.

Along with "organisational independence", another question which has been much distorted is that of "internal trade union democracy". Opportunism and the bourgeoisie rivalled each other in preventing members from having a say or participating in decision-making in the trade unions, from controlling their own organisations. They chose expulsion as the

only method of retaining their leadership of the trade unions. Vanguard revolutionary workers were relieved of their duties and/or expelled. Trade union congresses were turned into fields of battle against revolutionaries and communists.

The party's menshevik leadership set aims of "struggle" for the trade unions which lagged far behind the level of development attained by capitalism and the class struggle. It restricted their demands within limits acceptable to the bourgeoisie. And, in order to achieve these retrograde aims, they proposed peaceful forms of action which could only exhaust the energy of the class. Long, stage-by-stage strikes turned into weapons against the working class and the trade unions.

To summarize, in the pre-12th September period, the boundary between party and trade union was obliterated. The trade unions assumed the tasks of the party. Party organisations in the factories were subordinated to the trade unions. Party activity and propaganda were restricted to the trade union level. The party as a whole engaged in *trade union politics*. This attitude debilitated both the trade unions and the party. It became impossible to see the trade union for the party or the party for the trade union.

With the 12th of September Fascist Coup, the Economic and Trade Union Struggle has Acquired a New Importance

In the new period begun with the 12th September fascist coup, the economic and trade union struggle has acquired a new importance. We can summarize the reasons for this in four main points:

1. With the 12th September fascist coup, finance-capital in uniform seized the state and established a naked dictatorship. It has taken rapid strides towards consolidating the state-monopoly capitalist network and creating a corporative society.

In this situation, the state has *completely* taken sides on all questions of direct concern to the workers, questions such as: worker-employer relations, wages, collective bargaining, social security, seniority benefits, etc. This being the case, every economic or trade union demand raised by the employees will

come up *directly* against the state, the fascist junta. Today, the economic struggle in Turkey has acquired a continuous political character. Political struggle means class struggle.

2. "Solving" the problems by becoming imperialist is a wish that has matured but not yet been realised, one that, even if realised, would most probably not suffice to bring about a solution and would involve the country in more complex contradictions as a sub-imperialist country. For this reason, in order to maintain its existence, the finance-capital of Turkey is really compelled to intensify to the extreme exploitation within the country and, in the meanwhile, to suppress the greatly sharpening class contradictions as well. A situation which can only be resolved by revolution prevails in the country. Today, *more so than yesterday*, the realistic economic, trade union and democratic demands of the working class can be achieved only by revolution. This presents a wide range of possibilities to the vanguard forces of the working class, in the struggle for revolution, to overthrow the fascist junta.

3. The fascist junta came, not because the masses went over to counter-revolution, but because they did not believe in the revolution and the revolutionary forces. Combined with the sheer force of the counter-revolution, this situation is rapidly drawing broad sections away from politics and into defeatism and passivity. For this reason, the struggle for economic and trade union rights is an important starting point in reversing this trend, which began before and accelerated with the 12th September, and turning the fall-back into an orderly retreat and a new offensive. Alongside this, drawing the backward sections of the class into the struggle anew is another powerful means.

4. The fascist junta set out on its first day to attack all types of workers' gains. Trade unions were closed. Trade unionists and progressive or revolutionary workers were arrested. Collective bargaining procedures and wages were frozen. Seniority benefits were reduced. Strikes were banned. Private security organisations were installed at workplaces. Members of progressive trade unions were forced to resign at gun-point. Mass sackings are continuing with vanguard workers the first to go. As a

consequence, the working class, which had already been under extreme exploitation, has been subjected to more unlimited exploitation and brutality. All economic and trade union rights have been withdrawn. Fighting for these rights is of great importance, most concretely, from the point of view of the health and future of our working class.

While touching upon the new importance which has been acquired by the struggle for economic and trade union rights today, let us state that the opportunist and communist attitudes on this subject differ greatly.

In the situation brought about by the 12th September fascist coup, the opportunist hems and haws about *solely* the economic, trade union and democratic struggle. And he does this for the purpose of *preventing* revolution. Instead of saying, "Let us destroy the fascist junta", he says, "Jobs-bread-freedom". Today, as yesterday, this means remaining on the level of trade union politics. It nurtures illusions that these demands can be achieved under the fascist junta's bloody rule.

The communist uses these demands for the purpose of demonstrating to the masses the necessity of destroying the junta and carrying out the revolution. He explains that these cannot be achieved without putting an end to brutality and that it is essential to continue directing the struggle towards seizing state power. He connects all economic, trade union and democratic demands to the main task of the day, that of destroying the fascist junta. Instead of — "Jobs-bread-freedom", he says, "For jobs-bread-freedom, let us destroy the fascist junta".

In general, intense agitation around economic, trade union and democratic demands means raising slogans for these demands. Demands are the focal points of the struggle. Let us not hesitate to express them in slogans. That would be sectarianism which would bring isolation from the masses. However, let us connect all such partial demands (and thus slogans) with the main demand.

The main aim and the main slogan of the day is to destroy

the fascist junta.

Another question of the day which is gaining urgency is that of trade union work. The junta, which is aiming to create a corporative social and state structure, is attempting to organise the whole of society under a fascist state. It is trying to make workers soldiers, and trade unionists their commanders in a single trade union which will be an extension of the state.

Communists are in favour of trade union unity. However, one of life's bitter jokes has today confronted us with Turk-Is, which is being turned into a fascisized part of the state, as the single trade union. It is not a desirable situation. We will raise our voices against this compulsory unification which the junta is attempting to create by closing DISK (the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions) and abolishing the freedom to choose among trade unions.

At the same time, communists must be realistic. When determining a position, they must proceed, not from wishes, but from the existing situation. Today, a broad section of the unorganised workers, particularly the backward sections of the class, are joining Turk-Is. Turk-Is is not yet a fascist trade union. The work to be done here has acquired great importance and this work must focus, firstly, on halting the fascisation of Turk-Is itself. This rabid advance of the fascist regime will not last long. The weapon of a single fascist trade union which the junta is trying to use against the workers can, with the proper work, be turned into one of the most powerful weapons that the workers will tomorrow be able to use against fascism.

What must be done on the *trade union question* today, is to heed the trend among the worker masses and not become isolated from the masses. The opposite approach would be to isolate the advanced workers from the mass of the workers and to lead them into a massacre. In the present social and psychological situation, even more importantly, under the present balance of forces, for the communists and vanguard workers not to become isolated from the broad mass of the workers is imperative from the point of view of effecting an orderly retreat.

In this period, communists must accord special importance to work within Turk-Is. At the same time, the advanced workers who will conduct this work within Turk-Is must be organised in such a way that they do not dissolve in this trade union's backward structure which the junta is attempting to fascisize, that they will be able to use it for the anti-fascist, revolutionary struggle.

Under present conditions, the illegal anti-fascist centres have taken up this task as well. Any move towards a separate illegal trade union apart from these centres will only divide the forces, confine illegal trade union work to a backward level, and deprive the anti-fascist organisations of a powerful weapon.

Proceeding from these facts, our Second Conference resolves that:

1. Intense agitation be conducted around the economic, trade union and democratic demands of the working class;
2. All these demands be connected with the main aim of the day, that of overthrowing the fascist junta through revolution;
3. Active work be conducted in all existing trade unions without regard to who is in their leadership;
4. Illegal, anti-fascist organisations of advanced workers be built up within these trade unions;
5. Intense propoganda be conducted to the effect that illegal work is today proposed, not only for party sympathizers or advanced workers, but for the working class as a whole;
6. The trade union bureau attached to the Coordinating Committee be reorganised in a manner suited to the new period and be made efficient.

5. The National and Colonial Question

The struggle of the proletariat against its class enemy, the bourgeoisie, takes place on an international level. This is expressed in the slogan "Workers of all countries unite!". Communists fight against all ideas and practices which are detrimental to this unity.

"The presence of national oppression and oppressed nations obscures the contradiction between labour and capital, conceals it and introduces enmity and mistrust among the people". For this reason, communists are merciless enemies of all kinds of national inequality, national oppression and privilege. A democratic solution of the national question is the only way to eradicate enmity and mistrust between nations.

Communists consider it an incontrovertible duty to lend unconditional support to the right of the oppressed nation to secede and to educate the proletariat of the oppressor nation against oppressor nation chauvinism in an internationalist spirit. They also oppose all kinds of narrow mindedness on the part of the oppressed nation.

In regard to the national question, communists do not create artificial problems which do not exist in reality. They consider it their duty to struggle to resolve the problems

with which historical development has confronted them in accordance with the interests of the proletariat.

The Kurdish nation is an oppressed nation within the borders of Turkey which makes up almost a quarter of the total population. Turkish Kurdistan was forcibly annexed by the Turks. It is a land where joint exploitation of its riches together with the Kurdish ruling class is proceeding at an ever increasing rate. Turkish Kurdistan is an internal colony of Turkey. At the present, repression against the Kurdish nation has increased with the coming to power of a fascist junta and the significant advances it has made in consolidating fascism in the country.

The 12th September fascist coup has shown clearly once again that the solution of the Kurdish question lies in the victory of the advanced democratic people's revolution in Turkey. Correct views are gaining strength on this question in the Kurdish national movement as well. Alongside its attacks on the proletarian movement, the fascist junta's ruthless attacks on the Kurdish national movement are reinforcing the objective basis for the building of a revolutionary alliance of these two forces against fascism. The junta's waving of the Ataturkist flag is provoking the fury of the Kurdish people, who have not yet forgotten the atrocities of the Kemalists. Thus, the struggle being waged by the communists against Ataturkist ideology will facilitate closer links with the Kurdish national movement and the establishment of an alliance. The main slogans which can ensure the establishment of this alliance are: "The right to secede for the Kurdish nation" and "Down with colonialism".

Following the menshevik TKP "Plenum", the opportunists have proposed regional autonomy for the Kurdish people. Communists *always* defend regional autonomy, not just on the basis of national differences among the people, but on the basis of *all kinds* of regional differences existing within a state. As Lenin said, regional autonomy is our organisational principle. It is embodied in our understanding of democratic centralist organisation. However, this solution can only be posed in the context of the question about how to organise the state after a free decision has been taken to stay within that state. Putting

forward regional autonomy as the present-day goal is tantamount to denying the right to secede and is nothing but opportunism.

Communists also uphold the view that, *in principle*, the proletariat, which is a single world-wide class, should organise in one proletarian world party. Nevertheless, the world working class is *formally* divided among various countries and this is taken into account in organising as a fact of life. The existence of different parties is not the result of a specific choice, but the *inevitable* outcome of the existing conditions. If objective conditions do not compel a separate organisation, insisting on separate organisation is tantamount to dividing the proletariat. Communists want the proletariat to organise in the largest, strongest and most centralised organisations possible.

Today, the Kurdish nation is divided across the borders of four nations. Economic, political and social ties between these parts of Kurdistan are weak, both due to the effects of the underdevelopment of capitalism and due to their long separation from each other. The ties between the four parts of Kurdistan are much weaker than the ties between each part and the other regions in their respective states. In none of these parts has the working class developed to the same extent as the working class in other regions of the respective states.

Today, these objective conditions and the balance of forces in the region necessitate and make possible the establishment of a single centralised political organisation across Turkey in the interests of the proletariat. This effectively means that the strongest, largest and most centralised organisation of the proletariat can today be established only in this manner. The same can be said of other states whose borders Kurdistan straddles. Any other manner of organisation is both illusory since it contravenes the objective conditions and extremely harmful since it would exclude the most advanced working class in the region. Such an attitude will serve no "cause" other than that of dividing the proletariat.

In Turkey, we must organise the Turkish and Kurdish

proletarians in one revolutionary working class party. Only the centre of the Turkish and Kurdish proletariat, its revolutionary class party, the communist party, can lead the revolutionary alliance against fascism.

The Second Conference of the Leninists:

— Calls on Kurdish communists who have remained aloof from the party due to the social-chauvinist attitude of the previous opportunist leaderships of the TKP to join the Communist Party of Turkey. It emphasizes the importance of establishing an alliance between Kurdish democrats and the Leninist forces of the TKP in order to achieve the advanced democratic people's revolution which is the first step towards the genuine liberation of the Kurdish nation. It reaffirms once a gain the duty of establishing fraternal relations with all revolutionary democratic organisations in Turkish Kurdistan.

— Resolves to establish a central Kurdish Bureau whose task will be to organise Kurdish communists among the ranks of our party, further relations with revolutionary democratic Kurdish movements, and reinforce the work of our party in this sphere.

Today, the national question in Turkey is the Kurdish question. It is an opportunist stand to consider the Kurdish question on the *same level* as the chauvinist pressures being applied against the national minorities. To oppose this opportunism means neither that we discount the intense repression of the national minorities in Turkey, nor that we deny the atrocities of the past.

The genocide perpetrated in Turkish Armenia by the Turkish chauvinists is one of the most barbaric atrocities ever witnessed in history. The chauvinist governments of Turkey have taken the lives of millions of Armenians and pillaged their possessions. Those who were able to save their lives were forced to emigrate from the lands on which they had lived for thousands of years and dispersed throughout the world. Today, only 100,000 Armenians out of a total 6.5 million world population, half of

which are living in the Soviet Union, are in Turkey.

Forced Islamisation and Turkisation has provided a constant basis for the Turkish occupation of western Armenia. Churches, schools and historical monuments making up the Armenian cultural heritage have been razed to the ground in order to be able to rewrite history at will. All place-names have been changed into Turkish. Even the name "Turkish Armenia" is strictly forbidden.

Today, Turkey is again the sick man of Europe. It survives only through the large-scale aid that it receives from the imperialist world. Again with the help of the imperialist world, it denies the Armenians their fundamental right to live on their own land and condemns them to a life in exile.

Our Conference condemns the Armenian genocide and the diaspora which followed it. The American diaspora must be ended, Armenians who were forced to leave their land must be accorded the right to return freely, and the state must extend all possible aid to those who wish to return. All the democratic rights of the Armenians must be restored.

It is the duty of communists to uphold the rights of the Armenian national minority. The advanced democratic people's revolution which will grow into socialism will also reinstate the rights of Armenians.

The bourgeoisie of Turkey, which has oppressed the Kurdish people for years and murdered millions of Armenians, attacked Cyprus in 1974, shed blood, divided the island, splintered families. The occupation launched by "peace-loving and democratic" Ecevit in response to the imperialist aspirations of finance-capital has been continuing for 6.5 years. During this time, the finance-capital of Turkey has entered the island from all sides, bringing its banks, money, companies and even postage stamps. It has colonised Cyprus behind the facade of the puppet Turkish Federated State of Cyprus which appears in the political arena.

Imperialism in general and its representatives in the region

in particular have opened fissures between the peoples living in Cyprus with their divisionist attitudes in line with their own interests. The sham anti-imperialism of those claiming to uphold the unity of the people turned into domestic bourgeois nationalism. Thus it could not stand in the way of divisionism and the island was turned into a sore spot. This provides a concrete example of how divisive wrong attitudes adopted in the name of unity can become in the national question.

When Turkey occupied Northern Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriots were under the influence of the propaganda of an abstract "motherland". But during these 6.5 years they have realised the colonial aims of the "motherland" and seen that the "liberating Turkish army" is nothing but an occupying army bent on conquering and pillaging. The mask of "saving the daughter-land" has fallen. Finance-capital continues to colonise Northern Cyprus under the shadow of guns and with economic and political blackmail. The fascist junta is preparing to export fascism to Northern Cyprus and to enter into a "piecemeal" bargain over Northern Cyprus, turning it into a springboard for its designs on the Middle East.

Under these circumstances, as the working class of an occupying colonial country, the working class of Turkey must uphold the right of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot peoples to self-determination. There is a direct relationship between the success of our working class in raising its internationalist voice against the occupation and colonisation of Northern Cyprus by "its own" bourgeoisie, and its ability to carry out the revolution in Turkey.

Our working class must show strong solidarity with the Greek-Cypriot working class and people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, against the hostility to Greeks fanned by bourgeois nationalism. It must call on the Greek Cypriot working class for revolutionary solidarity, since the restoration of all the rights of the Greek-Cypriots are largely dependent on the revolution in Turkey, the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship through revolution.

As the working class of the occupying colonial country, the working class of Turkey must give solid support to the struggle of the working class and people against the occupiers of Northern Cyprus. Close organisational ties and relations must be developed with the working class of Northern Cyprus, which is facing colonialist bullying and, as if that were not enough, now efforts by the finance-capital of Turkey to extend the fascist dictatorship to Northern Cyprus. It must be publicised that the enemy is common and close coordination must be achieved in the struggle against the fascist state of Turkey.

In the light of these tasks, our Conference resolves to establish a bureau to deal with matters related to Cyprus.

The aim of the fascist dictatorship is to organise the whole of society within the framework of state discipline and to establish the corporative-monolithic structure of fascism. It wishes to resolve the economic and social crisis in favour of finance-capital by the use of organised force within and by expansionism abroad. This aim will have serious consequences.

First, in order to organise the whole of society under fascist discipline for the benefit of a very small minority, they will resort to tactics of divide and rule. The fascist dictatorship will try to divide the workers and working people and create animosity between them. This they are doing already. One of the most important devices they will employ is to provoke hate between nations and national minorities. The anti-Armenian sentiments being fostered in the press are an example of this.

Secondly, the economic and social crisis in our country is very deep and there is the historical example of Hitler. The bourgeoisie portrays Hitler, the mass butcher of millions of Jews, as a mad man. They do this in order to conceal the links between Hitler's practices and their own class interests. But, if there is a profound economic and social crisis, one quick way of reducing its magnitude is mass genocide. This is the fascist method of "resolving" the crisis by eliminating the people. Today, the world is a different place, but this does not mean that such a

solution will not be attempted.

Thirdly, one of the aims of the fascist dictatorship is to become imperialist. This can be concealed behind such pretexts as "saving Turks", that used to justify the occupation of Cyprus. The propaganda around Turks in Mosul and Kirkuk which has recently risen to a high pitch is noteworthy. Other "causes" can be found in the future. Under the disguise of "saving Turks", the fascist dictatorship can bring "peace", as in 1974, to other peoples, including the "liberated" Turks.

In the light of these realities, the Second Conference of the Leninists of the TKP considers it a duty to remind the workers and the working people of all nations and national minorities living in Turkey of the great responsibilities which they bear. There is only one road which leads to happy days in the future for all the nations and national minorities living in Turkey, and which aids the liberation of other peoples: to overthrow the fascist dictatorship with an advanced democratic people's revolution which will grow into socialism; and for this, first and foremost to cooperate in raising up the Communist Party of Turkey as the genuine internationalist party of all nations and national minorities living in Turkey.

**Resolutions Relating to
Internal Questions of Party Work
in the New Period
Brought About by the
12th September Fascist Coup**

6. Call for the Convening of the Fifth Congress of the TKP

The Second Conference of the Leninists of the TKP, the highest body representing the unity of will of the active majority of the TKP around Marxism-Leninism, has resolved that the Fifth Congress of the TKP be held.

The TKP has yet to hold a congress since its Fourth Congress in 1932, 49 years ago. Such a situation is without precedent in the world communist movement. During this half-century, the party was liquidated, the leadership failing to preserve its continuity. Until approximately 1964 the present leaders of the TKP referred to themselves as the "TKP Bureau Abroad". Then, without any explanation of the whys and wherefores, Yakup Demir began using the title, First Secretary of the Central Committee. There ensued a period of confusion, during which no one knew what was what, lasting until 1973. By 1973 the TKP leadership had long since lost any semblance of legitimacy. The party had dissolved, its structure had disintegrated. All that remained was a "party" without Rules, without a programme, without cells.

The 24th May 1973 meeting of the "Political Bureau" was held in these circumstances. There followed a period of organisational revitalization. The party began to pull itself

together. The situation in Turkey provided boundless opportunities for the party to recover and march to revolution. Militants devoted to communism approached this development with the aim of turning to advantage the objective opportunities existing in the country. In order that the party should emerge from dire straits, should become a genuine party, they displayed comradely goodwill towards the leadership although it had long ceased to be legitimate. "So be it, let us forget the past and open a new page", they said. They worked tirelessly so that the party should develop.

However, the leaders entrusted in 1973 with directing the party and with convening the Fifth Congress failed to fulfil these tasks. Had they desired genuine advance, they would have convened a congress in the shortest possible space of time. Instead, they abused their authority in an unprincipled manner devoid of any ideological basis. They violated the Rules they had themselves drawn up and put into effect in 1973, and which had been approved by the party organisations in 1974.

There began a practice of appointing and dismissing CC members at will. CC members Comrades Veli Dursun and V. Demir were expelled from the CC by decision of the Political Bureau. They were denied the right to defend themselves at a CC Plenum.

The leadership claimed to have "expelled" the third largest organisation of the party wholesale. Neither the party organisation nor any members were ever notified of this. Among other party organisations defending the ideological views of *İşçinin Sesi*, many regional and provincial committees were expelled. Appeals against these expulsions were left unanswered.

At a time when the opportunity existed for arriving at an understanding on ideological questions through comradely debate, the opportunist leadership, out of weakness, resorted to crude physical and armed attacks against the Leninists. Party member comrade İnanç Seçiç was murdered in an ambush at their behest.

They abused the radio broadcasting opportunities at their disposal, disclosing the identities of Leninist party members.

They blew the cover of many underground cadres in Turkey. They acted as informers. Anyone who was against them, they branded a police agent. Thus, they also violated the article in the Rules concerning "violations of communist morality".

They failed to convene a congress in accordance with the stipulations of the provisional Rules, itself a document not approved by Congress and therefore binding only on the basis of mutual trust. Article 37 of the old provisional Rules provides that Congress must meet every four years, except when security difficulties prevent this, in which case the Central Committee may postpone or move forward the Congress. In any case, the time between successive congresses may not exceed 6 years. If this period is exceeded, provincial committees may demand of the Central Committee that a congress be convened within 6 months. These time limitations have long since been exceeded and this in the absence of "security difficulties", the Central Committee ignored the demands of many provincial committees in 1979 for a congress, as it did the appeal of the 1980 First Conference of the Leninists. To date, no CC decision concerning the convening of a congress has reached the provincial committees. There are no preparations for a congress underway.

In this way, the Central Committee has once more forfeited its legitimacy, even according to the provisional Rules it drew up itself. Today, any position other than total rejection of the legitimacy of the Central Committee would be tantamount to complicity in its treachery against the working class. Moreover, those provincial committees which have failed to hold their congresses within the time-limits specified by the old provisional Rules have also forfeited their legitimacy.

The leadership, having lost its legitimacy on countless occasions since 1932, has once again brought the party to the edge of a precipice. And, with the flaring up of inter-factional strife within the CC after the 12th September, any authority that organ may once have possessed, has now completely eroded to the point that it is incapable of convening even a conference or a plenum, let alone a congress, despite the broad means at its disposal. As a result of this latest liquidation, its leadership has

been totally invalidated in practice.

Today, the task facing all communists who hold dear their party and their class is to prepare the TKP for its tasks of overthrowing fascism and making the revolution victorious, and to this end, to do everything possible for the convening of the Fifth Congress. Today, the way to achieve unity in the TKP is by convening its half-century overdue congress.

No matter how difficult the conditions, the task of convening the Fifth Congress will be fulfilled. The Fifth Congress will purge our party of opportunism and secure its Leninist unity.

In regard to the convening of the Fifth Congress, the second Conference of the Leninists of the TKP resolves the following points:

1. All administrative organs operating on the basis of the old provisional Rules are invalid. None of these organs, including the Political Bureau, are elected bodies, all having been constituted through appointment. They have forfeited their legitimacy even according to the old Rules drawn up by these same organs, Rules which were never approved by a congress and are therefore of a provisional nature.
2. Until such time as the Fifth Congress is held, the highest organ of the TKP is the TKP Coordinating Committee. The prime duty of the Coordinating Committee is to convene the Fifth Congress in the shortest space of time.
3. The Congress shall be convened according to the provisions of the new provisional Rules adopted by the Second Conference of the Leninists. The old provisional Rules are the epitome of a confusion of duty and authority, of a distorted understanding of democratic centralism and a mentality which sees no need for either elections or congresses. The administrative organs formed according to those Rules have repeatedly violated the same Rules. As a result, life has today bypassed, rejected the old provisional

Rules. This Conference declares the old provisional Rules of the TKP null and void.

Until the Fifth Congress, the new provisional Rules adopted at the Second Conference of the Leninists shall be binding on all party members and organs.

4. The Second Conference of the Leninists of the TKP instructs the commission elected by the First Conference and charged with preparing a draft party programme to conclude its work and submit its draft to the Congress Preparatory Commission as soon as possible.
5. This Conference resolves to elect a Congress Preparatory Commission charged with the task of conducting the technical preparations for the Fifth Congress, this Commission to work under the supervision of the Coordinating Committee.

The Preparatory Commission is instructed:

 - a) To take all such measures as to ensure that the Fifth Congress meets in the greatest security possible under prevailing conditions.
 - b) To publicise the new provisional Rules, the draft programme and proposals from party organisations among all party organisations; to see to it that the material for discussion as well as the ideas arising in the course of open discussion are published in the Central Organ, ensuring that this discussion takes place in full public view.
 - c) To ensure that all party organisations and class conscious workers take an active part in this discussion.
6. The administrative organs constituted according to the provisions of the old provisional Rules are to surrender all party documents in their possession as well as the party archives to the TKP Coordinating Committee within 6 months at the latest. This measure is necessary both because these organs have forfeited their legitimacy and in order to ensure the smoother convening of the Fifth Congress

7. The aforementioned organs are to surrender all party property in their possession as well as the financial accounts to the TKP Coordinating Committee within 6 months at the latest. The Coordinating Committee is authorised to confiscate party property and accounts. Any members or organisations which violate these decisions will be considered to be obstructing the most efficient and most democratic convening of the Fifth Congress and will be exposed. They will also be punished according to the provisions of the new provisional Rules.
8. Those charged with directing the party by the 1977 Conference of the TKP are obliged to attend the Fifth Congress and account for their activities. These persons have six months following the publication of this announcement in which to prepare and submit their reports to the Congress Preparatory Commission. If they violate this decision they will be disciplined according to the provisions of the new provisional Rules.
9. Within 6 months of the publication of this announcement in our Central Organ, the provincial committees of the TKP are to hold their congresses in accordance with the provisions of the new provisional Rules and to elect their delegates to the Fifth Congress in a proportion to be determined by the Coordinating Committee.
10. The Coordinating Committee is instructed to publicise the Call for the Fifth Congress among revolutionary public opinion as widely as possible.

Members of the Communist Party of Turkey! Only a TKP purged of opportunism and set on a Leninist path can carry out the revolution in Turkey. To this end, take up your task for the Fifth Congress!

Communists who have remained outside the party, who are not among us because of the attitude of the opportunist

leadership clique! Join the party. Join in the organised struggle against opportunism and in the work for the Fifth Congress!

Kurdish communists who are not among us because of the social-chauvinist attitude of the former opportunist leadership clique of the TKP, we urge you: Unite with the Leninists in the Communist Party of Turkey!

The bourgeoisie cannot be destroyed without destroying opportunism!

May our TKP build the future!

7. Announcement to Former Members of the TKP Central Committee and Expelled Party Members

Former Central Committee members who have been expelled in the years since 1932 by the opportunists who have insinuated themselves into the TKP leadership; those who, having been told, "we have stripped you of your membership", have neither passed over to the ranks of the bourgeoisie nor dissolved into your own private lives! Take part in the TKP's Fifth Congress and use your constitutional right to defend yourselves. Apply for this to the TKP Coordinating Committee or to the Congress Preparatory Commission. It is your right and duty to express your views freely at the Fifth Congress, to rectify injustices and to present a report and render account to the Congress.

Comrades who have been stripped of their party membership through various injustices over the past 49 years! The new provisional rules of the TKP state that you may apply to the Fifth Congress for the renewal of your membership rights. Inform local party organisations, the Congress Preparatory Commission or the Coordinating Committee of your situation and, through these organs, communicate your wish to the Fifth Congress.

The TKP's Fifth Congress will rally our party which the mensheviks have rendered amorphous over the past 49 years, in

regard to which even they themselves do not know who is and who is not a member, and the beginning and end of which is not clear. It will put it in order.

Long live the Fifth Congress!

8. The TKP is Illegal and Free

For a communist party, the meaning of legality-illegality assumes a significance beyond the framework of bourgeois legality. Illegal activities may vary depending on the limits of bourgeois democracy, but they do not lose their importance even under conditions when the broadest bourgeois democracy is practised. The principal task of the communist party is, not to seize the state apparatus as it exists, but to smash this state and establish a *new* state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in its place. It would be naive to think that the bourgeoisie will accept this passively.

For communists, the bourgeois state is an organised enemy force. The laws of this state are used to prop up the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The only way of destroying it is by establishing the organised force of the proletariat under the leadership of the party armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology. In countries which have not had their revolution, the organised force of the bourgeoisie and the organised force of the proletariat confront each other. Consequently, it is inevitable that a party which is revolutionary not just on paper should be *essentially* illegal, independently of the formal legal opportunities existing in the country.

Legality should not be considered the opposite of illegality. Legality is the state in which the bourgeoisie has chosen not to prosecute for the moment. It's correct evaluation implies breaches which the revolutionary forces have opened in the enemy ranks. Legal opportunities are the life-blood enabling the party to penetrate into broader masses. They are the external reflection of the illegal essence in a legal form.

Form has historically affected essence and essence has affected form. For example, parties which have worked legally for a long time have often been seen to confine the essence of their party work within a legal framework. On the other hand, during periods when legal opportunities are restricted, parties have often been seen to have severed their ties with the masses and become a group isolated from the working class.

Secrecy and openness must not be confused with illegality and legality. Both legal and illegal party work comprise varying degrees of open and covert activities. An illegal party may work either secretly or openly, depending on the situation. The difference between illegality and secrecy is best illustrated by the example of an illegal party advancing its undiluted ideology and political stand, which are always most illegal in bourgeois society, in the most open manner. Even under conditions demanding the utmost secrecy, communists do not make concessions from this principle. On the other hand, even parties working under the most legal conditions carry out certain functions secretly. This is true even of a party which has carried out a successful revolution.

The mission of the communist parties in our epoch stems from the objective demands of the stage reached by capitalism. The working class has formed its revolutionary parties and is waging a struggle for revolution under their leadership.

Freedom means the opportunity to conduct systematic, purposeful work, within limits imposed only by nature, to obtain certain pre-determined objective necessities.

Within the framework of historical materialism, the limits of the demands for freedom made by communist parties which

have not yet carried out their revolution, are *the freedom to make the revolution*. All the measures of the bourgeoisie are aimed at prolonging its rule indefinitely. It is not possible that the freedoms granted by the bourgeoisie could infringe upon this framework or that they could include the freedom of the communist party to carry out the revolution. A communist party which has not carried out its revolution is free *to the extent* that it can wage a struggle for its revolutionary aim, independently of the limits of bourgeois legality. A communist party which has carried out its revolution is free *to the extent* that it can wage a struggle to establish socialism and, later, communism.

The opportunist leadership of our party has made "Freedom to the TKP" the main slogan of the party. The opportunist publications of the TKP have for many years been saying that the party is unable to work freely under conditions of illegality and have been demanding "*legal and free*" activity. Only a leadership which feels free only when it is legal equates freedom with legality, and describes legality as sunny days, can mouthe the slogan, "Freedom to the TKP".

To consider freedom and bourgeois legality to be *synonymous* is to repudiate the goal of revolution. Work for the revolution is not something that begins with the revolutionary situation. The goal of revolution determines the work of communist parties under all circumstances, including even the most peaceful times. It is liquidationism to think of freedom and legality as synonymous even under the most peaceful conditions.

The distorted understanding of freedom held by the opportunists is reflected firstly in the Third Programme of the TKP. For the period following the advanced democratic people's revolution, the programme proposes, not the smashing of the state, but a form of state which both in essence and form should exist in a pure bourgeois democracy. What is proposed is, not the smashing of the state, but the purging of fascists and reactionaries. The views expressed on the army, one of the fundamental props of the bourgeois state, are the same.

As long as it is loyal to Marxism-Leninism, no communist party can foresee, think, or dream of liberating the bourgeois

army from the clutches of the ruling class! And certainly not after the revolution! A serious communist can foresee only the dispersing of the bourgeois army, and, in its place, the arming of the people and the formation of a people's army and this only in conjunction with the revolution itself.

The slogan "Freedom to the TKP" and the opportunist understanding of the state and the army have become intertwined. Only a logic which restricts freedom to the purging of reactionary elements rather than the smashing of the state and the army could use this slogan in such a way.

The consequences of this distorted understanding are such that, even after the fascist junta's seizure of the state, the slogan, "Freedom to the TKP" is still being used. At an evening organised together with a fraternal communist party, the opportunist cadres were able to shout: "Freedom to the TKP".

The TKP's opportunist wing is reformist, not revolutionary. Reformism is attachment to changes in the existing system which will not entail changes in its essence. The opportunists' understanding of the parliamentary road, their tailism towards the non-monopoly bourgeoisie (and now the army!), and their understanding of legality are all consequences of their reformist logic.

Communists do not oppose reforms. However, reforms are a by-product of the revolutionary struggle. The peaceful conditions resting on the distribution of imperialist crumbs are helping reformism in Europe to prolong its existence inside the communist parties. The bourgeoisie of Turkey, however, does not have the wherewithal to grant the demands of the working class. In such a country, the reformism that has grown up in the TKP is inevitably leading to liquidation. Party members will not permit the liquidation of the TKP.

The Second Conference of the Leninists of the TKP rejects the slogan, "*Freedom to the TKP*", as a symbol of opportunism for the following reasons:

1. It is a liquidationist slogan which repudiates the *raison d'être* of the party and deprives it of its revolutionary content.

2. In the recent period, it created the impression that the bourgeoisie could grant freedom and was one of the elements of the reformist policy that came to be applied by the party.
3. It equated freedom with legality and spread legalist consciousness. It belittled the illegal organisation inevitably necessitated by the revolutionary situation.
4. Under present conditions, this demand is tantamount to abolishing the party.
5. The convening of this conference under illegal conditions, the free discussion of the problems of the revolution and the adopting of decisions, is the most perfect confirmation of the freedom of the TKP.

The TKP is free to the extent it works to further the struggle for revolution. It will obtain complete freedom by realising the socialist revolution.

9. On Propaganda and Agitation Work

The content of communist propaganda and agitation constitutes the political attitude of the party, determined according to Marxist-Leninist ideology and the prevailing conditions in the country. The presentation of this political attitude in a manner according with mass psychology is the form of agitation and propaganda. The communist party bases its political attitude on a concrete analysis of the objective situation. However, in performing its work among the masses, it employs a propaganda and agitation which takes the mass psychology into serious account.

The 12th September fascist coup has meant the victory of counter-revolution. However, the economic and social crisis persists. The revolutionary situation in Turkey has today been eliminated, but a situation which can be resolved only by revolution remains. Under these conditions, the fascist junta cannot be long-lived.

The fascist coup has not brought about a change in the mutual alignment of classes in the country. Under these conditions, the tactical line of the communist party also remains unchanged, but the form and methods of implementing this line undergo a change. The struggle to overthrow the fascist

dictatorship becomes linked to the struggle for the advanced democratic people's revolution.

The Second Conference of the Leninists of the TKP resolves on the following points in connection with the work of propaganda and agitation:

1. Communists must continue to propagandise that the tide of revolution will once more swell, that the aim of revolution is still on the agenda. The fundamental condition for the victory of the next revolutionary wave is to draw the lessons of the revolutionary struggles before the 12th of September, to determine shortcomings and mistakes, to propose measures for their rectification and to break the influence of opportunism and social-democracy, which were the principal factors in the defeat of the revolution.
2. It is necessary to keep alive the revolutionary traditions of the peak periods of the struggle for revolution, to instill these among the more backward sections and spread them, and to protect the revolutionary spirit.
3. The practices and demagogies of the fascist regime must be exposed and this exposure connected to the aim of revolution.
4. Intense agitation around economic and democratic demands is of great importance in lifting the masses out of their present psychology of defeat, in instilling confidence in their own strength through partial successes and in preparing them for open mass actions.
5. In this period, when all democratic rights have been completely eradicated, in order to exploit the smallest legal opportunity for reaching the masses, we must develop an allegorical style which nevertheless does not distort the essence of our propaganda. We must make use of such means as satire and the "grapevine", which assume importance in

periods of reaction, for the purpose of expressing opposition to the junta.

6. In the period ahead, only cadres with a correct ideology and political line, with minds and hearts of iron, will be able to survive. It is necessary to raise the standard of education of our cadres. To this end, education around *İşçinin Sesi* and other central publications must be developed. The work of the propaganda bureaus must be improved. To achieve centralisation and standardisation in party education, an education handbook must be produced. To further the many-sided education of party cadres, a party school must be established.
7. Our central organ, *İşçinin Sesi*, is the only illegal publication which enjoys regular distribution in Turkey. Distributing *İşçinin Sesi* as widely as possible, consolidating organisation around this distribution, conducting *İşçinin Sesi* propaganda in the Correspondents' Groups and anti-fascist struggle centres, is the main link in the qualitative and quantitative development of our party.

In order to spread all experiences in the anti-fascist struggle among different sections of society, it is one of the main tasks of all party organisations to regularly supply the central organ with news, articles, information and psychological observations concerning the masses and to keep up correspondence.

10. Work Among the Masses

I

The 1980 Conference of the Leninists determined the type of work to be carried out among women, youth and various sections of the population under the conditions of a revolutionary situation.

Today, a new situation has arisen in the country. The revolutionary situation has been suppressed. The profound economic and social crisis persists. There exists a situation in the country which can only be resolved through revolution.

In order to protect the people from the ideological influences of fascism and to organise them against fascism, communists must have a good understanding of the problems of work among the masses in the present period.

The communist party bases its *political attitude* on a scientific evaluation of the conditions in the country. It does not subordinate itself to the mass psychology. However, in *work among the masses*, it ascribes great importance to mass psychology in the knowledge that, without this, work among the masses cannot be successful.

First ordering, then halting the disorderly retreat of the popular masses, eventually drawing them into renewed open

mass struggle is possible only through work among the masses which *proceeds from their concrete economic and political demands and which links these demands to the overthrow of the fascist junta by revolution*. This does not mean subordinating our political attitude to the mass psychology, as the opportunists do. "The slogan, 'Down with the junta', is wrong, instead we should raise the slogan, 'Work, land, freedom' ". This is a perfect expression of the opportunist policy in the present period.

Uniting routine day-to-day work with propaganda for the overthrow of the fascist junta by revolution, is the only way in which the communists can achieve success. This way also requires that we gain a good understanding of the organisational forms suited to this kind of work.

Above all, we must strengthen the party organisation and achieve a strong illegal organisation. This is the basis for everything else. We must also strengthen the correspondents' groups, the peripheral organisations of our party, and improve their illegal work.

The second link in our party's work among the masses is the illegal, mass anti-fascist centres, which will lead all discontent and opposition to the fascist regime in schools, neighbourhoods, factories, places of work and rural population centres. We must either set up such centres ourselves, or assist their formation. These organisations will rally together genuine anti-fascists, those who are willing and able to fight against fascism, for revolution. Deep among the masses, these organisations are of great importance in developing the communists' links with the masses. Their point of departure must be the economic and political problems of each unit in which they are active (schools, factories, etc.) and of the country as a whole. These centres are the main link in winning over those elements who are moving away from politics or who find themselves without an organisation.

The third link in our party's work among the masses is the legal organisations. Communists are obliged to work wherever the masses are, regardless of who leads such organisations. We are wherever the masses are.

II

The fascist junta has been attacking the working class ever since it came to power. Strikes have been banned. Trade unions have been closed down. A single trade union has been imposed. Collective bargaining has been turned into a mockery. Seniority benefits have been reduced. With the new tax law, taxes have been raised under the pretence of being lowered. Thousands of vanguard workers have been thrown into torture chambers and dungeons. Factories have been turned into barracks.

The fascist junta is trying to portray the communists, the sole genuine defenders and guides of the working class, as opposed to the working class. It is complaining that the İzmir uprising was a provocation, that "the economy suffered great damages due to the strikes of workers who became tools for the ideological ends of terrorists". The fascist junta is spouting the Kemalist fiction: "We are a classless, single mass without privileges". But the section of society least susceptible to such demagogy, our working class, is once more showing that it is capable of fulfilling its historic vanguard mission in the revolution in Turkey.

The struggle of recent years has ended in the success of counter-revolution. But it has also exposed the true face of the opportunists and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries to our working class. In the face of the junta's rabid assault, the opportunists have hoisted the flag of surrender, while the petty-bourgeois revolutionary trends have both harmed the movement by their use of individual terror and, unable to adapt themselves to the new situation, withdrawn into their shells.

Throughout the revolutionary situation, our working class fought to establish its leadership. Its consciousness was obscured, particularly by social-democracy and opportunism. Its energy was directed into wrong channels; the working class became tired, and it lost. Now it is the duty of communists to stand by the working class, to assist it to gather strength and to draw the lessons of the previous period, to prepare it for a new and more vigorous assault.

III

Turkey is a petty-bourgeois sea. The petty-bourgeois form a significant mass in the cities as they do in the towns. Bureaucrats, intellectuals and petty-bourgeois engaged in trade and industry are a significant number.

These sections exhibit differences among themselves. Because of their dependence on the monopoly-bourgeoisie and because they are themselves property owners, the petty-bourgeois engaged in trade and industry were the least active section during the previous period. The intelligentsia and lower echelons of the bureaucracy, on the other hand, appeared to be more active and to be standing closer to the working class.

The petty-bourgeoisie is the fundamental question of our revolution. The working class cannot carry out the revolution without establishing its hegemony over the petty-bourgeoisie. This remains the case today, when the fascist junta has seized power.

The fascist junta is pursuing a policy which is impoverishing the petty-bourgeoisie, the lower echelons of the bureaucracy and the intelligentsia. The tax law, which protects the middle and higher bureaucracy, is condemning the former to starvation. The civil servants and intellectuals have witnessed the destruction of all their democratic gains, of their right to independent organisation free from state control. The junta is trying to turn the petty-bourgeoisie into a base for itself within state-controlled Craft and Tradesmen's Associations, Taxi Drivers' Associations, etc. In order to prevent fascism from using these organisations for its own ends, and also to make use of all available legal opportunities, communists must work in these and similar organisations, such as consumer cooperatives, tailors' associations, etc.

IV

The larger part of the petty-bourgeoisie in Turkey lives and works in rural areas.

The Prussian-type development of capitalism since the 19th century culminated in the 1960's in the dominance of

monopolies in the economy and, in the 1970's, in the dominance of finance-capital. The same process was also witnessed in agriculture. Agriculture did experience a boom in capitalist development in the 1950's, but the real boom came in the 1960's. The subsequent years have seen the appearance of agromonopolies, and an agricultural bourgeoisie on the one extreme and an agricultural proletariat on the other, with a giant mass of petty producers in between. Capitalism established its complete domination in rural areas as well. It adapted pre-capitalist relations to itself, thus intensifying even further its exploitation.

Today we witness a fairly advanced stage of monopolisation in agriculture. Foremost among the agricultural monopolies stands the state, with such enterprises as the Production Farms, Meat and Fish Enterprise, Land Produce Office, etc. As a result of the Prussian-type development of capitalism, former landowners are also in the position of a monopoly agricultural bourgeoisie, are a part of finance-capital. *These agricultural monopolies are turning the mass of petty producers into a base for themselves.*

The large number of cooperatives established either directly by the state, by the indirect methods of finance-capital, or by the non-monopoly agricultural bourgeoisie, are not, as some suggest, organisations which uphold the interests of the petty producer. In fact, the state and the monopolies, which control these organisations, thereby subordinate the petty producers to themselves, increase productivity and reap all the resulting benefits for themselves, increasing their own wealth manyfold. The agriculture-based industrial enterprises, in which a large number of petty producers invest jointly with the monopolies, also serve the same purpose.

On the other hand, there are also those cooperatives formed by the agricultural petty-bourgeoisie. Although these may be regarded as defence organisations formed by the petty producers for such purposes as obtaining a better price against the monopolies, etc., it should be apparent to us that, in an economy dominated by finance-capital, such cooperatives will also benefit the monopolies, facilitating the subordination of the

mass of petty producers to themselves. Instead of entering into relations with a mass of minute units, the monopolies will be dealing with more compact economic units.

In an economy dominated by finance-capital, cooperatives may serve to win a better economic position against the monopolies, but objectively result in turning agriculture as a whole into a base for the monopolies. Communists should be very clear about this objective function of cooperatives, but should nevertheless work in them and conduct intense revolutionary agitation and propaganda. They should also show that such organisations offer no solution under the present system.

Agricultural products account for over one-half of Turkey's exports. Finance-capital is desperately trying to overcome the bottleneck in foreign currency earnings in order to resolve its various structural problems. To this end, increasing agricultural production, *increasing productivity* and thereby expanding its volume of export trade, together with tourism and foreign currency sent by immigrant workers, offer a valuable solution.

The rural policies of the fascist junta are accelerating the expropriation of the agricultural petty-producers. The policy of mechanising agriculture and strengthening large property is being implemented in a way which impoverishes the petty producers *en masse*. This is reflected in such measures as the changes in tax legislation, the restriction of tobacco production, the planned restriction of tea production, the confiscation of petty-producers' money in state cooperatives as so-called "donations", the (price support) policy which ensures greater profits for the agricultural capitalists and delays in paying for produce bought. Fascism on a medium-level developed economic basis is incapable of providing the petty-bourgeoisie with the economic support necessary to obtain its support as a class.

In view of these facts, our party must ascribe greater importance to party organisation among the people living and working in rural areas. It must urgently consider setting workers

in the cities who maintain their links with the countryside or comrades from other sections, the task of organising in this area.

Our party must expose the measures designed to impoverish the petty producers in agriculture. The agrarian question should be examined without delay and the central organ must devote significant space to theoretical-political articles related to this question.

Despite the fact that the fascist administration has removed the opportunities for legal work in this area as well, as it has in all areas, *our Party must work in all existing or potential organisations comprising the petty producers, organisations such as KÖY-KOOP, the Chambers of Agriculture, rural popular organisations etc. regardless of who leads these organisations.*

V

The 1980 First Conference of the Leninists resolved to form youth bureaus at the central and local levels and to develop a communist youth movement which would constitute the backbone of a centralised nationwide organisation of the youth of Turkey.

The youth bureaus were formed and exhibited degrees of success which varied according to region. Some headway was made towards a communist youth movement. Important insights were gained into the forms of youth organisation and on the need to submit young communist sympathizers to a long period of disciplined training before admitting them into the party proper.

The fascist coup brought with it a heavy attack directed against youth. Among the sections which faced the most intense repression were the students. Soldiers concentrated at higher education establishments; new legislation which completely destroyed the autonomy of higher education establishments was enacted; the credit and residence problems facing students were aggravated further. These measures of the junta are also aimed at turning the students against each other.

In the face of this fascist repression, the junta's tactics of turning the students against each other and organising them as

an extension of the state's repressive apparatus, our party must work resolutely to establish *unity of action with all organisations capable of waging a struggle against these measures*. We must make concrete proposals to such organisations. These initiatives must be regarded in unison with the task of beginning to lay the foundations of a centralized mass organisation of the youth of Turkey which will be created in the future.

In its work among the youth, our party must *take advantage of every kind of legal opportunity*, such as sports clubs, scout clubs and official student associations formed by reactionaries.

VI

Since the 12th September fascist coup, the condition of women workers and working women in general has deteriorated even further. The fascist dictatorship is employing "divide-and-rule" tactics against women as well. It is using the non-payment of equal wages to women workers as a means of reducing the general level of wages. At the same time, it is preparing to incarcerate women in the home and prevent them from working as one way of coping with the unemployment problem.

The fascist dictatorship regards a reduction in population as a means of alleviating social problems. It is speeding up divorces in a way which degrades women, setting man against woman in the family. It's birth control policy has a similar aim. Now they are imposing restrictions on marriages as well.

While the broad masses of working women are being forced to bear a double burden of the economic and social problems, they are also bearing the grief of the loss of husbands, children and brothers through murder or imprisonment at the hands of the fascist dictatorship.

The fascist dictatorship is conducting an intense ideological campaign aimed at women. It is exploiting their feelings of motherhood with demagogies such as "the mothers of the brave sons of our heroic army". With the demagogy of "the heroic Turkish woman of the war of liberation", it is striving to divide women into Kurd and Turk and obtain their support for the army.

The 1980 First Conference of the Leninists emphasised the importance of winning over women to the struggle for revolution. In conformity with the Conference decisions, central and local bureaus were formed to deal with this question. Today, work among women has assumed even greater importance. Imparting consciousness to working women is today a vital necessity for overthrowing the fascist dictatorship by revolution.

Above all else, party members must arrive at a correct understanding of the woman question. The women's bureaus must accelerate their work to this end, making better use of our central organ and contributing articles on the woman question of an ideological, political and historical nature.

We must continue and intensify efforts to raise the proportion of women comrades at all levels of the party organisation.

Arriving at an awareness of the importance of women workers in forming the desired bond between the mass women's movement and the working class movement, we must ascribe special importance to organising women workers.

We must make use of all manner of legal opportunities in work among women, such as women's evening schools, bourgeois women's organisations and state or university sponsored projects, etc.

VII

The army, which has today seized power as the champion of the interests of finance-capital is the bourgeoisie's main force against the popular masses. Intensifying its propaganda of the "saviour functions" of the army, the bourgeoisie is attempting to heal the various wounds in discipline and unity suffered by the army during the revolutionary situation.

On the other hand, the hearts of the working people who make up the base of the army continue to bleed as each day they are forced to shoot down other sons and daughters of the people like themselves and inflict suffering on honest people who share the same sorrows as their own mothers and fathers, while, at the same time, they must suffer humiliations and beatings at the

hands of their superiors.

The fact that the army, now in power, has come into direct contact with the influences on the state which result from keeping the masses under forcible repression, affords new opportunities for work in the army.

Work in the army must be ascribed great importance in the present period. This work must be conducted directly by the Coordinating Committee.

Taking into account that the enlisted men who make up the base of the army are not permanent, non-commissioned and lower-ranking officers should be made the starting point in this work.

Emphasis should be placed on work in *military schools such as the war academies and NATO colleges*, and on training comrades from among those at higher education establishments who are suited to work in the army.

For work among the mass of enlisted men at the base, alongside communists in the army, use should be made of other comrades working in other areas during the period of their military service.

Communists must work among enlisted men, non-commissioned officers and officers, everywhere where the army is stationed. They must develop personal links and pass on the results of their work to the Coordinating Committee without delay.

VIII

Since the fascist junta seized power, a violent wave of torture, murder and arrests has swept across the whole of society. There are approximately one hundred thousand in prison. A similar number has been subjected to torture and several months' detention within the past 6 months.

The physical and ideological pressures on detainees have reached extreme proportions. "Compulsory military service", inhuman forced labour, Kemalist education, public beatings and many other Nazi-style practices are a common feature of prison life.

Today, prisons have become one of the areas of revolutionary struggle. Communists who are arrested should organise among themselves and, ascribing special importance to conspiratorial work and security, must strengthen the party.

Fully aware of how important the junta's practices and the struggle and actions against these practices are in exposing fascism, imprisoned comrades must pass on the greatest amount of information and documents to the party organisations on the outside and to the central organ.

Party organisations on the outside must set themselves the important task of establishing regular and systematic relations with comrades in prison or under torture and of supporting them by providing literature and necessities.

The exemplary attitudes of the comrades in prison must be related and held up in party organisations as symbols of communist morality.

It is an important task of the day for party organisations on the outside to provide the families and close ones of imprisoned comrades with moral and material support and to unite these efforts with communist work among the masses.

IX

The Second Conference of the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey resolves on the following points as *common* aims to be observed in work among *every* section of the popular masses (with the exception of the special conditions pertaining to work in the army and in prisons):

1. To give priority to party organisation and to improve the illegal work of party organisations.

To accelerate the organisation of correspondents' groups, peripheral organisations of the party, and also improve their illegal work.

2. To organise an intense *anti-fascist campaign* on the basis of propaganda around economic and democratic demands peculiar to each section of society and those pertaining to the country as a whole, and on the basis of expositions of torture, arrests and repression. To establish illegal centres of anti-fascist

struggle.

3. To exploit existing opportunities for legal work in all areas *To exercise control to ensure that our members work in one of these organisations.*

4. To keep alive the traditions of revolutionary struggle of the previous period.

5. To cease using methods and forms of struggle which would result in the decimation of vanguard sections because of an unfavourable platform.

6. Party organisations to supply the Central Organ with information and documents particularly in relation to their own field of work. To give more room in agitation and propaganda to articles in the Central Organ concerning economic and democratic demands.

7. To work persistently for *unity of action from below with all genuine anti-fascist forces* around economic-democratic demands in all areas and against torture, arrests and repression.

8. That our agitation and propaganda work in every sphere must, proceeding from the specific problems, needs and demands of the popular masses living in that sphere, demonstrate the bond between these problems and the demands of the working class movement on a nationwide scale; show *concretely* the gains that the advanced democratic people's revolution will bring these sections; and in this way connect their problems with the necessity of seizing power and overthrowing the fascist junta with revolution.

11. Party and Cadre Security

A communist party which seeks to smash the bourgeois state and establish in its place the dictatorship of the proletariat must *always*, even under the most "free" conditions, retain an aspect which is secret. No matter how great the opportunities for legal work are under the given political circumstances in a country, the communist party, while exploiting these opportunities to the full, must organise in such a way as to be able to return to underground work at any time, without surrendering its cadres to the bourgeoisie. A movement which seeks to overthrow the bourgeoisie cannot trust in its democracy.

The traditions of conspiratorial work in Turkey, within the revolutionary movement in general and within the communist movement in particular, are limited. At various times, illegal organisations have taken shape within the workers' movement or the youth movement, but these did not last long. Methods of conspiratorial work have not been handed down from previous generations, from old to young. Primarily responsible for this lack of accumulated experience and for the malaise of legalism is the opportunism which has gripped the leadership within the TKP for many years.

The menshevik leadership of the TKP saw no need to

implement conspiratorial principles or to determine a policy of cadre security adapted to the conditions of the day. Conspiracy was observed in ideological questions and in byzantine intrigues. The security of leading cadres was achieved by compromising with the bourgeoisie. This is one of the reasons, and an important one at that, why, since the 12th September coup, they have been unable to call the fascist junta "fascist".

The bolshevik wing of the TKP is learning the principles of conspiratorial work and cadre security, and enriching them in the struggle.

The question has assumed vital importance since the 12th September fascist coup. Our ability to fight depends on creative implementation and development of the principles of conspiratorial work and cadre security.

Party Organisation

In the new conditions, the party organisation must be reorganised from top to bottom. Our skill in reorganising will hold back the blows of the political police and, if it does strike, mitigate their effect.

Work must be conducted both to render the information in the hands of the police obsolete and to gather and centralise counter-intelligence.

All horizontal channels in the party must be abolished, except in exceptional and absolutely necessary circumstances. All units should be formed on the basis of vertical relations. Party education should be conducted by the secretary of the given organisation.

While circles of sympathizers and peripheral organisations should be expanded as much as possible through forms of activity suited to this period, a more *conservative* approach, in comparison with the recent period, should be adopted in enrolling members.

Our ability to get our publications to militant cadres, to the factories and to the people is of vital importance in the struggle against the fascist junta. Accordingly, our illegal distribution network must be reorganised on the basis of non-personal

contacts. Literature channels must be organised separately from the party organisation. In the regions, creative forms of literature distribution suited to the period must be devised.

Our inner-party communications channels are the key to conducting efficient party work. These channels must be expanded and made more secure, taking advantage of new opportunities.

Implementing the principles of conspiracy well and ensuring cadre security is a question of specialised cadres. In the period ahead, we must step up the training of reliable technical cadres specialised in various aspects of underground work and suited to routine day-to-day work.

Cadre Security

In the period of reaction ushered in by the 12th September fascist coup, our Party must ascribe greater importance than ever to protecting cadres in general, and leading cadres in particular. In the period ahead, the principles of conspiracy must be observed without fail and a significant part of the party's resources shifted to cadre security. Concrete decisions in this respect are the responsibility of local and central leading bodies.

General Points to be Observed in Practical Work

For a communist, conspiracy must be a natural part of life. The principles of secrecy must become a *set of habits* in all units. These principles must not be seen as bothersome obstacles which hamper or delay work, but must be implemented stubbornly and enriched by new opportunities presented by life.

A good communist is a creative conspirator.

Conspiracy is, in one sense, an integral whole made up of many small, simple measures seemingly insignificant in themselves. No matter how insignificant each small part may appear individually, failure to implement any single part will jeopardise the whole. In the new period, no single measure can be ignored.

Another important point to be observed in implementing the principles of conspiracy, is to be neither complacent nor

jumpy. The former breeds contempt for measures and sloppiness, the latter panic. The important thing is to practice these principles *cool-headedly* and modestly.

Today we are fighting under conditions of reaction. The political police are attacking us more intensely and with more diverse methods than in any other period. Accordingly, all party members must pay particular attention to the points outlined below:

1. *Under no circumstances*, should the party's houses and homes of leading comrades be known by comrades in the same committee or in subordinate organisations. The lifestyles in these houses should blend in with the surroundings.
2. In tracing a lead, the political police invariably use family and close relation contacts. These contacts should be avoided as far as possible and skilfully arranged.
3. Rendezvous places should be changed frequently. Rendezvous should take place exactly on time and diaries should be concealed in coded form and not carried on the person.
4. Written documents should not, in general, be carried. If this is absolutely necessary, they must be coded and skilfully concealed.
5. Danger signals must be employed absolutely at all rendezvous and meetings and should be changed on each occasion.
6. The cover for a rendezvous must be prepared beforehand by the comrades who are to meet.
7. Conspiracy and cadre security should be placed on the agenda of party meetings and their local practice discussed.
8. A party security handbook must be produced to aid the party member in his/her practical work.

**Resolution Concerning the
TKP's Attitude in Regard to the
Process of World Revolution**

12. World Revolution and the TKP

The necessity of revolution in a world which, with imperialism, is becoming further ripe for socialism, is making itself felt with greater violence with every passing day. The working class, and first and foremost the communist parties of the capitalist countries, bear a great responsibility before the world revolution.

Under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the Russian working class began the world revolution and the transition from capitalism to socialism with the October Revolution. The world revolution is "the process in which the revolutionary centre gains strength and dominance, both qualitatively and quantitatively. More concretely, it is the process whereby the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries advance in every sphere and — through revolutions carried out in the weak links of the capitalist system — new countries join the socialist community. In this process, with the socialist system surpassing imperialism in every sphere, the epoch will change. The epoch of socialism will begin."

The world revolution cannot be reduced solely to the development of the socialist countries. The advance of living socialism is one condition for defeating capitalism, the other is

revolution in the capitalist countries. On its own, the advance of real socialism is not sufficient. There are objective difficulties presented by the fact that only the socialist countries, to a great extent the Soviet Union, have borne the burden of the transition to the epoch of socialism. These objective difficulties are a consequence of the fact that, up to and including the present, proletarian revolutions have achieved success only in underdeveloped countries.

Undoubtedly, the shortest route for arriving at the epoch of socialism would be the realisation of revolutions in the large imperialist countries. Nevertheless, this cannot be seen on the horizon at the moment. Despite all difficulties, the Soviet Union is honourably shouldering the heavy responsibility of this epoch.

The role which the Soviet Union plays in the world must be considered from the point of view of the world revolution and evaluated in relation to that fundamental goal. The interests of the world revolution come before those of any of its parts, including the Soviet Union, the world revolutionary centre. "The world revolutionary centre has a vital influence on the world revolution being brought about through revolutions taking place in individual countries or groups of countries. The place the Soviet Union occupies in the world and the fact that the CPSU is the party having the greatest authority in the world communist movement, are fundamentally derived from this, from the special tie between this country and the world revolution."

The principal role of the Soviet Union in the world is to aid the international revolution. In order to do this, the most powerful means at its disposal is its economic development, its economic policy. Its main influence on the international revolution is through its economic policy. The Soviet Union directly aids the world revolution, but limits to this are set by the fact that, "the Soviet power chooses a form of help which is commensurate with its own strength".

From the point of view of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, the task is, on the one hand, to advance socialism; on the other hand, through its peace policy, to create favourable

conditions, first for this, but at the same time for all revolutionary struggles in the world. Today there are two world systems but only one world market. Both the capitalist and socialist sectors are parts of this. As parts of a single world market, countries cannot live without entering into economic relations with each other.

It is impossible to surpass imperialism economically either easily or quickly. Imperialism began and is still running the race at an advantage: that of exploiting the world. In addition, periods of peace are periods in which capitalism as well catches its breath and develops.

Unequal development and every peaceful period of capitalism at the same time lead to a point at which new divisions become "necessary". As long as imperialism predominates in the world, peaceful periods will be periods of preparation for war. For this reason, the socialist system, despite the fact that its existence and strength presents the single obstacle to world war, is compelled to accord great importance to defence. This too retards the development of the socialist economy.

Despite its contradiction-ridden structure which leads to crises, capitalist imperialism has demonstrated its ability to extraordinarily develop the forces of production. To suppose that imperialism will collapse without being hit by a series of revolutions, as a result solely of the economic development of the socialist system, in an evolutionary way, is to repudiate the goal of world revolution. It means to confine the tasks of the communist parties of the capitalist countries to a pacifist peace struggle and reformist politics. It means to reduce the proletarian internationalist unity between the world socialist system and the working class of the capitalist countries to the level of international solidarity with a general democratic content. It means to pave the way for the growth of opportunism, the objective basis for which is very strong in the imperialist countries.

Given the concrete balance of forces in the present-day world, peaceful revolution is an illusion.

With its geo-political position, Turkey is a country which is

of vital importance for imperialism. A member of NATO, the base-dotted advance guard of imperialism in the region, it is an ominous next-door neighbour of the Soviet Union.

Since the overthrow of the Shah's regime in Iran and the revolution in Afghanistan, imperialism's sphere of manoeuvre in the Middle East has shrunk. Imperialism's tendency to resort to force in order to strengthen its weakening military and political positions in the area and to solve its energy problem, has gained strength. This policy of imperialism exactly coincides with Turkish finance-capital's need to expand. Finance-capital wishes to solve its problems by turning Turkey into an imperialist country and taking the state-monopoly capitalist mechanism to a higher level. The dictatorship, which is carrying out a bloody attack against the workers and working people within the country, is planning attacks and expeditions against neighbouring countries abroad.

Turkey is a springboard for imperialist capital in the Middle East. American imperialism has been exposed in the region and is confronted with serious difficulties in exporting capital. Since it is not strong enough to expand into the region on its own, the finance-capital of Turkey is striving to become a junior partner which will be a tool of imperialist plunder. For Turkey, the ability to expand into the under-developed countries of Asia and Africa depends on sinking its teeth into the Arab-Islam world.

While on the one hand cooperating with imperialism against Middle East countries, on the other hand the fascist regime is today stepping up its diplomatic relations with these countries against Israel in order to appropriate a large share from the ongoing plunder. It is carrying out preparations for a war of sub-division. Whether or not it engages in war immediately, the militarisation of Turkey's economy and the fascist generals' staying in power is the greatest threat to peace in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

The way of ensuring peace in our region is through revolution in Turkey. Revolution in Turkey will play an important role from the point of view of the interests of the socialist system and the world revolution. The economic, social,

political, strategic and ideological consequences of this revolution will be felt on a world scale. The fascist coup has not abrogated the task of the working class and all revolutionary forces of Turkey of breaking Turkey off of the imperialist chain. This is a task set before us by the world revolution and conditions in the country. The TKP's Leninist wing was born of these objective needs.

In order to carry out an advanced democratic people's revolution which will grow into socialism in this part of the world, we must ourselves map out the path of revolution, bearing in mind that mistakes can be made by the world communist movement; and we must protect the revolutionary essence of Marxism from every manner of attack. The ideological unity of the world communist movement has disintegrated. This disintegration, which began before the dissolution of the Comintern, was further accelerated by the abolition of organisational unity. Despite the profound differences it bears within, the world communist movement as a whole has shifted to the right.

These evaluations of the Leninists have been proved correct by events in Afghanistan and Poland and, alongside them, with the coming of the fascist junta, also in regard to the specific problems of the revolution in Turkey. We cannot approve the fact that the TKP has held no congress for 49 years, that members of the Central Committee and one-third of the party have been expelled by decision of the Political Bureau, or that those who committed these crimes met with no opposition... We cannot approve calling Hafizullah Amin an agent and a fascist, claiming that there is proof while none is presented. We recognise Hafizullah Amin, not as a CIA agent, but as the genuine leader of the Afghanistan revolution. We regard what was done to Amin and to 97 leaders of the party as an historical injustice.

The Polish United Workers' Party is profoundly guilty in the events in Poland. If we can fearlessly point out the causes of the events in Poland, this will act to the benefit of Leninism and the detriment of the bourgeoisie. The democratic aspect of

socialism in Poland has lagged behind in a manner which renders it incapable of meeting the demands of society.

A large section of the Polish working class took to the streets against the Communist Party. The demands are essentially just. Only the aspect that has been turned into a weapon is unjust. The enemies of socialism seized upon a just demand which then exploded as a demand against socialism. The working class is being split and the future of socialism endangered.

Views which oppose the need for trade unions in socialist society to be organisationally independent of the state and to function as genuine, not show, class organisations are wrong. The demand for the recognition of this role of the trade unions under socialism is a just demand.

The democratic aspect of world socialism, which has lagged behind what it should be due to concrete conditions and subjective mistakes, must develop. The socialist system is compelled to embark upon a democratisation that will express the *just* demands of the working masses. Developments are compelling it. The parties' failure to see this is benefitting their enemies. And this process of the development of democracy must not be given a direction contrary to Marxism-Leninism; the doors to opportunism, revisionism and westernism must be kept closed. There is no more genuine democracy for the working class and working masses than Marxism-Leninism.

The 12th September fascist coup confirms the extent to which counter-revolution's attack on Turkey's revolutionary movement is part of an international whole. The world communist movement can render much greater aid to the revolutionary movement in Turkey than it is giving today. This coup, which is supported by imperialism, is, at the same time, a warning to the world communist movement.

The treatment of the 12th September fascist junta as a "moderate junta against both the right and the left" in the Soviet press and in the press of other socialist countries; concealing the fascist character of a junta which reflects the interests of domestic and foreign finance-capital, is wrong. It imparts a false

consciousness to the Soviet people and the world working class.

This attitude, adopted while the overwhelming majority of the working class and revolutionary movement of Turkey are characterising the junta as a fascist junta, is doing harm to the revolutionary movement of Turkey. It will have much more serious consequences, aside from obstructing the development of international resistance against the junta and rapidly inflaming anti-Sovietism. This attitude gains nothing for the world revolutionary movement or the Soviet Union. The attitude adopted towards the fascist junta does not accord with the general interest. It does not reflect any genuine interest of the workers and communists of Turkey, of the Soviet Union or of the world revolution.

As these few examples show, on various matters concerning the world communist movement, we think differently than some of the communist parties; on some other matters we think differently than yet other parties. These differences do not prevent us from being a part of the world communist movement. The Leninist wing of the Communist Party of Turkey is a natural member and an inseparable part of the world communist movement. The TKP's Leninist forces are a movement which does not repudiate the concept of Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarian internationalism or revolution, which does not approve of NATO!

For us, the main criterion of proletarian internationalism is the attitude towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Views which run counter to the interests of the world revolution and thus to the genuine interests of the Soviet Union are anti-Soviet views.

The Soviet Union is the world revolutionary centre, the main force of the world revolution. There is no objective contradiction between its genuine long-term interests and the interests of the world revolution. The interests of the Soviet Union are interests which depend on and conform to the interests of the world revolution. There is no contradiction between the Soviet Union and the genuine long-term interests of any country.

The fact that the Soviet Union is the world revolutionary

centre is an objective phenomenon independent of any policy, right or wrong, it may follow.

All communist parties, all communists, are equal. The CPSU is the first among equals. The honourable place it occupies in the eyes of all of us is a moral position deriving from its glorious history, with both its rights and wrongs, and also from what it is doing for humanity today. This position is one which must be regained at every new step.

Communist parties, even the party of a socialist country, can make serious mistakes. No person or organisation is infallible. In situations where the general struggle of the world working class is being harmed, it is the duty of every communist to speak up. Today, mistaken views in the world communist movement are to a great extent nurtured by the failure to apply this principle. Leninists are on the side of open discussion, both in the TKP and in the international sphere. This course is not "divisive", but is a course which will lead to genuine unity and advance, and most quickly eliminate mistaken attitudes.

The Leninist cadres of the TKP will work for the rectification of mistaken views without forgetting for a moment the objective fact that the Soviet Union is the world revolutionary centre.

Leninist cadres of the TKP have been defending the Soviet Union and all living socialism for years, with all their strength and against all sorts of enemies. They will do so until the end. They have always put the interests of the world revolution above everything and will continue to do so. They are doing this because they believe that mankind will achieve genuine civilisation through communism and in order to educate the cadres, and the masses who will make the revolution in Turkey, in order to render them a force which will recognise no obstacles.

**Resolutions in Regard to the
Conference**

13. On the Publication of the Conference Proceedings

Responsible to its class and the masses, the communist party is obliged to submit its work to the supervision of the masses. This obligation is an inalienable part of the Leninist understanding of discipline. This openness is ensured by publications and, in particular, by the publication of the documents of high-level meetings which constitute the focal points of party work.

The publication of the resolutions and minutes of the 1980 First Conference of the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey was an important step in the 60-year history of the communist movement of Turkey.

Reaffirming these truths here, the Second Conference of the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey resolves that:

— The documents of the Conference (resolutions and minutes) be prepared for publication in the shortest possible time;

— They be published at a date deemed suitable by the Coordinating Committee;

— A commission be formed for the purpose of preparing the documents for publication which is authorised to omit any sections the publication of which would prejudice conspiracy and to make changes of a formal nature in language and style;

this commission to function under the Coordinating Committee.

In addition, all responsible party organisations, first and foremost the Coordinating Committee, are obliged to provide information about the Conference to all revolutionary organisations in Turkey and to member parties of the world communist movement. As part of this task, the publication of the Conference documents in other languages is left to the decision of the Coordinating Committee.

14. Statement of the Conference

To the Leninist Provincial Committees of the Communist Party of Turkey

The provisional Party Rules adopted by our Conference provide that a conference, as distinct from a congress, is of a consultative nature (Article 42). Conference decisions become binding when they have been approved by the majority of provincial committees. These provincial committees must at the same time represent a majority of party members.

Therefore, unless a provincial committee specifically informs the Coordinating Committee within 2 months of the publication of this announcement in the central organ that it has *not* approved any or all of the Conference decisions, these decisions will be deemed to have been approved. If, at the end of this period, a consensus in favour of the decisions has been reached among provincial committees representing a majority of party members, the decisions will become binding on all party organisations and members and will take effect immediately. Accordingly, an announcement to this effect will appear in the party Central Organ.

Conference Agenda

1. Opening ceremony. TKP March. Establishment of credentials (organisations represented). Election of Presidium and Steering Committee.
2. Adoption of Conference Standing Orders and Agenda. Election of commissions.
3. Presentation of reports.
4. Tactics of the TKP in the new period brought about by the 12th September fascist coup.
 - 4.1. The specific character of the new period and general outline of party tactics.
 - 4.2. Political trends, unity in the anti-fascist struggle and the TKP.
 - 4.3. The national question.
 - 4.4. The struggle against bourgeois ideology.
 - 4.5. The economic struggle and the trade union movement.
5. Questions of party work in the new period inaugurated by the 12th September fascist coup.
 - 5.1. The internal party situation.
 - 5.2. Discipline and the rules.
 - 5.3. Propaganda and agitation.
 - 5.4. Party and cadre security.
 - 5.5. Work among the masses.
 - 5.6. The financial question.
6. World Revolution and the TKP.
7. Elections.
8. Close. The *Internationale*.

Conference Standing Orders

1. The Conference will be conducted in two sessions per day: from 9.30am to 12.30 and from 14.30 to 17.30.
2. The Conference will be chaired by a Presidium made up of a chairman and two vice-chairmen. A Steering Committee, composed of three members, will be formed for the purpose of assisting the Presidium in procedural matters, such as sorting out, combining and formulating proposals.
3. The Minutes of the Conference are to be compiled by a non-participating secretariat which will work under the supervision of the Presidium. Every morning, comrades will confirm the previous day's minutes by signing their names.
4. All proposals and resolutions apart from those relating to procedure are to be submitted to the Presidium in writing.
5. Speeches are limited to 10 minutes. Those submitting resolutions are restricted to 20 minutes. Commission spokesmen are restricted to 30 minutes. When deemed necessary, departures from these restrictions are possible by common consent.
6. No comrade is to be permitted to speak more than three times on any one question. This limitation does not include speeches of commission spokesmen. When deemed necessary, this restriction may be set aside by common consent.
7. On questions relating to procedure, no more than two speakers are to be allowed "for" and two "against" a motion.
8. Decisions are to be adopted by absolute majority vote. In cases where an absolute majority is unattainable, a second vote will be taken, whereby the issue will be decided by a relative majority. When necessary, the matter may be referred back to the appropriate commission by the Presidium.
9. Voting on all matters apart from the election of Party functionaries to be open. If demanded by 1/3 of participants, voting by roll-call to take place. In such cases, all votes are to be recorded in the Minutes.

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