

**Conference of the Leninists
of the
Communist Party of Turkey
Resolutions
1980**



İŞÇİNİN SESİ PUBLICATIONS
English Series 6

CONFERENCE OF THE LENINISTS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY
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Declaration

To our working class,

A conference has taken place of the Leninist forces of the Communist Party of Turkey.

The Conference was held at an extremely critical time for both our country and our Party. Throughout the country, the class struggle is taking the form of barricade battles. The happy future of our working people is increasingly becoming more and more dependent on the struggles of our working class. At such a time the leadership of the TKP has sunk into opportunism and tailism and has taken the path of outright party-wrecking. It has betrayed our working class.

Only a party steeled in Marxist-Leninist ideology and characterised by iron discipline deserves to be called a Communist Party. The opportunism which permeated the TKP leadership has both prevented our party from attaining these qualities and prevented the struggle towards that end from being conducted within the proper framework. This opportunism has tried to divide our party by resorting to methods of slander, physical attack, denunciations and expulsions.

Today, the Communist Party of Turkey harbours various groups,

each having their own internal discipline. These are surreptitiously operating opportunist and centrist groups which are corrupting our party with their bourgeois understanding of morality. Today, there is no unity of will in the Communist Party of Turkey. This is hardly a desirable situation. Nevertheless, Leninists proceed from reality. There are two roads before us: either submitting to opportunism and sharing in its treachery in the name of "unity", or fighting against opportunism and in this way ensuring the unity of our working class on a genuine basis. For the Leninists, only the second road is possible.

Convened in order to wage an organised struggle on this road, the Conference met under the slogan: "The bourgeoisie cannot be defeated without defeating opportunism".

May the Conference of the Leninists in the TKP constitute a sure step forward in the struggle of our working class for socialism!

Conference of the Leninists
of the Communist Party of Turkey

Statement

The Leninist forces of the Communist Party of Turkey have come together in a Conference for the purpose of finding solutions to the profound crisis into which the opportunists have drawn the working class and communist movement of Turkey, and our party.

All the key organisations of our party were represented at this Conference. While some regional and provincial organisations participated *en bloc*, others, in which the Mensheviks are still able to maintain their influence, were represented by spokesmen of their Leninist wings. The presence among the Conference delegates of the secretaries of many regional and provincial committees, members of the Central Committee, and comrades in other positions of authority, incontrovertibly demonstrated the representative character of the Conference.

The Conference of Leninists in the TKP discussed questions regarding the general situation in our country, the situation in our party, and the waging of a more effective struggle by the rapidly growing Leninist wing of the party.

Our Conference concluded that the Party Rules, marked by many defects in themselves, but, more importantly, rendered obsolete by the gross infringements against them by the Mensheviks, cannot

resume their function without the defeat of opportunism and the convening of a congress. In order that the TKP's Leninist forces may wage a more coherent and more disciplined struggle against the liquidators, our Conference established a Coordinating Committee. This Coordinating Committee is the binding central authority over the TKP's Leninist forces. The provincial organisations whose entire cadre are defending Leninism will look to this Coordinating Committee for leadership.

In the provinces where Leninists have been improperly relieved of their duties, but where they nevertheless represent an important force, Leninist provincial committees of the TKP will be established which will similarly take direction from the Coordinating Committee.

Our Conference called for the convening of the TKP's Fifth Congress, its first since 1932, to discuss the problems which have developed in our party and the present *de facto* situation and for the creation of an atmosphere of open discussion.

Our Conference covered a long and intensive period of work. The agenda comprised sixteen articles. Fourteen commissions, each consisting of not less than three comrades, were established and given the task of preparing the platforms for the points of discussion set out in the agenda. The majority of comrades worked on several commissions at once.

The Conference was led by a three-member Presidium elected by the participants in the Conference. Before the discussion began, a set of Conference Standing Orders setting out the procedure to be followed during sessions was adopted. The Conference was held in two sessions each day: from 9 am to 12 noon and from 1:30 pm to 5:30 pm. The Commissions met in the remaining time after these sessions.

The minutes of the Conference were compiled by a non-participating secretariat with the assistance of the Presidium. Every morning the comrades participating in the Conference read and adopted the previous day's minutes by signing them.

Our Conference was not a show conference where comrades read previously assigned texts which were adopted "by acclamation" but without discussion. It was a genuine forum where comrades ready to defend the Leninist movement, the TKP, until the end, conscious of their duty and responsibility, engaged in fervent and open discussion in a spirit of communist honesty and with no mincing of words. It established open discussion, criticism and self-criticism and the

principle of iron unity in action as the code of conduct of the Leninist movement.

In the course of intense work, the Conference of Leninists in the TKP prepared, discussed and voted on 21 draft resolutions. All the resolutions were adopted unanimously.

Comrades who participated in the 1977 conference organised by the TKP's opportunist leaders under much more advantageous conditions! Compare that conference with the conference of the Leninists. You will find that, while none of the characteristics briefly summarised above marked the former, none of the methods which disfigured it were present at the Conference of Leninists.

Communists, party comrades! Examine the Conference resolutions carefully and compare them with the documents of the 1977 conference. You will see that the Conference of Leninists openly declared its position on every question.

The convening of such a conference at a time when the state is rapidly assuming the characteristics of a fascist state and the mensheviks are resorting to denunciations, without having any cadres fall prey to the political police, is an important achievement.

May the Conference of Leninists in the TKP be a sure step forward in the struggle of our working class for socialism!

Coordinating Committee of the
Leninists of the Communist
Party of Turkey

Conference of the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey Resolutions

1. Appeal to Communists

Our country has been experiencing a steadily deepening crisis for the past ten years. The class struggle is sharpening, revolutionary mass actions are on the rise, frequently taking the form of barricade battles. The threat of fascism is imminent as the bourgeoisie finds itself in ever more difficult straits. Maturing with every passing day, the revolutionary situation is posing the practical question: Either fascism, or an advanced democratic people's revolution. An historic opportunity for revolution is unfolding before Turkey.

The task of taking advantage of the historical opportunities and turning the rising revolutionary wave into revolution rests first and foremost with the vanguard political organisation of our working class.

In the hands of opportunist leaders, the Communist Party of Turkey, our party, is today far removed from fulfilling its task. The opportunists are trying to turn the TKP into an appendage of the bourgeoisie, into a party of reforms. By pursuing a tailist, reformist political line, by trampling on Leninist norms and the Rules, by employing factionalist and liquidationist methods, they are betraying the Party, our people and the revolution.

This situation cannot be allowed to continue. The Communist

Party of Turkey cannot be abandoned to decay in the hands of the opportunists. That is why the Leninist forces in the TKP are fighting. Their struggle is not a factional squabble. It signifies a settling of accounts between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism on a nationwide scale. No force which wants revolution in Turkey can remain indifferent to this settling of accounts.

The Leninist forces in the TKP are striving to turn into an objective, organisational force the ideological-political line which would unite all Party members apart from a handful of opportunist leaders, as well as communists who have for various reasons remained outside the Party.

Members of the Communist Party of Turkey! Take up your task of purging our party of opportunism in order that the Leninist line may be dominant in the party and for the advanced democratic people's revolution!

Communists who have remained outside the party, who are not among us because of the shop-keeper attitude of the opportunist leadership clique! Join the party! Join the organised struggle against opportunism!

Kurdish communists who are not among us because of the social-chauvinist attitude of the opportunist leadership clique, we urge you: Unite with the Leninist forces in the TKP!

The bourgeoisie cannot be destroyed without destroying opportunism!

2. Call for a Congress

The Conference of Leninists in the Communist Party of Turkey has resolved to issue to all communists of Turkey a call for the convening of a Communist Party of Turkey Congress.

The holding of a congress of the communist party, within the time limits specified in the Rules and in a democratic manner, is a requirement of both principle and international tradition.

For the Communist Party to become a party fighting as a united whole on the basis of correct ideological principles, it is necessary that all delegates to the congress, the highest body of a communist party, be elected by their organisations and that all views be freely expressed at the congress.

By having failed to convene a congress of the TKP for half a century, the opportunists are both flouting the Rules, and trampling underfoot the traditions of the international communist movement. This opportunist clique, never elected to its position and having adopted factionalism and liquidationism as the main methods of preserving its existence, is refusing to convene a congress in an attempt to prevent the rank-and-file from calling it to account. It is avoiding a congress out of fear of the rapidly growing strength of the Leninists in the TKP. It is turning the TKP into a tailist organisa-

tion lagging behind the revolutionary situation and dragging its feet behind the masses.

The Leninist forces in the TKP are conscious of the fact that a TKP purged of opportunism, able to undertake the tasks posed by the rapidly maturing revolutionary situation in our country and prepare the masses for an advanced democratic people's revolution which will grow into socialism, can be achieved only through a congress convened as soon as possible.

A congress must be convened immediately and must purge our party of opportunism in order to put an end to a disgrace unprecedented in the international communist movement, and to restore the TKP to a position of respect in that movement.

It is the task of all communists who are members of the TKP and of all non-party communists who have remained outside the party because of the TKP's opportunist leadership, to fight shoulder to shoulder, and in an organised manner, for a Leninist TKP, conscious of the fact that the fate of the revolution in Turkey depends on the outcome of this struggle. **THE ORGANISED STRUGGLE FOR A TKP CONGRESS, A CONGRESS WHICH WILL BE CONVENED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND IN WHICH ALL DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED DELEGATES OF THE ORGANISATIONS WILL PARTICIPATE, IS A FUNDAMENTAL TASK OF THE DAY.**

3. The Task Posed by the Situation in the Party

Turkey is in turmoil. Our working class is waging barricade battles in the squares, factories and districts. It is shaking the system.

At a time when our working class feels the need for its communist leadership as a matter of life and death, the Political Bureau of the TKP has dragged our party into a position of dishonour, unworthy of its class and its name. The ability of our working class to fulfil its historic responsibility for a happy future rests on the struggle for a Leninist TKP. The Leninist forces in the TKP are determined to carry this struggle to victory.

Our party was liquidated for many years. The 1973 resurgence brought an organisational revival without, however, establishing a strong ideological basis. From 1976 until 1978, the Leninists strove to lay a correct ideological foundation for the organisational revival. When the period of the Republican People's Party (RPP) government exposed their tailist policies and as Leninist ideas gained strength in the party, the factionalist activities of the opportunists controlling the party leadership intensified and came out into the open. The centrism of the General Secretary, I. Bilen, conciliated with opportunism and in 1979 a vicious campaign, unjust both in essence and form, was launched against the Leninists. The opportunist abscess

burst and the struggle rose to a new level. The Leninist line drew the appropriate lessons from this experience and matured.

From the very beginning, the Leninists were concerned, not with the personal composition of the leadership, but with its principles. This is the correct attitude. However, given the defective context, this correct attitude meant that Leninist ideas were not reflected in the leadership in proportion to their strength among the rank-and-file. The opportunists and centrist opportunists took this as an opportunity to turn the central organ into their private property and refused to accord space to Leninist ideas. They used the leadership of the party for their own factionalist purposes. Flouting the Rules, they then proceeded to expel Leninist members of the CC, as well as organisations and members at all levels. They broke off relations with organisations defending Leninist ideas and thus turned their back on entire party organisations. Resorting to expulsions, armed attacks and denunciations, they trampled party discipline underfoot. Ignoring the discipline of democratic mass organisations, they even resorted to expulsions there as well, thus undermining the democratic character of these organisations.

Given the conditions in which our country finds itself, and faced with such attacks, the Leninists will not remain idle. They will not let the TKP, to which they have freely devoted their entire lives, energy and self-sacrifice, decay. Nor will they abandon to opportunism those comrades who believe in the name communist, but cannot see the true face of events because what we are dealing with here are factions which happen to be leadership factions. The Leninists will continue this partisan struggle in a manner worthy of communists, in an *organised* manner.

The first steps in this organised struggle were taken when *Iscinin Sesi* resumed publication in 1979 after all other ways of solving the problems had been blocked off. The Leninists gathered together around *Iscinin Sesi*. Now it is necessary to develop this organisation. For this reason, our Conference resolves to establish a Coordinating Committee and a Bureau within this committee.

The Coordinating Committee is not a Central Committee and the Bureau is not a Political Bureau. The tasks of the Coordinating Committee are as follows:

1. To establish uniformity of attitude among and exercise practical leadership of Leninist provincial, regional, area and district committees and basic party organisations in the struggle against the

ugly factionalist attacks conducted by the TKP leadership.

2. To expose opportunism and centrist opportunism to our party comrades and to our working class in a clearer and more systematic fashion.

3. To wage a struggle for a genuine, not show congress after half a century during which our party has held no congress.

4. To ensure that the Leninist forces in the TKP are able to go into action in every sphere of the class struggle developing in Turkey with a single political attitude.

The comrades forming the Coordinating Committee have come together not as representatives of the organisations from which they come or to which they are attached, but as the collective leadership of the whole movement. In all matters directly related to the general interests of the movement, the decisions of the Coordinating Committee are binding on the local organisations.

The Bureau of the Coordinating Committee is responsible for ensuring the continuity of the activities of the Coordinating Committee and for coordination between the Coordinating Committee and the Central Organ. The Bureau has full authority between meetings of the Coordinating Committee.

The raising of the communists' organised struggle for a Leninist TKP is an urgent requirement of the general revolutionary interest.

4. On the Programme

The Third Programme of the Communist Party of Turkey is an eclectic programme embracing both Leninist and opportunist views. This programme at once reflected and strengthened the eclectic character of our party as a whole. Because of its eclectic content the Programme cannot serve as a guide.

The essence and meaning of the struggle the communists are now waging within the TKP against the liquidators is to provide our Party with a Marxist-Leninist programme, to present the cadres and our class with an unerring compass in the class struggle.

The provision of the TKP with a Marxist-Leninist programme depends on a Congress. That is why our Party, which has held no congress since its 4th in 1932, must convene its 5th Congress immediately, that congress to solve the problem of the programme.

Taking these facts into consideration, our Conference resolves that:

1. A draft programme be prepared by the Leninist forces in the TKP;
2. A commission be established for the purpose of preparing the draft programme;
3. This draft programme be presented for discussion in the party

organisation and to our working class;

4. The draft programme be presented in the form of a proposal to the 5th Congress of the TKP.

5. On the Central Organ

The Central Organ "is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser".

Collective propaganda and ideological leadership are ensured by a newspaper which solves the theoretical problems of the revolution, elaborates party policy, and thus provides the most advanced guidance to party members.

Collective agitation refers to the newspaper's ability to draw the masses into action.

Collective organisation means organising among the broadest mass of workers and circles of sympathisers by means of and on the basis of the newspaper.

Atlum has not been able to fulfil this three-fold function. It has instead developed a systematic opportunism by its eclectic position on ideological matters. This in turn has led the party into decay.

Atlum has a stunted understanding of propaganda which is isolated from the realities of the country, unresponsive to the needs and interests of party comrades, and which holds back the revolutionary movement. For that reason, it was unable to break out of its restricted readership and reach the broad working masses. It has failed to carry out its organisational task. Indeed its "agitation" has had the

effect of pacifying the masses.

Atilim no longer serves any other purpose than that of a platform for attacks against the Leninists. As such, it is a factionalist weapon in the hands of the opportunists at the head of the party. Furthermore, it constitutes a serious obstacle before our revolution.

By the end of 1976, *Iscinin Sesi (Worker's Voice)* had already established a distinct ideological superiority over *Atilim*. This superiority continued to grow and eventually led *Iscinin Sesi* to assume, to an ever increasing extent, the functions which *Atilim* had failed to carry out.

Iscinin Sesi has been able to combine the three functions of a communist newspaper at the most advanced level and in the most suitable way. Its straightforward and precise attitude on theoretical and political questions, its scientific approach and revolutionary spirit have rendered it matchless in this sphere.

In consideration of the achievements of *Iscinin Sesi*

1. in promoting Marxist-Leninist ideological unity within the TKP;
2. in defending Marxism-Leninism and applying it to our country with outstanding success;
3. in waging an uncompromising struggle against the liquidationist-opportunist trend which dominates the leadership of our party, as well as against any and every sign of right or "left" opportunism on a nationwide scale;
4. in preventing Leninist cadres from falling into disorder during the crisis which has gripped our party and in successfully directing their practical activity;

The Conference of Leninists of the TKP declares that it recognises *Iscinin Sesi* as the true Central Organ of our party.

6. Iscinin Sesi and Our tasks

Iscinin Sesi (Worker's Voice) is the voice of the working class of Turkey. This fact, which arises from the Marxist-Leninist stand of *Iscinin Sesi*, has also been incontrovertibly confirmed in practice. Never has a communist publication in Turkey evoked such affection and respect, received so many letters, and carried out its propaganda and organisational tasks so successfully.

Today, the issue is to make our central organ even more successful. To this end, our Conference resolves to open a discussion on the central organ in the Leninist organisations of the TKP. Such a discussion will serve to develop and examine such questions as the measures which must be taken in order that the central organ may better fulfil its organising function and that the mutual tasks of the central organ and the organisations be developed and assimilated.

Organisational unity takes shape on the basis of ideological unity. Wherever it goes, the paper brings ideological unity and consolidates organisation on this basis. Organisational work around the distribution network of the paper should thus not be thought of as separate from education on the basis of the paper.

The network of distribution and education must start from the party organisations and expand outwards. It must be ensured that

the paper's correspondence groups also undertake to expand the same network into their own periphery. Most importantly the reverse motion of this diffusion from the central organ right into the masses, namely the feedback of fresh information, articles and news items, must be better organised.

Organisation refers to the ability to take identical action at the same moment. If we are able to establish an effective network around our central organ, a network which winds its way through the masses and feeds back a fresh supply of information to the central organ, this will be a strong organisation. It will mean that not only the party organisation, but also the workers and working people rallied around it, will be able to act in harmony.

Financial considerations are an important factor in our realisation of these aims. For this reason, *Iscinin Sesi* is asking for sacrifices on the part of all its readers. We know that the readers of *Iscinin Sesi* are workers, working people and youth, those who are bearing the brunt of the economic crisis engendered by the bourgeoisie. But at the same time, the readers of *Iscinin Sesi* are communists having a high level of consciousness, advanced workers, revolutionaries. The revolutionary struggle rises on the basis of revolutionary sacrifice.

Iscinin Sesi is the Marxist-Leninist voice of the working class of Turkey.

7. On the Organisation of Propaganda

In parallel with the deep crisis encompassing all aspects of life in Turkey, ever broader sections of the working class are entering the struggle and the revolutionary movement is rapidly expanding. The recruitment and development of our cadres is lagging behind in comparison.

We have relatively few experienced propagandists capable of explaining theoretical and political matters to our members and to revolutionary workers in a correct and consistent manner.

Conditions of illegality prevent the widescale establishment of large study circles. This in turn hinders the more effective use of the few qualified propagandists we do have.

Taking this situation into account our Conference resolves that:

1. Local party committees select able propagandists from among their members and ensure that these comrades *correctly* present the topical propaganda matters;
2. The central organ provide the party committees with a constant supply of material such as books, pamphlets, papers, journals and reading plans;
3. In fulfilling their duties, our party propagandists address themselves to problems of social and political life and use terminology

readily understood by the broadest possible sections of the population;

4. *Iscinin Sesi* and its publications be assimilated by continuous and systematic study at all levels, from the basic party organisations upwards, and among the workers' correspondence groups; the Coordinating Committee to be responsible for the fulfilment of this fundamental task;

5. "Propaganda bureaus" be formed at provincial committee level, responsible for the conduct of propaganda and the supply of information to the central organ.

8. On the Organisation of Agitation

The profound crisis in Turkey is rapidly drawing broad masses into political struggle.

Active and effective agitational work is of great importance in taking advantage of this situation and drawing yet broader masses into the struggle. Our task is to succeed in exposing political realities in a striking and lively manner and on a day-to-day basis, and to direct agitation towards the same goal on a nationwide scale.

In order to be able to fulfil these tasks:

1. Local party committees must select able agitators from amongst their members and give them special training. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that every communist, every member of the organisation, is an agitator.

2. In order that agitation may be conducted correctly and successfully, it is necessary to ensure that the policy of our Party's Leninist wing be fully and correctly assimilated. For this purpose, our central organ *Iscinin Sesi* must be carefully studied by agitators and in this way a uniformity of content assured on a nationwide scale.

3. Agitation must be topical, concrete and creative, take into consideration the psychology of the masses, and be conducted in a manner to raise their revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm.

4. Revolutionary action is a proletarian method of agitation on a high level. We must organise much broader and active agitation before, after and during a given action. We must remember that publicising a particular action is itself of an agitational character and we must transmit these actions to the masses with their full revolutionary enthusiasm and essence.

9. On the reorganisation of Publications

Publications are the lifeblood of the party. The achievement of ideological and political unity, as well as the successful conduct of collective propaganda, agitation and organisational work, depends on the most widespread and rapid distribution of all party literature, first and foremost the central organ, among the masses and militants.

The bourgeoisie and the opportunists are resorting to every conceivable method in their attempt to prevent distribution among the masses of the Central Organ of the Leninist forces in the TKP: *İscinin Sesi*. The same applies to all our other publications. These obstructions have multiplied in the recent period.

Noting the vital importance of the distribution of publications, and considering it to be the most important problem facing us today, our Conference resolves that the distribution of publications be reorganised using new methods to overcome the obstacles. It instructs the Coordinating Committee to implement this decision as soon as possible. It also deems it necessary to seek out legal channels of publication in order to reach broader sections of the masses. Expanding our publication and distribution activities in foreign languages is another task which must be accorded great importance.

(The 10th Resolution has not been published for reasons of conspiracy.)

11. On Discipline and Conspiracy

In its struggle for power, the proletariat has no weapon other than its ideology and organisation. A Communist Party means organisational unity. If it is to fulfil its role as the vanguard of the working class, the party must be an organisation of iron discipline.

Leninist discipline means (1) open discussion; (2) open criticism and self-criticism; (3) iron unity in action; (4) complete fulfilment of all tasks set by the party; and (5) disclosure of all financial resources to the party.

Leninist discipline rests on ideological unity. The question of discipline must always be considered in conjunction with the question of correct consciousness, ties with the masses, and a correct political line.

The opportunists have only a bureaucratic understanding of discipline. They imposed only the third, fourth and fifth parts of the definition of discipline set out above, while banning ideological discussion from the party bodies under the pretext of discipline. They applied the rules of conspiracy to ideological matters. They boycotted the Leninists in the party and by their gross violations of the Rules are striving to split our party.

A communist party is a monolithic organisation. However, this

does not mean that different views cannot or should not arise, that they should be banned. It means rather that because there is open discussion of all views, the correct view becomes dominant in the party while different views are not able to lurk in hidden corners. It is the correct application of Leninist discipline and democratic centralism which renders the party monolithic, not the banning of discussion, criticism and ideas.

The Leninists opposed the party leadership's bureaucratic understanding of discipline, their private preserve mentality and attempts to hide it under the pretext of discipline. They have always adhered to the principles of iron unity in action, complete fulfilment of all tasks assigned by the party and disclosure of all financial resources to the party. At the same time, they have fought for, and won the right to open discussion and criticism and self-criticism which was denied to them.

A new situation has emerged in our party today, one which will most probably last until the party's 5th Congress. Let us briefly describe the features of this new situation.

The Rules of our party, ie., its document on discipline, have been smashed to pieces by the mensheviks. Expelling members of the Central Committee from that body, discharging regional and provincial committee secretaries and members from their duties, expelling Leninists from the party wherever they can, expelling entire organisations, all these constitute grave breaches of discipline for which there is no justification in our party Rules.

Furthermore, the discussions which have gone on for 9 months have shown that there are very deep ideological divisions in our party.

There remains no unity of will in our party today, The Rules no longer operate. There are attempts to expel "undesirable" views and the comrades who defend those views, before the party as a whole has expressed its views on the matters leading to division. The path chosen by the menshevik ruling clique has left the Leninists no alternative other than an organised struggle within the party. Thus it is that *two separate disciplines* have come into being in our party today. There are two separate attitudes on every question, two separate centres of authority and two separate disciplines.

The responsibility for this situation lies with the opportunist ruling clique which has obstructed discussion in the proper bodies despite insistent warnings over many years, and are now resorting to *de facto* expulsions.

And while all these are taking place, *the party as a whole has not yet declared its will on the points of difference*. Under present conditions, it can only do so at a *congress* convened on the basis of revolutionary honesty, where all forces in the party will be represented and an open discussion will take place, i.e., a genuine congress. For this reason, the present duality will continue until the congress. Unity of will, authority and discipline will be re-established there.

In the absence of any developments which drastically alter the situation summarised above, relations between the Leninist wing of the TKP and the menshevik centre will proceed within these limits.

In this tumultuous period, discipline within the Leninist wing of the TKP is of vital importance.

As communists who have rebelled against bureaucratic discipline and found each other through open discussion, we see the appearance of some shortcomings in our practice of discipline. Our hatred for opportunism and loathing for opportunist practices must not lead us to reject certain truths. It is essential that all our comrades firmly embrace the Leninist understanding of discipline in order that we may surmount all difficulties and achieve victory.

Conspiracy is necessary to protect the party from its enemies, from the bourgeoisie and its agents. However, there can be no conspiracy in the ideological sphere. While banning ideological discussion with cries of conspiracy, the opportunists have been following the path of Vedat Nedim* and the like by betraying the Leninist forces in the party to the bourgeoisie. And all the while, since they have the same understanding of conspiracy as an ostrich, they have exposed the cadres and entered into bargains and agreements with the bourgeoisie.

The Conference of Leninists in the TKP calls on all our comrades to raise their level of discipline and conspiracy.

The Conference of Leninists in the TKP resolves to form a commission to prepare a set of draft Rules on the basis of the Leninist principles of discipline and conspiracy, this draft to be presented to the 5th congress that is to be convened.

* Vedat Nedim was the opportunist Secretary of the TKP Central Committee in 1926. At the trial of more than 50 communists in Istanbul in 1927 he boasted of having betrayed party members to the police. Later he became a high-ranking government official.

12. On the Plan of Reports

A communist party steeled in Marxist-Leninist ideology and politics is the most modern organisation of the contemporary world.

The organisation of the Leninist forces in the TKP must be conducted in accordance with this criterion. Their organisation must be the most modern and rational organisation in Turkey. There is a long way to go in this respect. We must strive for standardisation in every sphere of our activity. Standardisation means being an organisation, means being able to act in harmony throughout the country.

Uniformity in the presentation of reports at all levels of the party organisation will be an important step forward towards standardisation. For this reason, our Conference has decided to adopt the following report form for all party organisations:

1. Organisational Report

- 1.1. Number of members and structural diagram of the organisation.
- 1.2. Number of sympathisers (and groups) receiving education and giving donations in Workers' Correspondence Groups
- 1.3. Number of sympathisers with whom there is regular contact
- 1.4. Internal problems of the organisation

- 1.5. Proposals, criticism and self-criticism
2. Agitation, Propaganda and Education
 - 2.1. Ideological questions gaining particular importance in your region (province)
 - 2.2. Evaluation of the general progress of educational work
 - 2.3. Number of newspapers distributed (those arriving by post and those reproduced)
 - 2.4. Number of news items, articles and photographs sent to the Central Organ since your last report (if none, state reason)
 - 2.5. Journals, statistical information, books, etc., regularly sent to the Central Organ
 - 2.6. Proposals and any criticisms there may be for the Central Organ
3. The Political Situation
 - 3.1. How do you evaluate the present political situation in Turkey?
 - 3.2. Recent political developments in your region
 - 3.3. Information regarding every political party and group in your region. The state of our relations with them
4. Mass Work
 - 4.1. Detailed information and evaluation in regard to mass actions in your region
 - 4.2. The state of the mass organisations
5. Financial Report
6. Free

13. On the Financial Problem

It is necessary to turn the ideological force of Marxism-Leninism into a material force. For this it is necessary to raise the organisational level of our TKP to the extent required to embrace the revolutionary wave. We must eliminate the financial difficulties hindering the development and growth of our party. This in turn demands, not a merchant-like approach, but Bolshevik organisation and revolutionary methods.

As with everything else, the mensheviks also applied their opportunist approach to the solution of the financial problem facing our party. When they should have relied first and foremost on their own members, they held the average level of dues as low as 2%, a ridiculous figure under conditions of a revolutionary situation. And even these dues were never regularly and fully collected. The readiness for revolutionary sacrifice which has arisen among the masses, as well as sympathisers and party members, in the course of the revolutionary situation was thus ignored. The most concrete example of this is the mensheviks' opposition to the "Summer Assault".

The mensheviks approached the financial problem with a merchant's mentality, establishing enterprises fully integrated into the

capitalist system. Instead of directing the organisations to rely on their members, sympathisers and the masses in order to solve the financial problem, they accustomed them to ready money. Creativity did not develop and money was spent recklessly. Financial reports were scrapped as the opportunists trampled on party norms.

Our TKP must overcome this sickness and solve the financial problem in a manner suitable to the revolutionary situation. Putting to proper use and raising the revolutionary sacrifice of our members, sympathisers and the masses is the main factor in both raising our organisational level and solving the financial problem. Every party organisation must be self-sufficient from the financial point of view and must provide regular financial resources to the next highest party body.

To this end our Conference resolves that all party committees must:

- Raise their members' dues and collect them regularly and in full;
- Collect *regular* monthly contributions from Workers' Correspondence Groups, sympathisers and workers;
- Inaugurate a large-scale and centrally-organised campaign for contributions from members, sympathisers and the masses;
- Conduct the "Summer Assault", which has been carried out successfully for three years, all across Turkey.

Our Conference instructs the Coordinating Committee to immediately organise and carry out the measures necessary to create such financial resources as will ensure a regular and continuous income and which are not integrated into the system.

14. On Political Trends and the Attitude of the TKP

The opportunist leadership of the TKP is trying to tack our working class onto the tail of other political trends under the cover of “working class unity” and “unity of action and front”. This not only damages the honour of our working class, it endangers both the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution and the revolution itself.

Our Conference emphasises the importance of establishing very clearly the attitude of the Leninist forces in the TKP towards other political trends. It stresses the following points in this respect:

1. The Republican People’s Party (RPP) is primarily the spokesman of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. Just as the non-monopoly bourgeoisie is not a revolutionary force, it has been clearly seen that the social-democratic RPP is not a revolutionary party and that it has been exerting special efforts to strangle the revolution with bourgeois reformism. All the doors to the reaction which is raging today were opened one by one during the period of the RPP government. The wave of repressive measures directed against the workers and the people began in that period.

It is inconceivable that the RPP could ever be an ally in the struggle for the advanced democratic people’s revolution which will grow into socialism. On the contrary, the task of communists is to

expose the RPP and to isolate it from the masses. The crude attacks of the extremely reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie and the type of answer they require are clear in the minds of the masses. The main weapon in the bourgeoisie's ideological attack directed towards corrupting the consciousness of the masses is, however, the RPP. Thus, the ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie is essentially an ideological struggle against the RPP.

2. The opportunists are once again promoting their tailism in regard to the RPP: this time in the form of tailism towards the RPP's left wing. As has been the case with social-democratic parties throughout the world, the left wing of the RPP is striving to revive the party's lost influence among the masses with more left-sounding phrases. The Leninist forces in the TKP will continue their ideological struggle against every wing of the RPP. They will allow neither the revival of the RPP's lost influence nor that of tailism towards the RPP in new forms.

3. There is a broad petty-bourgeois class in Turkey and it is thus to be expected that various petty-bourgeois trends take their place in the political spectrum as well. As our working class confirmed its revolutionary leadership in practice, most of the petty-bourgeois political trends assumed the form of petty-bourgeois socialism. In the revolutionary situation, the most important criterion in evaluating these petty-bourgeois trends from the point of view of alliances in the advanced democratic people's revolution, is whether they are reformist or revolutionary.

Parties such as the Workers' Party of Turkey (WPT), and the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (SWPT) are right-wing reformist, petty-bourgeois socialist parties. However "advanced" the aims they set, these parties in fact repudiate these aims by remaining aloof from revolution, the only way of achieving these aims. As long as this remains the case, they cannot be considered prospective allies in the advanced democratic people's revolution.

On the other hand, revolutionary petty-bourgeois trends do exist. Without halting the ideological struggle even for a moment, our working class must pay attention to the revolutionary spokesmen of the petty-bourgeoisie.

Foremost among these trends is the Kurdish national movement which has as its class basis the broad rural and urban petty-bourgeois masses of Kurdistan. Kurdish revolutionary democrats are fighting heroically against national oppression. Our working class recognises

all the rights of the Kurdish nation, including its right to secede, and puts forward corresponding slogans in its struggles.

Another important element among the revolutionary petty-bourgeois trends are those based on the mass of students, primarily in large cities. Student youth are providing many examples of revolutionary heroism. While on the one hand an intense ideological struggle must be waged against the confusion created by these trends which promote their views – left in appearance, but right in essence – under the name of socialism, on the other hand it is necessary to search for ways of achieving unity of action with these militant forces.

4. The opportunist leadership of the TKP is defending unity between the TKP, the WPT and the SWPT. Furthermore, by defining this unity as the *political* unity of the working class, it is exposing its own profound opportunism and petty-bourgeois nature. It is halting the ideological struggle against these trends and trying to tack the working class onto their tail.

The unity of the TKP, WPT, and SWPT can be nothing other than a joint effort to poison the working class on the part of right-wing petty-bourgeois socialist trends.

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 confuse 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 the slightest 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.

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

– The TKP's Leninist forces emphasise the necessity of creating opportunities for unity of action directed towards the advanced democratic people's revolution with revolutionary representatives

of the petty-bourgeoisie without interrupting the ideological struggle.

— The Leninist forces in the TKP point out that, if the interests of the class struggle so dictate, it is permissible to enter into temporary and limited agreements with reformist forces as well; that it is necessary to take advantage of the contradictions within the bourgeoisie in the interests of the class struggle; that 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.

15. On the Attitude of Communists in Demonstrations

Our country has been experiencing a revolutionary situation for many years. While social-democracy and opportunism are trying to pacify the revolutionary class and strata on the one hand, on the other petty-bourgeois "left" revolutionism is dissipating energy with ill-prepared actions designed to serve no other purpose than their own. Under these conditions, our working class is unable to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the revolutionary situation, gather and mobilise the organised force required to overthrow the system.

In the situation in which Turkey finds itself today, *political mass actions* (political strikes, demonstrations, occupations, etc.) are the most important means of politically educating the broadest sections of the people and of extending the influence of communism.

In the situation in which Turkey finds itself today, *political mass actions* are also the most important means of ensuring the systematic disintegration and collapse of the state apparatus.

In the situation in which Turkey finds itself today, every mass action is met with armed attacks on the part of the state forces and the fascists, and thus turns into armed clashes and pitched battles. This has the effect of preparing the masses for a nationwide popular

uprising.

Taking these facts into consideration, our Conference stresses that all our organisations must take advantage of every opportunity to organise political mass actions and, by fighting in the front ranks of every spontaneous mass resistance, exert every effort to turn the latter into conscious political action.

While organising political mass actions, communists must bear in mind the following points:

1. Prior to every action, communists must carry out extensive agitational work explaining their aims to the popular classes. They must win the sympathy of the people for the action.

2. When choosing the time for an action, account must be taken of the psychology of the masses and forced actions must be avoided.

3. The conscious cadres who will be at the core of the action must be sufficient in number, well organised and well prepared.

4. Keeping in mind that an armed attack by police and fascist gangs is very probable, serious preparations must be undertaken to protect the action and the cadres and disperse the attackers.

5. During the past two years, army units have been extensively used against workers and working people. This provides an important opportunity to draw the rank-and-file of the army into the class struggle. We must be able to take advantage of this opportunity by explaining the aims of the action to the soldiers and calling them to take the side of the people. We must prevent activists from antagonising the soldiers unnecessarily.

Our Conference resolves that the party organisations must take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself within the framework of the points set out above.

16. On the Working Class and Trade Union Movement

Today the trade union movement in Turkey is in deep crisis, the objective and subjective causes of which are closely interrelated.

The fact that under present conditions the struggles which break out due to economic problems very rapidly assume a political character, renders trade unions alone inadequate even in their own organisational sphere. However, opportunism has sapped the strength of the vanguard of the working class and the TKP leadership itself is pursuing only trade union politics.

The two main lines which control the leadership of a large number of trade unions in the trade union movement of Turkey pose the greatest danger. The *first* of these is yellow, gangster trade unionism which is the direct extension of the bourgeoisie in the trade union movement; the *second* is opportunism, i.e., pink trade unionism which claims to speak in the name of the working class but in reality carries petty-bourgeois views into the trade unions. These two lines have led to the growth of contradictions between the leadership and the rank-and-file membership of the trade unions; the obstruction by trade union leaders of revolutionary actions in many factories; and the dismissal of leading revolutionary workers and workers' representatives from their union positions and their expulsion from the trade

union itself.

Under present conditions, the need for a communist vanguard to guide the class struggle as a whole is greater than ever. Rapidly strengthening our Party's organisation in factories and working class districts is the most urgent task. Together with this, we must intensify the struggle against all manner of cliquish attempts to prevent the free propaganda in the trade unions of the revolutionary line put forward by the Leninist forces in the TKP.

The Conference of the Leninists in the TKP, aiming to unite the trade union struggle with the struggle for an advanced democratic people's revolution which will grow into socialism, defines the essence of its attitude to be: according priority to party organisation within the working class; working to ensure the trade union unity of the working class movement; and, to this end, waging a continuous struggle against any and every obstacle standing in the way of trade union unity.

Our Conference summarises the results of this attitude as follows:

1. In all their work communists must give priority to party organisation within the working class, in factories. The opportunists liquidated party organisation in factories, subordinating activity in the factory to activity in the trade union. Having set the aim of reaching the factory through the trade union, they engaged in intrigues to secure the leadership of the trade union. We must learn from these mistakes. A communist must think first and foremost of the factory.

2. Communists must organise all their work according to the principle of *industrial concentration*, concentrating their organisational activities in strategic branches of industry and key factories. In our country today, organising in large enterprises in the metallurgical, energy, communications, transport, petrochemical and military industries is of vital importance.

3. Party organisation in factories, an activity which must be illegal or semi-legal given even the most democratic conditions under capitalism, must be conducted in complete illegality in our country. Factory basic organisations and all their members must strictly comply with the rules governing illegal work.

4. Communists are opposed to notions of the "political independence of trade unions" and "trade union politics" which serve to strengthen the bourgeoisie's influence over the working masses. They defend the view which combines trade unions' "organisational inde-

pendence” with “alignment with the Party in the political sphere”, and point out that trade unions must defend all revolutionary democratic aims. (The opportunists do not even mention the army or the Kurdish question in the trade unions.) Communists will insist upon this.

5. Communists must defend trade union unity and wage an uncompromising struggle against narrow group and splitting attitudes. They must explain to the workers the error and harmfulness of efforts on the part of opportunists and petty bourgeois revolutionary trends to establish small independent trade unions in conformity with their shop-owner notion of trade unionism. They must oppose the concept of “a trade union for every political trend”.

6. Communists must lead the growing opposition to the yellow and opportunist trade union leaderships among the rank-and-file and organise propaganda and agitation around concrete demands in order to achieve success in conducting the economic struggle of the working class. Our demands must be scientific, concrete, and designed to raise the consciousness of the workers.

7. Communists must raise the slogan of “trade union democracy” and continue without let-up the struggle to implement the principles that every trade union should have a democratic constitution and that trade union leaders at all levels should be elected. They must convey to the masses the following slogans as the common slogans of the struggle for trade union democracy: “No trade unionist must receive more than the wage of a skilled labourer”; “Workers to the leadership of trade unions”; “Down with trade union bureaucratism” and “A say to the trade union rank-and-file”.

In order to ensure coordination in our work in the trade unions throughout the country, our Conference resolves to establish a trade union bureau attached to the Coordinating Committee.

17. On the Kurdish National Movement

National oppression, the existence of oppressed nations, obscures the contradiction between labour and capital, facilitates its disguise and causes hostility and distrust between peoples.

In Turkey today the national question is the Kurdish question. 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. Today capitalism dominates there, although various semi-feudal forms and remnants also remain to a certain extent. The rapid capitalist development which is taking place in Turkey as a whole, the domination of finance capital and the emergence of state monopoly capitalism are exacerbating the oppression and exploitation of the Kurdish nation on a new historical basis. Capitalist development is the main factor underlying the dimensions which the Kurdish national movement has reached today.

Today in Turkey we must unite in one mighty current the Kurdish national movement and the struggle for an advanced democratic people's revolution which is led by the proletariat and which will

grow into socialism. For Turkish communists this can only be achieved through a merciless, uncompromising struggle against opportunism and chauvinism and by winning the trust of the Kurdish people.

Defending the right of the Kurdish nation to secede is an indispensable prerequisite for achieving the unity of the Kurdish and Turkish proletariat. For this unity cannot be achieved without educating the Turkish proletariat in an internationalist spirit. Kurdish communists, on the other hand, must wage a struggle against oppressed nation narrow-mindedness and nationalism.

Our Conference calls on Kurdish communists who have remained outside the TKP because of the past and present social-chauvinist attitude of the party's opportunist leadership, to unite with the TKP's Leninist forces. It emphasises the importance of forming a close alliance between Kurdish democrats and the Leninist forces in the TKP in order to realise the advanced democratic people's revolution which will be the first step towards the genuine liberation of the Kurdish nation. It instructs the Coordinating Committee to establish fraternal relations with all revolutionary democratic organisations in Turkish Kurdistan.

18. On Work Among Youth

Nearly 60% of the population of our country is composed of youth under the age of 20. The proportion of youth as a whole is even higher. The youth, the majority of which come from the popular classes, is an important sphere of organisation for our party.

This situation, together with the militant spirit of our Leninist ideology which enables it to mobilise the dynamism of the youth, explains the need for our party to give importance to organisation among youth, working youth in particular, and to provide scope for the initiative of young cadres.

The youth of Turkey, with their rich revolutionary traditions, occupies an important place in our revolutionary struggle. The opportunists failed to capture the youth by their method of dissipating its enthusiasm and dynamism in attacks against "left" trends while at the same time pursuing a pacifist, capitulationist policy. As a result, the Progressive Youth Organisation (IGD) movement, which had developed rapidly prior to 1978, has today become bankrupt and the level of consciousness of cadres working among the youth has fallen. This in turn means that the youth have been abandoned to "left" trends.

Taking this situation into consideration, our Conference stresses

the need to rescue the revolutionary cadres of the IGD from the impasse in which they find themselves, win all militants who believe in the revolution away from "left" trends over to Leninist ideology, and to develop our methods of mass work among youth.

In light of the above, our Conference resolves:

1. To give priority in work among youth to party organisation;
2. To establish a youth bureau responsible for party organisation among youth and attached to the Coordinating Committee; to establish local youth bureaus attached to regional and provincial committees;
3. To train special propagandists and agitators who will be able to successfully conduct party work among youth;
4. To take advantage as much as possible of whatever opportunities still exist for legal work among youth in spite of the fact that the political atmosphere in our country is becoming increasingly more reactionary;
5. To give the utmost priority to organisation among working class youth, bearing in mind that it is in this section that the most advanced cadres of the workers' movement are brought up;
6. That our agitation and propaganda work among youth must, proceeding from their specific problems, needs and demands, demonstrate the political 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 youth; and in this way connect their problems with the revolution and the necessity of seizing power.
7. To strive to create a centralised nationwide mass organisation of the youth of Turkey, including sections of youth under the influence of various revolutionary trends; to develop a communist youth movement which will be the backbone of this centralised mass youth organisation and which will give direction to the potential represented by youth's reaction against the opportunists and various "left" trends.

19. On Work Among Women

An important sign of the revolutionary situation is the increasing participation of women, of working class women in particular, in political activity. This phenomenon, which we observe as a continuously growing tendency in Turkey today, demands that our party concern itself with the woman question more than ever before.

The Progressive Women's Association (IKD), itself a product of the growing participation of women in political life and an important milestone in the women's movement in Turkey, has been driven into bankruptcy by the opportunists.

As a result, the revolutionary potential of working women has lain dormant while there has been a rapid decline in the consciousness of cadres working among women.

In order to correct this situation, to rescue the revolutionary cadres of the IKD from the impasse they have entered, and to win women over to the revolutionary struggle *en masse*, we must develop our methods of mass work and find special ways of working among women.

In consideration of all these, our Conference resolves:

1. To establish both a woman's bureau attached to the Coordinating Committee and local bureaus responsible for the organisation of

women; these bureaus to train special cadres and agitators for work among women;

2. To take advantage as much as possible of existing legal opportunities for organising among women in our country;

3. That agitation and propaganda work among women must, proceeding from *their own* sorrows, problems, needs and demands, establish the political bond between these problems and the demands of the working class movement on a nationwide scale; show *concretely* the benefits that women will derive from the advanced democratic people's revolution which will grow into socialism, and thus tie their problems to revolution and the necessity of seizing power.

4. To increase the proportion of women in all leading party bodies and in the party as a whole.

20. On the Working Class of Turkey and World Revolution

Our epoch is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. This definition reflects the existence and growing strength of a revolutionary centre which has broken away from the imperialist system and the fortifying of this centre by new links which are breaking away from the imperialist chain. In this process, as the socialist system surpasses the imperialist system in every sphere, the epoch will change. The *epoch of socialism* will begin.

The three main currents of the process of world revolution are the socialist system led by the Soviet Union, the working class movement in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movements.

The Soviet Union is the world revolutionary centre. The world revolutionary centre shifted to the Soviet Union with the victory of the October revolution. The revolutions which took place following the victory of the Soviet people's heroic struggle against the fascist invasions built the socialist system around the revolutionary centre. The revolutionary centre played and is playing the leading role in the strengthening of the socialist system.

Today, the Soviet Union is establishing the material and technical basis of a communist society. In this way, she is both dealing imper-

ialism a most deadly blow and rendering the greatest aid to the other currents of the world revolution. The task of establishing the material and technical foundations of communism is the most revolutionary of the tasks facing the working class in all countries.

The process of world revolution is an integral whole. Its culmination will be the eradication of imperialism from the historical scene and the establishment of world communism. In the forefront of the struggle that will lead to this culmination is the Soviet Union, living socialism. Unity between the revolutionary centre and the other forces waging a struggle against imperialism (the national liberation movements and the working class movement in the capitalist countries) is an objective necessity for the victory of the anti-imperialist struggle. It is for this reason that anti-Soviet, anti-communist trends which disrupt the unity of the world revolutionary forces cannot be considered revolutionary. The evolution of Maoism, its gradual assumption of a reactionary character, demonstrates this. "Euro-communism" is also passing through the same evolution on a different path.

An understanding of the Soviet Union as the world revolutionary centre, as the vanguard of the world revolution, is the foundation stone of a correct conception of the process of world revolution. For revolutionaries in Turkey, where all manner of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism thrive, this understanding is of vital importance.

The imperialist system is now far from its dominating position of old. Retreating every day, it is in deep crisis. The recent revolutions in Ethiopia, Iran, Nicaragua and Afghanistan both reflected and deepened this crisis.

The countries where the contradictions in the world capitalist economy are concentrating and intensifying are "the weak links of the imperialist chain". These are the countries where there is the strongest possibility of revolution. *In our day*, the weak links of the imperialist chain are the under and medium-level developed capitalist countries.

The main contradiction of our epoch, the contradictions between socialism and imperialism is inflaming all the contradictions of the capitalist system and accelerating revolutionary processes. In other words, it is multiplying the number of weak links in the imperialist chain, accelerating their appearance, and increasing the possibility of their breaking away from the imperialist chain.

Turkey is an important link in the imperialist system spreading

the germs of reaction and war. This important link is gradually weakening. The revolutionary situation is maturing. Faced with the rising struggles of our working class and growing mass resistance, the collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie is experiencing ever greater difficulty in ruling the country.

Carrying out revolution in a country is an internationalist duty. The opportunist leadership of the TKP is hindering our working class in fulfilling this task. In this way, it is turning proletarian internationalism into an empty phrase.

Our working class will defeat opportunism, pull Turkey out of the imperialist chain, ensure a happy future for our people and, in this way, fulfil its historical responsibility towards world revolution.

The Conference of Leninists in the TKP calls on all communists, our working class and revolutionaries, to put proletarian internationalism into practice and establish a Turkey which would be a land of revolution and peace rather than reaction and war.

Proletarian internationalism is an eternal torch in our hands!

21. On the Publication of the Conference Proceedings

The Communist Party is the leader, the general staff of the working class. It is its task to direct the working class in its struggles. The Communist Party, Leninists, render account for their deeds and their decisions to the working class.

Communists do not inject conspiracy into ideological, political and even, as far as possible, organisational matters. They always submit their attitudes to the judgment of the working class. This frank attitude at the same time ensures that adopted decisions do not remain on paper.

In accordance with this understanding, the Conference of Leninists in the TKP resolves that the Conference proceedings (resolutions and minutes) be prepared for publication as soon as possible; that these documents be published in our central organ at such a time as is deemed suitable by the Coordinating Committee; that a commission be formed for the purpose of preparing the documents for publication, which is authorized to make changes of a formal nature in language and style and, where necessary, alter or omit completely any sections the publication of which would prejudice conspiracy.

Conference Agenda

1. Opening ceremony; TKP March; establishment of credentials (provinces represented).
2. Election of Presidium.
3. Adoption of Conference Agenda.
4. Adoption of Conference Standing Orders and election of commissions.
5. Presentation and discussion of reports.
6. The situation in the Party.
7. The Party programme.
8. The Central Organ of the Party.
9. The trade union movement.
10. The youth and women's movement; professional associations.
11. Internal problems of Party work:
 - 11.1. The organisation of propaganda.
 - 11.2. The organisation of agitation.
 - 11.3. The organisation of publications.
 - 11.4. The organisation of communication.
 - 11.5. Conspiracy and discipline.
 - 11.6. Work in mass organisations.
 - 11.7. The financial problem.
 - 11.8. Demonstrations and resistance actions.
12. Political trends and the TKP
13. The national question; organisation in Kurdistan
14. The TKP and world revolution
15. Election of the Coordinating Committee and of the editor and assistant editor of the Central Organ
16. *The Internationale*; close

Conference Standing Orders

1. The Conference will be conducted in two sessions per day: from 9am to 12 and from 1.30pm to 5.30pm.
2. The names of all comrades other than Veli Dursun, Fatma Izlem and Levent to be changed for reasons of security.
3. Each speaker to be limited to ten minutes. Commission spokesmen to be restricted to thirty minutes. Comrades submitting resolutions to be restricted to twenty minutes (Departures from this rule possible by common consent if necessary).
4. No comrade to be permitted to speak more than three times on any one question. This limitation does not include the opening speech of commission spokesmen. When necessary, the right to speak more than three times may be accorded by common consent.
5. On questions relating to procedure, no more than two speakers to be allowed "for" and two "against" a motion.
6. The Minutes of the Conference to be compiled by a non-participating secretariat with the assistance of the Presidium. Every morning, comrades to confirm the previous day's minutes by signing their names.
7. 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.
8. Decisions are to be adopted by majority vote. In this case, all votes cast to be recorded in the minutes. 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 corresponding commission.
9. All proposals and resolutions apart from those relating to procedure to be submitted to the Presidium in writing.

The Third Programme and our Tasks

R. Yürükođlu

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