



SOCIALISM WILL WIN

R. Yürükoğlu

İŞÇİNİN SESİ PUBLICATIONS
ENGLISH SERIES 7

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*Speech by Comrade R. Yürükoğlu at the meeting organised in London on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Turkey.**

*The speech was delivered on 10th September, before the fascist coup in Turkey.

Dear comrades,

Let us all salute the 60th anniversary of the founding of our party which, together with the world communist movement, is passing through a difficult period.

The Situation in Turkey

Comrades, we all know the situation in Turkey, therefore I shall only dwell upon it briefly. There is chaos in every sphere of life in our country. A president cannot be agreed upon. According to a view the mensheviks have broadcast on radio in recent days, the vote of non-confidence in the Minister of Foreign Affairs, confirms that an anti-imperialist majority has taken shape in parliament! For us, however, it confirms the bourgeoisie's inability to rule.

In recent days, BBC Television presented the murder of one person by terrorists in Spain as one of its main news items. The same programme remarked that 70-75 people have been killed in Spain in the past year. In Turkey, 76 people have been killed in the past three days: 40 on the first day, 20 on the second. The entire year's death total in Turkey will amount to 4,000. These are the figures *published in the newspapers*. The real figures are probably much higher.

There is a revolutionary situation in Turkey and it is gradually deepening. The Izmir uprising, the events in Corum and Fatsa, and the Inciralti massacre all indicate this.

The TKP's opportunist wing still does not see these realities. It is still denying the existence of a revolutionary situation. If fascism comes to our country tomorrow, the opportunists will bear a heavy guilt in this.

The Attitude Demanded by the Situation

The revolutionary situation demands tactics in the class struggle peculiar to itself. Political movements unable to apply these are doomed to fade away.

To determine the existence of the revolutionary situation and the fact that it is rising together with the most intense fascist terror, does not mean to call for an uprising. The TKP's Leninist wing is *not* issuing the call for an uprising. To try to interpret the revolutionary situation as the moment of revolution and to accuse us of calling for an uprising, is a distortion to which our opportunists have resorted in order to escape from the struggle. For communists, the existence of a revolutionary situation means nothing other than the existence of the potential for revolution in a country. The revolutionary situation is the stage of propaganda, not of action. What distinguishes this stage is the *content* of propaganda, a content which reflects *realities imposed by life itself*. The direct propaganda of revolution comes to the fore.

The *Conference of the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey (1980)* evaluated the tasks of communists in the present situation in our country as follows:

1. To conduct direct and widescale propaganda for revolution;
2. To rapidly merge with the working class and popular masses;
3. To develop our organisations in accordance with the needs of the day;
4. To establish a sound unity of action with all forces fighting against imperialism, fascism, the monopolies and national oppression.

This is the attitude that must be followed in Turkey, an attitude which leads neither to individual terrorism nor bourgeois tailism.

The Situation in the TKP

The stormy period, the revolutionary situation for which it was not prepared, has split our Party. The majority of the Central Committee's insistence on bourgeois tailism has driven the ship onto the rocks.

At first, the opportunists accepted the existence of a revolutionary situation. They said that neither the government nor the state could provide security of life and that the people must take this into their own hands. Self-defence committees must be established, they said. All these were published as a binding decision in a *Central Committee Statement*. Then they pulled back.

In the recent period, the Leninists have displayed a high level of consciousness, plunging without any hesitation into the struggle for the happiness of the people.

Taken as individuals, we all have many shortcomings and mistakes. It could not be otherwise. We are all products of capitalism and we are all continuously struggling with these shortcomings and mistakes.

However, the cadres cannot be evaluated on the level of the shortcomings and mistakes of individuals. Such an approach would simply be another way of escaping from the struggle. What one must look at when evaluating the cadres is whether or not they are putting to the fore and working to carry out the tasks set them by social developments. It is this which indicates whether the cadres are progressive or reactionary. If this objective criterion is applied, then the TKP's Leninist wing has passed with flying colours. In calling a halt to the "private preserve" trend in our Party, and with its subsequent steps, the Leninist wing fulfilled and is fulfilling the task demanded of it. By overcoming its shortcomings and mistakes to an ever greater extent, it will fulfil its tasks even better tomorrow.

The TKP is a party which has failed to apply democratic centralism for half a century. It ceased even to exist for a long historical period. There has been no party congress for 49 years, a lapse which could enter the Guinness Book of Records. It was obvious from the beginning that correct views could never hold sway in the leadership of such a party and in such a context.

We were not the only ones to see the impossibility. Other comrades saw as well. Nevertheless, these comrades, who repudiated the tailist policy pursued by the party leadership, did not take our road in the belief that they could correct the party by giving and taking concessions, "without creating problems". For this reason, they did not provide support in the struggle, even though they knew that what *İşçinin Sesi* said was correct. ... The point reached today clearly shows what a serious mistake they made. The party they said they would correct without creating problems, now stands much further to the right than it did 1.5 years ago. Because the Leninists embarked

on the inner-party struggle on a sound ideological basis, they did not veer to the left. However, the formers' lack of theory combined with the logic of the struggle, caused them to veer seriously to the right. So it is that, today, the centrists stand further to the right than did the opportunists 1.5 years ago.

The comrades who pursued a policy of conciliation find themselves in a deep crisis today. One section merged with the mensheviks and disappeared. Another section can do nothing but wring its hands in helplessness after having been squeezed into a corner.

İşçinin Sesi did not take that road. Avoiding that vicious circle, it took instead an historical step. Right at the beginning, it said to the Political Bureau: "Revolution cannot be carried out in an evolutionary way. Our party needs a revolution in itself. It will be set on the correct path, not through a bad peace, but through a good struggle".

In taking the road of open struggle, we relied on three things, First, the working class'es level of experience and consciousness; second, the existence of a revolutionary situation and the fact that it would prove us correct with every passing day; third, the truth and scientific nature of our ideology. That is how we set out.

In the short term, there were three possibilities before us. The first was that, as a small group, we would turn in upon ourselves, devour each other, and thus fail to protect our existence. This would have been the greatest boost for the opportunists.

The second possibility was the most remote. Had the channels of inner-party discussion not been closed, there would have been a comradely debate and, in this way, the majority of the party won over to the correct views.

The most likely possibility was that the mensheviks

would first of all brand us as traitors, prevent discussion, and attack with clubs, chains and guns, and incite against us those militants whom we were unable to reach with our ideas. Foreseeing this turn of events, the *Conference of the Leninists* decided to apply a twofold tactic. That was to continue the inner-party struggle no matter what the cost and, at the same time, to continue normal party work in society. In this way, it would be possible to both win over the most valuable fighters in the party itself, and draw the new comrades we would gain through our work in society, into the struggle against opportunism in the party. The realisation of this third possibility would have the result that, while, on the one hand, the genuine Communist Party organisations, its fighting, Leninist organisations, would begin to sprout up, the old formal party structure, on the other hand, would begin to decay in the hands of the mensheviks. Such was the analysis of the *Conference*.

Events have proved the correctness of this analysis. The mensheviks took the third road. The Leninists responded by adopting the course they had determined beforehand. Today, Leninism is gaining strength. It represents the party, not on paper, but in life. You are reading statements by the Leninist provincial committees. These are statements expressing the 60-year longing of the Communist movement of Turkey.

One and a half years have passed since the struggle came out into the open. Let us take a brief look at each of the developments which have taken place during that time.

In this period, fighting, Leninist organisations of the TKP emerged in many places in both Turkey and Europe. *İşçinin Sesi* began to represent the greatest ideological influence in the left-wing movement in Turkey.

In this period, there has been an ever more rapid development in the theory of *İşçinin Sesi*. The theory of

our movement is not a stagnant, cliché-ridden, grey theory, but one that is constantly developing and representing life better every day... In this period, the Leninist movement established its position in the working class. This is confirmed by the fact that a significant section of our cadres in Turkey are workers and that we are beginning to get a response from the trade-union rank-and-file... In this period, we have gained the general support of the Kurdish national movement and established genuinely warm relations with Kurdish communists... We have taken important steps on a nationwide scale towards unity of action with revolutionary movements.

After this brief summary, we will not be boasting if we say that, in this past 1.5 years, *İşçinin Sesi* has given new breath to Turkey's revolutionary movement. It is the only movement which has succeeded, either in the past or the present of the revolutionary movement, in genuinely combining revolutionary zeal with scientific cool-headedness.

It has been said that the tree which yields fruit is knocked to the ground with stones, and many calculations and provocations are being woven around us. Everyone from Nazli Ilicak to MIT itself is dealing with us. The bourgeoisie is taking aim at us. More than 100 of our comrades have been arrested in the past 15 days. They are undergoing severe torture.

Comrades, we are advancing, and we will continue to advance, foiling all calculations and overcoming all provocations. The one-and-a-half year *struggle for existence* has come to a successful conclusion. Tomorrow, come what may, this banner will not fall.

The mensheviks, however, are losing ground rapidly. In their panic, they are coming out with all kinds of

absurdities. Whereas previously there was the definite air of a "serious party leadership", this has now disappeared and they are saying such things as, in the recent plenum report, "we could not yet win ideologically, but wait and see how we will win, wait and see what answers we will give".

Let me give one more example. Those who have listened to the *Voice of the TKP* Radio in recent days will have heard how it proves our "groupism". An article about the Summer Attack published in *İşçinin Sesi* mentioned exciting moments of socialist competition between groups at the meetings. The Radio read this article and then asked if listeners did not see how groupist we are.

The Communist movement of Turkey is our movement and the Communist Party of Turkey is our party. Thus, we both declare that it is ours in its entirety, and recognise the need not to flinch from a cool-headed criticism of both its past and its present. When regarded in this way, we see that the TKP is a party which, from the beginning, was characterised by the strangest combination of bourgeois nationalism and internationalism. Whatever internationalist positions it adopted on international matters were the result, not of any internationalism on its part, but of a leadership which, having failed to strike any roots in its own country and among its own people, maintained its existence in the socialist countries.

What is there new in the nationalism of the opportunism in the TKP today? What is new is that the menshevik leadership is once again confronting us with bourgeois nationalism, but this time on a new historical basis. Now the mensheviks are proceeding from the level of development capitalism has reached in our country. Now they are saying that the "processes of state-monopoly

capitalism" and imperialism are *oppressing* the small, medium and big non-monopoly capitalists and thus imparting to them a *national* character. Their analysis of the Republican People's Party and of the "oppressed non-monopoly big bourgeoisie", together with their praises of the National Salvation Party, praises which have become really passionate in recent months, all go together to prove that bourgeois nationalism in the party is rapidly being revived on a new historical basis.

Some comrades writing from Turkey have requested that we write a history of the party. The request is quite justified. A party which lacks a history is like a tree without roots. The mensheviks' writings on the history of our party resemble the tale of 1,001 nights. There are no documents or evidence. However, we know that storage trunks belonging to the Party contain reams of documents. The documents cover the years from the founding of the party to the present, including documents stored away by the Comintern and others stored away since then. Why are these documents not published?

The opportunists cannot publish a serious party history. That would be suicide. For our part, we too are unable to write a history of the party. What we could write about with any certainty is only the past ten years of party life. And that would not constitute a history of the party.

Let us also dwell a little on the recent menshevik plenum, without, however, going into the "theoretical" matters taken up by the plenum, matters like the United Workers' Party. I shall touch upon only three points.

The plenum report places the blame for the failure to wage a serious ideological struggle on the ideological cadres. Those who work in the ideological field, it says, are, for some reason, unable to provide quick Leninist answers. These comrades, it continues, were unable to carry

out their duties. Obviously, they are absolving themselves and transferring the guilt to the handful of comrades who work in what is called the ideological bureau. First of all, in a party which is aiming for revolution, must it not be the Political Bureau which leads the ideological struggle? Moreover, what can the comrades involved in ideological work do? They are being told to do battle with the truth. This creates serious difficulties. It is not easy to provide answers to the truth. Moreover, the Political Bureau is constantly changing its mind. One of the comrades sits down to write a book describing the social-democrats as such and such, when the next day he turns around to find the Political Bureau saying something else. In short, the Political Bureau is acting like a sly thief, both absolving itself of all guilt and finding a scape-goat. This is the first striking aspect of the plenum report.

Its second striking aspect is that the decisions were typed and duplicated for distribution! They have not yet reached the stage of printing, but even typing and duplicating is an advance for them. The decisions even include a "report form", indicating that they have learned one or two things from *İşçinin Sesi*.

Clearly, they are trying to copy whatever was done at the *Conference of Leninists*. So we are pushing them forward. This is a point that deserves attention. They will never be able to be the vanguard. Everything they do, their entire past and present, confirms this. Will we be able to be the vanguard? Only time can tell. But they will never be able to be the vanguard. If they continue to advance and work well, they might perhaps succeed in becoming a good rearguard.

However, the most striking aspect of the plenum is this sentence, this caricature: We have won organisationally, we must also win ideologically! It is, in

fact, very sad. Cadres, whom the party knows are neither agents nor police, the most militant and active cadres who for years were responsible for the greater part of any step forward the party took, are advancing certain ideas. Without showing even to yourself, let alone the party, any mistake on their part, you say, "we have expelled them". Not having won ideologically, we have won organisationally, you say. A despicable attitude. If you are unable to win ideologically, how can you win organisationally? With a few tricks on paper. There is only one answer that can be given to this: a house made of cards can be blown down with one breath. You can no more win organisationally than you could ideologically. And thus they could not defeat us.

Comrades, the TKP's opportunist wing will be defeated. The communist movement will be rescued from their hands and set upon a sound course of development. No one can have any doubt about this.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to distinguish one thing. Opportunism will not disappear. The struggle against opportunism is not a matter of one or two years. When one is destroyed, another will arise. This will continue after the revolution as well. We must thoroughly understand this.

There is a broad social basis for opportunism in our country. Turkey is a petty-bourgeois sea. Given the existence of the petty-bourgeoisie on such a wide scale, one could not imagine that the working class movement would not be influenced by petty-bourgeois ideas. Moreover, our working class is part of a large mass the consciousness of which has not yet been proletarianised. However old its history, the working class of Turkey is itself a young and rapidly growing class. This too is a basis favourable to opportunism. In addition, however small it may be, there is a labour aristocracy and quite a broad labour

bureaucracy. As we have seen, there is quite a broad basis for opportunism in our country.

Looking at ideological conditions, we see that the present situation in the world communist movement creates a serious source of opportunism. Domestically, "great Turkish nationalism" is another serious source. Neither of these will disappear overnight. Even if the ideological sources and class basis were to disappear, the trend would continue.

True, opportunism will not disappear. But this opportunism, the opportunism in the TKP, could be eradicated within a few months. Look at the result of the past year-and-a-half's ideological struggle. As the popular saying goes, we are ahead 12-0. They could not answer any of our arguments. Why then is it that such a destitute opportunism, beaten to the ground to such an extent, can still protect its existence? This is an important question.

If we leave aside details, one *fundamental reason* remains: the fact that they are *officially* recognised by the world socialist system. Were this support to be withdrawn, we would see whether or not the leadership of the TKP would remain in the hands of opportunists.

We have presented a realistic evaluation, one that brings us to the following conclusion: the situation in the TKP to a great extent finds its source in the present-day world communist movement.

The Situation in the TKP to a Great Extent Finds its Source in the Present-Day World Communist Movement

Comrades, my speech is not intended to draw a perfect framework. This would be a very difficult task for which we do not have the requisite knowledge. I shall touch upon only such aspects as concern our movement.

The world communist movement is a topic which the communists of Turkey must approach in a very responsible manner, avoiding simplification. However, we must also openly discuss what we believe to be the truth.

Today, the ideological unity of the world communist movement has disintegrated. Despite the great and profound differences it bears within, the world communist movement as a whole has shifted to the right. This is due to: the powerful ideological pressure brought to bear by the imperialist countries, something made possible by their more advanced level of economic and technological development, even if for only a limited historical period and even if it has been achieved by robbing the under-developed countries; the profound impact of the relatively peaceful period the world has experienced since 1945; the fact that the new generations being reared in the socialist countries have never experienced torture, the police, chains, murder, the bourgeoisie or imperialists; the objective difficulties which inevitably arise in the socialist countries due to the fact that socialism, as an historical phenomenon, was first achieved, not, as Marx foresaw, in the advanced capitalist countries, but in under-developed countries.

The ideological unity of the world communist movement had disintegrated before the dissolution of the Comintern. The abolition of organisational unity further accelerated this ideological disintegration. And today, the ideological differences have become so deep that the communist parties cannot convene an international conference. Even conferences of the communist parties of various regions, or conferences convened only for very limited purposes, cannot be convened without a period of very hard preparations. And this is considered a great success.

Under these conditions, the doctrine of "non-interference in the affairs of fraternal parties" and the policy of recognising the existing leadership (however it was formed) without taking sides in inner-party struggles, were adopted as a means of preventing party splits.

Yes, it is correct that a party should be able to solve its own problems. However, the policy mentioned above firstly, *prevents the healthy functioning of this mechanism*. Right from the beginning, it puts important advantages in the hands of the group which has assumed the leadership, no matter how it did so and no matter how mistaken may be the positions which it defends. Secondly, it prevents the world communist movement from taking the side of the truth on the basis of principled criteria, and from advancing these positions in a comradely manner and through open discussion. Thirdly, it is a requirement of proletarian internationalism that, when a party is trying to solve its internal problems by itself and in a communist manner, or even when such problems first appear, the fraternal parties adopt a clear attitude, taking the purity of Marxism-Leninism as a criterion.

And comrades, as long as imperialism maintains its existence as a powerful world system, as long as bourgeois

ideology remains so strong on a world scale, "non-interference in the internal affairs of parties" and recognition of the official, existing leadership without taking sides in inner-party struggles, can have no other result than that of *opening the way to right-wing leadership in the parties.*

We believe that the road to be taken is not that of such diplomatic generalities. Every party's experience must be evaluated in itself and this, in accordance first and foremost with Marxism-Leninism and the conditions in the given country. Who is right? If this question is avoided, nothing much will remain. "Non-interference" will come to mean interference on behalf of the wrong side. Such an approach is neither realistic nor constructive.

Comrades, I would like to touch upon one point which is of importance in regard to this matter. Does the fact that the most important factor enabling opportunism to maintain itself in the TKP is official recognition by the CPSU, imply any change in our attitude towards the CPSU and the Soviet Union? It does not and cannot. Our belief is based on the objective fact that the Soviet Union is the world revolutionary centre. The fact that the CPSU's recognition of the opportunist leadership plays such a determining role confirms us in this. It proves that the Soviet Union is the revolutionary centre. For this reason, passing attitudes cannot influence us. We know that life compels the rectification of mistakes. In the case of the TKP as well, life will compel the rectification of mistakes to the extent that the Leninist movement in Turkey gains strength. We shall experience this together. We shall crush opportunism in the TKP.

We accept everything for the sake of world socialism. It is precisely for this reason that we cannot close our eyes to mistakes. Today the difficulties in the world communist

movement are to a great extent nurtured by the application of this principle. We are on the side of open discussion, both in the TKP and in the international sphere. We believe that this course is not "divisive", but is a course which will lead to genuine unity and advance, and most quickly eliminate mistaken attitudes.

For example, we recognise Hafizullah Amin, not as a CIA agent, but as the genuine leader of the Afghanistan revolution. The evidence presented to show that Amin was an "agent" is not convincing. The present leaders, however, who cannot open their mouths or begin a speech without saying, "In the name of god, the compassionate and the merciful", are representatives of opportunism. It is a requirement of proletarian internationalism that the Red Army protect the Afghanistan revolution, but what was done to Amin and to 97 leaders of the party is an historical injustice. There are important lessons for us to derive from the Afghanistan events.

For example, we believe that the Polish United Workers' Party is profoundly guilty in the recent events in Poland. Let us take a longer look at this question.

The Events in Poland

The events in Poland are such that will influence the development of the world communist movement in the coming years. It will be no exaggeration if I say that the Poland events have opened a new chapter in the world communist movement. Today, the bourgeoisie in every part of the world is exploiting these events and trying to conceal socialism's superiority over capitalism. Short-term developments may be for better or worse. But, whatever happens in the end, the world communist

movement freed from diplomatic wraps and "official optimism" will benefit. If we can fearlessly point out the causes of the events in Poland this will immediately act to the benefit of Leninism and the detriment of the bourgeoisie. We have a saying that one bad experience is worth more than a thousand words of advice. Such will be the case if we are able to arrive at a correct attitude.

What happened in Poland? This is fairly clear. A large section of the Polish working class took to the streets against the Communist Party. This is the essence of the matter and it cannot be hidden. The western press brought developments in the Gdansk region to the fore because that movement was led by "dissidents", anti-communists. In America, Walesa's father took part in election campaign meetings with Reagan. However, what really makes the hair stand on end is the miners' strike in Silesia, the Communist party's traditional base... Many party members took part in strikes which spread across the country. At the same time, everyone knows about the two powerful illegal political movements which have existed in Poland for years. One is the Christian-Democrats or a movement equivalent to them, the other is the Social-Democrats. These two political movements have been working for years with the active support of the church. However, they are not the cause of the events. They merely took advantage of some just demands of the people to escalate and assume leadership of the events.

Why did the events take place in Poland? This is the real question that must be answered. The answers to this question will lead to a better understanding of the world socialist system, the socialism that will be established in Turkey, everything. As I have said, I am not trying to draw a perfect framework. I shall touch upon only some extremely important aspects. I shall enumerate four main

reasons in answer to the question of why these events took place.

In order to understand the first reason it is necessary to go back a bit in time. We must look at the establishment of socialism in the Soviet Union and its connection with Poland.

For instance, we must first recall the difference between theory and implementation. Model (i.e. theory) and practice (implementation) never exactly coincide. Theory is the most perfect entity arrived at by scientific abstraction from the common characteristics of concrete phenomena. When it is applied to life, some of its aspects are destroyed, distorted and deformed depending on the peculiarities of the concrete situation to which it is applied. To give a crude example, a ball is round but no ball in the world is perfectly round. The roundness of a ball is an abstraction which we have arrived at in our minds.

In regard to the establishment of socialism, Marx and Engels put forward one idea in particular, the idea that socialism would be established on the basis of the most advanced ██████████ productive forces. In practice, however, it was established in under-developed Russia. Should it not have been established? Who could ask such a question? This is where Lenin's great genius showed itself.

The discussion as to whether socialism should or should not be established took place before and during the revolution in Russia. There were those who said it would be impossible to establish socialism in Russia, that "it does not fit in the book", and contradicted the model provided by Germany, the former revolutionary centre. Lenin called these attitudes schematic and, in essence, un-Marxist. When referring to the question once again in 1923, Lenin had this to say about the petty-bourgeois democrats

posing as Marxists, the opportunists of the Second International: "They have completely failed to understand what is decisive in Marxism, namely, its revolutionary dialectics",* He then said that, yes, the objective and cultural premises for socialism had not sufficiently developed, but a revolutionary situation had been born as had the possibility of the working class seizing power and, relying on the energy of the masses, itself creating these premises. Should we have turned our backs on this possibility, he asked. How openly he spoke.

Thus, socialism was established in Russia by departing from the German "model" which at that time was considered universal. Socialism was established and was, is, and will be an immeasurable contribution to humanity.

The socialism that was established in the Soviet Union, as in every concrete application, embraces two distinct sets of characteristics. The first of these are the universal characteristics of socialism, those characteristics which must appear wherever socialism is established and fully reflect theory. The second are the *temporary* characteristics rooted in the specifics of the development of Soviet society itself. These characteristics need not be found in any other socialism. For these are determined by the realities of that society.

All the characteristics rooted in the specifics of the development of Soviet society boiled down to something which Lenin strove to rectify all his life: the lagging behind of the democratic aspect of democratic centralism. One manifestation of these is the widespread bureaucracy which exists there and which Lenin constantly fought against. Another is the single party system which Lenin never regarded as a universal prerequisite. A further manifesta-

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol.33, p.476.

tion is the restrictions which were gradually imposed on discussion in society and in the party, especially after the 1930's. Another is the fact that the trade unions function as a state institution. None of these are characteristics derived from the theory of socialism. They are characteristics which socialism established in a particular country was compelled to exhibit for a long time, characteristics peculiar to that country, rooted in the fact that as Lenin pointed out, at the Eighth Congress of the RCP(B), "Russia was not sufficiently developed as a capitalist country"* Moreover, the fact that the period in which these were experienced was the most difficult seen in history made it hard to eradicate these shortcomings in the full sense of the term. Conscious of this situation, the CPSU, at its recent congresses, emphatically underlined the question of "developing socialist democracy".

Shortcomings and distortions which I have touched upon briefly cannot be reduced to the attitudes of leading cadres or general secretaries. Naturally, personal mistakes or abilities play a role in determining the overall structure. However, there is one point that cannot be disputed: if socialism in the Soviet Union had been established and led up to today under the leadership of Marx, it could not have gone far beyond this framework. Socialism in the Soviet Union was born of the combination of the concrete characteristics of that country and the universal characteristics of socialism. And for Soviet society, this is a *genuine* (what our mensheviks call "real") system. It is an historically drawn framework which will develop parallel with the development of the productive forces, the maturing of the mode of production, and the raising of the cultural level, and through the conscious and active efforts of the

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol.29, p.182.

party.

If we return to Poland, the socialist revolution in that country, as in the other countries of Eastern Europe, was carried out under the strong protection provided by the Red Army and under conditions when the back of fascism had been broken, the bourgeois opposition had lost its strength, and the political stage had been vacated.

Another extremely important point is that, until that time, the Soviet Union remained the only example of the concrete establishment of socialism, and that the supreme successes it achieved in the construction of socialism and the great role it played in protecting the peoples of the world against fascism, gained it universality in everyone's eyes.

The combination of these two historical factors had the result that the socialism established in Poland copied socialism as it existed in the Soviet Union. Subjective mistakes played an important role in this. However, it must not be forgotten that this was a European country. True, Eastern Europe was under-developed Europe, but it was still Europe. These people did not emerge from Tsarist Russia. Consequently, this country's democratic traditions and demands were much stronger than Russia's. A structure had to be established accordingly. The party could not meet this demand.

Take the trade-union question for example. According to Lenin, the trade unions must be genuine class organisations charged with defending the working class against the state, not only under capitalism, but under socialism as well. There may be those who ask how it can be that the working class should protect itself against its own state. But Lenin did not put it like that. Even if it is its own state, it can make mistakes too. The trade unions must be able to protect the interests of the working class against

mistakes which can be made by the state.

The demand for recognition of this role of the trade unions under socialism is a just demand. And, naturally, it is a demand that will make itself felt much more strongly in Poland and the other Eastern European countries than in the Soviet Union. We are obliged to apply and follow Leninism, for Leninism follows life. This demand in regard to the trade unions is a genuine demand brought forward by life. If it is not granted, you may be able to manage for a time, but the reaction will mount and mount until one day it confronts you as a great problem, one which, moreover, will be open to use by your class enemies and may help to discredit socialism. Such is the case in Poland. The enemies of socialism seized upon a just demand which then exploded as a demand against socialism: "Free trade unions"! The working class is being split and the future of socialism endangered.

As a result of the Communist Party's failure to correctly evaluate the just demands in Poland and to establish a structure that would provide opportunities for the expression of different views, the same phenomenon which we have seen in Iran, is now appearing in Poland, but this time turned inside out. The church is gaining strength.

The church has historically been strong in Poland. But what is it that is attracting the young generations to the cross after some 30 years of socialism? It is the fact that Poland is a more democratic society which demands that room be provided for different views. If the communists fail to pay attention to this demand, the church is ready. A huge organisation, it is ready with room it can organise in even the most remote village. Such a centralised organisation is rare.

If we summarize the first cause of the Poland events

with which we have dealt, it is that the democratic aspect of socialism in Poland has lagged behind in a manner incapable of meeting the demands of society.

The second cause is one that profoundly affects all socialist countries at various levels: the question of agriculture. The concrete point which caused the strikes to explode is in fact connected with this question.

This period of the construction of socialism in Poland largely coincides with the period following the death of Stalin. We know that one of the most violent criticisms directed against Stalin is that of extremely rapid and forceable collectivisation. The construction of socialism in Poland was carried on under the profound impact of this criticism. Slow collectivisation. So slow that, today, 80% of the arable land in Poland is still private property! And small, unproductive private property at that.

The population is constantly increasing, the people must be fed. The industrial sector must be supported. For this it is necessary to increase agricultural production. However, the fact is that the impact of socialist measures designed to increase agricultural production is limited due to the structure of agriculture. Only one course remains. Agricultural production can be increased only by *encouraging* the small farmers. If this encouragement, however, is not understood as collectivisation, the most effective encouragement that can be provided is that of increasing production by raising the prices of agricultural products.

The result of this is a constant increase in the price of meat, milk, etc. But this means to take from the workers and give to the farmers. It means to maintain the former on the back of the worker. Thus it was the raising of meat prices which sparked off the events.

The working class will of course make sacrifices for

the revolution. However, these sacrifices must be placed openly before the working class and there must be intense ideological work for their acceptance by the class. Then that class will gladly make the sacrifice. Moreover, the small farmer is not even benefitting from the sacrifices on the part of the working class in Poland. The small farmer is suffering under the conditions of dispersed small private property. It is such a situation that both the workers and the small farmers are making sacrifices because of a mistaken policy.

The third factor to be added to the two fundamental causes we have briefly touched upon above, is the fact that the crisis of capitalism is also reflected in the socialist countries.

In many political economy books it is written that there is no relation at all between socialism and economic crises, that the crisis of the capitalist countries has no effect on the socialist countries. Such views are examples of the vulgarism that sees no dialectic between the model and its application, a vulgarism that is far removed from science. True, as a system which has abolished the mystery around social laws and functions, socialism means to turn these laws into tools of progress in the hands of humanity. However, this truth cannot be considered in isolation from the present conditions which make up the concrete process of the construction of socialism. Today there are two world systems but only one world market. Both the capitalist and socialist sectors are parts of this. One must know absolutely nothing in order to say that inflation and crisis in the capitalist countries will not effect the socialist economies. Such a view would amount to saying that the socialist countries could exist without entering into economic relations with the capitalist countries. No country can do this.

If individual countries which are parts of a single world market cannot live without entering into economic relations with each other, the result is their mutual influencing of each other. To give a simple example, the price of everything in the capitalist countries is constantly rising. This is true also for the prices of those goods which the socialist countries are compelled to buy from the capitalist countries. When they are forced to pay twice the price they paid six months previously, are the socialist economies then not harmed by the economic anarchy and crisis in the capitalist countries?

The fourth cause is the fact that ideological education is marked by great shortcomings to the extent that communism is becoming so cliché-ridden and so officialised that it cannot evoke enthusiasm among the people and among the young generations in particular. However, a profound historical understanding of the difficulties experienced in the socialist countries, a sound estimation of imperialism, and the way to overcome the disadvantages which accompany the undeniable benefits of detente, can be imparted to the society only through effective and intense ideological effort.

To put it briefly, it is the party which bears the main responsibility for the events in Poland. The demands are essentially just. Only the aspect that has been turned into a weapon is unjust.

Whatever happens, the Poland events will open a new period in the world communist movement and the world socialist system. The democratic aspect of world socialism which has lagged behind what it should be, due to the concrete conditions and subjective mistakes, will develop. It is compelled to develop. If we consider Poland, the use of violence against the working class or the use of various methods to eradicate the demands and continue in the old

way is not the way out. It could have no other result than that of making the Communists an alien force in Poland.

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.

The sincere wish of all of us is that this *process of the development of democracy* should not be given a direction contrary to Marxism-Leninism, that the doors to opportunism, revisionism and westernism be closed. There is no more genuine democracy for the working class and working masses than Marxism-Leninism.

The Poland events also yield important lessons in regard to the present-day attitudes of the communists of Turkey. We have a saying that "an error will be found out sooner or later". The Poland events are proof of this. Before the events exploded, there was no such concept as that of the party being wrong. It was only after the working class had engaged in strikes that the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party held a Plenum and determined that the party had committed serious mistakes. This example must give us strength, morale. It must give us the strength to raise our voices against mistakes whatever our strength. If what we say is true, events will definitely develop straight in that direction. If our mistake is to see or speak before the majority, that is not a mistake at all.

A further lesson for us to draw from the Poland events is that the communist parties, even one of a socialist country, can fall into profound error. It has happened many times in history, is happening today, and will happen tomorrow. No person, organisation or place is infallible. Such being the case, it is clear that our tasks are multiplying. Whatever the level may be, there is no crutch,

no comforting idea that "they are thinking for us".

The Task Awaiting Us

In the present truly complex international and domestic situation, there is a very difficult task, but one which is of vital importance for the whole world, awaiting the communists of Turkey and our working class: to carry out a revolution in Anatolia. The economic, social, political, strategic and ideological consequences of this revolution will be on a world scale.

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. This in turn demands that we develop genuine proletarian, genuine intellectual cadres who know the world.

The communist movement of Turkey will not be the tail of any fickle line or interest. Nothing determines or will determine our behaviour other than Marxism-Leninism, the world revolution, the development of civilization and humanity, and the happiness of the peoples, including our own.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of our party, we call on the forces of all countries which are on the side of social development and oppose imperialism and fascism to organise a campaign in support of the revolution in Turkey.

We call on all the other detachments of the world working class to provide effective support to the working class of Turkey.

We call on the communists of all countries to render the most active support to Turkey's revolutionary forces. Let the examples of the Dzerzhinsky's, Luxemburg's, Armand's and Kuusinen's enlighten our path.

We call on the communists of Kurdistan, who are an inseparable part of the Anatolian revolution, to take their places in the communist party which is determined, not by nation, but by class.

We call on all non-party communists to take their places in the communist party.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of our party, we salute all the revolutionaries who have given their lives for the liberation of their people, all the revolutionaries who are fighting in the squares and in the prisons.

We enthusiastically salute the communists who are fighting in every corner of the country, in the face of guns and knives, first and foremost the members of the TKP's Leninist Coordinating Committee.

We respectfully salute our comrades who are in the dungeons and torture chambers of the bourgeoisie. The conviction, iron silence and uncompromising attitude they have displayed in the hands of the executioners is the honour and conscience of our Party.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of our Party, we respectfully salute our sacred dead who have sacrificed their lives for the sake of communism, the Fifteen, the Baraners, Baris Yildirims, Talip Ozturks, Ali Ihsan Ozgurs and our young comrade Inanc Secic. Our word is the word of communists, our hatred is a class hatred. We swear that the ideal of

communism for which they have fallen will bloom like mountain flowers and huge Anatolia will arise.

Long live the Communist Party of Turkey!

Long live Communism!

An Open Letter to Communists

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