

**The 12th September Fascist Coup  
and  
the Resolutions  
of the  
Coordinating Committee  
of the  
Communist Party of Turkey**

**iŒİNİN SESİ PUBLICATIONS  
ENGLISH SERIES 9**

THE 12TH SEPTEMBER FASCIST COUP  
AND THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

January 1981

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## Declaration

*To the Leninist Provincial and Regional Committees of the Communist Party of Turkey, to Party Members.*

**The Coordinating Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey has held an Extraordinary Meeting.**

The Coordinating Committee which was established by the *Conference of the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey* in order to ensure harmonious work on the part of the Leninist forces in the course of the struggle between Leninists and opportunists which had broken out in the Communist Party of Turkey has held an extraordinary meeting. It evaluated the work of the Leninist party organisations in the period following the Conference and the change in the political situation brought about by the 12th September fascist coup. It put into effect adjustments in the party's political line and daily work necessitated by the new situation.

The Conference set the task of drawing party members and non-party communists into the struggle to crush opportunism in the TKP and for the convening of the 5th Congress, overdue by

half a century. This task has been and is being fulfilled with great success.

The Conference also set the task of establishing Leninist provincial, regional, area and district committees of our party and that of Leninists throughout the country acting in accordance with a uniform political attitude. This task is being successfully carried out. As their experience in class struggle grows and their ideological level rises, the behaviour of all cadres is gradually coming to accord with a uniform political attitude.

The Conference called for the preparation of a Marxist-Leninist programme for the TKP, and the submission of its draft for discussion. Preparatory work for the programme is continuing.

The Conference called on all party organisations and members to be in continuous communication with the central organ. This task too has been successfully carried out and correspondence with the central organ has become a habit for many party organisations. It is necessary to maintain and increase attention to this task under the conditions created by the 12th September fascist coup.

The Conference set the task of establishing trade-union, propaganda, youth and women's bureaus on various levels. These bureaus were established. The degree of success achieved by these bureaus in their work has exhibited differences according to regions and the sphere of work. The most successful work has been conducted by the trade-union bureau. In the coming period greater importance must be given to the work of the bureaus.

The task of systematic and widespread distribution of publications set by the Conference could be fulfilled only to a certain extent. Our publications distribution, which is incomparably better than that of all other illegal movements active in the country, has not been able to reach a level which would meet our aims. In the new situation brought about by the fascist coup, it is clear that the greatest effort must be mobilised in this direction. The central distribution network must rapidly

be made more effective. In addition, it is the duty of *all* regional committees to reproduce the central organ.

The resolution on publishing the Conference resolutions and proceedings has been partly fulfilled and the resolutions have been published. The *Conference Minutes* must also be published without delay.

The task of ideological education, which the Conference put in front of the party organisations, has, in general, been successfully fulfilled. Some organisations have shown outstanding success, some have lagged behind. The importance of ideological unity for the Communist Party is obvious. Efforts in regard to this matter must be intensified. In addition, in order to ensure uniform education, an *education textbook* must be prepared.

With the 12th September coup, the revolutionary situation has been temporarily suppressed and democratic freedoms, which were already limited, have been abolished altogether. We have entered a period of reaction which will clearly last for some time to come. In this situation, it is of vital importance to protect the cadres, not allow ties with the masses to break, and to make illegal work more effective. For this reason, a *handbook on party security* must be prepared in order to aid the work of party members.

In the new period we have entered, discipline is a matter which must be brought to the fore. Leninist discipline is always of crucial importance for a Communist Party, but today, in particular, iron discipline resting on an ideological-scientific basis is a condition of our very existence. All party organisations and all party members must raise communist discipline to the level of perfection. The old rules of our party can be of no help in this task. Provisional *rules* must be drawn up as soon as possible. Upon approval by the Coordinating Committee and provincial and regional committees, these rules will be binding for the work of party organisations until the Congress. The Congress will give the final form to and adopt the rules.

The extraordinary meeting of the Coordinating Committee of the TKP unanimously approved the political stand of the

Bureau of the Coordinating Committee and the central organ during the period since the Conference and following the 12th September fascist coup.

One year is a very short time in social life. In such a short time you have all struggled with outstanding self-sacrifice and created an effective organisation. You have established strong fraternal ties with the genuine revolutionary forces in the country and with the Kurdish national movement. Among the fraternal communist parties, there is a growing sincere desire for the resolution of the problems which arose within the communist movement of Turkey. ... Now, a new and difficult period is commencing. In this period, only those cadres having a correct ideology and politics, a strong mind and heart, will be able to stand firm. Comrades, stand close to one another. We are not abandoning the workers and working people in these, their hard times. Our party has no interest other than their interests.

Those who come by force will go by force,

Those who come with tanks must go with revolution!

Long live Communism!

Coordinating Committee  
of the Communist Party of Turkey  
29 November 1980

## Statement

Prior to 12th September 1980, the revolutionary situation was rapidly maturing. Our country was experiencing profound economic and social collapse. Workers' and employees' wages were falling continuously and unemployment had swollen to avalanche proportions. The collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie's inability to rule the country became more pronounced. Anarchy began to dominate in every sphere of life. The activity of the masses, who refused to quietly endure rising exploitation and oppression, increased. Strikes spread. Barricade battles and local uprisings appeared. Nevertheless, due to disorder among the revolutionary forces and the fact that no party or organisation was ready to fulfil the demands of the revolutionary situation, the subjective factor lagged behind the objective situation. For the most part, the struggles developed as spontaneous movements.

Throughout these developments, the working class of Turkey showed that it is a militant, vanguard class which will not bow to slavery and which is powerful enough to fulfil its historical task. The Izmir uprising both confirmed the once again and brought the class struggle in the country to a higher level. However, under conditions when the subjective factor was lagging behind and the attack of counter-revolution was intensifying, bourgeois and

petty-bourgeois moods began to spread to various sections of our working class. When the revolutionary forces failed to benefit from the situation created by the Izmir uprising in order to pull themselves together, this tendency, which had been developing for some time, combined with the results of the tactical defeat of May Day 1980 and the impasse of stage-by-stage strikes which were being pursued for the sake of sectional interests. Demoralisation and retreat spread throughout the revolutionary front. Such struggles against repression as took place in Fatsa and Çorum remained, for the most part, individual upsurges in the context of a general retreat. While the petty-bourgeoisie and its political organisations rapidly shifted to a pacifist-defeatist and apolitical attitude, the actions of a small number of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries did not go beyond individual heroism which was unable to link up with the masses. As for the non-monopoly bourgeoisie and its political organisations, they showed once again that, in a society dominated by finance-capital, they are unable, as an independent force, to wage a struggle against fascism, imperialism and the monopolies. All they did was to pave the way for and facilitate the emergence of the fascist dictatorship.

The revolutionary situation also brought out into the open the important place held by the Kurdish question in the revolution in Turkey. The deep-rooted and multi-faceted monster of nationalism was the most important factor preventing unity between the proletariat of Turkey and the Kurdish national movement in this period.

The opportunist leaders of the TKP stand guilty before history in all these negative developments and in the coming of the 12th September coup. The leadership of the TKP, which did not want to see the revolutionary situation and which, moreover, tried to prevent the working class from seeing it, defended stage-by-stage reformist tactics instead of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. It did not fulfil its tasks, which had become more urgent with the revolutionary situation; tasks such as that of breaking the influence of social-democratic views on the working class, isolating the RPP (Republican People's Party), the party of the

non-monopoly bourgeoisie, from the working masses, and leading the proletariat into revolutionary action. It tried to restrain the struggle of the working class within limits acceptable to the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. Reducing the massive funeral procession for Kemal Türkler to a surrender-like demonstration was the last unforgivable treason of the opportunists before 12th September.

For years, the leadership of the TKP conducted agitation with passive slogans presenting fascism in Turkey as limited to the NAP (Nationalist Action Party). It concealed the very real probability that, in Turkey, the intention was to consolidate fascism by way of "our democratic and patriotic army" and, moreover, spread tailism towards the army under the cover of "respect for national values". Thus it helped to prepare the social-psychological atmosphere for the 12th September coup.

In the trade unions where they were influential, the opportunists wasted the revolutionary energy of the working class in stage-by-stage strikes for the benefit of sectional interests. They sunk into legalism and trade unionism. They raised factionalism to the level of liquidationism and brought this to a higher level by their efforts on behalf of a "Legal United Worker's Party". In this way they deprived the masses of the organisations demanded by the situation. The lack of strong illegal organisations contributed to the rapid collapse of the existing legal organisations.

The Leninist wing of the TKP established with scientific coolheadedness the negative aspects born of the contradiction between the revolutionary character of the objective situation in the country, and the lagging behind of the subjective factor. It was the only political movement to show the revolutionary way out of the crisis, a way which life had not yet closed off. It declared that, under conditions when the final battle was yet to come and the force of the popular classes was not exhausted, it was necessary to press on, not retreat, that the only force which could prevent the coming of fascism was mass action. It declared that, in the maturing revolutionary situation, mass actions must be raised to the level of a giant May Day; general strike; uprisings in working

class areas, of the Kurdish people and the working peasants; revolt in the army, etc. In order to unite these into a single revolutionary stream, it made direct propaganda of the revolution the focal point of its tactics. It proceeded from the fact that this task demanded organisational forms which would not be confined within legal limits. It struggled against all legal illusions. In order to save the working class from petty-bourgeois and bourgeois moods and thoughts, to organise and to prepare the attack together with the masses, it declared the task of "organising through struggle" to be the main link.

The activities of the Leninist wing of the TKP continued with the task of preparing the party for the revolution and, towards this end, that of establishing the Leninist unity of the party by convening the 5th Congress. The point of departure of the Leninist wing of the TKP in its attitude towards the other fighting revolutionary organisations was to work towards a common struggle.

However, despite its high ideological influence, the Leninist wing of the TKP could not, in this short period of time, achieve the organisational and quantitative strength which would enable it to give direction to political developments in the country.

The bourgeoisie made skilful use of its superiority. Endeavouring to solve the economic crisis by increasing its ties with imperialism, finance-capital began to strengthen its state against the popular classes in order to suppress the resistance aroused by this policy and to resolve the question of its inability to rule. Proceeding step by step, relentlessly and systematically, it set out to crush the revolutionary forces using martial law and repressive legislation. This process accelerated with its tactical victory on May Day 1980. A point was reached when nothing other than violence could now solve the deepening economic, social and political crisis. The process of fascistisation of the state, a process which had been advancing for years, had accomplished the necessary groundwork. At a moment which also suited the general policy of imperialism in the region, and availing itself of the approval and support of imperialism, the finance-capital of Turkey passed over to an open dictatorship with the 12th

September military coup.

In its statement of the 14th of September, the Bureau of the Leninist Coordinating Committee of the TKP declared that the power which was intended to be consolidated was a fascist power dedicated to solving the crisis from the negative. It declared that the fascist junta would try to disperse the revolutionary forces, cow the people, end the revolutionary situation and stabilize fascism through a bloody terror. It maintained that, despite worsening conditions, the revolutionary situation still continued and that, under such conditions, the effort to impose fascism on society from above was the distinguishing characteristic of the day. It showed the way of struggle against this.

While a very broad political spectrum, ranging from Trotskyists to Maoists and from mensheviks to social-democrats, as well as some fraternal communist parties influenced by the mensheviks, could not go beyond calling the military junta a military junta, life soon confirmed the views expressed by the Bureau of the Leninist Coordinating Committee of the TKP in its statement of 14th September. In the past three months, the fascist junta has covered much ground in turning a section of the petty-bourgeoisie into a mass base for itself around chauvinist-Ataturkist demagogy, in achieving the corporate society and state system of fascism, and in strangling the struggle of the working masses. *It has suppressed the revolutionary situation.* The country has entered a period of reaction.

In this period, finance-capital is trying, and will try, to make Turkey imperialist and to adapt the workings of the state-monopoly capitalist system to suit this end. The militarisation of the economy, the fascist trade union extension of the state, and fascist-bureaucratic discipline in workplaces in order to increase production are the first steps which have been taken to force labour power to submit to this programme. The military junta ruling the country today is not only an instrument of finance-capital at the highest level, but also a section of finance-capital itself: *finance-capital in uniform*. In the economy, it is the direct administrator of a Turkey-scale military-industrial complex, OYAK, and similar establishments of finance-capital.

The new period which the country has entered is not a peaceful, reformist period. In a country like Turkey, the striving of finance-capital to solve the crisis from the negative means aiming to crush the working class. The economic crisis is continuing. The fact that the bourgeoisie is unable to act on the basis of a unity of interests remains unchanged. In this period, when expansion has become a matter of life and death for Turkish finance-capital, a war is proceeding in our region (i.e. Middle East). Our people are coming to know the black face of fascism at first hand, through their own experience. The destruction of reformist illusions and a better understanding of the army's *raison d'etre* are accelerating the development of a revolutionary consciousness. The base for resistance against fascism is extending. These developments are preparing the conditions for the revolutionary situation in Turkey to reappear in a much stronger form.

Our aim in the struggle against the fascist junta is not to return to 11th September 1980. We shall defend to the end all the democratic rights which the fascist junta has trampled underfoot, but we shall combine this defence with the struggle for revolution. In our country, the only way to really defend democratic rights is by smashing fascism, imperialism and collaborating monopoly capitalism with a people's revolution. Those who come by force go by force. Those who have come with tanks must go with revolution.

Since the 12th September coup, the opportunists and petty-bourgeois pacifists have continued to betray the working class by "fighting" to make the fascist junta take progressive steps, giving lessons on genuine Kemalism, and collaborating with the "lesser evil" among the several groups within the junta.

During the past three months, the Leninist cadres of the TKP worked with great energy to improve illegal work, establish illegal revolutionary centres deep among the people in important factories and districts, and build unity of struggle with the organisations of the Kurdish people and other sections which have been subjected to the barbarous attack of the fascist junta, organisations which are fighting against the junta. These

activities will continue. At the same time, the Leninist cadres of the TKP abroad have made great progress in exposing the fascist junta and ensuring strong international support for those fighting against fascism in Turkey. This work too will continue in more effective forms.

With the coming of the fascist junta, the judgements put forward in our pamphlet, *Socialism Will Win*, in relation to the disintegration of the ideological unity of the world communist movement, its shifting as a whole to the right, and the way of solving the problems being open ideological discussion, have, since the events in Afghanistan and Poland, been confirmed also in regard to the specific problems of the revolution in Turkey. Some fraternal communist parties within the world communist movement have evaluated the fascist junta, just as have the Trotskyists and social-democrats, as a military rule in which an army above classes has seized the reins of government and is striking at both right and left terrorism in order to take the country out of the crisis. The Leninist cadres of the TKP will work for the correction of wrong views without forgetting for a moment the objective fact that the Soviet Union is the world revolutionary centre. In this period, when imperialism is increasingly pursuing a more aggressive policy, understanding the process of world revolution and comprehending the important place that the revolution in Turkey will hold in the world revolution puts a historical responsibility on the Leninist wing of the TKP. The Leninists of the TKP, which, up to now, have succeeded, due to a correct Marxist-Leninist ideology, in marching ahead of life, will emerge from this stage of the class struggle as well having advanced towards becoming the only alternative on a nationwide scale.

Coordinating Committee  
of the Communist Party of Turkey  
29 November 1980

## The Internal Party Situation and our Tasks

Since the Conference of the Leninists of the TKP, the Leninist section has become more effective, Leninism has become stronger.

The Conference emphasised the importance of the struggle for the convening of the 5th Congress after a 49-year period without a congress, and organised the Leninist section as a wing of the party. In relation to the internal party situation, the Conference determined the correct tactic to be as follows: On the one hand, to raise the inner-party struggle and win over to the Leninist wing the party's militant cadres and, on the other hand, to continue normal party work among the masses and to win new comrades.

Immediately after the Conference, the Leninist cadres began organising under the direction of the Coordinating Committee. They established provincial, regional, area and district committees. The directive, "the main link is organisation" was embraced by the whole organisation. The Leninist organisations became stronger both qualitatively, by raising their ideological level and discipline, and quantitatively, through propaganda and agitation and with actions suited to the revolutionary situation. They successfully carried out the

complex tasks posed by the period.

It was inevitable that the young and rapidly developing Leninist movement would have shortcomings and make mistakes. Nevertheless, by drawing lessons from these as well, our movement successfully solved the fundamental problem of the period, that of survival.

Prior to 12th September, the political influence of the Leninist wing of the TKP had reached a high level. The Leninist wing was conducting intensive organisational work which promised to grow rapidly into a force capable of giving organisational form to this influence and giving direction to political developments in the country. In many areas, it had begun to surpass the opportunist section. The May Day demonstration in Mersin and the *Maden-İş* (Metal Workers' Union) Congress in Izmir testify to this. By the time of the 12th September fascist coup, the Leninist local organisations and central organs had established a structure which was working effectively. They had begun to sink roots in the working class and evoke a response from the trade unions. They had developed their revolutionary agitation and propaganda work.

The opportunists occupying the top position in the TKP continued their attacks on the Leninists with street fighting, informing, lies and intrigues. The ideological, political and organisational effectiveness of the Leninist wing, which grew with the Conference, increased the turmoil among the TKP's rank-and-file. Pressure from the rank-and-file forced the opportunist leaders into an "ideological struggle". This "ideological struggle", waged side by side with physical assaults, did not go beyond setting a precautionary example of treachery to Marxism-Leninism and the demeaning of ideological struggle to the level of slanders, defamations and distortions.

Panic-stricken by the effect of the Conference of the Leninists of the TKP, the opportunists hastily convened a "Plenum of the CC". Flouting the constitution, they did not invite comrades V.Dursun and V.Demir, members of the CC, to the "plenum". With the "plenum" report which declared that

the Leninists had been defeated organisationally but not yet ideologically, the opportunists admitted their own opportunism, liquidationism, private preserve mentality and factionalism... This "plenum" sealed the bankruptcy of opportunism.

The contention that the Leninists had been expelled from the party was, in life, no more than a dream of the TKP leadership. The process of its isolation from the rank-and-file of the party gained speed. This period ended with the opportunists, fearing open discussion and avoiding a democratic congress, having been thoroughly squeezed into a corner. In one respect, the 12th September fascist coup came to the rescue of opportunism which was losing strength with every passing day, causing the cadres to decay, and being reduced to helplessness in the legal organisations. Now, the opportunists will try to conceal their impotence, ideological, organisational and otherwise, under the cover of the "very severe conditions of oppression imposed by the pro-American junta"!

In the recent period, the centrist-opportunist team has consolidated its hold on the party leadership. As a result of their having joined with the right opportunists against the Leninists, and of the logic of open ideological discussion, their position has shifted well to the right. Today, a distinction is drawn between centrists and right opportunists only to facilitate distinguishing various views on specific issues.

In the transition period between the 12th September fascist coup and the present day, the opportunist section exhibited extreme disintegration and a loss of cadres. The fascist junta is pursuing a very special policy towards the opportunists. Although it employs the same methods against militant comrades who remain under the influence of the opportunists as it does against revolutionaries, it shows tolerance towards defeatist-pacifist elements. For the moment, the bargaining continues: "If you do not call me fascist, I will not treat you badly". As a result, the opportunists are continuing to function at the leadership level. However, among the rank-and-file of the party and the circle of sympathizers, a feeling of having been abandoned is spreading. Intense ideological chaos, caused by

the policy of masking the fascist character of the 12th September coup, predominates.

In the Leninist section, as a natural consequence of the conditions of the period of reaction, a contraction has taken place among the Workers' Correspondence Groups. Nevertheless, the party organisation continues to develop. Anticipating sharp turns and preparing the organisation for this, our movement experienced no confusion as a result of the 12th September fascist coup. In Europe, the Leninist movement began growing in earnest. In many places, hitherto citadels of menshevism, the Leninists are heading towards obtaining superiority. In short, "the one-and-a-half year struggle for existence has come to a successful conclusion. Tomorrow, come what may, this banner will not fall".

In all the most important organisations of our party, compared with the opportunists, the Leninist section is either in the lead or has more effective organisational strength. The inner party struggle has not declined in importance. Due to the time lag in the development of the Leninist movement in various regions, and the opportunities presented by the ideological and organisational chaos predominating in the opportunist section after the 12th September fascist coup, there are many comrades among those remaining with the opportunists whom we can still win over.

Ahead of us, there is a period of severe reaction and fascism. In this period, it is not inevitable that revolutionary organisations should weaken and retreat. This can be prevented, depending on their ideological level and organisational structure. The temporary victory of reaction can be prevented from creating a crisis situation in the revolutionary organisations.

The Leninist organisation of the TKP is one of the organisations best prepared to struggle against counter-revolution. Leninism will emerge honourably and strengthened from this period too. Let us energetically embrace our work of protecting the cadres; organising strong illegal party bodies; developing systematic ideological education, literature distribu-

tion and factory party groups; and exposing fascism both within and outside the country. These are the tasks of the day. The steel nucleus of the working class movement will develop on this basis. This nucleus will spread its influence among both existing legal organisations and those which will emerge with changing times.

No matter how hard the conditions, these tasks will be accomplished together with that of convening the 5th Congress. The task of convening the 5th Congress is identical with the tasks of preparing the TKP to overthrow fascism and leading the revolution to victory.

Coordinating Committee  
of the Communist Party of Turkey  
29 November 1980

## The Financial Problem

The fascist junta which seized power on 12th September has temporarily suppressed the revolutionary situation. Together with the attack of counter-revolution, the tasks and responsibilities of the communists have increased immeasurably. The period of reaction which we have entered demands new methods and tactics suited to it. Tasks such as improving and developing illegal party organisations demand of communists enormous self-sacrifice and creativity. The ability of the communist party to successfully fulfil the tasks set by the new situation depends, in one respect, on strengthening the organisation's material and technical resources and solving its financial problems.

The financial problem is at the same time a reflection of organisational work. For this reason, the Conference of the Leninists of the TKP which was held last year put forward a Leninist approach to the financial problem. It pointed out mistakes on this matter but, nevertheless, the traces of mistaken views have still not been totally eradicated. Some comrades were unable to digest the Conference decisions.

The mensheviks accustomed the organisations to ready money. They prevented the organisations from learning how to

“squeeze bread out of a stone” and thus killed their revolutionary creativity and self-sacrifice. Within the organisations, there developed such tendencies as looking for support from outside: “if only some force from outside would come and make this revolution”. This is an approach the Leninists reject.

Yet another mistake has to do with the approach to “personal problems”. It is the idea that, “since I am endangering my life for my organisation, the organisation should help me in solving my personal problems”. In general, members must solve their personal problems themselves and, in addition, solve the organisation’s problems. In conjunction with this, the Party helps members if and to the extent that its circumstances permit.

The Bolshevik solution is to raise the level of self-sacrifice of all party members, both leaders and led; to direct our gaze, not upwards to the higher bodies of the organisation, but downwards to the masses; to mobilize new forces and create new opportunities. In this period of reaction, when our attempts to establish close ties with the masses will be restricted by fascist repression, the application of these principles creatively and with self-sacrifice is one of the most important conditions of being able to fulfil the tasks of the day.

Coordinating Committee  
of the Communist Party of Turkey  
29 November 1980

## **Let us Raise our Solidarity with our Comrades in Prison**

Today, the fascist dictatorship in our country is ferociously attacking communists and progressives. At least 10 patriots have been murdered every week since the 12th September coup. This is a number which the censored press could not conceal. One is considered “lucky” to survive the tortures and go to prison.

In our country, over 50,000 political prisoners have been condemned to rot in prisons. Inhuman treatment, torture and beatings continue without let-up.

The inhuman terror of fascism will not be able to halt the struggle of the working class. For those who fall into prison, it is only the place and form of struggle that changes. At the same time, there is steadily developing a more experienced and determined working class movement which has learned from past mistakes.

Comrades,

The prisons also hold members of the Leninist wing of the TKP. Today, these brave comrades of ours are waging in the prisons part of our struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

It is the duty of provincial and regional committees to support in every possible way and to see to all the problems of

our comrades-in-arms who are in the prisons of their respective regions. The way the mensheviks have "entrusted" imprisoned revolutionaries to "Allah" does not befit us Leninists.

Imprisoned comrades,

You are not bowing to the repression and violence of fascism in the prisons.

You are foiling all the fascist junta's attempts to "reconcile right and left" and to undermine your revolutionary determination.

You are regarding prison, not as time stolen from our revolutionary struggle, but as a school in which the class struggle assumes its harshest forms.

You are continuing to perform the duties of establishing comradeship-in-arms and initiating ideological discussion with imprisoned revolutionaries from movements outside our party, and of winning them over to our party.

You are not allowing our communist ethics and communist honour to be trampled under the dirty feet of the bourgeoisie. The efforts of the bourgeoisie to detach you from the struggle, to crush you, are in vain. You will emerge from this severe test as steeled cadres and will make a more powerful contribution to the victory of the working class. The lives of those cadres who, despite the dungeons of the Tsar, the Nazi concentration camps, the torture houses of Batista and the tiger cages of Saigon's prisons, have carried out revolution in their countries, are examples to all of us.

Glory to the brave sons of our people!

We shall smash fascism!

We shall bring down their prisons on their heads!

We shall carry out the advanced democratic people's revolution!

Coordinating Committee  
of the Communist Party of Turkey  
29 November 1980

## Appendix: Statement

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

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

That the fascist junta was able to seize power, testifies to the relative strength of the counter-revolutionary forces over the organised forces of the revolution. Nevertheless, this is an unstable and unreliable superiority. The economic and social realities of our country, the demands of our people, will work against the fascist coup. The fact that imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie were compelled to resort to this last

option, is evidence of their weakness in the face of the working class and people.

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

The generals' junta is confronting the symptoms of the revolutionary situation in our country with a clear-cut programme. Evren's speech lists its elements one by one.

The fascist junta points to the communists as the main organised target. Among these, it singles out in particular, "those who sing the *Internationale* instead of the national anthem", i.e., the Leninist section of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), the *Işçinin Sesi* movement. It is not the relative numerical strengths of the organised forces of the revolution, but the junta's class instinct which leads it to pinpoint the main enemy.

Another most important objective of the fascist junta is to strangle the national liberation movement of the Kurdish people. The prevention of a bloodbath in Kurdistan depends on raising the joint struggle of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples. The fact that the Kurdish national movement is one of the principal targets of the junta is proof that this movement is an important and indispensable component of the revolution in Turkey.

The fascist junta will now try to speedily disperse the forces of revolution through a bloody terror, to extinguish the revolutionary situation, cow the people into submission and stabilize its fascist rule. This, we must not permit.

Fascism has yet to establish itself in our country. The fact that the attempt to establish fascism is taking place from above, by means of the generals' junta, rather than as a mass movement from below, constitutes the *specific feature* of the present political situation. This provides important footholds for overthrowing fascism before it has a chance to consolidate itself: the economic and social crisis continues. The revolutionary

situation continues. The inability of the bourgeois state mechanism to act in accordance with a unity of interests remains. Revolutionary organisations retain their cadres largely intact. The people are extensively armed and are keeping their weapons. The abolition of parliament and the suspension of the constitution and political parties in a manner which harshly confronts the bourgeois liberal forces, has widened the base of opposition to the fascist junta. The fact that the entire command structure of the army has been subordinated to the junta intact was a turn of events greatly desired by imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie. But the coming to power of the military in this way, obscuring as it does the conflict of interests and political differentiation within it, at the same time constitutes one of its main weaknesses. This conflict of interests and these political differences can now be expected to increase. A series of coups are possible. The fascist coup will create a powerful backlash among progressive world public opinion and a powerful campaign for "revolution against fascism" will come into being. The necessity of, and opportunities for, establishing unity of struggle against fascism among the revolutionary forces in Turkey have increased immeasurably. First-hand experience of fascism will immeasurably raise the revolutionary consciousness of our people. The attempt to impose fascism through the army will plainly and quickly lay bare before our people the *raison d'etre* of the army, the last reliable bastion of imperialism and finance-capital in the country.

Our aim in the struggle against the fascist junta is not a return to the 11th of September 1980. We will defend to the end all the democratic rights trampled underfoot by the fascist junta, but this defence we will connect with the struggle for revolution. This coup has brought revolution and counter-revolution into stark confrontation in Turkey. The only way to genuinely defend democratic rights is by smashing fascism, imperialism and collaborating monopoly capitalism in our country with people's revolution.

All popular forces, among these the Leninist section of the Communist Party of Turkey, must increase their capability for

illegal activity, must adapt propaganda and agitational work to the new situation and extend this work. Unilateral actions by single groups must be prevented through comradely persuasion, while coordinated activity by all revolutionary forces must be achieved. Existing local popular committees must be preserved at all costs and new illegal revolutionary centres with deep roots among the people must be formed in all important factories, in districts and regions. Leaders of our Party's Leninist organisations are instructed to confer regularly with all revolutionary forces in the regions for which they are responsible, exchanging information and informing them of our activities.

By means of this coup, imperialism and domestic finance-capital have attempted to put an end to things before the revolutionary situation reaches the stage of a nationwide crisis. This is the underlying significance of the coup. However, the coup itself may bring about a mass uprising, may itself spark off a nationwide crisis. It is the duty of communists and all revolutionaries to work to bring this about. We must prepare the popular uprising through our agitation and propaganda and our work among the masses, refrain from actions which properly belong to the stage of an uprising before this objective stage has arrived, and devote extraordinary care to protecting the cadres. The revolution will come through raising the consciousness of the people and preparing them for the tasks ahead.

The revolution has not been defeated!

Do not abandon your weapons!

Forward to a popular uprising against fascism!

Bureau of the Coordinating Committee  
of the Leninists of the  
Communist Party of Turkey  
14 September 1980

