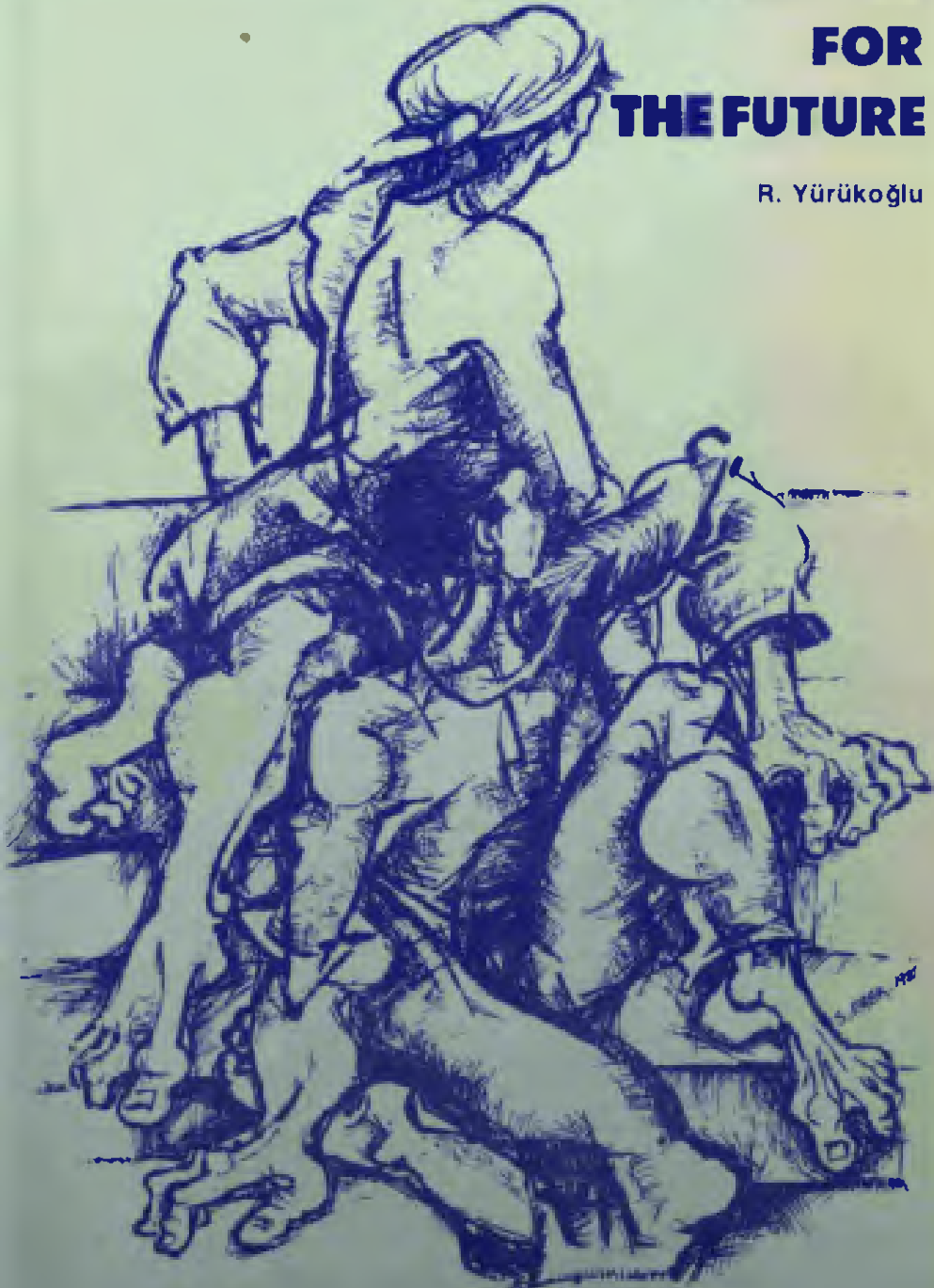


THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FUTURE

R. Yürükoğlu



Proletarians of all countries unite!

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*The speech delivered by comrade R. Yürükoğlu
at the meeting held in London
on 10th September 1981 to commemorate
the 61st anniversary of the founding of the
Communist Party of Turkey*

Esteemed comrades,

On the 61st anniversary of the founding of our party, an occasion which we celebrate under conditions of a fascist dictatorship, I greet with communist fervour all my party comrades, all those comrades who, leaving us, entrusted to us the struggle for the future, the one hundred thousand or more revolutionaries in prison, members of the TKP Coordinating Committee who are carrying out their duties in Turkey, our heroic working class.

1. The organisational situation

1.1. Organisations connected to the TKP Coordinating Committee

I shall not dwell on the present situation in Turkey nor on the tactics appropriate to it. These questions were considered with the greatest of care at the Second Conference. Every day that passes, and every event that takes place, confirms how correct was the analysis made at the Second Conference.

I would like to begin my talk with a question. Today, at the end of a year which has passed under a fascist dictatorship, it is well known that the revolutionary movement has been beset by a profound crisis, by fragmentation and a wide-spread feeling of aimlessness. Why is it that the *Worker's Voice* movement continues to develop?

The causes of both this disintegration and our development are basically identical with those which brought about the pre-12th September situation. Only the

force of their impact has increased. The *Worker's Voice* has been explaining the social and more general causes of the crisis in the revolutionary movement for some years. These causes may be summed up in the fact that the objective conditions had developed to a greater extent than the subjective factor and that none of the organisations of the revolutionary movement were prepared for the tasks of the revolutionary situation. However, it is not inevitable that all organisations should succumb to this general tendency. It can be avoided. In particular, this is a little easier for those organisations whose memberships do not number hundreds of thousands and which therefore do not embrace a mass of various classes and strata.

Organisations under the TKP Coordinating Committee have been able to escape the general trend in the revolutionary movement. Three main reasons may be cited for this.

Firstly, and the really decisive factor, is one's ideological position: to have and correctly apply a scientific ideology, and not just in words. From 1976 onwards it has become increasingly apparent that the *Worker's Voice* sets the tone of the debates on Turkey's left. Our party is putting forward new and correct ideas, ideas which are later taken up by other movements as well. And there is no let-up... This is called *ideological leadership*.

Secondly, this characteristic of the TKP's Leninist forces is accompanied by the *decisive role* of ideological maturity within the organisation. There is *not a single* organisation in Turkey's revolutionary movement where ideological understanding and ideological maturity play as determining a role in the selection of members, cadres and leaders as they do in our party.

Our party considers ideological education compulsory for everyone, no matter who he or she may be. There are

many shortcomings in our educational work. Sometimes its level may fall, it may slacken, or even be narrowed down; at other times it is greatly accelerated and takes priority over everything else. But it is the approach which is important.

If we were to make an analogy, we could say that, just as the communist party is and must be the ideological and political vanguard of the class, so too must the leadership of the communist party be the ideological and political vanguard of the party. It is not a matter of stipulating this in the rules but of accomplishing it in practice. If this is not the case, then discontent, stagnation and cliques within the party are inevitable. If the party leadership is truly the ideological and political vanguard of the party, then the organisation is marked by harmony, humane and comradely relations, and mutual trust.

This is the situation in our party at present. And, in order for it to remain so, the Fifth Congress must reconsider the party rules from this point of view and provide the necessary guarantees.

Thirdly, our party has never given *priority* to numbers (I do not say importance). Neither when the inner-party struggle was coming out into the open, nor after it had done so, did our party ever worship numbers. Numbers are a good thing, but not as a result of bargaining, conciliating, and watering-down party norms. And never at the cost of making its ideological unity "tolerant". The ship cannot sail the oceans by means of dazzling transfer operations.

Please do not misunderstand; the fact that people who have deservedly gained a reputation in the revolutionary movement are joining our party is warmly welcome. However, this has not, cannot, and never will take place by trading the *Worker's Voice* movement's crystal clear

ideological and political line for anyone's name or for the number of people it can bring with it! Our party is rising in the hands of comrades who have dedicated themselves to the line of the *Worker's Voice*, comrades who have been moulded in its struggle.

It is primarily for these reasons, comrades, that the *Worker's Voice* movement is able to continue its development. When we started this work, we lacked the opportunities available to many other organisations. We still do not have them, but we are developing. In number we have surpassed small, and perhaps even medium-sized, movements.

The significance of our party's growth in Europe, particularly in Germany, under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship in Turkey, must be evaluated within this context. Today, a very significant part of Turkey's working class works in Germany, in industries employing advanced technology. It works under conditions of bourgeois democracy. The conditions exist for its most advanced sections to be won over to communism. *Especially today*, Germany is an important *bridge-head* for revolution in Turkey. We shall work in Germany and in the whole of Europe with all our strength, and we shall take full advantage of this opportunity, *but* only as a *bridge-head*.

Comrades, as our influence and our strength grow so too do our responsibilities. We must not disappoint the hopes we have raised. We must not become yet another of those falling stars of which Turkey's revolutionary movement has seen so many. We must not join the procession of the living dead.

Let us look at the examples in this procession. Life goes on, but they either busy themselves with three-page "founding statements", or cling to an eclecticism created

by a 23-year old theoretical genius, to two or three old and famous names, or to the natural but unproductive dynamism of a group of young friends. It is difficult indeed to distinguish which of these groups, organisations or movements occupy an independent and distinct place in the political spectrum.

In order to avoid falling into such a state, one must be able to continue advancing together with life itself. This, in turn, demands, first and foremost, that one work and learn continuously and that one retain an enlightened and courageous mind.

Advancing together with life itself, in one sense means being close to mankind. Out there is a Turkey of 45 million people, and a world of so many billion people. With its cinemas, poems, songs, statues, science, history, pleasures, loves and hates. One must absorb development of every kind. To be a communist is the most difficult profession. The communist movement is no place for good-for-nothings, no place for sick minds burning for revenge on the world. Communists must be the most disciplined workers, the most advanced minds and brightest spirits. This, in turn, is a matter of "knowing the world, being a true proletarian, a true intellectual".

Inevitably, there are profound petty-bourgeois influences in Turkey's working class and revolutionary movement. It cannot be expected that these influences and the crassness that accompanies them will disappear easily or overnight. If we want to overcome this crassness which shows itself in ideological superficiality, pretentiousness, organisational incompetence, and fear of proletarian discipline, we must work, and work hard.

As the influence of our movement grows, so too do the aims we set ourselves. The present stage of our development is one at which we aim to gain acceptance of

the fact that we are a *natural, inseparable and necessary* part of the world communist movement. When the internal party struggles first came out into the open, many people said that we would last for only "three months". Three months and years have passed since then. We have proved that we are here to stay, that we are not a chance visitor to the class struggle. And we are gradually becoming stronger.

This is how and what we are, and these are our views. The world communist movement will accept us as we are. Always remaining within the bounds of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we shall say what seems correct to us, not what someone else has said.

It must not be thought that this stage is a matter of six months or a year. It will last a long time. But we are now able to set ourselves this aim.

What I have said thus far throws a very favourable light on the organisations connected to the Coordinating Committee. Do we have no difficulties or weaknesses? We have, and quite a few at that.

First and foremost, is the low ideological level of our party cadres. It is interesting to note that our ideological level comes first among the reasons for both our strength and our weaknesses. We must compare our ideological level, not with that of others, but with what it should be, with our tasks. Then, we see that we have a long way to go. Without raising our ideological level to the extent required, we will not be able to achieve that iron discipline, flexibility in being able to change our tactics at a moment's notice, expertise in uniformly applying the same tactic everywhere, and the exemplary party member to which we aspire.

Our *second* weak point is the lack of a sufficient number of trained cadres to lead the development. For this reason,

our organisational work in many regions is not progressing as rapidly as it might. Today there is a fascist junta and the activity of the masses has declined. While not removing our problem, this circumstance does keep it within tolerable limits. Tomorrow, when these conditions change and the masses become active, our lack of trained cadres will be our biggest problem — if we have not been able to rectify this situation.

Thirdly, there is our sad financial situation. For some reason, books do not record the failure of a movement for lack of money. However, this is one of the facts of life which is not mentioned in books. Comrades in prison, their families, comrades whom the bourgeoisie has sentenced to unemployment and hunger, moving from one region or town to another... The Fifth Summer Campaign was in every respect the most successful, in terms of both participation and the amount of funds collected. All comrades displayed a high level of consciousness and sense of responsibility. However, it is not enough and the problem remains unsolved. Relying primarily on the self-sacrifice of party members, we must definitely solve our financial problems.

Fourthly, our ties with the masses are weak. The process of making the TKP a genuine party for the first time in its 60-year long history experienced a real advance only in the past year. This, as fate would have it, coincided with conditions of a fascist dictatorship. For this reason, the period in which the party actually began to function as a party did not see an accompanying expansion of its ties with the masses.

Lastly, we must mention how widespread are amateurish and artisan-like styles of work. This wastes a lot of time and energy and strains everyone's nerves.

In order for our party's development to continue, we

must make our good points better and strengthen our weak points. We must consciously and ambitiously work for this. Otherwise, we shall see that growth will *inevitably* have the effect of blunting our good points while increasing our weak points.

1.2. Organisations connected to the "official" Central Committee

As you are closely acquainted with the situation of these organisations, I will not expand on it. The assault on centrism continues.

Long after the fascist junta came to power, they were at last able to hold a meeting which they called a "plenum". As a plenum is a meeting in which *all members* of the Central Committee participate, and as there is no possibility of such a meeting under present conditions, the term "plenum" indicates that the CC has seen another round of expulsions. Taking advantage of developments in Turkey, the right-wing opportunists have proceeded, in their own words, to "wipe out all traces of left sectarianism" and "strengthen the party leadership", that is, to expel centrism. Thus the central committee has become a catch-all committee.

The menshevik plenum for the first time spoke of the Fifth Congress, saying: "The Plenum has confirmed that the TKP will be able to convene a congress under even these difficult conditions. It instructed the Political Bureau to complete preparations for the Fifth Congress".

We must dwell a little on this question of the Fifth Congress. First, let us read the relevant article number 37 of the menshevik rules:

“37. The supreme organ of the Communist Party is its General Congress. The Central Committee convenes the party’s regular congress once in every four years. Should an obstacle arise due to the severe strictures of illegality, the Central Committee may postpone or move the Congress forward. The interval between congresses must not exceed 6 years. If this period is exceeded the provincial committees may demand that the Central Committee convene a congress within 6 months. If the Central Committee fails to do so, a two-thirds majority of the provincial committees may convene a congress. Delegates to the congress are selected at congresses of the provincial committees”.

Let us forget for a moment that there has been no congress since 1932. These rules were written in 1973 and their approval by the party organisations was completed in 1974... Consequently, even the period of extension had long since expired by 1980. In the meanwhile, the CC left unanswered the demand for a congress put forward by the party’s most important provincial committees, first and foremost, the Izmir provincial and Aegean regional committees. The call for a congress issued by the 1980 First Conference of the Leninists was also left unanswered. Thus the CC once again lost its legitimacy, even according to the rules it introduced itself. By the same token, the provincial committees which failed to convene their congresses within the time-period stipulated by the same rules have also lost their legitimacy.

Taking all these into account, the Second Conference of the Leninists, which met in 1981 and represented the

majority of the party's active provincial committees, adopted the following resolution:

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

"1. All administrative organs operating on the basis of the old provisional Rules are invalid. None of these organs, including the Political Bureau, are elected bodies, all having been constituted through appointment. They have forfeited their legitimacy even according to the old Rules drawn up by these same organs, Rules which were never approved by a congress and are therefore of a provisional nature.

"2. Until such time as the Fifth Congress is held, the highest organ of the TKP is the TKP Coordinating Committee. The prime duty of the Coordinating Committee is to convene the Fifth Congress in the shortest space of time.

"3. The Congress shall be convened according to the provisions of the new provisional Rules adopted by the Second Conference of the Leninists. The old provisional Rules are the epitomy of a confusion of duty and authority, of a distorted understanding of democratic centralism and a mentality which sees no need for either elections or congresses.

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

"4. The Seco. 1 Conference of the Leninists

of the TKP instructs the commission elected by the First Conference and charged with preparing a draft party programme to conclude its work and submit its draft to the Congress Preparatory Commission as soon as possible.

"5. This Conference resolves to elect a Congress Preparatory Commission charged with the task of conducting the technical preparations for the Fifth Congress, this Commission to work under the supervision of the Coordinating Committee.

"The Preparatory Commission is instructed:

"a) To take all such measures as to ensure that the Fifth Congress meets in the greatest security possible under prevailing conditions.

"b) To publicise the new provisional Rules, the draft programme and proposals from party organisations among all party organisations; to see to it that the materials for discussion as well as the ideas arising in the course of open discussion are published in the Central Organ, ensuring that this discussion takes place in full public view.

"c) To ensure that all party organisations and class conscious workers take an active part in this discussion.

"6. The administrative organs constituted according to the provisions of the old provisional Rules are to surrender all party documents in their possession, as well as the party archives, to the TKP Coordinating Committee within 6 months at the latest. This measure is necessary both because these organs

have forfeited their legitimacy and in order to ensure the smoother convening of the Fifth Congress.

"7. The aforementioned organs are to surrender all party property in their possession, as well as the financial accounts, to the TKP Coordinating Committee within 6 months at the latest. The Coordinating Committee is authorised to confiscate party property and accounts. Any members or organisations which violate these decisions will be considered to be obstructing the most efficient and most democratic convening of the Fifth Congress and will be exposed. They will also be punished according to the provisions of the new provisional Rules.

"8. Those charged with directing the party by the 1977 Conference of the TKP are obliged to attend the Fifth Congress and account for their activities. These persons have six months following the publication of this announcement in which to prepare and submit their reports to the Congress Preparatory Commission. If they violate this decision, they will be disciplined according to the provisions of the new provisional Rules.

"9. Within 6 months of the publication of this announcement in our Central Organ, the provincial committees of the TKP are to hold their congresses in accordance with the provisions of the new provisional Rules and to elect their delegates to the Fifth Congress in a proportion to be determined by the Coordinating Committee.

“10. The Coordinating Committee is instructed to publicise the Call for the Fifth Congress among revolutionary public opinion as widely as possible...”.

From the point of view of the organisations connected to the TKP's Coordinating Committee, this evaluation has not changed. Both the opportunists' "plenum", and the congress they say will be convened, are illegitimate. The failure of any person or organisation to adhere to the rules he or it has drawn up himself is the greatest political immorality. Moreover, any organisation which does not object to this, can be nothing else than a collection of precisely the sick minds we mentioned above. This is our evaluation.

However, this is not the end of the matter. It is not enough to say it is illegitimate and leave matters at that. For the Leninists, and from the point of view of communist ethics, the concept of the party, and the rules, it is so. Nevertheless, many members and organisations under the influence of the opportunist leadership will not see it this way. Putting forward various excuses and deceiving themselves, they will close their eyes to irregularities and hope that the party will adopt a correct course *at the Congress*.

It is this situation which determines our *immediate tasks of the day* in regard to the inner-party struggle: to show, not to ourselves and to those who think like us, but to *these comrades*, the kind of fraud which is hidden behind their talk of a congress.

That is why we say the following to these comrades: Given that you accord this illegitimate leadership the right to convene a congress, at least work to ensure that it will be a *congress* as you yourselves understand the term; in order

that another conference may not be passed off as a congress. Any meeting which does not fulfil the following conditions cannot be even an "illegitimate congress".

"1. There are many different views in the party today. These inner-party differences of opinion, as well as proposals for the programme and rules, must be openly discussed in all party publications prior to the congress.

"2. The old party rules state the following:

" 'Congress delegates are elected at congresses of the provincial committees. If so dictated by the demands of secrecy, the Central Committee may propose candidates from among the military cadres.'

"Until now, even provincial congresses in Europe have been prevented. But congress delegates must be elected at provincial congresses. The term 'propose candidates' in regard to the election of delegates which is to be held at provincial congresses, must not be distorted to mean the appointment of delegates.

"3. The publication of documents of party history which have been kept secret but do not violate conspiracy must begin immediately. The fact that 49 years have passed since the last congress renders this an urgent and imperative task.

"4. *Former members of the CC who were said to have been 'stripped of membership' in the period from the 4th Congress in 1932 to the present, those who have neither retreated into their own private lives nor passed over to the ranks of the bourgeoisie, must be called to the*

congress if they wish to defend themselves. Moreover, this is also a requirement of the old rules. This is essential in order to throw light on the past, rectify injustices, eradicate the corruption, and illuminate every aspect of the dark period of liquidation.

"5. The Leninist wing, which the menshevik leadership attacked with the most vile weapons and thus compelled to organise separately, is today a fact. The Leninist wing, led by the Coordinating Committee of the TKP, today constitutes the active majority of the party and, with its meetings of the Coordinating Committee, its conferences and resolutions which show the way to the party, and much else, is its only organised and soundly functioning part. No congress can be convened by denying this.

"The organisations which are connected to the TKP Coordinating Committee must be called to the congress with equal rights. This is an essential condition for the exposure before the party rank-and-file of those really guilty of the split in the party.

"Any meeting which does not fulfil these conditions can only be the menshevik wing's first conference abroad!"

When the comrades who console themselves that everything will be put right at the congress, and that a new and clean book will be opened, begin to insist on these conditions, they will fully comprehend the kind of trick they are faced with. We have nothing to say to those comrades who will abstain from insisting on these conditions and thus, with one excuse or the other, close

their eyes to this fraud. Suffice it to say that "every maggot pie finds a blind buyer".

One does not need to be a genius to understand the fraud behind their talk of a congress. Why was there no call for a congress in the years 1976-1980, when the most "glorious" meetings could be held under the conditions of a revolutionary situation, under what they themselves called "semi-legal conditions"? And why is the call being made *today*? If the reason for not calling a congress was their beloved "conditions of strict secrecy", why and how is a congress being called today under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship? Does not the fact that they are talking about a congress today rather than yesterday, clearly reveal the kind of treachery they have planned?

The *key* in regard to the party congress is the provincial congresses. A large section of party members is unable to participate in a provincial congress today. And such are the conditions they consider the most favourable for both provincial congresses and a general congress! The opportunists are preparing to hold a congress behind the backs of their own rank-and-file.

2. Ideological-political approaches

Comrades, I would now like to touch upon some matters which I believe will be of help in the day-to-day work of our party.

2.1. The continuity of opportunism

Allow me to recall some words from last year's anniversary meeting:

“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.” (*Socialism Will Win*, p.19)

In the light of the developments of the past year, as well as articles published in our central organ, it is necessary to emphasize this point once again.

In the past year, the opportunists suffered a set-back in the party and mass organisations in various regions, and in some regions were completely defeated. Their infighting has intensified and expulsions have resumed. In the meantime, and symbolizing the extent of the collapse and decay, high-ranking leaders who fell into the hands of the police gave away the *entire* party membership.

I would like to add something in brackets here. We would have preferred not to go into this matter at all. Whatever happened, whoever spoke, it is a black day and our comrades are suffering greatly. However, the announcement accompanying the menshevik "plenum" tries to blame the *Worker's Voice* movement for this collapse, saying: "The 'left' opportunist group, the *Worker's Voice*, which is attacking our party, prepared the atmosphere for the arrests. The leaders of this group have long since exposed party secrecy and thus betrayed the party". What is said here is a great lie. Its aim is to turn against us the intense anger which is directed at themselves. This being the case, it is necessary to touch upon this subject.

First of all, the *Worker's Voice* movement has nowhere, at no time, disclosed any organisational secrets of our party. If they can, let them show the contrary, let them prove it. Ideological and political matters are not organisational secrets, but the common property of society and the *Worker's Voice* movement has "exposed" only such matters. They themselves, however, hung up lists in branch offices of the IGD (Progressive Youth Organisation) naming "*Worker's Voice* supporters", making their names public. Mensheviks arrested by the police gave the

names of Leninists. Today, many of our comrades are in prison *solely* because they were denounced by them.

Secondly, our movement does not, in any case, have access to information that could be disclosed, particularly information relating to Turkey. Our organisational information is outdated. As far as we can see, it seems that, after two of our comrades were unjustly expelled from the Central Committee, it really has become a catch-all committee.

Thirdly, the menshevik plenum report itself says that, before the junta, the party operated in a *semi-legal* manner! The term semi-legality does not adequately describe the situation. They worked completely out in the open. There was no such thing as clandestinity. Everyone other than ourselves used to list members of the old CC by their real names. Since 1979, we have constantly criticized and drawn attention to this fact and exposed its theoretical roots. The roots of this attitude lie in opportunism, in collaboration with the "national bourgeoisie", in class-collaboration.

It is striking that the rank-and-file of the opportunists resisted the police and refused to disclose any secrets, while their leaders, whom they had entrusted with everything, told all. It is inevitable that thinking comrades will draw the necessary conclusions from this.

Returning to our subject, the organisational and ideological collapse in the opportunist ranks was summed up in the judgement: "Opportunism in the TKP is collapsing". We said, "A fleet of duck and a goose for an admiral"; reduced to five people, they have returned to their starting point". Let there be no misunderstanding. What we have said means this: the bourgeois tailist, progressivist line has been utterly exposed as far as the advanced workers are concerned; the party's foremost

cadres and experienced members are, in ever increasing number, and with ever increasing force, opposing this line; the leadership cadres are devouring themselves.

For, comrades, opportunism will not collapse as long as its broad socio-economic basis in a country remains. In Turkey, this basis is more than sufficient. The working-class is a class which, through the influx from country and town, is growing rapidly and whose consciousness is influenced by the petty-bourgeois sentiments and beliefs brought into it by this influx. It is possible to speak of a thinly-spread labour aristocracy. There exists a fairly broad worker's bureaucracy. Alongside these, there is a gigantic petty-bourgeoisie which, engulfing the working class, smothers it, prevents it from breathing freely. So long as this basis exists, opportunism will not collapse. We have not even mentioned the various historical and cultural factors involved.

Particularly today, the social-psychological atmosphere is favourable to the thorough spread of opportunism. Defeat, despair, petty bourgeois capitulationism, "moderation", "constructiveness"... Opportunism always organizes passivity, cowardice and despair.

Opportunism continues as long as its socio-economic causes continue. Indeed, it embraces large numbers up to and including the moment of revolution itself. Looking at Soviet experience, we can see that, excluding the moment of revolution, the Bolsheviks were always greatly outnumbered by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries (the SR's). When one kind collapses, another grows in its place. When one goes bankrupt, another, more suited to the situation, is born.

Despite everything, in all this pandemonium, our mensheviks are still the most fortunate today. They have opportunities which others lack. They will be able to draw

a few more rabbits out of their hat. But they cannot continue in their present style. They need a fresh coat of paint. They are trying to apply this paint with their recent "plenum".

2.2. Our attitude towards other trends

Unity of action against imperialism and the monopolies. Shoulder to shoulder against the fascist dictatorship. This is the necessary approach. Without making a lot of noise and advertising itself, our party is doing its duty. In joint work, it is trying to fulfil its duty in the best possible way. We will maintain this attitude.

However, we refuse to consider unity of action, to unite with organisations and cadres (whether they retain or relinquish their names) long since bankrupt, for whom it could only be in the nature of a blood transfusion. Today the *most dangerous* demagogues for the revolutionary movement are those fast-talking "unity peddlars" who are aiming at anything but genuine unity. Without pushing these peddlars and upstarts aside with the back of its hand, the working class movement cannot advance beyond its present situation.

I will give you an example. This is only one example and not one of the basest examples of the upstart profession of unity peddling. Following is the section entitled "unity of the scientific-socialist movement" from the report which was adopted at an April meeting of the CC of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) and published in the March-April 1981, no.7-8 issue of its central organ, the journal *Çark Başak*. Let us read:

“The foremost question which confronts us today as it did yesterday in respect to the founding of a front, and the raising of united action, is that of the realisation of the *political unity* of the working class. Despite the sincere, insistent, constructive and innovative work carried out by our party, we have not yet been able to achieve significant progress on the question of unity. While it is possible to record *some* positive developments and conclusions in regard to *one movement*, it is not possible to say the same for the *other* movement. *This movement* continues to pursue an anti-unity, sectarian and narrow groupist policy. This policy displays itself both in the attitude at the centre, as well as in the practical sphere and in every instance of action. Despite the fact that *some* unifying elements within *this movement* have started to blossom, and display themselves in *some* situations, the generally negative trend continues.

“In general, it is a matter of a narrow group attitude and sectarianism in actions, a derogatory and assimilationist policy towards movements outside itself; of obstructionism and postponements in the course of bilateral meetings, combined with talk about unity, even praising, on higher levels and for public consumption.

“The differences of opinion as to the evaluation of the junta have also produced an opportunity for *this movement* to damage unity of action. Another difference of opinion within *this movement* is related to a *third movement* and

is a very negative attitude.

“In regard to *this movement* attempts to forge a unity from above and from below should be pursued persistently, the possibilities for unity of action should be developed. The ideological struggle against the negative trends and attitudes should be stepped up, *certain* trends in favour of unity which have appeared among the rank-and-file should be encouraged. The negative attitude towards the *third* should be overcome, and the fact emphasized that a trilateral framework cannot be dispensed with. It is clear today, as it was yesterday, that attitudes towards political unity and anti-fascist unity must not be counterposed to one another.

“The first thing that must be said in regard to the *other movement* is that, without giving an opportunity for evasion, the existing positive attitude should definitely be developed and brought to fruition. Joint activities should be initiated and developed and the participation of the *third* movement should also be secured. The fact that at the basis of united action lies the attempt to incorporate the *third movement* should not be overlooked.” (Our emphasis)

If this is not charlatanism, what is it? By their own admission they have not been able to achieve unity of action against fascism, against the junta, they have not secured a united front, yet they propose to establish *political* unity with this same movement prior to unity of action; in other words, they set the aim of becoming a single party... One of the movements, the other, the second, the third, certain trends. Do they not have names?

Are we playing at puzzles... Such are the fast-talking unity peddlars. It is a game of cornering, trapping the other and "exposing them to their own rank-and-file". This is the *most dangerous* demagogy today. It exploits the best sentiments of the working class.

Comrades, class politics does not mean this. We do not mind saying it openly. The reason we exist as a separate, independent party is that we view *all* organisations and movements other than our own as *mistaken* from the ideological and political point of view. That someone may have said something true, or done something correct does nothing to alter this fact. If this were not the case, we would not behave like the many bad examples we see in our country. We would go and unite with those whom we believed to be in the right. If they did not want to "unite", we would join them. Failing such conditions, it is our life-long duty to protect our political independence as the apple of our eye. This can only be done through being aware of and explaining the points of difference.

Among movements other than our own, there are those which we find less, and those which we find more mistaken. There are those in regard to which we believe that joint work will be able to erode the differences. There are movements with which we can consider even a limited and temporary, concrete unity of action unlikely under present conditions. We might appreciate a certain characteristic in one, yet another in the other. But for us, *all* of them are mistaken.

For this reason, there is no place within our ranks for any sympathy towards a mistaken trend, organisation or person. There is no room in our publications and our day-to-day work for any attitude which will obscure working-class consciousness, which will cause it to "drop its guard",

which will blunt its irreconcilability towards what is wrong.

2.3. Our attitude towards those who do not call the junta fascist

An article published in the June issue of *Atılım* under the title "Discussion and 'Discussion' ", complains that one's answer to the question of whether or not the junta is fascist is virtually being made the criterion of being a revolutionary, and that everyone is discussing only this issue. Today, the revolutionary movement really is divided into two broad lines according to those who say that the junta is fascist and those who say that it is not. The vast majority is in the section calling it fascist.

Our party does not hold the view that, "No unity of action can be undertaken with those who do not call the junta fascist". Our understanding of unity in action has been made crystal clear at both the First and Second Conferences.

However, we can predict that not the *decision or intention*, but the *possibility* for unity in action with various movements will become increasingly difficult in day-to-day life. For there is a political significance attached to, and political consequences involved in whether or not one calls this dictatorship fascist. This discussion is not an empty, artificial discussion. No organisation, however strong, could fabricate such a widespread discussion. The reason that this discussion has shaken the entire revolutionary movement lies in the fact that the 12th September coup is the most important event in the history of the republic and profoundly affects our people in every respect.

When seeking possibilities for unity in action with those who do not call the junta fascist, it is necessary to make a distinction within this trend. One section is made up of our mensheviks who, in order to avoid entering into an all-out war against the dictatorship, find a "progressive wing within the junta". They have not arrived at this conclusion as the result of any analysis. They refuse to call the junta fascist in order to realise their aim of "world peace"! Consequently, it is very difficult to work with them even against a "military junta", leave alone a "fascist junta". Let me give an example. The *Gerçek (Truth)* newspaper, the organ of TSİP (Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey) explained in a striking manner how they had been unable to issue a joint statement with them even on the occasion of the first anniversary of the 12th September.

What can be said about the other movements which do not call the junta fascist? A false analysis leads one to set mistaken aims in the struggle, to false tactics. If one is consistent in one's analysis, this is inevitable. In this case too, unity of action with those involved will become more difficult. If they are not consistent, they will end up by choosing aims, tactics and timing according to those who define the junta as fascist. In this case, a militant, fighting unity can also be created with them. Let them sort out the contradiction.

Our general attitude is that we are prepared to enter into unity of action with all those who have made it their goal to fight against this open dictatorship.

2.4. Those who explain why the junta is fascist and those who fail to explain why it is not

In the same *Atılım* article we read that those conducting this discussion, “do not present a class analysis of why the present government is of a fascist character”.

The world has probably never seen any political movement as dishonest as this. Working class politics has certainly not. The name of I. Bilen has not for nothing become synonymous with liar in Turkey's communist movement.

The *Worker's Voice* has explained the reasons for considering the junta to be fascist in the following:

- Statement of the Bureau of the TKP Coordinating Committee, 14 September 1980.
- R. Yürükoğlu, “Our Immediate Tasks”, *Worker's Voice*, No: 141, 5 November 1980.
- Statement of the TKP Coordinating Committee, 29 November 1980.
- Emine Engin, “The Struggle for the Revolution Retains its Urgency”, *Worker's Voice*, No: 147-148, 24 January 1981.
- 1981 Second Conference of the Leninists, “Theses on the Characteristics of the New Period and General Framework of the Party Tactics”.
- Hatice Dağlı, Cemile Çakmak, “Lenin on the Period of Reaction”, *Worker's Voice*, No: 158-159, 19 May 1981.

— Selim Gür, "The Revolutionary Approach to the Question of Fascism", *Worker's Voice*, No: 161, 23 June 1981.

— The Emek (Labour) Working Group, "Understanding OYAK is Closely Related to Understanding the Junta", *Worker's Voice*, No: 164, 27 July 1981.

— Statement of the Bureau of the TKP Coordinating Committee, 6 September 1981.

The theoretical grounds for calling the 12th September junta fascist can be found in these writings.

At the same time, they themselves have *nowhere* clearly explained why this regime is *not* fascist. They can only mouth glib and cowardly talk about different wings within the junta, and about realistic trends in its foreign policy. They are bold thieves indeed. On the one hand, they assert that the junta is not fascist without providing any *theoretical* confirmation that it is not; on the other hand, they ask those who have given theoretical confirmation of its fascist character, why they do not explain themselves. One is tempted to ask whether Evren is their father's son, they are fretting so much about this. Yes, it is with good reason that they used to say: leeches do not cling to one another!

2.5. The arguments of those who say that the junta is not fascist

Of all the many arguments put forward during the discussion which developed within the past year, only these five have survived:

I. The junta includes different wings and has some

realistic foreign policy trends.

II. It came, not from below, but from above, through a military coup. The mobilization of the masses typical of fascism does not exist.

III. It has no separate fascist ideology.

IV. It is a classic Bonapartist coup.

V. There has been no change in the form of the state.

The first of these is put forward by the mensheviks. The rest belong to European Trotskyists and the petty bourgeois of Turkey who, having discovered Trotsky, repeat after them. Let us look briefly at each of these arguments:

The existence of different wings within the junta and of realistic foreign policy trends. In the article we have already referred to above (and in many other articles) *Atılım* has taken great care to say this between the lines. Then it turns around to criticise the *Worker's Voice* and *Tek Cephe (Single Front)*. It has the following to say against the *Worker's Voice*, which it calls a "typical example":

"Repudiating temporary compromises and alliances to take advantage of differences within the political camp of the ruling classes, it has adopted an openly, 'left' radical basis. As was to be expected, this paper has rejected with one stroke of the pen, the Comintern's definition of fascism, which is still valid today, for the simple reason that it did not serve to define this junta as fascist. Thus, by calling the junta fascist, while narrowing down the base for the anti-fascist forces, it has adopted a 'consistent' sectarian line."

And this is how it criticises *Single Front*:

“They refuse to take into consideration certain realistic trends in foreign policy which can be found in the very midst of the junta regime. They want to throw these trends into the same fascist basket together with the openly pro-American, adventurist trends”.

These words of *Atılım* are devoid of all scientific-historical value. There are different wings. Why not? What does this prove? Did not Hitler kill thousands of SA's in one night, the “night of the long knives”, those very same SA's which had been the striking force that brought him to power? In doing so, did he not turn to Germany's army, which had previously remained aloof from him? The films which document how the murdered fascists went to their deaths shouting “Heil Hitler” and giving the Nazi salute, are still to be found in the world's film archives.

Recent issues of *Atılım* have now fully dropped the junta as the main target. Now, in its own words, it takes aim against only the “most reactionary and pro-fascist forces inside and outside the junta”. And it calls this attitude “*masterly tactics*”, “*taking advantage of the bourgeoisie's internal contradictions*”.

Firstly, communists take advantage of the bourgeoisie's internal contradictions in a quite different manner. No one ever heard of Lenin drawing the same kind of distinctions in regard to the Black Hundreds, Tsarism and the Octobrists, that Bilen is drawing now. *Atılım's* approach is the classical menshevik approach seen in the history of the Russian Revolution. And even they could draw distinctions only among the Cadets, not among the Black Hundreds, Tsarism and the Octobrists.

Evren's junta is identical with the most ferocious section of finance-capital. *Which section?* That section

which abolished political parties, parliament and all freedoms, that which filled the prisons with one hundred thousand working people, subjected tens of thousands to torture, barbarically killed hundreds, closed down DISK, demands the execution of 52 trade unionists, and has launched the greatest terror against communists ever seen in the history of the party.

The junta is *collectively* responsible for these deeds. And it will be punished for them collectively. Singling out a section of this junta with which one can "struggle", really calls for a strong stomach.

Let us make a small recollection. A statement entitled "Call to our People" published on the 17th May 1971 by the TKP Central Committee, of which I. Bilen was also a member (at that time there were only a couple of members in any case), described the 12th March coup as *fascist*. It reads as follows:

"The Turkish people are experiencing one of the darkest and most difficult moments in their history. Those who have sold out the national interests of our country to foreign imperialists and who are trying to suppress our people's national and social liberation struggle, abolish their most fundamental democratic rights, who have arrested its patriotic and heroic children *en masse* and crowded them into torture camps and prisons, *are trying, under the pressures exerted by American imperialism and NATO, to impose fascism, that most barbaric and open form of hostility to the people.*

"Fascism, which was imposed under the shadow of guns, came with the aim of suppressing the struggle against the true causes of the

economic and social crisis that has been plaguing our country for years, of suppressing the struggle launched by our people, of throttling resistance against the exploitation of our country for the benefit of imperialist monopolies and states, and against the policy of aggression and exploitation which has severely endangered our country's security and future; to prevent the further growth of the front that has been taking shape among the workers, peasants, the entire mass of low-income persons and the anti-imperialist forces engaged in this struggle.

"The Erim government and the high ranking commanders who brought him to power came in the name of, and by exploiting the people's thirst for democratic and deep-rooted reforms, for which they have been fighting for years. But already at the moment of their inception, they have exposed their true face, their fascist nature. (Yeni Çağ, May 1971) (Our emphasis).

Those who called the 1971 junta fascist, say the 1981 junta is not fascist! Let us think a bit about the reason for this. The junta's deeds inside the country, the section on which it leans and whose interests it protects, as well as the classes and strata it attacks, are clear for all to see. Looking at these, it is possible to arrive at the conclusion that it is not fascist? As it is not possible, we must seek the answer to our question elsewhere. There is a reason. The admiral and his fleet, who seek an agreement with one half of the junta and who have already, *de facto*, unilaterally, adopted his approach, are able to cite, *in reality* and *in essence*, only one excuse for their attitude: "*The realistic trends in foreign policy*" (The mensheviks are protecting

world peace!).

Whether or not it gets on well with the Soviet Union is not a criterion for fascism, or for anything else. Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, is an advocate of the cold war and encirclement of the Soviet Union. Is she a fascist? Between 1939 and 1940, Hitler got on well with the Soviet Union, so much so that he signed a non-aggression treaty with her. Was he not a fascist? Despite all his bullying, Reagan too gets on well with the Soviet Union, rather, he has to get on well. This does nothing to alter Reagan's identity or his intentions. Intentions, and identities are one thing and what can be done at a given moment, under a given balance of power, is another. It is clear what Turkey is, and it is clear what the Soviet Union is. What can this junta do, attack the Soviet Union? Under present conditions, it is naturally going to be "realistic".

If we were to follow the mensheviks' logic, it would be difficult to call even the NAP (Nationalist Action Party) fascist. The Evren junta gets on well with the Soviet Union and it has put the NAP on trial; if the junta is not fascist because it keeps insisting that it is Atatürkist, then the NAP has also, for that matter, frequently and openly denied being fascist.

Leaving aside everything we have said, let us assume for the moment that the junta is not fascist. All right then, this junta is not fascist. But is not everyone agreed that it is an *open and bloody dictatorship*? Why then do I. Bilen and his circle not come out against the junta even in this manner? The July issue of *Aulum* shouts about the "fascist, bloody and terrorist NAP". Evren's junta is *already* more bloody and more terrorist by virtue of those whom it has killed and will kill, those thousands tortured. Why have they not raised their battle standards against a "bloody and terrorist" junta?

In the old days there was a "National Democratic Front". The NDF. They drummed it into us: NDF here, NDF there, NDF everywhere. And how fiercely we longed for the NDF, particularly during Ecevit's time in power. Now, no mention is made of the NDF. Apart from the odd article here and there which is published for form's sake, emphasis has been shifted completely away from the NDF. However, *according to their own understanding*, the NDF must be more important today than ever before. What all this shows is that, at a time when the NDF *objectively* serves the purpose of begging some things from the bourgeoisie, it is brought to the fore. But, at a time when it could serve as a real weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, it is shoved under the mat. Today, no NDF exists because these people have no real intention of fighting against the junta. And the reason for this is the junta's "realistic foreign policy".

The newspaper *Gerçek (Truth)* has grasped and explained the mensheviks' position very well:

"To conceive of wings within the junta and to put all one's hopes on one wing, to say 'let us put all our strength to the task of making this contradiction, this crack, grow', is identical with waging no struggle against the junta. In reality, these 'tactics within tactics', these 'sophisticated politics' are nothing but crude conciliationism. Such 'flexibility' is the most rigid motionlessness" (*Gerçek*, No: 195, August 1981).

That the junta came from above and not from below. That there is no mass movement typical of fascism. This argument is based on such a gross error in method that, were it made in a high-school logic examination, it would

suffice to cause one to fail. What fascism *is* is not determined by the manner in which it comes to power, but by its *function*, by what it does. Similarly, whether or not a particular government is fascist, is determined, not by the manner in which this government came to power, but by what it is, what it aims to do, and what it does.

The theoretical possibility that the socialist revolution could be accomplished peacefully and the dictatorship of the proletariat established by peaceful means, was often emphasized by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Under present world conditions, this is as yet not a real possibility, but it is a theoretical possibility. It will become a real possibility tomorrow, when the international balance of power changes. These leaders even said that, under certain conditions, the working class would be able to buy various countries and plots of land from the bourgeoisie. No doubt that a proletarian dictatorship achieved in such a way would still be a proletarian dictatorship!

The definition of fascism in power has to do with its function, with the *state* it creates, and is arrived at by looking at these. The discussion as to *how* it seized the state and about mass movements is irrelevant.

That the junta does not have a separate fascist ideology. In my opinion an example which we gave last year is very striking. In the book which he wrote, Mussolini says that until they came to power they did *not* have a distinct ideology. It is one thing to have a systematic ideology and quite another to see what is required at a given time to save capitalism.

The mistake in the methodology of this argument is at least as comic as the one mentioned above. It is one of confusing the structural characteristics of a phenomenon and its secondary and tertiary characteristics. Who could call the Paris Commune of 1871 the first *proletarian*

dictatorship in history proceeding from such a logic? The communards had no systematic, distinct, separate ideology.

In the final analysis, what we call ideology is created by the objective needs of social life. Ideology does not give rise to these needs. Thus, objective needs and the responses to them, whether good or bad, consistent or inconsistent, emerge before the formation of a distinct-systematic ideology. However, as long as the needs remain, sooner or later they will be represented by a certain systematic way of thinking. The question is primarily a question of time. When power changes hands, the process might be at its beginning, middle, or end. That is, a systematic way of thinking may have already appeared, may be just appearing, or still to appear. This does not change anything.

After all, what is the ideology of fascism? Fascism has no such systematic-universal ideology as Christianity and Marxism. One can speak of certain formations, sometimes fully systematised, sometimes half systematised, which take shape according to the conditions, the history, etc. of the home country and the problems it has to solve. We cannot talk about a universal fascist ideology.

We can talk about some *common features* of fascist ideologies. The most important of these are irrationality, chauvinism, racialism and cruelty. Although Atatürkism did not emerge as a fascist ideology, it more than incorporates these features and answers the junta's need for a systematic understanding. Given enough time, objective social needs and their reflection in the consciousness of the most ferocious finance-capital groups will increasingly give Atatürkism the character of a mature fascist ideology.

That 12th September was a classic Bonapartist coup.

This appears to be the most scientific of the arguments. The reason for this is that Bonapartism is not very well known in the revolutionary movement in Turkey.

The state is the means whereby the class which dominates in the economic sphere maintains its social and political domination. It is the ruling class's mechanism for oppressing society. Nevertheless, situations can arise in the course of the class struggle under which the state can *temporarily* gain a relative *independence* of the dominant class and the main classes. This is an exceptional situation which does not change the general appraisal of the role and functions of the state which we have summarised above.

Under what conditions can the state gain a temporary and special independence of this kind? Under the conditions of a deep social-political crisis in the country, the presence of a sharp class struggle, and a situation in which there is a balance of power between the main classes. The dominant class can no longer rule but the oppressed class is not strong enough to take power. In a situation like this, the state can become a force independent of the dominant class and the main classes and can manoeuvre between the main classes. This is a Bonapartist dictatorship.

Historically, all Bonapartist regimes have been, or appeared to be, the spokesmen of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, *at the time of their emergence*. For example, the fourth Bonaparte came out as the spokesman of the peasantry. The short-lived Kerensky regime rested on the town and village petty bourgeoisie represented by the mensheviks and the SR's. (Kerensky was one of the leaders of the SR party. I am giving Kerensky as an example because Lenin also does. Nevertheless, Lenin does not view the Kerensky government as definite, fully developed Bonapartism either. The Kerensky government cannot in

fact be considered as a classic Bonapartist regime.)

The *general objective* of a Bonapartist regime is naturally to preserve the given order. Under capitalism there is no other class besides the working class which has a positive alternative programme. The horizon of all the other classes and strata is limited by the borders of the present order. *Because of this*, and because, under capitalism, *there is no real road* other than that of the bourgeoisie to preserve the system, if it is left alone, the Bonapartist dictatorship, the Bonapartist counter-revolution, throws the relative independence of the state aside in a short period of time. For, even if only relatively, there can be no state independent of the ruling class for any period of time.

Is the 12th September junta a regime which manoeuvres between the classes and makes the state independent of the main classes?

The 12th September junta is nothing other than the military industrial complex, the most ferocious group of finance-capital, most intimately tied up with the imperialist centres of aggression. It is finance-capital in uniform. The economic policy which it is applying is a bolder, more ruthless and less vote conscious version of the programme formulated by the Justice Party, finance-capital's parliamentary spokesman. Today, the state is complying with the demands of Koç and the like in a much more open manner.

That the 12th September junta has brought no change in the form of the state. We must say that this is not an argument but empty talk.

The state is the political organisation of the class which dominates in the economy. It is the institutionalisation of class dictatorship. This institution, this dictatorship can be arranged, organised in *different forms*.

Every form corresponds to a different *form of the state*.

Let us consider democracy, which is a form of the state organisation of the bourgeois dictatorship. Lenin says "democracy is a form of the state, it is one of its varieties" (*State and Revolution*). Let us cite briefly the principal characteristics of this form of state which distinguish it from others. The compliance of the minority to the majority, the equality and freedom of everyone before the law, the constitution, the parliament and other representative organs, that is, the separation of legislative from executive powers, and the dependence of the executive on the legislature, the independence of the judiciary, the right to elect and be elected, and political freedoms. If these characteristic features are lifted, it means that *the form of the state has changed*. Leaving aside the question as to how ideal these features are, the transition from a parliamentary democracy to an open dictatorship means a change in the form of the state.

Looking at Turkey in the light of these remarks, it would be foolish to say that the form of the state has not changed.

Here we have also answered a question which is occupying a great deal of the time of revolutionary circles: Is fascism a form of state or a form of government? It is a form of state, of course.

2.6. The Comintern's definition of fascism and the Worker's Voice

In reference to us, *Atılım* says, "He rejected outright the Comintern's definition of fascism which is still valid today

— just because it was not suitable for calling the junta fascist". What a distortion.

Let us first read what we wrote on this subject.

"The topic of fascism will occupy us very much in the years to come and we shall all work on this issue. I would like to give a warning while there is still time, to myself and to the comrades who will work on the topic of fascism. There are fine books in the world revolutionary movement and among the progressive forces in general on fascism as it has been experienced in concrete countries. There are very good researches, studies. But in regard to the general *theoretical* approach to fascism, the general theoretical evaluation of fascism, there is a virtual desert. Even Dmitrov's report to the Seventh Congress deals very little with the general evaluation of fascism. It deals mainly with what is to be done against fascism. In other words, there are very few books to which we may refer in order to gain a theoretical understanding. There is a classic definition: 'The open dictatorship... of the most... section of the finance-capital'. It does not say much. This 'most' is not a scientific category. 'The most reactionary, most chauvinistic section'. This is a description. What are the specific characteristics making some sections of finance-capital 'most reactionary'? Can these not be generalised? And what is the criterion for being considered 'most reactionary'? Definitely, a more complete definition is required. And there is no such definition in the world communist

movement." (*Worker's Voice*, 5 November 1980, No: 141)

It is seen clearly that we are *not rejecting* the Comintern's definition of fascism. We did not reject it or say that it is wrong, we only found it *inadequate*.

It is one thing to see the inadequacy of a definition but another to come up with a better definition. If it is not wrong, a definition can be used until a better one is found. However, there is no obligation to accept a definition as a *full* definition just because a better one is not available. Those who cannot cook well themselves can still tell whether or not the food they are eating is cooked well.

The Comintern's definition is: "Fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist, the most imperialist sections of finance-capital"

The Second Conference of the Leninists of the TKP defined fascism as: "As a generalisation, fascism is counter-revolution of the imperialist stage... Fascism is finance-capital's striving to 'save the regime' under a dictatorship resting on open violence".

Thus it can be seen that the definition of the Second Conference does not reject the Comintern's definition, but in fact stems from it. We do not by any means consider the definition of the Second Conference to be comprehensive and perfect. On the contrary, this definition is nothing but the expression of a search, a striving to find an answer. Its starting point is the desire to fill some gaps left in the Comintern's definition. These gaps were in fact filled in various other parts of the report read by Dimitrov. The problem is to include these aspects in the definition. Doubtless, new and totally satisfactory definitions will be given in the world communist movement. However we

think that even this incomplete definition fills some of the gaps left in the Comintern definition. What are these?

1. The definition given by the Second Conference places fascism in its specific historical place next to other open dictatorships by defining it as "*counter-revolution of the imperialist stage*". The Second Conference says:

"As in every social structure, under the conditions of the domination of monopoly capitalism as well, if a gap has opened between the relations of production and the forces of production, a gap which can only be overcome by a qualitative leap, and if the ruling class has no room for manoeuvre in which to accomplish this leap through reformist means, a period in which violence will act as the mid-wife becomes an objective necessity. Revolution resolves this in a positive manner and permanently. Fascism, on the other hand, attempts to close the gap temporarily and in a negative manner, with counter-revolutionary violence under the open dictatorship of finance-capital."

2. By specifying "*counter-revolution*" the definition brings out the connection between fascism and the deep social-political crisis and the revolutionary situation. It provides a warning against the mistake of evaluating fascism as an arbitrary choice at an arbitrary moment.

3. By saying that fascism is "*a striving to save the regime*", the definition aims to lay down a criterion for "*the most*" in the Comintern definition. This is how the Second Conference explains it:

"Fascism is finance-capital's striving to

'save the regime' under a dictatorship resting on open violence. As such it is *spearheaded by the finance-capital group, the group interests of which most closely coincide with the objective demands of rescuing capitalism*. In other words, the fascist dictatorship is 'led' by the finance-capital group which, proceeding from its own concrete requirements, sees the need to apply the most severe violence against the masses and expand abroad by any means: inflaming chauvinism, arming and, if necessary, with war." (Our emphasis)

4. To say that fascism signifies "a striving to save the regime" also carries a warning against a mistake which can be made and, as historical experience shows, has been made proceeding from the Comintern's definition. This mistake is to see fascism *only* as an instrument of the most reactionary section of finance-capital and consequently to view the whole bourgeoisie, middle-big, non-monopoly or monopoly, outside this small clique as a force which can fight against this dictatorship.

Such a mistaken understanding inevitably reduces fascism to a matter of a few hundred families as I. Bilen reduces finance-capital to 120 families. Such an approach allows no scope for understanding capitalism and imperialism as an economic-social system and the complex relationship between these and fascism. All one has to do to solve the problems is to get rid of 200 or 120 families!

The Second Conference of the Leninists warned against just such a mistake. It said as follows:

"However, the fact that, proceeding from its own concrete demands, one group sees those

'requirements' most clearly, does not alter the fact that these are the objective requirements of saving, not only that particular group, or even finance-capital alone, but capitalism as a whole.

"Fascism's striving to save capitalism as a whole is the objective basis for its gaining the support of the entire bourgeoisie. The facts that the country has experienced high class struggles and that the bourgeoisie is filled with fear of the working class is a powerful subjective basis for it not to withhold this support.

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

Having seen both the Comintern's definition and our own approach to the subject of fascism we can elaborate a bit on the understanding underlying the way in which the Second Conference examined fascism.

We said that by specifying "counter-revolution" in defining fascism, we are connecting it with the thousands of years of mankind's past history, making it a part of this history. It explains that fascism is not a chance happening.

To understand this evaluation and fascism we must start from the concept of "*stages of social transformation*". In every society, when the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private nature of property sharpens to an extreme, a *political crisis* emerges on the basis of a deep economic-social crisis. At this stage society requires a qualitative change.

This qualitative change can take place through a transition from one social structure to another, for example, from capitalism to socialism. It can also take place by advancing to a higher stage within the same structure, as in the transition from individual ownership of property to public companies, or from capitalism to imperialism. Such moments when societies require a change, are moments when they require revolution.

History shows that two roads emerge at this juncture, whoever controls the state. The *reformist road* in countries with broad economic possibilities. (Even this road is accompanied by a certain degree of oppressive measures.) The classic example is England. In this country, the transition from free competition to joint-stock companies, from capitalism to imperialism, was relatively peaceful. England successfully complied with the dictum "if you want to avoid civil war you must become imperialist"... *Open dictatorship* in countries with limited economic means. The French Revolution of 1789, the Bismark period in Germany, the Great October Revolution of 1917, fascism in Germany and Italy.

Theoretically, both roads can either (a) remove the existing contradiction together with its causes; this is called revolution; or (b) not removing the existing contradiction, alleviate it; we call this the "negative solution".

Under the present international balance of power, there is no possibility for revolution through the reformist road.

However, we know that such a possibility was theoretically accepted by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Out of the transformations which have taken place to date we can cite the transition from feudalism to capitalism in England as the nearest example of revolution through the reformist road. England's transition to the imperialist stage of capitalism can be cited as an example of the "negative solution" through the reformist road.

All revolutions which have been carried out to date, like 1789 and 1917 are examples of the removal of the existing contradiction through open dictatorship, that is, of revolution. The alleviation, instead of the removal of the existing contradiction, through open dictatorship, that is, "solving from the negative" is called *counter-revolution*. The best example of this is fascism.

This is why, within this framework, fascism is in general the counter-revolution of the imperialist stage. It is the open dictatorship of the reactionary class. It is an attempt to "solve from the negative" the contradiction between the social nature of production and private nature of property, in order to save the regime.

All examples from history show that fascist dictatorships have arisen in countries with limited economic means. For example, in those days Germany and Italy were known as the second weak links after Russia. These were the countries which were last to become imperialist and which had no colonies.

In general, we call fascism the counter-revolution of the imperialist stage because *all* fascist regimes which have been established to date have emerged during the imperialist stage, but *specifically* during the *transition* of finance-capital to the imperialist stage, as in Germany, Italy, Spain, Brazil, Chile, Portugal, Turkey, etc.

2.7. Why the 12th September junta is fascist

In the light of what we have just said, it will be useful to recount once again the reasons why the 12th September junta is fascist.

— Turkey is a country in which monopolies and finance-capital are growing on a medium-level developed base and taking control of the economy, one in which state-monopoly capitalism is emerging. Export of capital is taking its first steps. But the presence of strong imperialist states makes it difficult to open this door. On top of this, the country itself is under imperialist exploitation. The outcome of these conditions is the extreme intensification of exploitation within the country, the deepening of the social-economic crisis and the sharpening of the class struggle.

— In a country like this a revolutionary situation was seen to exist for ten years. The bourgeoisie becomes unable to rule by parliamentary methods. In a sometimes ascending, sometimes descending line, the country advances towards civil war, revolution. As the crisis deepens and sharpens, the danger of fascism increases. The country arrives at the crossroads of either revolution or fascism.

— Finance-capital carried out a counter-revolutionary coup on 12th September 1981 and established an open dictatorship in order to emerge from the revolutionary situation, and “solve” the profound economic-social-political crisis.

— With this counter-revolutionary, open dictatorship, finance-capital aims to achieve a transformation in making Turkey imperialist and in the functioning of state-

monopoly capitalism, an expansion of the property base suitable to itself. All the practical measures it takes are directed towards these aims.

— The junta ruling the country is not just a high level instrument of finance-capital which has siezed control of Turkey's economy, but a section of finance-capital itself. It is finance-capital in uniform. It is the board of directors of the military-industrial complex, OYAK and similar institutions.

— This junta is a qualitative leap in the process of fascisation of the state which has been proceeding for years. There has been a transition from one form of the state to another.

— The abolition of the constitution, parliament and the political parties by the 12th September dictatorship, the reduction of government to symbolic status under the five-man junta, the cessation of the normal bourgeois judicial procedures, that is, the concentration of legislative, executive and judicial powers in one hand, its attempt to organise mass organisations under itself, are all part of the striving to achieve the monolithic structure of the fascist state.

This junta is a fascist junta, this regime, this state is a fascist dictatorship.

The fact that Evren's junta has not raised the whole country to its feet like Hitler and Mussolini shows not that it is not fascist, but that, *very fortunately*, it is a fascist dictatorship without adequate mass support.

Atılım is correct on one point. The great majority in the revolutionary movement of Turkey are calling the junta fascist, but the majority of these either give no reasons for this, or cite unrelated reasons which do not form a logical whole, or they give wrong reasons.

For example, the pamphlet *NATO Coup in Turkey*

issued by the cadres publishing *Single Front (Tek Cephe)*, connects the fascist junta entirely with the external factor, "international capital", "a foreign plot". It fails to see the source of fascism in the economy of the country, its root in the soil of the country.

The reason for the poverty of the arguments put forward by those who characterise the junta as fascist lies in the lack of serious study of the economic-social development of Turkey.

The Bureau of the Coordinating Committee of the TKP was able to present the entire framework of everything that our party is saying today in the statement which it issued *two days after the coup*, on 14 September. Two days! Because the Leninist section of the TKP had long since correctly evaluated the stage of economic-social development, the cause of the crisis, the desire to become imperialist, the revolutionary situation, and the relationship between fascism and revolution. When movements which were not able to do this catch hold of some truths along the way it is rather like a stew made with water alone. It is a bit thin.

* * *

Comrades, the scale of the problems, questions and subjects is not such as can be dealt with in one speech. In any case, I have already spoken at great length.

This great wise old man, this Anatolia, has seen so many kings, sultans, padishahs, national leaders. This herd of psychopaths will soon get the answer it deserves. The junta is now frenziedly attacking the working class, the people, communists, revolutionaries. It is inflicting unbelievable agony. Let it be. Let it attack. Anger is accumulating, hatred is growing, the spirit of rebellion is rising.

We have to hold this pulse in our hands. For this, we must develop our ties with the masses. We must prepare our party for the new explosion in every respect.

Let the 61st anniversary of our party be the start of a new advance!

Long live the Communist Party of Turkey!

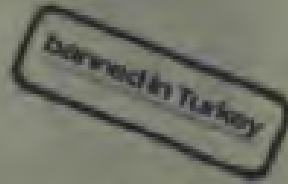
Long live communism!

This struggle is the struggle for the future!

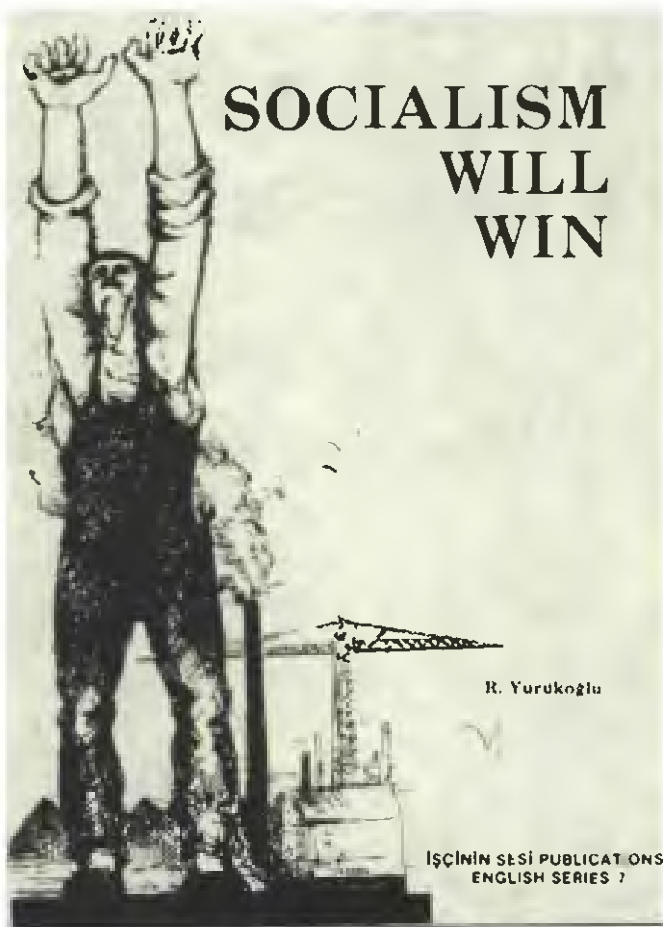
Turkey - Weak Link of Imperialism

R. Yürükoğlu

Introduction by William Pomeroy



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Those who come with tanks
will go by revolution

TURKEY TODAY

REFLECTIONS ON THE CANCUN CONFERENCE

R. Yürükođlu