

AN İŞÇİNİN SESİ PUBLICATION



Introduction by
Andrew Rothstein

R. Yürükoğlu



Proletarian Internationalism

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

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Andrew Rothstein

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Translated by Ayla Antepi

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Introduction

Just over sixty years ago, at the foundation Congress of the Communist International, a brilliant Turkish Marxist reminded the delegates that in 1908, during the first bourgeois revolution in Turkey, some of the young people whom he was teaching at Istanbul University “realised that their people could find their salvation only in the social revolution”. The speaker was Mustafa Suphi, later one of the founders of the Turkish Communist Party in 1920 and elected its chairman. Suphi added in the same speech that the victory of the October Revolution in Russia had confirmed to Turkish Socialists that economic and social transformation in the East depended on the world revolutionary movement. And now, when that movement was embodied in the ideas and actions of Lenin, it was in tribute to those ideas he said that the University students at Istanbul had declared in a resolution, adopted over the heads of their professors, that the Nobel Prize ought to be awarded to that great teacher.

The Congress responded to the call. In its inaugural Manifesto (March 6, 1919) it proclaimed the solidarity of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries with the peoples of the colonies of imperialism. “If capitalist Europe has forcibly drawn the most backward parts of the world into the whirlpool of capitalist relations, Socialist Europe will bring the liberated colonies the help of its technology, its organisation, its ideological influence to

facilitate their advance to planned, organised Socialist economy". And in its May Day manifesto, six weeks later, the Communist International addressed itself directly to the Turkish workers, soldiers and peasants who were already spontaneously rising in revolt against occupation by the victorious Entente Powers: "You have begun a revolution. Carry it through to the end! Don't let your bourgeoisie deceive you! Build Soviets, set up your own Red Army. Stretch out your hand to all the Soviets of Europe"

Thus early in the history of the Turkish liberation movement was the internationalism of the proletariat, victorious in the largest country of the world, linked for ever with the struggle for national and social emancipation of peoples oppressed by imperialism, and the peoples of the former Ottoman Empire in particular. It was not long before the Soviet Republics led by Lenin's party gave a tangible earnest of the link — when, following the final defeat of the Russian Whites led by Denikin and Wrangel, large quantities of their arms and equipment were handed over to the Turkish national forces fighting in 1921-22 against dismemberment and colonial enslavement by the western Allies and their Greek agents. And the first Soviet-Turkish treaty of March 16, 1921 correspondingly proclaimed: "Both contracting parties, recording the contact between the national liberation movement of the peoples of the East and the struggle of the working people of Russia for a new social order, solemnly recognise the right of these peoples to freedom and independence, and likewise their right to choose forms of government in keeping with their desires"

The long history of subsequent Turkish-Soviet relations, notwithstanding the decisive part played by the Soviet Union in protecting Turkey's "back door", these sixty years — has had many darker chapters. The Turkish police at Trabzon, when the treaty was signed, had already foully murdered Mustafa Suphi and some of his companions on their return from Soviet Russia (January, 1921). The bourgeois dictatorship over which Kemal presided until his death in 1938, for all its sweeping destruction of feudal barriers to capitalist development in many fields, combined this with the most savage repression of the genuine working class movement, and especially of the Communist Party, driven underground more than fifty

years ago. And this renunciation of the opportunities which had opened before Turkey at the outset of the national uprising in the early twenties brought, more than once, dangerous wavering in its foreign policy. Such was the concession made to the very imperialist Powers whom the Turkish people had had to fight in a life-or-death struggle in 1919-1923 when, at the Montreux Conference on the regime of the Straits in 1936, the then Turkish Government yielded to their pressure for admission to the Black Sea for their warships. Such was the opportunity afforded to German Nazi penetration — economic and political — during the second world war. Such again, after the crushing of Nazi Germany, was the switch which permitted the disastrous economic, financial and military patronage of Turkey established by the United States (with its corollary, entry into the illfated Baghdad Pact of 1955).

But all these waverings only underline in higher relief the great truth proclaimed by the Turkish Communists ever since the foundation of their heroic party: that the salvation and prosperity of the Turkish hard-working people lie, not in acceptance of the rule of their “own” bourgeoisie, but along the road to Socialism in Turkey and of Turkey, in fraternal links with the working class of other countries and not with foreign financiers and warlords, in the historic principle of proletarian internationalism, already embodied in the countries of existing and developed Socialism grouped around the Soviet Union — not in bourgeois claptrap disguised as Kemalism or “social democracy”, but in the tried and tested way of Marxism-Leninism.

It is indeed an honour for a Communist in Britain, the oldest capitalist and imperialist country whose rulers in the past played a baleful part in Turkish history, to be allowed to write this introduction to comrade R. Yurukoglu’s booklet explaining with incisive truth and passion what proletarian internationalism means for the world today.

Andrew Rothstein



Andrew Rothstein

Andrew Rothstein, one of the foremost militants in the ranks of the world working class movement, was born in London in 1898. His parents, who were Russian communists, came to Britain as political refugees. In his own words, "The class struggles, not just in Britain alone, but in other countries as well, had an important place in the life of the entire family." The international working class struggle influenced him from a young age.

Rothstein graduated in history at Oxford University. In 1920 he was a delegate to the founding congress of the British Communist Party. In January of the same year, he was appointed press attache of the first Soviet delegation to visit Britain. In 1921 Rothstein began work as London correspondent of the Russian Telegraph Agency (ROSTA). In these years he visited the Soviet Union several times, together with his father, himself one of the foremost communists in England and a close acquaintance of Lenin. He met Lenin personally.

Rothstein heard Lenin speak in Moscow in 1920. Lenin was speaking to bakers who had been provoked into a boycott. As he spoke and exposed the provocateurs, the atmosphere changed. The bakers expelled the provocateurs from their midst and returned to work. They showed their loyalty to the Soviet state by raising production. Rothstein experienced these events personally.

In 1923, Rothstein became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, in which capacity he worked until 1930. From 1924-1929 he was also a member of the party's Political Bureau. He was a close comrade-in-arms of Palme Dutt, one of the most esteemed leaders of the world working class movement.

Andrew Rothstein also took an active part in the work of various leading bodies of the international communist movement. He was the assistant chairman of the Anglo-American section of the Profintern. In March 1926 and November 1926, he participated in the 6th and 7th Plenums of the Comintern Executive Committee. In 1928 he was a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. In the years prior to the dissolution of the Comintern, he took part in many meetings of the Executive Committee. He met Stalin many times at these meetings.

From 1921 to September 1945, Rothstein carried out various duties as a Soviet foreign press correspondent. In 1923 he accompanied the Soviet delegation to the Lausanne Conference. From 1936-1938 he was the Soviet TASS Agency correspondent in Geneva. In 1936, once again together with the Soviet delegation, he went to the Montreux Conference called to discuss the Straits.

Andrew Rothstein has given many lectures and written a great deal on Soviet history, economics and foreign policy. In 1946-47 he lectured at the University of London on Soviet organisations, economic and social life. He authored a book entitled *The Soviet Constitution* (1923) and many articles that appeared in the press of the international communist movement. He translated the book *Soviet Foreign Policy in the War Period* (second volume, 1946-1947) and Plekhanov's *In Defence of Materialism* from Russian into English. He also edited the English translations of the *History of the CPSU* and the collected works of Lenin.

Today, at the age of 81, Andrew Rothstein is the chairman of the Marx Memorial Library, housed in the same building where Lenin published *Iskra*, and of the British-Soviet Friendship Society.

Preface

Exactly 60 years ago, in 1919, Marxist parties and communist militants gathered in Moscow for the founding congress of the Communist International. The Communist International, which provided an organisational structure for proletarian internationalism, the most important buttress of the world working class, was one of the greatest achievements of the international revolutionary movement.

This “world party”, which made immeasurable contributions to the spreading of communist ideas as well as to the general organisation and leadership of the struggle against imperialism and capitalism, struck fear into the hearts of all reactionaries. Attacks through lies and slanders continued without let up. Later, when world conditions had changed, the Comintern dissolved itself. However, the Communist International’s self-dissolution did not stop the attacks. For what really frightened the bourgeoisie were the views that gave life to this organisational structure: proletarian internationalism.

In our day, the world workers’ and communist movement is experiencing a new stage of struggle. There is a new world, new forces, and new problems. Therefore, we consider it useful to touch briefly upon proletarian internationalism, given organisational form by the Comintern, together with its content, historical development and some contemporary problems.

Firstly, the importance of education in the internationalist spirit is gradually increasing today, when attacks on proletarian internationalism from all sides are increasing. One of the fundamental components of communism, proletarian internationalism is not born spontaneously out of common interests. Conscious effort is required to develop it in the working class and revolutionary movement. Thus, incorrect attitudes can sometimes be seen even among defenders of proletarian internationalism.

Secondly, the Internationals are not only history or past experience to be read for pleasure. The history of the Internationals is a rich treasure full of lessons of great benefit for the struggles of every communist party. Let us add that the Communist Party and communists of Turkey never, not even in the most difficult conditions, let fall from their hands the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The subject of the Internationals, that is, proletarian internationalism and its forms of organisation, is a vast one. The full examination that is required is beyond both the scope of this pamphlet and our ability. For this reason, our pamphlet is primarily aimed at expressing our loyalty and respect for this great ideal on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Third International.

R.Y.

I. Workers of all countries, unite!

“The emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists...”⁽¹⁾

Proletarian internationalism is one of the foundation stones of Marxist-Leninist theory. At the same time, it is an inherent characteristic of the international workers' and communist movement.

International reaction and anti-communists say that proletarian internationalism is a concept “applied by Moscow for purposes of world domination”. An effective struggle against such perverse views, as well as against various opportunist and revisionist views under their influence, demands a good understanding of the source of proletarian internationalism. It was not created in the heads and theories of communists. Proletarian internationalism was created and given life by capitalism. Its source lies in capitalist exploitation which recognises no national boundaries and which spreads throughout the world.

Lenin explains this truth in the following words: “The unity of the workers of all countries is a necessity arising out of the fact that the capitalist class, which rules over the workers, does not limit its rule to one country. Commercial ties between the different countries are becoming closer and more extensive; capital constantly

passes from one country to another. The banks, those huge depositories that gather capital together and distribute it on loan to capitalists, begin as national institutions and then become international, gather capital from all countries, and distribute it among the capitalists of Europe and America. Enormous joint-stock companies are now being organised to set up capitalist enterprises not in one country, but in several at once; international associations of capitalists make their appearance. Capitalist domination is international. That is why the workers' struggle in all countries for their emancipation is only successful if the workers fight jointly against international capital."(2)

As can be seen in these words of Lenin, proletarian internationalism is just as much a product of capitalism as the working class itself.

The universality of capitalist exploitation recognising no national borders has transmitted to the world working class certain common features and has brought the development of the working class movement in all countries under certain *fundamental identical conditions*. These fundamental identical conditions make proletarian internationalism, not a vague, arbitrary concept, but an *objective law*.

We can enumerate the fundamental identical conditions exhibited by the working class movement in all countries as follows:

1. The position in society of the working class in all countries,
2. The requisite conditions for its emancipation,
3. Its class enemy,
4. Identity of aims,
5. To these common features we must add the ideological unity which, as Engels said, constitutes the "strongest international bond of the entire proletarian movement".(3)

Thus, proletarian internationalism is not merely a desire developed by revolutionary consciousness striving for liberation from exploitation. It is at the same time, and primarily, an *objective law*.

Here let us proceed by just mentioning a point we will touch upon later: in saying that proletarian internationalism is an objective law, it would be wrong to forget that, like every social phenomenon,

it appears by being filtered through human consciousness. It does not come about spontaneously. This truth imposes on every communist party the task of educating the working class and working people in the internationalist spirit, of keeping alive and developing proletarian internationalism.

Yes, proletarian internationalism is the other side of the universality of capitalist exploitation, at once its product and rebuttal. That being the case, then the *basic plan of action of the working class* must take shape according to international class aims and must be the same in all countries.

Nevertheless, the working class and its militant vanguard organisations, the communist parties, are conducting their struggle in a world divided into nations and states. The economic, political and cultural life of every nation has a certain relative independence. This means that internationalism reveals itself through the *prism of national conditions*. In the same way as we are unable to find the "general" of any kind existing on its own, but only in the "particular", so too internationalism reveals itself in the specifics of the class struggle in individual countries.

Dimitrov's famous idea that proletarian internationalism must adapt itself to the climate of each country, both indicates this truth, and proceeding from it, defines two aspects of the correct attitude that must be adopted in regard to proletarian internationalism.

First, the general plan of action of the working class on a world scale, the general line of struggle, must be applied according to the specific conditions of each country. Having as its point of departure the international interests of the working class, that line must adapt itself to the national, must wrap itself in the national and show itself in the national.

Second, in the final analysis it is the international interests of the working class which are primary. However, the understanding of the international unity of the interests and aims of the working class does not arise spontaneously from a movement operating within national boundaries. For this reason, one of the fundamental tasks of the communist parties is to imbue the working class with the ideas of proletarian internationalism and to wage an uncompromising struggle against nationalism.

It is on precisely this point, in regard to the national and international interests of the working class, that nationalism and deviation from proletarian internationalism arise. As can be seen in our country as well, some people are saying that the national interests of the communist party come first, others that national and international interests and tasks are of equal importance. At first glance such views may seem correct to revolutionaries who are still green. However, they are wrong and they open the door to nationalism.

A correct evaluation of national and international tasks which gives first place to international tasks is of vital importance for communist parties. A true internationalist, says Lenin, "must not think only of one's own nation, but place above it, the interests of all nations... he must consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest."⁽⁴⁾ He adds that, "proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale..."⁽⁵⁾

When the correct balance between the national and international interests (and tasks) of the working class and its communist parties is upset, deviations emerge. An over-emphasis on national interests and an under-estimation of international interests leads to opportunism, revisionism and *nationalism*. The under-estimation and ignoring of national characteristics leads to a cosmopolitan and dogmatic understanding. Starting from different points, both deviations end up at the same place: separation of the national from the international and counter-posing them one to the other.

Let us complete our short review of the general meaning of proletarian internationalism with a question. What does proletarian internationalism entail concretely, in daily life?

In answering this question let us first call to mind these words: "...giving effect to united action on an international scale calls for both clarity of fundamental ideological views and a precise definiteness in all methods of action."⁽⁶⁾ As this quotation from Lenin shows, proletarian internationalism is *ideological and political unity* in the revolutionary movement — and then in the construction of socialism and communism — among workers from all countries. It is precisely this understanding of proletarian internationalism that

is reflected in definite principles worked out and defined in common documents of the world communist movement.

Among the most important *principles of proletarian internationalism* are the following:

1. To hold the general interests of the world working class above particular interests and to struggle self-sacrificingly on behalf of these general interests;

2. To defend the equality and voluntary unity of the national detachments of the world working class and their parties;

3. To believe that the universality of capitalist exploitation requires that the world proletariat, which exhibits the five common features we mentioned on previous pages, must have a global strategy;

4. Again as Lenin said, to believe in the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The highest reflection of the principles of proletarian internationalism is in the attitude towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, i.e., towards genuine, living socialism. Living socialism is "the embodiment of victory over capitalism on an international scale".⁽⁷⁾ For this reason, the attitude towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is the *main criterion* of proletarian internationalism. This criterion was repeated countless times in the writings of Lenin, the documents of the Comintern, and the 1957, 1960 and 1969 Consultative Meetings. It will always retain its validity.

Thus in daily life proletarian internationalism, in "simple language", is defence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries against every attack as the apple of one's eye.

II. Organisational forms of proletarian internationalism: the Internationals

Historically, the development of revolutionary solidarity in the interests of the liberation of the workers of the world from exploitation, proletarian internationalism, proceeded in organisational forms demanded by the conditions of the day. A brief look at these organisational forms, which arose as the natural result of the social existence of the world working class, will deepen our historical understanding and ability to distinguish between transitory phenomena of today and social truths which remain unchanged. It will help us understand the present-day position of the international workers' and communist movement and the direction which it will inevitably take.

The Communist League (1847-1852)

The Communist League was the first international organisation of the communist movement. Thus, although this organisation deserved to be called the First International, that name has been given to the "International Working Men's Association" which came later.

Before the founding of the Communist League, the workers' movement used the slogan, "All men are brothers". Since it did not distinguish between worker and bourgeois, this slogan did not

reflect the reality of capitalist society. In its place, the Communist League founded by Marx and Engels raised the sacred slogan which concretised proletarian internationalism in 1847: "Workers of all countries unite!"

The "Rules of the Communist League" written by Marx, stated the aim of the organisation as follows:

"The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois society which rests on the antagonism of classes, and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property."⁽⁸⁾

The conditions of membership in the League were set out in accordance with this aim: Revolutionary energy and zeal in propaganda, acknowledgement of communism, abstention from participation in any anti-communist organisation, subordination to the decisions of the League, observance of secrecy concerning all League affairs.

The Communist League operated according to the principle of democratic centralism.

The definitive congress of the League, its Second Congress, was held in London in November 1847. At this congress, Marx brought a series of new theoretical views to the workers' movement. These views were adopted unanimously and Marx and Engels were entrusted with the duty of writing a declaration. This duty was fulfilled and the principal document of communism, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, appeared.

Immediately following the first publication of the *Manifesto*, in the same month, the bourgeois revolution of February 1848 exploded in France. This revolution, whose effects spread to the whole of Europe, was defeated. It was followed by a period of temporary retreat for the European workers' movement.

By 1850 different views had appeared in the League in regard to the defeat of the 1848 revolution and on the question of evaluating the new situation which followed it. When these differences became obstacles to unity, the organisation was dissolved in 1852.

The Communist League was a vanguard organisation which both



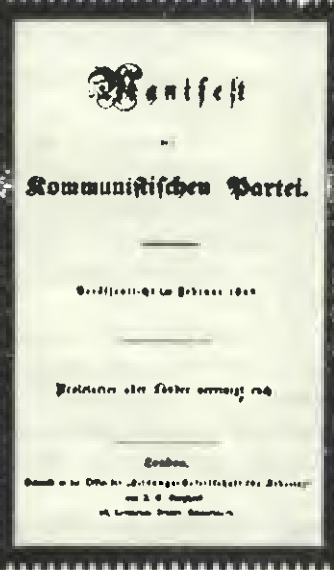
Karl Marx



J. Engels

Marx's original manuscript of the Communist Manifesto, 1848. The page is handwritten in German and includes a date at the top right: "1848".

Handwritten notes in German on the left side of the page, including the words "Kommunisten", "Proletariat", and "Klassen".



Handwritten notes in German on the right side of the page, including the words "Klassen", "Proletariat", and "Kommunisten".

Handwritten notes in German at the bottom of the page, including the words "Klassen", "Proletariat", and "Kommunisten".

Above, the first edition of the Communist Manifesto (1848) and the only surviving page of the manuscript in Marx's own hand.

reflected the level of development of the workers' movement of the day and prepared for the morrow. It was not a broad organisation, but a union of small groups made up of revolutionary workers. Before the period when Marxism became the indisputable and natural ideology of the international workers' movement, an organisation founded on the basis of a single and common doctrine could not have been a broad organisation in any case. Marx and Engels knew this. However, the League served its purpose by creating a community that would become the nucleus of organisations to come. More importantly, it became a sound example of adherence to a common doctrine and a single central leadership for subsequent international organisations.

The First International (The International Working Men's Association) (1864-1876)

The International Working Men's Association, which has gained the title of the First International in the world working class movement, reflected the level of industrialisation reached in Western Europe in the second half of the 19th century. It emerged on the basis of a more advanced stage of capitalism than did the Communist League.

The First International was the first experiment in uniting in a single organisation the international working class which, exactly in that period, was growing and becoming thoroughly widespread. For that reason, and because Marxism had not yet become the *natural ideology* of the world working class, the First International could not be founded on communist principles. Engels explained this truth and the aim of the First International with these words:

"...(The International Working Men's Association's -R.Y.) aim was to weld together into one huge army the whole militant working class of Europe and America. Therefore it could not set out from the principles laid down in the Manifesto. It was bound to have a programme which would not shut the door on the English trade unions, the French,

Belgian, Italian and Spanish Proudhonists and the German Lassalleans.”(9)

The First International achieved this aim outlined by Engels, securing the unity of the international working class. However, at the contemporary stage of historical development, that unity was naturally composed of different trends. At the same time, these differences reflected the varying levels of development reached by the working class movement in the different countries.

The trade unions of Britain, the cradle of the working class movement, constituted the largest and strongest detachment of the First International. Then came France where the majority were Proudhonists. Another important trend were the Blanquists. The Lassalleans were strong in Germany. In Italy, Spain and, to a certain extent, Switzerland, the most influential were the anarchists. All these contradictory trends came together to form the International.

The First International was a centralised organisation. Its members joined the sections of the International in each country as individuals. Thus, in a certain sense, the First International was the first “world party”. Each national section had its own central committee. Over all these presided the General Council. The Congress was held once a year.

The First International became organised on a much larger scale than had the Communist League. For example, in 1869 there were 230 branches and 95,000 members in Britain alone.

The main element in the success of the First International was the continuous international, political and tactical leadership of the General Council which directed the entire organisation. This truth provides a lasting lesson on how the world working class must be organised. Due to the different trends which came together in the First International, it became itself an arena of struggle. In this arena, the different trends in the working class movement struggled with each other. Marxism emerged as the *single and indisputable ideology* of the world working class in these struggles. It was in these struggles that the working class achieved a scientific ideology reflecting, not the interests of various sections of the working class, nor the momentary, transitory interests of the class as a whole, but at once, the ultimate interests of the class as a whole. The Internationals



LABOUR'S MAY DAY
DEDICATED TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD

which came later adopted Marxism as an openly agreed upon basis.

In 1871 the proletariat of France rose up and established the Paris Commune which marked the highest stage achieved by the First International. Together with the defeat of the Commune, began the process of disintegration of the International. The anarchists, followers of Bakunin, attacked Marxism from all sides, accusing Marx of authoritarianism and dictatorship. The same accusations which were later brought against Lenin by his enemies. In September 1872, on the proposal of Marx and Engels at the Hague Congress, the headquarters of the International were transferred to America, to New York. From 1872 to 1877, the history of the First International pertains only to the workers' movement in the United States of America. For this reason, the First International can be considered as having been dissolved in fact in 1872. Its official dissolution came later, in 1877.

The reason for the dissolution of the First International contains a valuable lesson for the communist movement. Because at that period Marxism had not yet become the single and indisputable ideology of the world working class, the First International was a temporary union of various trends. This structure could not withstand the "shock" of the revolutionary developments and trials brought about together with the Paris Commune. This has taught us the necessity of defending as the apple of our eye, the purity of Marxism in our organisations, in order that they may not disintegrate in difficult periods.

The historical significance of the First International is that it clarified the questions of the practical aims of the working class, political power, economic and political struggle, tactics, the role of the trade unions and democratic centralism. Most importantly, it illuminated the importance of the political organisation of the working class and the role of the party. Thus, it made immeasurable contributions to the development of the world working class movement. As the result of these efforts, parties directed by Marxist theory and defending the aim of socialism, were born and developed in the whole of Europe immediately after the First International. From the First International was born the modern working class movement and communism.

Marx and Engels persistently defended their belief that, in its struggle for emancipation from exploitation, the world working class always feels the need for organisation on an international scale. The collapse of the First International did not call this belief into question. Rather it taught what was to be required of future organisations. In his letter to Sorge dated 12 September 1874, Engels wrote the following: "I believe the next International — after Marx's writings have produced their effects for some years — will be directly Communist and will proclaim precisely our principles..."⁽¹⁰⁾

The Second International established following the First International only half confirmed this prediction which we may call "Engels' testament". It was the Communist International (Third International), whose 60th anniversary we are celebrating, which fulfilled the words of Engels.

The Second International (1889-1914)

In the 13 years between the end of the First and the establishment of the Second International, social-democratic and socialist parties were founded throughout Europe and America. These parties, which in general adopted Marxism and incorporated it into their programmes, grew much larger than the member parties or groups created by the First International.

The oldest of these parties was the German Social-Democratic Party, which had been established in 1869 and had become a member of the First International. It was followed by the founding of social-democratic parties in Denmark, Austria, France, Spain, Hungary, Holland, Switzerland and the United States in the 1870's; in Russia, Britain, Belgium, Norway and Sweden in the 1880's. We will examine later the significance of the establishment of social-democratic parties in Europe and North America.

Thus, by the end of the 1880's, conditions had matured for the founding of a new working class international. It was necessary to unite the struggles of the parties, to arrive at a meaningful whole. Moreover, by then Marxism had become the single and natural scientific ideology of the world working class. For this reason, it was

necessary for the new international to be established both on a much broader basis and with the general acceptance of Marxism.

The founding congress of the Second International was held in Paris in 1889. Such honoured revolutionaries as Bebel, Liebknecht, Lafargue and Tom Mann took part in the organising committee. 467 delegates from 20 countries participated in the Congress. This represented the broadest base of the international working class movement ever seen before that time.

From the beginning, however, the Second International displayed a heterogeneous structure. There were two reasons for this. The first was that the Second International included both working class parties and trade unions. The second, that both socialist and anarchist trends were represented. Moreover, the socialist trend itself had become divided into revolutionary Marxism and opportunism — reformism. This heterogeneous structure provided the opportunity for anarchism to play a destructive role in the first years of the Second International.

In 1901, there was a separate international trade union conference in Copenhagen. In 1903, the "International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centres" was established. In 1913, this became the "International Federation of Trade Unions".

The period of the Second International, its beginnings in particular, was in general a period of peaceful development of the European working class movement. It was a period of peaceful development of capitalism in Europe. Like a revolutionary situation, a period of peaceful development also requires corresponding tactics. In such periods, one does not call the people into the streets. The only thing one can do is to prepare for the future revolutionary period. To put greater emphasis on tedious, slow and patient work, on the struggle for small and temporary interests, the demand for reforms. Undoubtedly, to connect these with the struggle for revolution.

The anarchists who joined the Second International could not comprehend this situation. "For the madman every day is a holiday." Lenin explained the atmosphere of the period and the mistake of the opportunists as follows:

"For *in those days*, after the defeat of the Paris Commune, history made slow organisational and

educational work the task of the day. Nothing else was possible. The anarchists were then (as they are now) fundamentally wrong not only theoretically, but also economically and politically. The anarchists misjudged the character of the times, for they failed to understand the world situation: The worker of Britain corrupted by imperialist profits, the Commune defeated in Paris, the recent (1871) triumph of the bourgeois national movement in Germany, the age long sleep of semi-feudal Russia."⁽¹¹⁾

Thus, the first struggle within the Second International was waged against anarchism. It was not difficult to win this struggle since both wings of the socialist trend (revolutionary Marxists and opportunists) stood in joint opposition to anarchism. At the 1896 Congress in London, the anarchists were expelled from the Second International.

After settling its accounts with anarchism, the Second International was embroiled in the struggle against opportunism and revisionism. The theoretical, political and tactical struggle waged against opportunism by revolutionary Marxism was the main struggle of the Second International. This second struggle was the really difficult one. In brief, the Second International brings to mind opportunism and the struggle against it.

The parties of the Second International, i.e., the social-democratic parties, declared that they adopted Marxism as their general basis. However these parties did not adopt Marxism in the true sense, did not apply it in practice, deprived it of its revolutionary essence, and gradually came into complete opposition to it. After the deaths of Marx and Engels, the social-democratic leaders prevented the publication of their works. Whenever they did allow anything to be published, they censored its most vital sections, filled it with deliberate distortions. In this way, they became the greatest obstacle to new generations' correct conception of Marxism. With the expulsion of the anarchists from the International, the struggle between revolutionary Marxism and opportunism came to the forefront.



V.I. Lenin, during the 4th Congress of the RSDLP (Stockholm, 1906)

Let us make a small digression here. In regard to the struggle against anarchism, which could not adapt to the peaceful period, Engels wrote the following in his Introduction to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France*:

"Does the reader now understand why the powers that be positively want to get us to go where the guns shoot and the sabres slash? Why they accuse us today of cowardice, because we do not betake ourselves without more ado into the street, where we are certain of defeat in advance? Why they so earnestly implore us to play for once the part of cannon fodder?"(12)

Starting from the first moment when this introduction was sent to the printers, the opportunists tried to distort it. In order to present the above quotation on its own, out of context, Kautsky and Bernstein published some parts of the "Introduction". Engels opposed this first distortion in the following way:

"To my astonishment I see in the *Vorwärts* today an extract from my 'Introduction' printed without my prior knowledge and trimmed in such a fashion that I appear as a peaceful worshipper of legality at any price. So much the more would I like the whole thing to appear now in the *Neue Zeit* so that this disgraceful impression will be wiped out."(13)

The opportunists in the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party did not carry out Engels request. The full text of the Introduction could be published only after the founding of the Soviet Union. In the Introduction from which the quotation was taken, Engels was stressing the importance of the parliamentary struggle being waged by the German proletariat in what Stalin called "a period of relatively peaceful development". The opportunists, however, raised this tactic to the "level" of a principle. They tried to use the words of Engels, the great revolutionary, to obstruct the mass movement which was showing a tendency to rise.

Engels was no soft-headed legalist calling for peaceful revolution. He fought against those who wanted to use his name to this end.

In a letter on this question he wrote the following:

"But I am preaching these tactics only for the *Germany of today*, and even then *with an important proviso*. In France, Belgium, Italy and Austria these tactics could not be followed in their entirety and in Germany they may become inapplicable tomorrow." (14) (Our italics)

Engels did not and could not have passed into history as someone enamoured of soft-headed legality. However, those who distorted Engels' words, robbed them of their revolutionary essence, did. Nearly one hundred years after this event, the same words of Engels are being distorted in a country like Turkey which is experiencing a revolutionary situation. It is unfortunate that the newspaper *Road of Struggle (Savas Yolu)* is participating in this (See: *Savas Yolu* no: 4, "Let us correctly evaluate the conditions of the time"). This line, which tries to present all past revolutions as "provocations", is distorting the words of Engels in an attempt to obstruct the revolutionary struggle with the bogey of "provocation". We made our long digression in honour of this resurrected line.

The struggle which revolutionary Marxism waged against opportunism in the Second International bequeathed some *classic lessons* to the world working class movement and the communist parties. When the struggle against opportunism in the social-democratic parties was raised, two attitudes emerged. The first was exemplified in the 1899 Hanover and the 1903 Dresden congresses of the German Social-Democratic Party. At these congresses opportunism was condemned on paper, in "words". However, the open struggle against opportunist ideas was prevented in the name of '*party unity*'. The organisational unity of the party was separated from the ideological discipline of revolutionary Marxism. In the words of Lenin, the choice was for a "bad peace instead of a good quarrel". With the implementation of a bad peace and internal diplomacy rather than an ideological struggle, party unity could become nothing else than an average of views in the party. The opportunists hiding behind the cover of 'unity' could not come out into the open. This phenomenon later showed itself in bitter experience.

The second attitude was adopted by the Bolsheviks from 1903

onwards. Lenin and the Bolsheviks followed a path which did not separate organisational unity from unity on principles and put ideological discipline first, a path of "better a good quarrel than a bad peace". The establishment of party unity required a struggle that lasted many years. However, in the end this struggle resulted in a powerful unity and a revolution. It showed that victory in the revolution is impossible in unity with those who insist on defending opportunist views, without ideological purity.

Nevertheless, the parties of the Second International followed, not the Russian Bolsheviks, but the German centrists. Thus, the opportunist trends were able to save themselves and prolong their existence in these parties between 1904 and 1917. The opportunist leaders were never touched.

With these developments, three trends took shape in the Second International. The first was opportunism, the fifth column of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement. The second was centrism (i.e., what Lenin called the most dangerous form of opportunism) led by Kautsky and peacefully coexisting with opportunism in practice. The third was revolutionary Marxism (the "Marxist Left") represented by the Bolsheviks and, to a certain extent, Rosa Luxembour and the German left social-democrats.

Three trends took shape in the Second International, but one of them defined and imposed its stamp on the International. That was centrism, the "official ideology" of the Second International. Let us repeat: centrism. It was the centrists who, in the name of "party unity", stood in the way of an open struggle against liquidationist views, who sullied the purity of the parties which failed to expel opportunists and liquidators.

Let us continue. The struggle between the Marxist left (Leninists) and this kind of opportunism gradually accelerated until 1914. In August of that year, there was to be a congress of the International in Vienna. However, August 1914 brought, not a congress, but the First World War. The European social-democrats went, not to a congress, but to imperialist war. And the opportunist Second International collapsed.

Let us dwell a bit on the events of 1914. They also contain helpful lessons for our day.

The Second International collapsed suddenly in 1914. However, the International was nourishing its own collapse from the first days when it was founded, by harbouring the disease of opportunism. In actual fact, the social-democratic parties had collapsed both ideologically and morally long before 1914. It was not easy for the average worker or man in the street to see this. The respected Kautsky, a "friend" of Engels, was a learned man; his party had one million members! ... Then 1914 and the war which brought the collapse of opportunism to such a point that even the most short-sighted eyes could see. The war burst the long-festering wound. The sudden change, the crisis brought about by the war, brought it out into the open.

Now let us ask and try to answer two questions in relation to the collapse of the opportunism of the Second International.

First, as we mentioned above, the war was not the cause, but the event which brought the collapse of the Second International out into the open. If that is so, what was the source of the collapse?

Second, why did the collapse occur with the 1914 war?

In answer to the first question, the source of the Second International's collapse was imperialism. The labour aristocracy (the upper stratum of the working class) and the labour bureaucracy (the leadership of workers' organisations) in these countries benefited from the crumbs of imperialist super-profits. This was the basis for the emergence of *common interests* between the ruling classes and these sections of the working class, the basis for class collaboration.

The same phenomenon first became apparent in the time of Marx and Engels in Britain in the second half of the 19th century. As a result of Britain's domination of world industry and trade, its far-flung exploitation, militant Chartism and revolutionary trade unionism within the working class were crushed. Their place was taken by what was called the "responsible" trade unionism of the labour bureaucracy, the yes-men of the bourgeois liberal party.

The same process repeated itself, but this time on a much broader scale, as the other countries of Europe also became imperialist at the beginning of the 20th century. The share of imperialist profits accruing to the labour aristocracy and bureaucracy grew larger. In this way, they merged with the capitalist *state*.

On the other hand, unskilled workers had also begun to organise. There was an upsurge in the national liberation movements. Working class militancy grew as a result of the deepening economic crisis. With these developments, reaction against opportunist policy intensified and turned into a struggle led by revolutionary Marxism. Such was the situation in 1914, the year that brought about the collapse of the Second International. As Lenin said, the collapse of the Second International was not the beginning of the split in the international working class movement. It was the bursting of an abscess.

Coming to the question of why the collapse occurred with the 1914 war, various trends, from the Bolsheviks to the Fabians, could remain together in the same organisation until 1914, because, however serious their differences, they remained differences in the sphere of theory, discussion, ideas and tactics. They had not yet come on to the historical stage as a question of *revolution or counter-revolution*. This took place in 1914. One of the trends (the opportunists) went over to the other side of the barricades and, together with the bourgeoisie, declared war against the working class. On 4 August 1914, the German social-democrats voted for war credits in parliament. The social-democratic leaders in Britain, France, Belgium and other countries took up the same position. Adopting the bourgeoisie's slogans of "defence of the fatherland" and "internal peace", they became social chauvinists and *social imperialists*. They even participated in imperialist war governments. The German opportunists told the German workers to kill the French workers. The French opportunists told the French workers to kill the German workers. While Henderson was having Connolly, the leader of the working class and liberation movement shot in Ireland, and Noske and Scheidemann were having Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg killed in Germany, there could be no more talk of unity. Such was the role played by 1914.

From what we have said we arrive at a generalisation extremely important for us: opportunism does not appear overnight. It spreads slowly, imperceptibly, in the same way that a woodworm turns good wood into pulp, in the same way that cancer surreptitiously eats away at body tissue. It is in periods of sudden change in society that,

like the bursting of an abscess, it becomes obvious to everyone.

In this way, the collapse, first ideological and then organisational, of the Second International, provides an historical lesson which demonstrates the danger of opportunism for the working class and communist movement. Lenin summarised this situation in the words: "The collapse of the Second International ... is the collapse of opportunism." (15)

The successes and weaknesses of the Second International

The greatest success of the Second International was the development on a Marxist theoretical basis, of an organised mass socialist movement on a world scale. The parties of the Second International had a combined membership of 4 million. The largest of these were British Labour Party (1.5 million members) and the German Social-Democratic Party (more than one million members).

The period of the Second International, stretching from the defeat of the Commune to 1914, was in general a period of peaceful, legal development of the working class movement in the foremost European countries. In this period of peaceful development of capitalism, the task which naturally came to the fore was that of preparing the consciousness and organisation of the working class for future periods through the struggle for partial gains and reforms. Marx and Engels had indicated this road.

However, the road shown by Marx and Engels was distorted; the struggle for reforms and petty gains gradually began to be seen, not as a means of preparing the working class, but as an end in itself. This was precisely the source of the main weaknesses which led to the collapse of the Second International in 1914.

The primary weakness of the Second International was its *theoretical weakness*. Always ready to adopt Marxism at its congresses, conferences and banquets, the Second International never adopted it in its essence. Marxism was never examined or studied as is required. But if socialism is a science, it demands to be studied like any other science. Thus, such a situation led to *avoiding*

theoretical questions. Instead of efforts to deal with and provide clear answers to theoretical questions that faced the movement, formulas and *round phrases* whose meaning was unclear became the rule. Anything resembling open talk disappeared. Interesting! This is the characteristic of *centrism*. Avoidance of questions and open discussion, under-handed methods, are the hallmark of centrism. And, because the "Marxist centrists" led by Kautsky pulled the greatest weight in the Second International, these tendencies imposed their stamp on the International.

Second was *organisational weakness*. In the sphere of organisation, the Second International completely departed from the tested principles of the First International established by Marx and Engels.

As will be remembered, the First International operated according to the principle of a genuine and central leadership. The General Council of the First International was the central international leadership of the working class. And it was the leadership, not only in regard to general international questions, but also in regard to individual countries. In the first eleven years of the Second International, however, there was no central leadership, not even a bureau. Later, in the year 1900, a bureau was established in Brussels. It was called the "Socialist Bureau" and worked exactly like a "post office". It reproduced letters sent from the organisations, sent them to others and published congress decisions. It had no leadership function. One more thing it did: with the phrase "socialist unity", it intervened in countries where the parties were divided and tried to dissolve Marxism. For instance, they tried to push the Bolsheviks in Russia into unconditional unity with the Mensheviks. Of course the Bolsheviks did not take this "pressure" very seriously.

In short, proletarian internationalism, international working class discipline, were not embodied in the Second International organisationally.

Thus in evaluating the Second International, we must see both its positive and its very negative aspects.

Like those which came before and after, the Second International was the product of the stage reached by the proletarian movement

of its time. The base on which the Second International rested was the working class of the leading imperialist countries of Europe and North America. The world view it reflected was also that of the *West European labour aristocracy and bureaucracy* fed and nurtured by the colonial grabbings of 1889-1914.

The correctness of what we have said can best be seen by looking at the position of the Second International on the national and colonial question. Stalin explains this position as follows:

“Formerly, the national problem was usually confined to a narrow circle of questions, concerning, primarily, ‘cultured’ nationalities. The Irish, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Finns, the Serbs and several other European nationalities – that was the circle of disfranchised peoples in whose destinies the heroes of the Second International were interested. The scores and hundreds of millions of Asiatic and African peoples who are suffering national oppression in its most savage and cruel form usually remained outside of their field of vision. They hesitated to put white and black, ‘civilised’ and ‘uncivilised’ on the same plane.”(16)

Never able to escape from this narrow outlook, the Second International finally collapsed. It was opportunism that brought about the collapse. Lenin summed up the collapse of the Second International with these words: “...The proletarian International has not gone under and will not go under. Notwithstanding all obstacles, the masses of the workers will create a new International. Opportunism’s present triumph will be short-lived. The greater the sacrifices imposed by the war the clearer will it become to the mass of the workers that the opportunists have betrayed the workers’ cause and that the weapons must be turned against the government and the bourgeoisie of each country.” (17)

The Third (Communist) International (1919-1943)

With World War I came the definite split between opportunism and centrism — the most dangerous form of opportunism — and Marxism. After 1917, a new international geared to the new period which marked the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism and the *world socialist revolution* had to be established.

The Third International (the Comintern) was established in March 1919. Lenin had already explained the purpose of its founding as far back as November of 1914.

“The Second International is dead, overcome by opportunism. Down with opportunism, and long live the Third International, purged not only of ‘turncoats’ ... but of opportunism as well.”⁽¹⁸⁾

The *First Congress* was held in Moscow on 4-7 March 1919. Eleven communist parties, 5 socialist and social-democratic parties, and observers with no voting right from ten countries participated. The communists of Turkey were also represented at this historical Congress by one observer. The Congress decided to adopt the term “communist” in place of the term “social-democrat”, which had by then become a shameful stigma. The Bolsheviks had already changed their name. From the Congress onward, all parties which accepted Marxism adopted the name “communist”.

Established under the profound influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Communist International (Comintern) was met enthusiastically throughout the world. So much so that many of the parties of the old international applied to join the Comintern. The great rush to join the new International on the part of the parties of the old International, reflected not their move towards communism, but the enthusiasm, love for the socialist revolution and striving towards communism that existed among rank-and-file workers. After all, the majority were the social-democratic parties of the Second International. A large number were still under the leadership of opportunists and centrists. Such irresolute

and unstable elements, which had not discarded their class collaborationist views, threatened to undermine the new international as well. In this situation, what was to be done?

The *Second Congress* in which delegates from parties and organisations of 41 countries participated, was held in July 1920. It solved this problem in a Leninist way. One of the most important documents of the world communist movement, the 21 *Terms of Admission into the Communist International* (see *Appendix*) was composed and definite, compulsory conditions were set down for all parties wishing to become Communist Parties. They required that the split from reformism, social pacifism and centrism be realised not only in words, but in practice (with the expulsion of the representatives of these trends from their leadership positions). (The terms of admission into the Communist International are conditions for becoming a genuine Communist Party. These are universal principles, not temporary terms which change according to circumstance. We must all read this document and keep it in mind when trying to understand our own surroundings.)

The Second Congress also endorsed a constitution which adopted the organisational procedure of the First International. This signified the abandonment of the federalism of the Second International which had ended in ruin, and the return to the strong, centralised organisation in the First International. The Constitution declared that, "The Communist International must be the single communist party of the whole world".

The Congress also embraced Lenin's theses on the national and colonial questions and the idea of the "close alliance" in the international revolutionary process between the Soviet Republic, the national liberation movements and the working class movements of the capitalist countries.

The Second Congress was the most creative, most effective and most vibrant congress of the Comintern. It brought forward fundamental theses, in regard to both principle and practice, on all questions of communism. On the subject of work in parliament, trade unions and factories, on the agricultural question, the national and colonial questions and the question of the role of the Communist Party.

In July 1921, the Red Trade Union International was established.



Lenin with Gorky during the 2nd Congress of the Comintern.



International delegates watch a display by the Red Army in honour of the 2nd Congress in Moscow.





A session of the Second Congress

It fought for the genuine interests of workers and against the reformism of the International Federation of Trade Unions, founded in Amsterdam in 1919 by the opportunists.

The *Third Congress* of the Comintern was held in July 1921, at a time when the revolutionary wave in capitalist countries had subsided and capitalism had begun a new offensive. It set new tasks in accordance with the new situation.

Maintaining strong links with the masses in this period when the revolution in Europe had been defeated and the working class movement had retreated, was a serious question. It is one thing when the workers are on strike or at the barricades. But to go into the masses during periods when a definite lull has set in without watering down one's principles is truly a difficult task. It was for this reason that the main slogan of the Third Congress was "go into the masses". It was also necessary at that time to fight against certain "left" sectarian and adventurist trends. For example, the "attack" theory in Germany, anti-parliamentarism in Italy and anarcho-syndicalism in France and Britain.

The most important contribution to the world communist movement made by the Third Congress was that it advanced for the first time the ideas of a "united front" and common action for immediate aims.

The *Fourth Congress* was held in November of 1922. Delegations from 62 countries participated.

This Congress was the last international forum in which Lenin took part. In the report that he submitted to the Congress, Lenin stressed that the success of the world revolution depends on the level of organisation of the communist parties. With his usual subtle sarcasm, he said that the Russian people were very backward, that they were just beginning to learn how to read and write, whereas Western comrades felt the need for "much higher things". Yet the success of the fascists in Italy showed that Western comrades still needed to learn the most basic things about revolutionary organisation. The profound historical significance of these words became apparent much later. Lenin's last warning to the international working class before he died, these words which foresaw how fascism was to be an acid test for the movement in the West, shed much light

on the nature of the period to come.

By 1923, capitalist domination had once again been consolidated in Western and Central Europe. Aside from that in the Soviet Union, the revolutions had been defeated.

The *Fifth Congress* was held in 1924. It analysed the relatively stable course of development into which capitalism had entered, as well as its administration through social-democratic or radical bourgeois governments in some countries, through methods of fascism and violence in others.

At the *Sixth Congress* held in 1928, it was agreed that the period of relatively stable development of capitalism noted at the previous congress had come to an end. It was said that economic contradictions and crisis would mount rapidly, that they would result in great political confrontations and a new world war. Subsequent years proved the correctness of this analysis.

In 1933, after Hitler had seized power and the Nazi dictatorship had taken final shape in Germany, the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern gave the definition of fascism which most of us learned from Dimitrov's report to the 7th Congress: "Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinist and imperialist elements of finance-capital."

The *Seventh Congress* was held in 1935. It played an important role in smashing fascism's rabid attack against the working class and peoples. It showed the way to unite the working class and people against fascism.

The Seventh Congress held in 1935 was the last congress of the Communist International.

After the Communist International had fulfilled its role as general staff in the period of revolutionary upsurge that followed the First World War, the world-wide revolutionary wave subsided. Developments in the different countries and parties varied greatly. For this reason, the Communist International was dissolved in June 1943. The Comintern, the "international working class party", which had made immeasurable contributions to the world communist and workers' movement, was dissolved.

The former national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, William Foster, explains this event in the following

words:

“Communists all over the world realized the necessity of dissolving the Comintern; hence there was no opposition to it. They considered that the suspension of the highly-prized right of international organisation was a real sacrifice that they had to make for the winning of the great war, and to facilitate the preservation of peace in the postwar world. Nevertheless, there was much sadness at the dissolution of their well-beloved international organisation, the bearer of all their best hopes and aspirations”. (19)

Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin

In March 1953, ten years after the Comintern was dissolved, Stalin, Lenin's comrade and the General Secretary of the CPSU, died. His death, which came in the most difficult period of the cold war, under extremely difficult international conditions, profoundly shook the world communist movement. Unhealthy elements, who in Stalin's lifetime had posed as “resolute Stalinists”, went into action. The argument over Stalin has raged ever since.

Today, some communist parties are rejecting proletarian internationalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and even Leninism, removing these from their programmes. They are tying revolution to a “peaceful” road, which they propose will take place by majority vote. “Euro-communism” began with “criticism of Stalin” and has struggled against “Stalinism” for years. It is no coincidence that the Euro-communists have published volumes of slander against Stalin. Their aim was not to write “history”. Rather, these publications served to prepare the basis for their present political line. And it became clear that they did not stop at Stalin. From there they reached out against Lenin, the Soviet revolution and Soviet democracy.

There has been a discussion in the world communist movement



Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin

for 26 years. A communist should speak openly. What is our position?

Who was J.V. Stalin? He was a great Leninist leader, born of worker-peasant stock, who presented his first writings to the Russian revolutionary working class movement in 1901, who carried out his duty as general secretary of the glorious CPSU for 31 uninterrupted years, from Lenin's death to his own. It was he who gave the world the term "Leninism". The Soviet Union achieved industrialisation and the complete and final victory of socialism in his period, moving from being a backward agrarian country to become the world's second largest industrial centre. At the cost of 20 million Soviet lives, the scourge of the world's future, the fascist monster was crushed under his direct supreme command. In the ideological field, Trotskyism, Bukharinism and social-democratic class collaborationism were vanquished in that period.

All these extraordinary successes earned Stalin great esteem and love within the party and among the peoples of the Soviet Union and the world. "At a certain stage, this prestige began to grow into a personality cult." (20) Historical, economic, social and socio-psychological causes played the main role in this.

The objective and subjective causes which led to the phenomenon of the personality cult, their emergence and results, were examined in a scientific manner at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and in particular, in a Central Committee statement dated 30 June 1956. *The History of the CPSU*, prepared under the supervision of B.N. Ponamaryov, summarises this study as follows:

"The cult of Stalin arose in definite, concrete historical conditions. Incredible difficulties had attended the building of Socialism in a relatively backward, agrarian country, ruined by an imperialist and a civil war and surrounded by hostile capitalist states, in conditions of the constant threat of attack from without. The complicated international and domestic situation called for iron discipline, a high degree of vigilance and the strictest centralisation of leadership... In those years Stalin held the post of General Secretary of

the Central Committee of the Party. Together with the other leaders of the Party and the State, he actively fought to carry out Lenin's behests.

"His work was bound up with the achievement of great Socialist changes in the USSR. As an outstanding theoretician and organiser he led the fight against the Trotskyist, Rightwing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists, against the intrigues of the capitalist encirclement. He rendered great services not only in ensuring the victory of Socialism in the USSR, but also in developing the world Communist and Liberation movement. ...

"The errors and shortcomings it (the personality cult—R.Y.) engendered caused damage. But, contrary to falsehoods spread by the enemies of Socialism, they could not change the thoroughly democratic and genuinely popular character of the Soviet system. The policy pursued by the Party was a correct one, and it expressed the interests of the people.

"The Party criticism of the personality cult was essentially aimed at eliminating the harmful consequences of this cult and thereby strengthening the positions of Socialism, and was not a sweeping denial of the positive role played by Stalin in the life of the Party and the country." (21)

It was with such open boldness and with such a scientific approach that the CPSU evaluated Stalin.

Yet, beginning back in those years and with increased impetus today, opportunists are attacking the most fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism in the name of criticising Stalin. They are coming out against the concept of the party, Soviet democracy and democratic centralism. They are attacking the way in which the Soviet revolution was carried out (i.e. to be quite open, a truly violent revolution). The shameful manner in which they heap abuse on Stalin as a "murderer", "barbarian", "anti-Leninist", can reflect only the hatred of revisionists and intellectuals for the dictatorship

of the proletariat. Those who have become acquainted with this concept as two words in a book, cannot help but 'become ill' when seeing it in a terrible class struggle.

On the one hand, these artful gentlemen are either openly or covertly rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of abstract democracy. On the other hand, as if they had adopted the dictatorship of the proletariat, with a manoeuvre that could fool only a fool, they turn around and say, "Stalin's was a personal dictatorship, whereas a personal dictatorship does not accord with the dictatorship of the proletariat". Such ideas can find currency only among pseudo-intellectuals, the most ignorant intellectuals who have been brainwashed by bourgeois liberalism. *Personal dictatorship does accord with the dictatorship of the proletariat*. Marxism-Leninism long ago illuminated individual-party-class-society relations. Let us see what Lenin says:

"That in the history of revolutionary movements the dictatorship of individuals was very often the expression, the vehicle, the channel of the dictatorship of the revolutionary classes has been shown by the irrefutable experience of history. ... If we are not anarchists, we must admit that the state, *that is, coercion*, is necessary for the transition from capitalism to socialism. The form of coercion is determined by the degree of development of the given revolutionary class, and also by special circumstances, such as, for example, the legacy of a long and reactionary war and the forms of resistance put up by the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie. There is, therefore, absolutely *no* contradiction in principle between Soviet (*that is, socialist*) democracy and the exercise of dictatorial powers by individuals. The difference between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois dictatorship is that the former strikes at the exploiting minority in the interests of the exploited majority, and that it is exercised — *also through individuals* — not only by the

working and exploited people, but also by organisations which are built in such a way as to rouse these people to history-making activity." (22)

Yes, communists take a principled stand on this question as well. And this stand will hardly accomodate those who, under the guise of criticising mistakes, turn the wheel in the direction of opportunism.

The 1957, 1960 and 1969 International Communist Meetings

The dissolution of the Comintern did not abolish the need to draw up a global strategy for the world working class and to establish ideological and political unity among the communist parties. On the contrary, at certain points, this need became imperative. In order to answer the need for combined struggle, communist parties held international meetings from time to time.

The 1957 International Communist Declaration. In the international atmosphere that took shape after World War II, under the direct influence of the imperialist cold war, opportunism and revisionism once again launched an offensive between 1953-1956. In 1956, this revisionist offensive resulted in counter-revolution in Hungary. However, the forces of counter-revolution were allowed no rejoicing. The forces of socialism emerged from the struggle victorious. Under such conditions, the convening of an international meeting gained added importance. Thus, on 16-19 November 1957, delegates from 64 communist and workers' parties met in Moscow. Among them were representatives of the parties of the 12 socialist countries, who issued a declaration. At the same time a call for peace was issued on behalf of the 64 parties.

The 1960 International Communist Statement. The three years which followed 1957 showed that despite the unanimity in regard to the 1957 Declaration, certain sections of the communist movement continued to express differences. For this reason it was decided to hold another international communist meeting. This meeting was to

arrive at a position in regard to new developments.

The meeting was held in Moscow in November of 1960. Delegates from 81 communist and workers' parties took part.

Lengthy discussion took place at this meeting, where every aspect of the policy that the communist movement would follow in the contemporary world was examined openly. A number of the formulations emerged as compromises of views put forward in the course of discussion. Eventually, the 81 parties issued a unanimous statement.

Hence the 1960 Statement both developed and emphasised the 1957 Declaration. Several points that arose in discussion were made clearer. In particular, the document analysed the question of relations between communist parties, and the question of combining the independence and equality of parties with the principle of the unity of the international communist movement.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. In one sense this third international consultative meeting held in Moscow on 5-7 June 1969, was a natural extension of the 1957 and 1960 meetings. The views put forward by those meetings were further deepened and consolidated. One of the factors adding to the urgency of the meeting was the task of consolidating the unity of communist parties in the international atmosphere which developed following imperialism's counter-revolutionary experiment in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

75 communist and workers' parties took part in this meeting.

Unlike the 1957 and 1960 meetings, the 1969 meeting was open to world public opinion. The speeches and the documents endorsed by the delegates were published in full. This openness made a great contribution to spreading the high ideals of communism throughout the world.

The 1969 meeting proposed a nine-item programme of struggle against imperialism. "This programme is designed not only for Communists, but also for all fighters against imperialism." (23)

The 1969 meeting defended the essence of Marxism-Leninism against attacks from right and "left". It criticised both the parliamentarist and "peaceful" ideas of right-wing opportunism which had gained continuous ground since the Second World War, and the

sectarian and "left" groups which gained encouragement from China's "left" appearance in those years.

Only the Dominican Party did not sign the Final Document which stated, "The Communist Parties' loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism ... is the guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals".⁽²⁴⁾ Those who today are openly rejecting proletarian internationalism, that day put their signatures to these views.

The Declarations of 1957, 1960 and 1969 are the three most important documents embodying the strategy of Communism in our day.

Thus, from the League of Communists to the Comintern, we have taken a brief look at the Internationals, the greatest products of the world working class. The most important lesson to be derived from the long historical period that we have examined, is the fact that proletarian internationalism naturally, necessarily and inevitably leads to the international organisation of the world working class.

Since 1943, the world workers' and communist movement has lacked a centralised organisation embodying proletarian internationalism in an organisational structure. However, this must be understood, not as a change in the principles of proletarian internationalism, but as a result of the specific and temporary situation in which the world communist movement finds itself today.

III. The growing importance of proletarian internationalism and the mounting danger of nationalism in our day

Leaders of the working class in some countries are declaring the founding aims of the Comintern, its principles of struggle and activities, in short, the ideal embodied in the Comintern, a closed page of history. According to them, social life has changed so much that all the principles, theoretical and strategic concepts arising from the very nature of class struggle have either changed or should change.

No doubt great changes have taken place in the world since the dissolution of the Comintern. Today socialism is a world system. The undisputed political superiority of imperialism has been broken. The balance of forces is shifting in favour of socialism. Through its own inner evolution, imperialist capitalism has arrived at its most parasitic form, state-monopoly capitalism. The revolutionary process has become deeper in content, broader in perspective, richer in motivating forces, and more varied in its forms of struggle.

However, no change in the social life of societies can invalidate the laws of social development and class struggle. Indeed, the changes are the outcome of the operation of those laws. The Comintern conducted its struggle on the basis of these laws. Thus, the present problems of the international workers' and communist movement can be solved only on the basis of the laws of social development and class struggle and on the basis of the rich ideological, political and strategic heritage left by the Comintern and through which it

explained those laws.

The 35-year period since the end of the Second World War has seen the period of the fastest growth of the international communist movement. However, this does not mean that problems, both old and new, important problems, do not exist in the communist movement.

Today, the concept of proletarian internationalism has much greater significance than yesterday. The international aspects of the tasks of the communist parties must be emphasised with much more special care in our day. For today two contradictory tendencies are gaining strength simultaneously.

The *first tendency* is the internationalisation of the world revolutionary process. The class struggle is becoming increasingly more international on the basis of increasing internationalisation of production and exchange.

As a result of the socialisation of production and exchange on a world scale, when Ford factory workers go on strike in Italy, for example, they must receive support from Ford workers in other countries. If not, the employers can easily break the resistance of the strikers in Italy. They can reduce production or shift it to other countries.

The increasing internationalisation of economic and social processes, the sharpening of the struggle between socialism and capitalism on a world scale, the requirements of the fight for peace and disarmament, the requisites of national and social liberation, and the requisites of solving such serious problems as famine, poverty, development and protection of the environment, to an increasing extent bring the working class, divided among different countries, face to face with common tasks. The special efforts which the imperialists are making to unite against the socialist world and the working class and national liberation movements, also contribute to this tendency towards internationalisation.

Due to these developments, it is becoming of vital importance to stand against internationally united capital (which retains its inner contradictions), with an internationally united working class. The strengthening of the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is

an immediate task.

The *second tendency* is the differentiation taking place within the world revolutionary process.

The uneven social, economic and political development of various countries is accelerating in our day. The class structure is changing in accordance with this. Every day new sections of the population, with little political experience, are entering the struggle against imperialism. Much more could be said. The result is that the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly struggle, the tasks of socialist revolution, are becoming increasingly complex in the national arena. The ties between national and international interests are gradually becoming complicated, very often appearing *indirectly* and *in disguise*. This situation increases the danger of putting greater than necessary emphasis on the national issue.

The conditions of the world today exert greater pressure on world capitalist-imperialist forces to unite their strength in the class struggle. Today, a common class strategy has become a matter of life and death for imperialism. For this reason, our class enemy is more "internationalist" than ever before. As pointed out by Gus Hall, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, proletarian internationalism is the working class' answer to imperialism.⁽²⁵⁾ The world working also is obliged to rally around a single strategy.

Thus, in our day, when these two contradictory tendencies are developing simultaneously, the world working class' achievement of unity in struggle is to an ever-increasing extent becoming dependent on the communist parties themselves. It depends on how successfully they are able to put proletarian internationalism into practice. Misinterpreting the role played in the world working class movement by the two contradictory tendencies we have mentioned here is fraught with danger. If failure to see the increasing differentiation leads to sectarianism, underestimation of the increasing internationalisation leads to nationalism.

The rich history of struggle of the world working class teaches that the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has always entailed struggle between nationalism and internationalism. Under the conditions of our day, this truth is gaining much greater

validity. The danger of nationalism is increasing.

Now let us touch upon two "classical" examples of nationalism which has become rampant in the world workers' and communist movement in the recent period. Then we shall dwell upon the connection between nationalism and opportunism and the content of the struggle against nationalism.

Maoist nationalism

We see the most striking example of the increasing danger of nationalism today, and the dimensions it can assume, in the nationalist, chauvinist politics of the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The nationalism of the Maoists is a complex and many-sided phenomenon. The roots of their nationalism lie in Chinese ethnocentrism, in the special role which nationalism played in the long struggle for liberation waged by the Chinese people. They lie in the organisational and ideological weakness of the working class, in the fact that the country is a petty-bourgeois sea, and in the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism by the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

Some (for example, the "Revolutionary Road" — "Devrimci Yol" — group in our country) do not accept that Maoism is an ideology alien and hostile to Marxism-Leninism. They say that "The Communist Party of China is making mistakes, but in essence it has not abandoned Marxism-Leninism. For this reason we should avoid branding them". There is no need to discuss the nature of Maoism here. Therefore, let us be content to recall one point which concerns method. To quote Lenin, every ideological current is, "... a living thing, which grows and develops, and the fact that it is growing in one direction or another will help us more than long arguments to settle the basic question as to what the real essence of this philosophy is".⁽²⁶⁾ In evaluating any political trend, we ascribe the greatest importance to its own internal development, to determining from whence it came and where it is going.

The attitude of the Maoists was contrary to Marxism-Leninism from the beginning. But at that time, in their embryonic period, their revolutionary practice concealed their anti-Leninist structure from the average eye. But life did not stop there. With every passing day, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries became stronger and the contradiction between the two systems came to the fore as the main contradiction of our epoch. For revolutionaries, practice is an opportunity for correcting mistakes. Instead of correcting their mistakes, the Maoists, however, went deeper into the mud and became caught up in the hysteria of anti-Sovietism. Today, it has become obvious that everything they say and do, including the ideology they defend, is nothing but a weapon in the hands of Chinese nationalism. They praise American imperialism. They support NATO and the Common Market, cooperate with the bloody Chilean junta and the murderer Shah of Iran, attack the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and demand territory from all their neighbours. This is what they have come to.

The Soviet Union is the main bastion of the world revolutionary process. It is the revolutionary centre. The glorious CPSU is the vanguard force of the world workers' and communist movement. Lenin's land is the pride of progressive mankind. For this reason, we, the communists of Turkey, consider as opportunism the slightest pity or indecisiveness shown towards the pseudo-revolutionary nationalist ideology called Maoism. One of the conditions for party membership stated in the Rules of the TKP is, "to fight resolutely against Maoism".⁽²⁷⁾

“Independent” nationalism

In the communist movement, nationalism does not always assume such open forms as Maoism. Nationalism also manifests itself in the communist movement in extreme emphasis of the independence of the parties.

According to this view, all parties are equal and independent. They have no account to render except in their own country; there

is no world revolutionary centre; it is wrong to demand that the world working class should have a general strategy. As can be seen, this view, which sees only the aspect of the independence of the communist parties, and considers their other characteristics as non-existent, puts its mistakes forward together with certain incomplete general truths.

In addition, those who loudly declare that they defend the independence of the communist parties and condemn "interference in their internal affairs" are, at the same time, generally those who interfere in the affairs of other fraternal parties openly, inappropriately and unjustly. For example, the Italian Communist Party criticised the line of struggle of the Communist Party of Portugal at the most critical moment of the Portuguese revolution. Let us give a more recent example: Towards the end of last year, a book written by five authoritative members of the French Communist Party was published. Its title: "The USSR and Us". As Ambartsumov, Burlatsky, Krasin and Pletniev showed in a long and valuable reply in *Kommunist*, the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the CPSU, this book is full of deliberate distortions and falsifications, as well as cheap slanders against Soviet history, the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and their glorious party. Such is their understanding of independence.

At the same time, imperialism too is making every effort to extend such "independence". It accuses the communist parties of taking orders from Moscow and brings forward such "criteria" of independence, according to which the independence of a party is determined by the degree to which the line it follows differs from the general line of the world communist movement. It brings to bear various methods utilising the powerful information and brainwashing apparatus at its disposal.

Communists know very well that we have no duty to "defend" ourselves against imperialism's lie of being "directed from Moscow". The communist parties have other ways of demonstrating that they are the best representatives of the interests of the working people. The defense which makes a fetish of "independence" is an effort to be absolved in the eyes of bourgeois nationalism.

Yes, it is true that different countries have different economic,

social and political characteristics, and the differences, as we mentioned before, are becoming more varied. However, these developments cannot be put forward as grounds for crying out "independence and more independence". The world communist movement recognises these differences. On the other hand, the internationalisation of the world revolutionary process is deepening and advancing with every passing day. With one of our units positioned in each trench, the world revolutionary movement requires a general strategy in the struggle against the powerful enemy imperialism.

The developments which have taken place in recent years show that this independence argument, by *force of logic*, inclines towards advancing a separatist and nationalist policy.

It is not by the "independence" argument alone that the defenders of independence upset the correct balance which must exist between national and international interests and tasks. They hit the same target from two different points.

First, they bring in something called the "new internationalism". What is meant by this is not explained clearly. It is obvious that the search is on for a new concept to take the place of proletarian internationalism, and that fundamental principles are being called into question.

Such "innovations" are splitting and divisive. The fundamental principles and main criterion of proletarian internationalism, which we mentioned in previous pages, have not changed. Capitalism has not ceased to be a system which exploits the working class and peoples throughout the world. Whatever the reason, the policy of maintaining a distance from the Soviet Union, or any slogan which logically and inevitably leads to the same, can serve no other purpose than helping imperialist strategy, whose essence and main direction is anti-Sovietism. Today, as yesterday, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism is the attitude towards the socialist system, above all the Soviet Union.

Secondly, we see that the supporters of "independence" who are looking for new internationalisms have in recent years definitely ceased to use the concept of proletarian internationalism. In its place they use the term "international solidarity".

Some well intentioned people who cannot fully grasp the political

and practical meaning of this change are beginning to ask, "If the concept of international solidarity appeals to larger masses, why should it not be used in place of proletarian internationalism?"

The essence, the content of proletarian internationalism is clear. With this content it can embrace the broadest revolutionary working class movement. Anything "broader" than this means to rob proletarian internationalism of its revolutionary essence.

As against the alteration which replaces the concept of proletarian internationalism with that of international solidarity, another approach claims that "The two are the same, they can both be used". Much can be said on this point as well. Firstly, if the two are identical, what necessity is there to abolish one and bring in the other; why do we need a new concept? If, however, the aim of insisting that the two are the same is to put those who reject proletarian internationalism and accept international solidarity into some kind of impasse, this does not look like a tactic that will work.

As proponents of the ideology which is not afraid to look the truth in the face, we must see that the aim of those who put international solidarity in place of proletarian internationalism is different. The real target they want to hit is the revolutionary solidarity of the workers of the world for the purpose of putting an end to exploitation, which solidarity is expressed in the concept of proletarian internationalism. This position is directed against the Soviet Union, the attitude to which is the highest indicator of this solidarity. For this reason, Comrade I. Bilen, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), stated at the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties held on 28-29 June 1976, that "...our party has not willingly accepted the removal from the text of the term proletarian internationalism, or its replacement by 'international solidarity'. Proletarian internationalism is the revolutionary solidarity of the working class of all countries, one of the foremost principles of Marxism-Leninism. We, our party, will not relinquish this powerful weapon in the fight against imperialism, the domination of the monopolies and the system of exploitation".(28)

The term, international solidarity can and must be used in international activities with a general democratic content, in the

women's movement, the youth movement, the peace struggle. But it cannot be used instead of proletarian internationalism, which expresses the struggle of the peoples of the world against exploitation, and for socialism, the national and international responsibilities of communist parties and communists. For "proletarian internationalism is not international solidarity drained of its class content".(29)

The independence of the communist party - international responsibility

Now it is necessary to ask what type of relationship exists between the independence of a communist party (sovereignty) and its international responsibility (communist unity).

First of all, we should make it clear without further discussion that are *no* "less" or *no* "more" independent parties in the world communist movement. All communist parties are independent and equal.

A party can become a genuine national force to the extent that it takes into consideration the specific conditions of its country. It can successfully fulfil its international tasks to the extent that it has succeeded in becoming a real national force. The independence of communist parties is natural and healthy in this respect. It reflects the growing national and international responsibilities of the parties and their ability to meet them.

The independence, the autonomy of the parties has two dimensions: the national and the class.

The "*national independence*" of a party (we can call this its national autonomy) refers to the party's strength in its own country, the real influence it is able to exert on the people, and its ability to apply the line of the world communist movement. The increase in the national strength of a party, i.e., its becoming a strong party, increases that party's international responsibilities. For a communist party, the degree to which it is able to fulfil its international tasks truly and successfully, is directly proportional to its presence,

strength and influence in its own country. Just as a party which has not adopted a genuine internationalist position cannot fulfil its internationalist tasks no matter how big it is, a party which has not taken part as a real force in the class struggle in its own country cannot fulfil its internationalist tasks no matter how correct the internationalist position it has adopted may be. The most dangerous situation possible for a communist party is the breaking or weakening of its ties with its native land. For such a party, correct positions remain only on paper, for there cannot be any internationalism "in the air", an internationalism outside the concrete struggle of the working class of every country. Internationalism emerges first and foremost, and must fundamentally, in the class struggles waged by each party in its own country, in the political line it pursues and the work it carries out. For this reason Lenin says, "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own country*, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, *and only this*, line, in *every* country without exception".⁽³⁰⁾

The "*class independence*" of a party, on the other hand, refers to its independence from organisations and movements representing the interests of other classes. The class independence of the communist party creates a deep-rooted and sound basis for unity and solidarity with other fraternal parties, and for proletarian internationalism. Independence from movements and organisations which represent other classes, is the other side of the merger and solidarity of the working class of any country with its own class and the fraternal parties which represent it (the communist parties) throughout the world.

When these two aspects of "independence" are taken into consideration, it is clear that over-emphasising "independence" means counter-posing national and class independence to each other. The need to become a strong national party is counter-posed to proletarian internationalism and the strongest solidarity with the Soviet Union first and foremost, and with the other socialist countries. Although it is not clearly expressed, the thought which underlies this tendency is "If we stand firmly alongside the Soviet

Union and the other socialist countries, The CPSU and the communist parties of the other socialist countries, we cannot be strong or influential in our own country due to the level of consciousness of the people and imperialist propaganda". In this way, a contradiction which does not exist in reality is being created between national and international interests and tasks. Such an attitude and mistaken understanding of "independence", leads to acceptance of internationalism in words and the loss of ideological and political independence to the bourgeoisie in fact. In reality, the genuine independence of a communist party means its class independence from the bourgeoisie, the most profound unity and solidarity with other detachments of the world communist movement, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union first and foremost. This is what communists understand by independence.

International proletarian discipline

While discussing the dialectical unity of the national and international tasks of the communist parties, we must also examine another very important aspect of the subject: *conscious international proletarian discipline based on Marxism-Leninism*.

In 1920, in explaining to Austrian communists the attitude they must adopt on the question of international discipline, Lenin said the following:

"The Austrian communists will not be afraid to declare their open and forthright recognition of international proletarian discipline. We are proud that we settle the great problems of the workers' struggle for their emancipation by submitting to the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat, with due account of the experience of the workers in different countries, reckoning with their knowledge and their will, and thus giving effect in deed (and not in word) ... to the unity of the workers' class struggle for communism

throughout the world.” (31)

This very important idea put forward by Lenin, teaches us that whether or not there is a central world-wide organisation — and this depends on the concrete conditions in the world — there is an authority to which communists and communist parties are bound and which they apply by *their own conscious choice*. This is the *international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat based on Marxism-Leninism*. The Internationals were the organisational form achieved by international revolutionary proletarian discipline. International proletarian discipline does not vanish with the dissolution of this organisational form. On the contrary, the voluntary application of this discipline, the continuation of self-discipline in this form is gaining ever greater importance. In other words, this is not a case of “the ox died and the partnership broke up”. Unity in struggle and international responsibilities continue.

It is for this reason that Sobolev says, “Today ... the problem of conscientious voluntary discipline, or to be more exact, self-discipline is a *key* problem in enhancing the fighting power of the vanguard of world revolutionary forces”. (32)

Proletarian internationalism cannot be reduced to “let everyone do as he likes” behind diplomatic speeches. Every communist party is under the obligation to present an account, both to its own workers and people, and to the international communist movement. The 1969 consultative meeting, the supreme forum of world communists, expressed this truth as follows: “Of course, the struggle against opportunism and nationalism in one country or another is, above all, a sphere within the competence of the fraternal Party concerned. ... But it is also true that when this struggle is abandoned in some sector of our movement, it affects the movement as a whole”. (33)

“Each Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers’ Party are indivisible.” (34)

Are these truths unknown to those who are chewing the gum of “independence” today? Of course they know. In 1964, Dolores Ibarruri said the following: “If some party embarks on a policy

harmful not only to its own country, but to the communists of other countries... the other communist parties have every right to voice their disagreement... Proletarian internationalism involves many responsibilities, but it does not demand closing one's eyes to the mistakes causing harm to the common cause." (35)

Yes, we must not turn a blind eye to trends which harm the unity of the world workers' and communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. But when we criticise Euro-communism for the sake of the unity of the world communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis, and for the advancement of the revolutionary movement in Turkey on a healthy road, *Atılım* calls this "irresponsibility", which "is not conducive to unity" (*Atılım* July 1979, "On a Pamphlet"). This is an unjust, inappropriate and unprincipled criticism. More correctly, it is not a criticism at all. Struggle against trends which are harmful to the unity of the world workers' and communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis, is a decree of both proletarian internationalism and the programme of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP).

The connection between opportunism and nationalism in the communist movement

One sided interpretations which threaten to destroy the unity of the world workers' and communist movement cannot be considered as accidental or coincidence. They must have an objective basis. Changes in economic, social and political conditions, in the combinations of revolutionary forces, the fact that the parties are fighting under very different conditions could be mentioned as reasons. Even *rapid growth* of a communist party will lead to these kinds of mistakes if there is insufficient ideological training. As Lenin said, "One of the most profound causes that periodically give rise to differences over tactics is the very growth of the labour movement... the enlistment of larger and larger numbers of new 'recruits', the attraction of new sections of the working people must inevitably be accompanied by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics..." (36)

As we take a closer look at the dust and smoke raised and the nationalist approach adopted on the subject of "independence", we see that those who advocate this view reject the dictatorship of the proletariat, defend the Common Market, do not object to NATO, declare the parliamentary way of struggle the only way, and come to terms with their own imperialism. Then we realise that the replacement of proletarian internationalism with the nationalist approach is deeply connected with opportunism and revisionism. And the correctness of Lenin's words that, "The ideological and political affinity, connection, and even identity between opportunism and social nationalism are beyond doubt"⁽³⁷⁾, has been demonstrated one again.

"Revisionism is a special form of reformism in the era of imperialism."⁽³⁸⁾ It is a policy of "adaptation to capitalism, denial of revolutionary aims; substitution of the fight for reforms, not as a path to the conquest of political power and the socialist revolution, but as an alternative to the socialist revolution; attempt to soften the class struggle, and belief in a harmonious progressively developing capitalism. Since the facts of life contradict these smooth theories, the logic of reformism, whatever the initial subjective benevolent intentions of its exponents, leads them, in sharp moments of class struggle or catastrophic world events, to place themselves openly on the side of capitalism against the working class, and even to become the militant agents of capitalism for the betrayal or violent suppression of the working class."⁽³⁹⁾ Everything we have said is an old story confirmed by the past 70 years of social-democracy.

The first form of reformism was the liberal-labour policy of the skilled workers' trade unions, in the British working class movement of the second half of the 19th century. This first appearance of reformism reflected Britain's possession of unlimited colonies, and its domination of the world market. It was thus the first imperialist country which could afford to give concessions in order to win over the upper stratum of the working class. When, in the last quarter of the 19th century, other leading West European countries, in particular France, German and Belgium, as well as America, became

imperialist, the same phenomenon of reformism and revisionism manifested itself in those countries.

In this way, the opportunism which grew within the upper sections and leadership of the working class movement, held back the realisation of revolutionary duties in the most advanced capitalist countries where the modern working class movement first developed and the objective conditions for the transition to socialism first matured. However, contrary to what was first expected, the world socialist revolution did not begin in the most advanced capitalist countries. It was forced to develop in a different direction.

In that period, when opportunism and revisionism dominated the European workers' movement, nationalist views also became widespread among the working class. History has shown that at various levels, opportunism and revisionism converge with nationalism. Lenin called these levels revolutionary chauvinism, social nationalism and social chauvinism.

Social nationalism is the product of a certain historical stage, a particular form of nationalism. It is the nationalism of opportunists and revisionists in the epoch of imperialism. "Social nationalism has developed from opportunism, and it was the latter which gave it strength."⁽⁴⁰⁾ Social chauvinism, on the other hand, is the most mature form of social nationalism, the point at which it has merged with the imperialist bourgeoisie. It is the social nationalism of the era of deep crisis.

The rejection of proletarian internationalism that we see today, is a nationalism that is connected with "Euro-communism" and derives its strength from it. Tomorrow, when Europe's political situation is in turmoil, when difficult periods arise, we shall witness its transition to social chauvinism.

The TKP is internationalist

The communists of Turkey have firmly embraced the concept of proletarian internationalism against all manner of opportunist attempts to water it down. On the question of the dialectical bond

between national and international tasks, the Communist Party of Turkey is loyal to the time-tested Leninist teaching which was briefly mentioned above. Exactly for this reason, the following is written in the programme of the Communist Party of Turkey:

“The Communist Party of Turkey is sincerely devoted to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism and to the principles and resolutions of the 1957, 1960 and 1969 meetings of Communist and Workers’ Parties. ... the Communist Party of Turkey declares to the people that the struggle of the people of Turkey for national and social liberation is a part of the international struggles of working people and peoples all over the world for genuine democracy, socialism and freedom.” (41)

During the Cyprus crisis, the Communist Party of Turkey showed that these were not merely words written on paper. The TKP was the first and only political party that raised the flag of struggle against the wave of nationalism and chauvinism, which in those days became a tidal wave that in some places even influenced our working class and its trade unions as well. In the statement it published immediately after the army landed on Cyprus for purposes of aggression, the TKP strongly condemned the invasion and declared that the communists of Turkey, all our progressive people, would fight to the end for the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. In its call to the army of the 15th August 1975, it said: “Those who cannot give bread and freedom to the people, put arms on their shoulders and lead them into the war adventures... The real enemies are those who send the soldiers to Cyprus, the militarists, American imperialism, and NATO. ... Soldier, return to your country.”

This internationalist policy followed by the TKP in relation to Cyprus, gradually bore fruit. In Turkey today, our people, in a broad front of workers and peasants, intellectuals and patriotic officers, are upholding the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus against the plans of NATO and are uniting this with the liberation struggle of the people of Turkey.

The future belongs to proletarian internationalists

As our brief summary of proletarian internationalism and the Internationals also indicates, there are serious problems in the workers' and communist movement in our day too. Since there is no single, central international organisation, the question of combining the independence of communist parties with the unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism has become much more important today. In brief, the problem of our day is to correctly understand and correctly combine the general with the particular, proletarian unity with the independence of the party. It is a matter of fighting against nationalism. "The defeat of nationalism and chauvinism has now become one of the most crucial questions"⁽⁴²⁾, if the further advance of the international working class movement is to be ensured.

The working class movement requires sound unity directed towards genuinely revolutionary aims. A common political position is necessary for victory in struggle. Under the present conditions, when there is no centralised organisation such as the Comintern, attempts are made to solve the problem through international consultative meetings and the exchange of ideas among parties. These contacts aim to survey new world developments, eliminate differences of opinion and reach unity on common strategic and tactical positions.

Yet the opportunists (who just as at the time of Marx and Lenin, emerge from within the Western European workers' movement, a fact which clearly indicates their objective economic basis) are gradually coming to oppose even such international meetings. The thesis they have developed in recent years is that, "all communist parties function under extremely varied conditions, so that meetings ought not to be for the purpose of drawing up general strategies, but should have only limited aims in mind". It would be naive to imagine that they will stop at this point and in time not oppose any

type of international meeting whatsoever.

Whereas we know that "The free discussion of basic issues of theory, strategy and tactics by the communists of different countries is an indispensable element in the charting of the common policy of the communist movement..."⁽⁴³⁾

If that is so, what is to be done, how must we act? This too we will learn from the leader of the world proletariat, Lenin: "*Obvious mistakes must be combatted openly*"⁽⁴⁴⁾ (our italics).

We will fight openly against obvious mistakes. Yet we will do this in line with the general interests of the world communist movement, in line with its general discipline. And we will know that the most conclusive answer to all deviations lies in the new and greater advances made by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the fields of ideology, politics and economics, in every field. It lies in the revolutions that will be realised in the capitalist world. The criticisms we will make will be for the purpose of preventing these mistakes from infecting our movement. Our contribution to the world workers' and communist movement will be first and foremost to ensure a sturdy and healthy development of the communist movement in our own country and in this way take our land to revolution.

To return to the organisational structure of proletarian internationalism in the period to come, let us read together the following words of Marx:

"Our Association is, in fact, nothing but the international bond between the most advanced working men in the various countries of the civilized world... The soil out of which it grows is modern society itself. It cannot be stamped out by any amount of carnage. To stamp it out, the Governments would have to stamp out the despotism of capital over labour — the condition of their own parasitical existence."⁽⁴⁵⁾

Thus, we are firm in our conviction that when the conditions mature, a new International, a world party, will certainly be established.

Yet, "When and under what conditions the Third International

will be succeeded by another International, much broader in affiliation, and far more powerful politically than any of the three Internationals which have preceded it, only the future can answer."⁽⁴⁶⁾

On the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist International: Long live proletarian internationalism! Long live the Soviet Union! Long live those who have fallen for the emancipation of the working class, Communards, Bolsheviks, Spartacists!

Long live communism!

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Appendix I:

Engels' account of the history of the Communist League

In the year 1834 a group of German refugees in Paris founded a secret society known as the League of the Proscribed. The organization was democratic-republican. During 1836 the most extreme, most proletarian elements broke away and constituted themselves into a new secret League of the Just. The parent organization, to which only such sleepy-heads as Jakobus Venedey remained faithful, soon fell into a profound slumber; by the year 1840, when the police routed out a few sections, it was the merest shadow of its former self. The new League, however, developed rather quickly. Originally it was a German outlyer of French working-class communism which was based mainly on Babouvist memories and which was taking definite shape and form about this time in Paris. Among these circles community of goods was demanded as the natural outcome of "equality." The aims of the Just were the same as those of the other Parisian secret societies of the period. The League was thus about equally divided between propaganda and conspiratorial work. Paris was always regarded as the focal point of revolutionary activity, although preparation of occasional *Putsche* [revolutionary actions] in Germany was not excluded. Since, however, Paris was considered the place where the decisive battle would occur, the League in those days was in reality not much more than a German branch of the French secret societies, and especially of the Societe des Saisons, led by Blanqui and Barbes. Indeed, the League was in such close

touch with the *Saisons* that, when the French rose in revolt on May 12, 1839, the sections of the League marched shoulder to shoulder with them and thus suffered all together a common defeat.

From among the Germans Karl Schapper and Heinrich Bauer were arrested. The government of Louis Philippe was content to expel them from France after a long term in prison. Both men went to London. Schapper, from Weilburg in Nassau [W. Germany], had been a student of forestry at Giessen and had, in 1832, participated in the conspiracy of Georg Buchner. On April 3, 1833 he took part in the storming of the constabulary station in Frankfurt. After this exploit he escaped abroad and in February 1834 joined Mazzini's forces in Savoy. In physique a giant, resolute and energetic, always ready to sacrifice bourgeois existence and life, he was the prototype of the professional revolutionist of the eighteen-thirties. His development from "demagogue" to communist proves that, despite a certain obtuseness of thinking, he was nevertheless receptive to better theoretical understanding. Once convinced, he held tenaciously to his opinions, and precisely because of this his revolutionary passion sometimes overwhelmed his better judgment. Afterward he was always ready to acknowledge himself in the wrong. He was a man of genuine mettle all through, and his services to the foundation of the German labour movement will never be forgotten.

Heinrich Bauer came from Franconia. He was a shoemaker, a vivid, happy, witty little man whose small frame held a fund of shrewdness and determination.

Once established in London, Schapper, who had been a typesetter in Paris, now tried to earn his living as a teacher of languages. He and Bauer gathered up the broken threads of the League and made London the center of its activities. Joseph Moll joined their company (he may already have done so in Paris). He was a watchmaker from Cologne; was a medium-sized Hercules — how often have I seen him and Schapper triumphantly defend the entrance to a hall against hundreds of assailants! — a man no less energetic and resolute than his two comrades, but outstripping them in intelligence. Not only was he a born diplomat, as the success of his innumerable missions amply testifies; he also had a mind better fitted for theoretical issues. I made the acquaintance of all three in

London during 1843. They were the first revolutionary proletarians I had met, and although our outlooks in those days differed on specific points — for what they had in the way of narrow-minded egalitarian communism was amply compensated in me by a no less narrow-minded philosophical arrogance — I shall never forget the profound impression these three true men made upon me, a youngster at the time, just wanting to become a man.

In London, as to a lesser degree in Switzerland, the freedom of association and of assembly was of great advantage to them. Already on February 7, 1840, the German Workers Educational Society was founded, functioning not in secret but in the open. It still exists. The society served as a recruiting ground for the League and, since the communists were, as always, the most active and intelligent members of the Society, they took it as a matter of course that the leadership of the Society should be in the hands of the League. Very soon the League had several sections [*Gemeinden*, communes], or as they were still called at the time "huts" [*Hütten*], in London. In Switzerland and elsewhere these same tactics were followed. Wherever workers' societies could be formed they were made use of in the same way. Wherever legal prohibitions prevented such methods use was made of choral societies, sport societies, *Turnvereine*, and the like. Communications were kept up mainly by a continuous flow of traveling members going to and fro among the groups. Where necessary, these members also functioned as emissaries. In either case the activity of the League was greatly furthered by the governments of the day, which in their wisdom, by exiling every workman who had earned their disfavour — and in nine cases out of ten such a worker was a League member — converted him into an emissary.

The reconstructed League grew apace. In Switzerland this growth was particularly noticeable. Here Weitling, August Becker (an extremely gifted man, but who came to grief because of his temperamental instability, like so many Germans), and others had formed a strong organization whose principles were more or less based on Weitling's communist system. This is not the place to criticize Weitling's communism. But, in order to show its importance as the first independent theoretical stirring of the German proletariat I still subscribe to Marx's words in the Paris *Vorwärts* of 1844: "Where

could the German bourgeoisie, including its philosophers and divines, point to a work *championing bourgeois emancipation* — political emancipation — which can compare with Weitling's *Guaranties of Harmony and Freedom*? One who compares the jejune and faint-hearted mediocrity of German political literature with this tremendous and brilliant debut of the German workers, one who compares the *gigantic baby shoes of the proletariat* with the dwarfed and down-at-heel political shoes of the bourgeoisie, cannot but prophesy that Cinderella will grow to athletic stature." This athletic stature stands before us today although it still needs many years to grow to full proportions.

Many sections also existed in Germany, by their very nature perishable, but those that perished were replaced by new ones outnumbering the losses. Not until the end of 1846, seven years after the first groups had come into existence, did the German police discover in Berlin (Mentel) and Magdeburg (Beck) vestiges of the League, but were unable to follow up their discoveries.

Before leaving Paris and going to Switzerland, Weitling, during 1840, had gathered the scattered elements of the League together again.

The nucleus of the League was composed of tailors. German tailors were everywhere, in Switzerland, in London, in Paris. In the last city German was so much the speech of the trade that in 1846 I knew a Norwegian tailor who had journeyed by sea from Drontheim to France, and during eighteen months had hardly learned a word of French. However, he had learned to speak an excellent German. Of the sections of the League in Paris existing in 1847, two were mainly composed of tailors, and one of cabinet makers.

No sooner was the center of gravity transferred from Paris to London than a new phenomenon came to the fore. The League, from being a German organization, gradually became an *international* one. In the Workers Educational Society one could find, in addition to Germans and Swiss, persons of other nationalities to whom the German language could serve as a medium of communication: there were Scandinavians, Dutch, Hungarians, Czechs, Southern Slavs, also Russians and Alsatians. In 1847 a British grenadier of the guards, in uniform, was a regular attendant at the

meetings. Soon the Society was called *Communist Workers Educational Society*. On the membership cards was found the slogan, "All Men Are Brothers," in at least twenty languages, although not always faultlessly. Just like the open Society, the secret League soon also began to assume a more international character. At first this international aspect was still limited in scope; it was in practice forced upon the League by the different nationalities of its members, and in theory by the realization that, for the revolution to be victorious, it needs must take place on a European scale. Beyond this the League did not go, but the foundations were laid.

Those who had fought in the insurrection of May 12, 1839, and had sought refuge in London, served as a link between the London League and the French revolutionists. The same held in the case of the more radical Poles. The official Polish refugees, as well as Mazzini, were of course more hostile than friendly. The English Chartists, because of the specifically English nature of their movement, were ignored as unrevolutionary. With these Chartists the leaders of the League in London came only in touch at a later date, through my intervention.

Circumstances led to yet other alterations in the character of the League. As was meet in those days, Paris was still looked upon as the revolutionary mother city. But the League had now begun to cut loose from the Parisian conspirators. Growing in size it grew in self-consciousness. Its members did come to feel that the League became more and more rooted in the German working class, and that these German workers were destined to be the standard bearers of the workers of Northern and Eastern Europe as a whole. The League had in Weitling a communist theoretician, who could rank with his French rivals as an equal. Moreover, the experience of May 12 had taught the lesson that the policy of attempted *Putsche* had become useless. Although every event was still looked upon as the possible starting point of a revolutionary outbreak, although the old, semi-conspiratorial rules were kept in their integrity, this was no more than a remnant of the ancient revolutionary obstinacy, already colliding with wiser and better outlooks.

We must state at the same time that the social doctrine of the

League, in so far as it existed, was affected with a great error. This was due to the conditions of the time. The proletarian part of the membership consisted almost entirely of craftsmen. They were exploited by men who, even in the greatest cities, were nearly always themselves small masters. The exploitation of large-scale tailoring, so-called "confection," which occurred when the work was transformed into domestic industry in behalf of a great capitalist, was still in its infancy, even in London. The exploiter was himself a small master, and the workers in the trade lived in hope of becoming small masters themselves. In addition, vestiges of the guild spirit still adhered to the German craftsmen of these days. They were not as yet fully fledged modern proletarians, were only on the way to this status, were still hangers-on of the small middle class and had not at that date become the direct opponents of the bourgeoisie, that is, of large-scale capital. It serves these craftsmen to their greatest honor that they instinctively foresaw the future development of their class, and, though not fully conscious of the fact, were pressing forward toward organizing themselves as the party of the proletariat. Yet it was impossible to expect that their ingrained craft prejudices should not occasionally trip them up as soon as it came to a detailed criticism of existing society, that is to say, to an investigation of economic facts. I do not believe that one single member of the League had ever read a book on political economy. No matter! For the time being, "Equality," "Brotherhood," "Justice" gave them a leg over every theoretical stile.

In the meantime a new and essentially different kind of communism had been emerging alongside the communism of the League and of Weitling. While living in Manchester it was put right under my nose that economic facts, which so far have played no role or a despised one in the writing of history, are at least in the modern world a decisive historical force. They form the basis for the origin of present-day class antagonisms, and those antagonisms are — in those countries where, due to the existence of large-scale industry, they have been fully developed (as in England) — in turn the basis for the formation of political parties and their struggles and hence of all political history. Marx had not only come to the same conclusion, but already in 1844, writing in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.

had generalized them to the effect that it is not the state which conditions and regulates bourgeois society, but bourgeois society which conditions and regulates the state — that, therefore, politics and its history have to be explained from the economic conditions and their evolution, not the other way about. When I visited Marx in Paris during the summer of 1844, it was obvious that we were in complete harmony as far as theoretical matters were concerned. From that time our working partnership can be dated. When in the spring of 1845 we met again, this time in Brussels, Marx had already advanced from these principles to the main aspects of his materialist theory of history. Now we set about the task of elaborating the newly gained theory in the most different directions.

The discovery of this theory, destined to revolutionize the science of history, is therefore in its essence the work of Marx, while I played in this matter only a very insignificant role. But the discovery was of immediate importance for the contemporary labor movement. Communism, among the French and the Germans, Chartism among the Britishers, now no longer appeared as chance phenomena which might just as well not have appeared at all. These were now seen as a movement of the modern suppressed class, the proletariat, they appeared as more or less developed forms of a historically necessary struggle against the ruling class, the bourgeoisie. They appeared as more or less developed forms of a historically necessary struggle against the ruling class, the bourgeoisie. They appeared as forms of class struggle, but different from earlier class struggles in the following particular: the oppressed class today, the proletariat, cannot achieve its own emancipation without liberating the whole of society from class divisions and with it from class struggles. And communism no longer signified an attempt to use your phantasy in order to concoct an ideal society as nearly perfect as possible. Communism meant henceforward understanding of the nature, the condition and the resulting general aims of the struggle conducted by the proletariat.

We had no wish to propound these new scientific results in ponderous tomes exclusively for the edification of the "learned" world. Quite the contrary. We had both of us entered bag and baggage into the political movement, we had certain followers in the educated world, especially in West Germany, and had close ties with the

organized proletariat. In duty bound, we had to place our outlook upon a firm scientific foundation; but it was no less incumbent upon us to win the European proletariat in general and the German proletariat in particular over to our convictions. No sooner had we made the matter clear to ourselves than we set to work. We founded the German Workers Society at Brussels, and took possession of the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*, which served as our organ until the February revolution. We were in touch with the revolutionary section of English Chartists through Julian Harney, the editor of *The Northern Star*, the central organ of the Chartists, to which I was a contributor. We also collaborated with the Brussels democrats (Marx was vice president of the Democratic Society), and the French social democrats of *La Reforme*, to which I sent items concerning the English and the German movement. In a word, our relations with the radical and proletarian organizations and journals were as well as we could wish.

Our relations with the League of the Just were as follows. Of course we knew of the existence of this body: Schapper had invited me to become a member as long ago as 1843. For obvious reasons I had refused this invitation. Nevertheless we kept up a continuous correspondence with these Londoners, and were even more closely associated with Dr Everbeck, then the leading figure of the Paris sections of the League. Without troubling ourselves with the internal situation of the League we were nevertheless kept informed as to every important issue. By word of mouth, by letters, through newspaper articles we pressed our ideas upon the theoretical outlook of the most important members of the League. In addition we issued lithographed circulars on special occasions, where it concerned the internal affairs of the communist party now in formation, and sent them to our friends and correspondents wherever they were. On occasion the League itself was made the issue.

This was the case with a young student from Westphalia [W. Germany], Herman Kriege, who had gone to America, where he gave himself out to be an emissary of the League. He associated with the madcap Harro Harring to use the League in order to tear apart South America. He also founded a newspaper in which he expounded, in the name of the League, an extravagantly romanticizing communism overflowing with love [*Liebesduselei*]. We sallied

forth to the attack by means of a circular which did not fail of its effect. As far as the League was concerned, Kriege was heard no more.

Later Weitling came to Brussels. But he was no longer the simple-hearted young journeyman tailor, who, rather awed by his own talents, had been eager to get a clear picture of just what a communist world would look like. He was now the great man persecuted by the envious because of his superiority, one who suspected rivals, secret enemies and snares everywhere; a prophet hounded from one country into another; a seer who had a recipe ready to hand for the realization of heaven upon earth and who fancied that everyone he encountered was trying to steal it from him. He had already become embroiled with the people of the London League. But in Brussels, where especially Marx and his wife had welcomed him with well-nigh super-human forbearance, he got again into trouble with everyone. He therefore left soon for America hoping that there he would be able to continue his prophetic mission.

All these circumstances contributed to the quiet transformation which occurred in the League and particularly among the London leaders. The inadequacy both of French simplistic egalitarian communism and of Weitling's brand became to them clearer day by day. Weitling's endeavour to bring back communism to early Christian practice — and in his *Gospel of the Poor Sinner* there are luminous suggestions to this effect — had, in Switzerland, either thrown the movement into the hands of a fool like Albrecht or condemned it to exploitation by bogus prophets like Kuhlmann. Then there was "true socialism," the affectation of a few belletristic souls, but it was no more than a translation of French socialist phrases into a corrupted Hegelian German, sickled over with sentimental effusions about love (see the section of the *Manifesto* on this type of socialism). Introduced into the League by Kriege and the readers of this kind of literature, its slobbering spinelessness could only disgust the veteran revolutionists of the League. The theoretical ideas they hitherto held were obviously becoming untenable and the practical errors arising out of them became more and more apparent. Consequently those in London were increasingly convinced that Marx and I with our new theory were correct. The growth of this understand-

ing was undoubtedly promoted by two men who happened to be members of the London League at the time, two men who far outstripped the other leaders in theoretical competence. They were Karl Pfander, a miniature painter from Heilbronn, and Georg Eccarius, a tailor from Thuringen. Pfander died in London about eight years ago. He was a man of fine intelligence, original, witty, ironical, dialectical. Eccarius acted, as is well known, for many years as secretary of the International Working Men's Association, on whose General Council we find such names as Eccarius, Pfander, Lessner, Lochner, Marx and my own. Subsequently Eccarius devoted himself entirely to the English trade union movement.

To cut a long story short, Moll came to Brussels in the spring of 1847. He visited Marx, and then came on to Paris to see me. His mission was to invite us once more, at the request of his comrades, to enter the League. They were convinced of the general correctness of our views, and no less convinced that the time had come for ridding the League of its traditional forms and conspirational methods. Should we enter the League, we should be given the opportunity, at a congress, to develop our critical communism in the shape of a manifesto to be published as the manifesto of the League. We should also be able to contribute to the replacement of the antiquated organization of the League by a new one in keeping with the times and with our aims.

We were in no doubt as to the need of an organization inside the German working class, if only for the sake of propaganda, nor did we fail to realize that such an organization, in so far as it was not of a purely local character, would have to be a secret one even outside of Germany. But such an organization already existed in the shape of the League. What we had hitherto been criticizing in this League was now recognized by the representatives of the League themselves as erroneous, we ourselves were asked to collaborate in the work of reorganization. Could we refuse? Certainly not. We therefore entered the League; Marx was able to found in Brussels a section from among our closer friends. For my part, I visited the three sections in Paris.

The first congress of the League took place in London during the summer of 1847. Wilhelm Wolff was the delegate of the Brussels section. I represented the Paris sections. The main theme was the

reorganization of the League. Every vestige of the old mystical names, the heritage of conspiratorial days, was also discarded. The League was organized into sections [*Gemeinden*], circles, leading circles, central committee and congress. It took the name of Communist League. The first article of the new statutes was: "The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the domination of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois society based on class antagonisms, and the establishment of a new society without classes and without private property..."

The organization was democratic throughout; its officials were elected and subject to recall. This alone was sufficient to put an end to any hankering to revert to conspiratorial methods, for these require dictatorship, and the League was transformed — at least for ordinary times of peace — into a pure propaganda society. These new statutes — so democratic had we all become — were laid before the sections for discussion. They were further considered at the second congress, and were finally accepted by the body on December 8, 1847. They can be found in the book by Wermuth and Stieber, I, p.239, appendix VIII.

The second congress took place during the last days of November and the early days of December of the same year. This time Marx was present and explained the new theory in the course of a lengthy debate — the congress lasted at least ten days. All opposition and doubt were at least set at rest, the new principles were unanimously accepted and Marx and I were commissioned to draw up the manifesto. We completed our task without delay. A few weeks before the outbreak of the February revolution, the manuscript was sent to London where it was printed.

Since that time it has made the voyage around the world, has been translated into almost every language and to this day serves as a guide to the proletarian movement. The motto of the old League: "All Men Are Brothers" was replaced by the new call to battle: "Proletarians of all Countries, Unite!" This was a public declaration of the international character of the struggle. Seventeen years later this call to battle resounded throughout the world as the war cry of the International Working Men's Association, and today the militant proletariat of all countries has inscribed it on its banner.

Appendix II:

Terms of Admission into the Communist International

1. Day-by-day propaganda and agitation must be genuinely communist in character. All press organs belonging to the parties must be edited by reliable Communists who have given proof of their devotion to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be discussed merely as a stock phrase to be learned by rote; it should be popularised in such a way that the practical facts systematically dealt with in our press day by day will drive home to every rank-and-file working man and working woman, every soldier and peasant, that it is indispensable to them. Third International supporters should use all media to which they have access — the press, public meetings, trade unions, and co-operative societies — to expose systematically and relentlessly, not only the bourgeoisie but also its accomplices — the reformists of every shade.

2. Any organisation that wishes to join the Communist International must consistently and systematically *dismiss* reformists and “Centrists” from positions of any responsibility in the working-class movement (party organisations, editorial boards, trade unions, parliamentary groups, co-operative societies, municipal councils, etc.), replacing them by reliable Communists. The fact that in some cases rank-and-file workers may at first have to replace “experienced” leaders should be no deterrent.

3. In countries where a state of siege or emergency legislation makes it impossible for Communists to conduct their activities

legally, it is absolutely essential that legal and illegal work should be combined. In almost all the countries of Europe and America, the class struggle is entering the phase of civil war. In these conditions, Communists can place no trust in bourgeois legality. They must *everywhere* build up a parallel illegal organisation, which, at the decisive moment, will be in a position to help the Party fulfil its duty to the revolution.

4. Persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation must be conducted in the armed forces, and Communist cells formed in every military unit. In the main Communists will have to do this work illegally; failure to engage in it would be tantamount to a betrayal of their revolutionary duty and incompatible with membership in the Third International.

5. Regular and systematic agitation is indispensable in the countryside. The working class cannot consolidate its victory without support from at least a section of the farm labourers and poor peasants, and without neutralising, through its policy, part of the rest of the rural population. In the present period communist activity in the countryside is of primary importance. It should be conducted, in the main, through revolutionary *worker*-Communists who have contacts with the rural areas. To forgo this work or entrust it to unreliable semi-reformist elements is tantamount to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. It is the duty of any party wishing to belong to the Third International to expose, not only avowed social-patriotism, but also the falsehood and hypocrisy of social-pacifism. It must systematically demonstrate to the workers that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international arbitration courts, no talk about a reduction of armaments, no "democratic" reorganisation of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars.

7. It is the duty of parties wishing to belong to the Communist International to recognise the need for a complete and absolute break with reformism and "Centrist" policy, and to conduct propaganda among the party membership for that break. Without this, a consistent communist policy is impossible.

The Communist International demands imperatively and uncompromisingly that this break be effected at the earliest possible

date. It cannot tolerate a situation in which avowed reformists, such as Turati, Modigliani and others, are entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. Such a state of affairs would lead to the Third International strongly resembling the defunct Second International.

8. Parties in countries whose bourgeoisie possess colonies and oppress other nations must pursue a most well-defined and clear-cut policy in respect of colonies and oppressed nations. Any party wishing to join the Third International must ruthlessly expose the colonial machinations of the imperialists of its "own" country, must support — in deed, not merely in word — every colonial liberation movement, demand the expulsion of its compatriot imperialists from the colonies, inculcate in the hearts of the workers of its own country an attitude of true brotherhood with the working population of the colonies and the oppressed nations, and conduct systematic agitation among the armed forces against all oppression of the colonial peoples.

9. It is the duty of any party wishing to join the Communist International to conduct systematic and unflagging communist work in the trade unions, co-operative societies and other mass workers' organisations. Communist cells should be formed in the trade unions, and, by their sustained and unflagging work, win the unions over to the communist cause. In every phase of their day-by-day activity these cells must unmask the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillation of the "Centrists". The cells must be completely subordinate to the party as a whole.

10. It is the duty of any party belonging to the Communist International to wage a determined struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of yellow trade unions. Its indefatigable propaganda should show the organised workers the need to break with the yellow Amsterdam International. It must give every support to the emerging international federation of Red trade unions which are associated with the Communist International.

11. It is the duty of parties wishing to join the Third International to re-examine the composition of their parliamentary groups, eliminate unreliable elements and effectively subordinate these groups to the Party Central Committees. They must demand that

every Communist parliamentarian should subordinate all his activities to the interests of truly revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. The periodical and non-periodical press, and all publishing enterprises, must likewise be fully subordinate to the Party Central Committee, whether the party as a whole is legal or illegal at the time. Publishing enterprises should not be allowed to abuse their autonomy and pursue any policies that are not in full accord with that of the Party.

13. Parties belonging to the Communist International must be organised on the principle of democratic *centralism*. In this period of acute civil war, the Communist parties can perform their duty only if they are organised in a most centralised manner, are marked by an iron discipline bordering on military discipline, and have strong and authoritative party centres invested with wide powers and enjoying the unanimous confidence of the membership.

14. Communist parties in countries where Communists can conduct their work legally must carry out periodic membership purges (re-registrations) with the aim of systematically ridding the party of petty-bourgeois elements that inevitably percolate into it.

15. It is the duty of any party wishing to join the Communist International selflessly to help any Soviet republic in its struggle against counter-revolutionary forces. Communist parties must conduct incessant propaganda urging the workers to refuse to transport war materials destined for the enemies of the Soviet republics; they must conduct legal or illegal propaganda in the armed forces dispatched to strangle the workers' republics etc.

16. It is the duty of parties which have still kept their old Social-Democratic programmes to revise them as speedily as possible and draw up new communist programmes in conformity with the specific conditions in their respective countries, and in the spirit of Communist International decisions. As a rule, the programmes of all parties belonging to the Communist International must be approved by a regular Congress of the Communist International or by its Executive Committee. In the event of the Executive Committee withholding approval, the party is entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

17. All decisions of the Communist International's congresses

and of its Executive Committee are binding on all affiliated parties. Operating in conditions of acute civil war, the Communist International must be far more centralised than the Second International was. It stands to reason, however, that in every aspect of their work the Communist International and its Executive Committee must take into account the diversity of conditions in which the respective parties have to fight and work, and adopt decisions binding on all parties only on matters in which such decisions are possible.

18. In view of the foregoing, parties wishing to join the Communist International must change their name. Any party seeking affiliation must call itself the *Communist* Party of the country in question (Section of the Third, Communist International). The question of a party's name is not merely a formality, but a matter of major political importance. The Communist International has declared a resolute war on the bourgeois world and all yellow Social-Democratic parties. The difference between the Communist parties and the old and official "Social-Democratic", or "socialist", parties, which have betrayed the banner of the working class, must be made absolutely clear to every rank-and-file worker.

19. After the conclusion of the proceedings of the Second World Congress of the Communist International, any party wishing to join the Communist International must at the earliest date convene an extraordinary congress for official acceptance of the above obligations on behalf of the entire party.

20. Parties which now wish to join the Third International but have not yet radically changed their previous tactics must do everything necessary, before joining the International, for at least two-thirds of their respective Central Committees and all the principal central Party bodies to be made up of comrades who came out publicly, prior to the Second Congress of the Communist International, with unambiguous statements in favour of joining the Third International. Exceptions may be allowed with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The latter has the right to make exceptions also for representatives of the "Centre", named in Section 7.

Lenin's theses entitled "The Terms of Admission into the Communist International" contained 19

articles. The Congress adopted 21 articles, the least article reading as follows:

21. Party members who reject in principle the obligations and theses laid down by the Communist International shall be expelled from the Party. This shall also apply to delegates to extraordinary Party Congresses.

Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol.31, pp.207-212, 563.

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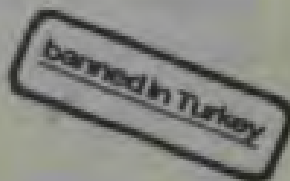
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Turkey - Weak Link of Imperialism

R. Yürükoğlu

Introduction by William Pomeroy



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