

# The Conference on the 50th Anniversary of the Assassination of İbrahim Kaypakkaya (Part I)\*

Peru People's Movement

May 2023

*Long live the 50th anniversary of the heroic sacrifice of the immortal comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya!*

On this occasion, we greet the International Communist League (ICL) and the TKP/ML campaign celebrating the 50th anniversary of the heroic death of the great leader of the revolution in Turkey and the world revolution, Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya.

This celebration holds great significance, not only for our comrades in the TKP/ML but also for all the communists around the world. We know what his life meant and the example he has left us. We embrace that life, that example, that blood, and we incorporate them into our own flesh, igniting our own minds and strengthening our will more and more, so that the path opened with effort becomes the path we continue together with our comrades in Turkey, as part of and in service to the world revolution, until we fulfill the task to which he dedicated himself. The best tribute that can be paid to him, and that is being paid, is to persist on that path, in that direction. It is the theoretical and practical commitment assumed at the cost of shedding his precious blood for the leaders, militants, fighters, and masses of the Party and the guerrilla army TIKKO, which Comrade Kaypakkaya founded. Comrades, together we will not stop until communism!

In an invitation, the Central Committee of the TKP/ML says:

“This year is the 50th anniversary of the assassination of our communist leader, Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya. As you know, we

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\*<https://vnd-peru.blogspot.com/2023/06/mpp-al-simposio-con-motivo-del-50.html>

consider the anniversary of our leader's assassination as a special occasion and organize various gatherings. We explain to broad sections of the masses the thoughts of Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya, what communism represents, and the ideological-political, organizational-practical, and military forms in which these ideas are embodied in concrete class struggle and in the overall communist life of our leader. For our Party, celebrating Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya means assuming the communist line, taking a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist position internationally against revisionism, reformism, and parliamentarism, but also reshaping and unifying our own Party and its components time and time again.

We consider the celebration of him as a deeper understanding of our Party built by him, his revolutionary path, and his communist conception. This year, being the 50th anniversary of the assassination of our comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya by the fascist Turkish state, we will dedicate ourselves to this process with particular attention. After the foundation of the International Communist League, our Party decided that it would be more reasonable and important to carry out (...) with the Parties and Organizations that compose the ICL.”

In another one of its documents, the TKP/ML shows its firm commitment and determination to continue the path paved by the blood of comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya and four other party general secretaries, along with countless number of leaders, cadres, militants, fighters, and masses. It states:

“In the 50th year since the assassination of comrade İbrahim, one aspect of the fact that his line is preserved and lives on with all its strength is its scientific nature, and another aspect is our immortal comrades who follow in his footsteps and carry his line to the people with their blood. The will to walk with determination on the path he has laid out for exactly 50 years, despite defeats and setbacks, is undoubtedly also the will of our party, which defends and organizes this line.

[...] Comrade Kaypakkaya's red line was sealed on the battlefields, in all fields of class struggle, on this path and with this determination. Our party carries the pride, responsibility, and awareness

of such determination accumulated over 51 years, the relentless continuation of the cause based on a scientific worldview.

[...] Our party is aware of its historical responsibility to clarify the ranks in the struggle between revolutionaries and non-revolutionaries in accordance with the law of dialectics, to clarify the distinctions, and to make the revolutionary-communist effective through the systematization of the struggle, as comrade İbrahim did. Fulfilling this duty properly is only possible with the determination to adapt the power of revolutionary theory, the superior capacity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to produce solutions to contradictions and persuade, and the victory of the People's War, which will ensure the power of the people, to concrete conditions, as comrade Kaypakkaya achieved. This responsibility should be seen as an instruction given to us by hundreds of our immortal comrades who followed in their footsteps with determination, starting with comrade İbrahim. Accepting this instruction and fulfilling this duty with all our strength is possible by throwing ourselves with our whole being into the sea of class struggle. On the 50th anniversary of the assassination of our leader, the awareness of being worthy of him must be equipped in this way.”

İbrahim Kaypakkaya was a great communist leader who embraced Maoism, at the time still known as Mao Zedong Thought, against revisionism, reformism, and parliamentarism. Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya defined TKP/ML as a product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). This also means that the communist line of comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya has been marked as a product of the GPCR. He applied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, as our ideology was called at that time, to the concrete conditions of the revolution in Turkey and founded the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Turkey. He proposed the basic theses of its program and the basis of party unity, provided the party with a just and correct position on the national question in Turkey, understood the necessity of the Communist Party, defined the character of society and the state, the character of the revolution with its first stage of new democracy, the need for the worker-peasant alliance. The peasantry as the main force and the proletariat led by his party as the leading force, the people's war and the path of encircling the cities from the countryside. Comrade Kaypakkaya, a

theoretical and practical man, a true Marxist, following the path of the people's war, led the beginning of armed struggle, defending communism and revolution by paying the cost with the sacrifice of his own life, which has been imprinted in the history of the revolution in his country and the history of the world proletarian revolution as an imperishable milestone.

The foundation of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist marked the presence of the proletariat, obviously, but what is essential, its maturity, having and generating its Party, the only authentic defender of its interests, opposed and antagonistic to those of the bourgeoisie and different from all class interests of the others, no matter how much they represent the people. The Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist signified, with the heroic creation of comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya in Turkey, the end of the old bourgeois revolution and the beginning of the democratic revolution to sweep away imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and semi-feudalism. The democratic revolution, led by the proletariat, aims for the new democracy, which is a constitutive, fundamental, and decisive part of the proletarian revolution worldwide. Thus, history changed in Turkey.

In the process of its development, every revolution, through the struggle of the proletariat as the leading class, and above all, the communist party that upholds its irrevocable class interests, generates a group of leaders, and primarily one who represents and directs it, a recognized authority figure with influence. In the reality of Turkey, this has been concretized, by historical necessity and chance, in Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya, the leader of the party and the revolution. Fulfilling the law that every revolution needs a head.

Creatively applying the scientific ideology of the class to the concrete reality of the revolution in Turkey, it provided TKP/ML with its indispensable guiding thought to achieve victory and seize power, and even more so, to continue the revolution and always stay on course towards the magnificent goal, communism. Specifying the political and military line of the revolution as its centerpiece, aiming at the fundamental issue within it, the problem of power. Power in Turkey, because it is the revolution in Turkey, although being a thought that unfolds within Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, it necessarily has to be inextricably linked to the conquest of power by the proletariat worldwide. Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya and his thought were forged amidst the storms of the struggle between two lines and the class struggle, in a life-and-death fight for the defense of Marxism against revisionism in Turkey and internationally.

## Historical Context

On the historical context in which comrade Kaypakkaya and the TKP/ML were forged, the TKP/ML states:

“The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had now given a new impetus, a new perspective and a new ground for struggle to the red wind that enveloped the masses worldwide despite Soviet revisionism. Communist Leader İbrahim KAYPAKKAYA was shaped as a part of this red wind that also affected the country, created consciousness and managed to continue his brisk run in the class struggle by constantly organizing it in a way that would ensure full liberation.

[...] For Comrade KAYPAKKAYA, the class struggle and the lessons and conclusions drawn from it further revealed the need for a revolutionary party. This need created an orientation to take a step forward in theory and in the search for organization and to reveal the social and political reality. Comrade İbrahim prioritized the establishment of an advanced theoretical foundation that reveals the historical and social reality based on the class interests of the proletariat, based on its scientific worldview. It was shaped by the awareness that there can be no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory, and that revolution cannot be realized without a party that has constant and real connections with the masses and can lead these masses.”<sup>1</sup>

Regarding that historical context, the experience of the PCP and TKP/ML is similar. Chairman Gonzalo, regarding this matter, says:

### **1 “The powerful national liberation movement and within it the process and triumph of the Chinese revolution.”**

Even before the beginning of the Second World War and especially after it, the struggle for national liberation intensified: oppressed nations resisted the

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<sup>1</sup><https://redherald.org/2023/05/19/further-actions-and-statement-for-ibrahim-kaypakkaya/>

return of imperialists as oppressors and exploiters. It is obvious that the Chinese revolution, led by Chairman Mao, marked a significant milestone with its victory in 1949, altering the balance of power in the world. It should be reiterated that in the final stage of the Chinese revolution, particularly during the last three years, it was a war of national liberation carried out by the People's Liberation Army under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of China, under the command of Chairman Mao Zedong.

The national liberation movement continued to unfold. An important milestone is the Vietnamese revolution, which had also begun in the early 1930s. In 1945, after the Japanese surrender, the August uprising occurred, and the North, North Vietnam, was emancipated. However, the South remained under imperialist domination, first French and then American. A great lesson: not to divide or allow the country to be divided because emancipating the remaining part of the country requires much more bloodshed and effort. The South of Vietnam, a small country with 14 million inhabitants at the time, defeated, because they dared to take up arms, defeated the world reaction's gendarme, the US, Yankee imperialism. It was their second major defeat because the first one was inflicted on them in Korea in 1953 with direct Chinese participation. We must also remember MacArthur, the great MacArthur, a brilliant strategist who made a "wonderful plan" to encircle the Chinese but ended up being encircled by them in Inchon, a Korean port. It was the humiliating defeat of MacArthur and the U.S. They had to escape by withdrawing their troops by sea, fleeing like rats, so it's not a stroke of genius, not at all; it cannot be compared to Rommel's retreat, which is indeed a significant event in the handling of war in terms of retreat. Inchon is not the same; it is the Yankees who want to elevate MacArthur, creating a figure and supposed triumphs for him. In 1973, the U.S. had to accept its defeat. As the Yankees said at the time, Nixon said, "Let us save face." That was their only problem, an honorable retreat, "not to be humiliated." That's all they asked for, the almighty Yankee imperialists. The Chairman is right: "Not everything big is powerful, nor should we fear it" because Marxism is great, and that is truly all-powerful, and all reactionaries must tremble before it because they will be swept away.

## 2 The great struggle between Marxism and revisionism

“Since 1956, the International Communist Movement, without being organized as it was in the International, existed and had relationships. However, at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the clown Khrushchev, as he was called by the Russian people themselves, held his famous ‘secret session’ of the Central Committee, where he vociferated and spewed all the opportunist revisionist venom against STALIN, calling him a ‘murderer,’ a ‘tyrant,’ ‘Ivan the Terrible,’ and so on; the next day, all the newspapers in the world announced the content of the secret session, an infamous fabrication by that swine, an ignorant swine, because that’s what he was, and foolish, a man of bluster. The bluster is quite evident: the missiles in Cuba, an adventurous action, and their withdrawal through talks in New York behind Cuba’s back, a shameful withdrawal in secret. That’s how adventurers are, that’s how revisionists are. But what was at the core? The attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the CPC rightly stated. In their documents on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and once again on the dictatorship of the proletariat, revealing the essence of the problem; that’s when the talk of the cult of personality begins, so know the origin.

The years 1957 and 1960, the International Communist Movement meets in Moscow, communist parties and workers because not all are called communist parties, the one in Vietnam is the Labor Party, just like the one in Albania that was initially the Communist Party; Hoxha never explained to us why he changed the name, what reasons were there, the supposedly Marxist did not adhere to what LENIN said, to the mandate and agreement of the Communist International, what happened then? In these two meetings, it must be considered that they were the first that the communists had after many years because the Communist International was dissolved in 1943, there was a sharp struggle between Marxists and revisionists; the Marxists led by the Chairman, who was present at the meeting, forced the revisionists to withdraw their proposal for the agreement of the event; there was

a circumstance - coincidences also matter, they do not define everything but they have an impact - Khrushchev was absent and when he returned he shouted, cried, laughed, groaned, screamed, rolled around, hit with his shoe as he used to do, he threatened and in the end he says: 'Let me save face, how does the CPSU stand, how does the movement stand, how do we stand, how does the 20th Congress stand?' he had to beg, he had to plead. But I think there was one thing that happened: 1957 was the first meeting after many years.

It could not be divided, it would have been a victory for imperialism; one must understand well the circumstances in which it was held, both in 1957 and 1960. That is why the documents have ambiguities, but it is there that the Marxist-Leninist principles are defended and the Chinese comrades themselves, as evidenced in documents from the collection of the great international debate, raised their observations in repeated internal documents and in 1960 they stated that they would sign a document for the last time where the principles of Marxism were not clearly stated, and they would not do it again; that was in 1960, only four years of struggle, a struggle that had to be carried out internally.

Something that must always be carefully guarded is the development of internal struggle; knowledge of internal struggle should not reach the reactionaries because they always twist it and use it to sow discord. Lessons must be learned and the struggle must be handled properly. The struggle has different levels of development; written self-criticism could lead to measures, it could be emphasized. Our Chinese comrades have taught us how to conduct internal struggle, how to conduct it in stages, and when it should involve the masses, following what Lenin himself established. Internal struggle is not gossip in political circles or coffee shop talks. Internal struggle is the clash of two lines within the party organisms, at the appropriate levels, that's what it means.

That is why the documents of 1957 and 1960 were formulated that way. Why do we say this? Because there are those who claim that it was not defended firmly enough, that it should have gone further. No, the struggle must be developed, and it cannot be resolved with just a couple of blows. Internal struggle is a battle



of ideas; we must observe the persistence or lack thereof in the expressed ideas, the real correction or lack thereof in attitudes, ideas, criteria, positions, and so on. Only in this way can we judge it.

The struggle between Marxism and revisionism will be waged by utilizing parties of lesser importance. This is what Soviet revisionism did, using the French and Italian parties - that's how they called themselves, although they later changed their names there. So the CPC had to respond to them.

The Soviets aimed to break Albania, including its own location. Albania's dependence on food supplies from the USSR posed difficulties for Albania. However, that does not mean that Albania was the center of the struggle or that Hoxha was the leader of the fight against revisionism. We refer to the speeches given at the congresses because they exist. Read Hoxha's speech and read the position of the CPC expressed there in the congress. It was not by the president because he was not there for that - the president was not inclined to leave China, very rarely, he only went to the USSR when it was necessary and for the shortest possible time. Compare the documents, the positions, and see the content: the content of the CPC documents, their position is clear, forceful, and accurate. We cannot say the same about Mr. Hoxha's speech, but we cannot deny that he fought, of course, he fought and historically had a tough, personal, and direct confrontation with the loudmouth Khrushchev, a wretch who, when asked about the tons of wheat that Russia or the USSR should deliver to Albania, played dumb and asked, 'How many tons?' They answered with a certain number of tons, and he replied, 'Ah, those tons have already been eaten by rats.' That was Khrushchev, that was his way of conducting the struggle of two lines, arrogant, wielding his authority like a stick. That was Khrushchev. The wretch who, during the struggles of the 1930s, said, 'Woe to him who raises a hand against dear Father STALIN, we will cut it off!' Wasn't that how he said it? Dear Father STALIN up, dear Father STALIN down, wasn't that Khrushchev? That was Khrushchev, an inconsistent man. In his actions in Ukraine, his own homeland where he was sent for reorganization after the fascist defeat, he behaved

with spite. Comrade STALIN himself had to call him to order; that's Khrushchev, that pink pig from the pigsty, the one who later called STALIN 'Ivan the Terrible.'

The year 1963 marks a milestone of great significance. On June 14th, the CPC sent a letter to the CPSU, the famous Chinese letter, proposing 25 points regarding the general political line of the International Communist Movement. They requested a debate on these 25 points and asked for their publication in the USSR, with China committing to publish Soviet documents for them to be known and discussed, to develop the struggle. How did they respond? With the famous letter from the CPSU written by Suslov, the Soviet 'theorist,' the gray eminence. Comrades, read the letter. If he is a theorist, then we are Martians. It is clear that revisionism will always be devoid of ideas, devoid of reasons, because it can never go against the principles of Marxism. Rats cannot gnaw at steel columns. That letter has great significance worldwide. We have reiterated many times what it implies for our party."

This great international controversy between Marxism and revisionism was another event that shook the world. It should be noted that in this party, even when we were members of the old party, because the split only occurred in 1964 when revisionism was expelled, in 1956 many communists rejected Khrushchev's position. Comrades, we must remember, at that time, what were we all studying? "Questions of Leninism," the works and writings of Comrade Stalin, which had more dissemination than Lenin's own works - everyone knows, I believe, about questions of Leninism. Of course, we were molded in that, in respect for Stalin, in recognizing him as the leader of the world revolution, with Moscow as the center. We all knew that poem by Neruda: "while Moscow and the world sleep, Stalin keeps watch." We all knew that. This great controversy between Marxism and revisionism has also had an impact in our country, serving to bring clarity, sharpness, and a clear direction to fight against revisionism in Peru. A similar situation has occurred in Turkey.

### 3 The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Regarding this, Chairman Gonzalo tells us: “that studying it today in texts and remembering it is one thing, but seeing it in China itself and experiencing its glorious moments is another thing; they are two different things and that deeply marks you. But the key is to see how in that grand global class struggle, Gonzalo Thought considers that a third stage of the proletariat’s ideology emerges: first as Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought; then, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; and subsequently defining it as Maoism, understanding its universal validity; and in this way, reaching Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism as the current expression of Marxism.” This is the question that must be understood in an international historical context. Where could it ultimately be?

I insist, seeing how Gonzalo Thought considers, that is the question. What does it consider? That a third stage emerges, that is, he says, the key, from there we must start; how this understanding has been, on the one hand, to adhere, understand, and assimilate, because the first is not enough, simply adhering is not enough, it is necessary to understand and assimilate what we say embodies what the CPC taught us all in the world and wonder why some took those teachings firmly and others did not, that is what we should ask ourselves, because the light illuminated everyone but due to class blindness, it was not seen and some still do not see it. The essence of this, what would it be? Of this key question, defining it, attention! Defining it as Maoism, that is the main thing, defining it as Maoism because that is not what the CPC says; we all know the vicissitudes that the great proletarian cultural revolution has had and the counter-revolutionary blow. By the way, we never doubted! And given the blow, we understood that it was a counter-revolutionary blow, furthermore: that behind Hua, the supposed insignificant president, was the pus-filled leech called Deng; it wasn’t us, and some must remember, who hesitated and said that there was no such blow, that Hua was the true president, and that Comrade Jiang Qing was mistaken? because that has been expressed (...) and why were we able to understand that counter-revolutionary blow? Because provisionally, we had thoroughly studied the great proletarian cultural revolution, from there the three popular voice numbers dedicated to the cultural revolution emerge. One could say, but Patria has also raised Maoism, yes, it has also licked Deng and continues to do so; avant-gardism of traffickers are nothing but labels to pretend to be what they are not, they are scenic representations of

actors who change characters according to who is in charge. Not us, we have maintained and recognized that there was already Maoism, we have raised it, defended it, and applied it. This is the key, and in that key, there is something essential, and the main thing is Maoism, that's it.

*Long live the International Communist League!*

*Long live the immortal comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya!*

*Long live TKP/ML, TIKKO, and TMLGB!*