

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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TÜSTAV

## COMMUNIQUE

Under the pressure of internal and external democratic public opinion, the generals had not been able to put off the referendum for the Constitution. They had to make known this draft Constitution which was prepared with a scawl. The generals, however, do not leave the power voluntarily. Nor do they appear to have the intention to go over to democracy. Their aim is to remain in power in collaboration with civilian reactionary forces and to cover up the dictatorship with a parliamentary mask.

This draft Constitution, in effect, is a penal code. This draft which openly recognises the police and gendarmerie the right to kill, is an onslaught on the right to live. Therefore, it is not accidental that first support to this draft, which tramples upon the fundamental human rights, came from the circles of the US Administration. The draft Constitution of the junta is for the police state against democracy. It is for dependence on NATO and the US imperialism against national sovereignty. Through this Constitution, Turkey will be ruled under a martial law on every occasion at the disposal of NATO, our beautiful country may be dragged into war not even taking the approval of the parliament, the US army, the Rapid Deployment Forces may plunge onto our soil, as they wish. This draft Constitution imposes a regime which defends the rule of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, foreign and domestic monopolies, the brokers, landlords and the generals who are the intermediaries of arms trade, against economic and social rights of the working class, peasantry, and the middle strata. With this draft Constitution, limited rights and liberties which existed in the 1961 Constitution are being exterminated down to the root.

With this Constitution, the junta prohibits all progressive parties, above all the Communist Party of Turkey. In addition, joint action of all trade unions, cooperatives, professional organisations, associations and political parties and their rallying in a united front are also being banned. It is evident that the junta is afraid of an united front of progressive parties and people.

This anti-popular draft Constitution is now being opened into a so-called "discussion" under the shadow of the bayonets, under the conditions in which tens of thousands of citizens are being languished in prisons, thousands of them are being tried with the demand of death sentences. Although the junta had to declare that it has lifted the Decree No:52 which completely bans freedom of expression, it insists on having its own way. Both, the previous prohibitions continue and also with a now imposition under No:70 Decree, the right to say "No" to the Constitution, freedom to warn the people along this direction are being violated.

Nevertheless, this draft Constitution has been met with strong protests of broad democratic forces on a scale which was not anticipated by the junta.

Prior to referendum such a fact became apparent: No other political or social force, apart from imperialist circles in the USA, the reactionary forces in Federal Germany abroad and collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie, landlords and their political forces, pro-fascists and the Justice Party circles at home, support this draft Constitution. Protests within the ranks of the army are increasing against the generals who tore away the 1961 Constitution which was a product of 27 May 1960 movement carried out by the army. These protests can only bear their fruits, when they meet with the action of the masses.

No doubt, chasms within the reactionaries themselves continue to exist concerning the Constitution. In this conflict which revolves around to get a bigger share from the power, although some Justice Party circles oppose the provision to equip the President with unlimited powers, they, on the whole, support the anti-popular anti-democratic substance of this draft Constitution.

The junta which can not overcome the economic crisis and makes millions of people subject to unemployment, and to the plunder of the brokers, mortgages the state property to the World Bank, and slavishly yield to the impositions of the US imperialism, had not been able to suppress the national democratic movement of the people. It gradually became isolated inside and outside the country, Now the junta is trying to accord its steps to the new conditions. The generals of the junta are planning to divide the forces which oppose to the draft Constitution by giving them some concessions on unimportant, minute points. All the more important it is trying to seal the actions of these forces within the bounds of bare statements and to prevent their protests to be transformed into mass actions.

Under these circumstances, all forces opposing to the draft Constitution under the bayonets of the junta should unite and say with mass actions "No" to the Constitution in the referendum.

Let us increase our efforts for a referendum in democratic conditions:

- Decree Number 70 should be lifted!
- General Amnesty!
- Freedom for all political parties except Nationalist Action Party!
- Freedom for all trade unions!
- Let us start actions for a free press, for the right to hold demonstrations and the right to strike!

To the polling stations in the referendum! No to the pro-12 September 1980, pro-24 January economic destruction policies, and pro-NATO Constitution!

In order to rescue 80 thousand prisoners! To stop 3 thousand death sentences! To prevent mass dismissals! Not to give way to the US Rapid deployment Forces! No to the Constitution of the junta!

August 6, 1982

Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Turkey

from party organs

## STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Organised troops of PLO have withdrawn from Lebanon. While the people of Lebanon saw them off with greetings, the leader of PLO, Arafat stated: "The smallest Arab army in the world has gained great successes."

PLO, who resisted bravely for eighty days and did not let Israel into Beirut, gained a real political success in a world scale. Israel Administration and the USA could not reach to their main target. They could not annihilate PLO neither politically nor militarily. Brotherhood-in-struggle between national progressive forces of Lebanon, Syrian soldiers and PLO has further consolidated. This great resistance put Israel whose attacks reminds Nazi methods and also the USA Administration who backs Israel with up to date arms, in isolation in the world politically and morally. Special session of United Nations on the subject of Israel, took a decision stating that as long as an independent Palestine state has not formed, as long as Israel did not pull back its armed forces from occupied Arab lands, it is not possible to have long lasting peace in the Middle East. It called upon for an international conference in Paris, in August 1983, on Israel question.

Militant resistance of PLO fighters, unrefutably showed that: If the US imperialism did not back, Israel, alone would not be able to continue this onslaught to such extent. If all Arab countries were united, the USA would not be able to give support to Israel to such extent. On the other hand, if there was no support and help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the solidarity movement in a world scale, peoples of Palestine and Lebanon would have more harm and pain from the onslaught of Israel.

The campaign carried out with CIA patent and which tries to accuse national liberation movement and PLO as "terrorist", now is trying to conceal the hopes of Israel on Bekaa valley and its plans of new provocations to create new wars. The head of the gang in Lebanon under the shadow of bayonets became "president". This shows that imperialist provocations continue. Resistance movement spreads also in Israel. Struggle carried on to stop Zionism and the war machine of Israel and the USA in the Middle East raises further.

We, communists and progressives of Turkey have important tasks in this struggle. To expose the real face of the campaign against PLO, with CIA patent which takes place in the press. To make useless the provocations of CIA directed to PLO, Syria and the Soviet Union. To prevent the junta who is backed by the USA dragging our country into adventures against the peoples of the world. To struggle for cutting off all relations between Turkey and Israel. To be in active solidarity with Palestinian people in their just struggle. We shall carry on this struggle.

Atılım, September 1, 1982

## STOPPING IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION MEANS DEATH

Two years of collaboration is being destroyed. Collaboration between pro-fascist and reactionary generals, one part of the justice party (JP) which is close to Nationalist Action Party (NAP) and some rightist and centrist members of Republican Peoples' Party (RPP) who shot their former leader Ecevit from its back are having crisis. The shell around the junta and its supporters has cracked. This is an objective factor which raises the struggle of conscious working class who does not stop even for a moment and also the protests of broad patriotic, democratic forces.

Why is this collaboration in crisis? Because, firstly, imperialism and collaborating monopolist bourgeoisie are preparing for a play of democracy again. This is a show, and a show can not be performed without audience. This play of democracy can not be played without electors. Those who started the play, are themselves calling millions of watchers to the squares. The existing situation however should be judged carefully. Under the conditions where the brokers have bankrupted, banks have been shaken, hundreds of companies bankrupted and working people have been pushed into poverty, have a think about the conditions of watchers of this play! 5 million unemployed, one million who lost their money through collapsed bankers, millions of half hungry people, 80 thousand prisoners and 3 thousand death penalty demands, millions of mothers fathers, brothers in tears... Here is the play of 'democracy' which will be played before these people. It is not surprising that players start quarrelling, part of them fawning to watchers, swearing to the bad man of the play and other part being horrified and cathing the collar of his friend in the play. Because play in politics is not as same as the football. Here, watchers can take the play seriously. And whatever he has, he can throw to the stage (for example 'No' votes). There is a possibility that they can go further... For that reason, now signs of crisis created by fear from the people appears in September 12 coup block.

Secondly, each collaboration is temporary. Before and after it, there are contradictions. Coup of September 12 was unity of political forces of big bourgeoisie and high bureaucrats in order to prevent revolutionary transformations in future. The period before September 12, was a period in which conflicts among them were intensified. Now after September coup, we are witnessing the transformation of collaboration to contradiction again. On one hand, the generals of junta are having a struggle among themselves for distribution of authorities in so-called civilian, but militarist, repressive regime which they are getting prepared for. They are trying to take presidency and deputy presidency positions and stay in power for seven more years. On the other hand, chiefs of Justice Party, may be with the thought that the chestnuts were taken from fire by the hands of junta, are getting prepared to come into power again. And of course, they do not want to govern under the dictat of generals. That is the whole content of it. Army is army, and JP is the same JP. All signs exhibit the contradiction between the circles who are in influential positions in the junta and JP circles.

What is to be done?

Which is better than the other? This question is the question of petty-bourgeoisie to go aside from the struggle for democracy. None of them better than the other. As same as there was no question of chose among two wings of the junta. JP has a conflict with the junta. This party had done whatever it could have, in order to destroy the 1961 Constitution totally...

The block of September 12 coup (pro-fascist and reactionary generals, chiefs of JP and the right wing of RPP) now indispensably is shaken. This matures the necessary conditions for masses to raise the struggle for democracy. Here, the main task is the task of progressive forces.

Question of today is: The working class, people and all forces for democracy, will they be only watchers of this 'plundering' at the top, distribution of state, sharing out power and official oppositions (presidency for the generals of junta, government for the JP whose one section is pro-NAP already and opposition is for right-wing RPP who is pro-CGP) and presentation of this as a pluralist democracy to the world? In reality, this crack in the September 12 block which at the moment does not threaten the state can unexpectedly get enlarged, if all forces for democracy unites and gets ready for actions bravely. The opportunities which can not be seen from today, can appear later, after starting actions. Even now, various circles who were in silent for two years, it does not matter for what reasons, are getting mobile and conscious working class who never stopped fighting joins the struggle against the junta, step by step.

### The weak point of the junta

It is obvious that the number of masses which participate actively in the political arena is small... Keeping this in mind: It is harmful to say from today that active majority says 'No' to the constitution of the junta and those who say 'yes' are minority in the political arena, but it is necessary to note that those who say 'yes' are basing themselves on state power, those who say 'no' have no strong organisation and unity and can not create the means to go to millions. Unfortunately not much time left for the referendum. Even if the junta undoubtedly does not recognise opportunities for democratic forces to re-organise themselves which were made ineffective for two years by the junta, we must raise our voices for a democratic conditions under which the discussions on the constitution and referendum takes place. This is the weak point of the junta in the struggle against it. To wage a struggle for a democratic atmosphere means, from today, to demand democratic freedoms which will be violated by the constitution. To take a step along this way means to blow a stroke to the constitution of the junta from today. We must gain such successes in few months.

What will be the result? If all democratic forces start for an action in unity by saying "everything is for blowing a stroke to the junta in the referendum", the junta will be defeated in the referendum in November. But for a moment, let us consider that the junta made the constitution approved by the power of bayonets and through some voting tricks. Or, electors who have never voted before (normally, 30-40 per cent of electors do not use their votes at all) who are the most backward section of the society and pushed away from politics by the bourgeoisie consciously, millions of people used, their votes with the threat of being imprisoned, and the junta won in the referendum... Even if it happened, a force which have been organised during the struggle for referen-

dum, raised its voice and got the right of being real representative of the people, will appear in the arena of struggle after two years. This force, even if it did not prevent the power being taken by those who is for militarist police state, will kick out the false opposition from the arena. This means to create one section of the political force which will overthrow 'the 'junta regime without junta.'

Let us start actions. We will either win or will create the opportunity to win. Stopping means death.

*Atılım, September 1, 1982*

information

## REPRESSION OF THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AND SOLIDARITY OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN EUROPE

\* Trial of Peace Committee leaders continued on August 17, with cross-examination of Mahmut Dikerdem who had been ambassador in various countries. In his speech at the court M.Dikerdem said: "The most vital question before our people is the question of peace... In my opinion, if there is a crime it does not belong to those who defend peace, but belongs to those who conceal dangers which threatens the destiny of our people and those who neglect the world peace and importance of detente in relations between states. To consider the peace movement as the activity of 'left' forces only, moreover, to consider the peace movement as the tactics of communists and their cheating means to bring the cold war policy... On the ranks of world peace forces, there are socialists, social democrats, parliamentarians, trade unionists, scientists, artists and also believers. Therefore, the allegation of peace being a part of communist propaganda, loses its effectiveness more and more every other day. Who get panic by this reality, accuse the peace-lovers by being in the service of the Soviet Union and aim at creating cracks in the peace movement and direct the patriots, democrats away from the struggle for peace... As it is unquestionable reality that the world turns, it is similarly clear-cut reality that the peoples of the world want to live in peace and reject the war which means a total suicide."

Attacks of the cunta against democratic forces, peace forces in Turkey has been strongly protested by democratic public opinion.

Bertrand Russell Foundation in Britain, in its bulletin of July-August issue published an article in connection with trial of Peace Committee leaders. Under the title of "the hand of NATO in the shutting up manœuvre" said that the aim of dictatorship in Turkey is to apply monetarist policy of IMF and militarist policy of NATO. Article also mentions bilateral treaties which were signed together with the US Administration.

In France, F.Kaldor made a statement in connection with trial of Peace Committee leaders and pointed that testimonies of all peace fighters were taken under torture and said "I have seen with my very eyes these anti-human and anti-democratic applications in Turkey. I consider it my duty to tell them to the public in Europe.

\* While the DİSK (Revolutionary Trade Unions Confederation) trial continues in Turkey, with the initiative of World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and call of International Association of Lawyers and external Bureau of DİSK, a conference took place in July in Paris. The conference was also participated by observers who had been present at various sessions of the trial of DİSK activists. In the first part of the conference which was attended by lawyers, doctors, and observers from various international regional and specialised trade union organisations and also representatives of the Portuguese, Intersindical, the Greek CGT, the French CGT, DİSK and the WFTU. Participants of the conference condemned the arbitrary arrests, prolonged periods of detention in custody, the violation of the rights of defence, the cases of torture and murders. The observers declared that the dissolution of DİSK and prohibition of trade union activities is an increase in the exploitation of the workers, collective agreements have been suspended strikes have been forbidden, a dictatorship has been established at all levels of political, economical social and cultural life, repression extends to all organisations and institutions which do not bow to the orders of the military junta. They noted that the junta wants to make the DİSK trial "an example to all workers and democrats in Turkey". In the second part of the conference, more than 70 delegates took place. Among them were M.Serge Boucheny, a Paris Senator, and Joe Nordmann, President of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. Kemal Daysal, member of the secretariat of DİSK and representative of DİSK Bureau in Paris gave information about the situation in Turkey. Sotiris Fellios, a lawyer at the Athens Bar, made a resume of the report of the observers.

The observers and representatives of various organisations demanded that an end should be put to the persecution of DİSK leaders, prisoners should be released and democracy should be restored in Turkey and they called for the development of solidarity.

\* Amnesty International has also made a statement and drew the attention of world public opinion to heavy repression of prisoners in Diyarbakır Prisons. It emphasised that the reason of this heavy repression was because they were Kurd and they said that they were.

\* Ekrem Aydın, one of the leaders of Maden-İş in his speech in a press conference in Helsinki said that 70 political prisoners were killed in jails. 170 thousand progressives, democrats were now in the jails of the junta and thousands of them were being tried with the demand of death sentences. He reminded that the junta has intensified repression just before the referendum for its constitution. He pointed out that except pro-American, Pro-NATO circles, nobody supports this constitution, and all forces who oppose this constitution should unite in order to say 'No!' to the junta in this referendum.

documents

**TO COMRADE ERICH HONECKER,  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE  
SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY**

Very esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker,

On behalf of the CC of the Communist Party of Turkey and on my own behalf, I would like to congratulate You wholeheartedly on the occasion of Your 70. birthday anniversary and convey militant revolutionary greetings of the communists of Turkey.

You participated in the struggle for peace and socialism at a very young age. You took responsible tasks in anti-fascist struggle, you preserved communist moral in the prisons of Hitler's fascism and you did not submit it. Following the liberation, you devoted all your life for establishment of workers-peasants state. You played a leading role in foundation of Free German Youth and bringing up a totally new German youth. Your determined role in taking the boundaries of German Democratic Republic under security is an important factor for preservation of peace in Europe. Your contributions to development of the theory of construction of developed socialist society enlightens the future. Communists of Turkey know you as a fervent internationalist, bound closely to the party of Lenin, the CPSU and the motherland of Lenin, the Soviet Union, an outstanding son of German working class and prominent fighter of international communist and workers movement. Our party gives a high value to your efforts in line of consolidation of unity of the world communist movement.

Very esteemed comrade Erich Honecker,

The importance you give for development and strengthening of fraternal ties between the Communist Party of Turkey and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, on the basis of principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is highly valuable for us. CPT will never forget the internationalist support of you and the Socialist Unity Party given to all progressives of Turkey who are fighting under difficult conditions.

We would like to wish you health, happiness, well-being and new successes in your responsible work.

August 25, 1982

With our communist greetings,

İ. Bilen

General Secretary

Central Committee

Communist Party of Turkey