

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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TÜSTAV

**SPEECH MADE BY COMRADE HAYDAR KUTLU,
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE CPT,
IN THE ENLARGED MEETING OF THE PB**

Dear Comrades,

The Plenary Session of the CC of our party held in the beginning of April dealt in detail with the situation in the international arena and also in the country. However, since then, both, in the international arena and in the country, some new and important developments took place. Below mentioned developments are those which were anticipated and drew attention in the documents of our party. These developments display the fact that a new situation has appeared both in the international arena and in the country. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with these developments and crystallize our party's evaluation of the situation in the light of these developments.

Decisions taken in the summit meeting of the seven imperialist countries in Williamsburg of the USA at the end of May and in the meeting of foreign ministers of the NATO countries in Paris in the middle of June shows that a qualitatively new situation has come about. As it was stated in the speech of Comrade Y. Andropov, General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU, in the Plenary Session of the CC of the CPSU in June, the US imperialism which was defined as the leading force of ultra reactionary sections of imperialism, tries to establish a global military unity of the imperialist states against socialist countries, above all against the Soviet Union, against forces of progress and democracy in whole world. In the above mentioned meetings, steps have been taken along the direction of tying France and Japan to the military wing of NATO, drive them into to the preparations for war and broadening the area of military influence of NATO. The US Administration hurries up for tying up the hands of its NATO allies and deploy medium-ranged missiles in Western Europe before conclusion of Geneva talks and without waiting for its results. The aim of the US Administration is not limited only by deployment of these missiles. Today, it is more obvious that it steps up new initiatives for development of new strategic missiles and their deployment in air, sea and on land, directed to the socialist countries, in order to obtain military superiority, especially in the field of nuclear missiles, on the other hand, it tries to produce neutron and chemical weapons, tries to elevate conventional armament to the level that is almost equal to the destructive power of nuclear arms, intends to start a new round of increase of the armed forces of NATO countries. The US Administration and heads of NATO do not renounce their intention of obtaining the opportunity for first nuclear strike.

Aggressiveness of the US imperialism is not restricted by only its intentions in Europe. Its aggressiveness in collaboration with aggressive, anti-popular regi-

mes mounts to unprecedented dimensions in the Middle East, in the south of Africa continent and in the Central America. Today there is not a single region in Asia, Africa and Latin America in which the US imperialism directly or through its collaborators does not try to increase tensions, does not give hand to the reactionary, aggressive circles, does not attempt to use force against national liberation movements.

Such facts, like Thatcher government in Great Britain, Kohl government in FRG, Neakson government in Japan, those who support the foreign policy of the USA are being in power in those countries, efforts of tying France more closely to the militarist policy of the USA, all are serving for the Reagan Administration to torpedo detente, increase tensions and accelerate preparations for war.

As it was stated in the joint declaration of Moscow Summit Meeting of Warsaw Treaty Organisation countries at the end of June, mounting of tensions and increasing instability in relations between states continue, danger of a nuclear war which would bring destructive results grows. Now it seriously seems like that tensions in the international arena will be further increased, armament and militarisation in the capitalist world will be escalated, and there will be a slip into a nuclear holocaust. These are extremely serious dangers not only for the socialist countries and the peoples of the West Europe but for all peoples of the world. The US imperialism is after inconceivable adventures as establishing its domination over all regions and all continents.

Comrades,

Negative and dangerous consequences of this climb in the aggressive policy of the US imperialism showed itself more clearly on our country in recent months. Now, not a single day passes in which an American or NATO military or diplomatic delegation does not visit our country, new secret treaties not signed behind the closed doors. Treaties signed between the US Administration and the junta, such as "Defence-Cooperation Treaty" followed by "Memorandum of Understanding" and series of other treaties clearly show that the junta is wholly has been capitulated by Washington. We can summarize the main points of the secret treaties between the junta and the US Administration as follows:

- 1- Following the deployment of medium-ranged nuclear missiles directed towards the Soviet Union in Western Europe, their deployment in Turkey;
- 2- building up additional forces along the Turkish-Soviet border line which has been declared as "traditional area of conflict" both by the junta and Pentagon, if it is necessary giving opportunity for stationing American and NATO troops for attacks. For this aim, construction of new bases and airports, increase of the armed forces of Turkey against the Soviet Union and other neighbouring countries;
- 3- establishment of new espionage installations and destructive activity centers in the soil of Turkey against socialist countries;
- 4- giving permission for the US 6. Fleet to make use of Turkish sea-ports, its anchoring in these ports, supplying service and repair in Turkish installations for the ships of the Fleet carrying nuclear arms;
- 5- construction of bases and airports for the US "Rapid Deployment Forces" in the soil of Turkey, deployment of these forces and their arms in the soil of our country;

6- when it is necessary, utilizing Turkish armed forces as a gendarme for suppressing national liberation movements in the Persian Gulf region;

7- formation of a new covered, aggressive bloc of reactionary regimes of the Middle East under the control of Pentagon;

8- a close cooperation of CIA-guided National Intelligence Service (MIT) with subversive services of the states with anti-communist regimes;

9- in foreign trade relations of Turkey with Middle East countries, Turkey undertakes the role of Trojan Horse of the US monopolies, makes efforts to torpedo the trade of these countries with the socialist countries, under the pretext of partnership of the American and Turkish capital, giving help to the USA to increase its influence in the region, playing the role of intermediary for closer integration of Iran to the world capitalist system, etc.

10- Turkey is to hold a position in support of the policy of the US Administration in all international forms including NATO.

Undoubtedly, in these secret treaties, winning side is always the US imperialism and for the part of Turkey, it is being driven into new and greater dangers. The US imperialism has established such a hegemony over the junta that now in the face of its delaying or limiting the credits, military "aids" such as war planes which were promised to be given to Turkey, the junta, like before the mountain giving birth to a mouse, keeps silent about these "aids" that it tried to present them to the army and to the public opinion as a return of compromises to the USA. Even in the reactionary press the opinion spreads that Turkey comes out from the bargaining with the USA with losses and expresses the concern about these treaties serving only for the interests of the USA.

Comrades,

In last two months, it has been concretely observed that from the point of Turkey, what a great danger this policy introduces. In accordance with secret treaties signed with the USA, NATO manoeuvres, as if making fun of our people, called "Adventure Express-1983" which was carried out along the Turkish-Soviet border line and participated by the US RDF, was nothing else but a preparation for war, aiming aggression.

In the same days, bloody attack of the special military troops of the junta upon Kurdistan of Iraq, against Kurdish patriots was the second indication of dangerous developments. This attack whose direct aim was to suppress the national movement of the Kurdish people also had the purpose of keeping the neighbouring peoples under military threat and forcing them for concessions which do not suit with their rights of sovereignty. It is a preparation for playing an expansionist role in the region, by using military political force. The junta, by claiming the fact that as in Iraq, Kurdish people are living in the soil of Syria and Iran, wants to show that it has a right in carrying out military operations with the allegation of preserving its own national security. Through the operation in the territory of Iraq, the way was paved for the US imperialism to make use of Turkey against the peoples of the region. Increase of the provocative steps directed to Syria makes easy the work of pro-American Israeli Administration who makes preparations for an attack against Syria. It is obvious that policy of tensions pursued by the junta against Greece helped for signing of a treaty between Greece and the USA on keeping American bases five more years in this country.

Dear Comrades,

Since the April Plenary Session of the CC, in the internal political life of

the country, there have been some important changes which are worth to pay attention. On the eve of elections which are to take place on November 6, the conflict between the junta and traditional bourgeois parties has sharpened. The BTP (Grand Turkey Party) which is a follower of the former AP (Justice Party) has been closed down, organisation of the DYP (Righteous Path Party) is being obstructed, SODEP (Social Democracy Party) who is made up by the followers of RPP is being put in difficulties by veto methods and by other pressures. The junta of Evren by all means, openly supports the MDP (Nationalist Democracy Party) which was formed by the junta itself, such that, according to the information our party received, all martial law commanders have been ordered to do service for support of the MDP, before and during the elections. Today, public opinion unquestionably accepts that the junta recognizes no opportunities not only for left political forces but also for traditional bourgeois political forces. It can be seen already that the MDP will be a party made-up of retired generals, colonels ex-politicians who were defeated in the past, sympathizers of the fascist NAP, parasites, and those who would do anything in order to get higher positions, etc. The junta intends to bring this party into government in the elections by force. But the real political power will never be in the hands of any part but remain in the hands of the top echelon of the army and of the president. The task of this party is to be a means of putting a civilian mask onto the regime and if it succeeds, to provide a massive support for the regime. The junta tries to keep the party of Özal (Motherland Party) as a party in support of the regime and with the made-up social democrat party it tries to give "pluralist" appearance to the regime.

On the other hand, before and after the attack upon Kurdistan of Iraq, chauvinistic repression, terror and threats have been further intensified. Repression on the working class increases. The junta does not even want to put into operation for a long time the laws on trade unions which were prepared by himself, *de facto* destroys the right of strike and free collective bargaining. The latest example of the laws which are even more reactionary than the pro-September 12 Constitution is the law on press. In some trials, there are preparations for arrest of patriots who have been forced to be released as the consequence of internal and external protests. Onslaught against our party continues uninterruptedly.

The junta and the mass media under its control escalate the anti-Soviet, militarist and chauvinist propaganda.

Comrades,

The Political Bureau has made analysis of the recent developments and as a result of its work, it came out with the conclusion that the regime, step by step has gained a fascist character. It applied for the views of all CC members on this subject.

Despite all cheap tricks exposed on the eve of elections, there are some circles who still have the opinion that the junta returns to democracy, elections will bring more or less positive changes in the political structure, repression will decrease, and the junta will grant some concessions even if limited, to the forces who want democracy. The bourgeois press whose freedom is restricted by the junta, spreads rosy illusions about elections plays an important role in this. On the other hand, the junta, being in the hands of the USA is ready to drag Turkey into a military adventure and into a war in the region at any moment. For that reason, it is of a practical importance to expose the real character

of the junta, display the processes lying on the basis of its becoming step by step fascist, to strengthen the struggle of our people against the US imperialism and the junta and prevent the confusion of the people.

Internal and external factors giving way to the September 12 coup d'état were dealt with in the August 1981 Plenary Session of the CC, in detail. In the period under the September 12 regime, factors giving way to this coup have further matured and produced a basis for the regime becoming more reactionary step by step and gradually becoming fascist. Above all these factors it is the dependence of our country on imperialism, especially, multifaceted dependence on the US imperialism and economical, political positions of the collaborating monopolist bourgeoisie in the country. These lay the foundation for structural crisis of the country's economy, aggravation of all contradictions and this causes a crisis of the political ruling system of the ruling forces.

Dear Comrades,

As it was mentioned above, world-wide aggressiveness of the US imperialism increased extremely. This phenomenon itself is the basis of the most reactionary forces in the imperialist system to increase their influence. On the foundation of the increase of the aggressiveness of the imperialism lies the fact that general crisis of capitalism sharpens to the utmost. For that reason, imperialism mobilises the most reactionary, the most aggressive, the most conservative currents and forces everywhere. Meanwhile, in many regions of the world, there are wars, military attacks and attempts of using military force with the support of the US imperialism. International climate has been poisoned, insecurity grew. Particularly in the Middle East, series of developments took place. This atmosphere in which methods of sheer force, oppression, blackmail and threat became effective, revived the traditional expansionist desires of the Turkish ruling forces those desires which were forced to be suppressed in the years when detente process was powerful, consolidated their anti-Soviet positions and strengthened their militarist tendencies.

Increase of the dependence on the US imperialism is the determining character of this process. Under the junta regime, economical, political, and military-political dependence of our country on the US imperialism has increased with an utmost speed. Therefore, aggressive, reactionary, anti-communist policy which became dominant over the US imperialism, became dominant also in Turkey. From the angle of aggressive aims of the US imperialism, geo-strategical importance of Turkey has driven it into making every effort in order to keep Turkey under its hegemony, appoint Turkey with new aggressive tasks.

Due to mounting expenditures on armament by impositions of the US imperialism, periodical crisis which has started in 1980-81s in the capitalist economies continues to deepen further. Under these conditions, onslaught of monopolies in all capitalist countries against economic and social rights of the working people intensifies. And this has much more destructive effects on Turkey as being a dependent country.

Following the September 12 coup, militarisation which gained momentum in all fields of the social life, by world wide escalation of aggression and militarisation by the US Administration, undoubtedly became dominant on the public life in Turkey. Consequently, these internal and external factors deepened the economic crisis in the country. The junta put the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the people, provided extraordinary opportunities for the collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie. Exploitation of the working class, plundering

of products of labour of the working people has reached to unprecedented levels, bankruptcies among the medium-sized enterprises has stepped up and even many big enterprises has bankrupted, one of the big holding companies, Transtürk Holding could not save itself from this consequence. A handful monopolist group however have strengthened their positions. They have swallowed hundreds of enterprises, closely tied themselves to the imperialist companies and they are further interlaced with the state. The economic policy which is applied by the impositions of the IMF resulted a decrease of productive investments, support of financial speculations, foreign trade and all kinds of plundering and as a result, parasitic nature and collaboration of collaborating monopoly groups who get benefit out of this have further increased. Links of the top echelon of the army with the monopolies have been strengthened, their opportunities for control of the economy have grown. Relations of a state-monopoly capitalism under dependence on imperialism have strengthened at the expense of all other social sections of the population. This increases parasitism and dependence has become the objective basis of becoming more reactionary and fascist in the country, aggressiveness and expansion outside the country by, supporting militarism. Monopolies whose internal market has been narrowed, are aiming to increase the sale of goods to the army inside and plundering, speculation outside. They hold out a hope that the US imperialism would provide such possibilities for them.

As a result of all these developments, under the junta's rule, process of disintegration of liberal, conservative, reactionary and fascist tendencies among the ruling classes has step by step deepened and gradually, the sections of the bourgeoisie who are the most dependent on the US imperialism, the most collaborating, monopolist, militarist and parasitic have put their stamp onto the regime.

In this process however the determining fact was inability of the junta to overcome crisis in the political ruling system of the ruling forces. The junta has applied heavy repression on to the working class movement, on other anti-imperialist, democratic forces, prepared a Constitution that does not recognise political activity of these forces, realised all anti-democratic demands put forward for twenty years by the big monopoly bourgeoisie and the landlords. Political crisis however did not disappear, but deepened further. The junta could not put into practice the plan of maintaining political stability, leaving the power for civilian reactionary forces and staying behind the scene it declared this aim at the very beginning. Increasing indignation of the working class, of all people and the vast majority of the population has been exposed at first before the referendum for the Constitution. Made-up "victory in the referendum" of the junta did not decrease this dissatisfaction, but on the contrary, there are protests rising even from the rank-and-file of the Justice Party. Under such conditions, the US imperialism and its collaborators who know very well that even existence of a smallest right will be an obstacle for them in reaching their aim, have backed the transformation of the dictatorship of the junta to the fascist dictatorship. Fear of the Evren's junta from the people makes him more barbarous.

In summary, the fascist dictatorship is the servant of the most reactionary circles of the imperialism and especially their chief, the US imperialism. It is the tool of their domination over our country and of their aggressive policy in the region. The junta is the anti-popular, terrorist dictatorship of the forces linked with international financial oligarchy, of the most collaborating, monopolist and parasitic sections of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, of the militarist

circles and of the most reactionary elements of the top bureaucracy.

Main factors determining the development of the junta since September 12, 1980 as follows:

- The role given to Turkey in the aggressive strategy of NATO as being a trampling board against the socialist countries and national liberation movements in the region, gradual intensification of pressure of the imperialist countries in this direction;

- efforts of the junta to step up armament and increase militarisation in every field of the social life,

- acceleration of the process of monopolisation of the capital, intensification of the influence of the monopoly bourgeoisie on the state and efforts of the collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie to obtain new markets through "opening the way to the external markets" and increasing its military and political influence in the region by serving to the aims of the US imperialism,

- deepening crisis of the world capitalist system and deepening structural crisis of dependent and relatively backward capitalism in our country, not only the working class, the toiling people and the middle strata, but also whole bourgeoisie, except big holding companies who back themselves to the banks, are heavily affected by the crisis, therefore, sharpening of the class contradictions and increasing disintegration of the ruling classes,

- suppression of the great dissatisfaction of the masses only by the methods of a terrorist dictatorship, inability of the coup to break totally the power of struggle of all progressive forces, and as a result, impossibility of keeping the power through parliamentary methods, even if limited,

- support given to the junta by the JP leadership, the political representative of the big monopoly bourgeoisie, who is for a parliamentary regime even it is limited, in all counter-revolutionary attacks, "to wait and see" policy of the RPP leadership who is the representative of the national, reformist sections of the bourgeoisie, weakening of the left forces under heavy terror and not realising a cooperation among themselves...

Now, Turkey is confronted with the danger of facing extremely serious results of the aggressive policy of the US imperialism. There is a danger of Turkey being driven into a war. Exploitation of the international monopolies, collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie and the landlords will further increase, living conditions of the working class and of all people will further deteriorate. The Kurdish people and all national minorities are under much more threat of chauvinistic oppression. By eliminating the remaining trade union rights of the working class, by choking all the ways of reviving the parliamentary institutions, the junta has obstructed the way of people achieving democratic aims in peaceful ways, and it tries to carry out fascist dictatorship with election manoeuvres.

It is clear that gaining a fascist character of the junta did not happen in a day. This process is a process which has started with the September 12 coup and gradually matured.

Plenary Sessions of our party in 1981, 1982 and in 1983 made analyses of every stage of this process and pointed out the dangers.

Following analysis was made in the report presented to 1981 Plenary Session of the CC and below presumption was stated: "Characteristics of the junta show that, from the class point it is based on broad sections of the bourgeoisie... Violation of the democratic freedoms, suppression on the anti-imperi-

alist democratic forces have created favourable conditions for the most reactionary elements inside and outside the army and the junta to gain strength. This shows that under the conditions of a reactionary military dictatorship, danger of fascism has not disappeared".

In the report presented to the 1982 Plenary Session, the process of junta's becoming more reactionary and factors causing it were analysed. It was stated: "Now, not only communists and other revolutionary forces, but all potential opponents of the regime are being tried to be shut up by the methods typical of fascism, "Being pro-Reagan and pro-Friedman, pro-junta and pro-January 24 are the two sides of a single coin. For the interests of the monopoly capital, more reaction, more aggressiveness".

1981 and 1982 Plenary Sessions of the CC not only analysed the direction of development of the regime, but the most important of all, pointed out concrete tasks and targets of the struggle in order to stop the process of getting more reactionary of the regime and to take a turn in the direction of peace and democracy. However, due to worsening of the objective situation, heavy blows on our party necessity of struggle against attacks of opportunist and defeatist elements, on the part of other left forces, not grasping the nature of the process and inability of forming the unity of left forces, hesitations of the bourgeois opposition etc., it was out of possibility to prevent maturation of present situation.

April 1983 Plenary Session of the CC of the CPT did not include on its agenda a discussion on the character of the regime. But, the plenary session paid particular attention to the results of the regime becoming further reactionary, focused on the question of overthrowing the junta regime and in the light of above mentioned analyses, formulated the political task before our party, stated this in the Action Programme.

In the report presented to the Plenary Session, following statement was made: "Today through the foreign policy of the junta as well as its economic policy, our country has fallen into crisis and non-national policies in both fields bring harm for everybody except extremely narrow circles. That is an abnormal situation. The junta who is the carrier of these imperialist sourced policies, tries to suppress the crisis in the domestic policy with the help of bayonets".

April Plenary Session put forward the following political task: The CPT, with its Action Programme, puts before itself the task of making contribution to the defence of world peace, securing Turkey from annihilation in a nuclear war, nullifying the plan of the US imperialism on making our country its gendarmerie and giving an end to the pro-September 12 regime, establishing national democracy".

The Action Programme of the CPT, headed "For Peace and National Democracy" expresses with clarity the tasks of struggle of the party against the danger of war and fascist dictatorship. Now, by defining the gained character of the regime from the theoretical and practical angle, we reach to a more complete stage in realization of the Action Programme.

Dear Comrades,

In the 7. Congress of Comintern, fascism in power was defined as the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic and imperialist elements of the finance capital. This definition is valid also today. But Comintern made warning against all kinds of schematic approaches, proposed analysis of class basis of fascism under the concrete conditions of given country.

Particularly, today, in countries who are dependent on imperialism, common specific character of the fascist type regimes is their dependent nature. The junta, above all is the tool of external forces, of non-national collaborators. Fascism in Turkey has been exported, above all by the US imperialism, with the support of domestic collaborating, militarist forces. The doctrine of so-called "national security" against the internal enemy, Friedmanist view which is the basis of economic policy, geo-political doctrine which considers democracy as a danger against democratism, anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, all these elements lying the foundation of the policy of the junta are totally integral parts of the imperialist ideology.

It is incorrect to restrict the present ruling forces only with the capital in the fields of industry and banking. The role of the top bureaucracy who hold the key points in the state sector and therefore directly or indirectly being a special economical force, the top echelon of the army who is relatively independent, tentacles of the international monopolies in our country, the role of the arms dealers and big landowners on the power should not be forgotten. Of course, the main force of this anti-popular clique consists of a handful of the most collaborating, monopolist and parasitic sections of the bourgeoisie tied with international finance oligarchy and a group of capitalists in industry, trade and especially in banking.

While we were defining the regime as a "reactionary dictatorship" yesterday and defining it today as a "fascist dictatorship", we tried to go down to the theoretical basis of the question. No doubt that we should carry on this work. Yesterday, we opposed all kinds of schematism and that is also necessary today. We showed incorrectness of determining the character of the regime just by taking into consideration the methods applied by the dictatorship. While explaining the new character of the present regime, our cadres should not make mistake of trying the easy way and connecting it with increase of repression and terror.

On the other hand, it will be an unnecessary optimism to think that efforts for unity of action which have been interrupted by the years' argument of "is the junta fascist or not" would be successful after this definition. It can be expected that those who do not intend to cooperate with the communists, insist on their negative attitude with new reasons and impositions. Even if it is so, as it was in the past, we should do whatever we can in order to overcome these negative approaches and give necessary reply to opportunist distortions. If our evaluation in relation with the regime helps our efforts for unity of action, we will just be happy.

Preparation of a national resistance step by step for overthrowal of the fascist dictatorship is the direct task of the party at present.

For a national resistance, it is necessary for the working people, middle strata to hold a firm position against the fascist dictatorship and their continuous struggle for daily demands, for their economic, social interests in order to become conscious of taking the power from collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie, big landowners, from the militarist clique and the top bureaucracy. This, at the same time necessitates work for saving the important sections of the armed forces being the blunt tool of imperialism and the generals.

National resistance necessitates the cooperation of the left forces and the Kurdish national movement. These forces are confronted with the task of continuous work for formation of a broad front of the all forces against the danger

of war and against fascism. The general strategical line of the party is to work persistently for formation of a single front whose composition will have different characteristics at every stage.

National resistance can only be the work of popular masses. The people can reach to the target only if they strengthen the leading role of the working class the most revolutionary class. The party is confronted with the task of increasing capability of the leading of the working class.

National resistance is forced to pursue a non-peaceful way as the peaceful parliamentary way before the anti-junta forces has been blockaded. Weather or not this way reaches to armed uprising, again depends on the junta, collaborating forces and the US imperialism. The party will wage a struggle against legalist-parliamentarian illusions but on the other hand, will prefer even the smallest possibility of peaceful way.

It is the necessity of present stage of the daily struggle to support to the popular struggle provided that it does not give way to any kind of provocation, in particular to the terrorist acts, but utilizes legal and illegal forms, by working in the most reactionary institutions, in all legal organisations, making use of the legal opportunities fully and being ready for any type of necessary and revolutionary compromises.

Correct guidance direction of the tasks requires ideological struggle against in two fronts. First, it is necessary to struggle against tactic of the adventurist 'left', belittling the struggle against daily demands and reforms therefore, weakening the work of preparation of masses for a national resistance, directing the main attack against 'intermediary forces' petty-bourgeois and bourgeois reformist tendencies between the left forces and the fascist dictatorship, practically renouncing to form a front with them and the tactics of 'narrow front' and "artificial incitement for a revolution". Even the smallest symptom of adventurist-sectarian line gives great harm to the party. In practice, it is a danger that threatens the left forces. Secondly, it is necessary to consolidate revolutionary vigilance against the tendency of "tailism" which will be created totally separating democracy which to be formed after the overthrowal of the fascist dictatorship from the first stage of the revolution, building a Chinese wall between them, restricting the target of the national democratic struggle with bourgeois parliamentary regime and therefore, blurring in the revolutionary perspective of the working class and in practice, by bargaining the junta of the top, attaching the masses step by step to the bourgeois opposition who is allegedly for "democratisation". This right opportunist line can be seriously dangerous especially after the elections under the influence of legalist illusions created by the bourgeois opposition openly appeared in the political arena.

Comrades,

Despite all, there are favourable conditions in the world and in Turkey in order to reach these aims. In the world, peace policy of the socialist countries continues with increasing influence. Such that, this is a factor that even the governments of the West who trail in the wake of the US imperialism had to take in to account. Protests of the non-aligned countries against the US policy increases. Contradictions between the imperialist countries continue to exist. Massive peace movement, as it was proved lately in the Prague Forum gains strength. If the anti-missile movement mobilises all its forces and possibilities in nation-wide scale and globally, it is possible to nullify the militarist missile plans of NATO. In this connection, our party organisations in West

Europe confronted with a great task of making contribution for strengthening peace movement.

Inside the country, now broad forces are in anti-junta positions. Every effort of the junta to give hand to the MDP increases the hatred of people against this party, and the junta gets isolated further. It is out of possibility for the ruling classes to overcome crisis through fascism.

Elections which are declared to take place on November 6, is of a great importance from the point of preparation of a national resistance. Political approach of our party to the elections were put forward in the Statement of the CC dated July 18, 1983.

At the present stage, unity of left forces will be the lever of unity of all national democratic forces.

(Abridged)

HUNGER STRIKE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS HONOURABLE RESISTANCE AGAINST REPRESSION OF THE JUNTA

While the hunger strike of 2500 political prisoners protesting inhuman conditions in prisons continues since 8th of July in İstanbul prisons, strike has been spread over other provinces. Now, in Çorum, Çanakkale and Diyarbakır, jails, prisoners have joined the strike action. According to the information received, since the beginning of the strike, 200 prisoners were taken into hospital and two political prisoners died. A well-known writer and economist, Y. Küçük is in a state of coma.

The junta has put censor on news about the hunger strike. According to the West European press, the junta applies every method in order to break the strike, plays songs so loudly and frequently interrupts it and makes announcements by the loud speaker as "either you eat or you will die".

In many European countries, solidarity actions are being organised. In FRG, and West Berlin, democratic forces have organised demonstrations in front of the Turkish embassies carrying posters and shouting slogans calling for solidarity with the hunger strikers in Turkey has been organised in FRG. In Great Britain, Chairman of the international relations commission of the Labour Party sent a telegramme to Evren saying "we demand an investigation of complaints of the prisoners", another Mp J. Corven sent a letter to the Turkish Embassy in London and stated: "I have the opinion that readiness of 2500 political prisoners who have been kept under inhuman conditions to throw themselves into danger by starting a hunger strike is the proof of injustice and inhumanity in Turkey I protest the applications on prisoners and call upon the Turkish government to accept just demands of these prisoners".

In Switzerland, 80 Turkish democrats have started a hunger strike in solidarity with the strikers in Turkey. Another strike also has started in front of the Turkish Embassy in Stockholm. In the parliament of Denmark, all parliamentarians have signed a statement protesting inhuman conditions in the prisons of Turkey and sent it to the Prime Minister of the junta.