

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

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CONTENTS

- 1- Announcement Made by the CC of the CPT,  
on the 5th Congress of the CPT
- 2- Appeal Made by the 5th Congress of the CPT  
on November 6 elections
- 3- Opening Speech of the 5th Congress of the CPT  
Made by Comrade Bilen, Chairman of the CPT
- 4- Closing Speech of the 5th Congress of the CPT,  
Made by Comrade Haydar Kutlu,  
General Secretary of the CC of the CPT
- 5- Extracts From the Report of the CC, Read in the 5th  
Congress of the CPT by Comrade Haydar Kutlu,  
General Secretary of the CC of the CPT
- 6- Statement of the CC of the CPT  
on Results of the November 6 Elections
- 7- Joint Communique AKEL-CPT
- 8- Documents: Messages of the CC of the CPT

TÜSTAV

## ANNOUNCEMENT

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey announces to the working class of Turkey, to all working people, to all patriots and to the country's and world public that the 5th Congress convened and concluded its work with success.

The 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey met under the conditions in which the US imperialism have extraordinarily increased its aggressiveness against all peoples of the world. The US administration, which has accelerated its attempts to deploy new nuclear missiles in Western Europe, rejects all constructive, flexible proposals of the Soviet Union. With its aggressions against the people of Lebanon and recently with its invasion of Grenada by grossly violating international law and human rights, the US imperialism has clearly proved its readiness to drag all humanity into flames for its egoistic interests.

In Turkey the fascist dictatorship, which does not depart from the wake of the US imperialism, is trying to put a parliamentary mask on its face with the so-called elections on November 6, 1983. The indignation of the people against the increasing exploitation and repression, against the enslavement to the US, is being desired to be smothered out by an election ploy.

The 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey has fixed to prevent the mad attempts of the US imperialism which threaten the peace in the world and in our region, not to allow Turkey to become a US gerdarme in the region and to overthrow the fascist dictatorship as the most urgent tasks. It called on the party units and all national democratic forces to organise and prepare a nation-wide resistance in order to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and in its place to form the government of national democratic forces. To strike a heavy blow on the junta by way of using invalid votes against the junta's parties in the 6th November elections, will strengthen the struggle of our people for peace and national democracy. National resistance against the US imperialism and fascism can only be heightened in day-to-day struggle of the oppressed Turkish and Kurdish peoples in factories and workplaces, in villages and residences, in schools and barracks for work, bread, land, for national and democratic rights, for trade union liberties with the cooperation of all national democratic forces.

The 5th Congress of the CPT met under difficult conditions through thwarting away the uninterrupted onslaughts of the police, the destructive attempts of renegades, drop-outs and opportunists against the party. The 5th Congress which met exactly 51 years after the 4th Congress, proved that despite heavy losses the party had suffered in May 1981 and following it as a result of the onslaught of the police, the CPT has now reached to a strength to be able to secure the continuity of its work and its leadership under all conditions.

The party organisations inside and outside the country were represented, top, medium and rank-and-file levels in the Congress. The composition of the delegates was 42% of workers and 58% of intellectuals. The ratio of the Kurdish and women delegates was 22% and 11% respectively. All party organisations actively took part in the discussion of "The Theses for the Birth Centenary of Mustafa Şubhi" which was the base for the Congress documents and in the evaluation of the past activities of the party before the Congress. A series of party conferences were held out prior to the Congress. Thus, the 5th Congress has met with the most possible democratic procedure as far as an illegal party is concerned.

The 5th Congress of the CPT was opened with a speech by Comrade İ. Bilen, Chairman of the Party. Then Comrade Haydar Kutlu, General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Turkey, read the Report of the CC of the CPT. The Report, which took over the responsibility of all party activities since the 4th Congress, analysed the current situation in the country and in the world and explained the tasks facing the party. It explained the fundamentals of the new party programme.

The Congress discussed the CC Report, The Theses, the new party programme and statute, elaborated and adopted them. It took a series of decisions concerning the concrete tasks facing the party. It elected the new Central Committee. In its first session the Central Committee elected Comrade İ. Bilen as the Chairman of the Party and Comrade Haydar Kutlu as the General Secretary of the Central Committee.

From the beginning till the end, the Congress has passed in an atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm and comradeship. Discussing the most complicated theoretical, practical and organisational questions, the Congress took all its decisions unanimously. It laid firm foundations for the ideological, political and organisational unity of the party.

The young comrades fighting today heroically without any hesitation under the most difficult conditions and those comrades who took part in the 4th Congress and never wavered in their belief to the party, to the working class and to its victory for an inch in half a century together raised the slogan "For A Stronger CPT!" in the 5th Congress.

The fraternal communist parties, through their representatives and their messages contributed further strength to the Congress. The 5th Congress took the decision to spend every effort to further strengthen the firm unity with the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The 5th Congress is a historical achievement of the CPT and the working class of Turkey. It opened a new page in the glorious history of the CPT who not even a day ceased the struggle against imperialism and internal reaction. Without strengthening the Communist Party of Turkey, none of the crucial questions facing the people and the country can be concluded to a lasting solution. With this consciousness the communists will show every sacrifice in order to carry out the decisions of the 5th Congress.

The Communist Party of Turkey is now stronger than ever before.

November 1, 1983

Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Turkey

## APPEAL

Workers! Peasants! Patriotic intellectuals!  
Small shop owners and artisans!  
Public employees! Unemployed citizens!  
Kurdish and Turkish, all working people!  
Patriotic officers, non-commissioned officers!  
Youngmen! Women!  
Progressive political prisoners! Political refugees!

The fascist dictator, Evren and his gang turned the whole country into a prison. To ask for one's own right, to speak and write freely, everything is banned. Prisons of our country are crammed with the sons of our people. Turkey has become a country in which poverty, hunger, unemployment, disorder and immorality prevail in an extreme sense.

A handful of tycoons, had-in-hand with the generals plunder our labour, our sweat. They have turned our beautiful country into a farm of the war-maniac US imperialists.

What is left behind from the independence we had achieved by giving thousands of victims in the national liberation struggle?

We have not arrived in these gloomy and painful days, in a day. We were dragged into the present stage through the policies of anti-popular governments who deceived our people for years, through the policies of a handful collaborating monopolies, tycoons and the imperialism.

The Communist Party of Turkey, since its foundation, all the time considered as its task to tell the truth to the people. The Communist Party of Turkey is the eldest party in Turkey. For 63 years, our party has been the defender of nothing else but interests of our people. That is why those who exploit and suppress our people, those who sell our country to the imperialists direct their attacks towards our party continuously for 63 years. They banned our party. They brutally killed our leaders and members. They kept thousands of us in prisons for years and now they do the same.

This 63 years of repression has not stopped us from the struggle for independence and well-being of our people. The CPT is alive, continuously struggles, gains further strength.

Here is one of the best evidences: The CPT convened its 5. Congress successfully. Neither the onslaught of the generals, nor the police, their agents, nor the renegades could prevent our Congress.

Our 5. Congress proved the following: The CPT is the only party in Turkey, who has an unbreakable unity, the most democratic functioning and is the most open one. We have openly told our mistakes, our shortcomings before our people. We have maintained our unity and further strengthened it.

The CPT is the only party who broke the chain of bans of the junta. Many delegates from villages and factories participated in our congress. The Congress discussed the problems of our people, of our country and also the global questions, the way of solving them and put forward concrete tasks.

The fascist generals shut down the voice of the press. They can not however make us silent. Everyday our party radio exposes to our people the dirty and the anti-popular face of the junta, its tricks and lies. Our paper Atılım even if not

regularly, reaches you through your brave friends who take the risk of being killed.

Compatriots,

The 5. Congress of the CPT appeals you: There is no time to loose. If you do not say 'stop', the enemy will never stop. The enemy is, above all, the US imperialism. Inside the country, it is the handful of tycoons who sell out the motherland to the imperialism and the fascist dictatorship supported by them.

Without briddling the US imperialism, without overthrowing the fascist dictatorship of Evren, without establishing the joint government of the national democratic forces, not a single question of our people and of our country can be solved.

In order to reach this goal, the CPT appeals all our people to get prepared for a nation-wide resistance against the US imperialism and against its puppet, the fascist dictatorship. We can get back our lost economic and democratic rights only by resisting.

Let us resist against austerity policy, against the US slavery, against the regime of bans, for jobs, bread, land, for human-like living and working conditions, for our wages-salaries-price of our products, for our trade union rights, for freedom of expression, education and science, for freedom of organisation, for every single right no matter how small it is! Let us protest the oppression of the Kurdish people! Let us resist against being the gendarmerie of the USA and against the danger of being ashes of a nuclear war!

Workers,

In the struggle for liberation of our people, the main task is yours. The experiences gained through years of struggle against repression is your weapon today. Your every protest will receive the support of the masses and encourage them.

Compatriot,

Take the first step in the nation-wide resistance for thwarting the false, so-called election trick of the junta! They want to increase exploitation by putting a civilian mask onto the fascist regime. The situation will not be any better after the elections. Use invalid votes for the parties imposed on you by the junta! Put the stamp onto three of them!

Appeal the army by making use of all opportunities! Tell your sonwearing a military uniform, to turn his weapon not to his people but to the enemy, to the US imperialism.

Patriotic officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers,

Oppose the humiliating situation, being the gendarmerie of the USA in the region!

Defend peace, independence and the interests of the people!

Arrested progressives, patriots, comrades, friends,

Your resistance in prisons, in the fortresses of the junta, your unity breaks down the walls of fear. The CPT will not allow you to be left in the grip of the police and the torturers. It will use every opportunity in order to prevent this.

Political refugees abroad,

Despite it separated you from your families, children and from your country, it is a blow to the junta that you are actively on your feet and in the battle, overcame all material and moral difficulties.

Workers who are forced to work abroad,

Participate actively in the struggle against deployment of missiles. The solidarity to be raised with your political refugee brothers is the greatest support for those waging struggle for democracy, for the political prisoners and for their relatives in Turkey.

The 5. Congress of the CPT appeals those who are against imperialist aggression, fascism, exploitation and repression, to unite and wage a shoulder to shoulder struggle.

The communists will be the soldiers in this battle.

Let us be on duty!

5. Congress

Communist Party of Turkey

## OPENING SPEECH OF THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE CPT MADE BY COMRADE BİLEN, CHAIRMAN OF THE CPT

There can be nothing more honourable than being the members of the CPT who keeps the light of Leninism in our beautiful country. We were Leninists in the Baku Congress in 1920. We had raised the banner of Leninism in the 4th Congress in 1932. And in 1983, we are on the path of Leninism also in the 5th Congress. This will neither change in future. Leninism is vivid in the unparalleled successes and the struggles of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of the world communist movement.

Our party also occupies a place among the witnesses of the loyalty of the CPSU to proletarian internationalism. The CPT owes a great deal to the unprecedented solidarity of the CPSU...

The CPT convenes its 5th Congress after 51 years... It is very sad not to convene our congress for such a long time. This however does not overshadow the party. All along 51 years, the CPT has never remained outside the struggle. During this period, we, the communists lived through nearly 25 massive arrest operations. We have overcome them all. After each arrest, after each betrayal, we stood up again. We reached to these happy days at the cost of many victims, severe pains...

The First Congress of our party was convened in Baku in 1920. On the day of foundation of the party, the Congress greeted Lenin. The reply of the bourgeoisie to this congress was the bloody murder of our leaders in the Black Sea on January 28-29, 1921.

The party did not collapse.

The Second Congress was convened in Ankara in 1922. The Congress was attended by the delegations from the Soviet, French, German Communist parties, called upon the people of Turkey to join national liberation struggle. While the communists were going to the front arms in hands, the reply of the bourgeoisie to the congress was to burn the building where the congress took place and organise an armed attack against the delegates. And soon, the party was banned.

The CPT had its Third Congress in 1925. That time the reply of the bourgeoisie was more sneaking... It stroke a blow from the inside, made its agents to infiltrate into the party. The second front was opened against the party: That was the front of liquidators, and opportunists.

The CPT has faced the attacks from both fronts, it has re-organised itself, cleared its ranks from the liquidators. It convened the Fourth Congress in 1932 in Istanbul.

Following the Fourth Congress, the CPT has waged a teeth-to-teeth struggle of existing or not existing...

Today the 5th Congress will give a powerful weapon into the hands of our working class against the danger of war and against fascism.

Delegate comrades came to the Congress under difficult conditions, and that has produced a crack in the walls of fascism. The dictatorship could not prevent the convention of the Congress by torture, arrests and by means of provocators...

Long live the 5th Congress!  
Long live Marxism-Leninism!  
Long live proletarian internationalism!  
Long live the CPT!

(Abridged)

### CLOSING SPEECH MADE BY HAYDAR KUTLU, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE CPT IN THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE CPT

Comrades,

Did the 5th Congress fulfil what was expected? It is sufficient to see under what conditions it has convened.

The 5th Congress of the CPT has met under extremely dangerous international conditions that has never been witnessed by the mankind. Has the Congress elaborated a line in accordance with present conditions? Our answer is "Yes". The party specially underlined in its programme the primary significance of struggle for peace and pointed out our immediate tasks. As it was stated by comrade Y. Andropov, General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU, today it is essential to wage an active struggle in order to impose peace onto the US imperialism and imperialists who do insist on torpedoing detente. As the Congress appealed to the whole party for actions in this sense, the 5th Congress has fulfilled its most fundamental international task.

The 5th Congress has convened under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship. The Congress raised the slogans of "End to the fascist dictatorship! For peace and national democracy!" and carried out its work under this motto. It enlightened the tasks confronting the working class and the people against the dictatorship and the path of struggle. It put forward a concrete plan for struggle. Shortly, this plan is to prepare millions of working people, the masses and all anti-junta forces for a nation-wide resistance against unemployment, raising prices, being landless, tortures, arrests, against all kinds of repression and against

chauvinistic brutality on the Kurdish people. The urgent task is to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. The direct aim of our party is to take the political power from the hands of collaborating oligarchy, to form the government of the broadest national democratic forces and establish national democracy. This line has prepared the necessary foundation for a broad front. Therefore, the Congress has drawn the national tasks successfully.

...For better understanding of the dimensions of the achievements, victory against all anti-party elements, provocators and vacillating elements, let me go back to the past months, some months before the congress.

From the May 1981 onslaught of the generals up to the beginning of 1983, the party faced very serious problems. Extensive arrests resulted both narrowing the opportunities and destiny of reliance on the party, and on the other hand, created such results that trust of some of our cadres had weakened. Under such conditions, factionalists and anti-party elements in the ranks of some organisations have started destructive actions. Betrayal of a person from the leadership became useful for such persons. And some, with the hope of possibility, had some factionalist inclinations.

In such a situation, unescapably some questions have been created in the minds of many comrades who have been loyal to the party. These questions could not be replied in time. Break of the ties frequently with the party organisations and the leadership, weakness of the Central Committee in fulfilling the task of informing the organisations about the inner party life played a role in creation of such a situation. Outside the country, similar hesitations appeared among the healthy cadres of the party.

Dear comrades,

The CPT has succeeded to come out of this complex situation as a result of big sacrifices of our cadres and their unbreakable belief in the party, with almost no serious destruction even on the contrary, with the purification of our ranks and gaining further strength.

In relieving the party from being introverted, April 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CC and enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau were the turning points. Now, we can again drive a lesson from our own experience: We can strike the heaviest blow onto every kind of anti-party attempts to be appeared- and this can also be expected after the Congress- not by endless arguments but by directing the whole party to the class enemy with more energy. If the main direction of the ideological work of the party is turned not to the useless arguments with a handful petty-bourgeois chatterboxes but to show the way of struggle against the fascist dictatorship and the imperialism, then replies to be given to the opportunists on each theoretical subject will avert the party from intervention. The antidote of anti-party positions is to work in the way of raising the millions for a revolutionary struggle- and in this struggle taking the risk of even death- not considering it as a small or big work, only work, work and more work.

Dear Comrades,

Our 5th Congress showed to friends and enemies that our party has healed the wounds again, consolidated the unity of the party that wanted to be destroyed, armed with a guidance of action that is in accordance with present international and internal situation and full of hopes for our people, and consequently, the CPT is being ready for leading the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle of the working class and the masses.

Raise of our party from a severe situation up to the present stage can be explained above all, by its unbreakable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism even in the most difficult moments. It is clear that if there was no strong international solidarity of the fraternal communist parties, above all of the CPSU, our party could not solve any of the questions facing the party.

...This generation who took over the 63 years of banner raised by Mustafa Suphi in 1920 and containing brave comrades like Comrade Deniz is capable of taking the revolution of the working class, of the people to the victory. We shall not leave this historical task to the coming generations. We shall leave them the task of constructing the new world.

Long live the 5th Congress! Long live the CPT!

(Abridged)

EXTRACTS FROM THE CC REPORT  
READ IN THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE CPT  
BY COMRADE HAYDAR KUTLU,  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE CPT

Struggle for peace

The CPT gives a primary place for the struggle against a new round of nuclear armament, danger of a nuclear war and against attempts of the USA Administration to make use of Turkey in its aggressive plans for the region and the world. Today, our national and international tasks interlaces more than ever. Struggle for preservation of peace is directly connected with the task of overthrowal of the fascist dictatorship. For the communists, above all, it is a struggle for the life of our people and the mankind. As we are at the forefront in the struggle against exploitation and repression, it is the most important task for us.

As being communists of Turkey, a NATO member country and while aggressive attempts of the USA and NATO has been intensified in the region, we are under heavy responsibilities. Today our main international task is also to raise the struggle against use of Turkey in the aggressive policy of the US imperialism.

Above all, we shall raise the struggle for imposition of the principles of peaceful co-existence of Turkey and the Soviet Union, other socialist countries onto the fascist dictatorship. We will make known the provocations and manoeuvres of the USA and the junta to destroy these relations. We must join the anti-missile movement with everything in power and help broad masses to join as well. Now, we must raise further the struggle against approval of the nuclear war plans of the USA by the junta and against attempts of deployment of new nuclear missiles in our soil.

We are in solidarity with all peoples and national liberation movements which have been the targets of attack and genocide of the USA and its partners in the world and in our region.

In our region, we must consolidate our solidarity, above all with the Palesti-

nian people, with its only representative, the PLO. The USA and Israel should draw back their bloody hands from Lebanon immediately. We shall not allow the use of soil of Turkey by the fascist junta for aggressive intentions of the USA in the region, the role given to Turkey as being the gendarmerie in the interests of the USA in the region.

We will wage a struggle with everything in our power against provocations of the heads of the USA, NATO, and the Turkish chauvinists, against the friendship between our people and the neighbouring peoples, above all the people of Greece and Cyprus. We shall defend peaceful solutions and friendship among peoples. We shall support every initiative for solution of the Cyprus question on the basis of territorial integrity, non-alignment, and demilitarisation and will have a firm position against the plots of the USA and NATO.

September 12 coup

As you know, the military coup in Turkey overthrew not a progressive or a national reformist government but a pro-imperialist minority government of rightist Justice Party in collaboration with the fascist Nationalist Action Party. September 12 coup took place at a time when Republican Peoples Party and all left forces were in opposition to the Demirel government and as the bye-elections in 1979 showed, when the small property owners had shifted to the right, moreover the fascists strengthened their positions in the state apparatus. The coup took place not in a period when the national democratic forces started a struggle for power but when they were resisting for their democratic rights and freedoms. These are the characteristics of the September 12, 1980 coup that differs from counter-revolutions in Chile and similar countries.

Nevertheless, from the point of its onslaught against the working class, trade unions and political organisations, suppressing all patriots, democratic and peace-loving forces, its aims and its fascist type methods, The September 12 coup has some profound similarities with coups in many countries supported or incited by the US imperialism.

As a result, the September 12 coup, while differs from other counter-revolutions, aiming to take the power from revolutionary democratic and patriotic forces or suppressing a revolutionary popular uprising, due to its deepness is a preventive counter-revolutionary process...

At the beginning, the September 12 coup based itself upon the reactionary alliance of collaborating big and monopoly bourgeoisiebureaucraticbourgeoisie, intermediary-speculative bourgeoisie, big land owners and the top echelon of the army against the working class and the people for a way out of the crisis. Reasons behind the coup are deepening crisis of dependent and relatively backward capitalism, the reformist way out of this structural crisis being choked, contradiction of the IMF prescription which was proposed as a solution of crisis and put into practice on January 24, 1980, with the interests of broad masses, unapplicability of this programme under a parliamentary regime. Imperialism has applied every method to prevent Turkey from breaking the ties with imperialism. Further more, because of factors such as increasing tensions in the international arena, the US imperialism putting into practice its global plans of establishing its hegemony and the role given to Turkey in these plans, imperialism provoked and supported the coup in Turkey.

Why the military coup of September 12, 1980 could not be prevented?

Up to now, there have been various evaluations on this subject. To give a reply to this question once more is not only a historical task. It is important also from the point of enlightening the forthcoming period.

Above all, the unity of the left forces could not be achieved. Although, in parallel with mounting of fascist terror and increasing possibility of a military coup, necessity of unity among the left forces was coming to grasp and in some places unity of action was achieved and common platforms were formed. Unfortunately, the level, and content of them, let alone to change the course, could not even reach to the stage to become a foundation for today.

Secondly, no matter what it is called, a front of all national democratic forces did not exist. The negative role played by the slogan of "No to the fronts" raised by the RPP at that time is known. And unfortunately, all national democratic forces could not unite in a front, but all anti-national forces could succeed to unite in a front against the people. From the point of national democratic forces, it is a bitter reality that big lessons should be drawn from it.

Thirdly, in that period, the trade union movement was divided. The working class was organised in Türk-İş and in DİSK. As if it is not enough, in DİSK a division had appeared that there was an attempt of trying to exclude the class based unions. That had weakened the power of struggle of the working class. A conclusion to be drawn from this should be cognition by everyone that every step in direction to division of the trade union unity of the working class brings such bitter consequences.

Forthly, it is the shift to the right in the middle strata caused by disappointment created by the RPP and terrorism. Hence, the path was paved for the reaction. The state of the middle strata in countries like ours continues to be a significant factor in realignment of the political forces.

Fifthly, it is the erosion of the bourgeois parliament and losing its value in the eye of the people. Prints of the crisis undoubtedly was reflected in the bourgeois parliament. The people, being fed up with the "MP markets" and chokes in the parliament were in difficulty of grasping the necessity of protecting parliamentary freedoms and positions.

Sixthly and lastly, it is the increasing reactionary role of the army in the political life. Martial law periods before September 12 1980 increased the activity of the army which was already playing an important role in the political life of the country through series of organs and applications. And the masses were convinced to this situation through mounting terrorism. The masses learned at a high cost that the "saving role" of the army was not the same as it was in 1920s but it was the demagogy of the ruling forces disseminated in accordance with the US doctrines and served for stopping the patriotic sections in the army to unite with the people.

#### For peace and national democracy

...Direct aim of the CPT is to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and form the government of national democratic forces. Our party believes that struggle waged for this aim and successes achieved will create favourable prerequisites of an anti-imperialist democratic revolution which is the first stage of a single revolutionary process.

National democracy as it was approved in the Plenary Meeting of the CC of the CPT in 1983 and now in the party programme can be realized through the

power of alliance of the working class a vanguard, the peasantry, middle strata, owners of small and medium capitalist enterprises. As a result of this struggle depending on the degree of leading power of the working class among other forces participating in the government and the strength of the positions of our party at that moment, our party will start to apply the programme of national democracy together with its allies.

In summary, the national democracy programme contains the following:

-Active contribution of Turkey for preservation of world peace, peaceful co-existence with the socialist countries and with all its neighbouring countries; to get free from all commitments introduced by the treaties with the USA and NATO, no opportunities to be given to the USA and NATO to use our soil and armed forces against third countries as a threat or for the aim of attack; application of the principle of solution of all disagreements with neighbouring countries only by peaceful means; development of multi-sided relations with all countries on the basis of mutual benefit and equality.

-Declaration of a general political amnesty; stop of persecutions; return of right of citizenship of political refugees and permitting their repatriation; annulment of the 1982 Constitution and preparation of a new constitution on the basis of democratic principles of the 1960 Constitution; by this constitution, giving whole power to the parliament which to be formed under democratic conditions; full realization of political, trade union freedoms, freedom of thought and consciousness; abolition of fascist trends; realization of lift of national oppression of the Kurdish people; clearance of the state apparatus and especially the army from fascists, remnants of the junta and from the agents of imperialism; reorganisation of the whole state apparatus on the basis of democratic foundations; assignment of the army with the task of protection of national independence and democratic achievements.

-Pursue of an economic and social policy which aims to give an end to economic dependence, to realize democratic land and agricultural reform, to end the privileges of domestic and foreign monopolies and the big bourgeoisie and restrict their activities, stop the activities of the mediator-speculative bourgeoisie, in the direction of industrialisation with leading role of state economic sector, to raise the economic, social, cultural level of people and just distribution of national income in favour of working people; decrease of extensive military expenditures imposed by NATO.

## STATEMENT

November 6 elections resulted with the heavy defeat of the Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP). The Prime Minister, B.Ulusu, some other ministers, pro-American and pro-fascist generals, persons from the police force were among the candidates of this party of the junta. The fascist dictatorship gave full support to the MDP. The overwhelming majority of the people, by not voting for this party who announced during the election campaign that it received the support of the junta, in reality expressed their protest against the fascist dictatorship, its three years of repression, executions, policy of slavery to the imperialism, armament and the anti-popular economic measures in accordance with the directives of the imperialist monopolies.

The people of Turkey showed its opposition to fascism and to the Evren's dictatorship.

As there was no other alternative before the people, majority of the votes were concentrated at other two parties which were also allowed to participate in the elections.

Moreover, in the November 6 elections, a considerable section of the citizens who were above the voting age were left outside the elections. One and a half million democrats who did not use their votes in the referendum for the Constitution were deprived of their right to vote, five million citizens who are in the voting age since 1977 were not enrolled in the register.

The Communist Party of Turkey and all other anti-junta forces were realized some of the goals which they have put forward before the elections, especially, they have succeeded to say "stop" to the number one party of the fascist junta. The CPT, with its statement dated July 18, 1983 called upon our people above all, to do everything for the defeat of the MDP, the junta party and for this aim, the communists, despite the heavy conditions of repression, have fulfilled their own tasks.

The CPT and other anti-junta forces at the same time called upon our people to use invalid votes. One million voters gave a positive response to this appeal. A significant number of the two million voters who did not use their votes, as a sign of protest did not go to the voting poles. The percentage of the invalid votes however was not at a such level enabling to thwart the election trick of the junta. The main reason of such a result is the repressive measures of the junta and its anti-communist demagogies. Evren addressed to the anti-communist prejudices disseminated by the bourgeois parties up to now, by means of such a propaganda that use of invalid votes in the elections would only be beneficial for the CPT and for the communists millions of voters who intended to use invalid votes have become the victims of anti-communism, and while protesting the junta party, at the same time voted for the reserve parties of the junta and fell into the trap of the collaborating oligarchy. Because of its class interests, the bourgeois opposition was frightened with a probable crisis to be appeared if the number of invalid votes was to be large. With their irresolute positions, they caused a division among the people against the junta, served for the reserve parties to gain a temporary victory and destroyed the opportunity of thwarting the election manoeuvre of the junta. At the same time, despite clear-cut proposals of the CPT, the left forces could not gather around a common platform before the elections. They could not show that the left has the power of being an alternative for the liberation of the people. In spite of some joint actions orga-

nised abroad, overwhelming majority of divided left groups did not carry out a serious campaign for the elections. Division and inactivity were the main factors choking the way of stopping the irresoluteness of the bourgeois opposition and prevented the masses to start an active struggle.

Now, the generals are trying to prove that so-called elections were democratic, because invalid votes were only 6 per cent and therefore, to cover up their defeat. The percentage of the invalid votes, not being at a higher level, gave an opportunity to the junta to carry out its demagogies about transition to democracy and hide itself behind a parliamentary cover and prepared an opportunity for the western imperialist countries who unopenly supported the junta, to confuse their public opinion with the allegation of "transition to democracy in Turkey".

In reality however, it is a clear truth that the November 6 elections by no means has a democratic character.

Despite the blow onto the MDP, large amount of votes gained by Özal (Chairman of the Motherland Party) does not reflect the true inclination of the people. Because Özal and his party addressed to millions of people who said 'no' to the policies of the junta and to its governments, by hiding its real face, presented its opposition to the MDP as an opposition the junta and cowardly hid its support of the regime and as compared with the MDP, did not differ any of the basic questions.

Now, the Motherland Party which makes preparations to be the party in power, similar to the MDP is loyal to the pro-September 12 regime and hostile to the democratic rights and freedoms, freedom of organisation in trade unions, collective bargaining, right to strike, right of organisation and freedom of press. The Constitution which chained the people was prepared in the period when T.Özal was the deputy Prime Minister. This party, same as the MDP is favour of putting the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the people, opening the state sector for the plunder of a handful holdings, opening the soil of the country, agricultural areas for the imperialist capital. January 24 economic measures which caused the bankruptcy of the middle strata, ruin of the people were applied by T.Özal, in accordance with the orders of the generals. Again same as the MDP, the Motherland Party is also for dragging Turkey into the nuclear war plans of Reaganites, for further armament, construction of new American bases on our soil, it is for stationing of aggressive Rapid Deployment Forces and new nuclear arms, for turning our country into a powder-keg. All treaties of betrayal, secretly signed between Turkey and the USA contain the signature of T. Özal together with other ministers of the junta.

Broad masses will understand better the true face of T. Özal very soon.

As it was seen, in November 6 elections, while the junta party was defeated, desire of the people to have a radical change the regime became materialized, fascism has not overthrown. The real power is still in the hands of the generals. T.Özal who will form the new government is the reserved person of the junta, its partner, an agent of the IMF and one of the representatives of the collaborating oligarchy.

Even if it is so, the government to be formed can not save itself from in its each step vacillating between the anti-popular policy of the junta and the desire of the millions of working people, small and medium sized capitalists, under the influence of contradicting interests of various imperialist states, between facism and the tendency of an ordinary pro-imperialist liberal regi-



me. November 6 elections can not solve the crisis of the regime. On the contrary, it will deepen it.

There is a historical opportunity before the working class, before our people and the national democratic forces. The opportunity of turning the success achieved against the MDP, the party of the fascist regime into a real victory against fascism. The generals will not hesitate from taking the revenge of the blow. Confusion with the attitude of Evren subduing the election results, eliding in the demagogues of T.Özal and his ilk means to endanger the interests of the country and of the people.

Now the task is to expose at every opportunity that the generals who hide themselves behind a parliamentarian mask holding the real power, to get prepared for a nation-wide resistance in order to give an end to fascism.

The tasks put forward by the 5. Congress of the CPT has become urgent tasks after the November 6 elections.

The CPT will support all democratic initiatives in the direction of giving an end to the Evren dictatorship, to have new Presidential and general elections.

The CPT will defend the demands of the workers, peasants, professionals, youth, women, of all small and medium sized capitalists, to be realised by the government to be formed, it will support fully all kinds of actions for these demands.

The CPT calls upon all our citizens who defeated the pro-junta MDP who was against a general political amnesty, to raise their voices for a political amnesty. The CPT calls upon everyone for defence of peace, for thwarting the plans on making our country the gendarmerie of the USA in the region, to stop the brutality in the Kurdistan of Turkey, to face the policy of turning the economy of Turkey into the feeder of the IMF and of a handful domestic monopolies and big land owners, to unite in a single front.

Our people who defeated the MDP, will also defeat the fascist junta!

November 8, 1983

Central Committee  
Communist Party of Turkey

## JOINT COMMUNIQUE AKEL-CPT.

On the invitation of the C.C.AKEL a two member delegation of the Communist Party of Turkey headed by the General Secretary of the Party comrade Haydar Kutlu visited Cyprus from the 1st till the 5th November 1983.

The delegation had a meeting at the offices of AKEL with the delegation of the C.C. of AKEL, the Party headed by the General Secretary of the AKEL comrade Ezekias Papaioannou, the Assistant General Secretary of AKEL c.Andreas Fantis, the member of the Polit Bureau and the Central Secretariat of AKEL c.Yiannis Katsourides, and the member of the Polit Bureau, Head of the International Department of the Party c.Donis Christofinis.

During the meeting which was held in a warm comradely atmosphere the two delegations exchanged information on the work of the two parties and the struggle of their respective peoples. They also discussed the burning international problems. On all cases the views of both delegations were identical.

They expressed deep concern about the deterioration of the international

situation due to the increased aggressiveness of imperialism headed by the USA Reagan Administration. This is shown very clearly by the recent aggression against Grenada, the aggression against Lebanon under the disguise of the multinational "peace" force, and above all it is manifested by the preparations going on by USA and NATO countries to deploy the Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Western Europe in defiance of the growing protest of the peoples of the world.

AKEL delegation expressed its sympathies for the victims of the recent earthquake in Turkey and its solidarity with the CPT. and the people of Turkey in their struggle against the fascist junta which turned the country into a series of USA and NATO bases and into a huge prison for its own people.

AKEL delegation congratulated the guest delegation for the successful realisation of the recent Fifth Congress of the CPT.

It condemned the fraud "elections" organised by the junta which is only meant to cheat the international public opinion and give a civil cover to the fascist regime.

The delegation of the CPT reaffirmed its solidarity with AKEL and the people of Cyprus as a whole in their struggle for the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation forces and all foreign troops, for the liquidation of the foreign military bases and monitoring stations and for the complete demilitarisation of Cyprus.

It supported the initiative of UN Secretary General Mr.De Cuellar and his proposals which should be supported in order to make the intercommunal talks substantial and fruitful in solving the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the relevant UN resolutions and the High-Level Agreements reached

Both delegations also supported the convening of an International Conference in the framework of UN to solve the international aspect of the Cyprus problem and establish new guarantees by the Security Council for the independence, sovereignty and nonalignment of Cyprus.

Both delegations condemned the aggressions of imperialism and expressed solidarity with the peoples of Grenada, Salvador and Nicaragua as well as of the neighbouring Lebanese and Palestinian peoples fighting against USA-Israeli aggression.

They expressed their support with all the peoples of the world fighting for peace national independence, democracy and social progress.

Both delegations stressed that the fight for peace to avert a nuclear war is the supreme task of all sane people of our planet. For this the united actions of all peace-loving forces is necessary now more than ever.

In order to stop the aggressiveness and war mongering of imperialism the unity of all revolutionary forces is imperative and first of all the unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian, internationalism.

The two delegations condemned any form of anticommunism-especially antisovietism as detrimental to the antiimperialist struggle for peace freedom and social progress.

Both delegations expressed deep satisfaction for the fraternal relations and excellent cooperation existing between their two Parties and stressed their determination for further strengthening these bonds for the sake of their common lofty ideals of scientific socialism and for the benefit of their respective peoples and peace in the region and the world.

November 4, 1983

### TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Very esteemed comrades,

On behalf of the communists of Turkey and of the working class of our country, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey greets with joy the Soviet communists and the Soviet people on the 66. anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Today, the Soviet people who carried out the October Revolution to the victory, the revolution that opened a new age in the history of the humanity, advances along the path of maturation of the developed socialism multi-sidedly and construction of communism under the leadership of the CPSU. Each step taken by the Sovietman along the way of materialization of the goals anticipated by Karl Marx and became the desire of the mankind for centuries is the source of strength and aspiration for the peoples of the world.

The Soviet Union mobilises all its strength for preservation of peace, safeguarding the mankind from annihilation in a thermonuclear war. The CPT highly evaluates the peace-loving, decisive policy, constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union as it was once more presented by Y.V.Andropov, General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU in this statement dated September 28, 1983. This policy is the strongest base for development of relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union, on the foundations of principles of peaceful co-existence, good neighbourhod and cooperation. In our country in which a regime that approves the aggressive and adventurist line drawn by the US imperialism is in power, understanding of the significance of these initiatives and proposals form the point of our people and the country has a vital importance.

The 5. Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey has put forward the task of making distribution for presevation of peace, to give an end to the role of Turkey being the gendarmerie of the USA in the Middle East and in order to realize national democracy, to form the unity of the broadest forces. The 5. Congress which approved a new programmeses and a statute of the party on the basis of "Mustafa Suphi, 100. Year Theses" has approved a series of important resolutions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Esteemed comrades,

The Communist Party of Turkey has fraternal ties with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian internationalism. Congratulations to the Soviet people on the occasion of the Great October Revolution.

Long live Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the CPSU!

Long live the friendship and solidarity among the peoples!

October 30, 1983

With our communist greetings,  
Haydar KUTLU  
General Secretary  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of Turkey

### TO THE 23rd CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the communists and the working class of Turkey, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey conveys its revolutionary greetings to the 23rd Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Your Congress takes place at a time when the US imperialism seeks to establish its hegemony all over the world and military superiority over the socialist countries, Reagan Administration, using nuclear blackmail, threatens with the NATO decision of deploying new US missiles to Western Europe threatens world peace seriously, Reagan Administration who attacks the right of sovereignty and freedom of the peoples by every means, overt or covert, is the most fervant supporter of the repression and tortures against the working class and all progressive people and democrats by the military fascist dictatorship in Turkey which is regarded as its springboard in the Near East.

Your Congress takes place on days when the crisis in the USA deepens, the militarist policy dwells millions of people to hunger and unemployment and the working class and democratic minded people set up the struggle against this policy. The Communist Party of Turkey expresses its solidarity with the communists of the USA who wage a heroic struggle for the defence of world peace, for the rights of the working people against rascism, for the unity of the working class, for friendship and solidarity among the peoples and against anti-Sovietism.

Comrades,

The 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey which was convened a short time ago put forward the task of making an active contribution to the preservation of world peace and achieve the unity of the forces as broad as possible in order to overthrow fascism in power in Turkey. The 5th Congress concluded the discussion of the theses dedicated to Mustafa Suphi, the founder and the first chairman of our party, approved the new party programme, new statute and adopted a series of resolutions.

The Communist Party of Turkey has fraternal ties with the Communist Party of the United States of America on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of Turkey wishes great success to the 23rd Convention of the Communist Party of United States of America.

Long live the Communist Party of the United States of America!

Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

November 10, 1983

Haydar KUTLU  
General Secretary  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of Turkey

### TO COMRADE MEIR VILNER GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

Esteemed comrade Meir Vilner,

On behalf of the communists of Turkey, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey conveys to You its best wishes on the occasion of Your 65th birthday.

The communists of Turkey know You as a persistent defender of the rights

of the working people of Israel and as a fervant internationalist. Our party appreciates highly the struggle waged under complex conditions by the Communist Party of Israel along the line drawn by its 19th Congress in 1981, for the defence and extension of the achievements of the working class and the toilers, against the "strategic alliance" between the Israeli rulers and the USA and for a lasting and just peace in the region.

The Communist Party of Turkey has ties with the Communist Party of Israel on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Esteemed comrade Meir Vilner,

On Your 65th birthday, we wish You good health, happiness and great success in Your responsible duty.

October, 24, 1983

With our communist greetings  
Haydar KUTLU  
General Secretary  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of Turkey

**TO COMRADE ALVARO CUNHAL  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY**

Esteemed comrade Alvaro Cunhal,

On behalf of the communists of Turkey and the working class of our country, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey conveys to You its cordial feelings on the occasion of Your 70th birthday.

You joined the communist movement at a very young age. You organised solidarity actions with the People's Front of Spain. For years You waged and lead the struggle under fascism, under illegal conditions. You were arrested many times. You have not allowed the communist moral to be trampled upon. After succeeding to escape from the prisons of fascism, You dedicated all Your strength to the struggle of Portuguese people against fascism, and for bread, freedom and independence. The Portuguese Communist Party, marching in the frontmost line of the struggle waged to defend the achievements of the April Revolution, under Your leadership has become an influential, embracing masses and determining party for solution of every nation-wide question. The communists of Turkey know You as a fervant patriot and a persistent internationalist.

Esteemed comrade Alvaro Cunhal,

On Your 70th birthday we wish You good health, happiness, well-being and new successes in Your responsible duty.

November 10, 1983

With our communist greetings  
Haydar KUTLU  
General Secretary  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of Turkey