

# United Front

**ÇÖZÜM**  
**ANTI-EMPERYALIST**  
**BİRLEŞİK CEPHE!**  
**Η ΛΥΣΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΝΑ**  
**ANTI-ΙΜΠΕΡΙΑΛΙΣΤΙΚΟ**  
**ΜΕΤΩΠΟ!**

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The Socialist Party of Cyprus has announced a new political campaign at a press meeting.

## THE SOLUTION: ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT!

■ The Socialist Party of Cyprus (SPC) has brought to the attention of the public opinion its alternative solution proposal regarding the Cyprus problem at a press meeting organised on 28 August. At the press meeting, where also an evaluation of the talks carried out by the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders within the framework of finding a solution to the Cyprus problem were made, it was stated that the SPC does not have any expectations out of this process of talks. In the statement, where attention was drawn to the contradiction between the interests of the imperialist powers that have hegemony over Cyprus and the interests of the Cypriot people, it was stated that the only way removing the problem was through the anti-imperialist struggle which the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot people will carry out.

■ At the press meeting, information was given about the Anti-Imperialist united Front Government program which the SPC sees the only way in resolving the Cyprus problem and announced the start of a new political campaign. In the alternative programme proposed by the SPC, there are expositions on ownership, citizenship, guarantorships and British bases, as well as Turkish and Greek military forces and bases.

■ At the press meeting, the new logo of the Party was presented. It was said that the new and old logo of the Party would be both used together.

■ You may find further detailed information about the campaign in the internal pages.

# The Full Text of the Press Release of the Socialist Party of Cyprus

We are publishing the full text that has been read at the press meeting organised by the Socialist Party of Cyprus.



“Cypriot workers and toilers, all progressives and democrats, esteemed members of the press,

Having evaluated the latest developments in relation to the Cyprus problem, the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Cyprus (SPC) has found it a necessity to share our views with the public opinion regarding the efforts in solving the Cyprus problem and in relation to the struggle of uniting our country again.

In the conditions of imperialism, the SPC states the impossibility of a solution of the relations between nations based on peace, equality, freedom and solidarity between nations. Breaking the chains of imperialism in Cyprus is a necessity for the solution of the Cyprus problem which is a national problem.

The present day capitalism, that is the imperialist-capitalism forms a chain of a world states. In order to be free, in order to solve the Cyprus problem, it is necessary to break this chain and breakaway from the world imperialist system. And further, in order to achieve this result it is necessary to end the power of the classes that tie their existence and lives on world imperialism. Thus our proposition of solution is based and rises on the basis of this understanding.

The left-wing parties in our country, except SPC, reject this understanding. On the one hand, these parties, AKEL and CTP, rejects forming a unity only with the left-wing parties and become a left-wing power, and on the other hand, in the present conditions, they claim that they will solve the Cyprus problem, while being part of the bourgeois coalition governments and acting together with the bourgeoisie and foreign powers,

Let them solve it. The Socialist Party of Cyprus

will not take any step to prevent such a solution. The SPC will not take any step in preventing a bourgeois-imperialist solution, as long as it is not reached through a war between imperialist powers. The cause of disagreements among bourgeoisies will not be shifted onto our shoulders.

For this reason we repeat again: they cannot solve it and will not solve it.

We do not take sides between bourgeoisies of different nations and in conflicts between parties tailing behind bourgeoisies and defend consistently under every condition. . At the same time, we expose under every condition their adaptations to imperialist impositions, that includes their seeking of support of foreign imperialists

There cannot be a solution because AKEL and CTP agreed to. What's more, even if their bourgeois governments which they are part of it agree, never will it mean a solution. As long as the northern and southern parts of Cyprus remain a consistent part of world imperialist system, on the other hand, the powerful powers of the imperialist system unite and impose on the bourgeois-imperialist powers which are active in Cyprus, that is a new imperialist imposition would be possible. Otherwise, it will not happen. And we, the SPC, expose such a solution.

Within this framework, the SPC, has decided to start a campaign with aim of advancing further the struggle it carries on for the establishment of an Anti-Imperialist United Front Government which regards it as the only way to find a solution in the interests of the working class primarily and all other oppressed and exploited classes.

In this context, as the Socialist party of Cyprus, we make the following call to whole working

class of Cyprus and to the whole other oppressed and exploited classes and their organisations which are or claim to be their representatives:

1. The SPC is a party that struggles on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist line with the aim of realising the socialist revolution and building communism.

2. The SPC, does not believe that a “member of EU, bi-zonal, bi-regional federal Cyprus” which would be realised on the basis of talks within the framework of UN between two leaders will bring a solution to the Cyprus problem. This model can only be used as a periodical agreement between imperialist parties. However, even such an agreement does not seem to be possible under the present conditions in the country and the world. The only way to produce a real solution to the Cyprus problems by the establishment of the power of the working class and the toiling classes of Cyprus that will be realised by the anti-imperialist struggle.

3. The SPC, carrying on the struggle to be the leading party of the working class, besides its communist programme which has determined its own political line, is proposing the Anti-Imperialist United Front Government programme as a form of alliance to the classes and strata, such as petty-bourgeois shop-keepers and peasantry and their organisational bodies.

4. The SPC proposes to use as a means to propagate this programme in every type of election platform that will take place in the north and south with such an alliance which will be formed on the anti-imperialist basis. On this basis, the SPC calls upon all oppressed, exploited sections and their representative and claim-to-be representative bodies to enter into an alliance in the elections that will be held in February 2010.

5. The SPC, is conscious of the fact that there is a need for active support of the anti-imperialist forces of all the regional and world countries, primarily of Turkey, Greece and Britain in order to establish and protect the Anti-Imperialist United Front Government of the anti-imperialist forces in Cyprus, due the limited power of our country's population and other dynamics, their imperialist hegemony is significant over our



country. Therefore, the SPC will increasingly continue its work in order to develop its links with the progressive, anti-imperialist bodies in these countries and gain their support.

6. The SPC will publish a newspaper in Turkish and Greek with the name “Anti-Imperialist United Front” which will be widely distributed all over Cyprus in the near future aiming to

bring it to the attention of all sections and raise the organisation around this the proposal of the Anti-Imperialist United Front (AIUF) programme that will be declared at this press meeting and increase the organisation around its framework.

7. The programme of the AIUF of the SPC is an alliance proposal between the working class and other anti-imperialist sections and this proposal is open to discussion and development provided it is torn off from its anti-imperialist basis. In this context, we will have exchange of opinions in the near future with all those progressive-democrat sections who have given us a positive response. In these discussions, the establishment of an anti-imperialist alliance in the February 2010 elections will be put on the agenda.

8. Again, in order that our proposals are better understood by the sections of the people around this framework, the SPC will organise panels in the districts of Cyprus, both in the north and south and informative visits in the village centers.

9. Besides the local bodies, the SPC will undertake to organise a meeting or a series of meetings with organisations that approach positively to such an alliance by increasing the links with the international anti-imperialist organisations.”

The press meeting continued by the stating that “in this context, the SPC make the following call to all progressive and democratic bodies” and presented the contents of the Anti-Imperialist United Front proposed by the Socialist Party of Cyprus under the heading “The Only Solution”. You can find the relevant information regarding this programme on Page 4 under the title “Water Cannot be Squeezed out of Stone.”

# WATER CANNOT BE SQUEEZED OUT OF STONE

In our article titled “Annan Plan—Strategy and Tactics”, which we explained the strategy and tactics of our Party in the period of Annan Plan campaign, we had finished our article as follows:

“If the Annan Plan is obtained our role in this must be acknowledged. If the Annan Plan is not obtained it must be known that there is not any error on our part for that result.

Everyone should know that water cannot be squeezed out of stone!”

The aforesaid stone is the strategy, the proposition which claims to solve the Cyprus problem by establishing a “federal Cyprus by and as a result of the negotiations between two community leaders, under the United Nations auspices, i.e., under the guarantorship of three bourgeois-imperialist countries, a federal and member of European Union Cyprus with three guarantors, with two British bases, with many English listening stations and with three foreign armies.”

In brief, this proposed solution which we may name it as the strategy of a “federal Cyprus under the auspices of United Nations and a member of European Union” is a bourgeois-imperialist solution proposal.

Being as such, the proposed solution of the parties, trade-unions and their leaders are also leaders of the bourgeois-imperialist reformist parties and trade unions who have no other strategy other than carrying out this work within the framework of bourgeois-imperialist order.

Under the conditions of imperialism and bourgeois order, the solution of the relations between nations on the basis of peace, equality and liberty, on the basis of solidarity between nations is impossible. For the solution of the Cyprus problem which is a national question, breaking down the imperialist chain in Cyprus is a necessity.

The present day capitalism, that is the imperialist-capitalism, forms a chain of a world states. In order to be free, in order to solve the Cyprus problem, it is necessary to break this chain and breakaway from the world imperialist system which is the source of the problems between nations, that is the source of national problems. And further, in order to achieve this result it is necessary to end the power of the classes that tie their existence and lives to world imperialism. Thus, our proposition of the solution is based and rises on the basis of this understanding.

## SOLUTION WITH A GOVERNMENT OF AKEL AND CTP

In the period prior to Annan Plan, we proposed to all left-wing parties in the north and south that propose to solve the Cyprus problem within the bourgeois-imperialist framework to come together and put their proposals on a concrete, detailed and common basis. We said let us win the elections on the basis of a policy that takes the responsibility to implement this common proposition and take power together and implement this common proposition.

Of course, sound came out of the stone, but nothing came out our parties.

The situation was the same during the Annan Plan period.

In reality this has always been the same. That is, the left-wing parties which have the bourgeois-imperialist solution proposition have never come

together and thus have not united our people. And they cannot unite them. The interests of the people cannot be defended by tailing behind the bourgeois and imperialists. It cannot be united. Common decisions cannot be reached. The different and hostile conflict of interests of bourgeoisie render this impossible. Cyprus Problem cannot be solved.

Now that the two parties; AKEL and CTP, which are the largest parties among these parties are in power, everything is brought upside down.

By rejecting to form a unity of the left-wing parties and to become a left-wing power, these parties, AKEL and CTP, assume that by being part of the bourgeois governments under the present conditions, they would solve the Cyprus problem by acting together with the bourgeoisie and foreign powers.

Let them solve it. The Socialist Party of Cyprus (SPC) will not take a single step to support such a solution. The SPC will not take a single step in preventing a bourgeois-imperialist solution, as long as it is not reached through a war between imperialist powers. The cause of disagreements among bourgeois will not be shifted onto our shoulders.

SPC will not take a single step to support such an imaginary solution between two peoples, that would create hostility between two peoples if obtained by an imperialist imposition. Because it sees this so called solution efforts as unachievable.

However this basic fact is known to everyone:

They cannot and will not solve it.





We do not take sides in the conflicts between bourgeois of different nations and between the parties tailing behind bourgeois and defend our impartiality consistently, in today's Cyprus. At the same time, we expose their adaptations to imperialist impositions, that includes their seeking of support of foreign imperialists under every condition.

There cannot be a solution because AKEL and CTP agreed to. What's more, even if their bourgeois governments which they are part of it agree, never will it mean a solution. As long as the northern and southern parts of Cyprus remain a consistent part of world imperialist system, and if and only if the big powers of the imperialist system unite and impose a solution upon the bourgeois-imperialist powers that are active in Cyprus, then that is a new imperialist imposition that would be possible. Otherwise, it will not happen.

We declare that such a solution is a bourgeois imperialist one and we expose it. We call upon our people to unite against such a solution, and unite for a solution of their own, organise and take power through elections in order to implement the anti-imperialist united front government programme. We are obliged to do this under every situation. Every moment this is not done is a moment of betrayal against the policy of the Party.

### **THE ONLY SOLUTION**

The only way to solve the Cyprus Problem is to establish a government that will implement the Anti-Imperialist United Front Government programme of the Socialist Party of Cyprus (SPC) and the implementation of this programme with the power originating from the people, and also with the support of the peoples of other countries; the peoples of Greece, Turkey and Britain.

### **Our Anti-Imperialist United Front Programme**

1. Annulment of all the rights and negation of all the demands of foreign powers.
2. Nationalisation without compensation of all the properties of the big bourgeoisie who, through their alliance with the above mentioned imperialist powers have betrayed the Greek and Turkish people of Cyprus.
3. Nationalisation without compensation of all the

land and the properties on such land of the big land owners, including the Church and the Vaqif. Nationalisation without compensation of all the land and the properties on such land of the military bases of Turkey, Greece and England. Distribution (to use) of all these lands and properties to the Greek and Turkish people of Cyprus who have lost their personal property as a result of wars and genocides in Cyprus, to the landless peasants and homeless workers and state employees.

4. To guarantee the national rights of Cypriot people from both nationalities. The prohibition of all the organisations and activities that ferment national and religious enmities between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots and all other ethnic minorities.

5. To take all measures needed to better the living and working conditions of the workers and the labouring masses of Cyprus who shall win and preserve the anti-imperialist united front government.

6. The prohibition of establishment of organisations based on national-religious differences among the working class of Cyprus and prohibition of division of working class organisations on the basis of nationality-religion.

7. To give the right to become the citizen to all foreign and illegal workers fighting for this programme in the new Cyprus, which will be established after the victory.

8. Provision of the freedom of settlement, movement and ownership in accordance with this programme.

### **LET US ESTABLISH THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT ORGANISATIONS IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT THIS PROGRAMME!**

### **LET US DEVELOP OUR LINKS WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF GREECE, TURKEY AND BRITAIN!**

#### **Abbreviations:**

CTP — Republican Turkish Party

AKEL — The Progressive Party of the Working People

SPC — The Socialist Party of Cyprus

Party of Cyprus  
in August 2003 in  
relation to the  
Annan Plan for  
the better  
understanding of  
the position of  
the party.

# THE ANNAN PLAN, STRATEGY AND TACTICS

## I. STRATEGY

There are two basic strategies proposed to solve the Cyprus Problem.

### **1. The realisation of the anti-imperialist united front government and through that the implementation of the programme of the anti-imperialist united front government.**

From the point of the implementation of this strategy in Cyprus, there are problems that arise from the division of the country. But the main question is, even if this front is obtained over the whole country, its power will be limited with respect to the bourgeois-imperialist front. This will be truer for the united front in this or that part of the country on its own. If the bourgeois-imperialist front facing this front is not divided and weakened, even if it is realised over the whole country, let alone the possibility of the success of a consistent united front that would be realised in a single part on its own, its chance of being successful is either nothing or almost nothing in comparison to the bourgeois-imperialist front. Therefore, not only because of the general thesis that true internationalism is the only road to emancipation, but at the same time because of this local and selfish reason, the Cypriot revolutionaries know very well that they have to be the most consistent internationalists. They will do everything in their power for the overthrow of the bourgeois-imperialist front, for the power of the working class and their allies in all bourgeois countries that are elements of this imperialist united front, i.e., for the weakening of the bourgeois front that is facing them. This is the fundamental thought behind their policy of not limiting the anti-imperialist united front within Cyprus alone, and developing it in all bourgeois countries that take an active party in the life of Cyprus.

This thought has never, even for a moment, led to the idea of refraining from doing our utmost in our country for the emancipation of the working class of the world. This is because the Cypriot revolutionaries know very well the character of imperialism. Imperialism is not weakened only through revolutions, the working class and its allies assuming power. Imperialism is also weakened due to its tendency to dominate the world, because

this tendency drives it to war against its rivals, leads to war between imperialists. The whole set of relations, the thread of relations between these barbarians also weaken them. This also means that it is known to us very well, that apart from the indirect and not so important support we would certainly receive from our brothers abroad, but without their direct support, that is without their serious revolutionary efforts, without them obtaining revolutionary power in their own countries, conditions may still arise for the Cypriot revolutionaries to achieve power through the united front in Cyprus. For us, the slogan of the anti-imperialist united front government is the slogan of the moment, which is the only road for the emancipation of Cyprus. This front must be established, and the power must be achieved by taking into consideration the concrete situation of the surrounding countries and the world. We shall do this. We shall break the imperialist chain in



Cyprus. We shall carry out our duty towards the working class of the world and all oppressed peoples. (A quotation from Cyprus Question booklet.)

Using the present day relations and contradictions among the imperialists to weaken them is a matter of having diplomatic strength. As long as this does not exist, it is impossible to influence the relations between imperialists for our own interests. When we have our own Soviet state, we will also use diplomacy. For the time being, we have to limit ourselves with observation of their relations, observe them carefully, and take them into consideration while planning our actions.

However, amongst us, in effecting the relations amongst different sections of our class, and representatives of our class, the situation is different. To revolutionaries of the bourgeois countries that are active in Cyprus, we have proposed many times to actively engage themselves in Cyprus, in our policies, contributing to our strength by showing us our mistakes, if they see any. (Calls we have made to the left-wing organisations of Greece and Turkey.) We propose this to them yet again. We have also told them many times, that if they do not agree with our policies, they can, and should work in Cyprus in accordance with their own policies. We have only, simply, and humbly asked them, that the work they do in Cyprus is based on united front tactics, and that they work in conjunction with us. We believe that, in this field, up to the present, and as regards

Cyprus, the revolutionaries of Turkey (and all revolutionaries in Turkey without any distinction of nationality) have failed. The same thing applies to the revolutionaries of Britain and Greece. The other side of this coin is that we have to carry out the same type of work in these countries too. We have to admit that in this respect we have also failed. We have also not done sufficient work regarding the activities of revolutionary elements of these countries, contribute towards their strengthening, help them, so that the working classes and their allies in these countries assume power. This area of work is not the same as the previous one of diplomacy. We have the possibility of influencing the developments in this area directly. We have to be more active. We can have success here. We have to succeed here!

## **2. The Strategy of establishing, under the auspices of the United Nations, a Federal Cyprus that is a member of the European Union.**

As it is known, we define this strategy as one of the proposal for a bourgeois-imperialist solution to the Cyprus Problem, as a bourgeois-imperialist strategy. And we describe the parties that base their activities on this strategy as the parties in the bourgeois-imperialist camp.

Because of this conclusion of ours, the parties defending this strategy are very angry with us. There are even those who use our conclusions to prove the impossibility of collaboration with us.

Why?

What is wrong with this conclusion? They do not reply to this question!

The concrete form of this strategy is the Annan Plan. Is not this plan an imperialist plan? The British bases are protected. The military bases of Turkey and Greece are protected. The guarantorship of Turkey, Greece and Britain is protected. Whose plan is this? Of the United Nations! Who accepted to keep the areas of the British bases 'outside the E.U. acquisition'? European Union! Who declares that the Annan Plan, that includes all these elements, is a solution? European Union! And does someone have to be an astrologer to determine that the European Union is a union of the states that is ruled by the imperialists and bourgeoisies.

This is a strategy that proposes to solve the Cyprus problem by keeping Cyprus as a consistent part of the imperialist world system. It is a bourgeois-imperialist strategy. It is impossible for us to abandon this conclusion. It is a mistake to engage in politics by deviating from the truth. It does not lead to good results.

While this proposal is a strategic proposal from the point of the above-mentioned parties, from our point of view it is a means of a tactic.

## **II. TACTICS**



1. From the point of our tactics, the determining issue at the moment is our attitude towards this proposal. This proposal, because it is considered as **a strategic aim** by all left parties-except us-, also defines their character as reformist.

Firstly, let us consider the various stages of our attitude towards this proposal.

**1. The first stage** was to propagate the policy of the anti-imperialist front among the Cypriot revolutionaries, and create from amongst them revolutionaries who have grasped and accepted this strategy. At this stage, we have attacked this bourgeois-imperialist strategy of the left parties, only ideologically. This was our main weapon for establishing our basis and winning the revolutionaries. This weapon of ideological attack is still valid and necessary. It is obvious that we cannot dispose of it.

**The gain of this stage** is the formation of cadres who have been trained about the character of imperialism and about the necessity of fighting against it.

**2. The second stage is divided into three stages in itself.**

**A) The first of these is the period of our proposal to set up "This Country Is Ours Party"** (STC, No. 67). In this period, our main aim was the revolutionary elements working in the ranks of other left parties that work on the basis of the above-mentioned strategy. Showing them the impossibility of uniting the working class and revolutionaries of Cyprus if this proposal (the solution of Cyprus Problem in the bourgeois-imperialist domain) is taken as a strategic aim, showing them the impossibility of this on such a bourgeois basis formed the basis of our activity. Therefore, the following proposal was made to all the left parties: Let us come together and prepare your proposal as a detailed proposal. *Leave us aside, since you are the ones who's strategy is to achieve this proposal, you come together and formulate your proposal in a concrete and detailed form. We will support you. Let us present this common proposal to the people of the whole island, and by winning the elections implement it together in practice.*

Of course, there was no response from our left parties.

**These are the gains of this stage:** The strategic proposal of our left parties is not a good means of uniting the left in Cyprus, especially the revolutionaries. It is useless as a basis of unifying our people. And the Socialist Truth in Cyprus (STC) is not a sectarian and narrow political movement that acts by insisting on its own strategy, jumping over the reform stages and excluding everybody. It is ready to compromise for unity. It is ready to do everything for unity. It is not the STC who is not ready for unity but our left parties. And the main reason for their inability to

unity is their strategy; this the bourgeois-imperialist policy makes unity impossible. This policy (the solution of Cyprus Problem in the bourgeois-imperialist domain) is not suitable for establishing unity, not even in the north, let alone in the whole country!

This period also coincides with the period of the beginning of the mass movements on the basis of **This Country Is Ours Platform**. It also coincides, in connection with our tactic mentioned above, with the period of increasing the possibility of cooperation with the political movements whose strategic aim is within this framework; introducing the slogan of **'This Country is Ours, We shall Rule'** as an agitation slogan amongst the masses utilising this cooperation; to begin the transformation of the narrow work amongst the cadres into agitation activity among the masses.

**This is another gain of this period.** The leading cadres of STC have begun taking their place among the leading cadres of the masses! They have started presenting a revolutionary direction to the masses.

**B) The second of these is the period of the beginning of the last talks and the emergence of the Annan Plan. In this period, the left parties, not taking into account our above-mentioned proposal, that is, not transforming 'This Country is Ours Platform' into a party, did not organise the masses to achieve a definite plan, even if a bourgeois-imperialist plan. Instead, and as they do all the time, they have propagated the idea that talks would end with an agreement. This is a period, when the mass hysteria of "they will sign the agreement" perpetrated by all these parties even penetrated our ranks; and when, we had to defend the view, arrived by truthfully analysing the present concrete relations, that an agreement would not be signed, that the bourgeoisies would not be able to solve the Cyprus problem even on their own bourgeois basis. Our cadres have come out of this period with the strengthened confidence in our policies.**

This period, at the same time, was the period when our activities to propagate the following idea among the masses and the leaders that work amongst the masses on the basis of the above strategy, have accelerated: **bourgeois reforms, bourgeois improvements can only be a by-product of the revolutionary struggle of the working class. Unless all citizens of Cyprus unite, take up this issue into their own hands, declare that This Country is Ours, our problems will not be solved.** This period was a period when we our possibilities to agitate the following idea has increased significantly: **If, mass meetings, "start a fire for peace" activities remain only as a means of putting pressure on**



the bourgeois negotiators, if the masses are not organized to obtain their objectives when they are expending this tremendous potential, if they are not organized, and their representatives' organisation that would undertake to sign this agreement is not formed, (the proposal of a Peace Council (STC, No. 87) that would be formed by representatives who would be elected by the masses that attended these activities and that would undertake to sign this agreement), this agreement would not be signed.

The masses have seen the correctness of our proposals through their own experience. They have seen that results cannot be achieved with the old leaders and using old methods. They have seen that if they do not have their own representatives, if they do not give the power to them, it is impossible to achieve any improvement, any agreement even under the bourgeois conditions.

The gain of this period has been the establishment of the **Socialist Party of Cyprus** that has undertaken to implement the strategy and tactics developed by the Socialist Truth In Cyprus (STC); winning supporters, from among the ranks of the parties which have accepted this bourgeois-imperialist strategy, to the idea of unity of all left and pro-solution forces, winning power, and thus achieving the reforms.

C) **The third stage is the present stage that we are in.** This is the period after the agreement became impossible at La Hay; after the 'somewhat tried' referendum efforts by the masses -for the Annan Plan- were prevented. This is the period of uniting all pro-solution forces around the slogan "to transform the elections in December 2003 into a referendum", and relying on the support of the people, and with the power driven from this support, winning the elections, and forming a government that will sign the agreement.

This is the period of defending the following idea against all its enemies: unity, organising by

uniting, winning the elections by uniting and organising; by winning the elections, achieve a government that relies on the active support of the people, and thus, achieve the agreement that corresponds to an improvement in the present bourgeois-imperialist conditions.

This is the period of defeating all leaders and representatives of the parties, trade union and mass organisations who do not have any real political power because they are not able to unite and organise our people for an active political life, do not rely for their political power on the militant and organised forces of our people, and therefore, are not capable of obtaining even the most basic bourgeois 'reforms', i.e. even the presently proposed agreement.

This is the period of victory for the idea that the attainment of even the bourgeois reforms, let alone the removal of the bourgeois-imperialist conditions, can only be achieved with the support of the forces of the united people, organised and brought to the positions of determined struggle against the reactionary bourgeois forces facing them. This is the period of defeating all the forces that obstruct the victory of this idea; those who divide the unity, those who block our people starting to work determinedly against the reactionary forces for their own demands, to elect its own representatives, to transform the elections to a complete show of force between reactionaries on the one side, and peace forces on the other, i.e., transforming the elections into a referendum through a completely determined and conscious effort by themselves.

We have not the slightest doubt that we shall come out of this period successfully, and increase the possibilities and skills of our party, class and people for the defeat of imperialism.

II. The objective of our tactics is the formation of the anti-imperialist united front



**and carrying it to the power. Any activity that does not directly or indirectly serve this objective, which leads to divert the attention away from our objective, is not useful, but harmful.** If our activities do not increase the possibilities and our skills in order to obtain this objective, disperse the ranks of the enemies, strengthen our ranks, drawing the working class and masses to the revolutionary positions, increasing the possibilities and skills in organising them for revolutionary results, then it means that we are committing a mistake.

**In the past, we were not taken seriously much, when we declared that the parties which have the strategy of a “federal Cyprus, member of the European Union under the auspices of United Nations” as a bourgeois-imperialist proposal of solution, as the bourgeois-imperialist reform parties which do not have any other strategies than carrying out work under the bourgeois-imperialist conditions.**

Now that the strategy of a “federal Cyprus, member of the European Union under the auspices of United Nations” has been presented concretely in the form of the Annan Plan by the United Nations, after the bourgeois-imperialist character of this plan became obvious, then, it began to be taken us seriously. The correctness of our determination has begun to be accepted among the revolutionaries, even among the ranks of members and leaders of parties, trade-unions and mass organisations which have adapted themselves to reformist work.

**In the past, we were not also taken seriously very much, when we declared the impossibility of resolving national problems based on peaceful, equality, freedom of international relations and international solidarity in the conditions of imperialism, the necessity of breaking the imperialist chain in Cyprus in**

**order solve the Cyprus Problem that is also a national problem.**

Now that the strategy of a “federal Cyprus, member of the European Union under the auspices of United Nations” has been presented concretely in the form of the Annan Plan by the United Nations, after the bourgeois-imperialist character of this plan have become obvious, but even then, the bourgeois-imperialist parties could not even make this agreement, began to take us into consideration. The correctness of our determination has begun to be accepted among the revolutionaries, even among the ranks of members and leaders of parties, trade unions and mass organisations.

In the past, we were not taken seriously much, when we declared that the strategy of a “federal Cyprus, member of the European Union under the auspices of United Nations” as a bourgeois-imperialist proposal of solution, which is a good proposal in the direction reforming the relations between nations in Cyprus; even obtaining such a reform should not be left to the bourgeoisie, the forces that want to obtain this reform should take this reform seriously, shaping it themselves, that it was necessary drawing the masses on both sides of the country into a revolutionary struggle which do not have any other strategies than carrying out work in the bourgeois-imperialist conditions.

Now that the strategy of a “federal Cyprus, member of the European Union under the auspices of United Nations” has been presented concretely in the form of the Annan Plan by the United Nations, after the bourgeois-imperialist character of this plan has become obvious, but still when these parties could not make even this agreement, the correctness of this deduction has begun to be accepted among the revolutionaries, even among the ranks of members and leaders of the parties, trade-unions and mass organisations

which have adapted themselves to reformist work.

In the past, we were not taken seriously much, when we declared that the strategy of a “federal Cyprus, member of the European Union under the auspices of United Nations” as a bourgeois-imperialist proposal of solution, which is a good proposal in the direction reforming the relations between nations in Cyprus; that a bourgeois-imperialist basis could not be a good basis for uniting the parties, trade-unions and mass parties, that this basis is divisive because of its character.

**Now that the strategy of a “federal Cyprus, member of the European Union under the auspices of United Nations” has been presented concretely in the form of the Annan Plan by the United Nations, and that these parties, leave aside in the whole country, even only in the north, could not unite on the basis of this plan, the correctness of this deduction has begun to be accepted among the revolutionaries, even among the ranks of members and leaders of the parties, trade-unions and mass organisations which have adapted themselves to reformist work.**

In the past, we were not taken seriously much, when we said that the parties with their strategy; a “federal Cyprus, member of the European Union under the auspices of United Nations” while they were extremely undermining the power of our working class and people, have extremely overestimated the power of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, they had no confidence both in their united forces and also of the united and organised force of the people even around reforming the Cyprus problem within the bourgeois-imperialist framework, that they would see any other way than the internal and external forces presenting them even this reform, therefore, even this reformist solution could not be obtained through these parties.

Now that the strategy of a “federal Cyprus, member of the European Union under the auspices of United Nations” has been presented concretely in the form of the Annan Plan by the United Nations, after our working class and the masses put everything they have in order that this plan finds life, when these parties rejected to organise their efforts, furthermore, after rejecting themselves to unite, and to unite the people in order to transform the coming elections into a referendum, after they made it impossible to come to power and make this agreement, the correctness of this deduction has begun to be accepted among the revolutionaries, even among the ranks of members and leaders of the parties, trade-unions and mass organisations which have adapted themselves to reformist work.

And we can carry on...

Briefly, all the tactics which we have applied up to present have helped us to win a fairly well

ideological victory among the leaders of the working class and the masses, and at the same time, for the formation of the anti-imperialist united front among the working class and the masses.

Now we have entered into a period of transforming this victory into an organisational victory. We have already certain gains in this direction. In the future, either we will force the unity of all parties in order to gain this bourgeois reform, gaining both this reform and this unity, or despite all our pressure we would not be able to obtain this unity and therefore, this reform, and we would work to make our party the dominant party firstly ideologically and then organisationally.

**Neither our working class, nor the toiling masses, nor our progressive intellectuals, nor their leading cadres of the organisations are not powerless and ‘sheep to be herded.’ If we are together with them and learn from them, then our policy becomes correct. If our policy is proved in practice and this is seen by them, it is inevitable for all of us to unite around our party and assume the power.**

We are patient people. We are aware that we would not be able to get rid of the imperialists from Cyprus from today to tomorrow. But after tomorrow, we have not ceased and will not cease from preparing the ground for their defeat. Our strategy and tactics are correct and productive. The productiveness will increase every passing day.

**III. At present, the axis of our work is to unite all the forces of the people in order to obtain the Annan Plan, transform the December elections to a referendum between the opponents and the supporters of the solution, the exposition and isolation of all the leaders of the parties, trade-unions, organisations that harm directly or indirectly the efforts towards this. In this work, our party and comrades should carry out work without falling into any sectarianism, without making any divisive attitude, by making every kind of self-sacrifice in order to obtain this unity and carry out work that would not harm in any way for obtaining this agreement in practice.**

It is indispensable to spread the idea of unity and organised effort among the masses that are for the solution, organise all sections that are for the solution, and expose and isolate those who harm this effort. If the Annan Plan is obtained our role in this must be acknowledged. If the Annan Plan is not obtained it must be known that there is not any error on our part for that result.

**Everyone should know that water cannot be squeezed out of stone!**

**Long live, the anti-imperialist united front government!**

**Long live communism!**

# UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM



**Take your stand in the  
anti-imperialist struggle**

**For liberating our country  
from the imperialist yoke**

**For bringing together our country  
in a free, independent and united  
structure!**

For information:

Address: Şehit Arif Diktepe Sokak No:10- A Ortaköy Lefkoşa

Tel: (009) 0392 22 70 680 - GSM: (009) 0533 863 66 60

web: [www.birlesikcephe.org](http://www.birlesikcephe.org)

e-mail: [info@birlesikcephe.org](mailto:info@birlesikcephe.org)