

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND OLIGARCHY

DEVİRİMCİ SOL



REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

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WE MUST FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

**WE MUST TAKE STAND AGAINST THE ATTACK
OF IMPERIALISM AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE!**

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Internet:
<http://www.ozgurluk.org>
e-mail:
 ozgurluk@xs4all.nl

DHKC INFORMATION BUREAUS

Austria
 Kirchengasse 50/6,
 1160 Vienna
 Tel&Fax: +43-1-409 65 12
e-mail:
 dhkc@sil.at

Belgium
 Chaussee de Louvain 323,
 1030 Bruxelles
 Tel: +32-477-88 34 13
 Fax: +32-2-733 72 81
e-mail:
 dhkc@xs4all.be
 France
 BKA DHKC, 36 Rue Enghien,
 75011 Paris
 Tel&Fax: +33-1-480 09 222

Greece
 Cavellastr. 3
 10681, Kolleti Athens
 Tel&Fax: +30-1-384 83 30

Holland
 Dusartstraat 38,
 1072 HT Amsterdam
 Tel: +31-20-67 61 745
 Fax: -675 20 26

United Kingdom
 BM Box 8253
 London WCI N3XX
 Tel: +44-171-254 12 66
 Fax: -254 12 88
e-mail:
 dhkc@dircon.co.uk

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EDITORIAL

Many political events and developments have happened in our country and in the world between the last issue of Revolutionary Left (Devrimci Sol) and this one. Two years have already passed since the accident in Susurluk. Millions of people realise that the state in Turkey cannot and will not solve the Susurluk problem. Because Susurluk is the state, and the state is the gang. Therefore, we define the state as the state of Susurluk. After the Susurluk accident, the true face of the state appeared. It is the state of massacres, torture and disappearances. The state withdrew for a while, however, it speeded up the attacks against the masses. Because it was unable to reach the underground movements, it increased its pressure on many democratic institutions. These attacks were conducted by one organisation, the National Security Council. It is possible to say that, indeed, democratic institutions came face to face with death. As the attacks were resisted, the state never avoided ignoring its laws. The state makes fun of everyone in the world. The state plans conspiracies against the people and puts them into prison, thinking they can hide the problem. In other

words, the state is trying to conclude a solution. The main aim of these attacks is to isolate the Revolutionary movement from the masses, and hence the opposition will be crushed. In the context of this aim, the attacks and provocation to the opposition have been exercised parallel with those of the prisons. When the single-cell prisons were introduced for the first time, the prisoners resisted. Again the same type of prisons are being reintroduced. The reaction of the prisoners will also be the same. Every action has been replied to and resisted by the people. The Party -Front continues to send guerillas to the mountains of our country to hit strategic targets. For a long time, the state could not realize guerillas in the Aegean Mountains (west of Turkey). When this happened, the state was in complete shock. The oligarchy in Turkey sent thousands of soldiers and special forces to the region and organized great operations in order not to lose its power. In a village, our two guerillas fought with the soldiers, and gave legendary resistance, and died in the battle. The resistance has greatly affected the people of the region. A new front has been opened in the Aegean Mountains. The guerilla war is growing with new fronts.

The other important event is the kidnapping of Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the PKK, by the oligarchy and imperialism. He is isolated on an island-prison. The oligarchy still supposes crushing the Kurdish movement and its demands. It intended to do this by capturing its leader. When the leader was captured, the oligarchy assumed it had attained its victory. However, the struggle of the Kurdish movement will not be crushed. Our people have struggled against the sovereign powers for many years. Some struggles have been won and some have been lost, however, the struggle have always continued. After the Ocalan kidnapping, it was obvious that imperialism has two faces, and can never be the friend of the peoples. Nowadays the pressure on the people has been increased, and fascism aims to increase its power over the people. Meanwhile, some of those who say they are fighting the oligarchy for the liberation of the Kurdish people, use tactics which are against the people. Such actions are not revolutionary ones and serve the polices of the oligarchy and Imperialism. In this conjecture, the Turkish and Kurdish people should struggle against fascism and the brotherhood of the peoples should be advanced.

LET US COUNTER

THE ATTACKS AND PROVOCATIONS OF THE OLIGARCHY

TO OUR PEOPLE, THE TURKS, KURDS, AND ALL OTHER NATIONALITIES!
THE POLICY OF THE OLIGARCHY IS: DIVIDE AND RULE
WE WILL NOT BE DIVIDED FOR THE OLIGARCHY'S POLICY, LET US UNITE, LET US
FIGHT TOGETHER, DO NOT LET THEM GOVERN US, LET US FIGHT FOR OUR
OWN
POWER!

FRATERNITY, UNITY AND THE JOINT STRUGGLE OF THE TURKISH AND THE
KURDISH
PEOPLES WILL DEFEAT THE SUSURLUK-STATE!

The history of setting people up against each other, alienating them, on a religious and ethnic basis by the ruling class to maintain their regime of exploitation, is older than the history of the Susurluk-state. The emperors, sultans, aga's, and feudal lords who lived on this soil, and now the oligarchy, that is to say all the enemies of the people, they all carried out the same policy: DIVIDE AND RULE... Besides the policy of repression and violence, lasting for centuries, the rulers see it as a basic police to incite the peoples against each other and, when this is achieved, to urge them to massacre each other. Because this is the shortest possible road to weakening the peoples. The oligarchy in Turkey has started this policy, this «art of ruling», taken over from the Ottomans, and also carried out by the Kemalist powers, with even more clever tactics at every opportunity. The attacks and provocations, carried out by the

state itself, are an expression of this policy.

The development, starting with the arrival of PKK-leader Abdullah Ocalan in Italy on November 12, was a new «reason» for the oligarchy to continue its chauvinist wave and its attacks. When one looks back, almost there was almost no reaction during the first couple of days. After the contra-guerrilla used chauvinism in the present situation to for incitement, it tried to make the people forget, it tried to cover up the developments in the economic and political crisis it is in, by mobilizing the civic fascists and the government. But their strength was not even sufficient for that.

Together with the government, several institutions of the oligarchy (starting with the state institutions, the capitalists, the representatives of the monopoly-bourgeoisie, the MGK-unions,

ending with many more who call themselves «civic organizations», but in reality collaborators of the contra-guerrilla) began to move, as could be seen during the attacks against Syria, as if someone pushed a central button somewhere, and they began to issue aggressive statements. At the same time the police of the oligarchy increased its attacks aimed against the people. When one understands the programming of this policy and its reasons, one can see even more clearly what they want to achieve with it.

Now there is a relentless war going on between the oligarchy and our people. It is the nature of war to aim at dividing the ranks of the enemy, to make them slaughter each other, thus strengthening ones own side. The oligarchy, which knows this universal law, has started the «divide and rule» policy during the phases where it lost its authority over the people, during

When its power is in danger, the oligarchy, with the notion that everything is justified, will use every single method to intimidate the people, the divide it and weaken it. The repression and the terror, going on for months now and increasing day by day, is now being supplemented by the provocations which serve the policy of DIVIDE AND RULE.

the sixties, when the revolutionary struggle developed, provocations were carried out against the revolutionaries, using the religious feelings of some segments of the population. The reactionary circles were set up against the masses who strengthened the struggle against imperialism with the slogan of independence, using demagogic phrases like «they are taking away our religion» and «the godless communists», and we witnessed the attack and the massacre of «Bloody Sunday». During the period of 1975-1980, they attempted to strangle the increasing revolutionary struggle by using religious differences, dividing the people into Alevites and Sunni, and we saw the massacres of Sivas and Maras. In 1984, the year of the development of the national movement and the guerrilla war, the oligarchy consciously set up Turks and Kurds against each other. In the nineties, the chauvinistic division between Kurdish and Turkish was systematically propagated, aimed at dragging the Turkish people along with the fascist policy, mobilizing it against the national struggle. This propaganda was spread to all the corners of the country by the media. The main contradiction of our peoples, of all nationalities, is with imperialism and the oligarchy.

Because those who exploit our people and oppress it are the oligarchy and imperialism. Now the people's masses are going through a rapid politicization in the context of this contradiction, they are withdrawing themselves from the system and are beginning to join the ranks of the revolutionaries against the oligarchy. Even if it wouldn't be sufficient when the revolutionary movement as a whole channels this dissolution to its own ranks, this does not change the character of the process we are going through. This process, as we have often said before, is a process in which the war is developing into a mass process. This is the essential danger for the oligarchy. In other words, the fear of the REVOLUTION which the oligarchy is now clearly feeling, is seen as an immediate threat. What the ranks of the rulers are going through is panic, the risk of losing power which cannot be overcome neither with the MGK, nor with new elections and a new government. When its power is in danger, the oligarchy, with the notion that everything is justified, will use every single method to intimidate the people, the divide it and weaken it. The repression and the terror, going on for months now and increasing day by day, is now being supplemented by the provocations which serve the policy of DIVIDE AND RULE.

The first step of this policy is incitement. When this succeeds, the second step is to alienate the peoples from each other, transforming the divisions into real confrontations. The third step, finally, is to calm down the fighting people, playing the role of a «judge». Thus the «despotic state», now with the image of the «Father State», as a judge during the confrontations, will establish its

rule once again. The essence is to secure the shattered authority, its regime of exploitation and oppression, overcoming the crisis of ungovernability, at least for a while. Its rule will be secured by inciting the masses, dissatisfied with the regime, against each other, making them fight each other.

The Susurluk-state, unable to stop the revolutionary struggle of the people with their means of attack like the MIT and JITEM, sees «divide and rule» as a hope as a result of its desperation. Furthermore the state, by using national differences, counts on dragging along people which can be used as a strike force against the people's forces and the revolutionaries.

At present, they are attempting to incite the Turkish people against the Kurdish people by using several demagogues in order to deflect the reactions, the dissatisfaction, and the struggle against the Susurluk-state. The Susurluk-state is powerless against the slogan «WE WANT JUSTICE». The reason for this lack of power is, just like the legitimacy and the justice of this demand, that the oligarchy cannot fulfil it. Now the demand for justice in our country has the same meaning as the demand for revolution. The Susurluk-state is powerless when confronted with the guerrilla, fighting for Kurdish national liberation, as it is powerless against the guerrilla which is fighting for the revolution. For decades, its military strength was not sufficient to destroy the revolutionaries, the national liberation movement, or the guerrilla. The oligarchy, despite its many attacks and massacres, was unable to strangle the mass struggle of the people on a national and

The Susurluk-state, unable to stop the revolutionary struggle of the people with their means of attack like the MIT and JITEM, sees «divide and rule» as a hope as a result of its desperation. Furthermore the state, by using national differences, counts on dragging along people which can be used as a strike force against the people's forces and the revolutionaries.

class basis, unable to strangle the guerrilla war. It wants, through encouraging the division between Turkish and Kurdish, to make the Turkis and Kurdish people attack each other.

Despite the propaganda which has been spread till now, they could move nobody except for the reactionary circles, incited by the civic fascists, the relatives of soldiers and policemen. However, it is clear that this policy will be continued in a provocative fashion.

The attackers are not the people, they are the fascist gangs. The civic fascists, who had to retreat because of their ties with the gangs, unmasked after Susurluk, embraced the chauvinist policy of the oligarchy to step forward again, to give themselves a cleaner image and to legitimize themselves. Because the oligarchy does not possess another supporting force for such a campaign, it cleared the way for the civic fascists and embraced them. The police, together with the fascists, has carried out attacks against the Kurdish people in many places, and there were numerous lynching attempts.

During the raid against the HADEP-building in Umraniye, they joined forces to besiege the

building, and everybody who left the building, including old women and small children, was attacked. The building was destroyed. Actions were carried out in many places in which the relatives of deceased soldiers were used.

Of course, the co-operation between the civic fascists and the police state is nothing new. For a long time now, the police has been trying to put the civic fascists forward, legitimizing them, and describing them as «popular support». At funerals of soldiers, in front of the bases where revolutionaries were murdered, and in the neighbourhoods where the civic fascists show themselves as «popular support», they had to stay in the background because of the accident in Susurluk when the connections between the Mafia, gangs and the state were unmasked, and because of the dog fights among each other. But because of the latest developments and the election atmosphere, they are beginning to push forward again as the «people's support» for the oligarchy. It is their goal to become the legitimate force of the regime again, keeping down the growing people's movements. In countries like ours, the civic-fascist movement has, except for the direct use against the people and the revolutionaries, the task of creating a mass basis for fascism, developed from top to bottom. However, it does not possess a mass basis at all.

The correctness of this conclusion can be seen quite clearly during the latest developments. The «mass basis» of the Susurluk-state consists of parties like the MHP and the BBP (Great Unity Party). Despite its demands (in the sense of demotivations), the regime was unable to bring other parties on to

the streets in order to mobilize the attack against the Kurds.

The attackers are the fascists of the MHP and those of the BBP. They have shown this clearly by carrying their flags. The journalists of the bourgeois media try to present the «people» as the aggressors but felt disturbed because of the flags which contradicted their claim. As we have said, they will spread their propaganda that the «people» are the aggressors in order to win broader segments of the population for their chauvinist policy and their attacks.

They will use all the enemies of the people, the system parties, state officials, official and civic fascists, provocateurs and the bourgeois press. All the enemies of the people, hand in hand, are used to incite the Turkish people against the Kurdish people. This provocation policy is aimed at strangling the struggle of the Kurdish, Turkish, Laz, Georgian and other peoples, that is to say, the people of all nationalities in our country which are fighting for their democratic, economic, national and political rights and liberties. With this policy, the oligarchy want to leave this phase behind, the phase of the Susurluk scandal where a lot of dirt has come up. They want to intimidate the people by pushing back their fundamental demands. The events have clearly shown again who is the enemy of the peoples.

These peoples, living together for centuries, have rendered the attempts of the oligarchy and a handful of fascists useless. The right road for the peoples is the road of fraternity, of unity and the joint struggle of the peoples.

DEVİRİMCI HALK **KURTULUS CEPHESİ**

Press Office

Date: March 27, 1999

Statement no. 83



American imperialism wants to mutilate and split up Yugoslavia and create new satellite regions, depending on it

The imperialists, with US-imperialism at their top, attack all the countries that do not bow for them and whom they cannot force their policy upon with planes, bombs and, if necessary, tanks. This is all carried out quite openly. «You will do as we tell you, economically, politically, military, and you'll depend on us in every way». Countries like Libya and Iraq which do not bow for the imperialists and which do not accept this dependency are attacked by US-imperialism on its own, or together with other imperialists which can be found within their coalition of interests. The pretexts differ. The attack against Iraq in 1991 was carried out with the pretext of protecting Kuwait and defending the rights of the Kurdish people in Northern Iraq. Now Yugoslavia is being attacked and the reason is the same one, only the pretext differs. Now it is «defending the human rights in Kosovo». The results of the attacks against Iraq are clear. Iraq was split up, and a puppet like regime was created over the Kurdish people living there, completely depending on imperialism. The fundamental policy of the imperialists is clear: bringing down governments which don't bow to their will, splitting up

the country and creating completely depending regions; weakening independent governments to secure their own rule. A lot of the existing frontiers were drawn by the imperialists. Starting from the changing equilibrium and the new situations, they determine the borders of the newly created mini-states which depend on them to create new exploiting regions for their monopolies. After the bringing down of the socialist system through a huge conspiracy, the countries involved have become dependent on Russia in many regards. The imperialist monopolies still did not succeed in securing their hegemony in this region. The revolutionary dynamics of the peoples in these countries, aware of the cruelties of capitalism, still exist. To weaken these countries and to force them on their knees, imperialism uses the «divide-split up-weaken and rule» policy, provoking national and religious splits in these countries. The imperialists, who apply this policy in the Balkan and the Caucasus, have - aided by collaborators and agents - created nationalist emotions and animosity among the peoples, destroying their unity. Together with the US-imperialists, the EU-imperialists applied this

policy to create new regions for their monopolies. For this reason, the other imperialists, hiding behind the masque of NATO and led by US-imperialism, attacked Yugoslavia for their own interests. Another contradiction, to take away the hegemony of Russia in the regions where it still is influential. Besides all this factors, US-imperialism wants to show Russia, the European imperialists and all the oppressed peoples, that it is the sole ruling force in the world. The reason for founding NATO was, and is, to defend and expand the exploitation regions of the imperialists. That's why NATO, where Turkey is represented too, always played the role of the hitting force against people's liberation movements. Nowadays NATO is kept alive for this reason, to secure the power of the imperialists and their collaborators and to prevent the development of revolutionary people's liberation wars. The cooperation of the oligarchy in Turkey with the USA is the result of the own interests, the interests of the USA, and the fear for a developing people's liberation war and the revolution. The imperialists can never defend the rights, liberties and interests of a people and a nation. Those who claim that the

imperialists do defend them are either naive, or they are agents of imperialism. Although it are the imperialists themselves who eradicate human rights and the nations' right of self-determination all over the world, they play the role of defender of these rights and incite the peoples against each other, carry out massacres and draw artificial borders behind this masque. And when this doesn't work, imperialism attacks once again and attempts to enforce surrender. And exactly this is what is done in Yugoslavian and in Iraq.

OUR EPOCH IS THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALISM AND OF THE REVOLUTIONS

US-imperialism, feeling stronger after the fall of the socialist system, wants to bring the entire world under its control. The USA tries to break the resistance of all those countries which resist their rule. That's why they attack and divide. By expanding the exploitation regions through these attacks, the USA tries to take out the imperialist competitors. They ally against all peoples which fight for their independence and freedom and they attack together. To create animosity among the oppressed peoples and to incite them against each other, religious conflicts are induced. Thousands of agents, radio, television, economical and social investments, they all serve this goal. In our epoch, ruled by imperialism, in which the monopolies firmly rooted, no national struggle can be waged without opposing imperialism and the local collaborating monopolies. A struggle which is aimed against imperialism and the monopolies ends with the revolutionary people's power. Every national movement which does not aim for the revolutionary people's power

will nowadays, be it from the moment they emerge or in the course of time, become a force which is used by imperialism. Nowadays numerous movements which fight on a nationalist basis take such a position. At first they are supported by imperialism, the road is paved for them, and later educational measures are taken against them. They are surrounded ideologically, psychologically and military, from all sides, they are made dependent on imperialism and forced to their knees. Every nationalist movement which does not fight against imperialism and which does not aim for the joint struggle of the peoples and the joint revolutionary people's power will sooner or later be forced on its knees by imperialism. The imperialists, fully aware of this reality, play with the national feelings of the peoples and can use them for their own interests without any great effort. Also groups which want to come to power through religion are being used by imperialism. The attacks and the exploitation by imperialism and its collaborating monopolies do not interest them. The Islamists in our country are an example. They don't see, and they don't want to, what imperialism plans for the Balkan, how it exploits the peoples and leads them to mutual annihilation. With the demagogy of «the Muslims are being oppressed», the imperialist attacks are being supported. They are even accomplices in the oppression and exploitation by imperialism. Being at the side of the people, of justice, means opposing imperialism. The nationalists and Islamists which do not oppose imperialism are in fact defending neo-colonialism and they take position against the oppressed people. The policy of attacks and occupation, continued by

imperialism and for which it uses nationalism and religion, will be pushed back and ended when the oppressed people see through the imperialists' game. This process will be the process in which the peoples will learn from their experiences and in which the search for independence and socialism will be strengthened. We, as all peoples of different nationalities and religions, living in this country, must resist the pro-American Ecevit-government and its army which attacks the Yugoslavian people in co-operation with imperialism. There are no animosities between our people and the peoples of the Balkan. We have to demand accountability from the «National Security Council» and the Ecevit-government which allowed themselves to become America's lackey, expecting gains from the attack against the people's in the Balkan. We must build up the revolutionary power by strengthening the unity and the struggle of our peoples. Every policy based on nationalism and religion is induced by imperialism to mislead the peoples, to use them, and to incite them against each other. The freedom of all the peoples can only be achieved through the notion of a joint struggle, of combined power.

WE MUST TAKE A STAND AGAINST THE ATTACK OF IMPERIALISM AGAINST THE PEOPLES OF THE BALKAN! WE MUST FIGHT IMPERIALISM WITH THE SLOGAN OF A JOINT STRUGGLE, OF COMBINED POWER, WE MUST TAKE OUR COUNTRY OUT OF NATO AND BRING DOWN THE PRO-AMERICAN GOVERNMENT!

**ANTI-IMPERIALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM ARE THE
FOUNTAIN OF LIFE FOR REVOLUTIONS**

IMPERIALISM,

THE LEFT AND THE FACTS



Turkey is a neo-colony of imperialism. The oligarchy of Turkey is a collaborating ruling class, tied to imperialism. In such a country, all those who want to end the power of the oligarchy and the fascist state, who defend democracy, have to fight imperialism as well, the cause of the oppression and exploitation. This is one of the minimum requirements of being a revolutionary and a democrat. The degeneration in definitions has increased quite a bit in this aspect as well. Now, someone who hopes for support from European imperialism can call himself a «revolutionary», and someone who accepts the will and the control of imperialism can call himself a «patriot». It is questionable whether somebody who claims to defend socialism, but has not carried out a single action against

imperialism, opposes exploitation. It must be questioned whether those who claim to defend democracy against fascism, but who do not oppose imperialism, are «on the side of democracy». It is questionable whether those who claim to be nationalists or patriots, but who do not take a stand against imperialism, which has occupied our country, really are «for independence». Being against imperialism is what unites independence, democracy and socialism. Because without fighting against imperialism, without ending the rule and the existence of imperialism in our country, it is impossible to realise them. Regarding imperialism, tendencies can be seen for quite some time among the left in Turkey which have nothing to do with these realities. To justify and prove their stand, countless

reasons and «necessities» are named, even claiming that imperialism has changed, that nobody can resist «globalisation and spheres of influence».

How can anybody claim that imperialism has changed? There is no «communist threat» anymore. However, imperialism is still showing its aggressive nature, intervening in all parts of the world. Recently it carried out bombings against two countries as a revenge act for a bomb attack against one of its embassies. The place in Sudan which was bombed because it supposedly was a chemical arms plant turned out to be the biggest pharmaceutical plant in Africa. And what happened? Lately a hail of bombs and rockets was dropped on Iraq. Is that the change in the nature of imperialism? On the one hand NATO and on the other the EU, are expanding their borders,

expanding their borders, primarily in the former socialist countries. NATO acts, not approved by the UN, are legitimised by developing a new strategy. It's clear that this means an even more aggressive NATO. When Imperialism first sent UN-troops to Bosnia, it had already succeeded in putting these under the control of a military force which consists of NATO-soldiers.

«Multinational military forces» are created for deployment in Africa and the Balkans. Where is the change? Those who resist imperialism are labelled as «terrorists». And thus every act of attack, force and embargo are legitimised.

In the nineties, hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives in Rwanda, Iraq, Algeria, Libya, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Yugoslavia and the countries of the former Soviet Union.

Who is responsible for that? Isn't it imperialism which has supposedly changed its nature? Because it isn't imperialism which has changed, but rather it is the ones who expect something from imperialism who have changed. Among the left in Turkey, it is especially the reformists and the Kurdish national movement who, relating to democracy, expect a solution from imperialism to the Kurdish question and the human rights situation. These circles have issued numerous appeals to imperialism, and they demand the application of the solution packages which are presented by imperialism. This attitude and this approach to imperialism was described as «tactics» by the Kurdish nationalists, thus pushing aside criticism.

Without doubt, a political movement or a country go

through several different phases and periods of retreat. But this can not justify revolutionary theory being changed in the name of «tactics». Che's speech, held before the UN, is in this sense an example which one should give special attention. Shortly after the revolution took place in Cuba, imperialism, and in particular US-imperialism, tried to crush it. They were confronted with economic difficulties. In this difficult situation, Che gave a speech during the 19th. congress of the UN. Even under these difficult conditions, he never sold out revolutionary theory and the revolutionary attitude to diplomacy and tactics:

«As Marxists we have maintained that peaceful coexistence among nations does not encompass coexistence between the exploiters and the exploited, between the oppressors and the oppressed. Furthermore, the right to full independence from all forms of colonial oppression is a fundamental principle of this organisation. That is why we express our solidarity with the colonial peoples of so-called Portugese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, who have been massacred for the crime of demanding their freedom. And we are prepared to help them to the extent of our ability in accordance with the Cairo declaration. (...) We must also warn that the principle of peaceful coexistence does not encompass the right to mock the will of the peoples, as is happening in the case of so-called British Guinea. There the government of Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan has been the victim of every kind of pressure and maneuver, and independence has been delayed to gain time to find ways to float the people's will and guarantee the docility of a new

government, placed in power by covert means, in order to grant a castrated freedom to this country of the Americas.

(...)

We know the mentality of those who govern them (Yankees). They want to make us pay a very high price for that peace. We reply that the price cannot go beyond the bounds of dignity». (Political Articles, p. 191-210)

Revisionism began to lay the foundation for reconciliation with imperialism. The more complex attitude towards imperialism basically goes back to the policies which were developed by the Soviet Union in the sixties. The years when the decisions of the 20th. Congress of the CPSU, damaging socialism, became apparent. The revisionist politics began to distort socialism in a devious way, as was reflected in their use of the terms «anti-imperialism» and «our notion of Internationalism». The revisionist concept, laid out in the decisions of the 20th. CPSU congress, is the idea of «peaceful coexistence with the imperialists». The Soviet Union no longer saw imperialism as a system of exploitation which would have to be eradicated from the earth in order to achieve a classless society without exploitation. The most important disease, created by these politics, is pragmatism. Since then, their entire policy, their coalition policy, their relations with the national and social liberation struggles, was based on the question whether the status quo, achieved with imperialism, would be harmed or not. Apart from the fact that the liberation movements, striving for an end to imperialist exploitation and a revolution in their countries, were not supported, the Soviet Union presented itself as

Let us look at the results of the policies which were pursued by the CPSU, the CPC and the PLA.

Supposedly these policies were aimed at strengthening the revolution, the «socialist mother countries». And what happened? Who came forward as the winner in this hypocritical policy, theorised in hundreds of writings? The answer is clear. Co-existence with imperialism has not led to the end of imperialism, it meant the end of the socialist countries and revolutions which propagated this policy.

an obstacle to these movements with its policies. In order not to disturb the status quo between imperialism and the SU, the national and liberation movements developing in several countries, were sacrificed. Against this revisionist policy opportunism, led by the CP of China, added another negative component by labelling the SU as «social imperialist» and this view was characteristically expressed in the following words: «my enemy's enemy is my friend». Huge mistakes were made in this camp like for example supporting counter-revolutionary organisations who fought against national and social liberation movements which were supported by the SU. A good and often mentioned example is Angola. Because the SU supported the liberation struggle in Angola, the CPC openly supported the counter-revolutionary UNITA. In this way, the SU and China legitimised their co-operation and will to compromise with imperialism and, for regional reasons, with reactionary and

fascist countries and forces. And several parties under their influence spread this policy across the world. And in later years, the PLA (Party of Labour of Albania) did not hesitate either to develop a similar attitude and similar coalitions. It supported the fascist junta in Turkey as «Kemalist generals who oppose the Soviet occupation», and thus Albania possessed the honour of being the first country to support the military-fascist junta of September 12, 1980, a junta which tortured, murdered and imprisoned thousands of revolutionaries, democrats and innocent people, taking away all rights and liberties by force, repression and torture.

A revolutionary organisation, and a revolutionary country, should never abandon its stand against imperialism, it should never abandon internationalism. We see that at times also Cuba, in order to «break the siege», is taking a similar stand. Cuba hesitates to show the openly internationalist stand and revolutionary solidarity it showed towards Angola, the open stand CHE demonstrated before the UN. Cuba is a country with self-confidence, and in this sense it has in its practice until now not bowed to imperialism, and it has not engaged in compromises. Besieged, and confronted with the counter-revolution in the socialist countries, it showed its determination with the words: «We would rather let the island sink». But every step back from internationalism is, from the perspective of the revolution, a compromise. Internationalism is the air the revolution lives on. When these circumstances were analysed at the DHKP-congress, this was the conclusion:

«The initial point of this international attitude is to achieve revolution in our country by analysing Marxism-Leninism in our

concrete conditions. But the future of this revolution cannot be put in danger by imprisoning within the borders of the country or a territory and isolation from the peoples of the world. A revolution which is not continuously expanding the boundaries of revolution, providing new revolutions, supporting the socialist and national liberation movements that are spread all over the world to develop and strengthen and strike against imperialism, is like a lone island in the ocean. None of the revolutions should be isolated. To be isolated means to be hungry, thirsty and dead.» (Congress documents -1-, Dursun KARATAS, s.233)

The real essence of the revolution is not the present, it is to be able to think long term. Anti-imperialism and internationalism are the future of all world revolutions.

Collaboration, Compromises And The Theories Of Co-Existing With Imperialism Have Gone Bankrupt! The Confirmation Of This Bankruptcy Is The Fall Of One Huge System!

Let us look at the results of the policies which were pursued by the CPSU, the CPC and the PLA. Supposedly these policies were aimed at strengthening the revolution, the «socialist mother countries». And what happened? Who came forward as the winner in this hypocritical policy, theorised in hundreds of writings? The answer is clear. Co-existence with imperialism has not led to the end of imperialism, it meant the end of the socialist countries and

revolutions which propagated this policy. According to these theories, the policy of co-existence with imperialism, and if necessary sacrificing the revolutions in several countries, would in the long run strengthen the socialist systems, confirm the superiority of socialism regarding economic competition with imperialism, and thus weaken imperialism, et cetera. The result? It was proven that these theories and policies weren't revolutionary, although they a huge price had to be paid. Those who nowadays claim that the imperialist solution must be accepted are just repeating these theories.

Reconciliation With Imperialism Means Reconciliation With Capitalism And The Exploiting Regimes

When imperialism was expected to deliver a solution to the human rights situation, to bring democracy, or to solve the Kurdish question, and when theories about this were created, one thing was overlooked, namely that imperialism is the highest stage of a regime of exploitation: imperialism is capitalism. That is to say, it is the cause of repression and exploitation. Will imperialism put the oligarchy in Turkey under pressure and cause a process of democratisation? Where is the logic in that? Where is the revolutionary theory? «Democracy for Iraq, autonomy for the Kurds». That is the formula which Barzani has been defending consistently for decades. The Kurdish national movement in Northern Iraq has almost reached the same position. Even more important is the fact that they accept the status quo realised «under the protection of and

enforced by imperialism». What democracy? What kind of freedom? It is evident that this democracy, under the protection of imperialism, will most probably be bourgeois democracy. In the first place, this formula means imperialist control and leadership. Secondly it means the acceptance of capitalism. And thirdly it means abandoning people's power, abandoning the revolution and socialism. What has been written by the Kurdish national side in the context of the Italy phase quite clearly constitute deviations. They started with evaluations, parallel to those of bourgeois writers. At times they will deviate to the right, at others to the left. This is inevitable when politics are based on pragmatism

. On July 17, 1998, that is to say a few months before the president of the PKK arrived in Italy, during a discussion on MED-TV, Ocalan replied in this way to the representative of the KPD, who spoke out for a «co-operation with the large states» and who was driven out of the studio as a result:

«When the Kurds succeed in a coalition in the Middle East on their own strength, they will shatter the Middle East and they will reach the point they want. Those who have the will know that this is true... Some stiff-necked people have been saying for a hundred years that one must base oneself on the bigger powers... THE BIG POWERS HAVE BEEN DESTROYING KURDISTAN FOR THE PAST 200 YEARS. Kurdistan is lost. With an incredible resistance by the daughters and sons, and with a lot a effort, it is attempted to save Kurdistan... If we succeed in doing so, it would be fine. If we do not succeed, we will tell history that we have resisted with honour, that we

died with honour».

Yes, what is said here is essentially correct. It is imperialism which has been destroying Kurdistan for the last 200 years. And how can one expect justice from these powers? How can one want them to solve the Kurdish question? How can one imagine that the solution they will find will be independent from their policy of annihilation? Why this praise for imperialism? When the problem is just «words», then the imperialists also defended the human rights in the past... Especially since the beginning of the 80's, imperialism has been agitating massively for democracy. But they are the ones themselves who committed the murders and who had military coups carried out. But all that is being forgotten. The position of imperialism regarding the Kurdish question, within the framework of its Middle East policy, and its related criticism of Turkey, is taken as a basis and one does not consider the consequences of these manoeuvres. Nationalism becomes concrete at precisely this point. Demanding a freedom, similar to that of a German federate state, wanting what applies to Southern Kurdistan for the North as well, taking the IRA as an example, and then the PLO again, it all doesn't make any other sense. We ask: is the PLO successful? Is the IRA successful? To answer that, we have to ask another question. Have they changed the system? When the answer is no, there is no success.

What liberation movement has ever been led to success by imperialism? What were liberation movements about? INDEPENDENCE. When such a movement also claims to be Marxist-Leninist,

revolutionary, it must have another goal as well: SOCIALISM. That is to say, dissolution from capitalism, and bringing down capitalism, is necessary under all circumstances. Because independence, people's power and socialism do not have any other chance of survival. What makes the PKK different from several other national organisations is the fact that it, from the beginning, had a mission of independence, starting on the base of armed struggle. When this mission gets lost, there is no longer a difference. Is the PKK anti imperialist, does it stand for independence? To answer this positively is difficult. From the moment it is stated that the imperialist solution, under the control and the will of imperialism, has been accepted, the answer to this question must be a definite «no». The guerrilla war, which will show the way to independence, to victory, is confronted with «annihilation» in the same way. The statement from the past few days; «When they want peace, we will increase the armed struggle» shows that the armed struggle is no longer a question of strategy, it has become a tactical instrument of peace policy. The word «peace» sounds nice to many ears, but in essence this is a peace which is reached with the OLIGARCHY. That means that the oligarchy's regime is being accepted. Capitalism will continue. As soon as this has been accepted, anti-imperialism and socialism are in fact no longer an issue... In short, this means that at that point the New World Order is being accepted. Without doubt, there are still other directions open in this process. But one thing is sure, conditions will not push a liberation movement towards a Marxist-Leninist line on their own. Is the PKK

internationalist? Although it speaks of internationalism, its policies and tactics have always shown the opposite. It is not internationalist. Because they do not consider the Turkish people. They do not think of the peoples in the Middle East either. Questions are not looked upon from a revolutionary and socialist perspective, their are only considered from the perspective of Kurdistan. All in the interest of the Kurds... That's the soil nationalism grows and thrives on. Pragmatism and utilitarianism, ostensibly developed in the interests of the Kurds, essentially only harm the struggle of the Kurdish people. But they donot want this to be seen, in the name of day to day interests and politics. The most concrete example for this is the Gulf crisis of 1991 when the imperialist attack was supported with the words «when it's profitable for us...» During the last attack by the USA, the same could be seen. Internationalists can under no condition agree to imperialists slaughtering a people in the hope something can be gained from that. Internationalism and anti-imperialism can not be seen separate from each other.

THAT'S IMPERIALISM

The present crisis of imperialism, called the «global crisis», began to worsen in the 70's. The oil crisis of '74 announced the worsening of this crisis.

The «debt crisis», emerging in '79-'80, constituted a new phase. This epoch was also the beginning of the «democratisation» of the dictatorships in Latin-America, instigated by imperialism. Imperialism encountered this epoch with a policy which was expressed by Reagan and Thatcher. Putting limits to the «welfare state» meant reducing social expenditures

and completely opening up the colonial countries to imperialist capital. This policy is known as «neo-liberalism». Imperialism, in order to free itself from the crisis, had to end the policy of the «welfare state» which it had to endure for a while as a consequence of the world-wide prestige of socialism. Time was right also in a political sense. Because of revisionist policies, the socialist system began to lose its political and economic power and it could no longer respond to the ideological attacks of imperialism. Those institutions which work in the kitchen of imperialist ideology, foundations, universities, «scientists», economists, the media, et cetera, are quite busy explaining the inevitability of «neo-liberalism» and the «free market». They created the ideological support for imperialism. In liquidating the «welfare state», they were to play a major role. «Neo-liberalism» also planned the withdrawal of the state from the economy. That is to say, the state should abandon the policy of «public services», largely services for the people. Fields like health care, education, et cetera, were to be liquidated one after one, transformed into a market of capital. The road to privatisations was thus cleared. Of course, this was no easy job. That's why later the European left was set to work. This weapon was to be used to push back the working class which stood up for the rights it had gained. The IMF became active world-wide as well and adjusted the neo-colonies to this new policy of imperialism by means of «structural integration programmes». When this con game started in the 50's (that is during the debt crisis), the total sum of foreign depths of all neo-colonies was 7 billion US-dollars. This sum grew to 1 trillion dollars in 1993. And now

it's even more than 2 trillion. This is the bill the people have to pay for «globalisation». This is the bill which imperialism, striving for the democratisation of the world and honouring human rights (!), has presented to the peoples of the world! The «globalisation policy» of imperialism is nothing else than a heavy load on the people's back. What is called globalisation is mainly the globalisation of capital, the increase in capital, its circulation and investment possibilities. And that's exactly how it happened. According to the figures from 1994, the «multinational corporations» employed 12 million workers, and 75% of those were realised in the ten years after 1985, that is to say during the «globalisation phase». Of course they did so in someone's interest. Looking at the profits after the 80's, we can see who has developed. At the beginning of the 70's, the monopolies had some 30.000 subsidiaries, at the end of the 70's this number increased to 80.000, in 1993 there were 200,000, and 210,000 in 1997. Parallel to that, the export of capital was 37 billion dollars between 1986 and 1990, increasing to 160 billion in 1993. Their annual turnovers can be compared with the gross national product of major countries and entire continents. A few examples from the figures of 1997 suffice to proof this. The annual turnover of the four largest imperialist monopolies in the world are the same as the gross national product of China, and they are larger than the entire product of the African continent. The annual turnover of General Motors in 1996 was 168.4 billion dollars, and in that same year Turkey had a national product of 186 billion dollars. 200 imperialist companies produced 31.2% of the world's entire gross

product, but they did not even employ 1% of the work force. The imperialists and the collaborating oligarchy are constantly in a crisis debate. The imperialists passed on the load of the crisis to the neo-colonial countries whose governments, in their turn, passed it on to their peoples. The imperialist companies stole 198 billion dollars during the times of the stock market. Imperialism profited enormously. After the debt crisis of 1982 they made a profit of 717 billion dollars just because of the debt policy of the IMF. Parallel to the worsening crisis, the mergers of capital in 1998 surpassed those of previous years. Because of these mergers of capitals, or take-overs, and the bankruptcies as a consequence of the crisis, the markets and the capital come together in the hands of a few monopolies with a huge capital. A few monopolies manage to lead the markets as they want and determine prices as they please. These mergers and the concentration of capital also lead to the sacking of workers. The main burden is turned over to them. The increasing unemployment, inflation and poverty worsen the people's conditions of life. While the IMF secures the interests of international capital through its investment programs, it increases the burden for the workers by implementing these programs.

- reducing public expenditures
- privatisations
- increasing the pension age in the name of social security reform
- reducing wages

All this is the new IMF policy, forced upon the neo-colonies and lately also carried out by the «Asian tigers». Does this IMF belong to someone else? A lot of institutions

of imperialism ostensibly care about honouring human rights, the happiness of the peoples in the world, but this is sabotaged by the IMF, is that it? Imperialism has entered a severe crisis but the money vaults of the monopolies continue to fill, but imperialism is also confronted with a rapid decline. As Marx has written, it is digging its own grave. Imperialism sees its end in this crisis and in its panic it tries to prevent its end with the help of collaborating organisations. Imperialism is being dragged into «misfortune». And what about the misfortune of the peoples in the world? Here are the numbers! At present, 1.3 billion people have insufficient food and no clean water, 1 billion people are without houses. 842 million people are at the absolute border of hunger, that is to say they are on the thin thread between life and death. Another 2 billion people earn less than 2 dollars a day, 1 billion people even less than 1. Can we call that life? One in four new born children in Mozambique dies before the age of 20 as a result of a common disease. A family in Africa consumes in average 20% less than it did 29 years ago. (Those who claim that imperialism has developed since the 70's into a «more sensible direction» regarding human rights, that it has created democracy, should have a look at these figures). 4.4 billion people, living in the neo-colonies, are without medical care. 2 million people suffer from an anaemic condition, and only 50 million of them live in the imperialist countries, the large majority in the neo-colonies. In 1998, the consumption of goods and services will reach a sum of 24 trillion dollars. 86% of this enormous production will be consummated by 20% of the world population, the



poorest can only afford 1.3%. From 1960 to 1970, the number of people living in poverty (earning less than 1 dollar a day) amounted to 200 million. This number rose to 2 billion in the mid nineties. The peoples get poorer, and poverty kills. Imperialism, which condemns the people to poverty and murders them, is going to solve the people's problems? This assumption is ridiculous and a sign of collaboration. 150 million children cannot even go to primary school, 120 million children live on the street, 20 million work as slaves. Imperialism is responsible for this. 30 years ago, the richest 20% of the world population earned 30 times more than the poorest 20%. Now they earn 78 times more.. That's where imperialism is leading the world. And imperialism is doing all that for the benefit of the people??? What is stolen from the poor goes into the vaults of the imperialist monopolies whose wealth increases at the same rate. The annual income of the 7 million inhabitants of Switzerland is equal to the income of the half billion people in Africa. In 1996 the richest people in the world possessed 133 billion dollars, 1.5 times more than the

national product of the 48 poorest countries in the world. The wealth of the 225 richest people in the world equals the income of the 2.5 billion poorest. That's imperialism! While the peoples in the world get poorer by the day, and are driven into hunger, the monopolies strengthen their rule with the money they receive from exploitation and oppression. On the other hand it is the imperialist bandits themselves who speak out loudly about the injustice of differences in income, of poverty and hunger. But they are the ones who created all this. To profit even more, they reduce wages constantly. They are the ones who sacked tens of thousands of workers during a crisis. The imperialist monopolies are the ones who, as the sole rulers of the world, drive the colonial countries into a quagmire of debt through the IMF, who support the collaborating governments in these countries so they pay their debts, and the people are exploited and oppressed even more. That's imperialism! We want to say it again. When these facts are ignored, one cannot make politics. And when one does, these cannot be revolutionary politics. When we

start from the slogan «those who do not fight for the revolution cannot call themselves socialists», we might add «those who do not fight imperialism cannot be called revolutionaries». Imperialism proclaims the «21st century as the century of social explosions». They foresee the nightmare that the whole world will collapse around them. And their fear isn't unjustified. Because for people who live in poverty and are on the brink of death, rebellion does not take great courage, it's a weapon they take up to defend their lives. The people's movements in Asia and Latin America, exploding after the crisis, are a proof of that. Blair and Clinton call for an urgent meeting of the G7. They will not find a «solution» when they meet. «Alarm signals» can be heard increasingly from all the imperialist blocks. And even if they could find a solution, this would only lead to heavier debt for the neo-colonial countries. And in order to pay these debts, the collaborating governments and monopolies will exploit the working people even more, creating more unemployment and hunger. Maybe imperialism, like in the 80's, is now standing before a «structural» change. But this only means postponing the consequences of the crisis of imperialism for a while. If the nightmare does not materialise today, it will tomorrow. It cannot be in the interest of the peoples of the world to live together with imperialism in peace. Because what imperialism has to offer is clear enough. The future of the peoples of the world lies in a world without imperialism. The vanguard of the people must fulfil its vanguard mission by fighting imperialism. Those who do not fight imperialism cannot be the people's vanguard.

...NATIONALISM CLARIFIED AFTER THE IMPERIALIST ATTACK ON YUGOSLAVIA

This time, imperialism is burning and destroying in Yugoslavia. In Iraq and, now, in Yugoslavia the imperialist attacks, which are presented by imperialism like a computer game, are massacring people. The meaninglessness of the reasons they give emerges very quickly. The illusions of imperialism are being destroyed one by one by the bombs which cause blood, pain, death, tears, and migration. This is the time to remember who has said what about imperialism. Those who try to justify the gendarme role of imperialism want to disguise imperialist violence and exploitation. It has to be stated clearly that those who say «Imperialism has changed» or «Imperialism now shows concerns for human rights and international law» are the spies of imperialism. Because, to make such claims, despite all the things that are happening, is not something that can be explained away simply in terms of a wrong analysis of the world conjuncture. There is an

intentional attitude, a choice.

It is enough to remember several events. First of all, when imperialism attacked Iraq in 1991, some fractions calling themselves progressive and patriotic supported the intervention with reasons such as Kuwait's being saved from occupation, democracy being imported into Iraq, the liberation of Southern Kurdistan, and the emergence of suitable conditions for these things. An important part of the revolutionaries remained without an attitude and objection against this attack calling it a «dog fight.» Kuwait has been saved from occupation! American imperialism has been attacking for 8 years. It is still bombing Iraq and the people of Iraq. So, was the purpose to save Kuwait from occupation? No, the aim was to surround a country which refused to surrender. Imperialism has not changed. Imperialism means absolute hegemony on the world markets and banditry against the peoples of the

world. The second event is that Abdullah Ocalan, the General Secretary of PKK, went to Rome with several expectations from imperialism. This was called the «Rome March.» Afterwards, the Kurdish problem was going to be resolved in the imperialist capitals. The preparations had started a long time ago. Many letters had been sent to the European Parliament, Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, UN, and NATO, several times. Even more, NATO was invited to make an attack. In Rome, the requests were limited to a level that imperialism could accept and they said that their only request was autonomy. European and USA imperialists were called on to play their role. The Kurdish nationalists viewed the role of imperialism as the defence of human rights and the right of nations to self-determination.. This was different from the role of imperialism known by the revolutionaries. But Kurdish nationalism believed in this... The result: Imperialism played its role! It put Ocalan into the hands of the Turkish

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 American imperialism has been bombing Iraq for 8 years. Imperialism put Ocalan into the hands of the Turkish oligarchy. imperialism is bombing Yugoslavia for the «freedom of Kosovo.» A nation is being massacred. A nation is migrating. Here it is. You, who were calling on NATO for the solution to the Kurdish problem, is this what you wanted?
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oligarchy. The third event; imperialism is bombing Yugoslavia for the «freedom of Kosovo.» A nation is being massacred. A nation is migrating. Here it is. You, who were calling on NATO for the solution to the Kurdish problem, is this what you wanted? For months, Turkish nationalists and Islamic fundamentalists have been calling on NATO for the solution to the Kosovo problem. Now they are applauding the NATO attack. Their criteria is known: Nothing should happen to the «Turkish», the Muslims, or co-religionists. They do not care whatever happens to the others. Moreover, if you ask the fundamentalists, in the words of Recai Kutan the «perverse» Alevis may also be massacred, and they will not show any reaction. They are collaborators with imperialism, who try to disguise their servile status with religious or nationalist reasons. Therefore they applaud when the people of Iraq is bombed, when the peoples of Yugoslavia are massacred. More correctly, they pretend to be sorry for one and they applaud the other. Yes, you who wanted NATO's intervention in Turkey for the solution to the Kurdish problem, is this what you want? Think once more! If NATO accepts your call, the panorama in Turkey

and Kurdistan will be the same as the panorama of Kosovo and Yugoslavia which you have been watching on TV screens for days. If the Serbian administration of Yugoslavia accepts the organisation called Kosovo National Liberation Army (UCK) as a representative, and consequently recognizes the freedom of Kosovo, would it be the liberation of the people of Kosovo? Will it come to mean that the people of Kosovo have exercised their right to self-determination? The answer to the question is obvious. Because, the UCK is a collaborator of imperialism. It has been revealed now how imperialism provokes nationalism. To illustrate, consider the examples of Talabani and Barzani. The more they surrendered to imperialism the more imperialism intervened for the solution of their problem. When the process of surrender was almost complete, imperialism gave them a place, some incomes, and took them under military protection. In Southern Kurdistan, what has changed for the Kurdish people with the administration of Barzani? Imperialism is using Barzani and Southern Kurdistan to make Iraq surrender and to strengthen its imperialist hegemony in the Middle East. This is the essence of the situation. Tomorrow,

when an administration on the side of imperialism is established in Iraq, imperialism is going to watch, moreover support that administration while its massacres the Kurds. Imperialism plays with nationalism, that is obvious. But this game is played in exchange for the lives, blood, and continuous exploitation and oppression of the peoples. One of the most definitive aspects of Lenin's analysis of the solution of the national problem is his defending strong states against imperialism. Lenin stated it very clearly: self-determination should not be on behalf of imperialism. If disintegration is to the benefit of imperialism, revolutionaries are against it. It should not be harmful for the disintegrating peoples themselves. In the light of this historical experience, revolutionaries claim the union of the peoples and their simultaneous power. Weak, small states make imperialist exploitation and oppression easier. This is internationalism. Internationalism is solidarity against imperialism. The PKK has turned internationalism into «Whatever I defend or do, everybody has to support PKK.» The internationalism of the PKK does not involve solidarity with the peoples of the world against imperialism. On the contrary, in the

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PKK is a typical imitation of Kemalism. In fact, it would not be wrong to call them Kurdish Kemalists. The PKK is not a Marxist-Leninist, or socialist, but rather a nationalist movement. The literature put out by the PKK about imperialism is not the literature of revolutionaries. The concepts have been deformed. The PKK is speaking another language, which is the language of nationalism
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internationalism of PKK, nationalism and pragmatism is so deep that it expects something from the massacre of other peoples. In fact, this phase of the PKK has made it questionable on which basis is it possible to carry on discussions with PKK. Are we going to discuss within a Marxist-Leninist framework? For instance, quite often they are making calls to imperialism and say «If you are a big state, prove it, play your role.» They are calling on European and USA imperialism to put pressure on the Turkish oligarchy for the solution of the Kurdish problem. If considered from a nationalist perspective, the desire of a nationalist movement to resolve a conflict with the help of the USA cannot be found strange. This is exactly the same in the cases of Barzani and Talabani. It is the mentality of «Let it be solved, whoever solves it» mentality. However,

because the PKK defines itself as socialist, this mentality cannot be accepted. This is the same with Kemalism. The Kemalists are pure nationalists. Therefore, they used any kind of pragmatism. But if an organisation calls itself socialist its position with regard to imperialism is totally different. This is what the left could not understand both in the past and today. In this respect, the PKK is a typical imitation of Kemalism. In fact, it would not be wrong to call them Kurdish Kemalists. The PKK is not a Marxist-Leninist, or socialist, but rather a nationalist movement. The literature put out by the PKK about imperialism is not the literature of revolutionaries. The concepts have been deformed. The PKK is speaking another language, which is the language of nationalism. For instance, it is well-defined how to discuss with Barzani. He is

a bourgeois nationalist. Therefore, if we criticise him, it can only be within this framework. You cannot criticise him for not having a revolutionary attitude about a subject. At this point, it is necessary to put forward the basic properties of today's nationalism. It is very well known that, at the time of its emergence, nationalism was the consequence of the bourgeoisie's desire to take control of its national market. How about today? Let us have a look at the nationalism of the Kosovo National Liberation Army. There is no real desire for freedom. They want a small Kosovo under the control of imperialism. They surrendered to imperialism from the beginning. It is certain that, when they win their false freedom, they will make Kosovo into part of imperialism's back yard, and allow the establishment of imperialist bases. That's to say they are going to become a new colony.



...
Imperialist aggression is a reminder those who have forgotten what the real nature of imperialism is. It clarifies the theory. This clarification is inevitable, because in the class struggle, imperialists behave as imperialists, revolutionaries as revolutionaries, and nationalists as nationalists. All of those political movements which occupy and can no more analyse their age either have to come to the revolutionary line or else will, eventually, be controlled by imperialism
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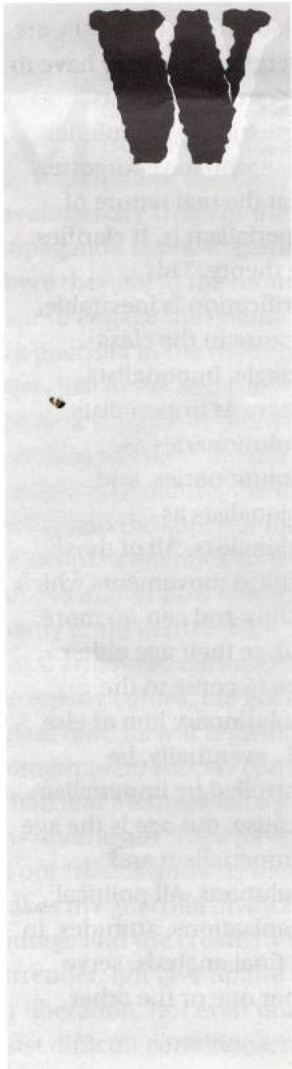
Barzani is the same. Arafat is the same. As Arafat began to surrender to imperialism, imperialism started to defend first an autonomous, later an independent Palestine. But in fact, Arafat is like imperialism's mayor under the control of CIA. Let us have a look at the strong nationalist movements in the former Soviet states like Azerbaijan, Armenia and Chechnia at the beginning of the 1990s. In which of these conflicts, which cost the blood of the peoples, can one find a national freedom perspective or opposition to imperialism? None of them. All of those seemingly nationalistic freedom wars were supported by this or that imperialist state. And when they attained their freedom they became a neo-colony of that imperialist state. Therefore, today nationalism mostly does not have a progressive character in the sense of being anti-imperialist. Therefore, it emerges that the key point in nationalism is its attitude towards imperialism. The PKK is not against imperialism today, neither was it in the past. The PKK has deepened this policy nowadays. From the beginning, it did not have a clear, direct attitude against imperialism, neither did it have as its aim in practice to «defeat imperialism and drive them out of the country.» It has not aimed at

imperialist targets, in a military context. A more recent and concrete example: Although it was clear from the beginning that the USA was responsible for the arrest of Ocalan, and that even the PKK itself stated this fact after a point, they, insistently, have not attacked USA. The PKK did not arrive at this point unconsciously. It intentionally acted in such a way as to adapt all its policies in order to obtain the support of imperialism. With various statements and attitudes, they signaled that they were not against imperialism, consequently the imperialists developed relations with the PKK on this basis. Especially after the destruction of socialism, deepening this policy more, the PKK came to this point. Of course, there is a democratic aspect of every national movement. The national demands themselves are democratic. But that's all. They do not have anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, and socialist aspects. The classical theory is clear. A national democratic revolution always involves anti-imperialism and land reform. These are indispensable demands of a national democratic revolution. The PKK used to express these demands at the beginning, not in practice but verbally, and later they disappeared even from its words. Again, they resemble the

Kemalists in this respect. If attention is paid on this point, it will be seen that they show special care not to attack landlords, usurers, trusts, and imperialists in Turkish Kurdistan, even under the present conditions. The natures of imperialism, nationalism, and internationalism became clearer in the light of these developments. The comments of anti-imperialists and collaborators of imperialism, so called anti-imperialists and revolutionary anti-imperialists, internationalists and so called internationalists, are diverging. And they have to diverge. Imperialist aggression is a reminder those who have forgotten what the real nature of imperialism is. It clarifies the theory. This clarification is inevitable, because in the class struggle, imperialists behave as imperialists, revolutionaries as revolutionaries, and nationalists as nationalists. All of those political movements which occupy and can no more analyse their age either have to come to the revolutionary line or else will, eventually, be controlled by imperialism. Because, our age is the age of imperialism and revolutions. All political organisations, attitudes, in the final analysis, serve either one or the other.

The Imperialists cannot solve the Kurdish question!

THE KURDISH NATIONAL MOVEMENT MUSTN'T LET THE IMPERIALISTS LEAD IT



When it reached the point of a cease fire/ peace politic, the Kurdish national movement declared that it was more or less willing to put down the arms. There had already been talking about this in other forms, and the national movement stepped into another, into a new phase. Turkey's aggression against Syria, and Öcalan's journey first to Russia and then to Italy, sort of caused the «untimely birth» of developments which had been on the agenda of the Kurdish national movement for a long time. From these developments came nothing but an imperialistic solution. The terms Öcalan stated, which can be valued one by one, and the question if he is given a political status in Italy, were he still is, or not, will maybe cause

some delay and confusion, but all this won't affect this phase very much. The child is born and it is named.

What is this all about? It's all about wrong analysis of imperialism and revolution by the PKK. It's the outcome of a struggle and a solution that is based on the imperialists, on the states of the region and on the contradictions between them. Syria, then Greece, then Russia,... And now Italy,... That doesn't work. These politics that count on the contradictions between Syria and the other states of the region, between Greece and Turkey, between Russia and the USA have not lead to a solution.

It was said over and over again that that these

contradictions could be used, but when they are taken as a basis, you cannot help but take part on one side. This is what causes them problems today. In the end the demand for a political status in Italy, and the proposals for a solution of the Kurdish question which followed, mean to expect a political solution of Europe. If Öcalan is given a political status or not is another thing (on the whole there isn't such a status anyway). The analysis which were developed on the basis of the states of the region, and on the basis of the analysis of imperialism, proved wrong. Now step by step a line is developed which can be accepted by Europe. There is still some vagueness regarding the positions of the imperialist

To praise imperialism cannot be a revolutionaries or a patriots case. If they do so they hide the atrocities of imperialism, the crimes it has committed against the people in numerous regions of the world. The Kurdish and Turkish friendship, the liberation of the Kurdish and Turkish people, cannot be reached by praising imperialism but by fighting it.

countries as well as regarding the PKK-line; nevertheless we can say very clear: the solution of the Kurdish question cannot be realised by leaning onto the EU, USA, or Russia. Whoever tells the opposite will go wrong; but for those who went wrong it will be too late when they find out in practice. Imperialism doesn't care about the interests of the Kurdish people or any other peoples interest. Whoever believes in the opposite is labouring under a historical mistake, doesn't know anything about the reality of imperialism or ignores it. To praise imperialism cannot be a revolutionaries or a patriots case. If they do so they hide the atrocities of imperialism, the crimes it has committed against the people in numerous regions of the world. The Kurdish and Turkish friendship, the liberation of the Kurdish and Turkish people, cannot be reached by praising imperialism but by fighting it. What is the EU? Will this imperialistic union defend human rights and freedom? Will it defend

the peoples interests? No, the EU is a union which was founded by the European imperialists with the goal to defend their own markets, to compete against the USA and Japan, and to get new markets under their control. Empty phrases about universal human rights and democracy are just a mask for this imperialistic union. The first step was the European company for coal and steel. It was founded to end inner competition and to dictate world market prices. Later the EU grew and became an economical European company. The EU and other political and military institutions rose. The European imperialists goal was to grow stronger and to get a bigger share of the profits. The European imperialists massacres against the peoples of the world are too many. They are responsible for the death of hundreds of thousand people in Ruanda.

They stand together with the USA during the attacks in the gulf region which are attacks against all the people of the Near East. They are also deeply involved in the bloodshed in Jugoslavia. During the last ten years they kept talking about human rights and democracy, when, at the same time, they were on a mission to eliminate the peoples armed struggle wherever it exists. El Salvador and Guatemala, just look at it, one foot of this phase of peace and surrender always stands in Europe.

They always did the same thing; they recommended «more human rights», and to the movements of liberation «dialog» and «cease fire». Thereby they showed themselves as «democrats», and supported all reformists and «peacemakers». This way they construct dreams of peace and democracy. Imperialistic media like

Reuters, Associated Press, AEP, DDA and others always censor news about the revolutionary struggle or report very little on it, but when there's a cease fire somewhere, or when peace talks begin they report on it very quickly and spread the message throughout the whole world. They spread the news about the third cease fire of the PKK very quickly. If there is reconciliation somewhere in the world Imperialism is excited and it is shown to everyone, but they don't want to show resistance and uprising. All the imperialists from England to France, from Italy to Germany, support the «peace» in Russia, where the people just experienc the negative consequences of the return of capitalism.

European imperialism defines the character of its relations to turkey, as a consequence of international competition, by its position for «peace» and a «political solution». European imperialism plans to use the big Turkish market to strengthen itself economically and politically, that's why they are interested in the Kurdish question. Turkey had the desire to join the EU for a long time. Imperialism, it's all the same if it's EU or USA imperialism, want's to change the world for itself into a «rosegarden without thorns». To imperialists the liberation movements are the thorns, to eliminate them is their basical political strategy today. This is the reality of European imperialism, but what are their further plans? They want to win new positions in the Near East and in other regions. Germany wants to be a power in the Near East, Italy wants to be a power in this region, too. The contradictions between America and Europe in this case are only superficial, their character is just the same. The «solution» and

the «peace» they are talking about is the «peace» of oppression and destruction.

Their differences today are all about who has got the better initiatives for the region. The power that is part of the «peace» has got an initiative for Turkey and the Near East. The slogan «Viva Italia» is shouted, but it is not considered that Italy is also trying to realise imperialistic plans for itself and for European imperialism. «Viva USA» could be shouted just the same, it would really make no difference. Those that speak about the heritage of Mahir and Deniz, should be aware about which slogans they shouted. They had the slogan that meant freedom for the people, during demonstrations they carried banners on which was written «Yankee go home». These people shouted with their last breath «Down with American imperialism». Can the slogan «Viva Italia» be shouted in their remembrance? The Turkish states propaganda was «Boycott Italian products»; the Kurdish slogans were «Boycott Turkish products,- buy Italian products». This is a pro

Italian attitude. This logic cannot be the product of a «healthy» perspective.

Why should the Kurdish people buy the products of Italian imperialism? Supposed Italy would give asylum to Öcalan, would Italy stop being a imperialistic country? Would Italy no longer have imperialistic interests? Thinking like that is like thinking,» It's better to be a colony of Italy than to be a colony of Turkey». Revolutionaries and patriots cannot for reasons of tactics or for any other reasons shout «Viva» to an imperialistic country. Nobody should present the imperialists as friends of the people. Regarding the interests of the people and the struggle for liberation imperialism will turn its back on the people. Imperialism hasn't brought freedom and peace to a single people in the world. When imperialists «help» liberation movements they do that for their own interests, they use them for their interests, suffocate the revolution and oppress all people. Imperialism also wants to control the Kurdish national movement and destroy it. That's its only goal and

that will stay this way. For month we have watched the «peace process» in El Salvador, Guatemala, Palestine. A «peace process» initialised by the European imperialists and supported by the USA.

And what is happening now? The A imperialistic media don't report on that, because it would make a bad example. In Guatemala, in El Salvador were the liberation movements controlled large parts of their countries, the end of the guerrilla is fixed. Some are going for the «jobs for guerrillas» which are guaranteed in the peace treaty, others are criticising that there are no steps towards democracy. But they can do nothing but lamenting, because they have put down their arms, they have weakened themselves and have submitted. It was said that the interests of the people of Guatemala and El Salvador have to be defended. It was said that the European imperialists will guarantee the peace, that they will provide economical aid. What is happening,...? And what is happening in Palestine?

...the Oligarchy wants to destroy or alter the Kurdish national movement. It couldn't destroy the PKK, but together with the imperialists it has lead PKK into a phase of changing. When PKK diverged from the politics of independence and marxism/leninism, that was supportive to the oligarchys and the imperialists cause. Their demand for autonomy and cultural rights, and for a solution by the imperialists prove that they are in this phase of changing. This position means that there is no longer a difference between PKK and the Kurdish national movements in the north of Iraq. Now the Kurdish question is controlled by the imperialists and the oligarchy. Imperialism and oligarchy will go for an imperialistic solution on the basis of cultural rights. The PKK still has got the chance to save itself from this pressure. But today their viewpoints, and their practice show that they don't really want that. Oligarchy, together with imperialism wants to force the PKK towards their solution. The PKK will resist imperialism and the oligarchy, and by this hoist the banner of the common struggle for the liberation of all the people of turkey, or it will accept the imperialistic solution. There is no middle course. One can see that the PKK is engaged in the politics of an imperialistic solution with its demands, and its relations to the imperialists. Oligarchy will continue with its politics of force to succeed with their plans for a solution. And it knows that in this new phase the PKK will, little by little, stop being a threat.

The «peace process» has reached a point where the control of the CIA is accepted. The Palestinian prisoners are still in jail. Just recently they began a hunger strike, to fight against repression and Zionism. Where is peace? What kind of peace is that? Still Palestinians are murdered on the streets. What was propagated when the peace treaty was signed? When fighting imperialism and fascism you have to raise the banner of the united struggle of all people, if you don't insist on «all power to the people» submission is inevitable. The Kurdish national movement has to make a choice just like Öcalan said in his last statement, but the choice Öcalan favours is the wrong one. It would mean to forget about all the goals that stood at the beginning of the struggle. The experiences in Italy have shown the importance for the PKK to pose the question where they came from, and where they are going. In a manifesto they signed the PKK called those who were going for autonomy reactionists in the services of the imperialists, now the PKK is demanding for autonomy. And their demand has got no reality. It's just a statement for the transition to «solution» that works inside the system, and has got little to do with the original goals. The Kurdish national movement has got to make an absolute choice. We reject a reconciliation between patriotic forces and imperialism. We suggest, and it's our wish that the choice is made to continue with the struggle for the liberation of all the people. There shouldn't be any phrases about «bloodshed» and «peace». Look at those who are shouting slogans like, «The bloodshed has to stop, nobody should die!» They are reformists, - they are hoping for Europe to put pressure on Turkey to realise more

democracy. Not for once they experienced the pain of dying, but they want to make peaceful politics inside the system. They are propagating phrases about the «bloodshed» and about funerals and shout slogans like, «Nobody should die!» But thousands are dying because of the crimes of

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imperialism, thousands are starving to death. And in our country thousands are dying because of the massacres of the counter-guerilla, and «unknown perpetrators». Again they will talk about «bloodshed» and about «cease fire». There should no longer be any wrong hopes about the contradictions of imperialism and of the oligarchy. The decision about the last cease fire, and the experiences of this phase, should show very clearly, that it is wrong to build ones politics around these contradictions. This is a blind-alley. Like the PKK speakers said they were framed on the third cease fire. Can a liberation movement be framed that easy?

The fundamentals of this mistake is the analysis the PKK had made about the contradictions of the oligarchy. They expected a

solution of certain parts of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Today regarding the analysis of imperialism there is the same probability of being framed. It is possible to find three or five members of parliament in Italy or another imperialistic country who are willing to invite Öcalan, but when such an invitation comes from a government one should know that they are trying to get control, and push an imperialistic «solution». Whether the colour of the prime ministers party is green, pink or another is just the same, and doesn't change reality. The reality of imperialism can't be altered by our wishes. For a free and democratic country where we can live freely, for a world in which all the people can live together in peace without fighting each other against their will, for the realisation of the power of the people in every country, - we have to fight for socialism. Peace for the people of the world is only possible in a socialist system.

For this peace we are ready to die. We say «struggle until liberation», knowing the consequences. The wish for democracy and peace means just that. Here lie also the possibilities for a liberation of the Kurdish people. The Kurdish national movement should recognise all these realities and all the mistakes the PKK has made so far. It shouldn't allow the imperialists to control it, and take its position in the lines of the ones that fight for peoples liberation. A critical point is reached, this is the settling day and a decision has to be made. The question is whether our people determine their fate or whether imperialism does that? That is the question we have to answer by making a decision.

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1998

The peoples of the world are engaged in a difficult war and each year has its difficulties. Victories are achieved, and there are defeats. In Turkey, the year 1998 was a year of beauty, as well as the harshness of war. It has been difficult because the oligarchy continued the attacks with its violence, thousands of people were arrested, detained, murdered.

But there was beauty as well because we defended justice, dignity and independence against this violence. We never withdrew. We never ever thought of bowing for the «strength» of imperialism and the oligarchy. 1998 was a year in which we showed our responsibility towards history and our people with strength of mind. Every day of the year, it was in our mind, being the answer to the desire of our people for justice and its liberation; therefore we attacked the enemy, we organised ourselves, and we went into the mountains. And therefore we expanded our war. 1999 will be a year in which the war will develop and expand, led by the Front. This is not meant as a «prophecy», its a certainty, because the oligarchy is no longer able to prevent the expansion of the people's liberation war.

**VICTORY WILL BELONG THE
OUR RESISTING AND
FIGHTING PEOPLE, SOONER
OR LATER!**

January 1998:

January 1

- The economical crisis in Southeast Asia shocked the entire world economy and the stock markets. -

The cigarette factories Samsun and Yeni Harman are, under the pretext of «privatisation», given away to the British-American Tobacco company.

January 4

- In the neighbourhood of Bakirkoev, the People's Councils protest against the massacre in the UEmraniye prison.

January 5

- Cihan Tarho, a student at the Malatya Inoenue University, is attacked by fascists with a knife. He

dies as a

consequence of his wounds on January 11. Actions are carried out in protest against his murder. Dozens of pupils are wounded because of fascist attacks in January.

January 12

- The 120-page report about the Susurluk scandal, prepared by the chairman of the Investigation Committee of the prime-minister, Kutlu Savas, is presented.

January 15

- Attack against the revolutionary female prisoners in the Usak prison. 40 prisoners are wounded at different part of their bodies.

January 23

- The fifth session of the Gazi trial in Trabzon. Two accused policemen are released.

Besides the People's Councils, the relatives of the martyrs, there was also a 20 people strong international

delegation to monitor the trial.

January 28

- The Kurtulus representative in Adana, Mehmet Topaloglu, and two fighters of the Akdeniz Armed Propaganda Rural Unit of the DHKC, Buelent Dil and Besat Ayyildiz, are murdered by the contra-guerrilla in a house in Adana



Mehmet Topaloglu



Bu133267lent Dil



Behsat Ayyildiz

The operation in Adana on the 28th January '98, where three revolutionaries got killed was just one more of the Susuluk State's '1000 Operations'



The massacre was also protested in Istanbul. by the co-workers of the KURTULUS magazine A few days later the police attacked the central office of the KURTULUS.

February 2

- During the night, dozens of people are arrested after increased attacks against the People's Councils in the Istanbul neighbourhoods of Gazi, Birlik, Esenler, Bagcilar, Beykoz, Uemraniye, 1 Mayıs, Kartal and Guelsuyu. - The chairman of the HADEP is arrested and detained.

February 8

- The army of the oligarchy carries out a border crossing operation with 15.000 soldiers in Northern Iraq.

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February 9

- The local People's Councils carry out actions against the beer halls in Okmeydani under the slogan «We will remove these filthy institutions».



February 15

- The peasants of Bergama rally in Istanbul/Kasimpasa with the slogan «Cyanide company get out».

February 17



- The torturers of the Susurluk State, entering the central offices of the KURTULUS magazine with a fabricated search

warrant in order to destroy the offices, are confronted with a barricade resistance. Numerous people gather outside the building in solidarity with the Kurtulus. The co-workers of the magazine are beate up and arrested and held for 7 days in the torture

chambers of the police stations. Several people are arrested at a later time. The office was totally wrecked.



February 25

- The TIBSET workers, resisting for 206 days, are being attacked by the gendarmes.

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March 3

- During an evening attack in Istanbul/Nurtepe, the police arrests 20 people in a bakery shop. The People's Council initiative of Nurtepe marches up to the Kagithane police station to stand up for the detainees. The police is forced to release their prisoners.

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March 4-5

- On March 4, empowered by the abolition of the fake Union Law, the police attacked the sit-down action of the 5.000 workers in the civil service with gas grenades, water cannons and armoured vehicles. The workers had gathered on the Kizilay square in Ankara. Despite the hindrances by the KESK (Civil Servants Union), on a line of compromises and negotiations, the workers, led by the Revolutionary Civil Servants Movement, continued their action on the Kizilay square the next day, shouting out their demands.

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March 11

- The Manisa Trial, in which policemen were accused of torturing DLMK-sympathisers (Fighting Committee for a democratic Gymnasium), ended with an acquittal because of «lack of evidence».

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March 12

- 20.000 people participated in the commemoration of the Gazi Massacre on March 12, 1995. A mass of 13.000 people marched behind the banners of the Front, the People's Councils and the Platform for Rights and Liberties.

- The seven revolutionary, democratic pupils, murdered by the contra-guerrilla on March 16, 1978, were commemorated at the scene of the massacre, on Beyacit square. 2.500 people participated in this commemoration.

- After the initiative by the Okmeydani People's Council again the bars, beer halls, and gambling halls, the Istanbul chief of police, Hasan OEzdemir, ordered the protection of the gambling halls by hundreds of policemen and armoured vehicles. - Newroz was celebrated in several neighbourhoods of Istanbul, as well as Ankara, Burdur, Kayseri, Malatya, Kars and Osmaniye, by Front sympathisers who ignited fires of rebellion.

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March 30

- The state carried out an attack against the prisoners in Buca prison. The murderers who participated in the Buca Massacre, brutally dragged away 10 DHKP-C prisoners from the visitors cabins. Thereupon the prisoners in Buca started their resistance by building barricades and causing a fire. Actions were started in prisons all over the country, demanding the return of the kidnapped prisoners. Dozens of prison guards were taken hostage. On April 1, the state saw itself forced to give in to the prisoners' demands.

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arch 31 - The Susurluk State tried to carry out a mass scale disappearance action.



Neslihan Uslu, Metin Andas, Hasan Aydoğan and Mehmet Ali Mandal, arrested in Izmir, were «disappeared».

April 1998:

- Actions, commemorating the Martyrs of the Revolution who fell between March 30 and April 17, and commemorating the foundation of the Party-Front, were held in several neighbourhoods of Istanbul and throughout Anatolia.

April 8

A freedom action attempt by the DHKP-C prisoners in Bayrampasa prison, failed.

The torturing of the 2.5 year old A.T., arrested together with his mother, accused of «being an organisation member», was confirmed by a report of the Physicians Chamber of Istanbul.

The «Murat Operation», said to be «the largest operation of the last 14 years», was started against the people in Kurdistan.

12 revolutionary organisations from several countries participated in the conference «Revolution and Power in the neo-colonial countries», organised by the DHKP-C.

April 21

The trial about the «murder and torture of Baki Erdogan» ended before the Serious Crime Court in Adana.

After the trial, the condemned policemen attacked the lawyers and journalists who were present in the courtroom as monitors. Several people were wounded.

April 22

It was announced that the RAF (Red Army Faction), active in Germany, has dissolved itself.

May

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May 1

The tens of thousands, marching in the Front's block during the May Day parade in Istanbul, did not bow to the state attacks. Hundreds of people were arrested, hundreds were wounded. And also in Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Antep, Mersin, Bursa, Malatya, Trabzon, Hopa, Usa, Zonguldak and Kayseri, the people of the Front participated in the May Day festivities as massive, disciplined and enthusiast blocks. The tens of thousands who marched in the ranks of the Front crossed the plans of the MGK, the union bureaucrats and the reformists. Before and after the demonstration, there were massive attacks carried out by the police in cooperation with the civic fascists. Numerous participants in the demonstration were severely wounded.

May 2

Ahmet OEzdemir, member of the People's Council initiative in Esenler, committed suicide as a result of a brain trauma, caused by beatings on the head during the police attack against the Front's block in the MayDay demonstration.



May 5

- Kenan Mak, a student at the Bolu Izzet Baysal University, was murdered in a fascist attack.

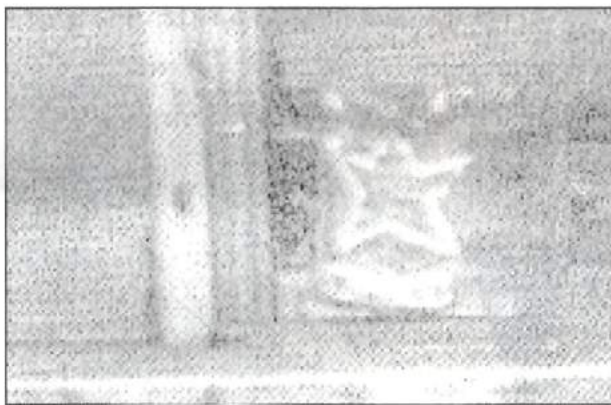
May 10

- The relatives of the disappeared, carrying out their sit-down action at the Galatasaray for the 155th. week, were attacked by the police.



May 12

- The chairman of the IHD, Akin Berdal, was severely wounded after an armed attack by the contra-guerrilla against the IHD central offices in Ankara.



May 13
Demanding clarification of the fate of their disappeared comrades, the DHKC bombed the building of the fascist MHP in Okmeydani



May 20

- The guerilla fighters Zeynep Korkmaz and Hueseyin Kilic fell during an armed confrontati on in Dersim Hozat.



May 21

- Many people drowned after floods in the Black Sea region and in Hatay.

May 26

- The police chief of Bueynckekmece, Hueseyin Islamoglu, speaking in the name of «the division commander of the artillery units of Hadimkoey», threatened the printing-shop owner to stop printing the Kurtulus.

May 29

- Demanding accountability for the disappearance of four Front sympathisers in Izmir, the DHKC carried out an armed action against the DSP-building (Democratic Leftist Party) in Kustepe. A policeman, Cumali Akkurt, was punished.

May 31

- With the publication of the «Official Paper», the new changes of the YOEK Disciplinary Directorate came into force.. According to these, pupils who seek their rights, within and outside of the schools, respectively pupils who participate in actions, are to be punished and can be «excluded from school».

J U N E 1 9 9 8

June 6 - The Gaziosmanpasa neighbourhood organisation of the DTP (Democratic Turkey Party) was destroyed by the DHKC-Revolutionary People's Forces who used bombs and Molotov-cocktails. A banner with the text «Where are our four people who disappeared - DHKC» was left behind at the scene.

June 8

- The Platform for Rights and Liberties went to Ankara to ask for the whereabouts of the four revolutionaries who disappeared. A demonstration to the Gueven Park was started. After a meeting with a representative of the Interior Department, a statement was promised within 15 days. June 11 - The public service workers, organised in the KESK unions, protested against the wage increase of only 20% by laying down their work for one day.



June 15

- Three DHKC guerrillas fell during an armed confrontation in the village of Ardic in Dersim-Hozat. The guerrillas Songuel Erkus, Alp Arslan and Dursun Cakir, belonging to the Dersim Ibrahim Erdogan Armed Propaganda Rural Unit, remained loyal to the tradition of the Party-Front to never surrender.



June 20-21

- Founding congress of the Genel-Is union, affiliated to the DISK. With only a slight majority, the reformists, MGK-unionists took the leading positions.



June 21

- Demanding clarification of the fate of the four disappeared, the Revolutionary People's Forces occupied the ORF television and radio stations in Graz, Austria, and the offices of Amnesty International in Mannheim, Stuttgart and Frankfurt, Germany. A hungerstrike in support of the disappeared was held in Brussels and London.

June 27

- 145 people died during an earthquake in Adana/Ceyhan, 1517 people were wounded. There were aftershocks for days. The state abandoned the people, leaving them alone with the catastrophe, and only came up with hypocritical statements. The people carried out protest actions.

JULY 1998

July 1998:

- The Platform for Rights and Liberties in Izmir announced that they are going to meet every Saturday on the Konak square for those who have disappeared. - The wage increases for the public servants ostensibly caused a coalition crisis, but in the end it was done what the IMF ordered. The civic servants received a meagre 20% increase. - Because of the 75th anniversary of the republic, the governing DSP offered an «amnesty» for the social prisoners.

July 6-15

- First issues of the papers Voice of the People in Gazi and Voice of the People in Okmeydani.

July 7

- The People's Council initiative in Alibeykoey started a campaign against drugs.

July 23

- The workers of all the American firms in Adana, Incirlik, Izmir and Adana went into strike to fight for their rights.

July 25-26

- The martyrs of the Death Fast of 1996 were commemorated with several ceremonies in Istanbul, Ankara, Antakya, Mersin, Aydin and Denizli.

AUGUST 1998

August 1998:

- Kurdish seasonal workers, coming to the Black Sea region to collect hazelnuts, were not allowed into the cities because of fascist decrees by the governors of Ordu and Giresun.



- «*Boran Firtinasi*», the music cassette of Grup Yorum, telling the epic story of the 1996 Death Fast, appeared

August 5

- TAYAD closed down.

August 8

- The collaborator and traitor Ali Tokmak, responsible for the murder of 7 DHKC-guerrillas in Sivas, was punished with death in Okmeydani.

August 13

- German imperialism bans DHKP-C activities within the German borders. Based on the same decree, the Kurtulus magazine is outlawed as «press organ of the DHKP-C».

August 14

- Demanding accountability for the disappearance of the four Front people, the DHKC carried out bomb attack against members of the Special Police.

- 80 people died after landslides and floods in the neighbourhoods of Beskoey, Suermene, Of and Koepruebasi, in Trabzon, and the neighbourhood of Rize in Ikizdere.

- Cevre Radio closed down for three months after orders of the MGK.

- The fascist Mafia gangster Alaatin Cakici was arrested in the French city of Nice, carrying a special red passport, handed to him by the MIT.

August 20

- The USA bombed Afghanistan and Sudan.

August 21

- The Idil Cultural Centre stormed by the police. 25 people arrested.

- After publishing the tapes, containing telephone conversations between state minister Eyuep Asik and Mafia gangster Alaatin Cakici, the «dog fight» within the ranks of the oligarchy turns into a «Tape War».

August 29

- The DHKC carries out a bomb attack against the ANAP building in the neighbourhood of Bakirkoeuy, demanding accountability for the disappearance of four Front sympathisers.

August 30

- DHKC-guerrillas block the street in Tokat-Niksar.

September 1998

September 1

- For the third time, the PKK announces a cease-fire.

September 4

- The Platforms for Rights and Liberties of Istanbul and Ankara went to Izmir Cesme where the four Front sympathisers «disappeared». A sit-down action was held later, together with the Platform in Izmir and sympathisers in the region. A complaint was filed against the State Prosecution.

September 5

- With a joint declaration of all revolutionary and patriotic organizations inside the prisons, the revolutionary prisoners started their boycott action against the State Security Courts. It was announced that the action, demanding the closing down of all DGM's and the cancellation of all its verdicts, was also supported by the revolutionary-democratic lawyers.



September 9
- The DHKC-guerrillera Filiz Uenal fell during an armed confrontation in Niksar-Resadiye.

September 15

- As a result of the mining of the street between Hozat and Elazig by fighters of the Dersim Ibrahim Erdogan Rural Guerrilla Unit of the DHKC, demanding accountability for the four disappeared, one torturer dies, and three policemen are severely wounded.

September 18

- The sell-out of the workers during the wage and tariff negotiations by the Tuerk-Metal Union and the MESS, all in the name of the 75.000 workers all over Turkey, and 16.500 in Bursa alone, caused the largest mass action of workers in recent years.

September 18

- The TOFAS-workers froze production and blocked the traffic. Later the police tried to stop the workers who marched into the direction of the centre of Bursa. The workers of the Oyak Renault Car Factory, Robert Bosch and Maka Beltan also joined the action. Masses of workers left the Tuerk Metal Union, reaching a total of 10.000 all over the country.

September 19

- Demanding accountability for the four disappeared Front sympathisers, the police station in Aksaray was destroyed by the DHKC with a anti-tank grenade.

- Second congress of the KESK. The contra-revolutionary Dogu Perincek and the members of the IP (Workers Party), invited by the reformist-compromising KESK leadership, were thrown out of the hall by the Revolutionary

Civil Servants Movement. The leadership remained in reformist hands.

September 23

- The Baba Ishak Cultural Centre was opened in Kuecuek Armutlu.

September 29

- Peasants from the regions of Denizli, Afyon, Aydin, Mugla, Balikesir and Usak protested in Bergama and Soeke against the high prices of cotton.

O C T O B E R 1 9 9 8

October 1

- Troops were gathered at the borders with Syria after a MGK decree of September 30.

October 2 - The police stormed the printing-shop of the magazine Kurtulus for the People and arbitrarily confiscated 16.000 copies. Six co-workers of the Kurtulus were arrested and the Kurtulus was closed down for one month.

-The High Institution for Privatisations decided to close down the SEKA factory in Izmit. Thereupon, the resistance which started in SEKA Izmit, was continued by the workers of the SEKA factories in Balikesir Giresun-Aksu and Silifke-Tasucu. Actions like the refusal to leave the workplace, demonstrations and meetings were carried out. After the resistance spread across the country, the High Institution for Privatisations withdrew its decision on October 31.

October 7

- Using the pretext of a search, the police arrested 24 co-workers and readers of the Kurtulus. Two co-workers and the chief editor of the Devrimci Genclik were jailed.

October 16

- The fascist dictator of Chile, Pinochet, was arrested in England on the request of Spain.

October 19

- Using the argument that the preparations for a tunnel had been discovered in the cells of the DHKP-C and TKP(ML) prisoners, the administration of Ceyhan prison launched an attack against the prisoners. Dozens of prisoners were seriously injured. After this attack, the revolutionary prisoners in all other jails carried out actions like refusing the count, occupying the corridors, and taking hostages. As a result, the state was forced to recognise the demands of the Central Prison Co-ordination.

- A tape was discovered, containing a telephone conversation in which the «employer» Korkmaz Yigit and Tuerbank hired the Mafia gangster Alaatin Cakici.

October 22

- The contra-guerrilla organisation JITEM (Intelligence Service of the Gendarmes) was officially announced in Turkish parliament.

October 24

- The attacks against the relatives of the disappeared continue, 24 people are arrested.
- From October 24 till November 2, manoeuvres of the USA and South Korea against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. About 35.000 US-soldiers based in South Korea and more than 50.000 South Korean soldiers took part in the military manoeuvre «Eagle 98», using state of the art military weapons. In the manoeuvres that were held at the same time under the name of «Hwarang 98» more than 1,1 million regular and semi-regular armed forces of South Korea and the USA took part.

October 30

- The Kurdish patriot Erdal Aksu, who kidnapped an aeroplane in protest against the massacres in Kurdistan, was murdered by the Special Team.

October 31

- Instigated by the Revolutionary Civil Servants Movement, the 2nd. Congress of the Workers in the Civil Service was held in Istanbul.

November 1998:

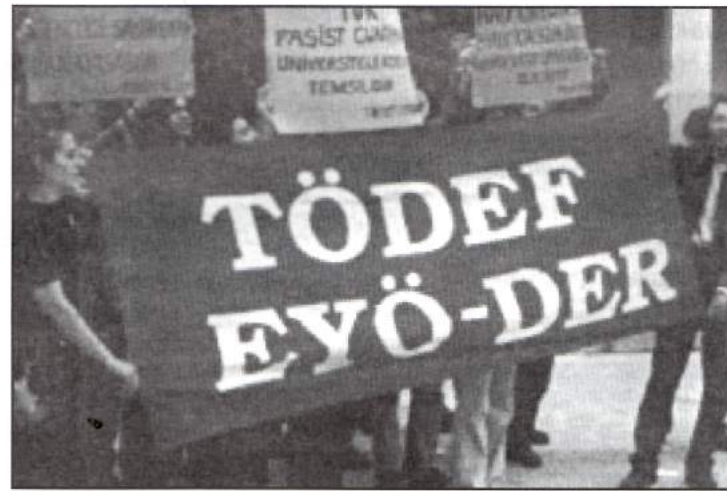
November 4

The police, storming the Cultural Centres in Gazi and Okmeydani, as well as the Idil Cultural Centre, arrested dozens of people. The people of Gazi took to the street and stood up against the arrests. The police saw themselves forced to release the detained people.



November 3

- At the second anniversary of Susurluk, more than 10.000 people held the Susurluk State responsible by demonstrating in the streets of the Gazi neighbourhood, of Okmeydani, 1 Mayıs, Alibeykoey, Nurtepe and Bağcılar. The loudest voices were heard from the avant-guard of the front from the slum areas.



November 6

- The November 6 Boycott, started in 1990 by the TOEDEF, has now spread across the entire country.

November 5

- The DHKC once again asked «Where are the disappeared». The Sultanahmet court building was bombed and destroyed.

November 7

Hungerstrikes of the Kurtulus representatives in Kocaeli, Bursa, Denizli and Izmir in protest against the attacks against the paper. The co-workers and readers of the Kurtulus in Kocaeli, attacked by the police and civic fascist during the action, resisted and set up barricades. They were brutally beaten up, arrested and some of them were later sent to jail.

Thousands of workers in Kayseri, Yozgat, Nevsehir, Tunceli and Kirsehir joined the hungerstrike which was started by the seasonal workers of the General Directorate of Village Services in Erzurum and Antalya.

November 14

PKK-leader Abdullah Ocalan arrested in Italy. A statement of the DHKC Press Office reads: «The arrest of PKK-leader Abdullah Ocalan is part of the terror and annihilation policy of imperialism, applied against all the revolutionary organisation of the world and their leaders.»

November 16

DHKC fighters bomb the Tax Department in Avcilar/Istanbul.

November 19

- In protest against the arrest of Ocalan, 17 Kurdish patriots burn themselves during the last days of November.
 - The police force and civic fascist carry out attacks nation-wide against the hungerstrikes which are organised by the HADEP in solidarity with its leadership and the demand for peace. Hundreds of HADEP supporters are arrested. Two Kurdish patriots massacred during the chauvinist attacks.



- A tremendous shock for the Susurluk State when it heard about the existence of a DHKC guerrilla unit in the mountains of Denizli. Thousands of soldiers, members of the Special Teams and tanks are directed to Denizli and the neighbouring region. After an operation which lasted for 10 days, that state directed all its forces against the village of Balkica, in the Goelgeli Mountains, where two DHKC fighters are spotted. After a gun fight of 20 hours, the commander of the unit, Erhan Yilmaz and the second commander, Mehmet Yildirim, fell as martyrs after shouting the words «We are from the Party-Front, we are from the DHKP-C, we will not surrender, you cannot break us, the members of the DHKP-C are immortal».



December 1998:

- Hurricane «George» kills and wounds thousands of people in the Dominican Republic, and there are more than 300.000 refugees. There are fears of a national famine because of the destruction of the agricultural and industrial infrastructure. More than 90% of the expected harvest of these months is destroyed. The material damages, the damages to the eco-system, the production losses, the damages to the infrastructure, irrigation works, schools, et cetera, are normous. According to the first estimates, the damages are more than 2 billion US-dollars, without taking into account the severe damages to the eco-system.

December 2

- In commemoration of the martyrs of Denizli, the Revolutionary People's Forces carry out actions like the hanging of banners and flags, and writing slogans, in several neighbourhoods of Istanbul.
 - A civic fascist gang attacks a revolutionary-democratic structure, the Kalaba Halkevi (People's House) in Kecioeren, a neighbourhood in Ankara.

December 4, 7 and 10

- The Kurtulus representation in Hopa is stormed and destroyed for the third consecutive time by the police. The co-workers of the paper are arrested.

December 17

- Using the delegation report to the UN as a pretext, American and English imperialism once again attack Iraq.

T DHKP-C Prisoners

H Recorded The Attacks And The

E Resistance Of Recent

Months In Several Prisons In Turkey

On Paper.



ANKARA prison:

When the news about the attacks against the revolutionary prisoners in Ceyhan prison and the following events reached us, several organisations in the Closed Central Prison of Ankara held a day of action, like refusing the prisoners count, occupation of the air shaft and the corridor, and pressure was applied to get information about the situation of the prisoners who had been injured in the attack in Ceyhan prison. It was decided to evaluate new developments. No information could be received from the prison administration, despite the actions. A majority agreed to a decision, made the next day, October 21, after the evaluation. The action, in which the organisations of the DHKP-C, EKİM, TKP(ML), TIKB, DY, TKP/ML, MLKP and TDP participated, was continued with fires in the corridor, string dancing

(Halay) and shouting slogans, expressing our determination («We will break the hand which is held up against the prisoners in Ceyhan», «The attacks and transfers cannot break us») On October 23, 1998, in connection with the attack against the prisoners in CANKIRI prison, a proposal from the DHKP-C prisoners to take hostages was discussed in the council. The prisoners of the TKP(ML) and the TKP/ML participated. The girders the guards carried with them constantly, showed they were prepared for such a development. The chief guard Mehmet ORHAN was injured as a result of his aggressive conduct when the prisoners tried to take him hostage. Some senior guards and prison orderlies became abusive and gave the order to attack. After our medical attendant examined the wounds of the injured guard, he was handed over to the prison

administration for treatment. At that moment, we were bombarded with stones and tiles which had been stored in the watchtowers. Shots were fired in the air, at the crowd, and at the team that brought the hostages back. The soldiers held their fire temporarily when they received the warning «We are bringing the hostages, don't shoot», but they kept firing at the prisoners who didn't have any hostages with them. A non-political prisoner, who was in his cell, was wounded in the hand. These attacks were overcome with only minor grazes. After consultations between lawyers, a representative from the department and representatives of the Central Prison Coordination (CMK, founded during the hungerstrike till death of 1996, representing several organisations), which ended with the written promise to concede to the demands of the prisoners,

the hostages were released and the prison count was acceded to.

BARTIN prison:

After we heard of the attack, on the night of October 19, against the prisoners in CEYHAN prison, we demanded that the prison administration to make inquiries by telephone for more details. It was reported that there had been attacks and that people had been wounded, and that the situation had been normalised again. The next morning we talked with the other political prisoners and we agreed with the HDO prisoners on our proposals to refuse the count and for shouting slogans. The TKP/ML and the RIZGARI prisoners only agreed to the slogans. The PKK declared it would not participate. But when the attacks went beyond CEYHAN, and a new wave of attacks started in BERGAMA, we, including the HDO, started our action again to refuse the count. From the day we refused the count, the prison administration only admitted the personnel to count the PKK and the non-political prisoners and to lock the doors to the yard. Then they were called back to the administration building. On the evening of October 23, 1998, we heard about attacks against CANKIRI prison. We had been patient till then. But now it had become necessary to oppose these attacks more clearly. The enemy knew before us that there had been hostage taking in other prisons. While some personnel were dragged to the administration buildings, as an exhibit, a barricade was being constructed there. Our proposal, which we came up with during these events, to occupy the corridor was only accepted by the HDOE prisoners. Thus began the occupation action and the non-closure of the doors to the yard. The

administration personnel left the prison and withdrew into the administration building. Even the count of the PKK and non-political prisoners was cancelled. As a result of the negotiation between a representative from the department, a delegation of lawyers and representatives from the Central Prison Co-ordination on October 24, 1998, it was confirmed in writing that our demands would be met and the action was ended.

CANKIRI prison:

When we watched the television news on October 19, 1998, we heard that a tunnel had been found in Bayrampasa prison and that an attack had occurred in Ceyhan prison. As a first step, we prevented the closure of the doors to the dining room and the dorm which usually occurs around 3.15 a.m. The next morning we continued our action with the refusal of the count. And at 1 p.m., 3 p.m. and 5 p.m., the slogan «We will break the hand which is held up against the prisoners, revolutionary prisoners cannot be broken», yelled in the corridor, resounded through the prison. The DHKP-C and the EKIM prisoners participated in this action. While this kind of action continued, they wanted to conduct a search on October 23, at 9 a.m. We declared that we would refuse to be searched. Later, the director called upon our representative and said that «there won't be a count, just a search». Our representative stated once more that no search would be allowed before there was any news from prisoners in Ceyhan. The state prosecutor, who participated in the talks, declared in a threatening tone «Why are you trying to convince him? Tell the chief prosecutor to initiate the necessary». The representative of

the prisoners, not impressed, left the talks. Half an hour later, the director came to the door of the cell and said that our friends in Ceyhan prison were in isolation, that cell doors had been broken open, but that the prisoners were now in communal cells again after the doors had been repaired and the tunnel that had been discovered was shut down. He also said that the prisoners were in good health. After this talk, the prison guards were withdrawn from the corridor immediately and it was clear that an attack was being prepared. We told the non-political prisoners, who had indicated their willingness to participate in the action: «You'll know from our slogans when the attack begins. Break open your cell doors then and take part in the action». We addressed the PKK prisoners with the words: «It's clear now, an attack will occur, what will be your attitude?» While the PKK kept their silence to us, one of their representatives went into the cells of the non-political prisoners and with the words «this is not our problem, and it isn't yours. It's a DHKP-C problem, do not take part in the action», he tried to get them to withdraw from the action. The non-political prisoners then came to us and said: «They are trying to leave you on your own, do something». When we went into the communal cells of the non-political prisoners, we said: «We are here with 49 people as Party-Front prisoners. And 2 prisoners from EKIM are taking part in the action as well. Even if we die in the end, we will emerge as the winners. We trust our own strength and we will fight. We regard you as our friends. Whether you take part or not, that's your decision». Some ten minutes after this talk, one by one the answers came from the cells of the non-political prisoners: «We've

The soldiers, who had launched a counterattack, panicked and started to run away. They stopped near the kitchen and constructed a barricade with their girders. After we threw a Molotov-cocktail, the non-political prisoners started to hurl stones at the soldiers from the windows.

and shanks. Then we started to yell: «Human dignity will defeat torture», «Down with fascism, long live our struggle». And we sang our march: «Come if you have the courage»... The director tried to silence us and our representative cried out even louder.

They wanted «negotiations», protected by guards and soldiers. We rejected this. The demand was clear:

come to a joint decision, when there is an attack, we will be on your side, we will participate in the resistance. If you want, we can break open the doors now and go into the corridor, if you want we can take the prison guards hostage as well». The director showed up again. He emphasised that a search was necessary. Our stand was clear, EXPLAIN THIS WITH CEYHAN. We saw that soldiers, policemen and a fire-engine were lined up outside. Around 2.30 p.m., chief prosecutor Ethem TÜRKER came. He said that the search would be carried out one way or the other. And we discussed Ceyhan. Tuerker said after a brief discussion: «What will be your last word?» «Clear up the business in Ceyhan!...» «Well, you know it», he said and went to the director and ordered the preparations. It was now evident that they were going to attack. We immediately went into the corridor and erected a barricade in front of the bars. It was not quite finished when some 50 prison guards and 20 soldiers entered, together with the directors and the chief prosecutor. The electricity was cut off and they came up to the barricade. We prepared the beds

CEYHAN. We heard how the non-political prisoners in the upper floor tried to break open the cell doors with force. At that same moment, some 30 soldiers, armed with girders, sticks and tear gas came through the back entrance. We divided our forces and went in both directions. When the soldiers were very near to us, they lined up and began to beat their sticks on the girders. They practically engaged in psychological warfare. We hit the floor with girders and iron bars as well. With an even louder voice, we yelled: «Down with fascism, long live our struggle». The soldiers were amazed and they tried to intimidate us and the non-political prisoners by breaking the windows in the corridor. The PKK member yelled, 'close our doors', but nobody reacted... The soldiers freaked because of some Molotov-cocktails we threw. The soldiers in the front row, with the girders, took a step back. At that moment came the order «Attack, throw them out of the corridor» and we went into the attack position, yelling «Down with fascism, long live our struggle». The soldiers, who had launched a

counterattack, panicked and started to run away. They stopped near the kitchen and constructed a barricade with their girders. After we threw a Molotov-cocktail, the non-political prisoners started to hurl stones at the soldiers from the windows. While we went there as well, we were hit by some of their stones. When we yelled at them that they should stop throwing stones, one non-political prisoner replied: «What do I know, brother, not ten seconds ago there were soldiers there, how quickly they ran». We could hear steps on the upper floor and thought it was soldiers. The doors from the cells to the upper floor were all right, we had barricades and enough people. While we were thinking it was soldiers, a confrontation occurred on the upper floor between the non-political prisoners and the soldiers who had to retreat there as well. This situation came as a sudden surprise to the soldiers, they had been pushed back there as well. Later we heard that the soldiers had entered the upper and the lower floor at the same time. Above the officer had said: «No mercy, beat the vermin on their heads». There were Robocops as well as soldiers. The non-political prisoners broke open their doors and pushed back the soldiers with sticks and the slogans «Human dignity will defeat torture», «We are the people, we are right and we will win». Pushed in a corner here as well, the soldiers ran after throwing a tear gas grenade. Thus the corridor in the upper floor came under the control of the non-political prisoners. The words later of the regiment commander to the non-political prisoner, «We didn't expect you to participate in the actions, we expected you to support us», essentially betrayed the plan; while we were being diverted in the corridor, soldiers were to come

simultaneously from the back and the top. But this plan could not be realised. After we closed the doors of the lower corridor, we gathered with the non-political prisoners. After the director saw there was no chance of success, he proposed a meeting. We declared we would agree to that after the soldiers were withdrawn and the operation was ended. We told him to come to the cell for talks. Because he didn't dare do so, we gave our word that he wouldn't come to any harm. We told him there were soldiers on the roof and he said they would be withdrawn. Just two minutes later, two tear gas grenades were thrown from the same roof. The director panicked. He began to yell for the petty officer, but the grenades had affected him as well. We said their intentions were clear, that there was nothing more to talk about and then sent him away. There was no further confrontation after that. We connected the upper and the lower floor. There were 15-10 guards behind the bars. We called the chief guard and said: «We do not want to harm you. We will tear away the bars and go under them, withdraw yourselves». Thereupon the chief guard; «There's no problem with us, we will not attack you. Don't get us wrong. Okay, we will go outside then.» We broke away the bars and erected a large barricade on the other side. We put on the DHKP flag and two banners and started waiting. Around 10 p.m., a conversation occurred between a non-political prisoner, on guard next to the block, and a petty officer on the watchtower. The petty officer: «Damn, where have they found you, this wasn't expected.» The non-political prisoner replied: «What do you mean, aren't we condemned too? You attack our friends and you expect us to remain calm?» The petty officer: «I lost my

watch during the clash. I got it from a friend who was murdered in the East. I'll break in at 12 with my gun to get it back.» With the words «you do whatever you like, you'll see what it will get you», the non-political prisoner pointed his stick to the petty officer.

We heard that there had been hostage taking and corridor occupations in several prisons because of the attacks against us. The demands were identical: - The attacks against the prisoners in Cankiri and Bergama must be ended. - The demands of the prisoners in Ceyhan must be fulfilled.

We told the director, who constantly came to us, that he would have to talk with the Central Prison Co-ordination, not us. He told us there would be an IHD-delegation, that there wouldn't be an attack and that a doctor could be sent, if needed. At 10.30 p.m., the delegation entered. We explained the situation and made our demands known. They talked with the state prosecutor and said we had to wait for a fax message. This arrived in the early hours of the morning. We read this message to the several groups that had been formed at strategic points of the prison and the action was ended with the words «Long live the resistance, long live victory».

BUCA prison:

After we heard about the attacks in Ceyhan prison, we told the other leftists our demands and proposals for action, because we knew that we would have to act quickly to this kind of attacks. An agreement was reached with all the organisations present, the TKP(ML), MLKP, PKK, TKP-ML, TDKP, KPIOE and TKP-ML-allies on actions like refusing the general search and count, and

keeping the doors to the yard open. We stated our only demand: the friends in Ceyhan prison must be released from their isolation cells. The same night we started with refusing the search. The first day of action, the locks of the cell doors 3 and 4 to the yard were broken open. When we heard of the occupation of the corridor and the attacks in Bergama on the second day, our representative had a meeting with the prison management, also in the name of the other organisations. While we repeatedly told them we were waiting for a fax message from our friends in Bergama, we announced we would move into action in case there would be an attack in Bergama. The same day, all the representatives of the prisoners had a meeting with the state prosecutor. We repeated our demand. That night, some of the murderers who had been used during the massacre of September 21 (note: that day in 1995, 4 prisoners in Buca were brutally murdered during an attack) were brought to the corridor. From the third day, the administration tried to rob us of our rights. When we heard about the attack in Cankiri prison, we agreed with the TIKB and the TKP-ML to occupy the corridor. There was an attack during the attempt to break open the second door. Immediately after that, they wanted to carry out an operation in cell 3. That's why we set fire to the cell. Water was hosed into the cell from high-pressure hoses. They tried to force entry but failed because of the barricade. There was a brief confrontation in cell 4, where fire was set as well. Till the end of the action, the enemy continued its psychological attacks in several variations. Around 2 p.m. we received the fax message from the Central Prison Co-ordination.

MALATYA prison:

We heard from the attacks against our friends in Ceyhan prison and started actions the following day, demanding that they should be released from the isolation cells. The first day, the prisoners' count was refused and slogans were yelled. The TKP(ML), TKP-ML, MLKP and DHKP-C participated. However, the following day all organisations except ours broke off the action. We continued till the end. It was decided that the doors to the yard should remain open, which was then the case for the women's cell of the DHKP-C. Besides discussions between the female prisoners and the guards and some threats from the side of the employees, nothing happened. We were awaiting the arrival of the fax message from the Central Prison Co-ordination stating that the action was over. Because the administration refused to pass this message through, the action continued. Later the message arrived and the resistance was ended. The winners were, as always, us, the «free prisoners».

BERGAMA prison:

After the news arrived that our comrades in Ceyhan prison had been attacked, we immediately told all our friends in the other organisations of our decision. While the TKP(ML) agreed immediately, the TKP-ML, TIKB and MLKP said they had to think it over first. In the mean time we deliberated on how we could carry out the planned occupation of the corridor. When the others agreed as well, we started the action. We took the guards, arriving for their duty between 7 and 8 p.m., into our cells (in total 9 persons). We quickly set up an

action committee and divided the tasks. We organised a commune in our cell and decided on an orderly functioning. After we had occupied the entire block, including the administration building, and had it under control, we informed the other left groups which did not participate, as well as the PKK and the non-political prisoners about the situation in general. We asked them for their opinion and all of them declared they would stay on their places. The chief prosecutor arrived at 5 in the morning and inquired into the reason for our action. After he received our answer, he went, uttering his threat. In the afternoon, the chief prosecutor came along once again and he threatened to carry out the orders from the general directorate in case we refused to withdraw. Once again we insisted that the problem in Ceyhan had to be solved first before we would withdraw. The dialogue broke off shortly after. In the meantime, troops were gathering in the area. The lawyers who arrived at midnight, Metin Narin and Ercan Demir, informed themselves about the situation. The next morning, the enemy started several acts of pestering while increasing their troops and declaring that an operation was inevitable. They tried to drill through the walls of the neighbouring blocks. We resisted with the words «This is our last warning, otherwise we will blow up the prison with propane cylinders. Under no circumstances will we withdraw». Metin Narin and Betuel Duran, arriving for a second time during the afternoon, started a new dialogue. Besides our general demands, we also demanded that the troops should be withdrawn completely, that there should be no attempt to rob us of our rights and that we would be able to continue

the action in the corridors after returning to our cells voluntarily. After they accepted these demands and withdrew the troops, we returned to our cells and continued our action with the general demands. Independent of the news of the attack in Cankiri, we decided to act again. We put our proposal to the others from the left but they said they would await the decision of the Central Prison Co-ordination. We reminded them about the stand of the Co-ordination and that we had to act quickly. On October 27, at 5 p.m., we went into the corridor and took the chief guards and the others into our cells. After a quick search they were split up in two groups and guarded by 5 people each. To give our other units an entrance, at the back as well as at the front entrance of the main corridor, a communicating door was forced open, barricades were set up at key positions, and the entire lower level, including the administration, was occupied. Even though the friends from the other organisations did not participate at that moment, they helped in many ways. At 6 p.m., the TIKB, MLKP, TKP(ML) and TKP-ML joined the action. Three readers of Kaldirac (a magazine) participated as well as a rear-front. Just 15 minutes later, the enemy launched its attack against the barricade at the rear entrance. They tried to break through by using high-pressure hoses and other means. When they remained unsuccessful, they fired some 30 bullets at random from 3 pistols in order to intimidate us and to see how we would react. Despite the probability that they would shoot at us, we attacked and reinforced the barricade with several items. This attack continued for two hours, without interruption. The enemy withdrew as they remained unsuccessful. Immediately after,

On October 23 we heard about the attack in Cankiri prison. We then decided to take hostages. We addressed the other organisations and asked for a quick answer for we could not wait too long and we said that we for our part would carry out the action anyway.

they opened the cell doors in the A-blocks where the civic fascist are, the doors to the main corridor we had occupied. They armed them with iron bars, sticks, et cetera, and let them loose against us. This attack lasted for one hour and we were able to push them back. Because success failed to materialise, they were forced to enter into dialogue. The state prosecutor arrived. All we had to say to him was: «If this attack isn't sufficient, come with your bombs and all your heavy weapons, like you did in Buca and Umraniye. If you don't come, you are without honour. We are here and we are waiting for you.» The attack from both sides had been beaten back but some pestering continued. Around 1 a.m., a delegation of four lawyers arrived at the prison. We reported briefly on the events and declared we would give the enemy one hour to withdraw from the upper and the rear block, to withdraw from Cankiri, to clear up the case in Ceyhan prison, and to withdraw the civic fascists immediately. Otherwise we would blow up the prison, using the propane cylinders. One hour later,

the enemy withdrew all its forces from the upper corridor and the civic fascists as well. Both sides started waiting. After the fax arrived the next morning and the enemy agreed to all our conditions, withdrawing all its forces from the prison and the area and keeping the old status after the action, not carrying out searches and

allowing the visits from our relatives, we ended our action.

CANAKKALE prison:

On the night of October 20 actions were started like not allowing the general evening search, keeping open the communicating doors and refusing the count of the prisoners. Besides ourselves, the TKEP-L, TKP(ML), DY, TKP(ML)-B, TKP-ML, TIKB, MLKP and TDKP took part in the action. On October 23 we heard about the attack in Cankiri prison. We then decided to take hostages. We addressed the other organisations and asked for a quick answer for we could not wait too long and we said that we for our part would carry out the action anyway. Given the decision of the Central Prison Co-ordination, there were no problems and it didn't take long. The TDKP prisoners did not participate but they declared: «If the area where you set up your barricade happens to include our cells, open our doors. We will join de facto but officially we will not take part.» We started the action, took 9 guards hostage and brought

them into our cell. We then set up our barricades. We organised a central committee for the action (we, TKEP-L, DY and TIKB). Among its tasks was to keep guard. We explained the goal of our action to the guards and asked them to stay calm. In the course of the action, the enemy did not once try to communicate. There was no dialogue. At 1 o'clock at night, chief prosecutor Cemal Sahir Gurcay arrived together with a group in civilian clothing. They were in a part where we could see them and they apparently discussed architecture and several plans. But there were no preparations for an attack. After we received a confirmation the next morning by fax and telephone, we ended the action. We told the administration: «You will allow all our relatives outside to come in, without the state prosecutor making problems about permissions. Furthermore, there will be no search, et cetera. You will carry out a search when the normal time for it has come.» All the relatives were let in. In the end we won again, proud of being worthy to our Idil...

UMRANIYE prison:

During these days we still felt anger for the fact that the freedom actions of our comrades had been discovered, first in Ceyhan and then Sagmalcilar (tunnels). We heard that the enemy had launched an attack against Ceyhan. The television did not report in detail about it but wounded people were being reported. It was emphasised in a demagogic manner that the wounded had been prison guards. Obviously, the revolutionaries, being attacked, had resisted, but it was also evident that the wounded had been our comrades. We met with the other organisations and it

From time to time we could hear the slogans of our relatives outside. We answered them with our own slogans and were filled with joy to be one big family. The television showed the families in front of the military vehicles, telling the soldiers «You will not get in without running us over».

Furthermore we could see the police attacks. On the one hand we were filled with joy about these images, on the other hand they filled us with rage.

preparations, we took our proposals to the prisoners from the other organisations. Our decision was made. We would carry out an occupation and take hostages... We moved, together with all the organisations which had participated in the previous actions. We took a director, 22 male guards and 3 female guards hostage. Two female guards were taken hostage by the female revolutionary prisoners. But the action was not limited to that. The prison was taken under our control, including a part of the administration building, by occupying the lower and the upper corridor and the block where the non-political prisoners were held. We

had divided our forces over all the occupied areas in case there was an attack. In the mean time we also released the non-political prisoners who had been in the isolation cells for months. However, we rejected the request of the non-political prisoners to take part in the action personally in this phase. We heard, through television and radio, that similar actions had been carried out by our comrades in other prisons. This further increased our enthusiasm. The news was spread immediately to our friends in the corridor. At that moment we watched ourselves on television which particularly distorted the goal of the action. Television persistently spread the news that «the PKK prisoners had provoked a rebellion». However, the PKK prisoners were far from participating in the action. In particular Rehar Muhtar, the clown from SHOW TV, insisted on spreading this demagogy as news.

We promised the director and the personnel taken hostage, that they wouldn't be harmed as long as there was not an attack, here or in another prison. During the time they were under our control, no negative incidents occurred and we fulfilled their needs as well as possible. We watched the situation outside from the roof and saw how soldiers and policemen were gathered. From time to time we could hear the slogans of our relatives outside. We answered them with our own slogans and were filled with joy to be one big family. The television showed the families in front of the military vehicles, telling the soldiers «You will not get in without running us over». Furthermore we could see the police attacks. On the one hand we were filled with joy about these images, on the other hand they filled us with rage. We were angry because the torturing murderers were attacking our families, our 70 year old mothers, our husbands and wives, our children, brothers and sisters. The eyes of all the prisoners betrayed the same thought: «You lowly bastards, why don't you come in and we will show you what it means to attack our mothers». The ones who couldn't see their own families on television were even angrier.

- The true meaning of love for your family becomes clear in moments like this. Let them come in, I know what I'll tell them...

- Don't talk like that. Maybe the camera just didn't catch them...

- I hope that's the case. If not, it's over for me, I'll even tell them not to come anymore.

- Look, aren't they your people??

- Bravo, that's how a mother should be, for she is one of the Front-mothers...

was decided to start with refusing the count and the evening search. This action was started in the night of October 20 with the participation of prisoners from the DHKP-C, TKP-ML, TIKB, TKP(ML), TKEP-L, MLKP, MLSPB, TDP, HKG, TKP-Kivilciri and the TDKP. Because we did not receive a real answer from the administration regarding information about Ceyhan, despite repeated insistence, we told them we were going to get them if the attacks against our friends in Ceyhan didn't stop. While we continued our protest against the attacks in Ceyhan we heard, at the end of the visit of our relatives on October 23, that our friends in Cankiri prison had been attacked. There was no time to lose. It was necessary to have a serious talk with the enemy. The enemy, who de facto wanted to use the isolation cells in Ceyhan at first, now also attacked in Cankiri. Making the

The hours quickly passed with spirit, going around with our comrades who weren't used to the prison yet, with the tired prisoners resting. In the front, rear and middle areas, as well as in the upper floors, comrades of ours stood guard and prepared for a possible counter-attack. When the lawyers arrived during the night and met the representatives, they were told that a solution could be found by releasing our friends in Ceyhan from the isolation cells and ending the attacks in Cankiri and Bergama. For that, it would be necessary for the department to talk with the Central Prison Committee. We saw how they increased their troops around the prison. We were prepared for everything. «Let them come, they'll see what that will get them», we thought. Maybe there would be casualties on our side, but we were sure that there would be some on their side too. We waited... concentrating on Cankiri, Bergama, Ceyhan, waiting and thinking of our comrades. At daybreak, the lawyers came by again. They brought the message from the Central Prison Committee. Soon after, the statement from the Central Prison Committee was reported on television. Finally the fax arrived which we had waited for. All who had participated in the action gathered in the corridor and danced the Halay. «Ugur, Mecit (murdered in Buca prison in 1995), Idil, Mujdat, Berdan, Ilginc and Yemo (among the 12 people who fell during the hungerstrike till death of 1996) are with us again. Apo, Hasan and Fatih (fallen in the hungerstrike till death of 1984) are lighting our way. We will prove worthy of them. We know we can only defeat the isolation policy that way. We promise we will always keep their inheritance high».

BURSA prison:

The attacks against the revolutionary prisoners within the context of the isolation policy in Ceyhan prison were followed by others during protest action against them in the prisons of Cankiri and Bergama. The resistance grew and spread to Bursa as well where four guards were taken hostage.

We saw how they increased their troops around the prison. We were prepared for everything. «Let them come, they'll see what that will get them», we thought. Maybe there would be casualties on our side, but we were sure that there would be some on their side too. We waited...

BAYRAMPASA prison:

As a first step we informed the left about the attacks in Ceyhan and proposed to them to refuse the count as a form of protest. Except for the PKK, TIKB, TKP-ML. MLKP and TKP(ML), all organisation participated in this action on October 20. The reason why they didn't take part wasn't that they opposed the actions, but that a representative of the TIKB forgot to inform them. Although we demanded to be informed about

Ceyhan prison, the prison administration refused, except for some generally unimportant facts. They tried to keep us busy. First, we demanded true information about Ceyhan. We were told there were no transfers in Ceyhan, that all our friends who had been in hospital were now back in prison, except for Semsettin Kalkan who had had an operation. The demands of the prisoners in Ceyhan were that they could return to their cells and that there would be no criminal investigation from the side of the authorities. Regarding Ceyhan prison, there were talks again with those responsible. The talks with Ferzan Citicim, the minister and the general director didn't lead to a solution of the problem. Soon after, there was an attack in Ceyhan, the Central Prison Co-ordination was convoked and we presented our proposals regarding the new developments. As a final conclusion regarding Ceyhan, we declared that we wanted the promise that our friends in Ceyhan were going to be released from the isolation cells and that we saw this situation as an attempt to push through the isolation policy because they refused to give such a promise. Therefore we proposed to start with actions like taking hostages, occupations and the like, demanding that the attacks in Cankiri prison be stopped. There was a joint decision reached after discussion but the MLKP prisoners declared they didn't want to take part, despite the fact that decisions of the Central Co-ordination are binding. They argued that «taking hostages does not concur with our central policies». The occupation of the corridor started at 5 p.m. with the participation of the HDOE, not a member of the Central Prison Co-ordination. At the start of the action, the PKK prisoners said «We

want to be counted, stop the occupation action or take a break, we will call the administration for a count». We were kept busy for a long time with the provocative conduct of the PKK prisoners. In the end their demand was granted. But the administration didn't show up for the count. On the one hand, the discussions continued, on the other the enemy continued its attacks in several prisons. At that moment we heard that an attack was to be expected in Bergama. At a meeting that night we heard that the attacks in Cankiri had been stopped. A fax

report arrived from Cankiri which stated that they were waiting for a message from here and the results of the negotiations in connection with Ceyhan. The prison director told us that the problem in Ceyhan had not been solved. We then repeated our demands. In the mean time we told the organisations in the Central Prison Co-ordination that the actions shouldn't be stopped without a message from the friends in Ceyhan. But this proposal was not accepted by all. After a while we were called again for a meeting in the administration

building. There was a meeting between a delegation (consisting of the lawyer Behic Asci from the Halkin Hukuk Buerosu, the chairman of the CHD (Contemporary Lawyers Association), lawyer Murat Celik, the TOHAV (relatives), S. Okcuoglu and lawyer Muharrem Coepuer) and the prison director, on behalf of the department. After the demands were met, the action was ended in the name of the Central Prison Coordination.

The press statement of the CMK (Central Prison Co-ordination):

Our resistance, mounting in several prisons against the attacks which ended with the wounding of revolutionary prisoners in Ceyhan prison and their transfer to isolation cells, was ended with the recognition of the demands of the prisoners in the course of the negotiations between the CMK and the representatives of the state.

Here are the demands we put forward:

1. The isolation of the revolutionary prisoners in Ceyhan prison must be cancelled and they are to return to their former cells in the shortest possible time.
2. The old order in Ceyhan prison is to be restored.
3. All the prisoners who have been wounded during the attack will receive medical treatment.
4. There will be no criminal inquiries against the prisoners.

Central Prison Co-ordination

(DHKP-C, TKP(ML), MLKP, TKP/ML, TIKB, TKEP/Leninist, Direnis Hareketi, HKG) and the THKP-C/HDO prisoners in the Sagmalcilar prison.

Despite the agreement with the department that the isolation policy, which they wanted to push through in the Ceyhan prison, will be cancelled, they still want to implement it, according to the latest information. We know that

the 'Susurluk' state and all its representatives are insidious in this matter. But we are warning them. If this policy is not stopped, we will crush the prisons over their heads. As a warning in this matter, the prisoners of the DHKP-C, TIKB,

TKP(ML), TKEP-L, TKP/ML, HKG, DH and MLKP refused the prisoners count in Sagmalcilar prison on October 29, 1998. One should not forget that this was merely a warning.

Number 14

THE EXPROPRIATION OF PROVISION TRUCKS AFTER STORMING THE MAIN DEPOT OF THE MIGROS COMPANY AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROVISIONS AMONG THE POPULATION OF THE SLUM AREA

Price increases of provisions continued to follow each other. The purchasing power of the people reached a minimal level while the monopolies made huge profits. Through a campaign, our movement explained to the people that the monopolies were responsible for the price increases and

intensive activities were carried out by means of leaflets, banners and mass actions. In the course of this campaign, it was decided to raid the Bayrampasa Maltepe main depot of Migros, a firm based in Switzerland which is part of the Koc Holding, and to distribute the food provisions and other consumer goods among the people. The order for this action was passed on to the local leaders of the regions. The action was to be carried out by the leading cadres in the area and the FTKSME (Armed Combat Teams against fascist Terror).

Gathering information and planning

Because Devrimci Sol had carried out actions in Bayrampasa before and it was organised there, the required information was already available. The task of checking the

information and securing the organisation of the action was given to the leading cadre of Bayrampasa. A detailed sketch was made of the main depot. While the information that was gathered was studied in further detail, the form of the attack, the distribution of weapons, the meeting places and the withdrawal route were determined. The depot was situated at a cross-roads, leading to a square some 200 meters further down. A special unit in blue uniforms was constantly present there and furthermore police routinely patrolled the area. If everything went as planned in the depot itself, this would not do any harm, but if there were a confrontation, the attackers were to withdraw in the other direction. Security measures were to be taken at the cross-roads to make sure the comrades inside the depot could withdraw safely. After concluding the information activities, the local area leader designed the action

plan. This plan required a broad organisation.

PREPARATION OF THE TEAMS

Four teams were being prepared. The first team was to enter the depot and to hold the people present hostage, the second team was to take care of security outside, guarding the square and the cross-roads, the third team was made up of the drivers and the helpers who were to bring the trucks to the neighbourhoods. The fourth team was made up of several groups who waited in the neighbourhoods where the goods were to be distributed. Some of the comrades of the first and the second team were to join the third team, driving the trucks, after they had concluded their own tasks. One comrade was given the task of securing the communication between the first, second and third team.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT

When all the teams went to their posts on February 7, they were confronted with an extra-ordinary situation. A political group had placed a banner with a bomb device attached to it, opposite the depot. The square was filled with policemen. The teams waited for some time for the banner to be removed but the action was cancelled in the end and teams dispersed to meet the next day.

THE MIGROS MAIN DEPOT IN CONTROL

All teams were at their station in the morning hours of February 8. There was nothing unusual. Like always, the soldiers in blue uniforms were

patrolling the square and policemen passed from time to time. Five comrades from security, in disguise, were in the square and at the entrance of the cross-roads and took their posts. The comrades from the third team who had to drive the trucks away mingled among the crowd who were on their way to work and waited for a sign. The comrades from the first team went into the cross-roads and drove directly to the depot. At the entrance, they put on their masks. When they entered, a few people were at work in front of the building and near the cars. Three comrades led these persons into the building and told them: «Do not be afraid, we're from Devrimci Sol, we do not want anything from you. This is all about the Koc's and Sabanci's, your chefs. So stay quiet!» The building was divided up by cases, loaded with several goods. Numerous workers were busy on the lower floor. They were spoken to in the same manner and they were all gathered up. While one comrade stayed with them, the two others went to the next floor where the people present were gathered and brought downstairs as well. One comrade stayed with the workers while the others dressed in the working clothes of the Migros workers. They went outside and, together with the other comrades, gathered the workers who were in the other buildings and in the vehicles. They were brought to the others. There were some 40-50 people. The comrades who had to drive the trucks to the neighbourhoods were informed. The people from the third team also entered the depot, dressed in Migros uniforms, and then waited in the trucks.

THE CONVERSATION WITH THE MIGROS WORKERS

In the meanwhile, one comrade inside the main building talked with the workers who were gathered there, explaining the action: «We're from Devrimci Sol. We're fighting imperialism and the oligarchy... It's our goal to bring down the monopolies' regime of exploitation, the Koc's and the Sabanci's, and to build people's power instead. There are daily price increases, ordered by the IMF, imperialism, and the Koc's. The working people get poorer and poorer. Surely, its problems cannot be solved by the free distribution of the goods which are taken here. We are carrying out this action to explain and to show that the ones who are responsible for the price increases, the rising costs of living, the ones responsible for poverty, are imperialism, the Koc's and the Sabanci's...» The atmosphere became agreeable, as if we were not in the middle of an action but in a friendly conversation. Medicines were sought for a female worker who fainted in the first moment of the action, but they could not be found. The woman was first brought into the other building where there was an oven, and after she warmed up and was conscious again, she was brought back again. This situation was discussed by the workers. They said: «We're working here with money vaults. And when a vault falls on our feet, when we cut ourselves, there isn't even a first aid kit. Our friend's situation has become worse, you have been busy with her so long, and you couldn't even find some cologne. To improve our friend's situation, you've brought her outside. And when she became cold, you brought her into a heated room. We can see the difference.»

GATHERING INFORMATION «ON THE SPOT» AND EXPROPRIATING THE MONEY

At that time, some workers told us that there was a money vault upstairs and they added who had the keys to it. We knew about the vault and the keys before and we had planned to expropriate the money. But all the comrades were impressed with this attitude of the workers and they thanked them. The keys were taken from a worker and one young worker accompanied them upstairs. To avoid problems for the workers with the chefs and the police, a scenario was rehearsed. With a loud voice, so the others could hear him, the worker said there was no money in the vault and that his key weren't the right ones. Playing along, the comrades threatened him with a loud voice to open up the vault. A loud of noise was made to give the impression that force was being used. The vault was opened and 724,659.70 Turkish Lira were expropriated. While the money was taken, the worker who had the keys was reproached by the others who asked him «Since when it is your task to guard the chef' money?» At that time, everything was ready and the trucks began to move. All the workers had been brought upstairs and all the telephone lines were cut with their help. While there was a last conversation with the workers, the message came through from security outside that a GMC with special unit soldiers was entering the depot.

AN UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENT

It was known that the money inside the depot was going to be brought to the bank, but according to the information which was gathered, this was not the transportation day. The workers said that the transportation day had been changed. The comrades explained the workers to remain silent and to stay in the room. The one responsible for the money transport was asked to come downstairs with them. All comrades were dressed in Migros uniforms. While the comrades gave the impression that they were working there, they checked the GMC and prepared for a withdrawal. The guard outside approached the entrance to come to help in case there was gunfire. Everything appeared normal. The workers were busy, and the last truck left. The only thing unusual was that there were less workers than on a normal day, there were only three. Two soldiers in blue uniforms, one was the driver and the other a petty officer, left the car. There was nobody else inside. When one of the comrades in working clothes said «There is no money transport today», two comrades and the personnel manager appeared. The manager repeated that there was no transport today and then the petty officer turned and went outside. The comrades took the manager back in and explained that they shouldn't do anything for ten minutes, then they could call the police. The doors were locked and a banner was attached to the door with the words «The monopolies are responsible for the price increases. DEVRİMCI SOL». Then the comrades withdrew. The first part of the action was concluded successfully. Because the order of leaving of the trucks had been designed according to the distance of the neighbourhoods, they should have arrived by now, they had had time enough. Six

trucks with consumer goods had been taken from the depot. Two trucks went to Esenler, one to Alibeykoey Saya Yokusu, one to the Ayvansaray Atik Mustafapasa neighbourhood in Eyuep, another to the Mezhaba neighbourhood in Yenibosna, and the last one to the Kocasinan neighbourhood in Bakirkoe. The goods inside were distributed among the people for free.

THE MIGROS TRUCKS IN THE WORKERS' NEIGH- BOURHOODS

The neighbourhood of Mezhaba in Yenibosna, like the others where the trucks had been sent to, was a place where Devrimci Sol was active and organised. The people with whom there was a good relation were informed about the action before and waited in their houses. The comrades who were to distribute the goods and who were to attach a banner to the truck, and those who had to go from house to house, had been appointed before and they were waiting for the truck impatiently. Finally the truck could be seen. When the truck approached the distribution point, the helper got out and went away. The driver, covering his face with a shawl, arrived and all groups took their position. Two comrades put on masks and started preparing the distribution of the goods while attaching a Devrimci Sol banner to the truck. One comrade took care that the people, all masked, lined up so the distribution would occur in a orderly fashion. Other comrades went from house to house, yelling «Devrimci Sol members have brought a Migros truck from the Koc conglomerate, and the goods will be distributed among the people». People started to come out of their houses and one by one they

went to the truck, not quite believing it. The people's doubts, «Is this really true», were taken away by the people's contacts of Devrimci Sol who explained «Our children are distributing the consumer goods from Koc, let us all take something back from what they took from us with the price increases ...». They all came out of their houses and started to accept the goods which had been packed in Devrimci Sol leaflets. The comrades took care that there was some kind of order. After some kind of discipline had been achieved, the truck was empty and there was still a lot of people who hadn't received anything. The comrades withdrew. The truck with the banners stayed in the neighbourhood until the night. Children climbed into the truck, playing Devrimci Sol, imitating their bigger brothers. The police arrived in the middle of the night, attempting to recollect the goods. When they wanted to take the goods with Migros labels from the houses, the people resisted. When they saw that they wouldn't succeed, the police gave up and went away. In the other neighbourhoods, the action was concluded in the same way, distributing the goods among the people. The truck in Kocasinan was only found one day later. Afterwards, the action was evaluated by all the participating groups and all the areas. The evaluation was passed on to the movement. The action was ended successfully, and the people's reactions were positive.

WHAT THIS ACTION TEACHES US

THE POLITICAL ASPECT:

This was one of the actions which were discussed by the left in Turkey, or better said

the revisionists, for a long time. In short, it's useful to address them. The revisionists and reformists claimed that this action was «making the people used to leniency», and they tried to condemn it. In fact they didn't bother at all whether or not these actions were making the people lenient, they opposed the armed struggle in itself, and they opposed the armed struggle against the monopolies especially. However, prior to 1980 (like they acted in the nineties when Sabancı was punished), they could not voice this openly because at this time a leftist, communist character was still dominant. But later it became apparent why they opposed the Migros actions.

The objections were like the classical proverb «It's justified to teach the people how to hold a fish, not to give the fish to them». But they did not see that not only did the people learn how to hold a fish, they also became part of a revolutionary campaign which aimed at teaching them that the lakes, the rivers and the fishing rods belong to the people and that it is necessary to stand up for all the means of production, like the lakes, the rivers and the rods.

The people learned that the monopolies are responsible for the price increases and they were told «Everything in the hands of the Koc's and the Sabancı's belongs to you».

The expropriation of the Migros trucks and the distribution of its contents among the people was a symbolic expression of this. To recognise this, one has to be from the people, not a revisionist or a reformist.

At least the people saw this in these actions and they understood that this was the message to them.

THE MILITARY ASPECT:

Regarding the activities of the militia and the urban guerrilla, the expropriation action at Migros was a large action, very directed. Its organisation involved a broad spectrum of actions and several people were involved for quite a while. In this sense, the Migros action was a success in terms of planning. Despite the large number of teams, the long period of time and the broad spectrum of actions, the action was completed without complications. Besides the planning, the Migros action was also a success in terms of initiative. In such an action, with so many participants and taking place over such a long period, unplanned developments are inevitable. At this point the success of the action depends on the capacity to take initiatives and on the flexibility of the comrades with responsibilities and the commanders. The success of the Migros action was not a matter of planning alone, it depended on flexibility in developing situations as well. Looking at it carefully, we see that there was clear information, that people did not lose their nerve, and that the participants acted with confidence. The Migros action was also an example regarding the connections with the people on an action level. Taking care of the fainting worker, the propaganda during the action, it all influenced the workers directly, leading them to the point where they gave information which was directed against the monopolies. Words about who is our friend, and who is the enemy, are not sufficient. Our words must be proven right, they must be made concrete during our actions. from the socialist weekly paper «KURTULUS» on the way to independence and democracy,

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

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HAVE CALLED

TEN THOUSAND PEOPLE FILLED THE STREETS IN PROTEST AGAINST THE SUSURLUK STATE

«Not the power of the Susurluk state, but the power of the people»



3rd November 1998

Two years have passed since the Susurluk accident happened. Nothing has got better. On the contrary,

new gangs and connections have been uncovered. Meanwhile there are a lot of tapes full of evidence. The face of the counterguerilla and their connections with the

government and politicians are becoming clear to all. But without shame they maintain that the «war against the gangs is starting», and you can see this on banners

«
**THIS
 IS
 GAZI
 DON'T
 PLAY
 WITH
 OUR
 PATIENCE**
 »

throughout Istanbul. The actions on 3rd November have shown that the people don't trust in the government and the state, and that they are demanding to take justice into their own hands.

GAZI

The biggest protest action on 3rd November, the anniversary of the Susurluk accident, was organised by the peoples council of Gazi under the slogan: «The murderer of Gazi is the Susurluk state». There were 7000 people on the demonstration and the music concert which followed. After the speech by the peoples council of Gazi the music groups Grup Agit from the Gazi cultural center and Grup Yorum came together to sing their songs. The action started at 7.30pm and ended at 11.30pm. At the same time 500 metres away another protest action and music concert took place, organised by the Gazi peoples platform (an alliance of 8 left groups). There were 300 people present.

OKMEYDANI

There was a protest action against Susurluk organised by the peoples council of Okmeydani and also a music concert. Despite the massive police security presence, the special teams, the tanks and the rapid deployment

troops, 1500 people came. In another part of Okmeydani there was another protest action called by EMP, ATILIM, ALINTERI, DIRENISCILER, DHP, HALKIN GÜNLÜĞÜ, and HALKEVCILER, in which 150 people took part. 1 MAYIS MAHALLESİ The people council of the 1st May district, which was not directly founded, called a protest action against Susurluk. There were 2000 people at this demonstration and the music concert afterwards. On their banners they showed their demands: people's power, not the Susurluk state. This action ended without incident.

ALIBEYKÖY

The appeal of the peoples council of Alibeyköy, which was also not really founded, to demonstrate was answered by 800 people. In their slogans they demanded the gangs beheld to account. The speaker from the peoples council said: «This act won't end until the murderers of our children are called to account, until the disappeared are found, and poverty and exploitation are ended». Also relatives of those who had been murdered or arrested gave a short speech. Because of the people's determination, the people police were forced to look at the action from far away.

NURTEPE

Because of the 2nd anniversary of Susurluk, the peoples council of Nurtepe and Gzeltepe, which is also in the phase of constitution, organised a protest action on the evening of 3rd November. The people were called out by drums. During the protest action a platform was erected, where people of this district took a stand. A protest paper in connection with the attacks on the weekly paper Kurtulus was read by the people and slogans were shouted such as: « The dignified voice of the struggle, Kurtulus can't be silenced » and « The voice of the people, Kurtulus can't be to silenced ».

PROTEST IN BAGCILAR

In Bagcilar 600 people remembered the Susurluk accident in the form of protest actions. While the masses were gathered together, there was a strong police security presence. The district was surrounded by civilian police and rapid intervention troops. But the people continued with their action enthusiastically. In the beginning of the action they hang up the banner of the peoples council of Bagcilar, which is also in the phase of being built.

DEMONSTRATION AND SHOP CLOSURES IN GAZI IN PROTEST AGAINST THE ARRESTS

«This is Gazi don't play with our patience»

While on November 3rd, ten thousand people, led by the people's councils, took part in protest actions against Susurluk all over Istanbul, once again the police showed themselves to be the representatives and the protectors of the Susurluk state by attacking cultural centers in Gazi and Okmeydani the next day. Why Gazi and Okmeydani? Because the state always found these municipal districts to be «dangerous» since the population that lives there knows the real face of the state and the police really well. And the actions on 3rd November were led enthusiastically by the masses. Because of that on 4th November police attacked them. Altogether 12 people were arrested, 4 persons in Okmeydani and 8 in the cultural center in Gazi. After the attack the people held a press conference at 7.30pm and protested against the repression and the arrests. All the people who were at this press conference shouted the slogan that Susurluk is the state itself, and they demanded the release of the arrested people. It was heard that on the same night special teams with dogs carried out raids on some flats.

After the police had stormed the cultural center in Gazi at 3am, the population began to meet in the people's cultural center. From experience, police arrested the people and left the area very quickly. After the attack by the police more than 100 people came together and began to

demonstrate. They went first to Cemevi (the community centre of the Alevites) and then together with 400 people from there went on to the torture center, the police station in Gazi. Their banner bore the inscription «OUR CHILDREN HAVE TO BE SET FREE». With their slogans they showed police their rage. The people of Gazi once again took to the streets after a call from the people councils. This time they wanted to free their arrested children from the well-known torture center, Vatan, the police headquarters. Meanwhile the front called on retailers to close their shops in support of the action. All of them did so, they closed every shop. As the crowd arrived at the police station the street was blocked and a sit-in began. The police once more built up their strength.

Clearly, they were afraid. They have teams with bulletproof waistcoats, tanks, fast intervention troops, etc., but they were afraid of the people. Because this was Gazi. The district of rebellion. Put into other words - the

state's nightmare. In a short time there were 1000 people. The tanks stared to move to intimidate the people. They answered with angry slogans. And so the police were not able to succeed.

With the intervention of the mayor of Gazi and the official in charge of Cemevi it look like the police might be willing to compromise. Their intrigues and their deceptions are known by the people of Gazi. The people said that they would not go before the arrested were set free. If their release were delayed, they made it clear that they would continue their demonstration outside the police station. It was put out that the police tried in panic to

get the arrested out of the torture center to this place. The people of Gazi made it clear once again: You can't illegally storm our institutions, or arrest our children, the way you want to...» During the action the slogans: «Long live the justice of the people»,

«Our children have to be set free», «Stop the police terror», «No tanks in Gazi», «This is Gazi, our patience is over...» were shouted out. A short time before the end of the action, which continued for 4-6 hours, 9 of the 12 arrested people were set free. The arrested people who went to the action place were picked up with enthusiasm and they shouted out:

«RESISTANCE AND DESTINATION ARE OUR TRADITION».



In a statement to the press it was noted that the police had arbitrarily stormed a lot of flats and practised terror because they can't tolerate that more than 1000 people took part in the 3rd November action. The people of Gazi expressed that the people will respond justifiably to such random attacks by the police and to police terror. The people marched back to Cemevi and this was the end of the action. Once more the people of Gazi gave the Susurluk state the answer that was needed. This action was in a few hours supported by different political groups by participation of 50 people.

The **GUERRILLA** fights

for the People's Power

OUR STRUGGLE IN ALL ITS FORMS, ARMED AND UNARMED, EVERYWHERE, IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND IN THE CITIES, IN THE MOUNTAINS AND IN THE VALLEYS, IS LEADING THE ANATOLIAN PEOPLES OF ALL NATIONALITIES AND RELIGIONS TO POWER...

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he guerrilla is a force. It's the force of the people. How strong the enemy might be, the unity of the peoples with their love for their land, their creativity, their courage and the determination to win makes the guerrilla invincible. Nobody should doubt that: the Revolution will continue its development on the basis of the guerrilla struggle. That's the reason the Front exists for, it will fulfil this task. We will develop the liberation struggle of our people everywhere, in Kurdistan, near the Black Sea, in the Taurus, in the mountains of Middle Anatolia and the

Aegean, in all the mountains and cities of our country. We will unite our guerrilla struggle and the march to the revolution through organising the people with the struggle in other areas and lead it to victory. Dersim, the Black Sea region, Middle Anatolia, Amanos, the Aegean... Now we are in the Aegean. We have conquered the mountains of the Aegean, where Ibrahim Yalcin, Buelent Pak, Berdan Arkan and other guerrillas of Devrimci Sol marched through years ago, with the resistance of Erhan and Mehmet.

Our fire of uprising is embracing all the cities and mountains of our country.

The fire of uprising in the mountains, from Baba Ishak to Bedreddin, from Seyid Riza to Mahir, from Mete Nezihi to Ali Haydar, from Tarik to Besat, cannot be extinguished. With the Balkica resistance, the avant-guard of our revolution has ignited these fires in the mountains of the Aegean anew. Even in the dark ages, when the fire was weak, the mountains were never without rebellion, and the rebels were never without mountains. This is a new

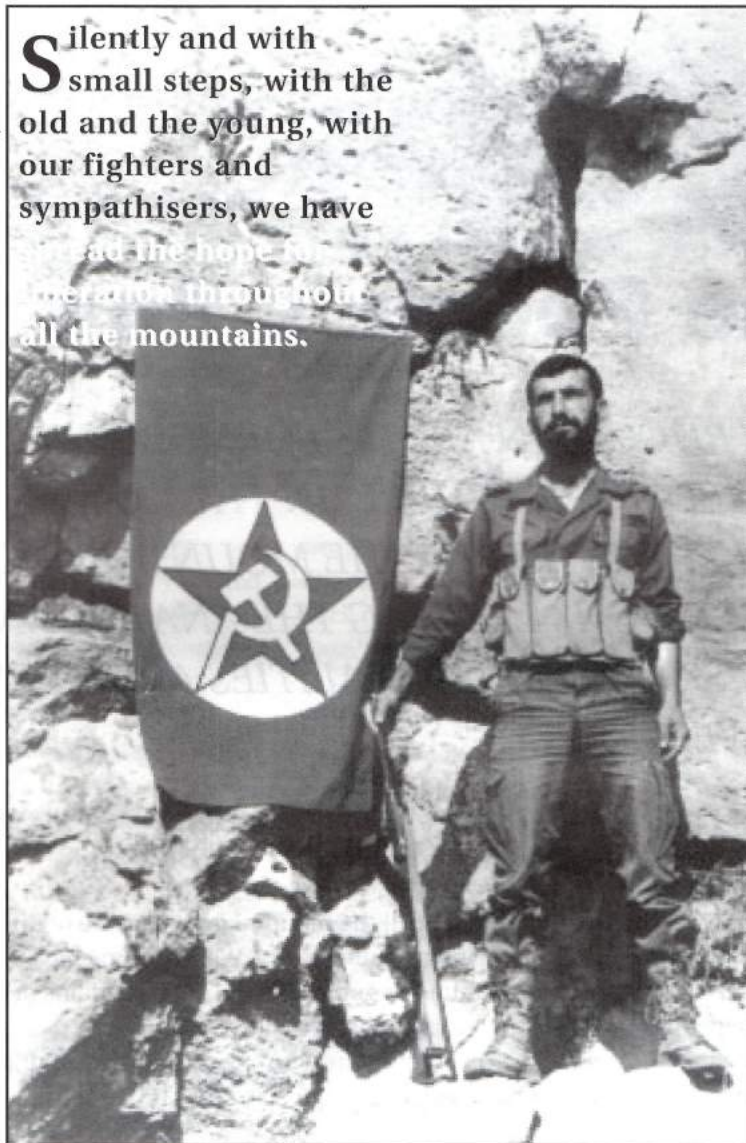
day, and the fire is burning brightly again. During the darkness some said: «Now it's too late», «It is impossible», «The mountains are no longer the same». They have become tired. They have lost their ideology and came down from the mountains to the lowlands. They have disbanded their guerrilla and want to disarm the mountains and the cities. With their search for legality and their peace policy, they have given up the hope for liberation and they have capitulated. We have criticised them, but they did not listen. In these times, we have concentrated ourselves on our reality. We have tried to fulfil our tasks and create a strong front.

Our front is the only hope for the people's liberation. It is the road, uniting the organisations in all the areas and all segments of life with all the forms of struggle. That's why we have build up our guerrilla. Silently and with small steps, with the old and the young, with our fighters and sympathisers, we have spread the

hope for liberation throughout all the mountains. We never deviated from the road of the guerrilla struggle and we will continue its

Silently and with small steps, with the old and the young, with our fighters and sympathisers, we have

spread the hope for liberation throughout all the mountains.



path until victory. The conditions in the mountains were not always very good. But with our determination and our fighters we will transform even the wasteland into a fertile soil for the seed of the revolution. Will we succeed? Will this seed mature? We have asked ourselves this for years. After every new disappearance, after every new operation of the enemy, we hear from those who our outside the struggle and life: «No.» «Impossible.» «There is no basis for

the guerrilla struggle.» «The time is not favourable.» When and how will it be favourable? They have no answer to this question. In reality

they are not criticising the time and the place, they are criticising the weapons and the violence of the people. Our seed came up. This land, these peoples have witnessed Kizildere and Nurhak. Later they saw the steps of the guerrillas in Dersim and near the Black Sea. There were interruptions and setbacks. But every plant produced new seed. Again the mountains of Dersim, Kurdistan, the Black Sea regions and Malatya... While the Kurdish national liberation fighters develop the guerrilla struggle in Kurdistan, we began to vitalise the mountains in the western direction. Now our fighters are presents in the mountains from Dersim to the Black Sea regions, from Toros to the Aegean. A poet once said: «The mountains will not shame the people.» And they don't. Those who lean against them are protected by them. They are our mountains. Dadalogly already said: «The orders belong to them, the mountains to us!» We started in the mountains in 1980. Limited, in a small region and only with half a guerrilla character. But

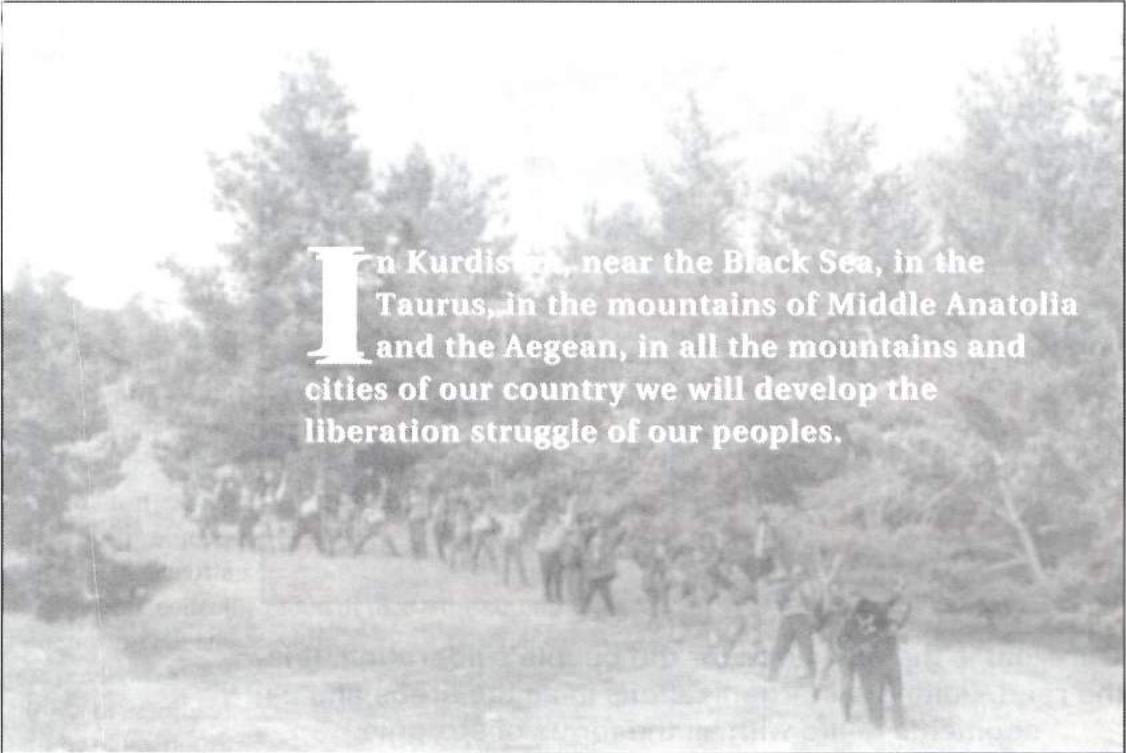
since the growing phase of 1990 we have been present on the mountains for seven years, planned and organised. We have spread our struggle with a lot of efforts and patience throughout the entire country. Now the mountains witness a new birth: our guerrilla, the hope of our working peoples of all nationalities and religions. The liberation of the Kurds, Turks, Arabs, Laz, Georgians, Cherkезians, Alevites, Sunni... it is taking shape. With this force we will march even

quicker towards the revolution. The noise of the weapons of our guerrilla in the countryside and in the cities will not be overheard. No force will be able to stop the march of our Party-Front to victory.

We need our mountains. The experiences of the struggle in our country and the

revolutionary experiences worldwide clearly show the necessity of the guerrilla. The struggle in the mountains is a necessity. Only the unconditional struggle in all the areas, in the countryside and in the cities, in the mountains and in the valleys, can lead the revolution to success. Through the organised and united struggle in the countryside and in the cities we can surround the enemy and destroy them. The front's goal is the victory in the revolutionary struggle, the People's Power. The road to this goal is the guerrilla war. On this road we have gathered important experiences which have influenced us. Through these experiences and our determination, we now can continue the march towards the revolution without interruptions, despite the countless operations of the enemy.

The only road to liberation for our people is to fight for its freedom with all its weapons. This is its legitimate right.



In Kurdistan, near the Black Sea, in the Taurus, in the mountains of Middle Anatolia and the Aegean, in all the mountains and cities of our country we will develop the liberation struggle of our peoples.

The People's War has always emerged there where the ruling class could not give the people any hope for solving its problems. There where the representatives of exploitation and tyranny blocked all the roads for the poor people. Under these conditions, the people created the guerrilla as the uprising against exploitation and tyranny. In the cities and the countryside, the guerrilla is the open and most simple expression of the uprising against the Susurluk state. Its mission is a great one, it is the avant guard of the liberation and the future of our peoples. Especially after the 50's, the history of the liberation wars of the people all over the world has shown that the parties who rejected the guerrilla war, consciously or unconsciously, hindered the liberation of the people. Those who abandon the guerrilla and the armed struggle are betraying the liberation of the people. History is full of such examples. In Kurdistan, near the Black Sea, in the Taurus, in Middle Anatolia and the Aegean... Now the

growing war present in all the mountains and cities is as an expression of hope and desire of our people for the People's Power. That's why the guerrilla is becoming a point of attraction. It fights with the weapons in hand, in the mountains and in the cities. It is challenging the system, holding it accountable for decades of pain and its crimes. Our guerrillas will die and they will kill. In difficult times they will be hungry, without sleep and without shelter. If necessary, they will pay the highest price. But the guerrillas are carrying the responsibility for the future and the hope of our people. With their iron will they will find ways, they will overcome all difficulties and they will pave the road towards the revolution. The people will watch them, gain their own courage from their struggle and support them. With this knowledge our fighters have taken up arms with enthusiasm. With the same enthusiasm they went into the mountains in the cities, they went underground and became



Our front is the only hope for the people's liberation. It is the road, uniting the organisations in all the areas and all segments of life with all the forms of struggle.

guerrillas.

Many sympathisers of the front want to become part of the Armed Revolutionary Units or the Armed Propaganda Units. Regardless of where they are at the moment, they want to engage the enemy armed, as a guerrilla in the mountains. But there, like in the Aegean, there will first be a struggle of will. The guerrillas will have to fight the conditions of nature, the internal enemy and the superior forces of the people's enemies with an iron will. No matter how strong the enemy is, no matter with how many tanks, armoured cars and soldiers the enemy comes, the guerrilla will defeat him. Its will is giving it the strength to do so. Our comrades Erhan and Mehmet have proven this once again. They have shown all our friends and enemies what makes the guerrilla invincible: the courage and the creativity never to surrender, not give up the struggle for liberation, not even under the most difficult conditions, not even

when surrounded by thousands of enemies.

As commanders of their units, Erhan and Mehmet have continued their struggle during the ten days they were prosecuted and surrounded by the enemy. They did not surrender, in stead they have crowned their revolutionary lives with the 20 hour long resistance in Balkica. The enemy has murdered them, but they have defeated the enemy. They did not bow to the enemy's will, in stead they used their revolutionary courage, their strength and their weapons until the last second. The fight in Balkica lasted for 20 hours. The last 8 hours, Erhan continued the tradition of the front alone in the struggle against thousands of contra-guerrilla killers. During their last fight they were only with two, but they defeated the enemy. Who is stronger now? Looking at the weapons, the ammunition and soldiers, the Susurluk state is stronger. But this strength was and is unimportant. It's only superficial.

If this strength would be important, there would have been no progress in the last millennia. Human kind would still live in the dark age of slavery. The exploiting and tyrannical rulers have been known as «strong» in all epochs of history. But only until the people started its war... From then on the rulers, the «strong» ones, were the ones who were defeated.

The greatest strength the strongest force, emerges from the bond with the people, through the legitimate struggle for the people and for justice, through the conviction and the determination for the people's war, as well as through the readiness to sacrifice and the untameable courage in this war. All this can never be achieved by the rulers and their hired killers. That's why we will win with our guerrilla, with the organised and armed force of millions of people. The guerrilla is the force of the peoples. It is the strongest weapons against the strongest enemy.

It's invincible because of its love for the people and the land, its courage, its creativity, the determination to will, and the unity between the peoples. There is no doubt, the revolution will develop further on the basis of the guerrilla struggle and achieve the people's Power. In Kurdistan, near the Black Sea, in the Taurus, in the mountains of Middle Anatolia and the Aegean, in all the mountains and cities of our country we will develop the liberation struggle of our peoples. We will unite our guerrilla struggle with the struggle in the other areas and with the people's organisations and we will lead it to victory.

DEVİRİMCI HALK

KURTULUS CEPHESİ



Press Office Date:December 2, 1999 Declaration: 78

THE VANGUARD OF THE REVOLUTION IS IN THE MOUNTAINS OF THE AEGEAN

Since the 1970s there has never been a time when the vanguard of the revolution, the Party-Front's supporters, have been absent from the cities and mountains of our country. At times when fascism least expected it, hundreds of actions were carried out. While fascism tries to convince itself that no revolutionaries can live here, they have shown the entire world that the Party-Front's supporters can live and be vanguard fighters of the revolution in every place where the people are, on every piece of Anatolia's land which we see as our native land. They have won, they have been defeated, they have died, they have killed. At the very moment that they said they had annihilated and wiped us out, our existence was confirmed. They have written the history of the revolution in blood - not with empty words, but with actions and readiness for sacrifice.

**THE MOUNTAINS AND
CITIES OF OUR LAND
BELONG TO US
NOW WE ARE IN THE**

MOUNTAINS OF THE AEGEAN

The mountains of the Aegean were quiet and peaceful. They were a place where fascism could arm itself and live. Everything was under its control, it said. But with soft and modest steps, the supporters of the Party-Front climbed onto the mountains of the Aegean once again.

The war which began in the cities spread into the major metropolitan centres. While the struggle developed again in numerous cities in Anatolia, it spread to Kurdistan in Turkey, to central Anatolia, the Black Sea region, the Taurus and the Aegean. The Aegean, the land of revolutions, bears witness to the vanguard of the Party-Front supporters who follow the uprisings by the BÖRKLÜCES (translator's note: rebels in the Aegean who rose up against the Ottoman Empire in the Middle Ages). It can be said that in the revolutionary history of the Aegean the Party-Front supporters are the heirs of the Börklüces. Following the legendary acts of resistance created by the urban guerrillas Faruk, Olcay, Kahraman, Hamiyet and Ali Rıza Kurt

(translator's note: Devrimci Sol and Party-Front martyrs in the area in the first half of the 1990s), the war has spread to the mountains of the Aegean.

IN THE MOUNTAINS OF THE AEGEAN THE WEAPONS OF THE PARTY-FRONT ARE NOT SILENT

The existence of the Party-Front in the mountains of the Aegean was a profound shock for the Susurluk state. For ten days they were in a great panic. A small guerrilla unit caused fear and trembling among the state. The Gölgeci mountains were surrounded by thousands of soldiers and special team members from the adjacent Denizli area who were equipped with tanks, armoured cars and all kinds of heavy weapons. Deep down, what they feared was not the existence of a small guerilla unit, but the strength of the demand for revolution and the Party-Front, which under no circumstances will back off from making this demand for revolution. The existence of a

revolutionary organisation which, in all corners of the country, in the cities, in the mountains, seeks to unite and bring into the struggle all our peoples without regard to nationality or creed, is the most dangerous force as far as the state is concerned.

Now the Party-Front, which it could not erase through annihilation and repression, is also to be found in the mountains of the Aegean. The enemy concentrated its forces here in the mountains of the Aegean too - its army, police, media, armoured vehicles, cannons and mendacious news items. Now the people's war against the oligarchy would continue here.

TWO PARTY-FRONT SUPPORTERS AND A LEGEND OF RESISTANCE FOR OUR PEOPLE

The history of the Aegean is full of uprisings. The history of the Aegean is the history of heroism. In this history there was no betrayal of the people. It contained within it heroic martyrdom and resistance. But there was no talk of capitulation and submission. Our fighters Erhan Yilmaz and Mehmet Yildirim, who were surrounded at the foot of the Gölge mountains in Balkica village on November 29, remained true to this history. Hostile forces, thousands of soldiers and police with heavy weapons surrounded them. The fighter is connected to life. This connection with life is the connection with his or her people and organisation. In order to achieve the revolution, he will live and fight for his people. But he is conscious that surrendering without fighting would mean not living but betraying the revolution

and his people. Basically it is this moment when against a thousand enemies the justice of the people, the voice of the people comes most to the fore, if necessary by putting one's own life at stake. They did not hesitate in the slightest. The enemy surrounded them with thousands of soldiers. In this moment the countryside dwelling in Balkica was the Party-Front. The Party-Front and the revolution were reflected in the personalities of Erhan and Mehmet. The eyes of the whole people were turned on them. The seeds of the revolution in the mountains of the Aegean were sown. The seeds would ripen and grow. They were to show that the guerrillas can exist in the mountains of the Aegean and that the Party-Front cannot be defeated. «Surrender», shouted the Susurluk generals with their thousands of soldiers, armoured vehicles, cannons, believing themselves to be strong. The guerrillas answered with their weapons. The little rural dwelling in Balkica bore witness to the heroic resistance of the two Party-Front supporters in the mountains of the Aegean amid thousands of bullets, rockets and mortar bombs. The Aegean, with its Turkmens, Greeks, Jews, Kurds, Cherkess, Georgians, Alevis, Sunnis and Christians, which is a forest of fraternity, had never seen such resistance. Two supporters of the Party-Front challenged the enemy army amid the thousands of bullets and explosive projectiles. They called out «We are the Party-Front, we are DHKP-C, we do not surrender, you cannot make us surrender. Supporters of the Party-Front do not die.» For precisely twenty hours it was not possible for the enemy to silence two Party-Front supporters in a rural dwelling. Precisely twenty hours. Twenty hours of sleeplessness, hunger and

cold. The two fighters of the Party-Front never let their slogans, marches, revolutionary agitation and their weapons fall silent. The enemy was confused, the people were confused. The people of the



Aegean got to know the Party-Front in the mountains of the Aegean with their heroic resistance during the enemy encirclement. From now on, the Aegean will talk of this resistance. The enemy was powerless, immoral and without a way out. With thousands of soldiers and heavy weapons it could not make two supporters of the Party-Front surrender. For all its thousands of soldiers it could not even get close to the country dwelling where the two Party-Front supporters were located. Moreover, they suffered losses. Under a hail of bullets and shells two fighters of the Party-Front killed one of the enemy and wounded two others. In the face of the creativity of the two Party-Front supporters, the enemy, who trusted in using thousands of soldiers in an encirclement, suffered a complete defeat. The enemy was nevertheless weak and condemned to defeat, for despite its

thousands of soldiers and heavy weapons it stands for exploitation, tyranny and immorality. They can murder thousands of our fighters but those who are in the wrong historically and politically, those who are the enemies of the people will sooner or later be defeated. They were defeated at the very moment they claimed to be victors. The rural dwelling in Balkica was burned to the ground with mortars and rockets before the eyes of the entire world. The fire which lit up the Gölgeci mountains in Balkica is not the fire of a rural dwelling, but rather the fire of resistance which will spread in the mountains of the Aegean. The fire lit by two supporters of the Party-Front will never be extinguished by any force. All the enemy got were the charred corpses of the two Party-Front supporters. Who won, and who was defeated?

Their thousands of soldiers and tonnes of heavy weapons were still not enough to make the fighters give in. For exactly 20 hours. Those who surrounded the Party-Front fighters experienced defeat, minute for minute, hour for hour, before the eyes of the entire world. They were afraid, were egoistic and devoid of all conviction.

The two fighters of the Party-Front added another link to the chain of their victory and their tradition. For exactly 20 hours. They resisted an army, showed their connection to their belief and in the mountains of the Aegean wrote a history with their blood that can never be expunged. They have called for the Party-Front, the people and justice and for an independent, democratic and socialist Turkey. They had won. All the enemy got was their burnt corpses. From this moment on there were fighters of the Party-

Front in the mountains of the Aegean. What Seyh Bedrettin (translator's note: rebel leader in western Anatolia in the Middle Ages who set up an egalitarian state which for a time held out against the attacks of the Ottoman army) said centuries ago is now told in the mountains of the Aegean by Erhan and Mehmet: «You people are witnesses of how, if not today then tomorrow, all the wheels of exploitation will be ripped from their moorings and all those who exploit people will disappear from this earth no matter how hard they try to defend themselves...»

OUR MARTYRS

Erhan YILMAZ (Kenan):

He was born in 1976 in Bismil district near the city of Diyarbakir as the son of a poor Turkmen family. (Translator's note: the Turkmen of Anatolia are a distinct Turkic ethnic group, who were nomadic until the 19th century and who often played an important role in rebellions against Ottoman authority. They are not the same people as the Turkmen who live in the former USSR republic of Turkmenistan, northeastern Iran and northwestern Afghanistan.) He spent his childhood in the village. Since his family was poor, he had to work at various trades in order to be able to continue through middle school and high school. In his high school years he came into contact with revolutionary ideas because of his anti-system attitudes, since he had personally experienced the system's injustice and tyranny. While in the beginning he already sympathised with the revolutionaries in a general way, the resistance of April 16-17, 1992 influenced him deeply. He got to

know the ideas of Devrimci Sol. When he began his studies in Balikesir in 1993, he belonged to Devrimci Sol. With his activities among the students he developed quickly. He began to take on various forms of responsibility. Besides his activities in the university, he was also active as someone holding responsibilities in the areas around Balikesir, Bandirma and Susurluk. He took a direct part in organising and building various mass activities. Sometimes he was an ordinary militant, sometimes he had specific areas of responsibility. While he was getting to know the Party-Front and the revolution, he was taken captive. Imprisonment was a turning point for Erhan. During his three and a half years in prison he settled accounts with the system. He got to know the Party-Front at a very young age. He experienced heroism and betrayal. In every fibre of his being he sensed that an honourable life was one in which the struggle was waged. He said: «For me the most beautiful and valuable work in the world is to be a revolutionary, a supporter of the Party-Front, and to fight for the freedom of our homeland and our people. For this reason I swear to belong to the Party-Front until my death. For this means to be proud and honourable, so I will safeguard it...» At the end of his imprisonment, he remained true to his oath. He rushed to fight for his homeland and his people. He was full of anger and rage. He expressed his thoughts with the words, «I have a great urge to fight.» He had begun his life inside the Party-Front and he said, «I am proud of every moment of my life I spent within the Party-Front.» He was ready to be sent to operate in every area. With his thoughts, his feelings, indeed every fibre of his being. But

he wanted to fight, gun in hand. The Party sent him to command the rural guerrilla unit in the Aegean. And with pride in every moment of his life spent inside the Party-Front, on November 30, 1998 he kept his oath until the last breath passed from his body. Now in the mountains of the Aegean, the legends of resistance by Erhan and his comrade Mehmet have been written. Erhan's life is an honourable past, an honourable history of how he stayed true to his word up to his last breath without betraying the Party.

Before he went into the mountains of the Aegean, he said: «The days are near in which we will sing the march 'We are falcons who will beat our wings in the mountains'».

The Party taught him the revolution and a revolutionary personality. He became immortal by holding aloft the Party with his struggle, his life, his resistance, and he sowed the seed of guerrilla warfare in the mountains of the Aegean.

Mehmet YILDIRIM (Necati):



He was born in 1964 in Oluklu village in Kagizman district of Kars city, as the child of a poor Kurdish peasant family. Because of poverty he could not continue his education after elementary school. He began to do various kinds of work to earn a living. During his life as a worker he experienced the most typical forms of exploitation and injustice. When in 1993 he got to know the revolutionaries, he very quickly assimilated revolutionary ideas. He carried out various activities in Alibeyköy/Istanbul as a Devrimci Sol sympathiser. For Mehmet, being a revolutionary was something different from his previous life. He wanted to learn all aspects of this life and be a modest soldier of the organisation. He had not come into contact with the dirt and filth of the system. It was his great passion to learn to be a revolutionary and to live that way. The diligence he had already shown in life was now put into service with the revolution. Without making a distinction between major and minor activities, he eagerly carried out all tasks. A little later he came to know imprisonment. This came at an early point for him but it was a school in which he got to know the revolution in all its aspects. He had the self-confidence to say «I can also do what others do». He was older than many of his other comrades. But he was highly enthusiastic in seeking to learn from his younger comrades and to fight under their direction. He came late to the revolution. He wanted to make up for the years he had wasted outside the revolution. When he was freed he said, «Now I am a fighter and at the service of my Party». He wanted to dedicate every hour of his life to the Party. For a short time he was in an urban guerrilla unit. In 1995 he was part of a rural guerrilla unit in the Black

Sea region. While he was fighting there, he developed severe frostbite and had to be brought to the city to be treated for it. For him being a revolutionary and the struggle was not a short-term thing. It had to last one's entire life. When he recovered his health, he waited for the order to be sent back to the struggle. He was sent to be deputy commander of the Aegean rural guerrilla unit. When he went into the mountains, he said, «It is our task to keep all the martyrs of the revolution alive, to take their place and to hold their banner even higher and fix it above the fortresses of the oligarchy. I will carry out this proud task to the last drop of my blood as a fighter of the Party-Front...» And he did this. Until the last drop of his blood he shouted out his support of the revolution, the legitimate struggle of the people and the Party-Front. He challenged the enemy. When he drew his last breath along with his comrade Kenan, the fire of resistance burned in the mountains of the Aegean. This fire was lit by them. We give our word that it will grow larger and never be extinguished.

**THE FIRE LIT BY
ERHAN AND MEHMET
IN THE MOUNTAINS OF
THE AEGEAN WILL
NEVER BE
EXTINGUISHED!**

**REVOLUTIONARY
PEOPLE'S
LIBERATION
FRONT**

THE**POLICE STATION OF
IMPERIALISM IN THE MIDDLE
EAST :****S
T****A****T****E****O****F****SUSURLUK**

On July 1951, Fuat Koprulu, the foreign minister of the Turkish government, addressed the imperialist with the following:

«The defence of the Middle East is a must to protect Europe in the context of both economic and strategic senses. Therefore, if Turkey is accepted to the Atlantic Pact as a member, she will be ready to discuss her role and her necessary precaution in the Middle East».

The oligarchy in the Middle East had declared at the beginning of the 1950s her willingness to protect the imperialist's interests in the Middle East and had guaranteed to do that very action without questioning. The Menderes government was enormously willing to protect the interests of imperialism. The government which was talking about European safety more than Turkey's

safety was ready to serve as a servant. This time the borders of our country were voluntarily opened to the invaders who had already been kicked out after the Liberation War, in 1919-1923. The military bases were given to imperialism to be used for the operations against the peoples in the region by the collaborationist powers

«One of the policies of imperialism was to control the region so as to surround the USSR from the south and establish a military pact to prevent any anti-imperialist development. The monarchy in Iraq and the fascism in Turkey were the core of this pact. The Baghdad Pact was established in 1955. Afterwards, Iran and Pakistan, together with the powers outside the region, the USA and Britain joined the Pact. Hence, the main aim of the Pact was overtly

declared: The collaboration with Imperialism.» (Hakliyiz Kazanacagiz (We Are Right, We Will Win), 1st Ed. 2nd Vol., p. 1017) The oligarchy in Turkey sent Turkish soldiers to Korea for the interest of imperialism, and would not avoid getting involved in new adventures in the Middle East. During the 1950s and 1960s, while the USA was trying to end the sovereignty of Britain and France in the region. The USA would try to surround the USSR and other socialist countries from the south and aimed to stop the improvements and developments of socialism in the region. One of the significant roles for this policy of surrounding the USSR was given to the oligarchy in Turkey. While the oligarchy was trying to surrender the masses by suppressing the intellectuals and democrats, at the same time, it was supporting all

the imperialist campaigns and actions against the socialist countries.

The Baghdad Pact was established to threaten the people, to crush the anti-imperialist popular movements and to prevent the development of socialism in the region. In that context, Turkey spent significant efforts to include the other Arabic countries to this pact. Therefore, Turkey never avoided threatening these countries. Menderes, as the Prime Minister of Turkish government, threatened the Ambassador of Syria: «If you continue in this way, it will be bad for you.....tell your lords, I will send two of my regiments to Syria and turn your country upside down ...»

After 44 years, the representatives of the oligarchy in Turkey still continued to threaten Syria and say «We will carve out your eyes», «We will turn Syria upside down» Although the names and governments are changing, the role of the collaborationist oligarchy with imperialism is not changing.

The Fables of the «Traditional Turkish-Arab Friendship», «Religious Brotherhood», and Turkey Betraying the Arab Peoples On January 5, 1957, The USA President, Eisenhower, expressed the policy and doctrine of the USA: «With the authorisation of the US congress, the President of the USA will have the authority to use US military forces, including the Middle East, against an armed attack of a country in which the hegemony of the international communism rules and for the purpose of helping any country or countries in the Middle East when it is requested». With this decision, the USA aimed

to invade any country in the Middle East, who had governments which were against the USA. It supported the pro-imperialist collaborators in these countries and was prepared to arm them.

With the USA increased the number of its interventions into the Middle East, many new nationalist governments which were against Israel and the USA, came to power in different countries in the region. In 1957, the government was changed in Syria and the new government declared that they were against imperialism and sought to improve relations with the USSR. This action drove the USA to target Syria at every level. Imperialism, first of all, declared that Syria was controlled by international

The oligarchy in Turkey is namely a shield for imperialism and Israel in the region. From now on Turkey, which is going to act out its new role, given to it by imperialism in the region, will behave more aggressively and will attack the people of the Middle East.

communism, and the Turkish government's first reaction was to move its army to the Syrian-Turkish border. Syrian was threatened by

both the USA and Turkey. In 1958 King Faisal and his government in Iraq, one of the members of the Baghdad Pact, were overthrown. The oligarchy was prepared to intervene and invade Iraq.

In May 1958 «the Lebanon Crisis» broke out. Lebanon President Shamoun called the USA for help when the nationalist and anti-USA views of the Middle East gained power in the country. Of course, the motivated reason was «an indirect communist attack». The USA demonstrated that this was the reason for the invitation and invaded Lebanon with a land force of 5000 troops by using its bases in Adana region of Turkey on July 15, 1958. The USA, who had been using the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea as a means of threat up to that time, was now ready use it directly in the invasion using the Incirlik Base. The Turkish oligarchy left aside all those «traditional friendship» fables which it had been telling for years with insincerity and stealthily. These fables played an important role in imperialism's invasion of the Lebanon. The Menderes government, signing new agreements, made considerable developments in becoming the «little America» of the region. While they opened all the resources of the country to the imperialists, they saw no harm in being the police station of the USA against the peoples of the region. The followers of the Menderes government did whatever they could do to further the intensification of this situation. «Despite its different structure, Turkey has many common characteristics with Middle Eastern countries, as a result of historical, social, political, religious, cultural, and economic relations. With

these advantages it has a potential to develop close relations with Middle Eastern countries. Moreover, it has the capability to have an effective role in the region with its strategic situation and powerful army» (We are right, we will win, 1st Ed. Vol.: 2, p. 1016). Thus, the imperialists, making use of these properties of Turkey, have used it as a gendarme against the Arab peoples for long years. With this aim, bilateral agreements have been signed, imperialist bases have been established, regional pacts have been arranged and Turkey has been included into NATO.

To surround the progressive Middle Eastern countries, and the Palestine movement, which is the dynamics of the region, the USA promoted the Zionist Israel, and arranged a useful pact for itself, together with the Shah government in Iran and the Turkish oligarchy.

When commenting about the Arab-Israel war and the problems in this region, and the Palestine problem, the oligarchy in Turkey has always tried not to contradict US policy. They, together with the CIA, MOSSAD, MIT and SAVAK, have organized many conspiracies against the people of the Middle East. They secretly continued their relations with the Zionist Israel, which arranged many genocides in Palestine. Many conspiracies in which Hiram Abas was actively involved, were arranged by MOSSAD and MIT.

While the oligarchy in Turkey has been suppressing the Kurdish uprisings, the policy to incite hatred between the different parts of the Kurdish movement in the different countries of the region, has been adopted as a state policy. When this policy was not effective enough, movements that are seen as a

danger were crushed. There were tens of operations and attacks for this purpose. In accordance with US policy, they spent great effort to form collaborators and those, who take the side of imperialism, within the Kurdish movement.

THE TRIVET OF IMPERIALISM: TURKEY AND ISRAEL

During the Gulf Crisis of 1991, the oligarchy in Turkey stood by imperialism and stood against the peoples of the Middle East. Although Turgut Ozal was eager «to invade the oil wells of Mosul and Kirkuk», he could not realize such scenarios. However, Turkey was amongst the countries which supported the USA and allowed the use of imperialist bases to attack the Middle Eastern people. The oligarchy in Turkey began military interventions in Northern Iraq, during the late '80s. This is now a regular occurrence.

The dimensions of Turkish-Israeli relations, together with the USA interventions in the Middle East, became the matter of discussions. If we put aside the demagogy of «Turkish-Arab friendship», Turkey overtly continued its close relations with Israel. In spite of the reactions of Arab countries in the Middle East, these close relations became closer day-by-day. The oligarchy in Turkey aimed to be the USA's «second Israel» in the region. Moreover, the oligarchy has been prepared to act out its new role in the region and is in the position to complement Israel.

The USA desired to strengthen its position in the region by targeting

the improvement of relations amongst Israel, Turkey, and Jordan. In 1996, Turkey and Israel signed an agreement, called «The Military Cooperation and Education Accord» which was an important step towards the development of closer relations between the two countries. Afterwards, many other accords and agreements have followed.

These agreements and accords were approved by high level statesmen and the relations were strengthened by exchanging visits. It is very strange that the first military accord was signed by Erbakan, when he was Prime Minister, even though he was the leader of the Muslim fundamentalist Refah Party and a supposed enemy of Zionism. On January 12, 1998, Turkey, Israel, and the USA, together with Jordan as an observer, participated together in an military exercise in the Mediterranean Sea. The target was to threaten the peoples of the Middle East and to try out possible invasions and attacks in the Middle East. Israel, which had remained alone in the region against the Arab People had found an ally in the region. Therefore, the Arab peoples in the region were now surrounded by Israel and Turkey. The oligarchy in Turkey is namely a shield for imperialism and Israel in the region. From now on Turkey, which is going to act out its new role, given to it by imperialism in the region, will behave more aggressively and will attack the people of the Middle East.

1 Dogan Avciaglu-Milli Kurtulus Tarihi 4, s. 1615.

2 Yulselis ve Dusus, Ali Gevgili-Baglam Yayinlari, s. 99.

2 Y E A R S

...have passed now since the car crash at Sursuluk, thousands of documents of evidence have been found-

WHAT'S THE RESULT?

The persons responsible for thousands of «killings committed by unknown killers», disappearances, massacres, executions, torture, the persons who founded and lead death squads and fascist Mafia gangs, the Counterguerillas and murderers are still in their positions.

It is known who they are, - who made the decisions. The national security council, the general staff, the commandants of the army, the presidents of the republic, prime ministers, ministers, members of parliament, The JITEM (secret service of the constabulary), MIT (national secret service), the governors of the OHAL regions (regions under martial law), police chiefs.

They are not harmed in any way. One tries to rescue the state from the Sursuluk disaster by arresting some of the Mafia gangs formerly used by the Counterguerilla, and by publicising some of the intrigues planned and carried out together with those gangs. They can't fool anyone! Persons like Catli or Cakici are instruments. And those like Korkmaz Ygit or Erol Evcil are clever enough to use any opportunity.

What they have done was known from the beginning. Their robberies and murders were ignored. Now it is tried to absolve the Counterguerilla state, the MGK (national security council), the ones who are truly responsible, by saying the Mafia «is Sursuluk». One can tell that they will try to close the case by sacrificing some more politicians, members of parliament, and so on...

But they can't close the case. No matter what kind of manoeuvres they use,- the address of Sursuluk is the MGK, the president, the government, the state. The mess, the rottenness extends to all fields and can't be hidden. The system is sentenced to suffocate in this mess, the Sursuluk state is sure to break down.

After the «war of audiotapes» that lasted for days, the relationships between Cakici- Eyüp Asik- Mesut Yılmaz and Cakici-Erol Evcil, now the murder of the profiteer Nesim Malki is the order of the day. If the new mess whirled up by the audiotapes is regarded, the murder of Nesim Malki and the connected developments, three facts are confirmed we told about anybody from the beginning.

1-All the institutions of the state,- the MGK, the army, the police, the parliament, the bureaucracy, the courts, and all the layers of the ruling class with its bourgeois monopolists, new capitalists, profiteers, Mafia gangs, are involved in this shady deals.

2-There is nothing kept in secret, everything is known to the responsible persons. The people might not know everything in detail, but those that created the Sursuluk state know everything about it. Everything is documented and proofed. It sounds unbelievable, but since they don't trust each other they have documented and registrated everything, even if it could be used against themselves. The Mafia gangs they used have registrated it, the MIT and the police who have used the gangs have documented it. It is sure that the JITEM and the

army have recorded every detail, too. Now they use this information, piece by piece, against each other. This audiotapes are documents. They are all publicising their recordings. The Sursuluk state wants to whitewash itself by uncovering details about the Mafia gangs it has created, but has lost control about. The fascist Mafia bosses like Cakci use their information for blackmail and to take revenge because the state tried to liquidate them.

3-Inspite of the uncovering of the mess, of the shady deals and connections between Mafia and state, the state tries to «hide Sursuluk», because those who got arrested are those who were used by the state and, in the meantime, want to be their own masters. In view of all this mess the MGK, the army and the JITEM are not even mentioned. The «thousands of killings committed by unknown killers», the disappearance of hundreds of persons aren't mentioned. The Counterguerilla isn't mentioned, but it is the head of the Counterguerilla-the MGK which has produced all this mess and has used the Mafia for its purposes. It is the MIT, the JITEM and the police. While talking about the Mafia the state tries to protect them.

The Trillions, that went from one hand to the other in just one night. The banks working for, and paid by the Mafia. The allocation of contracts. Who gets the biggest contracts by the state is decided by Alaattin Cakici. Erol Evcil founded the biggest and most modern olive companies in Europe. They bought the Seker-bank, but that wasn't enough for them, and Korkmaz Ygit bought one of the oldest banks-

Türkbank, paying a price that Sabanci and Koc wouldn't have paid. Why? The money they got out of drug dealing had increased, so they decided to buy a bank to hide their deals. Where did they have the money from? They used money out of drug business and money they borrowed from the profiteer Nesim Malki. They couldn't pay back their debts. It was publicised that, when Nesim Malki was killed 700 Trillions went from one hand to the other in just one night. It was found out that Erol Evcil wasn't the only person who owed money to Malki. Malki's connections go as far as to Cavit Caglar, Member of Parliament and owner of NTV, who, in 5 to 10 years, became the richest man in Bursa. And his connections go even further. It seems as if when they went on like this for some more years they would control Turkey's economy. They would become bigger than Sabanci, Koc and Eczacıbaşı. The reason why their boss was targeted by the state is can be found in these developments. The Mafia, created by the Sursuluk state and the Counterguerilla, grew stronger and stronger and reached a level where the state was no longer able to control it.

Their influence reaches into all spheres, they begin to buy newspapers and TV-stations. This, of course, startles the Kocs, the Sabancis, the monopolists. That's why Sabanci is talking about «cleaning the society» and participated in the action «one minute of darkness» by turning off the lights in the twin towers (Sabanci center).

They don't want to share what they have got. They want to be in total control of the economy. In fact they are no better than the others. They really don't care about the country and the people. They developed their monopolism with shady deals

and don't want any competition, but they are the ones who are responsible for the actual situation. They want to prevent their system of exploitation from breaking down, they want to silence the people, destroy their struggle, exploit them more easily. That's why they support the Counterguerilla. Have the commented on the massacres of the Counterguerilla, the executions, the «killings by unknown killers», the disappearances, the torture, the Counterguerilla gangs, the death squads? No! They have financed and supported them, but when their interests were endangered they began to talk about a «clean society». Now theres a war of interests and the various shady deals are uncovered. They can't fool anyone. They can't pretend to be innocent. They are responsible for this mess, for the exploitation and the oppression by the regime. They did this for their own interests and for the interests of their masters-the imperialists.

Those who created the Mafia gangs and used them are still in their positions.

Now anyone who is irritated by the quick developments, and forgot about what has happened in the last two years, can see it very clearly today how rotten the system is,- there are gangs everywhere. The bureaucracy and the politicians, the big capitalists, the MIT and the police,- they are all involved in this scandal. In the meantime some of the shady deals are uncovered, some persons are arrested, some are searched for. Even if the government can't be trusted it looks like the scandal is uncovered and the problems are solved in the end...
Some of the so called progressive

intellectuals and journalists, like Ismet Berkan, call themselves «Sursuluk experts» and go even further. They say that the clean-up was ordered by the MGK. That's how they try to fool the people. The clean-up the MGK carries out is carried out to protect the Sursuluk state. While talking about the Mafia, about Catli, Cakici, Ömer Lütfü Topal, Erol Evcil, Korkmaz Yigit, and uncovering new details of the scandal,- the source of all this is hidden.

Right, the MGK put Sursuluk on the agenda 1 ½ years after it took place, and it ordered the government to go after those gangs. Which gangs? There's an agreement that the MGK, the army and the gangs and death-squads that remain connected to them, and the state, are not harmed. The ones that can't be controlled are liquidated. Maybe some of the loyal gangs have to be sacrificed, but thereby the MGK and the Sursuluk state are saved. As long as the Counterguerilla-state has got its power it isn't that difficult to build new gangs. There can easily be founded new ones that take the place of those that couldn't be used any longer.

Is «Sursuluk» just some Mafia gangs, 5-10 corrupt policemen, 3-5 members of Parliament and a few capitalists connected to the Mafia? While the reality of Sursuluk keeps «expanding» the state tries to play down the scandal. They try to fool the people by presenting some Mafia gangs and some persons, Members of Parliament and capitalists connected to them. They say this earthquake will produce a clean-up. No, this earthquake will wipe away the Sursuluk state, theMGK, monopolism, the Sabancis and Kocs.

Who created those Mafia gangs? Who used them? Who comes that Catli, Cakici, Yesil, carried out that

many deals? Didn't the state know about their business? Who turned Turkey into the worlds largest «drug-center»? Who lets people disappear, orders the «thousands of killings by unknown killers», the executions, the massacres? Who bombed, burned out and destroyed the villages? Who gave the orders? Do their «clean-ups» solve the problem? No! The answer to all this isn't hard to find. We don't even need any further evidence, documents and information. What was uncovered by the Sursuluk car crash is enough. The few deficient testimonies are clear enough. All we got to do is call them to account.

The statement,» We clean up Sursuluk,» is a lie! We haven't forgotten a single thing. We demand a declaration!

The prime minister Mesut Yılmaz and the MGK-Tüsiad-government say,» We will uncover Sursuluk, everything will be uncovered soon.» They lie! If they want a clean-up they have to answer this questions:

November 1996

In the Mercedes that got into the car crash were found, the fascist murderer Abdullah Catli, the Chief of Police Hüseyin Kocadag, the DYP-Member of Parliament and chief of «village protectors» Sedat Bucak and weapons, silencers and cocaine. Sedat Bucak had a diplomatic passport signed by MEHMET AGAR (Minister of the Interior). It turned out that the recently arrested fascist Haluk Kirci, who is responsible for the massacre in Bahcelievler in 1978, also had a document signed by Mehmet Agar which said,» I know him,- be

helpful to him.» He helped Kirci to escape by ordering the police not to imprison him.

It also turned out that he freed members of the special team that was arrested by the police in Istanbul for killing Topal.

The Mafia drug dealer Yasar Öz also had a diplomatic passport and a weapon license signed by Agar. Agar denied everything, but investigations proofed that the signatures were his.

When he saw that he couldn't escape the Counterguerilla chief Mehmet Agar confessed that everything he has done, he has done following the orders of the prime minister and the MGK. He declared,;» We have carried out thousands of operations, I will keep these secrets until I die. The state knew everything we did. We've done everything in the name of the state, not for our own interests.»

**WE ARE ASKING:
WHY IS MEHMET AGAR
NOT TRIALED? AGAINST
WHOM WERE THE
«THOUSANDS OF
OPERATIONS» CARRIED
OUT?
WHO HAS ORDERED THE
OPERATIONS?
DECLARE YOURSELF!**

What happened to KORKUT EKEN, the former member of the MIT and Counterguerilla chef, who was Agars counsellor, who organised his shady deals and trained his death-squads? Asked about weapons that had disappeared he said,;» We used them for operations outside of Turkey and couldn't get back a part of it.»

DECLARE YOURSELF?

**TO WHOM WERE THE
DISAPPEARED WEAPONS
HANDLED; IN WHICH
OPERATIONS WERE THEY
USED?**

The chef of the Junta of the 12th September, KENAN EVREN, declared after Sursuluk that he was against the gangs.

Members of the MIT confessed that Abdullah Catli and his mafia gangs started their activities when Kenan Evren was president, and that he knew about that. Evren denied this, but at this time the MIT was strongly connected to him as one of the most competent members of MIT was Erkan Gürvit, Evrens son-in-law. It is known, that Haydar Saltik, general of the coup of the 12th of September, had a meeting in Switzerland at a consular, during his tenure in 1985, together with Abdullah Catli, Mehmet Sener, Fahri Yigit, and the drug dealer Avni Karadurmus, who was searched by Interpol.

In a MIT-report of 1988 it is documented that Mehmet Agar was, together with Tahsin Sahinkaya, a general of the 12th of September putsch, involved in heroine deals. The report also tells us that a lot of bribemoney was paid by Behcet Cantürk and the others, and that Tahsin Sahinkaya, Ünal Erkan and responsible persons of the MIT were involved.

**WE ASK:
DID YOU ORDER ANY
INVESTIGATIONS AGAINST
KENAN EVREN; ONE OF
THE FOUNDERS OF THE
SURSULUK STATE? WHAT
WERE THE RESULTS?
DECLARE YOURSELF!**

May 1996:

In her speech at the DYP parliament-meeting on the 22nd of May Tansu Ciller said about spending out of the secret fond,;» If these secrets are revealed there will be a national uprising, a world-wide uprising. There will be a confrontation between people, between nations. Turkey will vanish, the regime will be endangered. All will have to bear this burden. Piece by piece, chain by chain, from one country to the other it will go on and it will grow.»

**WHAT KIND OF SHADY
DEALS WERE FINANCED
WITH IT WHICH COULD
RUIN TURKEY?**

**WHY DIDN'T YOU
INTERROGATE CILLER
ABOUT THIS SECRET
FOND?**

**WHAT ABOUT THE COUP
IN AZERBEIDSCHAN IN
WHICH ABDULLAH CATLI
AND THE DYP-MEMBER OF
PARLIAMENT AYVAZ
GÖKDEMİR WERE
INVOLVED IN?
DECLARE YOURSELF, WHO
ORGANISED THE PUTSCH?**

December 1996:

On the 5th of December 1996 Ismet wrote in the newspaper Radikal,;»

(...) This strategic change was put on the agenda of the MGK end of 1992. In a MGK document, the author of this article has also seen, a scheme of the organisations to be founded is described, plus a list of the persons who should be given responsible positions in this organisations. The name Abdullah Catli was on this list. Policemen of the special forces, some soldiers

and friends of Catli were involved in the organisation.

İsmet Berkan explains that he knows this document, and that the MGK had decided in the year of 1992 to found new Counterguerilla gangs. In December 1996 Mehmet Agar said, «A stately briefing should be held, were one talks about everything..., because everybody knows about everything.» On the 19th of December Ünal Erkan, another Counterguerilla member declared, «Audiotapes and recordings of telephone-calls are no evidence, but they can be used to get a clearer picture of the police. When all of it is uncovered, it's the end of Mehmet.»

**WE ARE ASKING:
WHICH MEASURES WERE
TAKEN AGAINST THE MGK,
WHICH USED THE MAFIA
AND THE
COUNTERGUERRILLA
GANGS AGAINST THE
PEOPLE?
IF EVERYTHING IS
UNCOVERED AND YOU
HAVE GOT THE
AUDIOTAPES, THE
RECORDINGS, THEN
DECLARE HOW YOU WILL
CLEAN UP SURSULUK?**

January 1997

The members of the special team that murdered Ömer Lütfü Topal were arrested. Later on a warrant of arrest against the vice chairman of the department for special operations, İbrahim Sahin, was issued. He wasn't arrested for a long time until he gave himself up to the police. Prime minister Mesut Yılmaz said that he had evidence and audiotapes about the killing of

Topal, but he has never published it. The chief of police, Kemal Yazıcıoğlu, who had a close relationship to Yılmaz, said a lot about this case, too, but later on both of them forgot everything they had said.

**WE ASK:
WHY WERE THE MEMBERS
OF THE SPECIAL TEAM
RELEASED? WHY DO YOU
PROTECT THEM?**

Drugs are transported with tanks. Just like in all the other gangs, policemen and officers of the army were part of the Söylemezler and the Yüksekova gang. The Söylemezler gang for example had seven members of the army and five policemen as gang members. The investigations against the Yüksekova gang revealed that the drug deals in the region were organised by Colonel Hamdi Poyraz, the commander of the Hakkari mountain commando. The accused persons confessed that drugs were transported with tanks, but Hamdi Poyraz and the other officers who are involved in the drug transports are still in their positions.

**WE ARE ASKING:
WHICH STEPS WERE
UNDERTAKEN AGAINST
HAMDI POYRAZ AND THE
OTHER OFFICERS WHO
ARE INVOLVED IN THE
DRUG TRANSPORTS?**

January 1997

Mesut Yılmaz met Catli. The fascist murderer Oral Celik, accused of murdering Abdi İpekci, made a deal with the state and returned from abroad. On the 29th

of January he made his confession in front of the Sursuluk commission. He said that they were used by the state, that Catli and some of his friends had carried out 28 operations against the Asala outside of Turkey in the year of 1981. Celik said that he was released from a prison in Switzerland with the help of a Minister in the year of 1984. He said that they were supported by high officials of the Turkish state, and that he knows prime minister Yılmaz. According to him Yılmaz and Catli met in Brussels. There Yılmaz asked Catli to annul his debts out of gambling, - and Catli did so.

**DECLARE MESUT YILMAZ!
ARE THESE ALL LIES?
IF IT ISN'T TRUE; WHY
DON'T YOU ACCUSE ORAL
CELIK OF IMPUTATION?
WHO MADE THE DEAL
WITH ORAL CELIK; AND
WHAT WAS THE PRICE?
WHO DID LET THE
DOCUMENTS OF CELIKS
TRIAL DISAPPEAR WHICH
ACCUSED HIM OF
MURDER?
IT IS KNOWN THAT YOU
ARE A GAMBLER. IT IS
TOLD THAT YOU CAME TO
VARNA. WHERE YOU GOT
SMACKED IN THE FACE, TO
GAMBLE. WHY DID YOU GO
THERE? DID YOU FORGIVE
THOSE WHO BROKE YOUR
NOSE? IF YOU ARE THAT
HONEST THEN DECLARE
YOURSELF!**

Mehmet Eymür, leader of the Anti-terror department of the MIT and Korkut Eken confessed, when

HALUK KIRCI, THE MOST IMPORTANT MAN OF THE SURSULK STATE WASN'T ARRESTED:

Haluk Kirci is a fascist killer. Since the 12th of September he, together with Abdullah Catli and others, has spilt the blood of many revolutionaries and democrats. He is one of those who carried out the massacre of 1978, when seven students of the TIP (Turkish Workers Party)

were murdered. Later he was arrested, but soon he was released with the help of the state. From this time on he is involved in every provocation and massacre. Kirci was arrested several times, but was always released with the help of high representatives of the state. He even came to the funeral of Catli and nobody arrested him. The reason for that is, he is a member of the Counterguerilla and does the odd jobs for the state. The state prolongs the Sursuluk case with

the charges against Haluk Kirci, but there won't be revealed any new information, and Kirci will rest in his luxury cell in Eskisehir Prison. By this the state will deal with the pressure of the public, which wants Kirci to be brought to justice. The result: Kirci will be found not guilty, and the state will close the Sursuluk case. The state can't solve the Sursuluk problem, doesn't even want to solve it, because that would mean its breakdown.

interrogated by the Sursuluk commission, that Catli was used by the MIT. Today Eymür confesses that Yesil was also used and that Catli had various tasks to fulfill.

**WE ASK:
IF CATIL AND YESIL ARE A GANG, AND HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES, WHY DON'T YOU SUE THOSE WHO USED THEM FOR THEIR PURPOSES? WHY, AND AGAINST WHOM DO YOU PROTECT THEM?**

February 1997

The reason for his statement,» The gang was founded by the state,» he had made in front of the Sursuluk commission of the parliament, Hanevi Avci, explained like this,» One came to the conclusion that the legal fight against Terrorism was inadequate. That's why illegal methods were used in the fight against Terrorism...

That was decided by the heads of the state. The methods were first carried out by the JITEM (secret service of the constabulary)...» He went on telling about the different persons who used these methods, how the gangs worked for the institutions. The gang of the

MIT, Mehmet Eymür, Commander Kasif, and Duman Firat; the gang of the police, Mehmet Agar, Ibrahim Sahin, Korkut Erken; the gang of the JITEM, Cem Ersever, Mahmut Yildirim (known as Ahmet Demir); the gang of the army, General Veli Küçük, and gang members like Abdullah Catli, Alaatin Cakici, Hadi Özcan, Tevik Agansoy. They all used these methods. Hanefi Avci was convicted for uncovering secrets of the state. He was dismissed from his position, but at the end of the trial he was released and got back his position. That tells us that what he had spoken was true. Later recordings of dialog between Catli and Veli Küçük, talking on the telephone, were published. The general staff published a paper in which it declares that these recordings can't be used as an evidence for connections between the military and the gangs. Ahmet Tekin Baykal, the leader of a gang that was arrested in the Ağais region declared that the state had used him. He confessed that since 1991 he had carried out 18 killings, that he had injured and abducted people, that he had tortured and squeezed money out of people. He complained that now that he was arrested the state didn't help him. He said,» If it's against their interests the high officials declare

that it is all about stately affairs.» Where's the state? Aren't they part of the state,- the chief of police of Torbali, the members of the JITEM in Izmir, the Commanders of the constabulary?

**WE ASK:
IF THERE'S A CLEAN-UP, WHAT KIND OF INVESTIGATIONS CONNECTED WITH THESE STATEMENTS ABOUT VARIOUS PERSONS AND THE JITEM HAVE YOU ORDERED SO FAR?
ANSWER!
WHO ORDERED THE «THOUSANDS OF KILLINGS BY UNKNOWN KILLERS»?
WHO GAVE THE ORDERS TO LET PEOPLE DISAPPEAR? WHO COMMITTED THESE CRIMES?
ANSWER!
WHERE ARE THE DISAPPEARED PEOPLE?
WHO DID LET THEM DISAPPEAR? WHO CARRIED OUT THE ORDERS?**

DEVİRİMCI HALK

KURTULUS CEPHESİ

Press Office Date: March 14, 1999 Declaration: 82



THOSE WHO COMMIT THE MASSACRES AGAINST THE PEOPLE HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE FREEDOM OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE, NOR WITH THE ESSENCE OF REVOLUTION AND PROGRESS

The actions, aimed against the people without making any difference, never reached a dimension and never got out of control as they have now, although we have seen similar ones in recent years. Without making any difference, without dividing between guilty and not guilty, collaborators, at the side of the people or the people's enemies, bombs are left behind on squares which are filled with people, molotov cocktails are thrown, and people massacred. Overt massacres are being organised. This has nothing to do with being revolutionary, with progress, the Kurds or rights and liberties. These methods have historically been the methods of fascist governments and contra-guerrilla organisations. With such methods, imperialism and its fascist collaborators have always tried to destroy the legitimacy of the revolutionaries when the revolutionary struggle was developing. For the revolutionaries, the notions of friend and enemy have always been clear. Whatever the nature of an organisation, acting with nationalist or social demands, they have to determine clearly who is the enemy and who the friend. Massacring an oppressed people in the name of another, and planning and carrying out actions

for this goal, clearly means serving the enemy. When it is claimed that the actions which have been carried out in the past by the contra-guerrilla itself have been carried out in the name of the oppressed Kurdish people, this means betrayal of the Kurdish people. It must be doubted that the oligarchy really tries to prevent such acts. Quite on the contrary, it is as if they are saying: «Let them do what they want. Let the people see what they think of justice, let the people see what they will do when they are in power». For fascism, these actions large create the conditions for its contra-revolutionary propaganda and all kinds of provocations. The mass basis for fascism is being enlarged by portraying all revolutionaries as sick people who massacre the people, not aware of what they are doing. While the conditions for revolutionary work among the people are being mangled, they want to incite the people against the revolutionaries. Whatever the case, such actions achieve the same as the provocations by the contra-guerrilla. The so-called NATIONALIST KURDISH REVENGE FORCE have claimed responsibility for these actions. Nothing has been known about such an organisation. Its sudden appearance is rather

doubtful. If such an organisation really does exist, and if these actions are theirs, they still have nothing to do with revenge. When it is about revenge, the state should be the target, not the common people. When the people are targeted, and not the state, this means that something else is hidden behind it. And even nationalism cannot achieve a connection. When those who commit massacres against the people, or have such acts committed, claim to do so in the name of the Kurdish people, they must, without wasting any time, account for their acts in front of all our peoples, including the Kurdish people, they must accept the responsibility for what they have done and they must stop with this kind of actions immediately. Otherwise they will have to account for history and for the people.

**REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE
AND THE REVOLUTIONARY
CONCEPT WILL
UNDOUBTEDLY DESTROY
THE PROVOCATIONS OF
THE CONTRA-GUERRILLA!**

**REVOLUTIONARY
PEOPLE'S LIBERATION
FRONT**

i **TORTURE**

n **TURKEY -1-**

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Torture cannot be stopped without fighting against imperialism and defeating the oligarchy. According to Amnesty International's report on torture, published at the end of 1998, at least 500,000 people are being tortured annually in almost two-thirds of the world's 193 countries.

No doubt, this figure is much smaller than the actual number. In the last year alone, 1300 people were taken into custody and tortured during the Peace Operations in Istanbul. This figure is also important to demonstrate the level of torture in our country. In fact, in the report of Amnesty International, the Turkish oligarchy is at the top of the list of the torturer states. In the above mentioned report, torturer states have been categorised under different headings. Turkey is in the category of the states which have signed the

Human Rights Declaration but which also torture systematically. The 5th article of the Human Rights Declaration, which was signed by 48 states, states

Nobody may be tortured or treated inhumanely. Signing the declaration does not make any difference. Torture continues and is increasing, people are dying in custody and are being murdered. The heaviest torture is applied in the countries which are neo-colonies of Imperialism. This is not a coincidence. It is a result of the

relations established with Imperialism. In countries like ours, people are being tortured, mainly, in the name of the Imperialists and their collaborators. Imperialists are the greatest torturers. Their Human Rights demagogy is no more than a cover they use to disguise their real nature and legitimate their attacks on the peoples of the world. Torture is not isolated either in our country or elsewhere in the world.

They are torturing systematically. This one of the duties of the imperialist headquarters like Pentagon and CIA. To continue their exploitation in every part of the world and to suppress the people's movements which threaten them, they are training torturers, and developing new techniques and tactics in these headquarters. Afterwards, this is put at the service of their collaborators.

According to the Amnesty International, systematic torture is divided into three categories: physical (beating, hanging, electric shocks, burning, breaking bones, killing), psychological (leaving in the dark, isolation, threatening to torture the family as well, sleep deprivation, creating behavioural and perceptual disorders in the person with similar methods), and pharmacological (ruining the chemistry of the brain with drugs and thereby destroying the mental health of the person)

(Cumhuriyet, April 1, 1999).

These methods are applied in our country as well. Almost everyone who has been taken into custody has experienced all or some of these torture methods. These torture methods which have been created in the imperialist headquarters did not, of course, come to our country by themselves. The Imperialists taught these methods to officials who were sent to America and other countries for different courses. The torturers who were trained in these countries became bosses when they returned to the country and, in turn, trained new torturers. It appears that the imperialists and their collaborators, the greatest enemies of our peoples, are the main ones who are guilty of torture. They torture in order to continue their system of exploitation. Therefore, to be against torture means to be against imperialism and the oligarchy. Torture cannot be ended without defeating oligarchy and driving imperialism from our country. So, our struggle is against imperialism and oligarchy.

NAME, SURNAME: *Zulfu Ozdemir*

DATE OF BIRTH: *October 14, 1967*

JOB: *Dental technician*

CUSTODY'S PLACE AND DATE: *Istanbul/Umraniye, April 6, 1996*

TYPES OF TORTURE: *Beating, bastinado, hanging, swearing, insults*

DURATION OF CUSTODY: 5 days

CURRENT PLACE: *Umraniye Prison (non-political prisoner)*

I was born in Dersim/Nazimiye. I have been living in Istanbul for many years. I am a democratic person. I earn my living as a dental technician. I was arrested in relation to a murder which had nothing to do with me. I am still held in the Umraniye prison because of this. In order to demonstrate the reality of torture in our country strikingly, I would like to tell about the two previous periods in custody that I experienced. On the evening of March 31, 1996, I was sitting and drinking tea with my girlfriend in a cafeteria opposite the Netas in Umraniye. There were many other young people in this place, which we had come to for the first time. We were just about to leave when plain clothed armed policemen entered the cafeteria. They ordered everybody to stand up and show their identity cards, and announced that they were going to make a search. They started to check the identity papers and search the possessions of the people. Then it was our turn. When they looked at our identity papers, they told us to go with them. Only we were arrested among so many people, because I was born in Dersim, and my girlfriend was a student. We told them that we were not going to go with them. When they insisted on taking us, we said 'We are innocent. Tell us what our offence is, then we will go with you.' They started to hit me and my girlfriend. They swore saying 'F... off, you communists!', which I am ashamed to tell. I was very annoyed about their behaviour and insults and felt very degraded. I thought that I had to respond and began to hit out randomly. During this quarrel, they hit me with a rigid object on my head. All of a sud-

den I was covered in blood. They put us into the car by force. The beating and swearing continued in the car also. After we had been there for a while we answered their questions. We told them that we did not belong to any student movement or organisation, and our only offence was our place of birth. We knew that the policemen were torturers. To get rid of them I lied to them. I told them that my heart was working with a battery and artificial valve, and there were plates in my knees and arms. They threatened us, and released us after a while. They had cracked my skull and it was still bleeding. After leaving my girlfriend at her house in Mayday District, I went to the hospital. They put 4 stitches in my head, and gave me a 10-day-rest medical certificate. However, since I did not know the identities and branches of the policemen who tortured me, I could not denounce them.

I was demoralised because of being beaten and insulted with my girlfriend. I did not want to see anybody. I didn't leave my work place in Osmanbey for 1 week.

On April 6, I went to Umraniye where my house was. When I realised that I was being followed, I started to run. After a 25-minute chase, they caught me in the garden of the Umraniye Zubeyde Hanim Primary School. They began to hit out randomly. Meanwhile they handcuffed my hands behind my back, blindfolded me and put me into a car. People who gathered around us objected to my being taken into custody that way. The policemen lied to the people, saying: 'He is a student murderer, he is not innocent', in order to calm them down. And I told them that the policemen were lying, I was taken into custody just because I was born in Dersim. I shouted my phone number [so that they

could inform my family].

The policemen were anxious, they started the car and immediately got out of the district. Kicks, punches, blows with the handle of the guns continued all along the way. They took me to the Gayrettepe security Department. They took my fingerprints and photo in the Technical Branch and then took me to the 2nd Branch.

First they took me to a dark room. As far as I could see under the blindfold, the floor of the room was covered with pitch. There were long and thick sticks in two high cupboards. There was nothing on me. My eyes and arms were tied. I was receiving blows from every direction. My body was drenched with blood. They were always asking which organisation I belonged to. I told them that I did not belong to any organisation but they did not believe me and continued the torture. They laid me on the floor on my back.

They tied my feet to a stick then raised it and started to carry out the bastinado. When my foot bottoms swelled like a balloon, they used to untie my feet, take me by the arm, make me walk, and pour buckets of water on me. Then the bastinado used to start again. The tortures, which seemed endless, came to an end after the hanging. However, I did not admit to anything that I did not do. I did not sign the testimony they prepared themselves. I was released on the 5th day of my custody. Nevertheless, I still have the signs of the torture carried out on me. My right arm is disabled since then. I had physiotherapy for nearly 1 year. When I understood that it was useless, I had an operation. But the operation was also useless.

The only torturer policeman I know is named Ahmet Kaya, who is of Kurdish origin.

13 Mart 1999, Göztepe



**THIS IS NOT A REVOLUTIONARY ACTION!
REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY
CONCEPT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY DESTROY THE**

CANNOT BE BANNED!

**THE FIGHT
AGAINST FASCISM
IS LEGITIMATE!**

**THE BAN
ON **DHKP-C**
NOT!**

*German Imperialism cannot "ban"
a liberation movement!*