

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND OLIGARCHY

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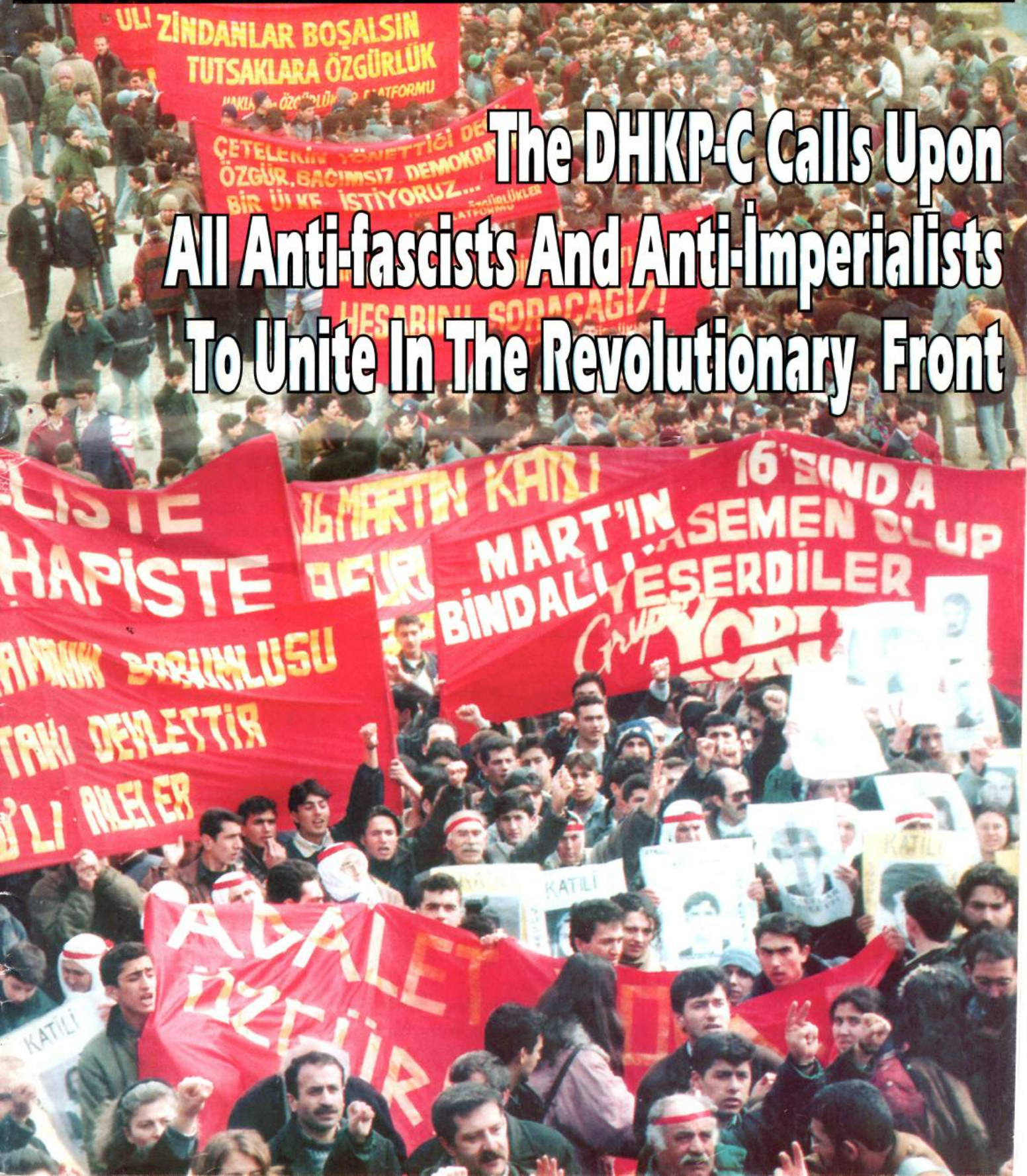


REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

April 1997

Revolutionary political review about Turkey and Kurdistan

**The DHKP-C Calls Upon  
All Anti-fascists And Anti-Imperialists  
To Unite In The Revolutionary Front**





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# THE ALLIANCE OF THE PEOPLE

## against the

# ALLIANCE OF THE STATE

In Susurluk we met an alliance. The supporters of this alliance are known. They are the policemen, the fascist murderers, the delegates, the large landowners, the village guards and the Mafia, represented by the three from Susurluk.

This alliance is the alliance of the state. It's the alliance of the ruling classes. Despite the dogfights among the rulers, we very well know that they depend on co-operation if they want to maintain their rule. In the present crisis they therefore frequently use slogans like "National Unity" and "consensus".

We must not interpret the words of "unity and consensus" as mere demagogy. The ruling forces are using these words for special reasons. They call all exploiting and oppressing forces to unite to save their exploiting and oppressing order. Let's look at the words of those who now raise the flag of the opposition: all of them try to free the state from this filth. They are prepared to sacrifice up to three or five people to strengthen the ruling alliance again.

The same principle applies to the people which is at the opposite front of the class war. For them it is even of greater importance. The people which wants to get rid of the oppressive system must unite to gain power. Alliances have to be established and rooted.

For this reason, the DHKP-

C has called for establishing People's Councils on all levels. These councils consist of all segments of the population, regardless of nationality and religious creed, regardless of age and gender, whether they are workers or peasants, small merchants, housewives, pupils, craftsmen... The people will learn in these councils how to take matters into their own hand, how to solve their own problems. Through the People's Councils, the people will get aware of its creativity and strength. Organising these forces and directing them against the system is the duty of the revolutionaries which will be represented in the People's Councils. The revolutionaries have been leading the revolutionary struggle in our country for years and they have a lot of experience in the economical and political struggle of the workers, the civil servants and the people in the gececondus. However, the People's Councils are an organisational form of their own and therefore not connected to a political organisation. The People's Councils are open to all segments of the population and all members have the right to speak and vote. The revolutionaries can, like anybody else, present their proposals and try to convince others with their arguments. However, decisions are taken by all members and delegates after discussing the different propo-

sals. Another method would overshadow or even destroy the right organising of the people. Decisions are taken on the basis whether they are right or wrong, not dependent on where the proposals come from.

The People's Councils, established on all levels and in all areas, will constitute the people's alliance against the alliance of Susurluk.

The basic problem of the contra-revolutionary alliance is the question "how can we get away from this accident with minimal damage and how can we strengthen the alliance of exploitation?"

The question of the people's forces should be: "Can we strengthen the alliance of the People's Councils and can we expand them to the whole country?"

A first step to the unity of the people was taken in Gazi. On March 12, 1995, Gazi - a neighbourhood in Istanbul - made the headlines of the papers in Turkey after a massacre by the contra-guerrilla and the following people's uprising.

One and a half year later, the first People's Council - with 130 members - was established in Gazi.

Gazi, what kind of a neighbourhood is it?

The neighbourhood of Gazi was build in 1970 near the Alibeykoy dam as a "gececondu" (slum area). In the years of the big migration from



Anatolia in which poor peasants escaped to the cities in order to survive, Gazi steadily grew. Kurds, Laz, Alevites and Sunni from provinces like Tokat, Dersim, Erzurum etc. moved to Gazi. With the increasing number of people, the problems for the working people increased as well. The state left the people to itself in stead of helping them with solving the problems. With the help from people of the revolutionary organisations, the Mafia - who raised the price of the land and sold it many times - was driven out of Gazi. From then on, the trust grew between the revolutionaries and the people from Gazi. From 1970 till 1980, Gazi - situated next to a dam - had no electricity, and there was no running water till 1987. Until 1988, there were no busses in this neighbourhood. It were the people in Gazi who lost their children, tortured in the police stations. They were the target of the civic fascist gangs and police terror.

The people in Gazi realised they had to get organised because of what they went through. Armed with this knowledge and its anger, the people took to the

streets and threw up barricades after the attack by the contra-guerrilla on March 12, 1995. Fascism was held accountable. The state is still seeking revenge because of this. That's why they try to terrorise the people in Gazi even more.

Taking advantage of the disorganisation of the people, the state started daily operations. Custody, torture and imprisonment became daily events. And there were still the problems with the supply of electricity and water.

The people realised it could not solve its problems if they staid unorganised. That's how the discussions about the People's Councils started. There were calls for the old, young, Kurds, Turks, Alevites and Sunni to organise under one roof. Every phase, every article and the regulations were discussed in detail and the People's Council

for Gazi and the neighbouring area of Zubeyde Hanım was formed. The will and the initiative of the people were expressed in every detail. In general, the People's Councils have to take care of the problems and worries of the people, whether they are of a political, social or economic nature. The People's Council is the basic organisation for all the segments of life. The People's Council for Gazi and Zubeyde Hanım was announced after three months of discussions at a circumcision festivity.



At this ceremony, 70 children - from Alevi and Sunni origin - were circumcised. The children's families and other families prepared the festivity together. More than 1.000 guests were present at the founding ceremony, and many who could not come themselves sent greetings of solidarity. Many musicians and bands participated, delighting the people with their songs. The ceremony was visited by representatives from several parties like the CHP (Republican People's Party), the HADEP (Democratic People's Party), the ODP (Freedom and Democracy Party), leading members of several organisations in Gaziosmanpaşa and many other associations and unions. Besides the chairman of the neighbourhood administration and many other personalities from Gazi, there were participants like

the general chairman of the Genel-İs union, Erol Ekici, the second regional chairman of Genel-İs in İstanbul, Mehmet Karagoz, the 3. chairman of Genel-İs, Mersim Guvenlik, the regional chairman in Trakya, Arif Kutan, the 6. chairman, Hasan Kaya, the CHP-delegate Ercan Karakas, the chairman of the CHD (Contemporary Lawyers Association), Murat Inceoglu, the chairman of the Cemevleri (Alevite community centres) in Gazi and Alibeykoy, the chairman of the Migrants Association,

Sabahettin Celik, lawyers from the People's Lawyers Office and the spokeswoman of the Platform for Rights and Freedom, Oya Gokbayrak.

There were also solidarity messages from several organisations and association and from the socialist papers Kurtulus, Atilim, Ozgur Gelecek, Isci Hareketi, Kervan and Partizan Sesi. Ali Ekber Emre, who held the opening speech in the name of the People's Council of Gazi and Zubeyde Hanım, explained the reason for founding the People's Council. He pointed at the fact that the state had not cared for Gazi for a long time, leaving the people alone with their infrastructure problems.

"We learned a lesson from it all. We saw that we couldn't change anything as individuals. We realised we could only move things with joined forces and solidarity. The answer to those who want to divide and rule is solidarity", A.E. Emre continued. He also stated that they had already started work before founding the People's Council and that actions had been carried out.

As an example he mentioned the health investigation of the people in Gazi by physicians in which people were checked three times and in which medicaments, worth 300 million TL, were given to the population for free.

After this, the electricity problem was tackled. After looking for the causes, a committee of merchants was formed. This committee already started its



*"Gazi needs unity, keeping together and solidarity because the majority, economically spoken, consists of poor people. The infrastructure here is not sufficient. The education possibilities are insufficient as well, there is no precautionary health care, no social security."*

work. At the same time a petition was started and already more than one thousand signatures were gathered.

All this, emphasised Emre, will encourage us to go on and it will give us even more courage. A.E. Emre ended his speech by saying: "We announce that from now on the people in Gazi can not be divided according to political, religious and ethical views. The people in Gazi formed its People's Council out of unity and a feeling of belonging together. This People's Council represents the common will of our neighbourhood."

In its first statement, the reasons for founding the People's Council and its aims were made public:

*"On March 12, 1995, civic fascists opened fire upon some cafe's to sow conflicts and animosity among the people of Gazi which belong to different nationalities and religious creeds. While the people waited for justice, they let the murderers escape. Thereupon the people expressed its growing anger in protests which lasted for days. The people who hoped for justice were shot by the police, many were killed and hundreds of them were wounded, arrested and tortured.*

*After this attack there arose no conflict between Alevites and Sunni, respectively between Turks and Kurds. The joint anger was directed against those who were responsible. But since then a certain distance*

*and tensions can be felt among the people.*

*In this situation the government acted with continuous oppression, arrests, torture and other means of terror against the people of Gazi.*

*Gazi needs unity, keeping together and solidarity because the majority, economically spoken, consists of poor people. The infrastructure here is not sufficient. The education possibilities are insufficient as well, there is no precautionary health care, no social security.*

*We, the people in Gazi, have come to the conclusion that founding a People's Council is unavoidable to create a culture of solidarity and solve the problems here.*

*1. It is our aim to create solidarity among the people without making national or religious divisions. Our people will be enlightened so attacks, like the one on March 12, 1995, will not occur again.*

*2. It is our aim to form a coalition against the police, the police presence and the continuous arbitrariness and the arrests, a coalition which applies the principles of a state of law.*

*3. Another aim is to reach lasting solutions for problems in the field of infrastructure, education, social security, unemployment, housing and food, caused by the unequal division of income.*

*4. We will confront the social and cultural problems of the people like drug abuse, gambling, alcoholism and other diseases, caused by the influence of the system. The positive values of the people will be taken as a basis.*

*5. The women's question will be tackled. A women's committee will*

*be formed which will confront the problems of the housewives, the working women, the mothers and the women which are seen as objects of lust, keeping in mind the social conditions.*

*6. In the context of production and consume, organisations will be set up which will develop a culture of solidarity. These organisations are: co-operations or associations which are not profit orientated, they will decrease unemployment in stead. This system will pose a culture of solidarity against the greed for profit, caused by the system.*

*7. All problems like recreation parks, market places, state hospitals etc., caused by an unequally divided income, will be tackled and serious steps will be taken to solve these*



*problems.*

*8. Within the framework of the limits of our neighbourhood, sporting activities will be encouraged and the people will be mobilised to participate in health encouraging sports. Sports will not serve to watch, they will become activities in which children, as well as women, can participate.*

*9. Families and associations will become active to improve education in the primary and secondary schools. The quantity, as well as*



quality, of the teaches will improve and steps will be taken against high school fees.

10. Within our financial possibilities, the health care question will be solved for the time being by checking the people for free. This will be carried out on a permanent basis later.

11. Our neighbourhood will determine weeks and months for the people to have their circumcision and wedding ceremonies together. We will try to solve these problems with few financial means.

We decided to found a People's Council to solve these problems and the many others we did not even mention. Our aim is to solve these problems together, creating a collective culture of solidarity. One of the most important principles of our People's Council is the participation of the people in the leadership. Participation is based on voluntariness.

**Conclusion:**

1. It will be tried to pick up all the problems which concern the people in our neighbourhood and solutions will be developed.

2. A culture of solidarity and unity among the people in our neighbourhood should be developed.

3. Incidents which are not really cases for the courts, for example conflicts between families, should be solved in peace by the people in Gazi themselves.

These are the criteria for friendship and solidarity. The People's Council was established on the basis of these criteria. The regulations for the People's Council were adopted with the approval of all participants."

Meanwhile other neighbourhoods and regions followed the example of Gazi and started to set up People's Councils. People's Councils were established in several villages in the region of Bergama and committees were set up in the neighbourhoods of Sarigazi, Samandra and Yeni Dogan in Istanbul to prepare the founding of People's Councils.

# The alliance of the People's Councils against the alliance

The oligarchy, violating justice, formed an alliance against the people. An alliance of the people against it is completely legitimate. Their are no judicial limits which could be a hindrance for this alliance. It is a struggle between illegitimacy and legitimacy. The alliance of Susurluk is illegitimate, the alliance of the People's Councils is legitimate.

The illegitimacy of the alliance of the rulers is clearly visible, compared to the historical justification and legitimacy of the People's Councils. The legitimacy of the alliance, the strength and the actions of the people's forces in every field are clear and can be felt. The alternative to the Susurluk alliance is the unity of the people. Nobody should believe that the people's unity can be achieved at a negotiating table. The people's unity is achieved by actions and organisations of the people themselves. Keeping away from the actions and the people's organisations means keeping away from the people's unity. The people wants results. It needs victory.

We call for unity in order to win. We call for actions in order to win.

What do we want? We want:

**JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND FREEDOM**

**THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF NATIONS**

**FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ORGANISATION**

**FREEDOM OF RELIGION INDEPENDENCE AND**

**DEMOCRACY**

**ALL THESE DEMANDS ARE JUSTIFIED AND LEGITIMATE**

**WE ARE RIGHT**

**WE NEED COURAGE TO WIN**

**WE HAVE TO DEFEND OUR HONOUR**

**WE NEED THE PEOPLE'S UNITY**

**WE HAVE TO TAKE TO THE STREETS**

**WE HAVE TO OCCUPY THE SQUARES**

**WE CAN DO IT, WE CAN ACHIEVE ALL OF THIS**

**WE ARE THE PEOPLE AND**

**WE ARE RIGHT AND WE WILL WIN**





# People talk in Gazi

Nevzal Altun,  
neighbourhood mayor  
of Gazi:

"The People's Councils were set up on the initiative of the people in Gazi. There is nothing more beautiful than when the people want to take their affairs into their own hands. I will support these splendid developments as much as I can."

Haydas Kirmizigul,  
worker:

"The People's Council should also take care of the police terror. The People's Council is open to all, no matter what nationality or religion they have, except for those who committed crimes against the people."

Huseyin Gulen,  
chairman  
of the Alevi Association:

"Everybody should see that the people are organising. The People's Council is the best example for the efforts to unify the Turks, Kurds, Laz, Tcherkessians, the unification of the people's forces in Turkey. All worked together for the festivity. Every family prepared something. Some made the clothes, others

bought something or decorated the hall. Seventy children were circumcised at the ceremony."

Huseyin Kartal,  
driver:

"First we want to solve the problems of education. In the evening there is virtually a curfew in Gazi, those who are on the street after a certain time, are arrested by the police. I think the People's Council will solve these problems. It has all kinds of members. Even an Imam participates."

Nazan Askeran,  
pharmacist:

"The People's Council especially wants the women to participate. All will learn to speak about their problems and develop solutions for them"

Gulten Bilgili,  
laboratory assistant:

"A general medical examination was carried out in Gazi. 700 sick people were treated. Of course, this did not solve the health problems, but the People's Council wants to make sure that there are physicians available for health prevention."

Hulya Elmas,  
housewife:

"They make our children disappear in custody. There is no work for our children. My husband has been working for years, but it is in no way enough. The state does not give anything, but we have to pay taxes. May Allah damn them, is such a state possible? The people work, and they take everything. We will solve our problems ourselves."

Zeynep Erturk,  
secretary:

"Although we are living in the 20th. century, our women can neither read nor write. This problem should be tackled first. We as committee members want to offer reading and writing courses to our women. We have to take care of the women who can neither read, nor write. When we started as a committee, there were only few members. But when we realised we could achieve something, the committee became bigger. The electricity supply was a constant problem in our neighbourhood. We feel better since this electricity problem was partly solved. Problems like a lack of water, no electricity, no pavement, especially concern women."



# People's Liberation Front Will Take Its Place In It And In Front It!

**A** sensational headline: "The DHKP-C is behind the action 'One minute darkness for eternal light'".

This action is a protest action which has grown to become a people's movement and the fact that the DHKP-C represents a force within it is only natural. The DHKP-C has been part of the struggle for 30 years, not as a mere witness, but as an active player. This force, beginning at the end of the 1960s as the THKP-C (People's Liberation Party and Front of Turkey), stretching to the present day DHKP-C (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party and Front), is of a magnitude which cannot be neglected in the class struggle in our country.

The Party-Front was established on June 15-16, 1970. She was present at every May Day celebration from 1977 to 1997. She was present at the miners' strike in Zonguldak and at the large strikes in the companies of Maga and Pasabahce. Its banners were waving in the protest marches for the murdered Muammer Aksoy (\*), its name is connected with every punishment of the people's enemies.

It's only natural for the DHKP-C to be the driving force behind the action "One minute of darkness for eternal light". According to journalistic criteria, this fact isn't worth a story, it would be sensational to be able to report that this is not a fact.

Didn't the oligarchy and its papers know that the DHKP-C would take its place in this people's movement, just like in any other areas. Didn't they know that the DHKP-C would lead this action? Of course they knew.

So why was this self-evident fact presented as a sensation? Why did some parts of the bourgeoisie feel uneasy when they had to read this? We can find the answers to this question when we look at what the different interest groups within the state want to do in the face of growing crisis.

The monopoly bourgeoisie which "dims the light" wants to bring down the Refah Party.

The influence of the opposition parts of the bourgeoisie on the people is growing less with every day. Their proposals are met with rejection. But the calculations of the government and the oligarchy don't work. Despite their majority in government, they are unable to end the crisis. On the contrary, their policies and their measures are only sharpening the crisis. And in addition, the ANAP [Motherland Party] and the CHP [Republican People's Party], who were able to use this protest as bourgeois opposition, had to withdraw when the protest started to becoming more radical and was targeting the system.

From then on, ANAP became silent, although it made a lot of fuss about Susurluk before. They are afraid of being crushed by the avalanche of protest. Before they

tried to steer the protests against Susurluk into purely opposition to the current government. Well, were they successful?

The bourgeoisie is powerless against the growing people's movement, but they are trying to take the political lead. The "Democratisation Report" of the monopoly association TUSIAD and the dimmed lights in the Sabanci Centre are attempts to hold on to the helm.

The monopoly bourgeoisie tries to use the people's movement with slogans for a clean society to bring down the Refah Party.

The "Rally of the Millions" is a result of these attempts. ANAP, Turk-Is, DISK, KESK and the Association for the Thought of Ataturk" called for this rally to bring down the government coalition. That's their only goal. It's not about clearing up the events about Susurluk, or even holding those responsible accountable, they think all is done when the government is brought down.

That's why they are all singing the same song about the threatened end of secularism. And the general staff acts as the lead singer. That's how they want to cover up the filth which emerged after Susurluk, covering it under the carpet of "the crisis of secularism".

A second important point in present politics is how the unions are used in the power struggle of the rulers of TUSIAD and the



general staff. The intellectuals in particular should think about that.

The report "The DHKP-C is behind the light-action" is part of the manoeuvres of the oligarchy. The intellectuals and the democrats should think about that too. The attack against the front is an attack against its legitimacy and the legitimacy of the entire people.

What's the logic behind this attack? What does the oligarchy hope to gain with this demagogy? The intellectuals and the democratic associations should pose these questions in the first place. For years, there have been extrajudicial executions in this country, and how did you act? The oligarchy always legitimi-

silent, if you remain silent, you'll be the next" originated from the Front. It stems from March 1993, when the IYODER students Ugur and Sengul were murdered by the counter-guerrillas. The slogan has spread since then. And now? Is it wrong because it's from the Front? Millions of people are shouting it every night.

Or the slogan "We are right, we will win". This one was initiated by the Front as well. Nowadays it can be heard at every demonstration of workers and civil servants. And now it's wrong?

The question whether a slogan originated from the Front or not is not important. It's important whether it's

the revolutionaries are involved". The goal of this campaign is to push the revolutionaries aside. Many intellectuals could be heard saying "We do not want any provocations". Of course, you're right not to want provocations. But what do you know about provocations, anyway? How should you? What kind of provocations have you been confronted with? We know quite well what provocations are. We've always been confronted with them.

Who are the provocateurs in this country? Look at the provocateurs from the massacres at the University of Beyazit on March 16, 1978, or at the provocateurs from Gazi, known from pictures now. When have you ever seen a provocation from our side? You cannot give one example. Because our struggle is an open one. Our actions are directed against torture, against the enemies of the people, and we have claimed every action which was carried out by us. There are no hidden or secret actions in our history. Our mass actions are open.

The goal of all our actions is to achieve freedom and rights. The security of the people has been the first commandment for our actions in the past 30 years.

There are no provocations from our side. We have no need for provocations.

What is the strategy of the Front? Before everything else, we want to further develop the mass movement. In this task, it acts very careful and conscientiously. It has really become time for the intellectuals to overcome the decades-old demagogy against the revolutionaries like "terrorists" and "directed from abroad". Those who claim that the revolutionaries are directed from abroad should have a look at TUSIAD. TUSIAD is an association with strong ties to the imperialists and which shapes its policy according to the strategies of the USA and the European imperialists.

We will not allow the people's movements to be suffocated by such cheap demagogy. As long as the intellectuals and the forces of the people are aware in this regard, the influence of the demagogy can be prevented.



sed these executions by claiming the executed belonged to the DHKP-C, and you gave your consent by keeping silent. And now they are attacking the actions in which you participate, using the same pretext.

It's understandable for the oligarchy to fear the politics and the analyses of the Front, but there is no reason for the intellectuals to feel uneasy.

The demagogy of the oligarchy is saying: "Well, you're participating in this action, led by the Front, you're becoming accomplices of the Front". Yes, the Front initiated this action. But do you therefore have to distance yourself from this action, an action you've defended till yesterday? Is this sincere conduct? The slogan "Do not remain

right or wrong. Is it humiliating the intellectuals when a slogan from the Front proves to be right? Then why this conduct? But that's the logic of the intellectuals, when the state denounces the Front as a terrorist organisation, they withdraw. The legitimacy of the TUSIAD is inside your heads, not the legitimacy of the Front.

### **WHO ARE THE PROVOCATEURS?**

Despite the demagogy of the oligarchy, large parts of the people could be influenced. On the other hand, many intellectuals and artists could be made insecure, especially because of the campaigns in the media like "Beware,



## **THE FRONT REPRESENTS AN ORGANISED PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT**

### **IT DEFENDS THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE, NOT THOSE OF THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS**

Organising the people must be supported by all democrats, intellectuals and revolutionaries, by all those who oppose the mafia gangs. Only an organised people can change the policy successfully. As long as the people's movement is not organised, it will remain in infancy and fail miserably. A non-organised force cannot prevent being exploited by other forces. At the time these forces are on one side afraid of the people's movement, on the other side they try to exploit it.

All people, from the trade unions, the democratic initiatives, from intellectuals to the democratic people's forces, should be aware that the oligarchy attacks the revolutionaries because they represent the only alternative to the system. Those who deny the legitimacy of the revolutionaries, who don't recognise the legitimacy of the front, legitimise the gangs and their deeds. Why was this country governed by several military juntas? Why were new laws passed? When these questions are answered, one of the reasons will always be the THKP-C, Devrimci Sol or the DHKP-C. Why were these gangs formed? Against whom are there "operations" directed? In whose name is justice trampled upon?

### **WE CAN DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE FRONT**

Without the perspective and the activities of the Front, the goal of gaining power is not realistic. The other leftists lack this perspective, resulting in their incomprehension and their lack of sensibility concerning the proposals by the Front and the needs of the peo-

ple. Their democratic demands, their conventional analyses do not fit the "determination of communists". The ODP and other reformists are looking for the benevolence of the bourgeoisie. That's why they do not dare to break through barriers to political activity set by the system.

A front with the perspective of taking over power, acts accordingly.

Although the opportunists have been talking for years about general strikes and overall resistance, they aren't doing anything concrete to realise this. They neither have concrete views nor plans.

The conditions for a general strike or for a resistance which is carried by the broad masses are there. One only has to lead the people into this resistance. But to achieve this, one needs a perspective and a comprehension, according to the needs of this period. The left has neither.

We must destroy impotence, despair and disorganisation. That's our task, we represent hope, we are the alternative.

Everybody has to see the events, the consciousness and the worries of the people. It's obvious to every democrat, every ordinary human being, what's going to happen when the government is changed. It's clear to all, it needs no more words, the system of the parties tramples upon the people. Despair starts at this point.

What to do? What tasks do the revolutionaries have? There are not that many answers. All proposals within the framework of the system only increase the people's despair. Offering new elections to the people in this phase only means offering them more despair, it only means increasing their feeling of impotence.

But the left is very remote from recognising the hope for the revolution.



Some cannot even handle the term. Others constantly talk about it, just to profit from only talking about this hope.

The four decisive tasks nowadays are to root the people's movement in the broadest sections of the people, giving this movement a concrete goal, strengthening the organising in the masses, establishing the people's movement in this way and spreading the voice of the revolution. Those who cannot understand this, who turn their backs to these tasks, are condemned to remain bystanders in this phase, without any influence on the development.

The Revolutionary People's Liberation Front will fulfil these tasks and take its place within the people's movement. Notwithstanding all the problems, it will fulfil these tasks with its legitimacy, its determination, its belief in the people and its capabilities. This also includes the task of uniting all the forces of the people, the intellectuals, democrats, patriots and progressive people in this people's movement. No demagoguery and no attack by the oligarchy will be able to prevent the Revolutionary people's Liberation Front from doing so.

\* democratic professor, 1990 killed by the contra-guerilla in revenge for the punishment of an enemy of the people by the Devrimci Sol.



# “Our Call To Form A Revolutionary Front!”

## The DHKP-C and the PKK have signed a protocol of their alliance

*The DHKP-C and the PKK have signed a protocol on December 22, 1996. From the principal perspective that our peoples' freedom can only be achieved by bringing down the government of the oligarchy, the alliance aims at uniting all forces which fight against the oligarchy and imperialism, building a revolutionary front. Both parties took the necessary tasks upon themselves to build up this revolutionary front. A first step to fulfil these tasks was set with signing the protocol.*

*The main points of the alliance are the “stand against imperialism” and the “defence of independence”. Other important aspects of the protocol are the united front of the peoples which live on our soil, striving for a common struggle and a joint take over of power.*

*The alliance with the PKK was no spontaneous decision. The DHKP has been striving for a long time for a unity of the revolutionary and patriotic forces. Especially in the last two years, a lot of efforts were made in this direction. The first practical results were big mass actions together with the other forces, the Death Fast of 1996, which lasted for 69 days and demanded sacrifices, and the co-operation with other mass organisations. The DHKP-C played the major role in the attempt to organise the unity between the mass organisations and the revolutionary organisations.*

*Without doubt, the protocol of the alliance between the DHKP and the PKK is just a first step. It's important that the goals, described in the protocol, are realised in practice.*

*Essential to reach these goals are the will and the determination of all who are concerned.*

**W**e, the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) and the DHKP (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party), would like to make the following statement public:

As the result of the discussions and talks which we have been holding for some time now, once again our parties are forming a united front, which will be active on all levels in the interest of the liberation of our peoples.

The preparation of such a revolutionary front is a fundamentally significant expression of the process we are currently engaged in, namely the cooperation and alliance of our parties. The democratic and revolutionary struggle of our peoples and the creation of a revolutionary front are important tasks. We are well aware of how significant this task is, and that simply stating “we have formed a front” is by no means

enough. The DHKP and the PKK will undertake, within their organizations, to foster unity among cadre and supporters at all levels, and we call on all progressive and democratic forces to join us in this task. The first step towards this is this protocol, which we are now publishing.

The enemy's strength lies in the disorganization and disunity of the people's forces. With each passing day, our responsibility to unify our peoples and organize



*We must be united in our opposition to fascism, which is responsible for the brutality, for depriving the people of their rights and freedom, and for terrorizing those who stand up and demand rights and freedoms. This unity is necessary at all levels. Only in this way can the nations, peoples, and organizations fighting for the liberation of the peoples achieve victory.*

the popular forces becomes greater, and each day we are called upon to take bigger steps.

The enemy is able to continue its war against the people and the revolutionary and patriotic forces, even at a time when the system is on edge and its dirty business has been exposed, and despite all of its internal struggles, the system is able to sustain itself on the basis of its own interests. So shouldn't we - revolutionary, patriotic, and democratic organizations and institutions - unify ourselves as well?

There is no reason whatsoever not to. One of the most important factors in this seems to be the negative tradition of unity here. But our duty for our peoples and our striving towards revolution and the seizure of power demands that we overcome this negative tradition.

While the discontent and anger among the people is growing everywhere - except among a handful of collaborators, who are enemies of the people, and the members of the bourgeoisie - as a result of the cover which was given to the murderous, fascistic, and destructive face of the regime, it is important for the people's forces to become united, to organize their solidarity, and to develop a common struggle. But this has not yet become reality.

That is the main reason why, despite the perfect conditions, a massive popular movement has not yet arisen. Our call is directed at all popular forces: those who demand democracy and independence, those who demand freedom and justice, those who demand freedom of worship and freedom of the press, those who demand the right of self-determination for all peoples, those who demand an end to the unjust war, all those who wish to live in a land where there is no torture, no executions, no disappearances, no murders by unknown assailants, a country where villages are not burned, a country where there are no persons forced into exile, where there is no prostitution, drugs, or mafia gangs. Our call goes out to all those who don't want our country to be a satellite of imperialism and to all those who are struggling against the exploitative and repressive regime.

All of these demands can only be realized if all those who are making the demands are organized into one unit. It is our duty and our responsibility to our peoples to struggle against this regime which is waging a war on our peoples. Our struggle must be on all levels, legal and illegal, peaceful and armed, military, political, cultural, economic, and democratic. We must develop all forms of solidarity and a common struggle and take steps forward in each of these areas.

Our parties, who recognize the importance of this, are making this call as allies, and we call on everyone to develop a revolutionary front and unity between our peoples.

The face of our country is a bloody picture of brutality. This picture is ripe with the necessary conditions for revolution: The regime is at its end.

It is trying to extend its existence by oppressing the people and by increasing poverty and degeneration. This has deepened the contradictions within the regime. Without hesitation, we can say that the preconditions for revolution in our country have been fulfilled. The problem is to organize and unite the revolutionaries, the peoples, and the progressive forces.

We must be united in our opposition to fascism, which is responsible for the

brutality, for depriving the people of their rights and freedom, and for terrorizing those who stand up and demand rights and freedoms. This unity is necessary at all levels. Only in this way can the nations, peoples, and organizations fighting for the liberation of the peoples achieve victory.

All oppressed people, all nations and minorities, all workers, and even individual persons, patriots, democrats, and progressives - whom the regime seeks to oppress and destroy - all those who are against this regime and who are against imperialism, yet who cannot freely express their opinions, must become united. These alliances must seek to serve all of these people. Exclusionary tactics only broaden the front of the enemy.

The freedom of our peoples will be gained by overthrowing the system. But this system can only be destroyed if the people struggle together. It is always the same ruling class which exploits and blackmails both the Turkish and Kurdish peoples. Both peoples have the same enemy. This enemy is the central ruling authorities in Turkey and Kurdistan. Although the Turkish and Kurdish ruling classes have propagated numerous campaigns of chauvinistic and nationalistic hatred, they have never been able to turn the two peoples against one another. They have sought to suppress the strengthening national liberation struggle of the Kurdish people by means of terror. When terror alone was not enough, they turned to chauvinistic and nationalistic policies and attempts to turn the Turkish and Kurdish peoples against one another and thereby prevent the independence and freedom of the two peoples. But despite all their attempts, they could not make enemies out of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples.

The future and destiny of both the Kurdish and the Turkish people are mutually dependent upon one another. All forces which believe in revolution and socialism must accept this fact. Now more than ever it is clear that no strategy or tactic which ignores this fundamental truth has a chance of reaching its goal.

Because of this fact and necessity,





the PKK and the DHKP see the formation of a revolutionary front as a precursor to achieving and building a free future for our peoples. We are proud and happy to have taken this step of building an alliance.

The task of building a revolutionary unity between our peoples and their revolutionary, democratic, progressive, and fighting forces can not be put off any longer. The unity of our peoples is a necessity. Without taking up this great and historic responsibility, which necessity has forced upon us, no unity can be achieved.

We realize that an organization without answers to the goals, hopes, and aspirations of the people has no chance of survival. Recognizing that, an organization which does not address the demands for organizing resulting from burning necessity will be confronted with its own demise.

Every step, every resulting organization must have answers to the needs of the nation and the society. That is their very reason for existence. Our peoples have sensed the desire for joint organizing and common methods of struggle which have arisen from national and social needs. Our people need a very broad front of organization. Since even the smallest of demands have been

crushed with violence, the thoughts and languages of peoples banned outright, people wallowing in torture, disappearing, being executed, villages burned to the ground and forcibly evacuated, since murders by unknown assailants are now part of daily life, the fight against our common enemy must be carried out on the basis of unity, solidarity, and a joint struggle. No one can flee from this urgent and historic task or fail to address it.

**As the PKK and the DHKP, we declare:  
Our Goal Is A United  
Front Between Our  
Peoples!**

The main goal of this unity is to join together our peoples in one front and to link up and develop the struggles of our peoples on all levels. This alliance, along with the necessary courage and commitment from us, will allow us to create a revolutionary front between our peoples and all legal and illegal groups, parties, and institutions who are suffering under this system and who are struggling or who wish to struggle against this system. We seek to unite all of these people under one roof.

## **Our Goal Is Common Resistance And A Joint Popular Power**

Every where we live, we are mercilessly attacked by the enemy. The central authorities are seeking to eliminate our struggle. The division of our peoples is a serious setback to our struggle. For independence, democracy, and the right of self-determination for all peoples, our peoples must fight the enemy together and overthrow it. Only an independent, democratic popular power can secure the rights for all nations, national minorities, and classes of people.

## **Our Goal Is To Guarantee The Free Exercise Of All Rights For The Kurdish People, Including The Right To Form An Independent State**

A joint struggle for the shared liberation of our peoples is a means of increasing the brotherhood and unity of our peoples. We accept, without preconditions, the right of self-determination for the Kurdish people, including the right to form an independent state.

## **One Of The Foundations Of Our Unity Is To Oppose Imperialism And To Defend Our Independence**

Today, the imperialists are directly or indirectly responsible for all the attacks being carried out against our peoples. The continuing unjust war of the ruling classes in Turkey against our peoples is being kept in motion with the support of imperialism. Imperialism is primarily responsible for the picture



which exists in our country today. It is the enemy of independence, democracy, and the peoples' right to self-determination. It is clear that we cannot achieve these goals without struggling against imperialism. We state that we are against imperialism and for the independence of our lands and for the defense of our peoples, that we wish to drive out and remove all military installations in our country which belong to the imperialist states, and that we will not grant the imperialist powers the right or privilege to establish military bases on our territory, and that all of the united patriotic forces are prepared to enforce this. Our alliance views our peoples as the true owners of all our natural resources and all the fruits of our land, and our peoples and we see that an end to exploitation and plunder is a precondition of independence.

### Our Goal Is To Unite All Popular Forces

Countless contradictions exist between the various classes of peoples and the regime. We accept that one of the fundamentals, from the perspective of power as our goal, is to broaden the revolutionary front and to make more narrow the front nationalities, all religions and faiths, and all occupations and classes of people. We view our alliance as a democratic undertaking and we aim to create the conditions in which all national minorities and religious groups and freely express and develop their cultures and faiths.

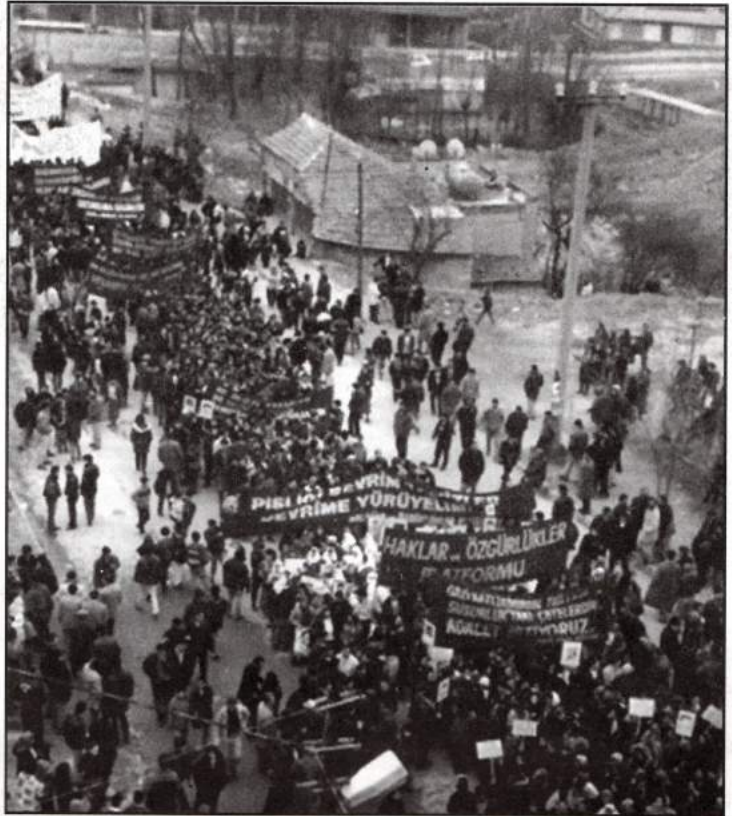
### The Demand For Democracy And Independence Is The Actual And Concrete Foundation Of The Unity Of The Popular Forces

Bearing that in mind, we seek to undo all anti-democratic practices and as well as the fascist Constitution of the September 12th putsch, which ignores the will of the people, bans forms of organizing, and robs the people of their

right to free speech and decision making. A new draft Constitution will be prepared by the broadest of popular forces, with the goal being democracy and independence. All anti-fascist and anti-imperialist groups and all those organizations, parties, and persons on the side of freedom and justice will be involved in this process.

### Our Goal Is To Practice Unity In All Areas

In light of the concrete tasks which lie ahead, we have established the following goals, namely to organize the democratic opposition of our peoples, to develop a Parliament which represents all of the popular forces, to give our people the right to speak and make decisions by means of this Parliament, and to create the possibility of establishing popular assemblies from every tiny settlement to the largest of the metropolises so that people can put their destiny into their own hands. Our alliance, which seeks to establish and extend a common front between our peoples, requires both parties - in all legal institutions, such as labor unions and various associations, in which our parties are organized, in all democratic fields of struggle among workers and bureaucrats, in the villages, in the press, on the cultural front, among the students and youth, in the prisons, in the factories and neighborhoods, and in countries abroad - to wage a joint struggle against our common enemy, to



increase shared organizing efforts, and to give each other assistance and develop mutual solidarity.

All of this is necessary to build up the revolutionary front, at the base, among the masses, step by step in the struggle. This is how the revolutionary front of our peoples will come about. Our alliance has decided to create unity in the democratic struggle in all areas of life, and to take steps to build up the democratic front. Now is the time to unite all forces on the basis of this unity into the revolutionary front.

We, the PKK and the DHKP, see this first step as a way to begin bringing all revolutionary, democratic, and progressive organizations and institutions together, on all levels and in every form, without excluding any form of struggle or organization, and we call on all peoples, organizations, and institutions to join us in this and thereby make it stronger.

**DHKP**  
*(Revolutionary People's Liberation Party)*  
**PKK**  
*(Kurdistan Workers Party)*

December 22, 1996



# DHKP-C and The Growing Revolutionary Struggle

# W

e have been witnessing several developments since November, 1996. A Mercedes, crashing into a lorry, showed millions of people who are the major figures of the contra-guerrilla. It was shown that the executive force behind the "murders by unknown perpetrators", the massacres and the provocations is the contra-guerrilla state itself. Three dead bodies were found in the car, one passenger survived the crash. One of the bodies belonged to a chief of police, Huseyin Kocadag, the founder of the Special Units - for which fascists were selected - and notorious as a head-hunter. A second

by Interpol because of drug trafficking. The third body belonged to a women, Catli's mistress. Sedat Bucak, one of the major Kurdish landowners who commands a private army of some 10.000 village guards, was wounded but he survived the crash. He is a delegate for Ciller's governing party, the DYP. In the back of the car, machine-guns, other weapons with silencers and cocaine. One can also say the Mercedes revealed all the filth. This filth is the Turkish state. A simple crash revealed within two weeks a list of the guilty, from Mehmet Agar and the vice-prime minister and

the names of several gangs, responsible for numerous massacres and disappearances. They all began to incriminate each other. The people have seen that the "national fatherland guards", posing as "patriots" and "heroes" with their psychological warfare in their heads, their lies and their demagogic and provocative reports are nothing less than drug traffickers, arms smugglers, extortionists and murders which murder - even each other - without any hesitation.

The accident in Susurluk revealed another important fact as well: the revolutionaries were right. The statements, the demands and the struggle of the revolutionaries has been legitimised. The revolutionaries have given hundreds of martyrs to show this reality. That's why it can be said that a traffic accident has, probably for the first time, something good. It acted like a magnifying glass over the things we have tried to relay to the people for twenty years. The revolutionaries are the ones which revealed the reality: Susurluk is the state. Turkey is a laboratory for the "low intensity conflict", a strategy for crushing a people's liberation struggle. This strategy, developed by US-imperialism and the CIA, is tested in our country. Especially since the coup in 1980, the state and all its institutions have been organised and directed completely to wage the war against the people. The



body belonged to the fascist Abdullah Catli, sentenced to death in the '70s because of several massacres and wanted

minister of Foreign Affairs Ciller to important generals, chiefs of police and Mafia bosses. This list is completed with



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time after 1990 has been the culmination period of the institutionalisation of the Turkish contra-guerrilla state. There are the head-hunters, operating under the name Special Operations Units and the armies of the village guards, controlled by the clan chiefs. Besides there are the organised gangs which murder people, kidnap them, make them disappear and who carry out provocations. And then there are the JITEM (Intelligence Service of the Gendarmes to Combat Terrorism) and the MIT (secret service) which use officially wanted fascist to kill for the state, issuing forged papers, and the Mafia bosses which work hand in hand with the state. All of them constitute the major part of the Turkish state. The gendarmes and the police forces have also to be counted to them. Together they form the contra-guerrilla, waging a constant war against the people all over Turkey. This network is being co-ordi-

nated by the MGK (National Security Council) and state institutions. The larger the revolutionary struggle and the people's movement became, the broader the network became, in the end getting stuck in the quagmire of their vile personal gain. They became a force, or better said a central co-ordination with influence on all fields, they influence the factory owners, the media, the Mafia and parliament. This was all quite natural, because everything had to be done to stop the revolutionary struggle, to pacify the people. Once the anti-revolutionary struggle started, it gradually developed into a quagmire from which the founders could not escape anymore, rapidly preparing their own end.

After Susurluk, part of the bourgeois opposition, who viewed the contra-guerrilla as an autonomous organisation within the state, recognised they had been wrong. It is the state itself which is in decay. Because it is the contra-guerrilla itself which is the state.

Now, the oligarchy, side by side with the military and the bourgeois opposition, tries to hide this. But the attempt to pretend there was just a government crisis and then carry out a change in government has given the regime no more space. The powers that be have reached a point they always wanted to prevent: the crisis of the state is now called a crisis of the regime. After the scandal of Susurluk, more and more people within the police force, the bureaucracy and the military were unmasked as responsible for the massacres, the disappeared and the attacks. But at the same time they won ground within groups of the opposition who had kept silent for years. The bourgeois opposition parties and the media tried to pull the people's opposition at their side with their demagogy of "clean politics and a clean society". And they initially succeeded. This was supported by a part of the monopoly bourgeoisie. But they were also the ones which said: "The opposition is society is growing, we must stop this". Nevertheless, the people's opposition kept growing, it managed to free itself from their control. Meanwhile, the oligarchy kept settling internal accounts. The war between the contra-guerrilla gangs is a result of the

internal conflicts within the oligarchy, based on their particular interests. They are fighting for the biggest part of the cake, try to set each other aside, setting traps for each other. Their situation has become so precarious, they even started to sacrifice their own people. On the one hand, there is an alliance (all bourgeois parties met in the president's villa after Susurluk), so the "regime and the state are not strained too much", but on the other hand the internal fights of the oligarchy are increasing.

The people's masses were able to see the state with all its filth. A wave emerged, a people's movement which demanded justice and the eradication of the filth. But who is getting rid of this filth? The answer by the bourgeois opposition: "selecting those within the state who are outside of justice", and the matter would be closed for them. But the demand to get rid of the filth grew so strong that people started to say: "This filth can only be cleaned up by the revolution." And suddenly the bourgeois opposition came back from its opposition stance about Susurluk...

Then, in February, the bourgeois parties in Turkey started to put the discussions about secularism and anti-secularism on the agenda. Is Turkey "a secular and democratic state of law or is Turkey becoming a Sharia-state?" The bourgeois media suddenly started to give priority to this item. The Refah Partisi, part of the coalition government, was selected as the scapegoat. The contra-guerrilla face of the regime with all the bloodbaths, all this filth, the murdering gangs, were quickly pushed aside by the media and they tried to direct attention to the Refah Partisi and its environment which ostensibly desires a Sharia state. This agenda was created artificially. It's an attempt to contain the people's opposition, a joint operation to discipline the major coalition partner, Refah, which gained 24% of the votes, playing on the Islamic feelings of parts of the population.

The MGK, consisting of 9 people, among them 5 generals, is said to have warned the government for Islamic acts. The military presents itself as a guarantee for secularism against the Islamic danger. All these developments were



easy to see through. As more and more about Susurluk was discovered, more and more officers and generals came into the open. The policy of threats by the generals against the government was an attempt to get a grip on the revelations about Susurluk. Because all of the oligarchy, including the Refah Partisi, are involved in this filth and all of them can only keep alive by threats and corruption.

## **Our struggle is a struggle for power**

Now the DHKP-C is waging a struggle in the cities, in the country-side, in all fields of our land, with its underground organisations, the legal associations, the guerrilla and the militias, the gececondular, the working class, the civil servants, the youth, the peasant organisations. We know that trust in our own strength will be very decisive and that the fight can only be expanded when our strength grows. The history of a struggle, waged for 26 years, is reflected in present Turkey. On the one side, we have the duty to unite all anti-fascist people's forces in this fight for power, we have to expand our front, and we have to contain the enemy front. The unification of the left, the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces can not be achieved at a conference table, it must be realised in every field (workers, gececondular, the youth, village people) by establishing people's front organisations and the unification of the forces at these fronts. Nowadays, the establishment of a revolutionary front with all the forces which are against the system, is unavoidable. The decision to form an alliance between the DHKP-C and the PKK is a step on the road to a revolutionary front. The efforts by the DHKP-C will be continued. This is part of our struggle to take over power.

In the gececondu neighbourhoods, areas where the DHKP has large influence, People's Council will be set up. The first step was set in 1993 with a general uprising in Gazi/Istanbul. Now Gazi has a People's Council. In the other gececondu neighbourhoods, the preparations for such committees are still going on in workers' circles. Other

people's committees will follow. These committees and People's Councils are organs in which the people takes the rights to vote and to decide.

The people is showing a growing interest in the revolutionary front. The attempts of the reformists to find a place on the bourgeois political level will fail to stop the development of the people.

The fascist state forces are ideologically, psychologically and morally finished. They have recognised they can not finish the developing revolutionary movement with murders, carried out by mobsters and criminals. This is not to say that they will abandon the use of violence and oppression. Based on their class interests, they will apply contra-revolutionary violence till the end, but the more they oppress, the more they will accelerate their own end. This is the phase they are going through now.

Fear mounted with the murders, the massacres and torture, but they were not able to prevent that a wave emerged which will defeat this fear. Now this fear begins to turn against them and they have to fear what they have developed themselves. Despite the talk about a "economic and social solution", they have neither the strength for a economic, nor for a political change. They will continue to bet on contra-revolutionary violence.

Under these circumstances it is necessary to unite the broad masses of the people and their professional associations, trade unions and political associations under the umbrella of oppositional demands, organising them in one front. The common demands are demands of the people against the confusing proposals of the bourgeois opposition, against the oligarchy and against the "democratisation packages", marked by terror. The people's demands are independence, democracy and freedom on every field.

To secure that these demands are met, the DHKP-C designed a constitution. This design is now being discussed by all segments of the population, except by the oligarchy. By designing a constitution, we do not have the intention to just do a lot of paperwork. It's our goal to come up with a concrete program which contains the demands

which unites the masses. We have to put concrete policies on the agenda to bring together the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces. We want to win over all those who are opposed to the system to the side of the revolutionary alternative. That's why we are determined to root the people's alternative, that is to say the people's democracy, independence, freedom, justice and equality, in the masses.

The discussions about the constitution (the people's demands) arise from a concrete agenda. Without doubt, we should look at this agenda in the context of building a revolutionary front. Otherwise we would be trying to walk on one leg and we would not achieve the expected results. We can divide the discussions about uniting the people's opposition in two parts. First: the discussions about the constitution, and second: building up the revolutionary front.

Turkey and Kurdistan are awaiting heated days in the class struggle. The DHKP-C never distanced itself from striving for the revolutionary power. And it is gaining importance: Turkey, the Middle East and the world needs it. We want to be like a spark for the liberation movements of the working people in the whole world after movements in some countries lost their perspective of power. This international desire is increasing day by day. The pain which the imperialist inflict upon the peoples can only be ended by the liberation struggle of the working peoples. This is now one of the main aspects of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism. As long as this faith and this ideological-political view is not lost, our revolutions can not be stopped. Imperialism and its puppets, the oligarchies with their "Anti-terrorism programs", their democracy games, have never been the people's friends. Those who see them however as friends for the time being, will loose the friendship of the own people. Let us repeat those fine words of Marx: "Let the ruling classes tremble because of the communist revolution. The proletarians (and I want to add: the peoples of the world) have nothing to loose except their chains. They have a world to gain."



# EVENTS AND ACTIONS

**Hello 1997,**

**We are leaving behind a year which started with the execution of Sabanci and ended with the Susurluk scandal. But in fact we aren't leaving anything behind. Because the war between the skyscrapers and the shantytowns will continue in 1997 as well. Because the chapter opened by the Susurluk incident has not reached its conclusion. Because the account for our tortured children in Manisa, our people murdered in Umraniye prison, our death fast martyrs and our "disappeared" people has not been settled. In 1997, nothing will start off as "new". However, we can renew our hopes. We can make our hopes for 1997 grow. We can enter 1997 by making our desire for retribution burn more fiercely. The year 1997 must be our year, we must enter it with the desire to make it the year of vengeance. This is because the war will continue in 1997. The war will continue until victory. Victory and peace will embrace us together. We can't say that 1997 will be a year without any mothers tears. We wish this from the bottom of our hearts, but we can't say it, for we know very well that for liberation, for days without tears, many more tears will flow. Tear-drops will flow until victory, it is victory that will dry people's eyes. Then, dear friends, let 1997 be the year of our handfuls of freedom. Let us ask for more justice, more human rights from 1997. Indeed let us demand and take them. Unfortunately, there victory. Let us make 1997 free for ourselves, let us grab ever larger is no magical powers to provide ourselves with justice, human rights and freedom. Such powers are only found in fairy tales. The magical powers of the people is the the people itself.**

**LET US WANT VICTORY IN 1997**

**Let snatch and seize victory.**

**We enter 1997 full of hope, because we have the determination to win. We wish all our people and readers a happy new year. Let your new year be full of victories.**

## **THE TORTURE OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN MANISA**

One of the main topics of 1996 was the torture of 16-17-year-old students by the police in Manisa, western Turkey. The police started an "operation" on December 16, 1995 and arrested 16 students in their homes, schools and workplaces and tortured them for days. Youths of 15 or 16 were "criminals, terrorists and members of an illegal organisation", allegedly. A member of parliament from the CHP (Republican People's Party, social democrats), Sabri Ergul, was a witness to the torture of the students who were accused of being members of the DHKP-C (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front). They were actually supporters of the DLMK (Committee of Struggle for Democratic High Schools). The parliamentary deputy Ergul announced the torture to the public by hanging banners on the door of Manisa police headquarters and parliament, stating that "there is torture in Turkey". The head of the Manisa police was trying to keep a low profile, saying "They want to damage the reputation of the police". He avoided the statements by witnesses and medical reports proving the existence of torture. However, keeping secret severe torture and rape was impossible. Sixteen young people from Manisa in Izmir DGM (State Security Court) on March 12 condemned the torturers for their actions. There were demonstrations in front of the court in protest at the actions of the police. When international media and representatives of international organisations began to pay attention, the judges in session began to ban media coverage and denied the public access to the court. But they could not alter the fact that the people had focused on the case for an entire year.



# IN 1996

## GAZI WAS ON THE AGENDA AGAIN

Gazi, a shantytown district of Istanbul, continued to be on the agenda, one way or another, for a whole year. The people of Gazi encountered the bullets of the murderers on the second day of the new year.

In the last two months the police targeted and opened fire on people on our



*Gazi Neighbourhood*

separate occasions. Gencali Karabulut was wounded and arrested by the police on January 2, 1996. The next day, the shop owners protested the action of the police by shutting up their shops. Tens of thousands of people poured into Gazi on the first anniversary of the Gazi Uprising. Around 25,000 people, including a DHKC contingent, marched from Gazi Cemevi (the religious centre of the Alevi-Shiites) to the Gazi cemetery. Gazi martyrs' cemetery was opened. The cemetery was the result of a year of determined efforts by HOP (Platform of Rights and Freedom) and the relatives of martyrs, and was opened with a ceremony in which the people and relatives were present. Gazi remained on the agenda as a district at war in support of the death fast activists, and at the end of the year by forming the people's parliament.

## REFORMISM FORMED A PARTY

On January 22, 1996 the ODP (Freedom and Solidarity Party) was founded by people who produced the necessary "documents" by setting the seal on the greatest act of liquidationism in the history of Turkey's left. Even though the official name was different, they were known as the party of "love and revolution" and they were happy with this. Another legal party, the EP (Labour Party) was formed right after the founding of the ODP to compete with it on the same ground. As the continuation of the EP, the Party of Labour (also with the initials EP) was founded at the end of the year because the courts terminated the first EP's legal existence.

## REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS WENT ON HUNGER STRIKE AGAINST REPRESSION AND MASSACRES

In order to halt the policy of repression and massacres in the prisons; and to find and judge the murderers of Metin Goktepe and prisoners in Buca and Umraniye prison, and to settle the account for killings, disappearances and massacres in Turkey and Kurdistan. Revolutionary prisoners started a hunger strike for three days, alternating in Sagmalcilar, Bartin, Canakkale, Sakarya, Zile, Bursa and Ankara Central Closed prisons on January 24. While the hunger strikes were spread all over the country, the voices of workers, gecekondu (slum) inhabitants and

students echoed in the squares of the cities, saying "freedom to the prisoners".

## "THE SYMPOSIUM FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION"

In the conference hall of the Hilton Hotel, a symposium was organised by the Kurdish Institute on February 4, called the "Symposium on the Kurdish Problem and a Democratic Solution". The speakers from different movements "defined" the Kurdish problem and came up with suggestions for a solution before an audience of about 1,000 people. The common ground to all ideas expressed was the "need for solving all problems without doing any damage". The ideas seemed to be different from each other, but in reality they met on the same ground, on which dimensions would the state and the system be orga-

## İZMİR POLICE MURDERED ERCAN ÖZCEKEN

On the evening of January 17, the police and JITEM (an illegal contra-guerilla organisation formed by the Turkish fascist state, mainly



from army and secret police elements) raided dozens of houses in the poorer part of Izmir and arrested around 100 people. The horde of mercenaries murdered Ercan Özceken during the night of January 18. The head of Izmir police headquarters, Kemal Yazicioglu, tried to cover up the murder by presenting as the result of a "clash between the police and terrorists".



## MASSACRE IN BAHCELIEVLER

Ayten Gorgulu, Meral Akpınar and Fuat Perk were murdered by the cut-throats of Orhan Tasanlar, the head of the Istanbul police, in Bahcelievler on February 9. The fighters of the DHKC, Ayten, Meral and Fuat, were buried after a funeral ceremony in front of the Sarigazi

Cemevi on Sunday, February 11. Three thousand mourners attended the ceremony, while the murderers of the three preferred not to be seen around. The coffins of the martyrs were covered in Party-Front flags and buried after a protest march in which songs, dirges and ballads were sung.

nised and what kind of changes can be made to accommodate this. The question of power, the fascist structure of the state and imperialism as the main bulwark of the existing order were not on the agenda.

## MASSACRE IN GUCLUKONAK

Six village guards who were arrested on duty between January 10 and 12 and five others were taken from their homes by gendarmes on January 15, were found dead in the Guclukonak area of Sirnak. (Village guards are members of a special force organised by the Turkish state to combat the revolutionary forces, particularly guerrillas

ment in the massacre. Democratic organisations formed a committee to investigate in Guclukonak and their investigations showed that contra-guerrilla brigands carried out the killings.

## WE WILL NOT PAY EXTORTION MONEY ANY MORE

On February 29, thousands of university and high school students and the people supporting them were in Beyazit Square to say "no more payments of extortion money, no privatisation of education". The Platform of University Students (OUP) called a meeting and invited all the democratic organisations and students to come to Beyazit Square on February 29 to say no to paying extortion money. The platform, consisting of TODEF (Federation of student associations in Turkey), Ozgur Genclik (Free Youth), DUP, Students of the SIP (Socialist Workers Party), YDG (Patriotic Revolutionary Youth), Partizan Genclik (Partisan Youth), DOP, Kaldirac (Lever), Ekim Gencligi (Youth of October), Hedef

This was suggested by TODEF. The next day, March 1, support for the students in the law faculty arrived from other in the form of other students. Around 800 of them clashed with the police. The students broke through the police cordon and marched towards Laleli. Clashes continued in the side streets. Demonstrations in support were organised in other cities. The students did not leave their college buildings on March 3 in Ankara, and the same happened in Izmir on March 4. At the universities of Cukurova, Dumlupinar and Trakya, and the education faculty in Erzincan, demonstrations and hunger strikes were organised on March 5. There was another demonstration in Kocaeli organised by students and KESK (Confederation of Office Workers' Unions) on March 7.

## THE YEAR OF STRUGGLE AGAINST POVERTY IN THE WORLD

The UN declared 1996 to be the "year of struggle against poverty". Meetings organised by the UN came to nothing but a lot of speechifying, while 1.5bn people out of 5.5bn in the world are living on the edge of poverty, 12m children under 5 are dying because of curable diseases and a third of all children in the world are short of food. The imperialist countries pay the necessary expenses of the UN and consequently have all the power in the organisation, while the average life expectancy in the poor neo-colonial countries is 43 years, in the imperialist countries it is about 78. As a result they do not have a poverty problem.

## THE ANA-YOL GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED

The coalition of ANAP (the Motherland Party) and the DYP (True Path Party) was formed. The day the new government came into power under the presidency of Mesut Yilmaz who was supported by contra-guerrillas



Youth

in Kurdistan. In some areas, serving as a village guard is compulsory, and some people are forced into it.) The dead village guards were in a minibus that was set on fire. It was almost impossible to identify the corpses. For a long time this massacre was the topic of discussion. The ruling oligarchy tried to blame the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) but the PKK denied any involve-

(Target), Barikat (Barricade) and Devrimci Mucadele Genclik (Youth of Revolutionary Struggle) decided to march towards the law faculty after the meeting in Beyazit Square to support the law faculty students who were having difficulty in paying extortion money and so could not complete registration. A decision was taken to march into the faculty and stay there until registration of the students was completed.



and TUSIAD (Association of Businessmen of Turkey), the authorities wished to form an alternative government. The minister of justice of the 53rd government of Turkey was Mehmet Agar, a well-known torturer.

DHKC fighter Yasar Devrim Aslan was killed near Yesiltepe village, Yayladag, Hatay on March 21.

## **NEWROZ WAS CELEBRATED IN THE SQUARES**

Newroz ("New Day" in Kurdish;



### **Newroz**

the fest of the MiddleEast peoples against the oppression) was greeted with enthusiastic celebrations in Istanbul, Diyarbakir and many other cities.

## **AGAIN STUDENTS WERE IN KIZILAY SQUARE**

In order to dampen down the students' escalating struggle, a summit was organised on March 23 in Cankaya, Ankara, where the presidential residence is located. But thousands of students gathered in Ankara to counteract this deceitful trick. Students announced, days before their visit, that "We are coming. We will shake you. We will win," and they have done what they said.

## **TWO FIGHTERS FOR PEOPLE'S LIBERATION WERE KILLED**

The fighters for revolutionary people's liberation Muharrem Karakus and Mustafa Bektas were killed in Istanbul. Mustafa Bektas was shot in the back by police on the Goztepe

## **THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DHKP-C**

The second anniversary of the DHKP-C was celebrated in the whole country on March 30. Numerous meetings were arranged and graffiti on the walls, banners were hung and leaflets distributed saluting the Party-Front's foundation.

## **A SUGGESTION FROM THE DHKP FOR A PARLIAMENT OF DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION**

At the beginning of 1996, the DHKP (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party) put the suggestion of creating a parliament of democratic opposition on the agenda, to bring different opposition forces together. The Party-Front insisted on building the unification of left-wing movements and workers, and suggestions and policies were developed on this basis. The youth played an important role in building unity among the relatives of prisoners and took important responsibilities.

## **TORTURERS AND SPIES WERE EXECUTED BY THE PEOPLE'S JUSTICE**

Salih Karacan who was responsible for the deaths of Mustafa Bektas and Muharrem Karakus, was executed by the DHKC on April 23. As a reprisal for the deaths of Muharrem Karakus and

bridge on April 10 and the same day Muharrem Karakus was killed in Uskudar. Their bodies were buried in Gazi in the presence of thousands of people.

Mustafa Bektas, Kustepe police station was raided by the DHKC's Huseyin Aslan armed propaganda squad and one policeman was killed, several wounded and the station was destroyed. Fatma Ozyurt was executed by the DHKC in Ankara central closed prison on October 22 for her enemy activities. In Buca prison, a collaborator, Ibrahim Sertel was executed by the DHKC on October 23.

## **AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS ALSO APPEARED IN THE SQUARES**

The villagers who are being exploited by the system and made poorer every day came to Bursa's Karacabey onion market with their children and spouses. Twenty thousand villagers used 2,000 tractors to block the Izmir-Bursa highway. Olive producers from Orhangazi, Mudanya, Gemlik, Karacabey and Iznik placed advertisements in the newspapers declaring "fuel prices increase every fortnight; imports are killing off the cattle farms; the state's prices for our beetroots are 3,800 TL; deductions for Bag-Kur (a state organisation which functions as social security) and stock exchange and excessive export duties have finished producers off. Enough is enough." All agricultural producers were invited to the protest.

## **MAY: TOWARDS A CONFLICT IN THE PRISONS**

Mehmet Agar, the minister of justice in the Ana-Yol government, announced a circular on May 6. The cell-type prisons in Kirklareli, Kutehya, Kastamonu, Inebolu, Sinop and Eskisehir began to receive inmates. Seven DHKP-C prisoners were put into the Eskisehir coffin cell. The central coordination of the prisons was formed. In the second week of May, the coordination was set up by the prisoners when the oppressive policy of the oligarchy became clear and the minister of justice, Mehmet Agar, was put into position for this purpose.



### THEY TRIGGERED OFF THEIR OWN BODIES AS A WEAPON

Zeynep Kinaci carried out a suicide attack by exploding bombs strapped to her body during a flag ceremony in Dersim on June 30. Eight soldiers were killed and 35 wounded, 25 of them seriously. The action of the PKK fighter became a new style of combat which was a nightmare for the oligarchy. Every revolutionary,

every patriot became a walking time bomb from now on. Leyla Kaplan carried out a suicide attack against torturers, killing three and wounding dozens of them in Adana. A Kurdish patriot, Guler Otas, organised a similar attack in Sivas on October 29, killing three torturers and wounding many more.

### THE YOUTH ASSEMBLY

An assembly of university students took place on May 28 at Yildiz Technical University. TODEF organised the meeting, in which many people participated from all over Turkey. The relatives of martyrs and captives, the Platform for Rights and Freedom (HOP), several union representatives and DMLK also participated and the assembly set up the youth front.

### FLAG PROVOCATION AT HADEP CONGRESS

The police attacked thousands of people who were leaving the second general congress of HADEP (People's Democracy Party) by using as a pretext the lowering of the Turkish flag at the congress on June 23. Many participants were arrested including the general secretary of HADEP, Murat Bozlak. Later on, most HADEP leaders were sent to jail and the trial is still continuing. Similarly, supporters of the EP (Labour Party) were attacked by the police. Many of them were injured and over 200 arrested on June 24 when the proceedings aiming to close down the EP were in progress.

### RESISTANCE IN UNALDI

Thousands of workers in textile workshops from the Unaldi, Sehrekustu and Perilikaya districts of Gaziantep organised two protest marches in the

second week of January. The police showed their real face, as per usual, and a group of workers were arrested by the political police with assistance from the bosses. The Unaldi workers were in action again in July. In Unaldi industrial estate, 10,000 workers started resistance on July 1 for an eight-hour day, union rights, insurance and other social demands. None of the textile workshops were able to function because of the action.

### FALCONS (GUERRILLAS) STRIKE

The gendarmerie station in Gumenonu village, Almus, Tokat was raided by the DHKC Recai Dincel Rural Armed Propaganda Squad on May 6. The guerrillas of the DHKC attacked the enemy on the main road between Hozat and Elazig, near Hidirdami, killing two and wounding many. The main road between Hozat and Kayisoglu was held up by the DHKC Dersim Rural Armed Propaganda Squad on June 16. Two collaborators were executed by the DHKC in Sivas on July 23. On October 24, a DHKC supporter, Kamber Gunes, was kidnapped and murdered by contra-guerrillas. His dead body was found in Yukaripeydere village, Cemiskezek, Dersim on October 26. Three DHKC guerrillas, Kadir Guven, Erkan Dilsiz and Aslan Guler died as martyrs in a clash with the enemy on November 12.

### THE POLICE RAIDED THE CENTRAL BUREAU OF OUR PAPER, KURTULUS

The central bureau of Kurtulus was raided by the police and everybody was taken into custody on July 24.

### THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE POLICE, THE MILITARY AND THE MAYORS

The Refahyol government gave more authority to police, military personnel and mayors by introducing a new cities act and making some amendments to the anti-terrorism act.

### EMBARGO IN DERSIM

The oppression in Dersim continued in 1996 and the area was turned into an open prison. The evacuation and destruction of villages which began in 1994 continued this year. In 1996, 287 out of 420 villages were evacuated, and 48

### SENEM AND MUHAMMET JOINED OUR OTHER MARTYRS



The DHKP-C supporters Senem Adali and Muhammet Kaya were murdered in their house in Alibeykoy by the police on August 20.



## THE BILGIN FAMILY WAS MURDERED

Contra-guerrillas entered a house like thieves on the night of October 15 and murdered a Kurtulus reader, Aslan Bilgin, and his parents, Mustafa and Sakine Bilgin.

were destroyed in such a way as to erase them from the map. Children are facing death because of the shortage and poverty. The food embargo in the villages, started in 1994, continued in Dersim town centre and it is necessary to produce a special document to obtain food. Dersim looks like a military encampment. The main road between Dersim and Pulumur is closed to traffic. There are many checkpoints on the Dersim-Elazig road. In the centre of Dersim, some districts are cut off with barbed wire. There is a metal door on the entrance to Pertek town which opens at 0600 and shuts at 1800. On September 12, a committee visited Dersim to investigate. They expressed the view that the state was trying to make it a "ghost town". For 14 months, no committees could visit Ovacik and finally a group of MPs from the CHP and journalists were allowed to go in 1996.

## ENDLESS WAR IN NORTH IRAQ

The beginning of August: Iran enters northern Iraq. August 7-8: Clashes between Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). August 20: Clashes

## THE CONTRA-GUERRILLAS OF ISTANBUL MURDERED ISMET GUVENC

The DHKP-C fighter Ismet Guvenc was murdered and left on the ground floor of a construction site by Istanbul police in Fevzi Cakmak district, Esenler, on October 6.



spread, cease-fires fail. August 30: At the USA's initiative, negotiations start between the rivals in London. September 1-2: Saddam's forces, with the KDP, take Irbil. September 3: US imperialism bombs Iraq. September 4: A second attack. At the end of all this, the USA's balance of power established in northern Iraq after the Gulf War, vanished. Talabani (PUK leader) lost power and fled to the Iranian border and Saddam took power with the help of Barzani. Thousands of US spies had to leave northern Iraq.

## NOVEMBER 6: GENERAL BOYCOTT IN THE UNIVERSITIES

On November 6, university students came out into the squares to protest against YOK (oppressive government regulation of universities). Since the November 6 1990 boycott, this activity has become a tradition among university students under the leadership of TODEF and Dev-Genc. In 1996 other groups took it up. Different forms of boycott were organised in 30 universities from Istanbul to Siirt and from Edirne to Bolu.

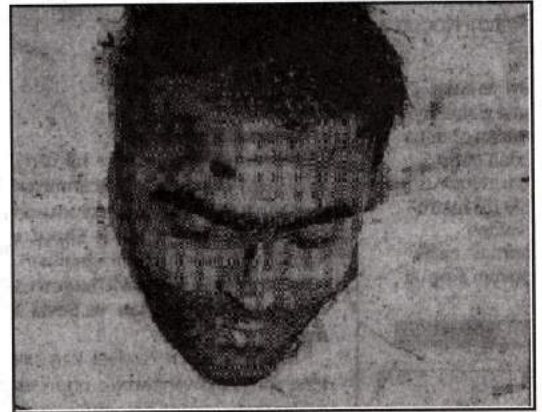
## FASCIST ATTACKS IN THE UNIVERSITIES

During preparations for the November 6 boycott, when the idea for the boycott found a great deal of support among a great many students, fascists were sent in to attack them. These attacks continued after the boycott. The first bullet: fascists used guns for the first time since 1980 in clashes with revolutionary and democratic students in the law faculty of Istanbul University

## MASSACRE IN DIYARBAKIR PRISON

Eleven patriotic PKK captives were massacred in the E-type Diyarbakir prison on September 24. The prisoners were murdered by smashing their heads with iron rods. MPs prepared a report at the end of the year which reflected the cruelty and torture involved in the massacre. Three PKK prisoners in Sagmalcilar burnt themselves in protest at the massacre and two of them died as martyrs in Cerrahpasa medical faculty. Vedat Aydemir died on October 8 and Hamdullah Senguner a day later.

on December 5. A student was wounded. On December 7 a student, Engin Uslu, from Kartal Yakacik high school, was killed in a knife attack by fascists. On December 11, three students were injured by fascists who wielded machetes. There were attacks at this time in other Anatolian universities.



Fascist attacks

## METIN GOKTEPE HAS BEEN MURDERED

Thousands of people gathered together on January 8 in Alibeykoy to send the Umraniye martyrs, Riza Boybas and Orhan Ozen, to immortality, and they were attacked by the torturers who had surrounded the area the



## MASSACRE IN UMRANIYE PRISON YOU CAN KILL US BUT CANNOT MAKE US SUBMIT

The gendarmes in Umraniye prison organised a pre-planned attack using iron and wooden rods following the routine morning check on January 4 1996. their first target was block B-1 where DHKP-C prisoners stay. Then they attacked C-1, where there are also DHKP-C prisoners. There had been another massacre attempt in Umraniye on December 13 1995, but this attack was halted by determined resistance from 104 prisoners. For three days they put up barricades and at the end of the attacks 70 of them had been severely wounded. During the January 4 attack, which started at 09:00 and ended



at 15:30, three DHKP-C prisoners died as martyrs: Abdulmecit Seekin, Orhan Ozen and Riza Boybas. The wounded DHKP-C prisoner Gultekin Beyhan joined the Umraniye martyrs, his comrades, four days later on January 8. The DHKP-C said the following in a

statement dated January 4: "We have been killed because we are fighting for a free motherland and fighting to stop the exploitation and oppression of our people. The blood flowing in

continued: "You can kill hundreds of us but cannot make us submit!" They could not make us submit. After the massacre the "free prisoners" of Umraniye continued their barricade resistance and many more prisoners in other jails supported them. They built barricades out of their loathing for the enemy and took hostages from among the representatives of the tyrants.

In Buca prison, they seized three governors and 15 guardians; in Ankara central closed prison, one governor and nine guardians; in Sagmaçlılar, one governor and 10 guardians. Actions continued in Yozgat, Canakkale and Bursa prisons. The reaction to the Umraniye massacre was enormous outside the prisons as well. The people's hate covered the street like flames and these flames spread through the shantytowns of Istanbul within one day after the massacre.

Umraniye belongs to DHKP-C members and fighters. It is our people's blood. This is not the first blood - for years they have killed thousands of us and imprisoned tens of thousands. Our country became an open-air prison and a place of torture." The same statement

night before. To stop people acknowledging their own martyrs, the police terrorised the whole of Istanbul by arresting almost 2,000 people and putting them in police stations and football stadiums. Even the relatives of Riza Boybas and Orhan Ozen were among those who were arrested. The bodies of the martyrs were seized and buried by the murderers. Meanwhile, on January 9, Metin Goktepe, a journalist on the Evrensel newspaper who was attending the funeral, was killed in a sports hall by torturers. At first, the police tried to cover up the murder by saying "he fell from a wall," but there were too many witnesses. Eventually, the state had to own up to the killing. Metin Goktepe was buried with a superb funeral ceremony in which all revolutionary and democratic forces were present. The case of Metin Goktepe, together with the Manisa and Gazi cases, was one of the most widely known controversies in Turkey. the trial was transferred from

one city to another to inhibit attendance or interest from people, and none of the murderers who were identified by witnesses were arrested or even required to attend the court proceedings. This only goes to show that the judicial system does not function and operates for the bourgeoisie alone.

## ON THE MOUNTAINS OF SIVAS FALCONS WERE SHOT DOWN

The mountains are ours Seven DHKP-C fighters were killed in Yukari Asarcik village, Hafik, Sivas on January 30, 1996 at about 0400. When Mete Nezih Altınay died a martyr with his comrades; "Comert Ozen, Mustafa Aktas, Tevfik Durdemir, Muharrem Ozdemir, Imran Ayhan and Ali Duran Eroglu on January 30, the villages of Sivas and Tokat were under blockade

by the enemy forces. Hundreds of poor village people were tortured in their own villages and in police and gendarmerie stations.

## STATE TERROR IN SIVAS

Following Dersim, Bingol and other cities in Kurdistan, the oppression of poor people became more intense in Sivas. The practice of burning the forests, operating a food embargo, carrying out military operations and making villages deserted intensified throughout the year. Particularly at the start of 1996, thousands of military personnel were sent into the Divrigi, Hafik, Zara and Kangal areas. After military operations, the practice of driving people away from areas where they had lived for centuries continued. Many forest fires took place in Kangal and Divrigi. The villages in Sivas are



under siege. Between January 25 and 31, dozens of villages were raided and hundreds of people arrested, including village elders in Divrigi, Kangal and Zara. For days there was no information about them. A committee from Divrigi Cultural Association and a branch of the Pir Sultan Abdal cultural association did research in Sivas. The people of Sivas are not alone. In February, hunger strikes were organised in the Divrigi Cultural Association, the Okmeydani Friends of Pir Sultan Abdal Association, the Gazi Cemevi and Alibeykoy.

## FREEDOM FOR THE PRISONERS

The committees for "freedom for the prisoners" are becoming widespread. The committees are established in Gazi, Gulsuyu, Gebze, Pendik, Kartal, Ikitelli, Umraniye, Alibeykoy, Nurtepe, Okmeydani, Yenibosna, Avcilar, Esenyurt, Armutlu, Sariyer, Uskudar and Beykoz in Istanbul. DETUDAP (the platform for solidarity with the revolutionary prisoners) organised a petition in support of the campaign for freedom for the prisoners. The relatives of the prisoners held a demonstration in front of the Sagmalcilar prison on February 6 at 1100 to protest against the Umraniye

and Buca prison massacres, to judge those responsible for the massacres and



### *The relatives of the prisoners*

to demand freedom for the prisoners. The members of TIYAD (Association for Cooperation with the Prisoners) organised a press conference in front of Ankara central closed prison to further the campaign for "freedom for the prisoners". The relatives of prisoners and the disappeared attend a congress of DISK (the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Unions). Duzgun Tekin's mother and Muserref Pekkan made speeches. Members of

DETUDAP stopped traffic on Bogazici (Bosporus) Suspension Bridge to protest against Mehmet Agar, who had become the new minister of justice.

## YOUTH CONQUERED THE SQUARES

Thousands of students gathered in the squares to put their problems on the agenda by declaring "no more payments of extortion money". They demonstrated in Taksim, Istanbul on February 4 and Kizilay, Ankara on the 5th. The Taksim protest march was organised by TODEF and Ozgur Genclik. Thousands of students conquered the May Day Square

(Taksim) with their banners, slogans and marches. Besides TODEF, HOP (Platform for Rights and Freedom), DLMK (Committee for Democratic Struggle in the High Schools) and DHG (Revolutionary People's Forces) were present with their banners. To protest the privatisation of education and the extortion money demanded from students, they came out in Kizilay, Ankara. There were many students in Kizilay Square from all over Turkey; Istanbul, Cukurova, Balikesir, Samsun, Mersin.

## OZDEMİR SABANCI WAS EXECUTED

Turkey was shaken to its roots because of a punitive action on the morning of January 9. This was no ordinary event. All TV stations stopped their programmes and began live broadcasts, and the cabinet held an emergency session to discuss the execution. The Sabanci Centre is one of the HQs of counterrevolution, and the Sabanci family is the head of it. That's why the panic was enormous. The DHKC fighters entered one of the most secure buildings in Turkey to execute Ozdemir Sabanci. The DHKC produced a statement following the action:

*"The Sabanci Centre was raided by our Ahmet Fazil Ozdemir Armed Propaganda Squad on January 9 at 1030. The Sabanci Holdings administrative committee member and chief Ozdemir Sabanci, the general director of Toyota-Sa (a subsidiary of Sabanci holdings) Haluk Gorgun, and the private secretary of Sakip Sabanci, Nilgun Hasefe were sentenced to death and executed. Our fighters returned to their bases after achieving their objectives.*

**WE WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST MASSACRES, DISAPPEARANCES AND THE EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION OF OUR PEOPLE. WE SALUTE ALL OUR CAPTIVES WHO RESIST FOR OUR PEOPLE AND MOTHERLAND.**

**DHKC (REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT)**

Right after the execution, Mustafa Duyar, Fehriye Erdal and Ismail Akkor were declared by the police to be suspects. The police were hallucinating, they saw these three people in every corner. One statement followed another - "We will catch them in a week", "very soon" and so on. They could not succeed in anything. A number of scenarios and "plot" theories were published and discussed by different groups, including some left organisations which find it difficult to believe the creativity, willpower and courage of revolutionaries and the facts of our country.

They still flounder in theories of their own or copied from others.



Ten thousand signatures were obtained on a petition to end tuition fees, and this was sent to the Ministry of Education. In the demonstration, representatives of Egitim-Sen (Union of Teachers and School Workers), Liman-Is (Union of Harbour Workers), the ODP and Harb-Is (Union of Defence Industry Workers) made speeches in support of the students.

### **THE MOST MAGNIFICENT MAY DAY CELEBRATION SINCE THE '80 MILITARY COUP**

Hundreds of thousands of people; workers, students, unemployed, men, women, youngsters, old people... they gathered in the squares of many cities, especially Istanbul, and became one voice to protest against the cruelty of tyrants. More than 100,000 people who filled Istanbul's Kadikoy Square on May 1st, 30,000 were supporters of the DHKC. They gave a powerful reply to fascism's challenge to wage war. May 1 became the day when the call by revolutionary forces wishing to fight and put a stop to the reign of cruelty found a powerful and united voice. People showed their power with the Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (DHKC) on May Day 1996. The contra-guerrillas attacked with automatic weapons as a provocation when people were gathering at the start of the May Day rally. Hasan Albayrak and Dursun Odabasi died as martyrs at this point. At the end of the meeting, the police attacked again and killed a Kurtulus (Liberation) reader, Yalcin Levent. Dozens of people were injured and hundreds arrested. Akin Recber was one of those arrested and died a martyr on May 20 because of severe torture. The May Day Trial opened seven months later on December 16, 17 and 18.

### **THE FRONT LINE IN GALATASARAY ATTACK ON THE FRONT DEFENDED BY RELATIVES OF MISSING PEOPLE**

## **THE GREAT RESISTANCE IN THE PRISONS STARTS**



Approximately 1,500 prisoners started a non-stop hunger strike on May 20 following a decision by the central coordination of the prisons, consisting of the DHKP-C, MLKP (Marxist-Leninist Communist Party), TKP(ML) (Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist)), TIKB (Revolutionary Communist Union of Turkey), THKP-C/HDO, TKP/ML, TKEP-Leninist (Communist Workers' Party of Turkey-Leninist), TDP (Revolutionary Party of Turkey), EKIM (OCTOBER) and Direnis Hareketi (Resistance Movement). they demanded the cancellation of the May 6 circular which aimed to introduce cell-type prisons and sought the closure of Eskisehir and other prisons with cells; they demanded a halt to fascism's oppressive policies in relation to revolutionary prisoners and a halt to attacks on relatives visiting them; and they demanded that security personnel stop preventing prisoners from attending their own trials or going to hospital. Prisoners facing death: On the 45th day of the hunger strike, the DHKP-C, TKP/ML, TKP(ML), MLKP, TKE-Leninist, TDP and Direnis Hareketi prisoners in Bayrampasa, Umraniye and Sakarya prisons turned the hunger strike into a death fast on July 3. On July 5, the

captives from the same organisations and parties converted the hunger strike into a death fast in Buca, Bursa, Eskisehir, Canakkale, Gebze and Aydin prisons. The mothers of the captives started actions which continued until the victory of the death fast in Ankara's Yuksel Street, while the death fast went on in the prisons. There were demonstrations in Sakarya, Trabzon, Kayseri, Izmir, Tokat, Antakya and Samsun in support of the prisoners.

The DHKC on June 16 organised an attack on the luxurious house of Tansu Ciller, who was prime minister at the time, in Yenikoy, Istanbul, and wounded one of the security policemen guarding it - he died later. Two days later, DHKC fighters raided the branch office of the DYP (True Path Party - one of the constituent parts of the ruling coalition) in Istanbul-Bahcelievler. On July 2, five prisoners - Muharrem Akbulut, Abdulgafur Yavuz, Mete Onsay, Meşin Sumbul and Kadir Subasi - some of them Kurtulus readers, were massacred in Usak prison as a result of united action between the prison management and fascist inmates. At the time of their murder, they were on hunger strike in support of the prisoners on the death fast. On July 15 the DHKC raided the Gultepe police station. After the raid,





the police surrounded a house where the DHKC fighters Gulizar Simsek, Emine Tuncal, Hasan Huseyin Onat and Ali Erturk were and murdered them. The martyrs were in solidarity with the prisoners' resistance. The people of Gazi organised resistance by building barricades on the streets to support the prisoners in the death fast between July 17 and 19. Three relatives of the prisoners and three revolutionary workers started a death fast action. In Bagcilar, Levent Dogan died a martyr on July 19 on the barricades built in solidarity with the prisoners. The second death fast team started their action in several prisons on July 13, 15 and 17. The resistance gave its first martyr on July 21. The minister of justice, Sevket Kazan, threatened "prison operations" to destroy the inmates' resistance and the prisoners replied with new martyrs. On July 27, the death fast ended with victory with all demands being accepted. The martyrs of the death fast are: Aygun Ugur - TKP(ML) on July 21 Altan Berdan Kerimgiller - DHKP-C on July 23 Ilginc Ozkeskin - DHKP-C on July 24 Huseyin Demircioglu - MLKP on July 25 Ali Ayata - TKP(ML) on July 25 Mujdat Yanat - DHKP-C on July 25 Tahsin Yilmaz - TIKB on July 26 Ayce Idil Erkmen - DHKP-C on July 26 Yemliha Kaya - DHKP-C on July 27 Hicabi Kucuk - TIKB on July 27 Osman Akgun - TIKB on July 27 Hayati Can - TKP(ML) on July 28.

The police attacked relatives of missing people in Galatasaray, Istanbul and took dozens of them into custody on June 8. This was a new attack by the police on the relatives who have been running this action for a long time. With this attack full-scale war was declared. After this attack, there were weeks of clashes in which police would seize Taksim Square and Galatasaray, but could not prevent relatives from coming to the front line. Every week hundreds were taken into custody. Old people were beaten with sticks and dragged through the streets, but in the end the relatives won. They recaptured the front line and still occupy it. The representatives of nongovernmental organisations who were in Istanbul to participate in the Habitat summit held an action on June 9 in Beyoglu Istiklal Street to protest police attacks and call for the release of those who were detained. An urban DHKC squad attacked the DYP's Kagithane branch on June 22 to retaliate against police attacks on the relatives of prisoners and disappeared people. Two policemen and a security officer were wounded and the security officer died later. On their way back to base, they clashed with the police and wounded two more of them. In the clash, DHKC fighter Adalet Yildirim died a martyr.

### **ACCIDENT IN SUSURLUK: A LORRY CRASHED INTO THE STATE**

A Mercedes car collided with a lorry in Susurluk-Balikesir. This accident was the start of developments that remained on Turkey's agenda continuously. An MP from the DYP, Sedat Bucak; a police chief, Huseyin Kocadag; a fascist mafia chief, Abdullah Catli and his girlfriend Gonca Us were in the car. How did they come together? Why were they together? Developments started with these questions and continued about brigands and mafia and their connections with politicians, generals and police. The

plotting, massacres, murders and filthiness of the regime came into the open. The interior minister and contra-guerrilla Mehmet Agar had to resign because of these developments but the debate did not end. It still continues. It looks as though the discussion and the people's wish to call the state to account will also continue in 1997.

### **A CONSPIRACY AGAINST OYA GOKBAYRAK**

A conspiracy was organised against the spokeswoman for HOP (Platform for Rights and Freedom), Oya Gokbayrak, on October 14. Police from the drug squad raided her home and took her into custody, accusing her of keeping drugs on the premises. She was arrested as this conspiracy unfolded. Oya Gokbayrak was the leader of the struggle of the relatives of prisoners and missing people. She was the spokeswoman of HOP and so she was targeted. However, none of the conspirators expected the degree of support Oya received. The conspiracy was discovered. She was in Galatasaray every Saturday, and the conspirators had to release her at the first court session she attended.

### **PEOPLE'S PARLIAMENTS**

The suggestion for a people's parliament came in a Kurtulus article

### **KURTULUS DELIVERY BOY IRFAN AGDAS WAS MURDERED**

Irfan Agdas, a high school student, was murdered by police while delivering Kurtulus in Alibeykoy, Istanbul on the evening of May 13.





# The State Of Law, Freedom Of Speech And Understanding Our People And Our Country

# W

ords like "clean society" and "a state of law" are frequently used nowadays. The state of law is demanded in unison... But what is it, a state of law? When it comes, will all problems be solved like with some kind of magic? The interpretation of such notions is important. Notions like these can describe a problem of the people concretely and precisely, but facts can be twisted as well, the consciousness of the people could be confused. For a long time, notions like freedom of speech and a state of law have only played a minor role in our country.

We demand freedom for our country and our people. We demand an independent and a democratic country. The legitimacy of such demands is obvious.

There can not be independence

in a system of exploitation and cruelty. Our demands are democratic demands which reject a exploiting and cruel system. What does the notion "state of law" mean? In itself, it means nothing.

"We want a state of law", they say, referring to European countries as an example "where such things do not happen". Will they really seize to exist in such a state of law? How does a civic, imperialist state really look like? Don't there exist gangs like the one from Susurluk? Of course there are. Were the "Gladios" not discovered there? "But they were exposed", one might say, but one could also say that they managed for years to hide their existence. And who can guarantee us that new Gladios do not exist? The prime ministers,

several members of parliament and the chiefs of the state security services knew about the existence of the Gladios from the beginning. The stomach of an "ideal" state of law was apparently big enough to digest it all. Indeed, the abstract "state of law" does not exist. Justice, that's the "legalised will" of the ruling classes. Within the existing bourgeois class system, demanding a state of law within the framework of the system means legitimising the system. However well the system of the rules is designed, in case of a threatening organised people's movement, all kinds of oppression, intimidation and cruelty will be legalised. For instance, in the European states which are presented as examples, laws exist which can easily stand comparison with

published on June 3. This came on the agenda of people and the revolutionaries because progress required it. The Gazi district in Istanbul was the first place where the parliament was formed. People started to make a contribution towards handling the problems of the district and they succeeded in solving the electricity problem. The People's Parliament in Gazi was founded on October 5 at a ceremony attended by 1,000 people. Following this, people's parliaments were formed in Okmeydani, Sarigazi, Nurtepe and Alibeykoy.

Also, on March 9 education workers started a march, coming towards Ankara from five different directions, in order to protest the court verdict closing down the Egitim-Sen union. A sitdown protest

continued despite police attacks. On March 13, workers gathered in Kizilay and their massive demonstration succeeded in setting aside the closure. On April 13 and 14, KESK (union of white-collar workers) organised a meeting for the "rights and freedom of unions". In 16 cities, hundreds of thousands of workers joined the meetings. On April 18 they left their offices for a day. The first general congress of KESK took place in Istanbul on August 16, 17 and 18. A coalition of the ODP, EP and patriots [editor's note - word used] won the congress elections as a result of anti-democratic manoeuvres which stuck in the memory. On June 8, the police attacked office workers who were protesting for their own rights in Taksim, Istanbul. Representatives of nongovern-

mental organisations were among those arrested. On October 19, meetings for "economic and social rights" were held in 10 cities, organised by KESK and DISK. Actions on September 13: KESK organised press conferences in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and Adana to protest against the attempts by the Refahiyol government to steal people's savings. Police attacked the office workers who wanted to hold a march after the press conferences, and dozens were injured. The unity of hospital workers' unions: At a congress, Saglik-Sen, Tum Saglik-Sen and Genel Saglik-Is were united under the name of SES. Over 10,000 Egitim-Sen members came to Ankara from all over Turkey to protest against repression, exile, and administrative and economic charges.



*The reality of the class struggles exists of vigorous battles, fought with "an eye for an eye" and "a tooth for a tooth". When the revolutionaries are now able to express their views without being restricted by the system, this has only one reason: the legitimate and justified struggle they wage. The people's struggle legitimates what is not legal.*

the Anti-Terror Law in our own country. The only reason why they are seldom applied lies in the fact that there are no organised people's movements in these countries which are able to wage a revolutionary struggle.

When we demand a really democratic and independent country, we need to define these notions carefully. When we are really serious about these demands, we have to show the people the right road to achieve them. The intellectuals" have an important task in this. It's no sign of education, it's an expression of ignorance or cowardice to re-interpret notions, or developing new notions, to justify the violence of the system.

Freedom of speech is a democratic demand, but...

The system is paralysed. To free itself from this paralysis, it falls back on the only method it knows: violence. Some petite bourgeois intellectuals and members of legal parties, who still have difficulties with really understanding the country and the people, close their eyes for reality, really believing that "freedom of speech" can solve everything. We often see statements of such people in which they claim that "all this happens because there is no freedom of speech".

Although they demand freedom of speech, they are still backward because they have no thoughts about changing the system. This backwardness is already reflected in their definition of

"thought crime". They condemn thousands of revolutionary and patriotic prisoners, their ideas, their justified and legitimate struggle, they exclude them and the only way they try to solve this problem of the "thought crime" is by writing books.

In essence they only care about the freedom of a handful of intellectuals. If they would watch carefully, they would see it precisely fits the interests of the oligarchy.

Are the prisoners behind bars because they carried out their actions for their own personal interests? Why did those who are now in prison go on the streets on MayDay?

The intellectuals, who look for a solution within the system, go as far as founding legal parties which do not represent a radical alternative to the system. They are attacked by fascism also. To protect themselves against this, to refuse to go on the streets and they even forbid their supporters to do so. How can a right be gained with such an attitude? Imprisoned in the system, they are afraid to fight. They act and think within the borders, set by the system.

In reality, we can not speak of "freedom of speech" in our country. The contradiction between those who rule and those who are ruled has reached a point at which fascism has become afraid because resistance against the system is growing among all segments of the population. The people do not hope anymore that the system parties will find solutions for their problems. This was also recognised and stated by the bourgeois press and some bourgeois-liberal politicians. The bourgeois press is full with statistics and reports, stating that "the system is bankrupt" and "the people is separating from the system". And at exactly this point, they want to stop the people: "There is no problem which can not be solved by discussions". Really? What problems have been solved till now by discussions? How serious are those who say that "freedom of speech will be guaranteed, all problems will be solved by discussions"? Caution. The real spokespersons of the intellectuals and reformists are the bourgeois ideologues and those who have been responsible for years that the problems are not being solved and that the

freedom of speech has been restricted. The intellectuals and the reformists are nothing but their mouthpiece.

For this reason all parties and intellectuals who claim to be left, socialist, revolutionary and democratic should express the differences between their views and those of the bourgeoisie when they speak about the state of law and freedom.

The reality of the class struggles exists of vigorous battles, fought with "an eye for an eye" and "a tooth for a tooth". When the revolutionaries are now able to express their views without being restricted by the system, this has only one reason: the legitimate and justified struggle they wage. The people's struggle legitimates what is not legal.

Those who do not know the truth about our country and our people can not enlighten the people.

A sort of curtain separates their writings, their actions and their art from the truth in our country. When we move this curtain a little, we see despair, chaos and ignorance.

One of these intellectuals wrote in his column in a bourgeois paper a piece called "I do not understand": "I do want to understand. I do want to understand the people who blow up themselves. I try to understand the crazy anger, the hatred which blew up this person and four other young people. I try to understand the willingness of these people to use violence. (...) We were forced to witness the decay of society and the disappearances of people in press articles and in the television news. We discussed it during open meetings, we wrote about it in our articles. All these writings were dragged into this vigorous battle. The struggle could not tolerate neutrality. They can only see friends and enemies, one is either attacked as a traitor, or congratulated as a hero. But in reality we would rather feel the need to explain things, rather than to condemn them, without choosing one of the sides (...)"

Is this thought, which they try to understand, really that twisted? Is it really not understood or do the intellectuals not want to understand it? Is it that hard to understand that it is the truth in our country and the fight which sends our people to the front? Can a result of the struggle be more natural?



There are facts we all know about. In our country, people are made disappeared, they are tortured, killed, their villages are burned down. The most moderate demands are met with bloodshed. There is a state which burns down, which massacres, which rapes, which fills the dungeons with people, which bans people. There is a state which violates its own justice. There is a state which directs the gangs of Susurluk. Trillions are put in this fight.

On the other hand there is another fact. There are people who will not bow for this inhuman practices and who give their lives to resist these attacks. A young girl, Ayce Idil Erkmén. She sacrificed her life for a free land and for the end of injustice, dying cell by cell in the Death Fast... A young girl: Zeynep Kinacı. She blows up her own body for her people which has been suffering for centuries... There are many others who did things like that, and there are new Ayces and Zeyneps... They fought and they fell... They prefer death to surrender... These were heroic deeds, shocking the world, appealing to the conscience of the people. The intellectuals try not to understand this heroism, in stead they write stories about "terror", "people with a problem", "no future", stories which are dictated to them by the bourgeoisie. They really believe their own stories... This is the so-called curtain, separating real life from the intellectuals.

It wasn't desperation which caused them to say "We will never surrender", they weren't afraid of the torture centres either. They represented the struggle and they had the courage to defend the legitimacy of the struggle with their life. It wasn't a lover who caused them to pull the trigger, it wasn't blind violence. It was the anger they felt for their enemies who destroy the land and who exploit the people. This anger was neither crazy, nor pointless... Did the Death Fast not extend the hope, the honour and the dignity of millions? Yes, this is obvious. When these facts are overlooked, the events can not be understood. We can not explain anything when we do not see that the state has started the war against the people and sends thousands of youngsters into death, ostensibly to "prevent further deaths". Can we really

understand the pain of the mothers who keep on searching for their sons and daughters day and night, despite the truncheons, when we do not act against the disappearances? Can we understand the worries of the unemployed, the homeless and those who were forced to leave their villages when we do not look for the causes? So how can we develop a definition of "thought crime" according to bourgeois standards when all is obvious? How an an abstract "freedom of speech" and an abstract "state of law" act against these problems? A conduct which ignores these facts and statements like "let us not take sides" are not intellectual. An intellectual who acts in accordance with the exploiting and cruel state in his thinking, his acts and his ideology should really criticise himself.

Why do our intellectuals not show their internationalist solidarity and their understanding when our country and our people are concerned?

Did we describe the struggle against Hitler as "blind violence"? Did we ever wonder about the 15 year old Tanja who went to the gallows, yelling at the Gestapo people? Yes, we learn a lot from books. We learn from history. Using art as a means, we pay tribute to the history of mankind. We watch a film, are impressed, think about it and we agree with a lot of the statements. For instance, many intellectuals have surely seen the movie "Salvador". There is a priest in this movie, Romero, who said "Violence causes violence". He was shot by the fascists. Was he wrong? Did you get agitated, did you think "No, Romero, you were wrong. Your death was in vain"? When we saw "Mother" (Maxim Gorki), did our hearts not beat for the mothers and the prisoners or did the reality of this movie seem like a dream in Turkey in 1996. In the movie "Braveheart", a young girl is raped on her wedding day by the English and her body is buried in secret. Did you not look at the fight of the Scottish against the British, wondering? Do we not experience these things in our own country, day by day? Are our people not kidnapped by the police, are they not raped under torture, are we did the target of fascist bullets? So why is it so hard to choose the right thing, to take a stand? Do we not feel the sorrow of the people

in our land, just as in these movies and novels?

Yes, we condemn the destruction of Palestine by Zionism, we condemn the war cries of the imperialist in Bosnia and Africa, but what is our stand in the same struggle which is wages on our soil? All is decided at this point: which side are we on? Thinking like an intellectual means: standing at the side of those who are right, it means producing something for the people, it means feeling the people's pain in your won heart.

"We need a revolution of emotions", Ahmet Altan (\*) said. But neither emotion nor good will suffice. We may not separate our emotions from the events. The lack of solidarity, the estrangement and the degeneration are products of the system itself... This filth is defiling our feelings, it's stealing our values and our humanity, things we need most. Here lies the mission of the intellectuals. The intellectual opposes all this filth. Yes, we have to regain the lost feelings, we have to become real human beings again. The liberation struggle is a struggle for human feelings, human life, justice and dignity. When an intellectual condemns the disappearances, he should do so in front of Galatasaray. When he opposes the state council for higher education, YOK, a university teacher should participate in the boycott on November 6... When he knows the truth, he should say so with a loud voice. Despite the punishments, the threats and the censorship, he should write what he knows. He should say "It's enough" to those who cause him pain and sorrow, who want to separate him from his writings, his pens, his saz, his songs and his liberty. He should do more than just speak. He must not denounce actions. The intellectual should act himself, he should go out on the street, he should organise the people, he should call the people to act against the system. That's where our intellectuals have to use their talents, their struggle and their struggle. "I'm in this struggle as well", they should say. "I take part with my poem, my plays, my writings, my music, my words, my knowledge, my conduct, my action!"

(\*) Son of a delegate from the Turkish socialist party TIP in the seventies. Author and journalist for the daily paper Sabah.



## Turkey:

# the military, the parties and September 12

by M. Ali Baran

**T**he discussions about a military coup will go on for quite a while. There have been such discussions before, every time the oligarchy was in serious crisis. The threat of a coup is aimed at freeing the oligarchy from such crises. But for an actual coup, the external and internal conditions have to be right, and support is needed from the imperialists and monopolists. Only then can a military coup fulfil its mission to salvage the system. Otherwise the imperialists and the collaborating economic monopolies would get into an ever deeper crisis because of a military coup. Instead of a military coup, they try to contain the growing revolutionary wave among the mass of the people by reforms within the oligarchy, building a front against the revolution. The oligarchy and the imperialist fear the revolution. They know they cannot defeat the revolution by a coup.

The contradictions within the ruling forces have increased because of Susurluk, the fear among the front of the oligarchy for the revolution increased. Broad sections of the population are discussing the state and the system. Fear is compelling the powers that be to hasty actions.

After Susurluk, the state definitely lost any legitimacy in the eyes of the masses, its situation has become unstable. The

efforts to present a clean state and the «democratisation plans» from TUSIAD [big business confederation in Turkey], the media and the military did not show the desired effect. Campaigns and the propaganda to «clean up the state» and replacing several leading figures weren't able to get rid of the filth, it could not be covered up. Everybody can see that the ruling forces are stuck in this quagmire.

The state is tottering. TUSIAD and the military are trying all they can to save the system and to stop the people's demand for accountability. The ruling forces know that neither a coup nor new elections or a new government can alleviate the crisis and stabilise the system. To discipline the parties, discussions were launched in the media about the danger of «Islamisation» and a threat to secularism. Although a new government of «national consensus» will not be able to realise a new policy, it could serve to alleviate the crisis by selecting the Refah [Islamist] Party as a scapegoat, thus disciplining the other parties. To do this, the military will have to strengthen its hegemony over the quarrelling bourgeois parties, which are stuck in this filth up to their necks, and demonstrate its power by a policy of active intervention. No other force is capable of showing the strength

which is necessary for such an operation. But the military cannot take refuge in carrying out a coup in classic form.

As compared to 1980, the conditions are not the same. In September 1980, the power of the military was laid down in law. According to the putschists, measures were to be made possible to intervene, preventing a new «accident of democracy». Therefore the military was guaranteed the right to intervene politically and economically at all times. Of course, an army which possesses such a guarantee will not feel the need for a coup. It will rather make use of its right to intervene in case the system gets into an unstable situation. And this is exactly what is happening now.

The right to intervene, laid down in the constitution, is still valid. It was strengthened and expanded by other laws, institutions and practices. Therefore the National Security Council is not a coup instrument, it is an instrument of the known right of intervention. The democracy game, which started on September 12, 1980, goes on. The pieces of this game are TUSIAD, the media, the bourgeois parties, the organisations of civic society, parliament, the government and institutions such as elections. The military and the state president play the role of king in this game of chess.



*The military thus imposes its stamp on the policy of the bourgeois parties and the government programme. The real inventors of this policy are the imperialists. The open interventions by the military can not be seen apart from the policy of the imperialists. Under the present circumstances, it is impossible for the bourgeois parties to free themselves from these dogfights, they are not capable of realising policy. In this situation, interventions are carried out in cooperation between the imperialists, Demirel and the military.*

At the time it can be seen once again that the bourgeois parties do not have the least intention of defending their identity against interventions by the military. Instead they compete to show themselves as willing servants of the system. And despite all the propaganda against the junta, the bourgeois parties once again bowed without any resistance. Not a single party resisted the open threat from the military - «when you do not act the way we want, we will put pressure on you» - by claiming to be a force elected by the people. This means they have surrendered to the ideology, the politics and the morals of the september 12 junta, continuing its «democracy». The «democracy» of the junta is fascism. The form of fascism, characteristic to our country, is colonial fascism. The conditions for this were created by the junta. In a situation where there are no more means available to the junta, a fake democracy is presented by holding elections and establishing new governments. But in reality nothing changes, oppression and violence continue. Because the govern-

ment is hindering the existence of the system and because the strength of the bourgeois parties is weakening and they can thus not present a solution, the military uses quite openly its right to intervene to protect system and state. This reality is part of colonial fascism in our country.

Today the conditions for a classic coup are not there. The right to intervene by the military enshrined by September 12 opens the possibility of far-reaching and lasting intervention on all levels. Colonial fascism secures these possibilities. The military openly carries out its interventions, they want to show them, especially to the bourgeois parties. The bourgeois parties can resist these interventions, or they have to surrender. The attitude of slavishness is proof of the continued dominance of the military over future governments. The discussions about the «Islamists» or the «enemies of progress», whose representatives are supposedly preparing an armed rebellion, were recognised for what they were: they were meant to prepare and legitimise intervention by the military. The small Islamist groups which propagate armed struggle are not capable of gathering large groups of supporters and are therefore ineffective. The real purpose of the intervention by the military is to restore the stability of the rule of the oligarchy, delivering blows to the revolutionary struggle and destroying the growing people's movement. The fact that the state believes in the propaganda of a Islamist threat shows the system is collapsing, that the rulers are not capable of governing the state. None of the Islamist groups is really against the system. With a few exceptions, they denied the facts which were revealed by Susurluk and they even took sides with the state, defending the burned-out system against the revolutionaries. The imperialists support the Islamist tendencies as well, using them against the revolutionaries. Even the forces of the counter-guerrillas consist of Islamists, in addition to the MHP [Nationalist Movement Party] fascists. These tendencies are supported by the imperia-

lists and their collaborators, they are integrated into the system and used to defend the ruling powers. The «progressive forces» among them are in no way dangerous for the system.

The oligarchy has only one fear, the revolution, and all its interventions, all its plans are directed against the revolution. All its institutions, its measures, the founding of parties, elections etc. are valued according the criteria whether they offer protection against the revolution, whether they defend the system, or not. Not only oppression, cruelty and the violation of law are applied for that. They also initiate reforms, political and social measures in case these promise a stabilisation of the system. That's why the military is talking about not using the methods of the anti-terrorism struggle, but using social and political reforms in stead.

The military thus imposes its stamp on the policy of the bourgeois parties and the government programme. The real inventors of this policy are the imperialists. The open interventions by the military can not be seen apart from the policy of the imperialists. Under the present circumstances, it is impossible for the bourgeois parties to free themselves from these dogfights, they are not capable of realising policy. In this situation, interventions are carried out in cooperation between the imperialists, Demirel and the military.

That the interventions will not offer a solution for the crisis, that they deepen the crisis instead, that is no secret now. Under the circumstances in which a state apparatus is not fulfilling its functions to a large degree, in which the dogfights among the rulers are becoming unbearable, the military, with the aid of the media, tries to present itself without success as a clean force which offers a solution.

But the military is stuck in the filth itself. No force can deny this situation in the end. The interventions are only deepening the contradictions within the oligarchy, and even the military cannot save itself from being dragged into this and being affected.



# REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION PARTY

## BULLETIN

**30th MARCH-17th APRIL**

**TO ALL THE PEOPLES FORCES WHO WANT LIBERATION,  
WORKERS, PEASANTS, LABOURERS AND ALL PATRIOTS.**

*On the 30th of March 1972, Counter Guerrilla forces massacred 10 revolutionarists in the village of Kizildere in Neksar. The Fascist forces believed that by massacring these revolutionarists they would prevent our peoples struggle for liberation, they worked to eradicate not only the 10 revolutionaries in Kizildere but also those who followed in there foot steps, they worked to the destroy the peoples hopes for liberation and also the liberations leader.*

*In 1971 Mahir Çayan and his friends stated that the revolution would be achieved by the armed struggle of the long period of the peoples war, and for the first time in Turkey's history an armed struggle against imperialism and oligarchy had started. This decision was Turkey's revolutionary movements unstoppable road to victory, as soon as the fascist forces notice this treat they used all there power to exterminate the leaders and the fighters of the revolutionary movement. The THKP-C, (THE PEO-*

*PLE OF TURKEY'S LIBERATION PARTY-FRONT) icader and fighters are not only under the attack of the fascist forces, but are also under the attack from those who state that they are against the system but are to gutless to go into any type of account asking struggle, these are the opportunists and reformists. Oligarchy and reformists wanted to end those who raised the flag of liberation and who were fighting, and in one way achieved this request by the junta of 12th of march.*

*Those in the opposed revolution resorted to using all there brutal violent force against the revolutionaries, during this act of terrorism Deniz, Yusuf and Hüseyin were sentenced to death. The execution of Deniz and his friends was a blow against Turkey's revolutionary movement, this was a lose of prestige in the revolutionary movement. By quoting this the Party-Front continued there struggle and claimed and stood up for Deniz and his friends. With this understanding they tried to pre-*

*vent the execution from taking place and kidnapped 3 British agents and look them to Kizildere. The counter guerrilla forces were had found out that Mahir and his friends had gone to Kizildere massacred them. As with the Susurluk incident of today and the enlightenment of the counter guerrilla dossier we see that the counter guerrilla had started it's massacre then and is still continuing today.*

*The leader of the THKP-C Mahir Çayan and along side him, 8 THKP-C cadre leaders and 2 THKO fighters in total 10 people were massacred in Kizildere.*

*After the massacre in Kizildere the fascist forces wanted to give the message to our people and the World that they had exterminate those who wanted liberation, democracy and socialism. Those who opened the path to Turkey's revolutionary liberation were only gone in physical form, but they knowingly wrote the revolutionary movements history with their blood, and for this reason when the enemy*



asked them to surrender they replied "WE HAVE VOME HERE NOT TO RETURN BUT TO DIE".

They were the people of this land. Their roots were embedded in the soil. They were the ones who died but were defcated, they were descendants of Bedrettin. They died but were not defeated. Whilst the oligarchies "we have ended, we have finished" propaganda was being spread, the ones who died but were not defcated increased.

30th OF MARCH IS NOT A DEFEAT, BUT IS THE ROAD TO LIERATION

The heroic story written with the blood of the Party-Front members was spreading in waves across the country. Firstly by the youth and then by all the people the legend was heard y everyone. The traitors believed that they had ended the Party-Front and returned to searve the oligarchy, the counter guerrillas were rejoicing. But not long after the Party-Front returned and the legend was once again in the political arena. This time the mass of the people was greater and with the slogan "Kizildere is not the end, the war is continuing" the struggles flag was raised even higher. Those who had stated the Party-Fronts adventure had come to a halt were withering away and being crushed with the peoples slogans of "war until liberation". Oligarchy had destructed and murdered the leader of the Party-Front, and imprisoned those who were left but they could not end the history which was written

in blood of the revolutionary movement.

The youth did not listen to the traitors and had turned to face Kizildere. Since 1974 the ideology of the Party-Front has increased throughout the land in the county, by crushing the opportunists and reformists who were tring to prevent them, they became the body of Turkey's revolutionary movement. Those whose minds were imprisoned and were in cells were released by oligarchy by assuming and making calculations they tried to harm the pretige and potential of the Party-Front. They divided the Party-Fronts potential. These masks will soon drop, and the spirit of Kizildere will once again be dominant.

THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT IS THE NEW CONSTRUCTION PERIOD OF THE THKP-C, AND THE DHKP-C IS THE REORGANISATION.

In 1978 weth the birth of the REVOLUTIONARY LEFT and its step into the political arene was the reconstruction of the Party-Front, this was an attitude taken to resist in the destruction and division of those who wanted to struggle, with this exit denial and discharge of the Party-Fronts ideology and its struggle all plans were destroyed, this was a definite defeat. The Party-Fronts continuation was cencretized in the REVOLUTIONARY LEFT. It is empossible to seperate the THKP-C from the REVOLUTIONARY LEFT. and tne DHKP-C is the reorganisation. The Party-front

history is the history of the Turkish revolutioary movement history. The THKP-C, REVOLUTIONARY LEFT and DHKP-C, is the honou- rable legend of the Turkish revolutionary movements history, they will never be seperate.

THOSE WHO HAVE FOUGHT OND STRUGGLED, AND HAVE CARRIED THIS AS PART OF THEIR TRADITION, WILL NEVER DESSAPPEAR.

Those who have tried to distrust and ignore this history have on many times benn disappointed, but have still not given up their aims.

Fighting against fascism, friends and enemies are put in their place. Those who seem like friends but are who infact are enemies are brought into the open. In particular where the war is developed the counter revolutionary violence is increased, more or less as in all periods of oligarchy, it will get the end result of its violence, traitors will be brought into the open. Those who are fighting against fascism should take into account that they could be faced with traitors.

The heroic and legendary history of the Party-Front is also a history in which there have been traitors. Those who have made pacts with the enemy and who have become traitors will be found out. This is the tradition of the Party-Front, Those who will struggle to the end and who will not back down, who have come face to face with the enemy, who have not surrendered and have made this



struggle into a tradition will never disappear.

This is the tradition which the REVOLUTIONARY LEFT and the DHKP-C have adopted, and where the enemy has stated that they have finished us we have come back with new tactics and in greater numbers and have taken our place in the war zones. The REVOLUTIONARY LEFT has not allowed the enemies provocation and the traitors to end it, it has become stronger and organised and has taken its place in the political arena as the DHKP-C. This understanding, this tradition has been handed down by those who created Kizildere.

THE FLAG WHICH WAS DRAWN IN KIZILDERE IS TODAY CARRIED BY THE DHKP-C.

30th of March is at the same the anniversary of the establishment of the DHKP-C. The REVOLUTIONARY LEFT and the DHKP-C's struggle is the continuous path to the revolution, from Maltepe to Kizildere, from Kizildere to the 1984 death fast, to the 12th of July 1991, to the 17th of April 1992, we have continued in our struggle we have given 100s of martyr's who have fallen in this path. The Party-Front has not dropped its flag since the day it was put up in Kizildere. That flag is the flag of martyr's, it has waved up on the mountains where we have struggled, from the path of Kizildere new traditions have been created. This tradition is so deep and so strong that it has shaped

most of the view point of the left.

THE PARTY-FRONT HISTORY IS THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

Those who deny this history, are those who deny the revolutionary movement, to speak of Mahir, the THKP-C, and Kizildere and then not to speak of the REVOLUTIONARY LEFT and the DHKP-C, is to reject the THKP-C Mahir and Kizildere, and by rejecting this they are rejecting everything that has been lived since 1974.

30th OF MARCH 1972 IS THE BIRTH OF TURKEY'S REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, IT IS THE PATH WHICH OPENED THE WAY FOR PEOPLES LIBERATION.

17th OF APRIL 1992 IS WHEN THE DECISION THAT THE WAY FORWARD WAS WITH THE PARTY-FRONT, THAT SOCIALISM WOULD NOT BE DEFEATED, IT IS WHEN OUR FLAG WAS RAISED HIGHER.

30th OF MARCH 1994 WAS WHEN THE PARTY-FRONT WAS REORGANISED AND IT WAS CALL FOR THE REVOLUTION AND POWER.

PEOPLE

For 10's years we have explained the States imperialist, fascist system, we have given martyr's to overthrow this oppressive system. We are going to continue to give martyr's because without completely destroying this system there will be no freedom for us in this country. Our country is in the hands of

the imperialists, the monopolies, the wealthy businessmen and the counter guerrilla, they are the ones who control the country, this State is their State. We have no option but to turn to our weapons. Kizildere turned to its weapons for the liberation of this country, we are continuing in our struggle, by paying with our lives we are getting closer to liberation.

We salute those who fell during 30th March and 17th April.

The path of our martyrred is the path to revolution.

Do not serve imperialism and fascism, we call upon all those who love their country, all those who love the people, who want liberation to join us in the revolutionary peoples power struggle.

The DHKP-C is the organisation for struggle, the DHKP-C is the organised peoples force, Those who want a free, liberated and democratic country, those who want rights and justice for every one we call upon you to join us under the Party-Front flag and struggle.

THE PATH TO LIBERATION IS THE PARTY-FRONT'S PATH

LET US UNITE IN THE PARTY-FRONT, LET US FIGHT AND CREATE OUR OWN POWER

FIGHT UNTIL LIBERATION

**DHKP**



**WITH OUR MARTYRS WE BECAME HOPE ITSELF  
WITH OUR MARTYRS WE BECAME THE PARTY!**



**DHIKP-C**