

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND OLIGARCHY

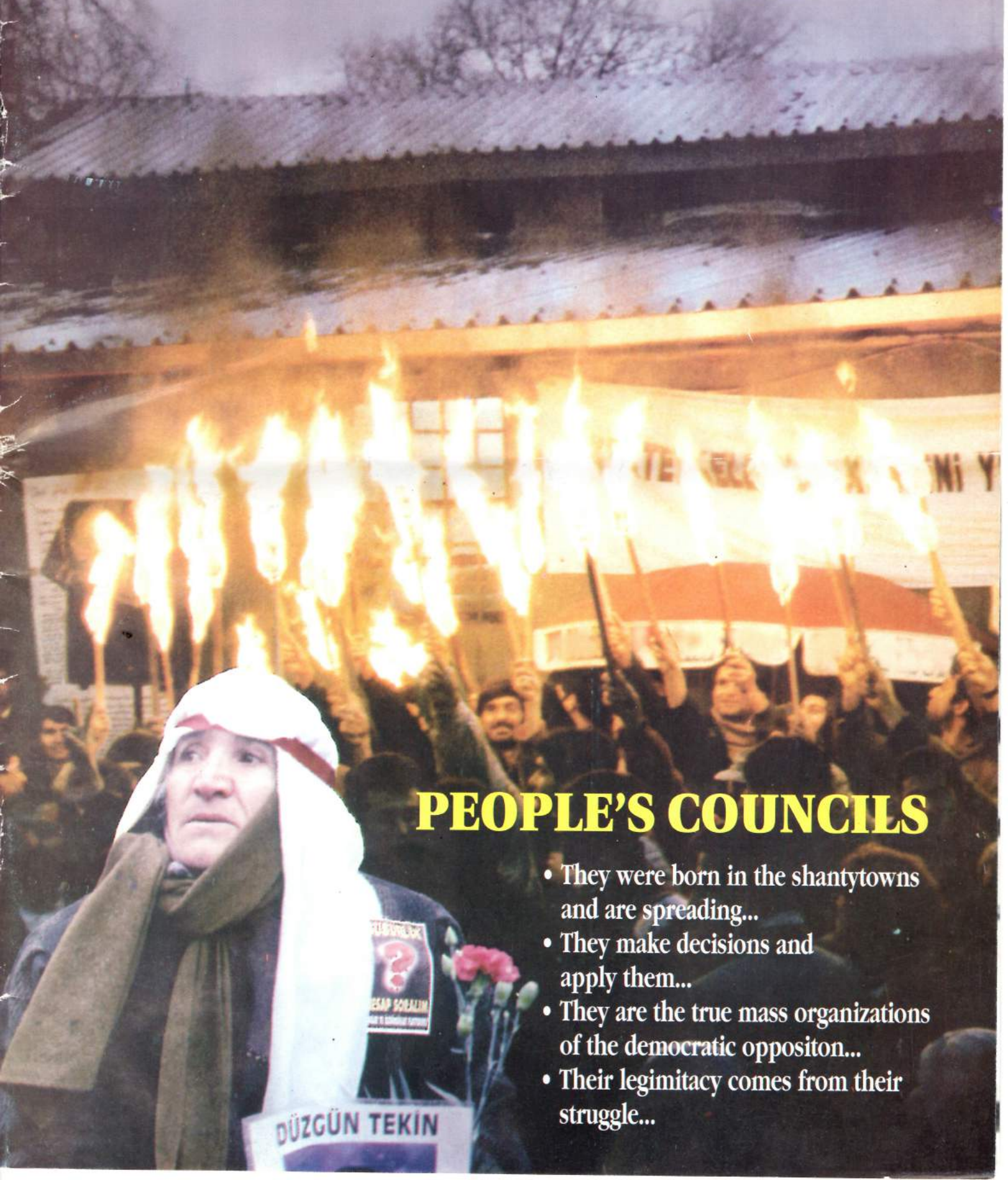
# DEVRİMCİ SOL



REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

February 1998

Revolutionary Political Review About Turkey And Kurdistan



## PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

- They were born in the shantytowns and are spreading...
- They make decisions and apply them...
- They are the true mass organizations of the democratic opposition...
- Their legitimacy comes from their struggle...

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## Hello,

On November 3, 1996 a luxury Mercedes collided with a lorry on a motorway near the western Turkish town of Susurluk. The following individuals were in the Mercedes: Abdullah Catli, a fascist paramilitary “wanted” by the state for numerous massacres, and also an important member of the drugs mafia; Hüseyin Kocadag, a leading police official in Istanbul and a co-founder of the special units known as death squads; and Sedat Bucak, member of parliament for the right-wing DYP (True Path Party), Kurdish tribal chief and leader of a 10,000-strong private army of “village guards” based in Siverek (Kurdistan). He was the only survivor. Weapons and drugs were also found in the vehicle.

Fascists, mafia members,

police chiefs, parliament deputies, tribal chieftains and village guards... Together with the monopoly bourgeoisie, the generals and the means for waging armed and psychological warfare, they all constitute the contra-guerrilla apparatus!

They also constitute the Turkish state. The state gave itself away in Susurluk. It confirmed the suspicions held by millions of people. The state’s power is based on crimes and terror. The powers that be were not able to prevent various facts from coming to light. In the initial wave of panic they even accused one another, and as a result many of their crimes and criminal associations were exposed. This is only a small but nonetheless very important part of the events of the past decades. For the first time the massacres, disappearances, killings, terrorist attacks, mafia activities

and “loyal servants of the state” were placed in a context visible to all.

The contra-guerrilla chief Mehmet Agar (former chief of police, justice and interior minister in 1995-96, and now a DYP member of parliament), who personally issued a diplomatic passport to the “wanted” criminal Abdullah Catli, confessed his guilt when he said: “We have carried out a thousand operations.” He also gave away his accomplices: “Decisions on that were taken by the National Security Council (MGK) as a whole.” The MGK consists of generals, some ministers, the prime minister, the president and certain important police chiefs. It stands over parliament and is in practice the body which controls the state.

It is really nothing new to see the rulers betraying one another. It is part and parcel of

their permanent struggle for power waged for years with denunciations, campaigns, sackings, terrorist attacks and murders. Each one of them wants the largest possible share in the wealth wrung from the people. However, the open exposure of crimes and relationships by the Susurluk scandal endangered the entire state. More and more names and networks of drug dealers, mafia chiefs and MIT agents (MIT is the "civilian" security service of Turkey which is controlled by the army) were exposed. When generals began to feature among those who were submerged in the Susurluk mire, the MGK intervened. On the one hand it tried damage limitation by sacrificing a few contra-guerrillas, and on the other it tried to divert attention from the scandals by pretending that there was a danger Turkey would be subjected to Islamic law (Sharia). It concocted a state crisis, had the army march into certain areas and with the help of the employers' federation TİSIAD overthrew the somewhat Islamic coalition government of the RP (Welfare Party, an Islamist party) and the DYP. A new government built around the Motherland Party (ANAP), Democratic Left Party (DSP) and the Democratic Turkey Party (DTP) spoke of a "clean society" and blamed the Susurluk scandal on the previous administration. But the "cleanliness" was demagoguery. None of the scandals and crimes were investigated and all (!) the state's murderers (contra-guerrillas, members of MIT and special units) arrested after Susurluk to appease popular anger were set free.

## People's justice - the people's hope

The anger and resistance to Susurluk came from the people and the people's councils. Neither

social democrats, reformists nor Kurdish nationalists took a serious part in the Susurluk protests. In the three action periods, November 1996, April 1997 and October-November 1997, the people's councils were on the street every day. Only in Istanbul's shantytowns did tens of thousands of people take part in protest action on the streets over a period of six months. The demands of the bourgeois opposition and reformists for "the lifting of deputies' immunity" only served to irritate the masses. Such demands were perfectly acceptable to the system. But the demands from the masses mobilised by the people's councils hit the system dead centre: "We want those responsible for 'a thousand operations' punished!" "Susurluk proves that the contra-guerrillas are the state!" "Give the murderers to us!" "The people will call the murderers to account!" "Only revolution can clean this filth!"

At the end of November neither arrests nor police attacks could stop the people's councils from marching from Istanbul to Ankara.

## The DHKP-C will march forward in all areas

In all areas the oligarchy is in a deep, permanent crisis. The "democratic" facade put up by the establishment parties has crumbled, the MGK quite openly rules the country again. The oligarchy is trying to stop a revolutionary explosion, brought about by opposition in society, by setting up new organisations and structures under the heading of "central crisis management". This centrally-directed terror network is supposed to "clear up crisis situations" in all parts of Turkey. This entails considerably strengthening the reorganised contra-guerrillas, who are more and more given the

stamp of legality.

Imperialism and the oligarchy know the extent of the danger. The popular masses long for justice and freedom. Nobody trusts the state and its justice any more - not even those who vote for bourgeois parties. The revolutionary opposition grows from day to day. In all areas, all regions, the revolution is ripening. In Kurdistan and the Black Sea region the DHKP-C's guerrilla fronts exist, in other places they are in the process of construction. In the meantime the oligarchy is sending more and more troops to the Black Sea in an effort to stop the guerrillas from becoming established.

The current tasks of the DHKP-C are to strengthen and broaden the armed revolutionary struggle, to strengthen its own roots among the masses and build up its capacity to mobilise mass forces. The people's councils are becoming genuine people's organisations. They already take part in all social struggles and actions, generally as organisers and leaders. The DHKP-C will spread the people's councils everywhere and direct them against the oligarchy.

Imperialism knows the significance of Turkey in the region. US imperialism in particular has made our country into one of the worst contra-guerrilla states in the world. Without imperialism shoring it up, the Turkish state's rotten structure would not last another day. The development of the revolutionary struggle, the removal of the filth which still rules the land and the building up of people's power are the future of Turkey. That is why imperialism calls us, the DHKP-C, terrorists. However, it cannot stop us.

We will always find it to be an irreconcilable foe. Imperialism is never the friend but rather the foe of the peoples. So for ourselves, revolutionaries and internationalists, there can be no possibility of peace with it.

# THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY WILL BE THE CENTURY OF UPRISINGS

# A

t the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, following the collapse of the socialist system, imperialism was declaring itself victorious but its dream of a "unipolar world" was rapidly shattered. Nowadays, imperialist institutions are issuing reports non-stop. Instead of "victories", there are "fears" in these reports. To appease their fears, they are discussing precautions that they need to take. "The most wanted organizations" list which was recently issued by the USA, the report of the United Nations Development Conference and the last meeting of NATO showed the growing fear of imperialism.

Recently NATO held a meeting in England, which it called "NATO and Security and a True Vision for the 21st Century". The report that was published after the meeting displays the level of imperialism's fear and also expresses the failure of the "new world order". The report points out the major danger as the revolutionary organizations, and assesses the 21st Century as "the century of uprisings".

The "new world order" of imperialism has caused nothing but tears, hunger and poverty to people. It is not possible anyway. With the collapse of the socialist system, imperialism thought that they could play the game with their own rules. The day-dream of imperialism ended in a very short time. The rising national and class liberation struggles of people around

the world, against the unlimited exploitation of imperialism, became a good response to the "new world order".

The establishment of NATO by imperialism was aimed against the socialist system. Socialism became a nightmare for imperialism. "Against the danger of communism", NATO tried everything, and committed provocations over years in an attempt to calm its own fears. It established many organizations, both ones operating openly and secretly. The formation of contra-guerrilla organizations in Europe and the neocolonies is also the product of this era.

Following the collapse of the socialist system, imperialism was thinking of relaxing a bit and consequently, NATO became nonfunctional. The capitalist restoration in the former socialist regimes and the reactionary winds blowing throughout the world affected many organizations leading national and class liberation struggles. During this period, "giving up weapons" and "peace" speeches were very popular amongst these unbelieving and indecisive organizations and individuals. Of course it would not be worth it to die for any ideology, they said!

But their plans collapsed. Despite all efforts of imperialism, lies about a unipolar world and globalisation were unmasked, and again national and class liberation struggles reached a terrifying level for imperialism.

## This Is Not The Future That Had Been Predicted

Imperialism is aware of these developments. None of their plans worked. They cannot escape from crisis. At NATO's meeting they confessed this by saying, "This is not the future that had been predicted". Because they had predicted that they would be able to exploit the peoples of world without any trouble.

Now they are experiencing fear and a collapse that goes beyond any disappointment. At this meeting of NATO they stated that; "the century of uprisings has started" and "the first 30 years of the 21st century will be the period of revolutionary uprisings". The main centres of the uprisings are listed as follows: Middle East, North-West Africa, Caucasus, the Persian Gulf and Latin America. That are the neo-colonies - the weak links in the chain - where imperialism limitlessly exploit the underground and ground resources. At the same time these are the places where national and class struggles are rising every day.

Despite its enormous technology, imperialism has been defeated fighting against guerrilla struggles. That is why they are trying to develop new war tactics. "The theory of unsymmetrical warfare" is one of them. The "theory of unsymmetrical warfare" has developed as a result of the fact that regular

# WE WILL DEFEAT THE REAL TERRORISTS IN OUR COUNTRY

**T**he foreign secretary of the USA, Madeleine Albright, recently announced that she had put our organisation on the "terrorists list" again.

Furthermore Albright called upon all countries in the world to take the same measures under their own judicial rules.

The USA tries to twist history with such statements. It was the USA which occupied Korea and massacred the people.

It was the USA which turned Vietnam into a blood bath.

They are the supporters of fascist dictatorships in Latin America, Asia, Africa and elsewhere in the world who left behind millions of dead bodies.

All sorts of torture, applied in the neo-colonies in the world, are first tested in the laboratories of the CIA.

It's them who support the degenerated order of exploitation and tyranny by all political, diplomatic and military means.

They are responsible for the hunger and poverty in the world.

They dropped tons of bombs on the Arab people, burying them alive in the desert. And it was revealed that they carried out tests with radio-activity on their own citizens only yesterday.

The USA and the other imperialist countries are the biggest, most organised and wide

spread terror organisations whose arms reach everywhere. They can't make anybody but themselves believe that the revolutionary, patriotic and anti-imperialist organisations and liberation movements are "terrorist organisations".



This state of affairs is not a new development for our movement. We are fighting imperialism, we are fighting for the liberation of our peoples. Our existence is a great threat to imperialism.

This explains their aggression.

We state here once again:

We will continue to fight until liberation and we will gain freedom and independence for our peoples. We will crush the imperialist bases, we will clear our occupied soil from the occupiers and break

the chain of exploitation and tyranny by the biggest terrorists in the world.

Our peoples know very well that we will not be held back by massacres, any kind of list, threats and prisons. And imperialism will find it to its cost.

**Revolutionary People's  
Liberation Front**  
*European representation*

10 October 1997

armies, even though equipped with technology and manpower, are failing against guerrillas. The expert on biological and chemical weapons who is assistant US secretary of defense confessed in the NATO meeting that, USA, with their technology, was successful against Iraq

but unsuccessful against the national and class liberation struggles in the same region.

At the meeting, NATO's function was also discussed, and the mission which was given to NATO was one of being a "police force" for imperialism. The fear of "uprisings" made

imperialism begin searches for something new. For decades NATO was the gendarme of imperialism against the socialist system, and now it is on guard against the fear of revolution. "To start the century of uprisings" and to shake the world ñ these lie in our hands.

# Susurluk And Kurdistan

W

hen both the Turkish and the Kurdish people look at the state in Susurluk, they see the endless years of the policies of oppression, they see the perpetrators of these politics. This is the state that has for years continued an unjust and unlawful war, this is the “unitary state” which has for years said demagogically, “We will not even give them a pebble.”

The Susurluk state's most concrete practical expression is the “1,000 operations” [undercover activity, often killings, carried out by the state]. The “one minute of darkness” action and other actions were taken against Susurluk, and one of the demands of the people and mass organizations was “We want those who are responsible for thousands of operations to be punished”. There is no doubt that most of the 1,000 operations were carried out in Kurdistan, but it should be noted that the same mass awareness was not carried through in Kurdistan and no action was taken.

Even though a legal awareness was established with regard to the state's fascist policies, Kurdistan took no action. The reason why they acted in a weak and frightened manner was because they did not want to entrap in “wrong politics”. However, the correct answer to Susurluk is not “peace” but “demanding a reckoning” and the “people's war”.

In particular, the democratic spectrum of the Kurdish people, HADEP [the People's Democracy Party] took the position of “peace” instead of one of “settling accounts”, thus creating a contradiction in the Kurdish people's path. Even



THE ONLY PATH  
FOR KURDISTAN  
IS REVOLUTION

though there was a good deal of political awareness among the masses, the politicians of Kurdish nationalism did not become the interpreters of their expectations.

The Kurdish nationalists believed that the state in Susurluk was pushed into a corner after the accident. The HADEP organisation and the Kurdish nationalists stood back and became mere spectators of Susurluk. There may be a lot of explanations as to why this happened. They also were saying that, according to the conditions of Kurdistan and the state of emergency there could be no room for democratic activity. But when asked “Why can't this happen?” no answer was given, and they tried to theorise the situation. The real reason was clear from the beginning and was connected with how the democratic struggle was to be taken to hand. In particular, after a said period had elapsed, the term “peace” was to be emphasised at the expense of the democratic struggle. With such an understanding, they could not be the voice of the Kurdish people.

The foundation of the democratic struggle is the unwillingness to come to an agreement. Today most democratic institutions of Kurdistan have been turned into community centres and unions. Some institutions have

closed down due to “low membership”. Civil servants have been kept out of action in the country for years because of “specific conditions”. But last year the actions of civil servants proved to the people how wrong these politics were. The student's association TODEF in the university of Dicle which although sometimes came into conflict with Kurdish nationalists organised general boycotts which were sufficient to show the flaws and contradictions in the democratic struggle. Once again, the restricted number of people participating in the demonstration against Susurluk, and the boycott on the November 6 rally [against the university authorities] in Diyarbakir reduced the potential of the democratic struggle in Kurdistan.

When the people's councils walked to Ankara in protest at Susurluk, Kurdish patriots did not walk from Kurdistan to Ankara. The people's councils had suggested to them that they should. Just as they had not participated in countless other protests, they also did not participate here.

## Unity Against Chauvinism Is Unity Against Susurluk

The years of separate and disorganised politics which the oligarchy has used against the

# IMPERIALISM IN CRISIS

## *The New World Order Could Not Be The Solution To This Crisis*

Last month, the annual reports of the UN General Secretary Kofi Annan and UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) were announced. In Annan's report, there were remarkable conclusions which reveal the defects of the system with regard to stabilising imperialism.

Annan says: "Globalisation feeds drug traffickers and black market dealers and only a couple of countries in Asia can derive advantage from it." Also, the international monopolies are not happy about the value of money they do not control. Annan reminds us that the idea of globalisation could not be spread everywhere, people still face death in defence of their national identities, and this is very dangerous for the system.

The UNCTAD report supports Annan's view and defines the present situation more clearly: "If globalisation continues as it has done, a new crisis, similar to the 1929

economic crisis, is on its way." The crisis which deepened in the last 20 years, as it says in the report, will make the situation worse with every passing day. The fear of imperialism is, this time they may not be able to handle another crisis which could be worse than the one in 1929 and this crisis may prepare the way for their end. In the report, "The seven great scourges of globalisation" are also mentioned which are harbingers of crisis and require urgent action. They say that "slow growth and increasing inequality are the permanent characteristics of today's globalised world".

After that, the following statement about the rate of growth, low wages and increases in unemployment was made: "Despite exceptions among some countries, the world's economy is growing very slowly. With this slow growth rate, a satisfactory level of wages and sufficient work opportunities could not be provided, therefore poverty

has not eased."

It was also mentioned, after 1980, in order to develop the world economy which was frustrated, globalisation was implemented by removing all international borders, and this caused increased differences between countries in income and development, damaged income distribution and caused economic growth to slow down. The globalisation policies of imperialism which were created to overcome the crisis of the imperialist countries, deepened problems rather than solving them. In the 1990s, the rate of growth in all of the imperialist countries dropped severely. In 1994, in the USA, it dropped below 1%.

The speed of growth in the neo-colonial countries, on the other hand, depends on debts. As in our country, the growth rate of 5-6% is because of borrowed capital, not the result of production. With the cancellation of limits on the movement of international capital, inco-

Turkish and Kurdish people have not lost their impact. The reason for this is the politics of peace, reformism and legal party propaganda carried out by HADEP and the Kurdish nationalists. During the Susurluk era, where the brotherhood of Turks and Kurds could have been proclaimed most loudly in protests, they did nothing. Yet why should they not ask the Susurluk state to render an account too? Does it not show that there is a struggle against Turkish chauvinism?

The only path of struggle against chauvinism is the joint struggle of the people. The struggle against Susurluk cannot fit into the dimension of human rights with the bourgeoisie's acceptance and permissi-

on. To put the term "peace" at the beginning of everything in the democratic sphere means going towards a few petit bourgeois intellectuals and away from the people. This term is reflected in certain speeches in demonstrations and meetings. Reformist and legal parties, people calling themselves defenders of human rights and HADEP are all united on this point. For example, within the framework of the 1,000 operations, the murders of the intellectuals Abdi İpekçi, Uğur Mumcu and Musa Anter were mentioned, but at no point in their speeches did they mention the revolutionaries, the patriotic guerrillas or warriors who have for years been executed and massacred. The

massacres of guerrillas were seen as legitimate.

Yes, even at the head of HADEP there is the oligarchy and Kurdish collaborationists and at times these are effective on some issues, but to create an effective base means nothing if there is no political impact. Why is HADEP like this? Because the logic from the start is one of seeking acceptance and permission from the state. The problem is one of political views.

"Susurluk is the state." The struggle of the Turkish and Kurdish people is a joint one, and if this struggle does not see power as its target then no results will derive from it. This is clear from past experience.



me redistribution in neocolonial countries to even out inequality, now caught between new capital and profit income, has been destroyed. The UNCTAD report considers all this and warns of the danger of "social anarchy". "If liquidation occurs in the international economy, the weight will bear down on the shoulders of the weak as was the case in the period of crisis".

The terms "social anarchy", "social explosion", and "social crisis" in fact refer to the rebellion of people against exploitation. The evaluation by the imperialists of the 21st Century as "the century of uprisings" completes this view. This is a nightmare for imperialism.

## The Fairy Tale Of Globalisation

The period, which was defined as "the New World Order" by the US president, George Bush, during the Gulf War in 1991 and was actually on the agenda of imperialism since the 1980s, expresses the era when the world was reorganised for the benefit of imperialism. It was the best thing imperialism could come up with, alongside the "unipolar world", "neoliberalism" and "globalisation". It was discreetly applied, together with the free trade and free market decisions of the greater imperialist countries in the GATT meeting in 1993, and its propaganda stated that living standards would be increased and the creation of a more just society would be achieved.

According to the New World Order, the world is "a big village" and everything and everyone can travel freely in this village. That is, custom limitations, protective walls and trade barriers which were formed because of the Cold War and creation of blocs, and which caused barriers to world trade, would be lifted and a new world market would be created. Hence, the flow of capital and commodities, technology and culture will be under the hegemony of the giant imperialist monopolies. Terms like "globalisation" are demagogic terms. Because right from the beginning, the main characteristic of the imperialist economy is to see the world as a shared market and connect the capitalist economies and politics of hundreds of different countries.

Of course, imperialists carry out intense propaganda by covering up facts and putting forward various demagogic aspects of something to the exclusion of truth. They say that borders, national sovereignty and naturally, wars of national liberation were meaningless, the whole people of the world would share in the benefits of globalisation, imperialism was not the issue anymore and dependence was replaced by "mutual dependence", national conservatism and the protection of national sovereignty were the sources of reactionary and oppressive regimes.

Conversely, it was not possible for the dominant and limitless plunderer, neoliberalism, to provide welfare for the people of the world. The New World Order, with the support of neoliberalism and globalisation, could not create the promised miracles. When the contradictions of the imperialist countries with their own people, former socialist countries and neocolonial countries are added, the intensification of crisis is unavoidable.

## The Roots Of Imperialist Crisis

The hegemony of the leader of imperialist countries, the USA, is getting weaker. Because the USA is losing its economic supremacy to Germany and Japan. The USA is trying to protect its supremacy by forming trading blocs, but despite its loss of power in the economy, it still keeps control in political, military and cultural matters. Around the three biggest imperialist power blocs the following were formed; for the USA, NAFTA; for Germany, the EU and for Japan, APEC. These blocs have not yet been completed but when they were complete, the rivalry between them could be destructive.

A similar collapse would create worse damage than the 1929 crisis and the period up to now proves it. For instance, crisis occurred in 1982 in Brazil and Mexico when they were not able to pay their debts; there were the 1987 and 1989 New York stock-exchange crises; in 1990 the bankruptcy of the savings institutions in the USA; the instability of the EMU in 1992-93 and at the end of 1994 the extension of the economic crisis in Mexico to Europe and the Far East. They prove that

the "global" economy will feed "global" crisis.

The crisis of imperialism is deepening because of debts, trade gaps, decreases in growth rates and the increase in poverty and unemployment in their own countries. Economic crisis is also deepening social crisis.

Imperialism is in constant fear of social unrest which may develop in their countries. According to an International Labour Organisation report in 1996, within the next 25 years, there will be an increase of one billion in the world's manpower market, and most of them will be unemployed. Today, in imperialist countries alone, while 100 million people are forced to live below minimum living standards, the homeless are more than five million and the unemployed number more than 41 million. These numbers increase with every passing day.

The demagoguery of globalisation bringing wealth for all means nothing but the intensification of exploitation in neocolonial countries. Imperialism, on the other hand, will never be able to establish stability. Today, 358 billionaires own 54% of the income of the world's population and the share of the poorest countries (10% of the world's population) in world trade is only 0.3%. While the income share of the poorest countries (20% of the world's population) was 2.3% in 1960, today this amount has dropped by half to 1.1%. 1.3 billion people (almost one quarter of the entire population) live on the edge of starvation and annually 13-15 million of men and women die of starvation. These are what the New World Order brings to the world's people. This is also the source of the panic of the UN.

The UN's function is to be a cover for imperialism. The UN is trying to apply the policies of imperialism without the reaction of peoples of the world by giving memberships to the collaborationist rulers of neocolonial countries. That is why the General Secretary of the UN is suggesting the gradual formation of the New World Order, silencing people by distributing a small share of the spoils to them. In order to prevent social unrest in neocolonial countries, instead of the policies raising obstacles to international capital, "national policies", targeted development and support from "strong states" should be preferred, he says.

# ANTI-IMPERIALISM IS INTERNATIONAL: THE DHKC IN INDIA

**A**s in 1995, the DHKP-C also took part this year in the Anti-Imperialist Forum in Calcutta on November 16 and 17. Apart from the Party-Front, invitations had been extended by the Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI) to the Socialist Party of Bangladesh, the Anti-Imperialist Forum of Nepal, the New Democratic Party of Sri Lanka, the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks from Russia, Women for Mutual Security from the USA, the New Communist Party of the Netherlands, the Belgian Party of Labour and the Anti-Imperialist Forum from Germany.

Five hundred people took part in the forum. From every province of India came regional representatives of anti-imperialist forums. The meeting started with a chorus singing "We shall overcome". Those who had taken part in the Forum two years ago presented reports on developments of the past two years. In cases where some anti-imperialist institutions had been formed in the meantime, there were reports on their progress. The representative of the DHKP-C gave a report on developments in Turkey since the Susurluk accident [November 1996].

As a result of the meeting, an action was planned for the next day against the embargo and the renewed US threats to bomb Iraq. A protest was held outside the US consulate in Calcutta. In a protest note given to the chief consular official, the

embargo and policy of intervention practised by the USA was condemned and its withdrawal from Iraq was demanded. The crowd of people at the meeting ended it with a number of slogans, such as "Long live the Anti-Imperialist Forum", "Down with imperialism" and "Long live the unity of the proletariat".

On November 17 at 11 o'clock about 400 people demonstrated in front of the US consulate in Calcutta. They carried a number of banners: "India anti-imperialist Forum", "Stop the intervention of the USA in Iraq" and "Down with US imperialism". All the representatives of guest organisations at the forum carried signs with the name of their country on them. The crowd sat down in the street in front of the consulate. The police tried to stop the action from being noticed and blocked the street behind the demonstration. But they could not block the air. So the slogans of the people "Down with US imperialism", "US out of Iraq", "Long live the anti-imperialist struggle" and "Long live anti-imperialist unity" could be heard hundreds of metres away.

For about an hour slogans were shouted ceaselessly. In the meantime a delegation of six people were allowed inside the consulate to hand the chief consular official a protest note. After the delegation returned, the president of the Anti-Imperialist Forum gave a short speech in which he repeated the demands posed by the

demonstration. Then the representative who had come from the USA spoke. She stressed particularly that US imperialism was also the enemy of the people of the USA. The demonstration ended with the chanting of more slogans.

On the evening of the same day the SUCI held a commemoration of the 80th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. About 700 people assembled in the large hall where the meeting took place. But there was not enough space. Many other people watched the rally from a corridor, where a monitor screen was relaying events inside. The representatives of the organisations invited were given seats on a platform along with members of the Central Committee of the SUCI. Before the speech by SUCI General Secretary Nihar Mukherjee, the representative of the All-Union Party of Bolsheviks handed over a Bolshevik flag as a present from his party. One after the other, the representatives of invited organisations gave a short speech. The representative of the Bolshevik party stressed that the victory of counterrevolution in the USSR was temporary and declared that this party was struggling for the restoration of the USSR. After his speech he sang a Soviet workers' song for the delegates.

When it was the DHKP-C representative's turn, he invited all participants to have a minute's silence in honour of the October Revolution and all who had fallen in revolutionary struggles. He declared in his speech that the October revolution was not simply a historical event but a torch lighting the way to revolution everywhere in the world, and the task of revolutionaries was to bring about revolution in their own countries.

*Speech of  
the DHKC at  
the Anti-  
Imperialist  
Forum Calkutta,  
November  
1997*

# OUR WORLD NEEDS A NEW OCTOBER

October 1917 was a major step towards a new world. The revolution in Tsarist Russia shook the world of both the rulers and the exploited in such a way that nothing was as it had been before.

The October Revolution meant that, for the first time in their history going back centuries, the oppressed took hold of power.

The October of 80 years ago was a torch lighting the way for the peoples of the world. And today? Today we do not hesitate to say that it still is.

Today Russia no longer hoists the banner of October. A traitor, who said 'our path is the path of October', and the revisionists who brought him to power, let this banner fall to the ground and gave it to the imperialists, so they could tear the hammer and sickle emblem from its cloth.

But no counterrevolution has the power to remove October from history. Russia has returned to capitalism, but Russia is in no way the Russia from before 1917, and never will be again. The world will never be the 'old world', which did not know socialism.

October does not belong to Russia alone, it is a rebellion which belongs to the whole world.

Imperialism overthrew revisionist forces which bore a socialist label: it never overthrew socialism!

Scarcely more than a few years after the counterrevolutions, people are again streaming into the squares carrying the red

flag. The victory chants of imperialism have grown quieter than they were a few years ago. Because the wind has changed. What is developing today is the hope for liberation, the liberation struggle of the peoples of the world.

As the wind changed, we in Devrimci Sol and the DHKP-C were in a historic position: while the forces of revisionism fell one after another, while from right to left the cry was raised that 'socialism is dead', or at the very least other forces were silent and played a waiting game, we had the honour of continuing the struggle, then and now, and holding aloft the banner of socialism under all conditions.

The revolutionaries in Turkey have the task of creating the October of the 21st century. It can be said that the revolution in our land is shaking the world with the force of October 1917.

The wind which has turned will be transformed into a storm of revolution against imperialism.

The peoples of the world need an October, a revolution. But it must first be understood that this October will not be brought about simply by copying what has gone before. The model and strategy of revolution, the place and role of the working class and the other layers of the populace in this revolution, if this does not correspond to our reality and does not take form in the light of the epoch in which we live, if the creativity of the Bolsheviks is not expressed in theory and practice, then a new October will

remain nothing but a dream. For the October Revolution itself is like every revolution the result of creativity, the successful analysis and solution of the concrete conditions.

Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Laz, Cherkess, Georgians, Bosnians, all nations and nationalities need a revolution. This is our historic task, our mission.

Forward to making the October Revolution of the 21st century!

## NEO-COLONIALISM AND THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION AGAINST THE OLIGARCHY AND IMPE- RIALISM.

**T**he New, Concealed Form Imperialist Occupation Of a Country Takes. After World War II it became clear that colonies could no longer be ruled in the old way, under the imperialist flag. The only way was for colonies to be ruled and exploited under their own flags. In this way two birds could be killed with one stone. In the first place the local collaborationist military were organised in a way that corresponded to their own geographic and psychological conditions. This removed the need to transport imperialism's troops thousands of kilometres. In the second place, the native military prepared the ground for the demagogy of 'defending one's own country against the external enemy'. Moreover, using local troops reduced the

material and psychological burdens to about half the cost that would have been the result if imperialism had used its own troops.

In the same way, the economic and political structure is attached to imperialism at the navel but uses labels like 'national power', 'national market', 'national industry', 'national firms' and so on. They have occupied their own country in the name of imperialism. Their nationality is nothing more than a title to blind the eyes of the people.

Their puppet military, which is typically organised as a 'civil war army', does not hesitate, whenever a development occurs which threatens the interests of imperialism and the native collaborationist classes, to let its mask fall. Moreover, it ensures imperialism's control over the collaborationist classes and acts as a means of threatening these classes if necessary.

Admittedly, imperialism in the third period of crisis has not completely dispensed with open military occupation. Imperialism does not hesitate to carry out military operations and occupy a country if its interests are seriously endangered and the local military is not adequate. The imperialist military occupation of Grenada, military attacks on Lebanon, the appearances of imperialism's military strength in Latin America and the Middle East are examples of this. But in general, such actions are only temporary in character, for inside neocolonial systems the puppet military plays the deciding role.

The heart of the matter is that imperialism has forces which protect its exploitation one way or another. That is why imperialism is not so foolish as to rely completely on the local military.

It has at its disposal its regional and international military organisations, bases and military areas in the neocolonial countries.

**Fascism As a Type Of Colonialism.**  
Since our country is a neocolony which has not developed under its own dynamic, it depends technologically on foreign countries. Turkey is constantly confronted with a financial crisis. An important part of social production is confiscated by precapitalist elements. On the other hand, the lion's share of the booty from exploitation goes to imperialism. Imperialism seeks to gain this lion's share from neocolonial countries at an ever greater rate to save itself from general cri-

sis. It transfers its own crisis to these countries. This results in constant social, economic and political crisis in these countries. Because of this fact, which is called 'a national crisis' in political literature, the oligarchy lacks the ability to guarantee its rule and ability to exploit through democratic methods. This crisis is also reflected in the way governments cannot stay in power for long, coalitions are founded, the country is in a permanent election atmosphere and every decade or so a military coup has to happen. Massive exploitation increases the contradictions among the people and the rulers are constantly confronted with the fact that they cannot govern. One does not have to be a prophet to see that in such a situation the power to exploit cannot continue without the use of force.



### **The Contra-guerrilla Is The State.**

Since November 1996, we have experienced a great deal in Turkey. Three passengers in a Mercedes car which crashed in Susurluk showed millions of people who the contra-guerrillas are. Even for ordinary people it became clear that the contra-guerrillas who have murdered thousands of people, made many disappear, carried out the murders 'by persons unknown' and carried out many provocations, are in fact the state itself. Three people were killed in the Susurluk accident, and one was seriously hurt. One of the three dead was Huseyin Kocadag, a police chief who founded the special teams consisting of fascists which are known as the 'headhunters'. Another was Abdullah Catli, who was wanted for various murders in the 1970s in Turkey as well as being on Interpol's wanted list for drug dealing abroad. He was a fascist and also a mafia chief. The seriously wounded car passenger, Sedat Bucak, was head of one of the large Kurdish tribes and commander of 10,000 village guards, also from his tribe. Bucak is also a parliamentary deputy from the DYP (True Path Party). The third per-

son killed in the crash was Catli's girl friend. In the car were various machine guns and silencers as well as cocaine. That is to say, filth was in the car. The filth was the state. In one or two weeks a simple accident exposed Interior Minister Mehmet Agar, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Ciller, some important generals, some policemen and mafia chiefs, a whole list of criminals and their environment and the secret of countless massacres and disappearances. The criminals started accusing each other. The people, whose heads had been bombarded with lies and demagoguery and provocations dressed up as news as a form of psychological warfare, saw that people who presented themselves as 'patriots' and 'heroes' who risked their lives against terrorism were motivated by greed and were really drug smugglers and arms dealers who kidnaped people for money and killed people out of self-interest and did not hesitate to murder each other.

The Susurluk accident revealed an even more important fact: it proved the revolutionaries were right. That the things revolutionaries have been saying up to now, their demands and struggle are legitimate. The revolutionaries have given hundreds of dead to uncover these facts. Yes, it is the revolutionaries who revealed the truth, they are the ones really responsible for this success. Turkey is a laboratory for the strategy of suppressing the liberation struggles of the peoples, which the Americans call 'low intensity warfare'. Especially after 1980, Turkey was organised and formed in exactly the same way and with all its institutions for the war against the people. The process since 1990 has been the result of state becoming an institution based on the contra-guerrillas.

The headhunters, which is the name given to the special teams (7,000), the village guards (60,000) which were founded by Kurdish tribal chiefs and involved in every kind of murder, abduction, disappearances and provocations, the bands of PKK [Kurdistan Workers' Party] turncoats, JITEM (Gendarmerie Espionage and Anti-Terror Struggle) which is involved in all kinds of counterrevolutionary violence, sabotage, murderous attacks and mafia ties, MIT (Secret Service), civil fascists supposedly 'wanted' by the police who had been supplied with false documents and diplomatic passports, mafia chiefs who commit murder for the state as a way

of helping their mafia businesses... And on top of all that, the regular army and the police. All of them are part of the contra-guerrilla network, which conducts a war everywhere in Turkey against the people. This network is above all formed by the MGK (National Security Council) and the executive bodies of the state. With the growth of the struggle and the people's movement, this network is also growing and sinking deeper into the mire of filth and crimes. The brutal enemies of the people and the lowest interests were brought into the foreground. They are the dominant force in all areas, from the economy to the media, from the mafia to the parliament and are in fact the ruling body. Of course, because everything had to be done to stop the revolutionary struggle and silence the people. When the path was cleared for these interests, it was inevitable they would sink deeper into the mire and quickly grow rotten. So this has happened, it has become corrupt and foul. Even a part of the bourgeois opposition, the ones who called the contra-guerrillas a 'rogue' organisation of the state, saw after Susurluk that they were wrong. What was corrupt was the state, because the contra-guerrillas were the state itself.

**The Road To Revolution In Turkey.**  
Our party, which has made the Marxist-Leninist world view its own, has set out the road to revolution in Turkey in its programme:

'The character of our revolution will be anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchical. The definitive form of social relations in our country is not feudal but 'capitalist'. But unlike in the USA, Europe and Japan, capitalism did not develop according to its own dynamic, but it arose and formed in a way dependent on imperialism, like a servant. For this reason, our country like all neo-colonial countries is struck by the crisis of imperialism with unbearable severity.

The aim of people's war is to destroy the economic and political power of imperialism, which is the oligarchy and the fascist state, and replace this with revolutionary people's power. Revolutionary people's power is the revolutionary power of all classes which do not belong to imperialism and the oligarchy.

**Revolution can clean away this filth.**  
After Susurluk, the slogan of the DHKP-C 'Revolution can clean away this filth' was not a general slogan that can

always be chanted. In fact, it was the fact that 'Susurluk is the state' which made the people's great potential obvious. But this potential also made it a matter of urgency to come up with greater organisational structures. In almost every part of the country, people took part in the actions for 'a minute of darkness for eternal light'. In actions in working-class and shantytown parts of cities, in which the slogans were 'Revolution can clean away this filth' and 'Susurluk is the state', the main force at work among the working people and the young was the DHKP-C. On top of this, there was a mighty potential that was not organised and set in motion. The DHKP-C more and more needs the creation of a revolutionary front, whose first step is the unification of the democratic opposition, and the DHKP-C has worked programmatically for the past two years to put this into practice. A democratic front or council, consisting of democratic basic organisations, professional groups, trade unions, left-wing organisations operating legally and people's councils, could be a means for the people's opposition to unite more effectively and operate in a centralised manner. Nonetheless, the crisis is not past even now. For Turkey is a country in which a Susurluk could happen at any moment. But we also know that if we are slow in taking these steps, the revolution will be delayed. It is the obstacles that concern us, for the other left-wing organisations lack self-confidence and do not have a perspective for taking power.

Today the DHKP-C, with its underground organisation, its legal structures, its forces in the cities, in the countryside, throughout the country, is at war. We have the experience and consciousness of what war means, the confidence in our own strength and the ability to spread the war in such a way as to increase our own strength. We have a 26-year history of struggle to look back on from Turkey's current reality. On the other hand, we see it as necessary for the war to go on we have set ourselves the task of uniting all the people's forces against fascism, to broaden our own front and narrow the enemy's. The alliance of the left and the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist forces will not be created on paper but by organising the people in fronts in all areas and developing the unity of the forces in these fronts. Today, the building of a revolutionary front comprising all forces struggling against the regime is a task we cannot avoid. The

class struggle in Turkey and Kurdistan is moving into a momentous phase. In the DHKP-C's view, revolutionary power has never been absent. Now it is a more and more obvious fact. Turkey, the Middle East and the world need this. Some armed liberation movements have lost their perspective for taking power, but on the contrary we are going through a process of encouraging revolutionary upheavals among the peoples, and in this we want to be a powerful spark for the peoples of the world. This international desire grows stronger in us every day. Only the liberation struggles of the peoples can end the pains that imperialism inflicts on the peoples. This is the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and internationalism today. Our revolutions are inevitable as long as we do not lose sight of this ideological viewpoints. Imperialism and the oligarchy and its democracy games were never the friends of the peoples. Those who see them as friends, even if only for tactical reasons, will lose the friendship of the peoples.

That is no more than the truth. Whoever thinks the contrary will pay a heavy price.

**What Kind Of World We Live In.**  
After the destruction of the socialist system there was a great reformist wave in the world, the behaviour of imperialism in the Gulf War was a major step in showing that 'the new world order' and its peacemongering was a lie, something that was seen by all revolutionary and left-wing organisations and popular forces the world over. The rule by robbery and devastation which began in the destroyed socialist countries because of capitalism's desire to inflict more exploitation, the policies of murder and annihilation, the increasing crisis in the imperialist countries, all these have shown that the alternative to the capitalist system is socialism.

Today this reformist wave, which aimed at establishing the domination of imperialism over all anti-imperialist and socialist forces and annihilating them, has become silent. The idea of not relying on outside forces but trusting in one's own strength, learning to bring about and protect the revolution, this will develop and ensure a socialism that is stronger and cannot be destroyed. A process has begun throughout the world in which the struggle by organisations which do not accept subordination to imperialism and which have trust in the people is on the increase.

# "1000" operation and gangs

"We have carried out 1000 operations." This sentence was uttered by the former interior and justice minister, one of the chiefs of the contra-guerrillas, Mehmet Agar. After the Susurluk accident, in order to save the rotten fascist regime, Agar revealed the 1000 "operations" carried out by the state against the people and revolutionaries. Of course, the "operations" he spoke of were numerous massacres, murders, disappearances, acts of sabotage and provocation. The following article includes the crimes of the state against the people from the Republic of Turkey's foundation until 1971. The period from 1971 to the present was when the state re-organized in contra-guerrilla style. We will publish the crime of the contra-guerrillas in the next issue.

## 1000 Operations Were Carried Out Against The People

"1000 secret operations", these three words testified by Mehmet Agar, define the character of the "Susurluk" state. "1000 secret operations" means disappearances while in custody, murders by unknown perpetrators and provocations. Among them the massacres of March 16, July 12, and the executions on April 16-17 in Bahçelievler, a neighbourhood of Istanbul. It means blood bath in Sivas, Gazi, İmraniye, Diyarbakir. When the "Susurluk Affair" came on the agenda, all forces of the oligarchy denied the fact that these gangs had been used against the people and that thousands of operations had been carried out. Those

who said "these gangs have to be dissolved", later didn't ask and discuss no more why and against whom these gangs had been founded. All these events were initiated, decided and carried out by the contra-guerrilla. "The state in Susurluk" is organised against the people. The state which has to be held accountable, which has to be interrogated, is this state. The history of this state shows many massacres and crimes against the people.

## The First Contra-Action Of The Republic

With approval of Ankara, the founder of the TKP - Communist Party of Turkey - returned from the Soviet Union to Anatolia, together with fourteen of his comrades. From that moment he was confronted with numerous plots. The people were incited against Mustafa Suphi and his comrades. They reacted with returning to the Soviet Union, but - ordered by Ankara - they were drowned in the Black Sea by Yahya Kahya and his men on January 29, 1921. It was Ankara's goal to weaken the effect of the Soviet Revolution. Therefore M. Kemal had a communist party founded, controlled by the state. There was no contra-guerrilla at that time, but the methods which were used had the same character. These methods are not alien to the ruling class. To liquidate the opposition, seen as the enemy, by means of

conspiracies is a tradition which stems from the Ottoman Empire. It's this tradition which allowed a new Sultan to destroy his brother because of the rivalry for power. This tradition, inherited from the Ottoman Empire, was continued in the time of the republic.

## Kurdish Uprisings And Massacres

All the uprisings, from the Koçgiri Uprising in 1921 to the Dersim Uprising in 1937, were oppressed by massacres by the state. A savage policy of genocide was applied. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds were slaughtered. From the beginning of the 90's, the Kurdish people witnessed the burning down of villages, deportation and massacres, initiated by the contra-guerrilla. The opponents of the system and the leaders of the uprising were put before the "Court of the future", similar to the present DGM - State Security Court -, and sentenced to years of imprisonment, exile and death. The "Court of the future" was in session between December 10, 1923 - February 5, 1924 and April 14, 1925 - March 7, 1927. The court was abolished in 1949. At that time, the "Takrir-i Sükun" law about "securing the public order", a state of emergence law like the present one, was enacted. All the power in the state of emergency areas was handed over to

the army commanders and the governor. With the Settlement Law of July 14, 1927, the country was turned into a prison. Who was to be resettled in what area was decided by the state.

the CIA, was changed in 1965 to "Özel Harp Dairesi", Special War Department, and once again in 1990 to "Özel Kuvvetler Komutanlığı", Special Forces Command. Until the 70's, nobody but government circles knew about

expanding liberation struggle, stopping the revolutionaries, and not as much against an external threat. The contra-guerrilla was organised against the people, against the liberation struggle of the people. Elementary forces in this war, a threat to the profits of imperialism, capable of seizing and maintaining power, are the armed forces of the people, the guerrilla fighters. The contra-guerrilla is defined by its policy, its strategy, tactics and the level of organisation, parallel to the liberation war.

The contra-guerrilla carries out its attacks, its oppression and terror, against the people. The revolutionaries, democrats and progressive people, neither participating in the armed struggle, nor at the side of the state, but advocating the struggle for liberation and democracy, are targeted by the state. The names "Özel Harp", Special War, and "Özel Kuvvetler", Special Forces" in the military literature mean organising against the civil war and the guerrilla struggle. The contra-guerrilla, established in the neo-colonial countries, was used to reorganise the army according to the needs of the civil war.

### The First Provocative Acts Of The Contra-Guerrilla And The September 6-7 Events

The first and most threatening action, carried out by the contra-guerrilla after its foundation, was the bombing in 1955 in Saloniki, Greece, of the museum where Atatürk was born. Claiming the house was bombed by Greek, the Turkish media and the contra-guerrilla tried to incite the Turkish public in a chauvinistic manner against the Cypriot, Armenian and Jewish minorities. Between 6 and 7 September, hundreds of houses, shops, schools and churches, mostly belonging to Greek Cypriots, were burned and looted. This, albeit in a lesser magnitude, also happened in Izmir.



### The Contra-Guerrilla Is "Officially" Founded

The NATO was founded against the growing influence of socialism and against the liberation struggles of the people against imperialism. The contra-guerrilla is a covert organisation of NATO. After Turkey joined NATO, a first contra-guerrilla centre was established in Ankara in September 1952, called the "Institute for War Research". This name, thought of by

this.

The goal of this organisation, which existed under different names in several countries, was – especially in the neo-colonial countries – not limited to "combat the external communist threat". When the profits of imperialism and its collaborators are concerned, it's of no importance whether this threat comes from the outside or the inside. Therefore the contra-guerrilla in the neo-colonial countries was aimed primarily against the growing internal threat of a

## The Junta Of May 27, 1960 And The Contra-Guerilla

**B**ecause there was no serious revolutionary organising and struggle against the government prior to the junta of May 27, the contra-guerrilla didn't carry out any serious or striking activities. The only force which could be labelled as left, and especially aiming at intellectual and bureaucratic circles, was - prior to the junta of 1960, the TKP. The moral superiority, caused by the revolutionary Soviet resistance in the 2nd. imperialist war of partition, and later by the establishment of socialism in many countries, had its effect in Turkey as well. At that time, the organisation of the TKP expanded.

Although the revisionist TKP was not an organisation which seriously threatened the power of the ruling class, its expansion was prevented. With the operation "Arrest of the Communist 1951", the majority of the leadership in the country was caught: 167 functionaries were arrested. Until the 60's, it was tried to silence many democrats and progressive intellectuals in the dungeons, accusing them of "membership of a communist organisation" or "distributing communist propaganda". At the end of the 50's, there wasn't a Kurdish organisation yet which had to be taken seriously. In 1950, discussions were held between intellectuals and students, coming together to publish a magazine. In December 1959, 50 students and employees were arrested in Istanbul and Ankara. State president Celal Bayar and prime-minister Adnan Menderes advocated the hanging of the arrested. But this was opposed by the minister of Foreign Affairs, Rüstü Zorlu, reasoning the image of Turkey in Europe would be damaged and pressure would follow.

The wave of arrests continued after the military coup of May 27. 485 Kurds, among them large landowners, Sheikhs and tribal leaders, were arrested and put in a concen-

tration camp in Sivas. 55 of those were, based on a law of October 19, 1960, were banned to several cities and forcibly evacuated. The campaign "Fellow countrymen, speak Turkish" was aimed at, besides the Kurds, the Armenians, Greek and Jews in Istanbul and the Aegean region. Law no. 1587 was enacted to replace Kurdish and Armenian names by Turkish ones. It's not certain how great the influence was of the contra-guerrilla on the junta of May 27. The US knew a coup was at hand, but they didn't want to prevent it. Because the government, led by Menderes, was in disunion and worn out, they approved of the coup. Because the contra-guerrilla, backed by the CIA, was unable to fully control this coup, there were some officers known as being left - in the lower echelons of the junta because of a lack in ideological unity and the existence of different groups among the putschists in rivalry for power, later leading to the removal of Alparslan Türkeş and his friends.

### 1960: The Organising Of The Contra-Guerilla Expands

**T**he MGK, National Security Council, still regarded as the highest central organ, was legalised by the constitution of 1961. The article 141-142 of the fascist Italian penal code about "communist propaganda and the founding of a party, based on a class" was kept in the new constitution. The contra-guerrilla continued to organise during the junta and later. Demirel, denying the existence of the contra-guerrilla for decades, and now hiding the mask of a democrat and saying "the Susurluk Affair has to be investigated and resolved", after 1965 participating in the reorganisation of the contra-guerrilla and the covering up of their crimes, is the main responsible culprit.

This was the case from 1965 to 1971 and during the periods of the National Front governments. The

book of the CIA-agent David Galula, "Theory and Practice of Oppressing the Resistance", was printed in 1985 by the publishing house of the general staff and distributed among all military organs. In this book, it is explained how to act against revolutionaries and leftist movements, what methods have to be applied in conspiracies and executions, and how elections should be organised after the opposition has been removed. These methods have been applied by the contra-guerrilla ever since. When the contra-guerrilla had civic fascists trained in a camp in 1968, Demirel was prime-minister. The contra-guerrilla was organised under his protection.

During this phase, Demirel had all cadres of the state, especially the police, trained in the fascist ideology. The number of policemen increased, and at the same time the oppression apparatus was equipped and strengthened with high-pressure water canons, electrical sticks and helicopters. Demirel, not satisfied with this, tried to push through a new law, robbing the democratic rights, under the name "Protection of the Constitutional Order", to prevent the people's opposition, protests and demonstrations. But he wasn't successful. The intelligence service MAH played a major role in the arrests and interrogations. Primarily, secret organisations are set up to watch and control the activities of other countries, but the MAH - and its successor, the MIT (National Intelligence Service) - prosecute their own people. It would be more appropriate to see the MAH as a subsidiary of the CIA, in stead of the secret organisation of Turkey.

Its members are trained by the CIA and their salaries were paid by them for many years. In 1965 its name was changed into MIT. The MIT is one of the state organisations where the contra-guerrilla was able to organise right from the start. It is always a high-ranking officer who is appointed as head of the MIT. Most members are stemming from the army. Although the MIT



officially is subordinated to the prime-minister, the initiative is in the hands of the army and the "Special War Department".

### Bloody Sunday: The Contra-Guerilla Uses Religious Reactionism

**1968** was a year of a quick growth of youth movements and anti-imperialist mass protests. Opposition in society was not limited to the youth. The DISK - Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions -, formed in 1967 as an alternative to the state unions, became - despite its revisionist line - a thriving force behind the struggle on the workers' front. The dynamics and actions of the youth also influenced other segments of the population, and the opposition in society expanded, mass protests increased. During this period, the expanding mass protests, the progressive-revolutionary opposition, the workers' and peasants' actions, and the students' actions were at first attacked by the organised "Fighting Associations against Communism", later by using religious reactionism.

After the 6th. Fleet of the US arrived in Turkey, the anti-imperialist protests increased. On February 16, 1969, the largest anti-imperialist mass protest was held with 30.000 people marching towards Taxim. The demonstration was split up by the police. Several thousands were able to continue towards Taxim, the others were driven away in another direction. Incited and directed by the contra-guerrilla, civic fascist attacked several thousands of demonstrators with knives and sticks. During this confrontation, two revolutionary workers, Ali Turgut and Duran Erdogan, were murdered. This first intended and largest attack of the contra-guerrilla against a mass action entered history as "Bloody Sunday".

### The Contra-Guerilla Organises The Civic Fascist Movement And Starts Its Massacres

The fascists, organised under Alparslan Türkeş in the CKMP, later MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), were trained in contra-guerrilla camps since the summer of 1969. The number of training camp rose to 45 in that year. That way the contra-guerrilla succeeded in creating a basis and the cadres of fascism which could be used against the people and the revolutionaries. The civic fascists carried out their first attack on December 31, 1968, against a students' home in Ankara. But the students answered with a counter-attack and forced them back.

The attacks of the fascists, organised by the contra-guerrilla and supported by the police, were at first carried out with sticks, chains and bricks, but soon they started to use fire-arms. In September 1969, a leader of the ODTİ students, Taylan Özgür, was shot on the street by plainclothes policemen. Soon after, civic fascists shot Mehmet Cantekin in the Engineering Faculty in Istanbul. The Justice Party, which was in power, immediately started proceeding to close association which were led by revolutionaries. The attack of the fascists were at one side aimed at intimidating the students, on the other they wanted to keep them unorganised by closing the democratic institutions. To act against the increasing fascist attacks, the sympathisers of DEV-GENÇ (Revolutionary Youth) formed armed groups which guarded student homes and schools. They began to attack the source of the attacks, the fascists' centres.

After the 70's, systematic torture with electro-shocks was re-introduced after a long period. The arrested were first welcomed with a beating. Later, systematic torture was expanded, based on the reason of arrest. From the beginning of the 70's, the policy of oppression and terror

against the Kurdish people was continued with the "Commando Movement". The reasons for the repression of the oligarchy against the Kurds were the first meetings in 1967 and 1969, the growing national consciousness and the founding of the DDKO. The terror, carried out with the commando unit, was directly aimed against the Kurdish villages. The protests, starting in Sivas, Kozluk and Batman, began to spread in the beginning of 1971 to Hakkari, Siirt, Mardin and Diyarbakir. At the same time, several villages were attacked; the people were gathered in the fields and tortured, without making a difference between men, women and children. The peasants were summoned to hand over their weapons; when they couldn't, they were hit on the soles of their feet with truncheons, they had to crawl on the floor and undress, women were sexually harassed, et cetera. In January 1971, a Kurdish peasant, Abdullah Acar, was murdered in Nusaybin. This repressive policy of the oligarchy was continued till the military coup of March 12.

### The THKP-C – The Peoples Liberation Party-Front Of Turkey – And The Provocation Acts Of The Contra-Guerilla

The congress of DEV-GENÇ on October 18, 1970, was a message of joy, constituting a mile-stone for the Turkish revolutionary movement and clearing the way for revolution in Turkey. Afterwards the ideological discussion within the left deepened and became more clearly, splits and unifications occurred, and the armed forces of the revolution emerged: THKP-C, THKO and - later - the TKP-ML. In the beginning of 1971, the Justice Party attacked the revolutionaries by means of the police, the military and the civic fascists. But this pressure was not sufficient to stop the revolutionary struggle

and the continuing people's opposition with its strikes, resistance and boycotts. The crisis of the oligarchy increased. The armed actions of the THKP-C and THKO started in January, 1971. These initial actions were in fact acts of expropriation in banks. After the beginning of the armed actions, the government ordered the police and army forces against the universities and houses. Thousands of students were arrested and tortured. People were detained. During an armed confrontation after the attack of the police and the gendarmes against the ODTİ students' home, the pupil Sener Erdal and the worker Aziz Yalta were murdered, one soldier died.

### The Junta Of March 12, 1971

**W**ith the beginning of the armed actions, the revolution took a new course. After it was determined that these developments could not be stopped by repression and terror, they gave in with the "March 12 coup". The government, led by the Justice Party, was removed. Parliament and the political parties were not closed down, but the junta became the governing power. The leader of the coup was the chief of the contra-guerrilla, chief of staff Memduh Tagmaç. After the memoranda had been destroyed, high-ranking officers and generals were removed who had risen hope among left circles, who had been moderate or who had been considered to be sympathetic to the left. In doing so, the contra-guerrilla increased its strength and its control over the army even more. In March 1971, Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan were arrested and detained. In April, the Central Committee of the THKP-C decided in a meeting to announce the armed struggle with a military action. The general committee of the party was formed anew.

But after the declaration of the

state of emergence on April 26, the armed actions were temporarily postponed. This phase was becoming a direct hunt of the contra-guerrilla against the revolutionary movement. The members of the MIT, among them also Hiram Abam who's name would become quite prominent in the years to come, directed all their intelligence activities against the revolutionary movement and they personally contributed in carrying out executionary operations, for instance against one of the leaders of the THKP-C, Ulas Bardakçi.

### The Abduction Of Efraim Elrom And The Proclamation Of The Armed War

**O**n May 17, 1971, a group of THKP-C sympathisers, led by Mahir Çayan, abducted the Israeli consul Efraim Elrom. In a first statement of the THKP-C, the beginning of the armed struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy was announced as well as the demands for the release of the consul. In case these demands wouldn't be met, the consul was to be punished. As this was the case, Efraim Elrom was punished by death.

The abduction of Elrom was the official beginning of the armed propaganda of the THKP-C, based on the PASS - "Politicised Military War Strategy" -, by means of the urban guerrilla. The punishing of Elrom shook the oligarchy considerably. The junta-government of Nihat Erim intensified its attacks against the circles of revolutionaries and progressives. The fascist face of the Erim-government, becoming visible now, showed that all the expectations of some circles for reforms had been in vain. But shortly after the action, a large part of the leading cadres of the THKP-C was arrested: Then Mahir Çayan and Hüseyin Cevahir were surrounded in a house in Maltepe. A girl inside the house, Sibel Erkan, was taken hostage, and the men refused to surrender. The army surrounded

the house with an armoured brigade. The event, which the oligarchy wanted to use as propaganda against the revolutionaries, became propaganda for the revolutionaries. When the house was raided on April 1, Hüseyin Cevahir fell, and Mahir Çayan was seriously wounded and arrested.

### The Torture Centres Of The Contra-Guerrilla

**F**or the first time, the revolutionary-progressive democrats learned of the existence of the contra-guerrilla in the secret torture centres, built during the junta of Tasmaç. Besides known official buildings like police stations and MIT-houses, the contra-guerrilla constructed secret torture centres where countless revolutionaries and intellectuals were interrogated under torture. The most infamous among them were the Ziverbey Castle in Istanbul, the Marmara Castle in Ankara, the G'nen College in Bahçelievler and the rooms below the transmission station of the Mamak Military School.

### Conspiracies And Provocations

**T**he contra-guerrilla, unable to stop the struggle by means of oppression and terror, began to develop new methods from the beginning of the 70's. Already before the junta, numerous acts of sabotage and bomb attacks were carried out, blaming them on the revolutionaries. Some of these acts: - hanging red flags from the Galata Tower in Istanbul - the burning down of the Atatürk Cultural Museum in Taksim - the sinking of a car ferry in Eminönü - sabotaging the Bosphorus bridge - bombing the Sirkeci Station - bombing the Yesilköy Airport in Istanbul - burning the Marmara ferry. By blaming these acts, committed by themselves, on the revolutionaries, the contra-guerrilla succeeded in inciting the people

against the revolutionaries. Using this pretext, thousands of revolutionary-progressive democrats were tortured and detained. However, the people behind these acts were never found. These methods, practised by the contra-guerrilla, were new to Turkey but they had been applied in other countries before and there were numerous examples given in the contra-guerrilla books of the CIA and their training courses.

### The Operations Of The Contra-Guerilla And The Massacre Of March 30, 1972, In Kizildere

After Mahir Çayan escaped from the Maltepe prison on November 29, 1971, together with Ulas Bardakçi, Ziya Yılmaz and THKO-members Cihan Alptekin and Ömer Ayna, he first started to deal with the liquidators inside the party. With excluding the right deviation, the Central Committee was reformed and the decision was reached that the guerrilla struggle had to be waged in the cities and in the country-side simultaneously and that there had to be an action to prevent the execution of Deniz Gezmiş and his comrades. The Black Sea region was selected to start the guerrilla struggle.

After Mahir Çayan, Cihan Alptekin and Ömer Ayna went to Ankara to organise an action to prevent the execution of Deniz and his friends, a large operation was carried out against the THKP-C in Istanbul in January, 1972. This time the operation was carried out by the contra-guerrilla, subordinated to the "Special Warfare Department". The interrogation and torture of the arrested was done by the contra-guerrilla. After the wave of arrests in Istanbul, the murder of Ulas Bardakçi in Arnavutköy and the arrest of the wounded Ziya Yılmaz, the operations were extended to Ankara. The murder of Ulas Bardakçi was the "work" of the contra-guerrilla. Contra-guerrilla chief



Hiram Abas took part in the massacre himself.

After their capacity to move had been restricted, the THKP-C leadership decided to send a group to the Black Sea region. Mahir Çayan, rejecting an offer to go abroad, went into this region as well after a while. On March 27, 1972, fighters of the THKP-C and the THKO abducted three English engineers, working at the radar base in İnye.

During the night they went to the village of Kizildere, near Niksar. After they were betrayed by the village chief, the gendarmes surrounded their house and the entire village in the morning of March 30. Surrounded by thousands of soldiers and policemen, the THKP-C and THKO sympathisers were summoned to surrender, but they refused and announced that the hostages would be killed in case fire would be opened against the house.

In the afternoon, after Mahir Çayan, Cihan Alptekin and Saffet Alp had gone on the roof of the house to negotiate, they were suddenly fired upon. Mahir Çayan, hit by a bullet in the head, fell. The remaining fighters continued the armed confrontation and the technicians were punished. At the end of the confrontation, Sinan Kazım Özüdoğru, Hüdayi Arkan, Ertan Saruhan, Saffet Alp, Sabahattin Kurt, Nihat Yılmaz and Ahmet Atasoy from the THKP-C, and the fighters of the THKO, Cihan Alptekin and Ömer Ayna, hit by heavy weapons and grenades, had fallen.



*Mahir Çayan  
The Leader of THKP-C  
He fell down in Kizildere,  
March 30, 1972*

### The Death Squads Of The Contra-Guerilla

The massacre in Kizildere brought a truth into light, albeit years later. The formation of death squads of the contra-guerrilla within the army was started in the 70's, and maybe even earlier. While Kenan Evren denied the existence of the contra-guerrilla in an interview after the Susurluk Affair, he himself said that a "Special Warfare Department" had been formed, especially for intervention during the hijacking of aeroplanes, the kidnapping of people, against the terrorists and that this department had been used in the massacre of Mahir Çayan and his comrades, as well as during the hijacking of a plane in Diyarbakir. These death squads of the contra-guerrilla were also used in the occupation of Cyprus in 1974. This also shows that the contra-guerrilla started to reorganise the army, keeping the guerrilla and civil war in their minds. From the 70's, the contra-guerrilla started to execute revolutionaries. In many cases where people were surrounded, they preferred to murder the revolutionaries instead of taking them alive. That is the way the massacres against Hüseyin Cevahir, Ulas Bardakçi, Sinan Cemgil and Mahir Çayan and his comrades were carried out.

# BECOMING A CADRE AND EDUCATING CADRES

olicies and cadres; if one of those is lacking, the other does not have much meaning anymore. When there are good policies, but no cadres who can implement them, or the other way around, when there are good cadres but no policies to implement, then it's impossible to really influence the class struggle. In this sense, belonging to the Party-Front means a real chance. Because the people of the Party-Front have been steering the revolution in Turkey for the last 30 years with their strategy. Because they have garnered experience for over 30 years, because they are at the head of policies and politics which unite the reality of the people and the reality of the country. The Party-Front never held policies which had to be denied or condemned later. That's why we can say, "what we've done, we defended, we've put into practice what we've defended".

Susurluk happened, and the leadership of the Party-Front showed how this phase could develop. What has been done till now is not sufficient, life is being analysed anew each day. Our principles and our strategy are guarded and emphasised, but when there are statements which are obsolete, they are overcome. We offer new means for new needs. From the People's Councils to the People's Constitution: we develop policies which are an

**... After having addressed all this, we can say that everybody who doesn't give the needed attention for the development of oneself and others in his field, in his unit, is hindering the development of the Front. Hindering the development of cadres means hindering the development of the Front. The opposite is valid as well: when cadres are developed, the development of the Front will be quicker, this development will take root and this will produce even better results.**

answer to the demands and the desires of the people. It's the level which has been reached in educating the cadres which is decisive, which determines the influence on the political phase.

Our shortcomings in developing cadres are delaying us. For example the People's Councils: they could have been spread much more, our actual policies could have steered the people's movement much more. The struggle can be waged on a higher level, it can be expanded. All the necessary conditions are given.

## What's lacking are the cadres.

**B**ecoming a cadre and educating new cadres is one of the main tasks of everybody in the Party-Front.

"The main task in the phase of Party-building is developing cadres." We've repeated this statement over and over again during the years, it's a conclusion which has shaped our practice and our organisational activities. Has this task become obsolete after the Party was founded? Of course not. The phase of Party-building is "the phase of establishing ideological and organisational unity". In this sense, the Party is the unity of ideology and organisation. There is a clear distinction between phases in this respect. But this difference cannot diminish the importance of becoming a cadre and developing new cadres. From the perspective of the sympathisers and supporters of the Party-Front in all areas, becoming a cadre, and from the perspective of the cadres in all areas, educating new cadres is still a task



**"I asked the responsible friend to characterise Idil [Ayce Idil Erkmen, who died in the 1996 prison hunger strike]. In one or two sentences, he described Idil as a passive person. Was there no positive side to Idil?... If there wasn't, why was she here with us?... What was this to characterise a comrade in one or two sentences, only listing negative sides? Our talk was continued. What were Idil's positive sides? Diligent, patient, calm, respectful, sometimes too stubborn, something she would not have expected... When we looked with other eyes, what positive sides of Idil could be seen... Why did I not see this before... For four years we saw each other two or three times a week. ... Idil was not like them. That's why I never really 'saw' Idil."**

listing the deficiencies and weaknesses of individual people and their resistance to development and change. The ones who are responsible for these

shortcomings are the cadres and the leading people. That's why it's their task to overcome these deficiencies. Because "the question of the cadres is the question of politics and programme. The people are not to blame when they lack experience. Capabilities, won in life by experience, can be discovered by developing platforms where they can express themselves. Without a collective way of organising, without knowing the people closely, without looking at their capabilities and capacities and determining their shortcomings, education is impossible." This leads to the essential question: how does one become a cadre, how are new cadres won?

cadres". This problem is conceived as an urgent one in all areas, the deficiency is seen and there is always the request to the movement "to send someone" to one's own unit. It's obvious the problem cannot be solved by reinforcement from the outside, that the reinforcement from the outside cannot be sufficient for the Front's potential which is spread all across Anatolia. Of course, sometimes reinforcement by influential cadres in certain areas is possible, because there is a large potential or because political developments bring such an area to the foreground. But it shouldn't be forgotten that the demand for reinforcements in one area which "needs dozens of cadres" always weakens other areas. In other words, those who want cadres from the movement move in the egoism of one particular area, one specific unit. Support is wanted at the cost of other units which are not considered that important.

Except for the cases as mentioned above, such a demand isn't justified, it's an egoistic one, it's a demand to make it more easy for oneself which isn't according to the collectivism of the organisation.

In a phase where the potential of the Front emerges with thousands of people, it's obvious a statement like "there are no people" is unjustified and not according to reality. Apart from the fact that even in difficult circumstances we always should think "but there's always me", instead of using this as an excuse. When we are present somewhere, we are responsible for the developments there. Another form of excuse is the statement "there's me, but I'm not enough". One's own insufficiency can be used as a means to express a lack, but it should not be used as a constant excuse not to become a cadre and not to develop other cadres. The revolutionary method would be to pursue the development of cadres, despite the deficiencies, improving one's insufficient aspects. A cadre who does not do so, cannot do so, is hindering his own development

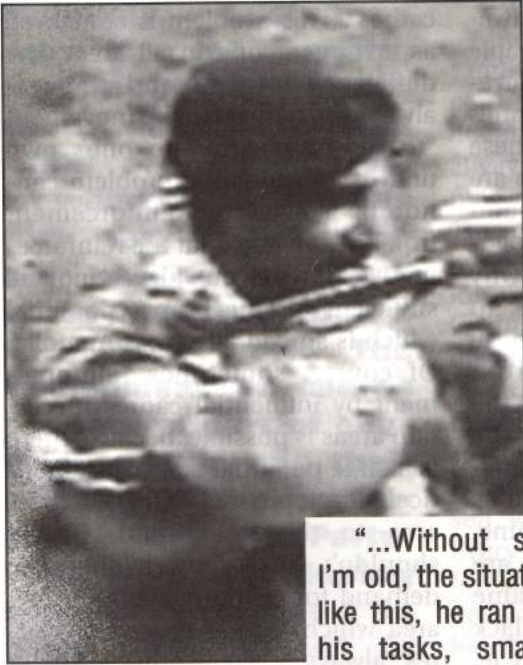
of fundamental importance. And it's characteristic that this work will retain this importance in almost all phases.

From this perspective, we'll have to deal with the question of how this task of becoming cadres and educating new ones can be established. This cannot be left to spontaneity, neither from the perspective of the movement in general, nor from the perspective of an area or a specific unit. Spontaneous developments are always possible, but this isn't a development of cadres which is according to the needs of the Party-Front and the phase it's in, neither with regard to the characteristics of the cadres, nor their quality. Becoming cadres and developing others wasn't a task in the phase of Party-building which could be handled separately from political practice. And even now it cannot be handled in the form of a "scholastic education" which is separated from life and practice. Somebody from the Party-Front develops himself into a cadre in the struggle itself.

At present, there aren't enough cadres available which could pursue the line appropriately and intervene in different fields. This is apparent. But this situation cannot be explained by saying "there aren't enough people available", nor by

## Cadres Secure The Development Of Cadres

**I**n the development of cadres, one of the main problems today is of course "the lack of cadres who are capable of winning new



**"...Without saying I'm old, the situation is like this, he ran to all his tasks, small or large. From cleaning the room to tasks of culture and art, from seminars to studying texts, from cleaning the oven to cooking food. Only a few daily tasks were unknown to him."**

**(Bülent Pak)**

and does not create the conditions to become a cadre. In places where there's no intervention, no reinforcement from the outside, the work of the cadre is a work which develops himself and others. Becoming a cadre and developing other cadres are interwoven processes, they occur simultaneously. There's no other way, no other form. One's own development is decisive for the way others can be developed.

Knowing other people is the first phase of developing cadres. Everyone with responsibility, every leading person, who takes upon himself the task of becoming a cadre and educating others must ask himself "how well do I know our people in my area, my unit?" Without lapsing into the easy answer of "but we know each other", we should ensure that our knowledge about our people is a real knowledge or not.

This problem can be discussed in the light of a striking example:

"I asked the responsible friend to characterise Idil [Ayce Idil Erkmén, who died in the 1996 prison hunger strike]. In one or two sentences, he described Idil as a passive person. Was there no positive side to Idil?...

If there wasn't, why was she here with us?... What was this to characterise a comrade in one or two sentences, only listing negative sides? Our talk was continued. What were Idil's positive sides? Diligent, patient, calm, respectful, sometimes too stubborn, something she would not have expected... When we looked with other eyes, what positive sides of Idil could be seen... Why did I not see this before... For four years we saw each other two or three times

a week. It's always the ones with 'charm', the ones who are lively at first sight, the energetic ones, alert, running from here to there, who we see. Idil was not like them. That's why I never really 'saw' Idil." This story, this evaluation of our martyr during the Death Fast, Idil, is a clear example, showing positive as well as negative sides. What do we see when we look at the

statement of the responsible cadre about the first woman in Turkey, and the world, who fell during a Death Fast? For example laziness and making it easy for oneself to know people... It's the somewhat populist ones we tend to see first. And the more modest and silent ones remain in the background... It's the negative things we see first, the positive sides and talents of the same people are not seen.

Seeing things in a negative light is not an art. One need not be the responsible or leading cadre to do so. Everybody can see that. And it's also easy to quickly condemn a person with negative characteristics. Everybody can stumble, everybody can fall. Everybody can have deficiencies.

Everybody must be given a chance. This does of course not mean to just take them into the network of relations, just giving them tasks and responsibility. Giving

them a chance means primarily coaching and educating them. Approaching them with a special programme and a special policy. Showing them the way how they can overcome their negative sides with their positive ones.

The task of a leading person, a person with responsibility, is to determine the positive characteristics of a person, to develop such a person, to win him over. That's what he's responsible for. In the way he performs this task, he performs his task as a responsible cadre.

Knowing the people, reading their mind, seeing their positive and negative sides as a whole, is the first and indispensable step to develop cadres. A person in which only negative things are seen cannot be educated to be a cadre. Anyway, you wouldn't think of making somebody a cadre in whom you see only negative sides.

Now, how do we get to know somebody really? It's obvious one does not get to know somebody by superficially talking to this person once or twice a week, by only doing actions with him. Getting to know a person takes two things. Firstly, we have to be in a collective and organised work in which sharing develops on all levels. Secondly, we have to share life in all aspects.

Precisely this is the place to give a second example. In a statement about our comrade Bulent Pak [a guerrilla martyred in 1997], it was said: "He knew exactly who could perform a certain task because he stood in the middle of life himself. He recognised the talents of people which were missed by others, which weren't seen by others, and he proposed these people to the movement."

Only when we share life in all aspects do we really get to know people. Only then can we find the answer to the questions: why do they fight for the revolution, how do they fight for the revolution? What storms are raging in their hearts and minds? What is influencing them positively and negatively?

Bulent Pak knew the people

because he lived a life which enabled him to do so. The person who made the statement above continued his report with the words: "...Without saying I'm old, the situation is like this, he ran to all his tasks, small or large. From cleaning the room to tasks of culture and art, from seminars to studying texts, from cleaning the oven to cooking food. Only a few daily tasks were unknown to him."

## Collectivism Is The Second Level Of Becoming a Cadre

**W**e can put together a programme to develop cadres and it can be claimed that such an approach would not be "spontaneous". But when we don't work collectively in this field, it would not be enough to secure the development of new cadres. When collectivism is exercised, when the thoughts and proposals of people are taken seriously, it will become clear who possesses which capacities. When the whole of organisational activities, the organisation of practice, are taken on collectively, people will be able to develop, will be able to see their deficiencies, and the way to overcoming those will be shown.

A collective way of working is also necessary to give deficient people the chance to overcome their faults. When collectivism does not prevail, people will be criticised and then left alone with their mistakes. We have to look at those who swim in mistakes and deficiencies, who oppose criticism and change, with the view that "when they stay inside the revolutionary movement, when they remain in the struggle despite all the risks and difficulties, they must have a positive side as well". Because it's possible that even a person in such a situation possesses a revolutionary characteristic which could help him on his feet again. Of course, we will not always find such a characteristic. In such a situation,

whatever the level and the task of his kind of people, it cannot be allowed that they hinder development with their mistakes and their resistance against overcoming their deficiencies. We have to find other ways against this, but it's not our task to discuss this here.

Collectivism develops cadres as well as sympathisers. Mao recognised this fact as well: "A leading person who cannot gain access to concrete experience from the individual persons on the lower level of the units and from individual events, cannot show the units he's responsible for the general road in a sufficient way." He called this: "the method of uniting the leadership with learning".

In all the evaluations, whether of a cadre or a sympathiser, we should not look at one peculiarity, one mistake or one success alone, we should look at the general conduct and the notion of life in fulfilling the tasks. When we act like this, we will be spared from one-sidedness and mistakes which are based on individual impressions. But in order to make this possible, we have to know our people from all their sides, as well as possess a collective way of life and work which allows this kind of knowledge. Where there is no collectivity, this will be forgotten and left in a corner as some purely theoretical truth.

## Without The Right Task, No Cadre Development

**A** factor which speeds up the development of the people is using them in an area which is according to their talents, capacities and characteristics. Of course, this is not always possible. In this sense, a cadre must always possess an angle which makes him suitable in all areas, for all tasks.

Leading cadres will anyhow use the most suitable persons, looking at the conditions, for the given tasks. The basis of our policy in

giving people their tasks is the trust we have in our young cadres. The way this trust is expressed can differ, according to the perspectives of certain fields, the unit, or the concrete person. Trust is not something abstract, it is perfected under all circumstances by education and control. We can extract three aspects which are the basis for cadre policy: tasks, education and control. This aspect of our evaluation was expressed in "The development of our movement and the revolutionary struggle", published in 1983 and working out the essence of policy:

"Whatever justified conclusions are reached, without cadres they cannot be implemented in practice. That's why the question of the cadres is one of the fundamental questions of a revolutionary movement. By the development, or redevelopment, of the cadres, their political education, control and giving them the right tasks, play a major role..."

The theme of deploying people is usually discussed in the way whether work can be found which suits a person or whether people can be found for a certain kind of work. For us, this is of course a "luxury" discussion. We do as well-the one, as the other. There's a person among us who's not suited for the underground or who cannot be used in an association. But we have to evaluate him. We can develop work which is appropriate. This sometimes means opening a new field, working with new tools... But the main point will always be to find the people for given tasks. There are certain tasks which can neither be postponed, nor neglected. This can be the war, giving leadership or giving training. We educate people for these tasks. Life and the struggle know no gaps. We have martyrs, there are prisoners, this or that task is not fulfilled, but we cannot allow a gap. Maybe less sufficient, but we will fill the mechanism with the people we have available. Giving tasks can of course not be done in the way of "well, we had

**Obviously, raising a cadre is a lot of work, requiring a lot of effort, when all the listed points are considered. But when we look at this work next to the work that has to be done anyway, we'll see that it isn't extra work. The development of cadres is a natural part of educating people and their activities in the organisation. That the Party-Front is a developing force is expressed in every development in practice.**

him, so we just gave the task to him". On the contrary, to fill empty places, people must be prepared for a new task with a short but broad training, he or she must be constantly coached while fulfilling the task, constantly controlled and trained for this work.

## **Giving The Right Tasks Expresses The Endeavour Which Is Spent For a Cadre.**

**F**rom a contact among the masses, sympathisers to a candidate for a cadre position, we are always in the situation of spending efforts for our people. From a political and organisational perspective, making an effort is principally different from giving some coaching. Mao makes this more concrete in the following way:

- giving direction
- training
- controlling
- being able to convince someone mistakes have been made

- assisting with strong points

In fact we always reach the same point in the end: training, controlling... The way of becoming a cadre and developing cadres always passes this point. But training and controlling means work. This is probably the essence of the issue. Educating a cadre is really a lot of effort, work and patience. A leading person who doesn't distance himself from a bourgeois way of life, postponing his work, finding excuses, will not be able to spend enough effort for his work. He will not be able to concern himself with educating new cadres. Every cadre must at least choose a few people who are most open to development and train and develop them from the beginning. He will train them theoretically. He will develop their organisational knowledge and their notion. He will educate them in the art of leading. He will comment on their development and secure their participation in producing politics. He will be the teacher in technical and military themes and he will test that which is learned in shared practice.

Obviously, raising a cadre is a lot of work, requiring a lot of effort, when all the listed points are considered. But when we look at this work next to the work that has to be done anyway, we'll see that it isn't extra work. The development of cadres is a natural part of educating people and their activities in the organisation. That the Party-Front is a developing force is expressed in every development in practice. This is neither an exaggeration, nor agitation. This becomes clear from the picture which emerges on the squares, in the actions. From the fact of being a developing force, two results emerge. Primarily, our ranks are strengthened by young and older people, by men and women from different segments of the population. Secondly, our tasks and duties are increasing. In short, development means simultaneous increase in potential and the tasks.

While the people's movement is developing, the armed struggle is even increasing more. A people's movement which does not go hand in hand with the armed one will get stuck. The task of developing and spreading the war is coming into the foreground. This development strengthens the intolerance of several reformist and opportunistic groups and the Front is exposed to increased attacks and provocations. The task of waging the ideological struggle in a broadened and strengthened way is coming into the foreground.

When we look at the picture more carefully, we see the importance of the question of the cadres in its entire urgency. There are a lot more people in our ranks, but they are young. But at the same time we are confronted with more tasks which can only be fulfilled by people who have just reached a certain point of perfection. This phase in our development can be mastered by filling exactly this gap between these two facts. When we pursue the right policy, address ourselves sufficiently to developing cadres, this is not a problem which cannot be solved. As long as development continues, we will always experience a lack of cadres. This is not unusual. But when we now have not reached sufficient development, be it regarding the general prestige of the front, be it regarding the results of our policy and activities in individual fields, the solution here is also developing cadres more quickly.

After having addressed all this, we can say that everybody who doesn't give the needed attention for the development of oneself and others in his field, in his unit, is hindering the development of the Front. Hindering the development of cadres means hindering the development of the Front. The opposite is valid as well: when cadres are developed, the development of the Front will be quicker, this development will take root and this will produce even better results.



## Middle-East

# The future of Turkey is the future of the region

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n the one hand, Turkey has been barred from the European Union just like six months ago, and on the other hand it has signed a new Strategic Agreement with the USA. Cooperation with Israel is being stepped up in spite of criticism from Arab countries... At the same time, Russia steps in and new agreements are signed in the same way. Discussion of domestic politics are in full swing. Words like "reorganisation" and "changes" are in everyday use. Why all these promises?

In reality, these are the results of the crisis Turkey's oligarchy finds itself in, as well as a consequence of the increasing strategic importance of the country in the region.

Turkey's geographic position is important to imperialism for the following reasons: the oil reserves of the Caspian and the new markets in the Caucasus, the proximity of the Middle East, a region where there has long been no political stability and which is not properly under imperialist control, and the Balkans, where imperialism first stirred the peoples up to hate each other and then go to war, followed by imperialism presenting itself as a peacekeeper. Turkey is part of this region. When it is also remembered that there is the

drugs trade, the arms trade and money

The peoples of Turkey are distancing themselves more and more from the MGK, TUSIAD and their institutions. In this situation, the only aim to be pointed out to the people, the only aim for which revolutionary energy must be centralised, the only aim of left forces and the people's forces is to use their strength to bring about people's power. Tactics and policies which do not contribute to this will directly or indirectly strengthen the MGK and stabilise imperialism.

laundering involving the East and West, then Turkey's central position and role as a transit point becomes clearer. Taking all this into account, imperialism cannot do without Turkey.

The other side of the coin is that Turkey is equally important strategically in terms of the fate of the peoples. This is not an exaggeration. With regard to this region, one can say that Turkey is either the future of imperialism or the future of the peoples of the world.

## Imperialism Would Like a Stable Turkey

Imperialism sees this. Turkey is to be given new roles to play so as to be able to bear the burdens of

imperialism in this region. Imperialism wishes Turkey to be a stable military, economic and political springboard. For imperialism, the world is a gigantic chessboard and the dependent countries are pawns to be positioned in such a way as to secure imperialism's mastery over

the world and ensure it can achieve its aims. The expansion of NATO, sending European military forces to dependent countries and the opening of new fronts are a part of this strategy. Imperialism's insistence that Turkey should introduce "constitutional changes" is a vital requirement for the kind of country they want which is free of worries for them.

However, the world-wide crisis of imperialism which cannot be overcome, as well as the crisis in the Turkish oligarchy which also cannot be surmounted because the political and economic means are lacking mean that imperialism cannot realise its policies in these areas.

US imperialism's deceit and propaganda about the "New World Order" failed in a relatively short space of time. Both political and economic calculations proved unfoun-

ded. Examples of this are still quite blatant. The enthusiastic advocates and publicists for the introduction of economic plans in South Korea, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil and similar countries were quickly forced to realise that these merely brought about new crises. The economic ties of imperialism, which are closely interwoven, led to the current crisis in Asia spreading throughout the region and threatening the main imperialist centres. It can be said that they were hit with the weapons they themselves used against dependent countries. The recent stock market crash is a sign of this. But imperialism is condemned to continue introducing such "plans".

Just as US imperialism is trying to use South Korea as a base for its policies in Asia and to influence other Asian countries from there, it is also trying in the same way to use Turkey as a base in the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Balkans. But the economic, political and social crisis in Turkey is a big obstacle to realising these plans. Moreover, class and national conflicts persist, there is a people's movement whose existence shakes the confidence of imperialism and its fear of revolution is growing. Plans decided upon in Washington cannot be implemented through the National Security Council (MGK) and the Confederation of Entrepreneurs of Turkey (TUSIAD), the desired aims are not being achieved.

The dissolution of the REFAHYOL government (coalition of the Islamic Refah Party and the Dogru Yol or True Path Party) and the institutions close to it by the MGK and TUSIAD, their direct and increasing influence over the government, and even the creation of a new government headed by Mesut Yilmaz - all these things do not resolve the problems. Yilmaz and his government are suffocating more and more through their powerlessness and helplessness.

The MGK and TUSIAD took on the kind of role normally played by political parties in an effort to over-

come crisis and carry out imperialism's directives. In short the oligarchy is losing more and more credibility, possesses less and less trust among the people, its institutions are ceasing to function and are rotting away. Developments show that the MGK and all the establishment parties are sharing the same fate in the face of the developing revolutionary struggle. The absence of a way out is the result of the system's inability to govern and the deepening crisis.

### **USA: "It Is Not Your Job To Judge Susurluk"**

It is a year since the Susurluk accident [November 1996] and nothing has been done to explain it or to bring the guilty to judgement. It is a period during which the people have followed its shamelessness with astonishment. During the discussions on lifting the immunity of Mehmet Agar, who had been interior minister at the time, he openly warned the state's institutions and admitted that Susurluk closely reflected what was going on in the state. The lack of fear of the state apparatus clearly showed that anyone put on trial over the case will be acquitted. The chairman of the Washington public relations institution Makowsky which offers the American and Turkish armed forces ideas and advice in return for financial recompense, said the following to Turkish members of parliament from various parties travelling to the USA: "It is not your job to judge Susurluk, no party has such a role to play. This incident will run its course according to its own laws..."

The facts speak for themselves!

The people see these facts. Under the slogan "The people will demand a reckoning from the bands", one can see these facts as well as the demand for people's justice.

The worries expressed by Yilmaz,

"The system will collapse," the concern of the MGK that "The people will be driven towards radicalism", and the fearful exclamation by TUSIAD, "There will be a catastrophe", showed their more or less open anxieties and fears. Nonetheless, the MGK tried in the face of these developments to carry out the orders of US imperialism and to play the "democracy game" with new manoeuvres, for example with discussions about "Islamic law versus secularism", and in this way they tried to keep the people and opposition forces within the framework of the system. As part of this the system is seeking to open new channels for itself among that section of the left influenced by the MGK, the pro-MGK trade unions and the media.

Revolutionaries must seek in every sphere to expose the plans of the MGK, which is trying to implement its fascist politics and overcome the crisis in the system and itself. These are the key conflicts of this period. In the immediate future the people's demands for justice, rights and freedom will grow louder and the MGK will try to prevent this by stepping up its attacks. Imperialism is commissioning the MGK and the TUSIAD with the task of building up a stronger Turkey. Day-to-day control by US imperialism over the implementation of the directives it issues is being realised through the delegations which travel to America every day.

But it is worth noting that both these institutions lack the power to carry out the plans of imperialism. The peoples of Turkey are distancing themselves more and more from the MGK, TUSIAD and their institutions. In this situation, the only aim to be pointed out to the people, the only aim for which revolutionary energy must be centralised, the only aim of left forces and the people's forces is to use their strength to bring about people's power. Tactics and policies which do not contribute to this will directly or indirectly strengthen the MGK and stabilise imperialism.

# “The People’s Councils Are Our Strength”

# S

ince September 30, 1997 the third wave of the “minute of silence” action has been going on. But although every evening thousands of people go out onto the streets, the bourgeois radio and TV do not report the action, nor do the newspapers owned by the major conglomerates.

Why? Because the actors in

Party” or “Let’s have new elections”, but “Let us call the Susurluk state to account”. Because the people shouting the slogans march behind the symbol of people’s power, the banner of the people’s councils. The media cannot carry reports about the “minute of darkness”, because at the head of the action are the revolutio-

and the villages around Bergama. In Nurtepe, Esenler, Gulsuyu, Bagcilar, Birlik (Unity) District, Caglayan, Alibeykoy, Kartal and Armutlu, people’s councils are in the preparatory stage. In Ankara, Mersin, Bursa, Izmir, Malatya, Antakya, Antalya and Eskisehir the people march every evening behind the slogan “The people’s councils are our strength”. This is the power which is demanding a reckoning from the Susurluk state.

The people’s councils are the power of the people, the basis of people’s power. This power is the fear, the nightmare of the state. “We want justice.” This is the chief demand of the people today. And this fact is known to all and obvious to everybody:

the state will never bring the armed gangs to justice, people’s justice will do it. This demand, this power, is legitimate in the highest degree. This legitimacy can be neither denied nor extinguished by anyone. Despite all repression, despite arbitrary arrests, despite police truncheons, the people come out onto the streets every evening in their thousands. And this mass of people, this strength, grows and unites...

The development of this strength is not the result of chance, but of long and pati-



these events are the people themselves. Because the people’s councils are what the camera lens would have to show. Because from the mouth of the people there would not merely be calls for a few mafia and contra-guerrilla figures like “Agar and Bucak” [two members of the Turkish parliament, the first a former government minister; both involved in the Susurluk scandal] but demands for justice in relation to the whole mafia and contra-guerrilla state. The slogans echoing in the street are not “Ban the Welfare

naries, because we are taking part.

On October 5, 1996, shortly before the Susurluk accident which happened on November 3, 1996, the first people’s council was founded, the Gazi People’s Council in Istanbul/Gazi. Its foundation was the first success of the Party-Front’s continual, concrete and broad-based work to achieve the unity and organisation of the people. A year has passed since Susurluk. After the people’s council in Gazi was founded, two others were set up in Okmeydani/Istanbul

ent work. The need for people's unity and organisation has been sensed by many. But this need could not be satisfied with abstract slogans and discussion circles. Organising the people means first of all knowing them and living among them. It means knowing the people's demands and offering concrete solutions to their concrete problems. It means showing the people a solution, a path, the path to revolution. To organise the people along this path means marching together with them and leading them. To be able to do this, one must have the trust of the people, one must be the repository of the people's hopes.

The decades of struggle of the Party-Front, from the THKP-C [founded by Mahir Cayan in the early 1970s] to Devrimci Sol and from Devrimci Sol to the DHKP-C cannot be separated from the people's struggle. We became the people's hope because we fought for the people and among the people, defended the people's demands and gave hundreds of martyrs. This is the basis of the line we followed in proposing the people's councils and taking the initiative of organising the people.

Yes, the people's councils are not organisations of the Party-Front, they are organisations of the people themselves. There is no organisational connection between the Party-Front and the people's councils. But the development of the people's councils entails at the same time enlarging the Party-Front. As people's organisations, the people's councils are also capable of taking reactionary decisions. However, one must work with the masses in the people's councils and increase their consciousness. It is necessary to hold discussions with the people and convince them and give them confidence. Our aim is the revolution, people's power. We will win this with the people's war, we will win by organising the people for the war. The people demand "justice". This justice is people's

justice and not that of the system. Satisfying this demand is a matter for the people's councils, the people's constitution and people's power.

This is what should be on the agenda from the perspective of the people's movement and the revolution today. Besides that, there is nothing to be said, no propaganda which can tell the masses anything new.

It is clear that neither the "anti-Refah Party" slogans, nor the demands for "fresh elections", nor the discussions about "peace" can offer a solution.

The continuing executions, massacres and murders give rise to growing anger in the hearts of the people. The "1,000 secret contra-guerrilla operations" are the expression of politics which threaten the people. The isolation cells prepared in the jails for the children of the people are an open expression of a politics and power which is opposed to us. Under these conditions, revolutionary politics and strategy can be nothing other than organising the people even further, uniting the organisations of the revolutionaries and the people even more and unmasking as vain dreams any hopes the people have for solutions within the system.

It is the task of the Front's leadership, whether through the "one minute of darkness" action or through revolutionary work, to strengthen the demands of the masses in the people's councils for a reckoning to be demanded for the 1,000 contra-guerrilla operations, for activity on behalf of the prisoners, protests against inflation, repression and mass arrests.

By carrying out this task the people's movement and struggle will grow under the leadership of the Front. At present there is no task other than to accelerate this development. All forms of struggle, all forms of organisation must be placed at the service of this task.

# From

Istanbul/Okmeydani  
September 30, 1997

Like in the last "minute of darkness" action in February, the people of Okmeydani once again streamed out onto the road. Seven hundred people carried torches and banners in their hands and chanted demands for justice and a reckoning. There were three streams of marchers. The crowd gathered at nine in the evening outside the Anadolu cafe. The banners they carried with them bore slogans such as "An independent and democratic Turkey", "Let us pass judgement on the armed gangs enmeshed in the government", "Let us come together in the people's councils". With torches and to the sound of applause, young and old gathered together, and as though from one mouth the slogans of the people of Okmeydani were shouted, "The people's councils are our strength", "The people will demand a reckoning from the armed gangs", "We are the people, we are right, we will win", "What do we want? Justice! Long live people's justice" and "let us come together in the people's councils".

The new "minute of darkness" action began with folk dances around a fire and songs, accompanied by drums and flutes. Eventually the column of demonstrators gathered behind a banner carried by mothers and fathers and old people, which bore the legend "We will demand a reckoning from the Susurluk state - Okmeydani People's Council". In front of the banner they carried the rostrum used by speakers in the people's council. The people had come along with their own rostrum. After the procession had gone some distance, a proclamation was read out: "All the facts which were concealed a year ago have come into the open, one after another. All the filth has poured out with these

# The People's Councils

## ACTIONS

facts. Drug dealing, prostitution, gambling, secret contra-guerrilla operations. all these are organised by the state. Traces of this can be found even in our own district. A life in the gutter with bars, alcohol and gambling dens, which contra-vene our traditions, culture and values. The gangs exposed by Susurluk arose from this very gutter. So we are condemning the mafia-contra-guerrilla state of Susurluk. We will demand a reckoning. Together, we, the working people of all confessions are coming out against the Susurluk state. We are the people. we are the people's councils. For an independent and democratic Turkey. We will not permit attacks on our dignity, our values and our ethics. We will resist the bands exposed by Susurluk, and we will win."

After that, the procession continued with slogans being chanted. In the streets, people showed solidarity with the marchers at their windows, or applauded and shouted slogans and extinguished lights. The action ended back at the Anadolu cafe.

### Istanbul/Gazi October 7, 1997

In order to bring the Susurluk state to justice and to show people that the Susurluk state could only be brought to account by people's justice, the people of Gazi began an action at nine in the evening as usual with the slogan, "The people's councils are our strength", "Long live people's justice", "Susurluk is the state, let us call it to account". About 1,500 people obeyed the people's council's appeal and formed up behind the ban-

ner of the Gazi People's Council. About 500 people collected behind another banner belonging to the Alevi Community Centre and united with the other group. "The armed gangs sit in parliament while the people of Gazi languish in prison", "Freedom for the people's council deputy Mehmet Akdemir", these slogans were shouted in the streets and an echo came from windows and houses.

During the protest march which lasted about 30 minutes, the appeals by the people's council were heard again and again: "Let us unite in the people's councils", "let us unite, let us call the gangs to account". The march by about 2,000 people received support from the people everywhere in the area, who showed it with torches, applause and slogans as the procession went by. The growing crowd of supporters of the Gazi People's Council did not let themselves be intimidated by the wide-ranging police blockade and state repression and this gave emphasis to their demands for a reckoning with the Susurluk state.

### Istanbul/Alibeykoy October 8, 1997

The people of Alibeykoy gathered at 8:50 PM at the bus terminus and began their action with vigorous applause. In an orderly column the crowd moved along behind banners with the slogans

"We are the people, we are right, we will win - the people's councils" and "Alibeykoy People's Council is in the process of being founded" and it headed in the direction of Dortyol. On the way the marchers shouted out the slogans "What do we want? Justice! Long live people's justice!", "We are the people, we are right, we will win" and "Long live people's power" as part of the effort to get people who were witnessing the march from the streets or the windows and applauding to actually join the march.

On arriving at Dortyol it was announced that whoever wanted to speak could use the speaker's rostrum which had been brought along. In response to this, three people gave an address in which they stressed the need for unity of action from now on. The police were compelled to stay away from



the event, in which 250 people participated. On the other hand, they attempted to apply psychological pressure by checking people's ID cards after the action ended.

### Istanbul/Bagcilar October 5, 1997

After an appeal had been made to begin preparations for forming a people's council, the people of Bagcilar assembled at 8:30 PM in

front of the Hulza market in Levent Dogan Street. The police tried to reduce the number of people participating by walking around the area and stirring up tension. The action was begun with about 100 people doing a folk dance. After the dance ended amid applause, the crowd greeted three other columns of marchers with the slogans "What do we want? Justice! Long live people's justice!" The other columns came from other parts of Bagcilar. When the columns united, tortures were lit and the 600 people who had collected gathered behind a banner with the words "The people will demand a reckoning from the armed gangs - Bagcilar People's Council is being founded". From the street they went off to the main street of Bagcilar and blocked the traffic. During the march the number of participants rose to about 1,000. Enthusiastically they sang in unison the song "The day is dawning". At the end of the demonstration the appeal was made to start again the following evening at the same spot.

### **Istanbul/ First of May District** **October 23, 1997**

The police terrorised the people before the start of the action and arrested 18 of them, because they were afraid of the people's growing consciousness, the demand for justice and the increasing popular participation. But the people did not let this stop them from taking part in the action. Despite the repression, people started to arrive at the bus terminus at 8:30 PM. About 400 people gathered and lit torches behind the banner "Neither parliaments nor new elections, let us unite in the people's councils" and called out the slogans with one voice, "On to Ankara, let's bring



them to book for Susurluk", "The people will demand a reckoning from the armed gangs" and "We are the people, we are right, we will win". The protest was greeted with applause from the balconies and windows of people in houses in the streets surrounding.

### **Istanbul/Gazi** **October 28**

In spite of the cold weather, the people of Gazi came out onto the streets in their thousands. The banner brought along as on every other occasion was held by children this time. Children and mothers went in front of the procession carrying posters with the words "we demand a reckoning from Susurluk and Ankara" and "the armed gangs and not people's council member Mehmet Akdemir should be judged". The first part of the procession marched like guerrillas and were a beautiful and enthusiastic sight. From the Kose bus stop to Dogu Kiraathanesi there were angry shouts for a march to Ankara. A procession of 6,000 people behind the banners "Let us unite in the ranks of the people's councils and demand a reckoning from the Susurluk state" and "Gazi People's Council" and "People of Gazi" arrived at the rally venue.

Again slogans were shouted: "We are the people, we are right, we will win" "Demand a reckoning

from Susurluk and Ankara", "Empty the dungeons, free the prisoners". An old man called out with the aid of a loud voice and a megaphone and attracted attention. The man, who yelled again and again "Empty the dungeons, free the prisoners" and led the chant, was Sadik Cakmak, the father of Ali Haydar Cakmak, the guerrilla commander who had fallen in the Black Sea area and came from Gazi. The powerful voice which echoed in the streets of Gazi brought Ali Haydar, the young commander, back to lead the crowd.

### **September 20, 1997** **The Okmeydani People's Council closed down the Okmeydani cesspool**

The people of Okmeydani expect nothing from the state whose corruption and filth were exposed by Susurluk. It is the people's justice which will bring to book the mafia, the bar owners, the drinking and gaming halls in Okmeydani. On September 20 the people of Okmeydani, who had struggled for more than a year against the bars, drinking dens and gaming halls which were a threat to their children, women and future, once again came out onto the streets to demand a reckoning. For a week an action had been prepared, with posters being pasted up and leaflets distributed, and from house to house and cafe to cafe people went to explain the need to close down the cesspools.

At the urging of the Okmeydani People's Council the people met at 5 PM and began an action with the slogans "the people's councils are our strength" and "we don't want bars, pubs and gambling dens". The police, who cannot bear the people's council and the displays of people's unity, began to threaten

the people: "Disperse after reading your press statement, we will not permit a demonstration." But in the face of the people's determination not to accept the filth, the police could not prevent the protest march.

The press statement which was read out said the following: "...Our work, ethics and values are what we hold dearest. As long as this cesspool exists it will work to undermine our values and culture. We will not look on and do nothing. We do not want these cesspools, and if they are not closed we will close them down ourselves. We are the people, we are the people's councils. The decisions of the people must be carried out. We expected services to be installed here but instead the cesspools have proliferated. Today, the armed gangs have been permitted to go free but people like Mehmet Akdemir who fight for the people are locked up in jail. What sort of justice is that? We do not want to live in a cesspool. So for this reason we will put a stop to the cesspool of prostitution and every other kind of filth in our area."

After the statement, the demonstration started to march. In every street more people joined it, with the slogans "no to alcohol and drugs", "the people will form ranks to demand a reckoning", "Okmeydani will not be a cesspool" and "the people's councils are our strength" being shouted louder and louder. More and more people joined the march, which grew to include 1,000 people. The unease of the police grew, but in view of the crowd's determination they could not do anything but shout abuse.

Then the demonstration went from street to street and closed the bars with padlocks, with the words "You did not seek our permission to open, so now we are closing you down." After each cesspool was closed down, the slogan "long live people's justice" was chanted, which stressed that the contra-guerrillas set up such dens in order

to destroy the people's culture. The people's struggle is directed against this destruction. The mafia bands and torturers tried to defend their filth and prevent the closures, but the people's decisiveness rendered them helpless. At about 10:30 PM the action ended with the slogans "Okmeydani will not be a cesspool" and "long live people's justice".

### **November 1, 1997 The people's councils march to Ankara**

The march to Ankara organised to coincide with the first anniversary of Susurluk began on November at 9 o'clock in Istanbul/Kadikoyin from of the Walden Doorman Theatre. "Let's demand a reckoning from Ankara" was the slogan of the four-day long journey of the people's councils to Ankara to hand parliament a dossier demanding that judgement be passed on those who were responsible for "1,000 secret contra-guerrilla operations". Before departure, Grup Yorum [a revolutionary music group in Turkey] played some music and Hakan Alak, one of their members, gave a speech. "A little later we will set off so that the murderers in Sivas, Gazi, the April 17 and July 12 massacres whom we have never forgotten about, will be stricken to the heart. We are going with our dignity, our honour, with all that we carry with us, in order to bring them to justice."

Six hundred people heard the speech and took part in the festival with folk dances, songs and slogans. In a declaration by the speaker of the people's council, Musa Aykanat, he said: "We are going to Ankara to bring the Susurluk state to justice. For 365 days we members of the people's council have gone through our streets and squares. We demand a reckoning for the disappeared and the murdered. We want justice. But we have seen that this state will not accept our desire for justice... We are going to Ankara. We know that the heart of Susurluk beats in Ankara. We are

going as members of the people's councils to Ankara, to parliament, so that Mehmet Agar [former government minister] and his known henchmen in the thousand operations, the secret operations can be called to account... On November 3 our journey will reach its goal. We want a democratic country. We are going to demand a reckoning from the murderers who carried out 1,000 operations and those who gave them their orders."

The people got into the buses and cars standing by wearing aprons with writing on them like "1,000 operations: we want the murderers" and "a democratic and independent Turkey" with clenched fists or the victory sign with slogans and headbands, saying "Where are we going? To Ankara. Why? For justice. Long live people's justice." "Susurluk is the state, let's call it to account", "The 1,000 operations should be uncovered", "The criminal gangs sit in parliament, the revolutionaries are in jail", "We are the people, we are right, we will win" and "the people's councils are our strength. Let us unite in the people's councils". Among them were the mothers and fathers of the disappeared, the murdered and the prisoners.

Accompanied by two ambulances the cortege set off for Ankara at 1145. Besides the main rally in Kadikoy, there were others in Kartal, Gebze and Bursa. Each time the police tried to prevent the rallies. They barred access roads in the cities and even tried to prevent people from leaving the buses. But they were powerless against the decisiveness of the members of the people's councils and their legitimacy, so their efforts were unsuccessful.

After these stops, the procession reached Eskisehir at 5 PM. A rally was also to take place here. And again the police tried to stop it. All access roads were closed off by the police. The buses were immediately surrounded. The lawyer Metin Narin and the speakers of the people's councils began to talk to the

police. As in the other cities earlier, the police declared that there was no permission to hold a demonstration. "For a demonstration you need a permit. Your business is in Ankara. Be on your way without stopping here." The people's council representatives stuck to their plan. "For a demonstration no permit is necessary. A demonstration is a democratic right. Our resolve is firm. We will demonstrate." The police were helpless and tried persuasion: "Don't give us any trouble." But without success. "You too are on the side of the armed gangs. You don't want their condemnation. The armed gangs can roam to their heart's content. But we want to go a few hundred metres and you are trying to stop us. We are the people. We have come to demand a reckoning. Isn't this Turkey, why can we not hold a march? Are we not citizens of this country? Why this impatience? Our resolve is firm. We will march. Arrest us all, if you want."

To prevent the march, the street lighting in the entire town had been switched off. Even so, members of the people's council began to get out of the first bus and start to march. Special police units blocked the doors of the other buses and prevented people from getting out. Civil police began to provoke the people who had got out. With truncheons in hand, the special units attacked people. They were trying to drive them back onto the buses and force them out of the city. The members of the people's councils defended each other, formed chains and chanted slogans: "Human dignity will defeat torture" and "No intimidation: resistance!" The police tried to break the chain without success.

Then the police outside tried to get at the people on the buses, pulling their hair, hitting them with truncheons and fists and trying to get inside the buses. Since this also was fruitless, they tried to isolate the older people. If they caught one, they dragged him or her to a police car, forcing them along with

blows. They even tried to run over a woman using a police armoured car. With blows from sticks, fists and truncheons they managed to arrest a total of 29 people and took them to the anti-terror unit in Eskisehir. During the attacks, the press came. Civil police and special units took film, cameras and equipment from journalists. They also tried to arrest the journalist Gulay Yucel, which did not succeed because reporters from the newspapers Gundem and Sabah intervened. Gulay's camera was smashed, however.

During the attacks on the people who were arrested, the people kept inside the buses were also subjected to humiliating treatment. The police surrounding the buses denied them even the most natural right to go to the toilet, swore and cursed them. The police commissioner of Eskisehir demanded that the people in the buses leave the city. "Go to Ankara. You have nothing here. There are provocateurs among you." The answer to this was: "We are not going until the people you arrested are released!" On November 4 at nine in the morning, the arrested were taken to court one by one. Men first, then women. From the cars they were in they gave the victory sign, shouted slogans like "the people's councils are our strength". The court was surrounded by police. Everyone was released after the hearing. This was a severe blow to police morale. They tried to arrest people even in spite of the court verdict. The people released were escorted to the waiting buses.

The procession continued in the direction of Ankara. At one in the morning they were again stopped by the police in the Ankara suburb of Polatli. Unusual security precautions had been taken in Polatli. One does not often meet such a resplendent variety of security personnel. Special units, rapid reaction troops, gendarmes, traffic and plainclothes police, they were all there. This huge contingent upset people. "This is all too much.

Why all this fear? We are the people. Why are they so afraid of the people? We want justice. They are on the side of the criminal gangs."

In the meantime talks started between the speakers of the people's councils and the police. The police offered the choice of either staying in Polatli or in another place congenial to the police, and only sending a delegation to Ankara. The answer of the people's councils was to go to the centre of Ankara in the direction of the Hippodrome. When they arrived at the Hippodrome, there was another large contingent of special units, rapid reaction troops and civil police. Nevertheless they got out of the buses and began to sing songs together, shout slogans and dance. The police angrily persecuted the festival which was taking place before their eyes despite their attempts at intimidation.

A delegation of ten representatives went to parliament under police escort. They were the people's council speakers Halil Telek and Musa Aykanat, the editor of the cultural magazine Tavir, Aynur Cihan, the member of Grup Yorum music group, Kemal Sahir Gurel, the mother of Mehmet Salgin who was killed in the massacre at Perpa/Istanbul, Cicek Salgin, the chair of the organising committee of Genel-Is in the trade union confederation DISK, Erol Ekici, the people's council member Sevket Avci, the mother of the "disappeared" Duzgun Tekin, Elif Tekin, and Mahmut, the father of Sezgin Engin, one of those killed in Gazi in March 1995.

In parliament they handed over the dossier that had been prepared, after being made to wait for four hours. After talks with representatives of the Refah (Welfare, Islamist) Party and the CHP (Republican People's Party, social democrats), the delegation returned at 3:30 in the afternoon. With a final rally, the march to Ankara ended.



**The stronger the fight you put up in your position,  
The stronger your position will become.**

# Attempts at liquidationism in the DISK trade union confederation

**I**n the past 20 years thousands of revolutionary workers and trade unionists have been arrested, "made to disappear" or murdered. However, this state terror could not weaken the revolutionary movement. On the contrary... So now the MGK (National Security Council) is trying something "new". Supported by social democrats and reformists, it is trying to liquidate the revolutionaries in the trade unions. The motive is obvious: fear of the increasing strength of the revolutionary workers. Above all, the events of the last few months have caused their fear to grow. At the last congress of DISK (Trade Union Confederation of Revolutionary Workers), the Revolutionary Workers' Movement put forward revolutionary trade unionism as an alternative. So then conflicts with the MGK's trade unions were the result. And when DISK chairman Ridvan Budak and his team decided to back the new government, the workers were not a party to this submissiveness.

There was another development: when the Economic and Social Council was set up under the aegis of the MGK, designed to "bring together" the govern-

ment, employers and unions, the MGK trade unionists wanted to be at the head of this Council.

In the past months Ridvan Budak took part as a supposed

"workers' leader" in a delegation consisting of employers and government representatives, which visited the European Parliament. This delegation asked for Turkey to be admitted to the European Union "in the

## **DISK (THE CONFEDERATION OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS)**

**D**ISK was founded on February 18, 1967. The history of DISK is at the same time the history of the working classes' separation from the pro-American yellow union Turk-Is (Union of Turkish Workers). When DISK was founded it had 30,000 members and with the exceptionally hard work of the revolutionary workers it soon established a base among the working classes. On June 11, 1970 an attempt to end the progressive growth of DISK was carried out by bringing in changes to the law

concerning unions and lockouts. With the coming to light of the implications of the new laws, the workers came out on the streets in their hundreds of thousands on June 15. The police and military opened fire on the workers, but this resistance had brought a victory as the attempted changes to the law were cancelled. The resistance on June 15-16 became the highest point in the workers' struggle.

The national front government and the fascist state were using the State Security Courts to strengthen themsel-

ves. DISK warned against this, and on September 16, hundreds of thousands of workers stopped production. The resistance of September 16 affected the politics of fascism and forced it to retreat.

Even though to celebrate May Day was illegal in Turkey, on May 1, 1976 it was celebrated in Taksim Square in central Istanbul. Hundreds of thousands of proletarians expressed the struggle, equality and solidarity on that day. In the following year, May Day 1977, the state attacked the 500,000

name of Turkish democracy". Budak sought support from Europe on behalf of the oligarchy and was not ashamed as chairman of a union confederation to play such a role.

Until now, no DISK chairman dared to do such things. The MGK trade unionists knew well that the workers would demand a reckoning for such a betrayal.

The DISK congress took place on September 12-13. Its 300 delegates fled from the workers and some were put up in a five-star hotel in Istanbul.

Previously DISK congresses had taken place in large sports halls and with the participation of tens of thousands of workers. Despite the efforts of the Revolutionary Workers' Movement, the workers were not able to observe this congress. The guests of honour were government representatives and employers. The police were called by the MGK trade unionists to protect the re-elected chairman Ridvan Budak from the workers.

The DISK congress was the

proletarians and turned Taksim Square into a bloodbath. Thirty-seven workers were massacred and hundreds injured.

During that period the DISK administration had become very much influenced and entrapped in the "social democratic" sphere. As a result, some leftist groups labelled them as "social fascists".

The administration of DISK declared these groups to be "Maoist fascists" and tried to prevent their participation in the May Day celebration. The contra-guerrillas used this to stage a provocation and May Day 1977 turned into a bloody massacre. On May Day 1978 250,000 people alongside the working class and the revolutionaries gathered together in the square and became a strong response to the threats and intimidations of the oligarchy. The broad masses of the Turkish working class gathered in the rallies of 1976, 1977 and 1978.

When we observe the number of DISK participants in the May Day celebrations of 1996 and 1997, we see that their numbers have decreased to the point of being negligible. When the military coup of 1980 came into force, the DISK administration left the mass of workers in the lurch and either fled the country or queued up outside the coup's courts to give themselves up along with the briefcases containing their unions' files.

The administrators of DISK did not resist or defend the workers when they were in prison. They acted not as the leaders of the working class but as defence witnesses for the "system". The submission of the administrators of DISK was the starting point for the establishment of unions favourable to the National Security Council (MGK - the body composed of politicians, generals and businessmen which dominates Turkey).

## WORKERS' COUNCILS ARE ON THE AGENDA

It is known that the struggle in and through the trade unions is an example of positional warfare. The Revolutionary Workers' Movement has accumulated experience of legal, semi-legal and illegal work.

Organising and struggle in the unions will always derive their significance from the fact that what is going on among other sections of the people will also apply to the workers.

Individual associations and trade unions are not enough to unite and mobilise the broad masses as a basis for the

struggle. Today there is a bureaucracy in many unions which is entrenched by its firm ties with the regime. But the mass of workers possess yet greater capacity for action which they have expressed within the confines of the trade union structures. This can be overcome through workers' organisations which bring all workers under one roof. There are conditions already in place to set up workers' councils among the working class similar to the people's councils formed in areas inhabited by working people.

The

Revolutionary Workers' Movement is continuing endeavours to form such workers' councils. The councils will not only serve to unite the actions of the workers but those of other oppressed classes and layers of society as well. We will then see the results of this when the councils take shape in practice and have gained experience to build upon.

However, it can already be said that the workers' councils are not an abstract proposal any more but that the first steps have already been taken.

scene of confrontation between the MGK unions and the Revolutionary Workers' Movement. The candidate of the Revolutionary Workers' Movement lost the election but the real victory occurred before and after the congress, in that the Revolutionary Workers' Movement posed a clear alternative. This alternative is constantly growing in strength.

The first attack began right after the congress in Genel-Is, the second largest and most dynamic union in DISK. All regional branches of Genel-Is were closed as a result of a decision delivered from on high. Trade union activists in these branches were dismissed. The reason was that in these branches the revolutionary workers enjoyed a good deal of influence. The chairman of Istanbul's second regional branch, Mehmet Karagöz, has also been expelled from the union. (Karagöz is a leader of the major wave of working-class resistance taking place among employees of Istanbul city administration.)

The struggle will continue and take different forms. It will involve MGK unionists coming into conflict with revolutionary ones. The aim is to liquidate DISK from above, for DISK has been a democratic bulwark of the working class against the oligarchy since the 1960s.

Those who wish to learn from Turkey's experiences should note that refor-

mism, in the shape of the ÖDP (Freedom and Solidarity Party), and the Kurdish nationalists have supported these attempts at liquidating the influence of revolutionary trade unionists, which have been pursued by the social democrats loyal to the system with a view to protecting their own positions, and they signed the resolutions aimed at achieving this. The MGK has managed to frighten the reformists and Kurdish nationalists into supporting their attacks. This is the price demanded of those who want to maintain their positions within the system and reconcile themselves with the bourgeoisie which pays them - as has happened in other cases.

Revolutionary workers and their supporters are replying to these attempts to liquidate DISK with resistance and hunger strikes. The regional chairpersons have held sit-down actions and these were followed by hunger strikes in the central headquarters of Genel-Is and further resistance in the regions. Moreover the workers, their supporters, representatives of People's Councils and HÖP (the Platform for Rights and Freedom) occupied the head office of DISK. Many institutions in Turkey and Kurdistan have supported the revolutionary workers.

Eventually the closures and attempts at liquidation were reversed. After resistance and protests, the attacks were repelled.

DISK had stopped its activities on September 12, 1980 and eventually re-established itself 12 years later at the start of 1992. However, the workers and the mass understanding of what unions were about which had made DISK in the past were no longer there. Due to the harsh and oppressive laws, the revolutionary workers were prevented from going into the legal union administration, thus creating an opening for the "rehabilitated" old unionists. The strategy since 1992 to turn DISK into Turk-Isis clearly today observable in the MGK unions. Here are some examples as to how they have reached the point of becoming MGK unions:

In June 1997 DISK and TISK (The Union Confederation of Turkish Employers) signed a joint agreement and had organized actions together. The bosses of DISK had turned themselves into subcontractors of the bosses by doing this. The revolutionary workers have shown and exposed the truth about the fiasco of MGK unionisation and have torn it to shreds.

The MGK and TUSIAD (Confederation of Turkish Businessmen) started a campaign to overthrow the REFAHYOL government (an alliance of the Islamic Refah (Welfare) Party and the right-wing Dogru Yol or True Path Party). The "left" support which was needed for this campaign came from DISK and eventually REFAHYOL was forced from power and overthrown.

ANASOL-D (the coalition government now in power in Turkey) which DISK supported is subjecting the workers to constant price increases. The government is securing the immunity of the gangs involved in Susurluk. But DISK has done nothing to protect the rights of the workers.

The General Secretary of DISK, together with the representatives of the capitalist monopolies and the contra-guerrilla state, went on a diplomatic tour of Europe.

The aim was to try and bring Turkey into the European Union.

# ACTION TEACHES

## PART 1

*No rifles, no information and intelligence about the enemy  
But we have our hearts and courage, our brains and our flag this is enough.*

### THE ATTACK ON THE CEVIK KUVVET (RAPF)\* BUS IN HALICOGLU

It was after April 16/17 [1992]. On those days our leading comrades were massacred. But with their struggle, and our burning desire to settle accounts, the oligarchy choked on their own words of victory. The police were psychologically weakened due to the blows they had received, one after the other. The actions taken by our movement which had fallen on the oligarchy's head like a sledgehammer had started to put fear and confusion into the torturers and enemies of the people. All of a sudden they were faced with an onslaught of attacks. With our revolutionary intensity we brought them to a stage of immobility. We were a militia group, we also had to take a part in settling accounts. We were constructing effective actions against the oligarchy.

Because we were a newly established militia group we did not have intelligence on the enemy available. But this was not seen as an obstacle. After coming together and discussing, we decided to wait in a particular area and exterminate the enemy. It was going to be the first time that we were to participate in this type of action. We were all prepared: we agreed a time and place for the next morning. We all arrived at the same time in the morning: this showed our determination to go ahead with the action. We collected our weapons and in a state of enthusiasm we all went to our central points and waited for the enemy. We were joking and making comments like "Which enemy of the people is going to win the lottery?" We had been waiting for approximately 10 minutes when a military vehicle went past and dropped off

some guards along the side motor way.

I told the friend in charge: "We could take a soldier's G3 automatic rifle and organize a more satisfactory action." He then asked me: "Do you know how to use it?" and I replied "Yes, I know it well." The decision for action was taken. Firstly I went towards a soldier to ask for directions, a few metres behind me the friend in charge was coming. The soldier was totally calm, hands in his pockets, looking around him.

I asked him for directions and before he had time to reply, I pulled his weapon off his shoulder. The soldier became anxious and did not know what to do, he tried to intervene but the friend took out his gun and made the soldier lie on the ground. During this, I dismantled the weapon and started putting it into a bag.

## INTRODUCTION

*In 1996 a 28-part series of "Action Teaches", was published in Turkish. This series which is published in our magazine attempts to show the history of the Revolutionary Left (Devrimci Sol) to the DHKP-C, it covers thousands of revolutionary actions. Those who read the series will see that the "Action Teaches" series is not just an archive of historical facts, but that it is the foundation and principles of the thousands of comrades in the DHKP-C and that it also carries the aim of educating us as well. The military field: mass organisation, agitation, propaganda and the political struggle in the democratic mass organisations, trade unions and other fields. The aim is to publish teachings, lessons, practicalities and nationalisation (appropriating private property for revolutionary use).*

*In particular, if we take into account the needs of those that are new to actions and have no experience in action we see that this is required. With this aim, the DHKP-C has prepared teaching materials in different areas: for example materials for the working class, for the youth, for the civil servants, for the shantytowns, for the rural areas and other organisational areas, and sees itself as the foundation for the "People's Class". We hope that we may educate and inform our comrades around the world with our material. At the end of the series, there is a section named "Biterken" ("At the End").*

*In this section the aims of the series are summarised. But we have seen fit to discuss this at the beginning.*

Together we left the area of action. We had completed the action successfully. Now we could focus on our true target. Now the enemy was going to be shot with his own weapon.

During April 16 and 17, the RAPF had made their move.

The RAPF were at the front when people attended demonstrations, The RAPF were the ones who beat and injured the masses, it was now the time to settle accounts.

We immediately started working on our intelligence gathering. We knew that the vehicles passing by carried members of the RAPF, who went past on the motorway constantly. What we had to do now was to find out the times when the vehicles would pass. After a few days we had established this. We also established where we were going to shoot from. When our friend in charge was giving a final briefing, we decided that we should leave our flag at the scene of the action. This proposal was accepted. This idea made us both emotional and enthusiastic, we had to go beyond our emotions and enthusiasm and we could then trap the enemy with our flag.

We spoke and agreed, we were first to strike them with our flag and then with the G3 rifle, which was stored in a box. Me and another friend went to nationalize a car. Our commander was going to wait for us in a particular place. We had accomplished this action in a short while. We encountered no problems. We took a car, we brought it to the area where the action was to take place.

The friend in charge sat down at the steering wheel. The car was working but it was not moving. He tried again and again: the car would move slowly, slowly and then stop, then we would start it up again. We went a few hundred metres at an incredibly slow pace. Eventually we understood why

our commander gave such an early time to meet up. We had used a car a few times before but we had no great experience in this area. But we had to use a car in this action. So we learnt how to drive in this action. We got to the area of the action. I and the friend in charge got behind a torn-down shantytown building and took up position. Another friend was further away waiting to give us the signal. I took out the G3 and waited at the ready. Yes, the friend gives the signal. The friend in charge starts to pin up the flag. The target is in front of us. It is the RAPF's bus. As soon as the bus sees the flag it starts to slow down. Yes, our flag had struck them. They knew this flag. They stopped. I opened fire. In my head were thoughts of April 17 in iftehavuzlar. Our flag was flying there and now it is flying here. Tomorrow, everywhere in our country, this flag is going to be flown, with this belief I shoot until all the bullets have been fired. The bullets hit the target. When I move my hand away from the trigger I hear the shooting continue. When we turn our backs we are faced with police. Due to the gunshots, a team of police nearby came on the scene, but even though our backs were turned to them, they had not been able to get near us. Fear was embedded in their minds. With our weapons in our hands we approach and get closer to them. They were so afraid of us that they started to run away. This showed their courage: this is what their courage is. After the action we meet up with our friends. All of us are happy and enthusiastic. We go to a place where we could hear the news. We find out that eight police officers were injured and that one was critically wounded. (This police officer later died.) With the action we took, we created a state of panic in the oligar-

## FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT TO THE DHKP-C

**W**e come to the end of our series of "Action Teaches" in Part 28. Or to put it more appropriately, we take a break. Between the years 1977 to 1990, approximately 50 actions were explained during our series. All the actions were directed by particular revolutionary understandings, particular revolutionary strategies, revolutionary beliefs and principles. In "Action Teaches" we attempted to establish and underline the principles of the action. We focused on their authenticity and victories with its structural form and its aims: the action possesses many variations. We cannot state that we have reflected all these actions but we have attempted to establish and observe in one or two acts, in the anti-imperialists' actions, the nationalisation actions. The anti-fascist actions, the punishment actions and in the warning actions taken, how these actions should be structured.

But as mentioned previously, because of the structural variations of the actions, we are faced with a very hard task in reflecting these in Part 28 of "Action Teaches".

We have only managed to reflect a few actions taken in Anatolia.

Our history is a very full history; because at no time in our history have we been without politics or have gone without an action. This history is a great force and strength for us, it is a great teacher.

Each page of our history with its politics, its militarisation, its culture and its organisation has been very educational.

By transcribing a small section of the actions and practices of the Revolutionary Left (Devrimci Sol) and the DHKP-C, we have equip-

chy and we became proud that we had gained revenge for our comrades. When Eda Yuksel iftehavuzlar had stated: "Our comrades will seek revenge," we

used this to establish the foundation of our action.

\* CEVIK KUVVET: Rapid Action Police Force (RAPF)

## **The Lesson Learnt From The Action: To Shoot The Enemy With Their Own Weapons.**

*Straight After April 17.*

They were a militia group they had learnt about the developments from the radio and television. They were also a fairly new organised militia group. They did not possess a weapon or have information on the enemy. Furthermore they had no previous experience in this type of action. But they had their anger and their beliefs. They received no orders from elsewhere, but they decided even if there are disadvantages that they will take action. In their ears they heard the message coming in waves from «iftehavuzlar. They overcame their disadvantages with their determination, their productivity, their courage and their devotion, loyalty and solidarity with their comrades. With courage, no matter what the situation is, we will fly our flag all around the country. Loyalty, devotion and solidarity to the voice raised in «iftehavuzlar.

A revolutionary who does not feel a desire for revenge when a comrade is killed or does not go out to settle accounts cannot be seen as a revolutionary.

During this period the emphasis and importance of the action taken are these.

The enemy has attacked, there should be no room for panic in our ranks.

But this is not enough. No one should wait for an order to attack. This is the criteria required to become a militia organisation and to assimilate the perspective of power. Thus the revolutionary movement adopts this, and after April 17, the oligarchy's torturers could not put one foot on the streets. This action alone can be seen as the pure manifestation of carrying the principles of the revolutionary and people's struggle. The revolutionary and people's army take the weapons away from the hand of the enemy and use these same weapons to win victory. In China the Red Army and in Cuba the guerrillas in the Sierra Maestra won victory by shooting the enemy with their own weapons.

This does not mean that the revolutionary and people's army should not create its own weapons or find different sources to gain their weapons, but the principle is this. Never have the weapons of the revolutionary and people's army been better than those of the enemy, but the emphasis is on those who use them, which is the revolutionary with his or her belief, determination and productivity.

An example of the people's army is when we take the Vietnamese people - a people which defeated the most modern army in the imperialist structure.

The main principle of the people's army is its belief, its determination and its courage and with these principles it will achieve victory.

No force will overcome revolutionary belief and will, even the modern technological weapons of the imperialists become empty gun barrels when faced with the belief, determination and will of the revolutionary. Action is the principle of the revolutionary strategy, but, another factor is the will of the fighter, and even if they do not initially have access to a weapon the determination is there.

**THIS WAR WILL NOT BE WON WITH WEAPONS, IT WILL BE WON WITH REVOLUTIONARY WILL.**

ped our fighters with information. For example, all the actions, during our cadre period and military education have been evaluated from these actions.

When an action is taken in hand, evaluated and argued there is no doubt that this is far more educational than mere dry military training.

What we have seen from our experiences is that we should never separate ourselves from our history, as our history has answered our question whether it be in a political context or a military context. For this reason it should be noted that our comments on history is not for academic information. Our history is an inseparable part of our teaching and cadre development.

Through all our narration, it is openly seen that actions are not acts taken by superhuman beings or the product of exceptional situations. Our history was written by poverty and difficulty and this is how it will continue to be written. Hundreds of actions, described and undescribed, have become the creator of an infinite tradition among Turkey's left. These traditions are as important as the tactics and the politics. It has become the trust amongst our masses, thus the actions should also be seen in this context. "The actions continue." They continue to educate and teach.

All those who want liberation, who want to fight for the revolution are learning from these actions and are becoming the creators of all new actions. So thus our struggle and fight flows in this continuous entity. And until victory we are going to learn, teach, see and continue this flow.

*(Liberation for the People No:6,  
October 16, 1996)*

*(People's Liberation Publications  
Dec. 1996)*

# Precautions In The Black Sea Region To Stop The Guerrillas

**T**he Black Sea region is in the north of Turkey. From north-west to north-east it runs along the coast of that sea. The region is mountainous and wooded. Mountain ranges rise directly from the coast, to which they run parallel for about a thousand kilometres, covering the whole of the region.

People in this region grow tea, tobacco and hazelnuts. Most of them are peasants with a little land. Fishing is also common along the coast. By ethnic origin the people in the region are Turks and Laz, and there are a few Georgians.

## THE PEOPLE'S HOPE

In 1990, the DHKP-C started to send guerrillas to the region. It was known as Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left) then. In that year, guerrilla activity in the region rose. The first activity in the region took place in 1970. The THKP-C (People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey) started the guerrilla struggle, when the organisation was in its development stage. Mahir Cayan, the leader of the THKP-C, and his warrior comrades fell as martyrs in the skirmish in Kizildere in Tokat on March 30, 1972. Since then the manifesto of Turkey's revolution was determined by the events at Kizildere. Devrimci Sol has carried the flag of this manifesto and in 1994 it became a party, changing its name to the DHKP-C, the founding congress of which was on the anniversary of Kizildere, where the leader of the THKP-C, Mahir Cayan, was martyred.

The Black Sea region has been the arena for peasant resistance, land occupations, militant strikes and mine workers' occupations.

During 1970-80, revolutionaries were in intense conflict with civil fascists and the power of the state.



During the 1980-90 military junta period, the Black Sea region people suffered enormous sorrow and lost many of their sons and daughters. But these sorrowful years did not stop the seeds sown by revolutionaries from coming to flower.

## THE GUERRILLA IS THE TRUE FEAR OF THE OLIGARCHY

Against the guerrillas the state carries out intense operations and precautions. Contra-guerrillas issue warnings and prepare top-level meetings to create an atmosphere full of panic and fear. They use every known form of contra-guerrilla attack - killing children and murdering in such a way as to create an atmosphere of terror. Peasants are forced to be village guards against guerrillas, and are prohibited from going up to the high plateaus. Experienced contra-guerrilla governors and a gendarme commander have been appointed to the Black Sea region.

After distributing weapons to the peasants who are to become village guards, the minister of internal affairs said there would be a new administrative structure in Tokat, Ordu and Sivas. The area that the state secretary mentioned is one where there are many guerrillas. And the new administrative structure is one of martial law.

At the same time, Tokat's governor pointed out that of 640 villages

within Tokat's boundaries, 200 or 250 of these will be armed, to begin with. G3 automatic weapons will be distributed in these areas. People in those villages are being forced to become village guards.

The oligarchy are using other tactics like those which had been used over the years. The Sunni and Alevi people are being turned against each other. [Alevi are a dissident branch of Islam. There are several million of them in Turkey. Many are ethnic Turks, but others are Kurds and Arabs. There has sometimes been conflict with the Sunnis who practise a more "orthodox" Islam, and the authorities have often sought to whip up tension between Sunnis and Alevi for their own ends.] Weapons were given to one group and attempts were made to create a dispute between Alevi and Sunni people (for example, Corum in 1979), but because of the power of the revolutionaries they did not succeed. In 1995 in Sivas, there were provocations and attacks with the same aim in mind. A hotel in the city centre where Alevi intellectuals were staying was burnt down by Sunnis, and 32 Alevi died.

In the meantime of course, the state sends soldiers to the area. New army units have been sent to the region, especially experienced contra-guerrilla teams. Also Turkish contra-guerrillas carry on buying weapons with the excuse of needing to engage in "modernisation".

All of these measures are meant to stop the guerrillas building up their forces in the Black Sea region. But whatever they do they cannot succeed. For the guerrillas' most secure base is in the people's hearts.

# what did they win? did they lose?

## Guatemala

**W**hen the peace negotiations and finally the “peace” declaration between the guerrillas and the Guatemalan government were on the agenda, the bourgeois press was reporting about Guatemala almost every day. The signing of the declaration was announced to the world as a big deal.

### So, what has been going on in Guatemala since then?

There is no more news about this matter in the newspapers and TV broadcasts of Turkey. Because for the imperialist media the important news is “peace”. That is, the surrendering of weapons used in a people’s liberation war. After this, the situation of people does not concern them.

It was a major headline when the Berlin Wall is demolished. But when the East Germans were crushed under capitalism through unemployment, this is only minor news in the back pages. The counter-revolutionary plot in Romania in 1989 which was called a “revolution” was the headline on page 1, and it was roundly applauded. But when Romanians were dragged into prostitution afterwards, this is not the media’s concern, they want to keep it secret that this situation started following that applauded “revolution”. In order to see the real face of the “peace” policies of imperialism, this is the kind of thing we should be examining. Their concern is not the

happiness of peoples or “stopping bloodshed”. Their concern is not to let capitalism and imperialism lose blood. **For the guerrilla wars in the world are what causes imperialism to bleed.** Their aim is to stop this loss of blood.

Whenever someone talks about “peace”, the media open their doors wide and the ruling classes give them the opportunity to be heard. Isn’t this more clear evidence? Aren’t they the ones who censored the voice of revolutionaries and democrats who defend the people’s interests? The statements of the DHKP-C are not published in the world’s or Turkey’s media. In Peru, the statements of the Communist Party of Peru (often referred to as the Shining Path) or Tupac Amaru are not published. The PKK can only be heard when they talk about “peace”. However, the Zapatistas in Mexico are always in the newspapers. It is interesting and requires serious thought.

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When the “peace” agreement was signed between guerrillas and the government in Guatemala in December 29, 1996, the media revealed the agreement as showing that **“the longest and bloodiest conflict of the continent of America has ended”**. The left also referred to it in the same way. In fact, in the reality of both Latin America and the rest of the world, the people’s liberation wars were always bloody and some took 50 years, some 100 years. But now the agenda was

Guatemala and this statement was made again and again, because imperialism was giving the message that **“even the ones who fought for 40 years are now at peace.”**

Guerrillas fought in Guatemala for decades. But their aims and the reasons why they were fighting could not be published in the imperialist media. The revolutionaries and people of the world could only learn the answers to these questions through either private channels or directly from the publications of the guerrillas. However since the guerrillas became involved in the “peace” negotiations their every statement and declaration was published in the media. From the real names of the leaders to their previously waged struggle, many things could be read and seen by everyone.

When they signed the “peace” agreement they disappeared again. This was because imperialism had finished its business with them. In another words, **they finished them.** In fact, for the people the main thing was the aftermath of “peace”, not “peace” itself. The main thing for the people was the point where imperialism **“finished its business”**. For imperialism, on the other hand, the aftermath was the problem of Guatemala. There was nothing else to reflect on from Guatemala anymore.

In our last issue, the subject was Palestine. The following article is written for the aftermath of the peace period of Guatemala.



The Guatemalan conflict was one of the "bloody" and "long" conflicts of Latin America. The Guatemalans suffered heavy losses in their fight for freedom. Could the "peace" treaty which was signed under the conditions that the present regime rules, be the recompense for those heavy losses?

The first sign of the impossibility of recompense was that the peace negotiations started on the initiative of bourgeoisie and came on the agenda as a solution to the bourgeoisie's need for stability.

The talks between URNG (the National Union of Revolutionaries in Guatemala) and the government had started in 1987 and took almost 10 years. Both the peace talks and the guerrilla struggle were alternating with each other. However, the attacks of the government against the people and guerrillas never ceased during this period. The government was continuing talks on one hand and attacks on the other. From the guerrilla's point of view, there was the type of guerrilla whose struggle was based on the talks. Like in the mid-1980s, from time to time the guerrilla war was intensified and basically, the policy behind it was to pressurise the government to join the peace talks. The talks were

interrupted frequently. In most of the talks there was no improvement too be had. However, it is essential to look at the points where the talks came to a dead end. In other words, what was the state of affairs? It was, in fact, at **the times when the guerrillas were being pushed back.**

The demands of the guerrillas in the beginning of the peace talks included fundamental transformations of society. But the period of the talks left these demands behind and made them unclear. And right at this point, one of the latest "victims" of the well of peace in which the national liberation and armed revolutionary movements fell were the organisations who led the armed struggle in Guatemala for years and their alliance **the URNG.**

While the peace talks were continuing, they started to reach agreements in several matters. When the "final" point had come, the concept of the signed declaration would be the first thing everyone would definitely want to see.

### **The fundamental principles of "peace" in Guatemala**

**T**he peace treaty was between the representatives of guerrillas, URNG and PAN

(National Action Party). PAN, is described as the "**party of modern employers**". It could be seen as the "**party of reformist TUSIAD<sup>1</sup> members.**"

"The party of modern employers" joined the talks in accordance with the interests of their own class: the present regime was the base, its fundamental concepts could not be argued. But without certain "democratisation" to continue the present regime, neutralise people and finish the guerrillas was impossible. In short, that is, the PAN was the representative of a clever and fully confident bourgeoisie and the support of European imperialists was with them.

The bourgeoisie found the chance to get what they wanted from the peace treaty. In the concept of the signed agreement between guerrillas and government, the present regime is the main reference. Capitalism is untouchable. There are also no changes in the principles of relations with imperialists, that is, neocolonialist relations. Some economic improvements and reforms for democratisation are the essence of the agreement. The possibility of making such improvements and the degree of them are another matter and there is

## **How come imperialism supports "peace"?**

Europeans brought peace to El Salvador.

Europeans also support the "peaceful" initiative of the EZLN in Mexico.

Europeans supported the "democratic elections" in Nicaragua which were nothing but a counter-revolution.

And in Guatemala, the architect of "peace" is again the Europeans. Who are these Europeans? What do they want and why do they work on "peace" so

much?

These imperialists are either friends of the people of the world, - which means they have changed a lot - or, all these "peace" policies are for their own benefit.

If the answer is the second one, another question occurs: how can the interests of imperialists and the people of the world be same? Can they be?

The answer to this is known very well, historically and

scientifically, and it is against the reality of life and the world.

International capital wants to destroy all the forces which prevent the development of the monopolies. The left is also engaged to this. Europe says, so much credit if you do that. The initiative of democratisation and the work of the agreement are European imperialism's.

For instance, the final sentence of TUSIAD in

their programme called "the perspectives for democratisation" is; "**for the development of capital these things are necessary**".

If you do not aim at revolution and socialism, you will be tied to to monopoly capitalism's cart. This happened in El Salvador. Now it is Guatemala's turn.

### **A small illustration from El Salvador**

Last spring, the FMLN (formerly, the leftist

no guarantee either.

One of the decisive points of the peace treaty is that the application of the reforms in Guatemala is up to parliament. The same parliament carried the responsibility for exploitation, tyranny and war against the people for years. So, "peace" was left to the promises and guarantees of this parliament.

We can say that guerrillas and the URNG will also be legalised and be able to send their representatives to the parliament. However, according to the peace treaty, the elections will take place in 1999. The guarantors of the elections are also the masters of the regime. That is, everything was left to them.

A complete swindle.

**How will the finance for peace be provided?**

Government needs \$2.5 billion for certain applications and investments according to the signed "peace" agreement. For this reason two sources were foreseen; taxation and the European Union.

The government wants to get \$800 million of it from taxes. So, **who will pay the taxes?** The answer to this question is obvious. As they suffered during the war, poor people will also suffer during the "peace".

The second source of the finance, the EU had promised \$60

million during four years following the treaty. When this amount was compared with \$2.5 billion, it is nothing. But European imperialism proved that they back the "peace" treaty. In fact, in order to get rid of the guerrilla war which threatens neocolonial relations, imperialism was ready to pay more. However the conditions of the loan and credit repayments should be considered carefully. Because the imperialistic way is not a secret for the countries of the third world.

**First throw away your weapons, the rest will come later!..**

Some of the items of the December 6, 1996, agreement are expected to be started by the year 2000. But almost all of them are mere hopes. In fact, when you read the items one by one, the common point of them is **uncertainty**.

There are certain subjects requiring changes. But how and when? The treaty does not answer these questions. Besides, most of the demands are very limited. As a result, the bourgeoisie say **"leave your weapons first, the rest comes later"**. In the magazine *Latin America Andes Panorama* there were interesting evaluations of the "peace" treaty in Guatemala. Some are;

**"The peace talks are formed to fit the existing state of affairs,**

**rather than a long-term reform policy. This agreement can also be seen as the programme of the government. The subjects which are planned to be altered are mentioned in a very flexible manner and the targets are set too low. The state will easily be able to cheat people in the next elections.**

**"The war ended for now. But there is enough ammunition for a social explosion. The economic developments will determine it."**

This is in fact the summary of the situation. There is nothing to be solved or done, as far as people are concerned.

One of the most important things about the agreement is that land reform was not mentioned. Only **"it is being CONSIDERED to organise a fund and let people use it!"** The injustice and inequality in land distribution will be CHANGED by letting people use the fund! This method was used in El Salvador and was unsuccessful. If the land reform could not be debated and solved, the following articles of the "peace" treaty will have no value.

**"Since there are many different cultures and languages in Guatemala, the identity of the indigenous people will be accepted."**

**"The return of the migrated indigenous people to their lands will be provided."**

guerrillas) won the elections in El Salvador. The FMLN had gone as far as it could go with "peace". What will they do? What can they do?

The success of the FMLN in the elections will not bring any important changes in the daily life of the people of El Salvador. Nobody has such an expectation. For in the present situation, the position of the FMLN is being the government as one of the "parties of the regime". Their capabilities will be within the boundaries of a

reformist party of the system. The human rights activist from El Salvador, Victoria Marina de Aviles describes the situation: **"Half of the population of 5.8 million live on the edge of poverty, the situation is getting worse and unemployment is increasing enormously."**

"Peace" made this situation legitimate. The rector of the University of Central America talks about the violation in El Salvador. **"Together with poverty and unemployment, violence**

**reached to the highest level. According to the statistics, between the Latin American countries, El Salvador is the worse for violence. After the end of the conflict, 8,000 people die every year as a result of violence"**. What is the use of "peace" in a country where 8,000 people kill or are killed?

This type of "peace" gave up the ideas of people's power and independence. This inclination in the armed struggle tradition of Latin America requires serious

research. This inclination had abandoned the perspective of power and its socialist conscience. One thing was proven many times that the liberation of the people and freedom can only be achieved through their own power and revolution, not through the "peace" plans of imperialism. The only positive side of these examples of "peace" is that they prove once again what we said in the above sentence.

<sup>1</sup> TUSIAD: Association of industrialists and businessmen of Turkey





SAVAŞIMIZ  
EŞİTLİK, ADALET  
VE ÖZGÜR VATAN  
TOPRAKLARI İÇİN

*"We Are  
Fighting For  
Equality,  
Justice And A  
Free Country*