

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND OLIGARCHY

# DEVRIMCI SOL



September 1997

REVOLUTIONARY LEFT  
Revolutionary Political Review About Turkey And Kurdistan

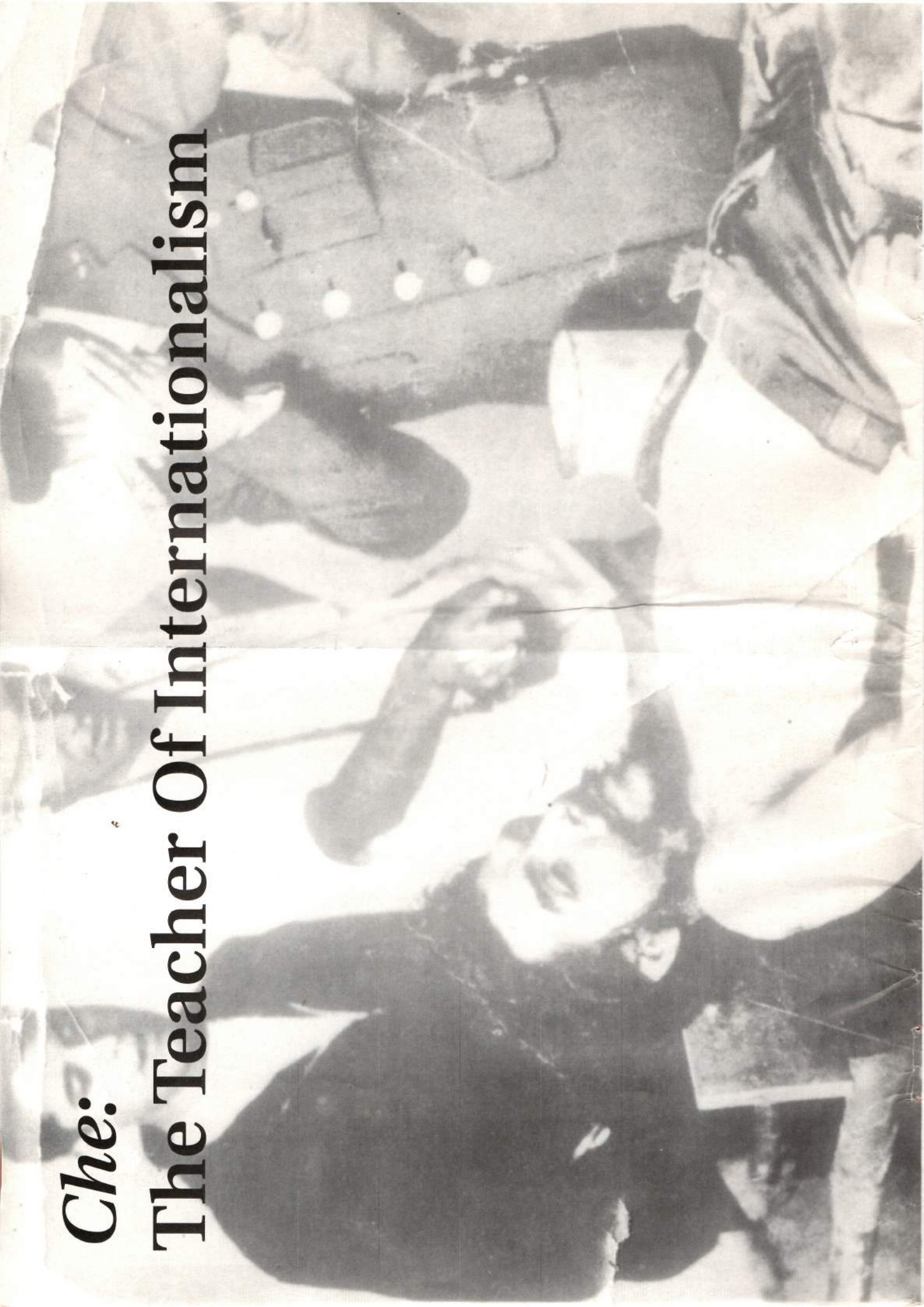
# DHKP-C:

*“We Fight  
For An  
Independent,  
Democratic  
And Free  
Country”*



*Che:*

# The Teacher Of Internationalism





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## Settings up revolutionary people's power

# THE CONSTITUTION: THE PROGRAMME OF THE REVOLUTION

**S**usurluk shook the fascist Turkish state to its very foundations. The reality of the Turkish state, the face of the contraguerrillas, whose mask had been gradually exposed by revolutionaries over a period of decades - this was revealed to everyone in a moment by the accident. All attempts by the bourgeois parties, which are up to their necks in filth, all attempts by the oligarchy and the monopolies to sweep Susurluk under the carpet, or to stabilise the system by offering up as sacrifices some of those whose guilt was all too obvious - all these came to nothing. Because of Susurluk, the people lost faith in the credibility of its rulers.

This is no reason to lean back and wait for the inevitable collapse of the system. It is no secret that the Turkish state is able to overcome the Susurluk crisis. The methods which it has at its disposal to do this take many forms. Using discussion of the case in the media, it pretends to have resolved the crisis. The people are to be given the impression that there are honest and sincere forces in our country equipped with expertise who are dealing with the matter. The media are also used to push other events into the foreground in order to shove Susurluk into the background and make people forget about it as much as possible. Artificial conflicts are pla-

ced on the agenda. In order to hide the face of the contraguerrillas once more, and into the bargain to pose as the only force capable of saving the state, and seeking also to discipline the bourgeois parties, the military declared that the "secular state is in crisis". The threat of a coup to save the

among the people. At the same time, the revolutionaries must undertake the task of organising the people in the struggle for this revolution.

To carry out these tasks, the revolutionaries must not copy the strategy and tactics of revolutions of the past. Today it is not possible to lead



"Kemalist basis" of the state from encroaching Islamicization also played its part in diverting the attention of the people from reality. The revolutionaries must not allow the protests by the people, which following Susurluk rose to levels never previously reached, to ebb away again. On the contrary, the task of uniting the people's protests and directing them towards a common target is more urgent than ever before. Only revolution can remove the filth of Susurluk. Consciousness of this must be spread

the struggle by resting it upon the ideology and tactics of various socialist countries and imitating their policies. But the left in our country has forgotten its roots to such an extent that it is developing strategy and tactics that attempt to capitalise on the conflicts within the ruling class and to form alliances with them. Their attitude is determined by pragmatism alone. Supposedly there are many people in intellectual and left-wing circles who know the methods of disinformation and psychological



**Organising the people for the struggle must be made into a reality among the people and with confidence in the people. Only a people's revolution, a revolution which carries the people's demands on its banner, is capable of establishing people's power. Only a revolution can clear the garbage away. Only a revolution can make Turkey into an independent and democratic country. Only through revolution can the Kurdish people's right to self-determination be realised. These slogans describe the people's demands and show how they can be achieved.**

warfare used by the contra-guerrillas. They have written countless sheets of paper on this subject but this apparent knowledge is not reflected in the actual struggle. The standpoint of the revolutionaries must remain clear. If our attitude to the enemy is not focused, if we do not make it clear who is a friend and who is an enemy, then our assessments of the enemy's actions will turn out to be false.

Organising the people for the struggle must be made into a reality among the people and with confidence in the people. Only a people's revolution, a revolution which carries the people's demands on its banner, is capable of establishing people's power. Only a revolution can clear the garbage away. Only a revolution can make Turkey into an independent and democratic country. Only through revolution can the Kurdish people's right to self-determination be realised. These slogans describe the people's demands and show how they can be achieved. These demands are the demands of people in Turkey, whether they are

Kurds, Turks, Laz, Cherkess, Arabs, Georgians, Alevi or Sunni, people of all ethnic groups and religious backgrounds in Turkey. The struggle for these demands means uniting and organising the people and leading it in the fight against the contra-guerrilla state of Turkey, in the struggle to set up revolutionary people's power.

Susurluk has shown that despite all splits among the left-wing, revolutionary and democratic forces, despite a false and pragmatic attitude and inadequate activities, a potential for resistance among the people has developed which must be taken seriously. It is possible to organise this potential against the rulers, by uniting it and ridding it of its unplanned nature. But if this is not taken seriously and discussed properly, if everybody acts according to his or her individual whim, if we do not work out our sense of collective consciousness and develop discipline, we will not be able to achieve any results that can be taken seriously. The enemy will try to sabotage any efforts towards unity. We must show in practice how to attain this unity and win the trust of the masses. From this point of view, whether we stand together or not when under attack by the enemy is a matter of particular importance. Programmes for unity which remain on paper and are not put into practice and do not mobilise the masses will lead to nothing.

It is the task of revolutionaries to expand both the war and the organisation of the people in all areas. The armed struggle and the guerrillas are of strategic importance in this. The armed struggle is the guarantee of the people's future and power. We must never lose sight of this strategic perspective. If we do not increase the scale of the people's armed forces, step by step, we will find it impossible in the long term to broaden and make secure the people's organisations. On the other hand, the broadest forces of the people's opposition must be united and organised.

It was from this perspective that

the people's councils were set up, on the initiative of the DHKP-C. The people's councils are forms of organisation in which the people themselves, with regard to the problems of everyday life, develop ways and means to live together, irrespective of nation, nationality and beliefs. In these people's councils the revolutionaries absolutely must occupy their place. Their aim must be to increase the scope of the people's councils, to institutionalise them and to direct them against the system. These people's councils must not be structures in which the "failings" of the Turkish state are removed through "self-help". Far more, those who are responsible for the lack of an infrastructure, water, inadequate education systems and so on, those who are responsible for poverty, exploitation and oppression must be named and accused. Poverty, exploitation and oppression will be removed neither by sending petitions to the rulers, nor can "self-help" deal with the "inadequacies" of the state. The revolutionaries know that only revolution can sweep this rubbish away, and that problems can only be solved by smashing the system and setting up revolutionary people's power. Every right, every small improvement in the people's living conditions will have to be wrung from the imperialists and the Turkish collaborationist oligarchy through hard struggle. A democratic, independent Turkey in which there is freedom of opinion and speech, the right to strike and the right of assembly, in which poverty, exploitation and oppression have been abolished, in which people of all nations, nationalities and beliefs, the peoples of Turkey, are brothers and sisters and can live in dignity - this can only be brought about through setting up revolutionary people's power. None of these rights, people's power, will simply be given to us, nor can we achieve them peacefully, through reforms. Such a Turkey must be won through the struggle against the rulers. As political structures, the



people's councils must, as organisations of this struggle, be institutionalised and propagated, this is the task of the revolutionaries. We must set ourselves the task today, that all the people's forces, no matter what nationality or belief, no matter what profession they have, unite and organise in the struggle for revolutionary people's power under the demand for an independent, democratic Turkey. The people's councils must be seen from this perspective.

As a result of this development, a draft constitution has been formulated by the DHKP-C. This draft, on the basis of an independent, democratic Turkey, in which the people rule themselves through the people's council, is the concrete answer to the problems of the people. Solutions to problems of education, infrastructure, accommodation and work will be developed which are sufficient for the people's needs, the freedom of assembly, thought, belief and the right to strike will be guaranteed, along with the right of a nation to self-determination. Workers, peasants, small-scale producers, small businessmen, youth, women, our people living abroad, people of the Kurdish and Turkish nations, the Cherkess, Arab and Laz nationalities will find suggestions for solutions

to their problems in this draft. It was not a matter of putting together a good constitution on paper. A few wordsmiths and experts in constitutional law could do as much. The chief aim was also not one of collecting the people's views and suggestions and putting them on paper. Of course that will be done. To put it more accurately, at the end of this work such a result will arise naturally. But this was only an objective, and not the most important one. We approach our chief aim more closely if we ask ourselves what we want to achieve by proposing a constitution and by campaigning, what we expect and what result we desire. The answer to these questions must be clear to every member of the Front who takes part in the campaign and discusses the draft with the masses. Today the Front's claim to seize power is greater than ever before. It is a force that represents an alternative to the current system. This is the result of the struggle which has been going on for decades, in which hundreds of its people fell, in which it paid a high price and created a tradition. The draft of this constitution is not an academic game confined to paper, but the result of our persistence on the path of revolution. We say we will carry out the revolution

and make the constitution a reality.

The constitution is a stepping stone on the path to seizing power. It is simultaneously a programme for revolutionary people's power as well as a programme of the Front, the programme of the revolution.

The revolutionary people's power will be the revolutionary power of the people. The burning question on the agenda in Turkey is the formation of revolutionary people's power in a united front of workers, civil servants, peasants, small-scale producers and small businessmen, with intellectuals and artists. An anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic revolution of the people. This is a reality which is outside our subjective influence and our subjective intentions and is determined by the socio-economic and class structure of our country.

The revolution will be carried out and revolutionary people's power will be established under demands for an "independent, democratic state, a state in which nations and peoples are free, in which work, justice and the inviolability of human dignity count as the highest virtues, a state in which the people themselves rule", or to put it briefly, it will be under the demands in the draft constitution of the people's united forces.

**BE SURE TO ORDER THIS!**

**DRAFT OF A PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTION**

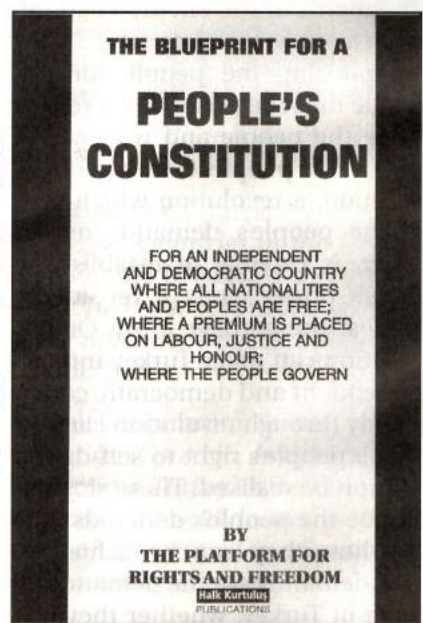
For an independent, democratic state, a state in which nationalities and peoples are free, in which work, justice and the inviolability of human dignity are considered the highest virtues, a state which is ruled by the people themselves.

The support and solidarity of international progressive forces will strengthen the struggle of our peoples. Discussion about the constitutional draft is open to the opinions and suggestions of our friends from all the nations on this earth. Constructive criticism will be as welcome to us as approval.

We live in different countries. We have different characteristics imprinted by history, tradition, social conditions and particularly the conditions created by the struggles of our peoples. We ask you to take this into account.

For a world without exploitation, in which all peoples live together in freedom and fraternity.

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# You cannot escape The Justice Of The People!

**I**n recent weeks the DHKC carried out two actions and scored a victory in a clash with the forces of the counter-guerrillas. The first action was an attack on the counter-guerrilla centre in Istanbul on June 16, 1997. The building in which the central police headquarters in Istanbul is located, on Vatan Caddesi, was attacked with an antitank rocket launcher. The police headquarters here is the principal torture centre in Istanbul. The two fighters who fired the rocket launcher succeeded in leaving the area without being recognised. This is the statement issued by the DHKC about the action:

## “ATTAK ON THE COUNTER-GUERILLA CENTRE IN ISTANBUL”

“**T**he police headquarters, officially called the Istanbul Security Centre, but known to the people as Vatan, is the centre of oppression and terror. It has been used by the police there for years as the centre of torture, massacres and disappearances, every type of oppression and terror. Although the same building complex contains other police departments such as the narcotics department, the department for foreigners and so on, its actual task is to serve as the “anti-terror department”. Vatan is a centre of the counter-guerrillas. All other functions are subordinated to this purpose. Although this centre and the National Intelligence Servi-

ce MIT are jointly responsible for attacks and crimes against the people, they are organised independently of each other because of internal disputes. The Istanbul Security Centre has stepped up the struggle against the revolutionaries gradually, with support from the government. In all Turkey's cities, the designation “security centre” was changed to “anti-terror department”. In the countryside, the gendarmerie deals with this ‘work’. In recent years the counter-guerrillas have gone outside the framework of the Special Units (Turkish: *özal Harp Dairesi*) and grown. Their tens of thousands of staff ‘defend the state’, and the counter-guerrillas are an official institution.

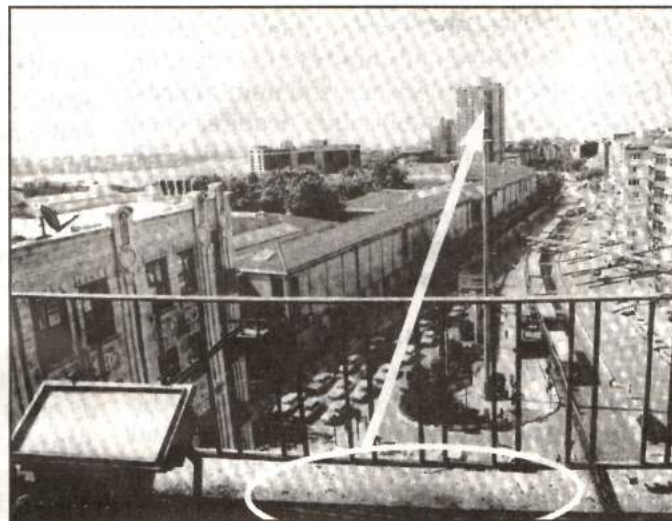
Police and gendarmes have shown with massacres, torture and war against the revolutionaries and

Istanbul. Working in Istanbul is what every counter-guerrilla dreams of doing. While they can carry on massacring revolutionaries there, they can also earn a lot of money through smuggling, drug dealing, fraud, prostitution and similar activities.

The Susurluk state and the bands came about and grew in this way. For this government ministers, the military, the bourgeois parties and the imperialists are all directly responsible. Calling the counter-guerrillas to account also means calling the fascist Susurluk state to account. This fascist state is responsible for murdering thousands of revolutionaries and patriots, for torture and for imprisoning tens of thousands, for driving millions of people from their villages, for hunger and poverty. On June 16, at 17:15, we hit the State Security Centre HQ in Istanbul, one of the most important installations of the fascist Susurluk state, with a rocket-propelled grenade. We returned without losing any of our fighters. Whatever security precautions they may take, we will find the murderers of the people and carry out dozens of actions like this one, when it is necessary.

For our dead and for our own blood that is spilled, we will continue to demand a reckoning! We will continue to fight on against fascism and for peoples’ justice!

**Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Cephesi  
Revolutionary People's Liberation  
Front”**



the people that they are taking on and carrying out the functions of the counter-guerrillas. Many staff members of the Istanbul Security Centre carried out massacres and tortured people in other towns and areas before being transferred to



**O**n July 14, 1997 at 08:15 we fired on the officers' mess of the MGK (National security Council) headquarters in Istanbul with an antitank grenade launcher. This is a statement by the Revolutionary People's Liberation Front - DHKC:

**WE HAVE STRUCK THE OFFICER'S MESS OF THE MGK HEADQUARTERS IN ISTANBUL. THE MGK AND GOVERNMENTS WILL PAY FOR THEIR MASSACRES WE WILL DEMAND A RECKONING FOR OUR DEATH FAST MARTYRS!**

“In the 1996 death fast, 12 revolutionaries fell. They fell for the independence of the countries, the liberation of the peoples and as a sign of human dignity and pride. The real controller of the state, the MGK, massacred 12 revolutionaries and left dozens injured. Under the leadership of the MGK and TUSIAD and a REFAHYOL government, one of the bloodiest massacres in our country took place. The number of wounded, tortured and prisoners grew with every day. That the bourgeois parties are just a handful of people who have only their own interests at heart became a little more obvious with every day that passed. When the political parties could no longer defend the interests of imperialism and the monopolies, the MGK filled this gap, pushed itself ever further forward to first place and in the political arena, took over the official functions of a party. The MGK, which has military power in its hands, is now beginning quite openly to take economic, political and military decisions and rule all the bourgeois parties. This was the case in the entire history of the Republic of Turkey. But for the first time its ties to the parties have been uncovered and exposed to the light of day. Today, any ordinary citizen knows that the real power in the state is the

MGK and all developments in this country come about on its basis. The bourgeois parties and governments are officials working for the imperialist collaborators, the MGK and TUSIAD. For this reason the MGK and TUSIAD are the chief perpetrators of everything that the governments commit. In the first place, the ones responsible for massacres, disappearances, executions, the denial of rights, exploitation and acts of cruelty are the military and the monopoly collaborators, as well as the bourgeois parties which are all connected to them. The Mesut Yilmaz government was founded by the MGK and its task is to oppress and exploit the people's masses yet further. The government programme on no account contains decisions in the people's favour, such as in relation to the massacres, torture and disappearances, and the demand for a reckoning, the prevention of exploitation and cruelty, rights and freedoms, making democratic development easier, letting imperialism, the monopolies and major landlords know our opinion, the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination, the punishment of those who commit crimes against the people, the cancelling of the constitution arising from the September 12, 1980 coup and so on...

The stabilisation they talk about is the stabilisation of the situation for the imperialists and monopolists. And this stabilisation requires even greater pressure and exploitation. We send a warning to the MGK and the government:

'For this reason, on July 14, 1997 at 08:15, we fired on the officer's mess of the MGK's headquarters in Istanbul with a grenade launcher. After the action, our fighters withdrew without suffering loss. The news in the media that they had been "caught", is completely mendacious and is aimed at waging psychological warfare.'

Put an end to the politics of exploitation and cruelty.

As long as the policies of the fascist enemies of the people continue, we will continue our actions.

The MGK, TUSIAD and the fascist governments are the murderers

of our people who fell in the Death Fast, and all our fallen.

**FOR OUR DEATH FAST MARTYRS AND ALL OUR MARTYRS, WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY, FOR A LAND WITHOUT EXPLOITATION AND CRUELTY, WE WILL HOLD THE MGK AND ITS GOVERNMENTS ACCOUNTABLE! LONG LIVE THE DEATH FASTERS THE GENERATION OF HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION**

**DEVİRİMÇİ HALK KURTULUS CEPHESİ**  
**Revolutionary People's Liberation Front**

**D**HKC GUERRILLAS IN THE BLACK SEA AREA. In the rural areas the guerrillas of the DHKC in the Black Sea area were active on several occasions recently. They are an ever-increasing nightmare for the oligarchy: In the rural areas the guerrilla struggle and the people's support for the guerrillas is growing. In an armed clash between the forces of the counter-guerrillas and the armed propaganda units of the DHKC on June 24 in the village of Kulca in the Niksar/Tokat region, two counter-guerrillas were wounded. The counter-guerrillas came up against the "Recai Dincel" guerrilla unit while trying to carry out operations in the area.

Local villagers say that the two counter-guerrillas were killed, but there is no confirmation of this from official sources.

In another clash on July 5, 1997 at 11:30 in the same area, near the village of Sadiroglu, the oligarchy lost an NCO and a soldier. The enemy is also said to have lost three wounded. The guerrillas suffered no losses.

On the night of July 7, at 23:30, the central police station in Niksar was attacked by a unit of DHKC Black Sea guerrillas of the "Recai Dincel" unit. The guerrillas also managed to withdraw without loss. The "Recai Dincel" guerrilla unit has not yet issued a statement about the action.



# DEVİRİMCİ HALK KURTULUŞ CEPHESİ

Presse Office

June 10, 1997

Statement No. 54

## “The People of the Party-Front never surrender”

*Süleyman Örs, a fighter of the Party-Front, fell on June 9, 1997, near Gaziosmanpasası/Istanbul.*

In spite of an order from the police, Süleyman Örs, following the tradition of fighters of the Party-Front, refused to hand over his gun and surrender. It was in full consciousness of this tradition that he engaged in a gun battle with the police. At the start of the clash, he fired on the police, wounded one and attempted in this way to get out of the area. But in a short time the area was swarming with the units of counter-guerrilla perpetrators of massacres, who also had

support from helicopters in the sky. The enemy fired wildly without giving thought to the safety of local people.

Thinking of the dangers that could result for the people from an armed clash in the middle of the street, Süleyman chose to make his stand in a gecekondu (slum dwelling).

He stayed true to the tradition of SIBEL YALCIN and fought to his last bullet and yelled out to the fascists that the fighters of the Party-Front never surrender. Although the counter-guerrilla scoundrels come in their hundreds, they have never

once succeeded in taking our fighters alive, they could not even come close. Dozens of bombs and thousands of bullets brought the building down and yet they could only take away the corpse of our fighter.

Süleyman Örs is neither a fighter of the Sibel Yalcin SPB (Armed Propaganda Unit), as claimed by Istanbul counter-guerrilla chief Ramazan Er, nor was he on the wanted list for two years. Ramazan Er is trying in this way to legalise his executioner's role.

Süleyman Örs was born in Sivas/Zara in 1974. He was a member of the Kurdish nation and the son of a peasant family. He earned his living from various kinds of work. In 1993 he got to know the revolutionary struggle and worked locally (in city districts) carrying out various kinds of work. In 1996 he became operational in the SPB. He fell on June 9, 1997. Those who assume they can wipe out our fighters and exterminate us are making a mistake. All such people will experience is their own liquidation! Thousands of fighters will live in the Party-Front, as Süleyman lived, thousands will go to war and will win victory!

**WE WILL AVENGE SULEYMAN!**

**REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S  
LIBERATION FRONT**

## A NEW EPIC... “I WILL NOT SURRENDER”

**SULEYMAN EXPRESSED 30 YEARS OF  
HISTORY IN MINUTES...  
ALL OUR TRADITIONS WERE BROUGHT TO  
LIFE BY HIM IN A MATTER OF MINUTES...**

June 9, 1995... It is 0715: the day has just started. A summer morning. And the sound of a young woman commander's gun. Street after street in Okmeydani heard the sound of her gun. A clash which was fought out street by street. Cover was sought at every street corner. The dark narrow streets were bathed in freedom by the bullets of a guerrilla. And in

a tiny gecekondu, commander Sibel Yalcin has taken just minutes to summarise an entire history. June 22, 1996... Adalet... In an action... “Like Comrade Sibel”, she says, and like her comrade she fights her battle street by street. Sibel's epic is replayed from the gun of Adalet, from Kagithane it spreads to all Istanbul and Anatolia.

June 9, 1997... Another year passes into the ballads of heroism and a new one is written. This time it is Süleyman's ballad that is sung... Sibel's weapon, Adalet's weapon, these are now taken up by Süleyman. The battle in the streets begins. The song of the bullets does not subside. Sibel shoots, Adalet shoots,



Süleyman shoots. For Sibel, for Adalet, for his beloved country, for its freedom, for which he will give his life, for his people. Another bullet, and yet another... Our guerrilla is without fear... Our guerrilla attacks, our guerrilla has courage. While the swarms of executioners tried to take cover behind even the smallest rock, HE FIRES. He fires on the enemy without stopping. Another bullet, and another. Süleyman calls the enemy to account. He demands a reckoning. He demands a reckoning for a century of oppression, hunger, poverty, misery. He demands a reckoning for the screams from the torture centres, for the defenceless, for the children shot in the back, for the humiliations, for the mothers who have to look for their disappeared children on the rubbish heaps. He is the revenge of Gazi, he embodies the rage, the rebellion of the people. He is the people. He lives for his commanders, his comrades, his people... Sibel and Adalet are with him. They are also firing. The panic of the enemy grows more and more... FIRE

Each shot that you fire makes the struggle, our struggle, resound. Hundreds of the murderers were not enough, thousands of them could have come but they could not take you. You were alone, but in reality in those moments you were the Party-Front. In a few minutes our 30-year history could be seen. The murderers saw you, the Party-Front, our history and their fear of it was written all over their faces. The inhabitants of the Karayollari neighbourhood in the Gaziosmanpasa district, who saw the clash from beginning to end, are impressed by the resistance and the heroism this person showed in the face of hundreds of police with their armoured cars and helicopters.

"He was alone. If you touch the shed he hid in with your finger, it will collapse. Hundreds of police came. He did not let one get anywhere near him!"

"He quickly got out of a taxi and started to run, but he didn't see a lamppost and bumped into it. He wiped the blood from his forehead. While running he turned around constantly so as to keep firing at them.



Eventually he found cover there at the wall at the street corner and from there he made it to a coalshed. They could simply have brought him out alive but he would never have surrendered. For he did not look at all like someone who would give in. He knew he was going to die."

"They pulled his corpse out here. He had such a pure face, so young. His body was riddled with bullets. He had 50 entrance wounds in his body! I have never seen so many holes in one place. Any yet not one of them could get near him."

The next day. The shed looks like a sieve. The pool of blood has not yet dried. His shoe lies there, even it has been shot through and through. And then something is found on the wall. "DHK." This is the most beautiful reply one can make to the calls to "give yourself up!" coming from the hordes of murderers. Who should give up! Look at history. Esmâ and her comrades created this tradition in Eyuphane. And once again, someone lived up to it. Süleyman who replied to "give yourself up!" with "NEVER!", in the last minutes of his life took up the tradi-

on of his comrades and wrote on the wall the most valuable thing in his life, the name of his faith. Süleyman was a fighter for the DHKP-C, a fighter for his people, a fighter against everything inhuman that they try to stuff into our pores to make us like them: filthy, mendacious, perverse...

But Süleyman spat in their faces. Our people are not like yours, our people have not been corrupted. Our people, our struggle, our movement. Süleyman could never have surrendered, for a fighter of the Party-Front never surrenders to scum! Cicek Salgin, the mother of a martyr: "Süleyman fell for an honourable life worthy of human beings. He lived with his honour and died honourably.

Sooner or later, we will avenge Süleyman and all our revolutionary martyrs! If they lack honour, we have our justice. And the path of our justice goes via the struggle. Our martyrs are our honour."



# The Flags Of The Party-Front In The Mountains Of The Black Sea Are Waving Even Higher With Haydar And Bülent

**A**lthough our comrades were surrounded, they said "our flags will wave over all corners of this land." The defenders of this inheritance, the supporters of the Party-Front, have shown their ties to this inheritance under all manner of conditions. They have chosen as battlegrounds cities, mountains, valleys, everywhere where our people are, every patch of land. From Kurdistan to central Anatolia, from central

Anatolia to the mountains of the Black Sea they have spread themselves.

Whatever might be claimed by the counterrevolution, chauvinism and the progressively decaying government, namely that the supporters of the Party-Front could never again reach here, the Party-Front proved the contrary, by waving the banner of freedom in the mountains. Even if the price is hundreds or even thousands of dead, all the mountain tops and forest depths that they say we cannot reach belong to us. The supporters of the Party-Front reached the surf of the Black Sea, falling and then immediately getting up again. Despite the counter-propaganda of the fascists, the people have begun to know the guerrillas and learned to understand them.

The propaganda of the enemy was made ineffective. This dignity was borne by

people like Bahattin, Ali, Haydar and Bulent. Everything was built up from nothing. There were times when the guerrillas had to march through the mountains for days without recognising even a small portion of the ground they were traversing. Under fire from the enemy, they had to learn to escape while going without food or water. They learned to use everything as a weapon against the enemy as part of the practical aspects of guerrilla life, and to survive they learned to keep moving over ground. In order to spread the struggle, they had to get to know the mountains of the country, the people and the enemy. Knowing this also meant knowing ourselves. They were conscious of the high price, they knew that their lives would be weighed in the balance.

On the morning of August 5, 1997 a small unit of the Black Sea's Recai Dincel armed propaganda unit, which had set itself the task of spreading to even the remotest part of the region, was surrounded by the enemy near the village of Cuteli not far from Ordu, the capital of Fatsa province. Despite the attacks of the enemy, using hundreds of soldiers and heavy weapons, the unit continued our tradition of fighting on to the last bullet without surrendering. The

people of the Black Sea heard once more the voice of the weapons of the Party-Front, just as they had heard the sound of Kizildere and the weapon of Bahattin.

An end was put to the falsification of revolutionary history by fascism.

From now on in the mountains of the Black Sea the sound of liberation will not be silenced. The struggle goes on along the path that began in Kizildere. The fact that Ali Haydar Cakmak and Bülent Pak have fallen is not a blow by fascism against the guerrillas, on the contrary, it shows how the enemy has no way out, and that the enemy is powerless against the guerrillas is shown by the fact that we were able to reach areas the enemy said we could never reach.

**ALI HAYDAR CAKMAK  
(VEYSEL)**





**T**he commander of the unit, born in 1973 in Malatya / Arguvan, Kurdish origin, born into poor peasantry. Because of poverty he moved to Istanbul with his family. He grew up in the Gazi slum area. There he got to know every aspect of the system: he recognised what had to be done against it and he was conscious of the need to become a revolutionary. He understood that a dignified and honourable life was only possible if one was a revolutionary.

To be able to go to school he was forced to take on work on the side. In 1989, when he was in secondary school, he got to know the movement. The revolutionary movement was the answer to very many questi-

ons for him. He was trained by outstanding comrades like Ekrem Akin Savas, Faruk Bayrakci and Veysel Beysuren.

Aged 17, he was a committed Dev Genc militant. In 1992 he took on tasks in the Dev Genc militia. He always felt hatred towards the enemy.

This hatred pushed him on, the demand he made on himself for the revolution became greater and greater. Even when his connections to the movement were interrupted and he was completely on his own, he knew what had to be done and acted independently.

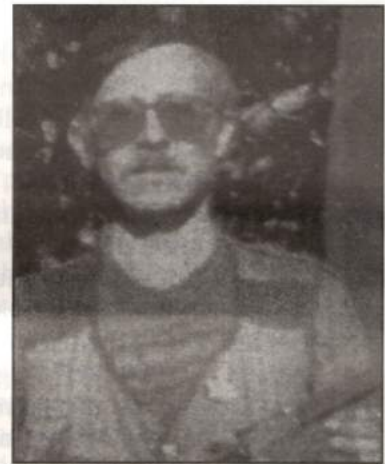
After the June 12 operation, he did not even need an order to tear a weapon from the enemy's hands and call him to account. He was

arrested and tortured on 20 occasions. Each time he came back out with his head held high. He knew captivity but he always returned to the struggle.

He was in the struggle, he was tortured, he was a prisoner. He, Ali Haydar, who grew up in Gazi, carried out the tasks allotted to him and was connected to the people and his comrades as befitted a supporter of the Party-Front who was the target of the enemy's attack.

He experienced the attack of fascism on march 12 and a peoples uprising.

## **BÜLENT PAK (SINAN)**



The deputy commander was born in 1958 in Eskisehir and was of Turkish nationality. Because his father was a soldier he spent his youth in various places. As a secondary school pupil he made a living working on building sites as an electrician and in electrical goods shops.

We can say that the history of the Party-Front and the history of Bülent were the same. In 1974 he began studying. In the same year, after the execution at Kizildere, the years began in which the ideology and politics of the THKP-C came under every conceivable form of attack, and every attempt was made to wipe out its history. Against open and concealed enemies the young militants, who wanted to carry on the legacy of the Party-Front in every place they found themselves, began to take steps to organise the Party-Front.

*We will call the enemy to account:*

## **"THE POLICE STATION IS A TARGET"**

*"The police station is a target" was the slogan used in an uprising by thousands of inhabitants of Gazi, the slogan of the demand for justice. Ali Haydar collected his comrades together with all speed and urged the people to rise up. Ali Haydar was at the head of the rebellion whose participants yelled "the police station is a target". On the first day that the committee was formed, he represented the Party-Front.*



*From the start of the uprising to the finish he ran from barricade to barricade. At every point of the people's uprising his efforts, diligence, courage and leadership skills were obvious.*

*He buried his fallen comrades on the spot where they had grown up, where they had come to know the struggle and the enemy. Then he took up tasks in the Ibrahim Yalcin armed propaganda unit. He fought under commander Sibel Yalcin.*

*In August 1995 he became acquainted with the struggle in the mountains. There he learned to be a rural guerrilla. He saw commanders, martyrs and traitors. But he lived gripped by the desire to spread and make greater the struggle. He fell with the joy of knowing that he had reached the mountains of the Black Sea region. He kept his word to his armed friends in the Party-Front, the martyrs of Gazi.*

*He wrote a page in the history of his fallen comrades in Gazi who he buried with his own hands, a history that stretched from Gazi to central Anatolia and from central Anatolia to the Black Sea.*



The embryo of our current movement, the Kurtulus (Liberation) group, was born in these years. Bülent, one of those responsible for the Academy of Architects and Engineers and the city district of Besiktas, took his place in this activity.

When there were attacks by civil fascists against youth and the inhabitants of shantytowns he was always at the forefront of efforts to repel them. In the Dev Genc phase after 1974 and in defence and organising to counter fascist attacks in Besiktas, Bülent played an important role. When the Devrimci Yol renegades came out into the open in 1978, Bülent played an active role in fighting them. He was one of those who took part in the meeting where Devrimci Sol was founded.

He was one of the leading cadres of Dev Genc and also took on tasks as a fighter in the "Units to Counter Fascist Terror", and he showed special energy in this. We can find the traces of his activity in dozens of clashes in the Besiktas area involving Dev Genc. Because of people like Bülent the fascists were never able to get the upper hand in the schools and streets of Besiktas. They did not spread their influence in the area, they could not engage in repression and no fascist strongpoints remained. Dev Genc became a nightmare for the fascists.

Bülent took up the long-term campaign of struggle by Devrimci Sol after the September 12, 1980 military coup, with the slogan "the junta cannot force 45 million people to surrender", as a leader of the masses, a fighter and a creative person in every situation. His efforts and activity showed themselves in many small and large operations against the enemy. The remote-control bombs used against the cars of the torturers in Fulya Deresi in Besiktas were his contribution.

The enemy still remembers them. When we suffered defeats, we kept on fighting. Bülent was one of those who kept on fighting. He became a prisoner but continued to fight. Captivity was not the end

of the struggle. He was well to the front in any resistance. He was one of the volunteers in the second Death Fast team in 1984.

## HE WAS A MASTER OF CREATIVITY.

**T**he dream of freedom for every prisoner combined with the inclination to struggle developed into an unquenchable passion. Bülent was one of those who lived their life gripped by this passion. And this passion, combined with creativity, showed itself in the "freedom actions" of which he was one of the architects and which amazed even the enemy.

The organisation of freedom actions from the cells of Ankara and Buca, whether known or unknown, cannot be discussed in terms of leading roles and creativity. Bülent became a legend in this sphere. To his mind, there were no obstacles that could not be overcome. Without wanting anything for himself he spent no day without a rope around his neck without fighting with great energy for the freedom of his comrades.

After his imprisonment ended, he was again in the thick of battle. "When I am separated from our movement for a day I feel like an orphan," he said. The movement was everything for him. He did not have such a strong attachment even to his family. 1990 was the beginning of our surge. As a part of this, he was one of the first cadres who worked at our Middle East camp to develop city and rural guerrillas.

With a limited number of people it was planned to simultaneously build the camp and start using it for instruction. Bülent made the camp ready in three months together with some friends so it could be used for training, by working day and night, despite some who said it would not be ready in a year. He was one of the instructors in the camp. In July 1991 he returned to Turkey with a quantity of weapons

and equipment and was again arrested.

After a short period of imprisonment, in 1992 he took up the task of organising guerrillas in the mountains of the Aegean. In 1993 he was arrested in the Aegean. The war went on. In the existence of a revolutionary there is no tiredness or exhaustion. They never accepted imprisonment as fate.

On July 17, 1995 he escaped together with three friends, the prison walls of Buca opening into the mountains of Sivas. When he died under the command of Ali Haydar, he had fought at every point of the Party-Front's history. Even when he showed shortcomings, he knew that with persistence one could get back on one's feet, and filled his whole revolutionary life with the struggle and left his history and personality as a legacy.

**WE WILL LET THEIR  
MEMORIES LIVE ON BY  
SPREADING GUERRILLA  
WARFARE OF THE BLACK  
SEA AND EVERYWHERE IN  
THE COUNTRY.**

**DEVİRİMCİ HALK  
KURTULUŞ CEPHESİ**

*REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S  
LIBERATION FRONT*

### Notes:

1. The reason why Ali Haydar and Bülent fell is that in the conflict zone a man named Yusuf Deniz had been arrested.
2. The TV report on August 7, 1997 showed a training camp of the DHKP-C from the year 1990-91. The TV report was propaganda against us. We have no camp in Syria. Moreover, the reports from August 8, 1997 about a fighter being murdered by the DHKP-C are a slander. The truth is that in Tokat/Sivas an enemy operation had been under way for some time. Kasim Tepe and Sevda Guler saw this as a chance to go over to the enemy. While doing that they were caught and punished with death.



# THE DEATH FAST IN 1996:

## “We will win victory with our martyrs”

A year ago, on May 20, a process began in which the brightest pages of the revolution in our country were written. These were characterised by close connections to the people and decisiveness in the quest for revolution. These pages carried the spirit of self-sacrifice. In these pages were written the traditions created by the DHKP-C. The Death Fast Action of 1996 was, in its ideological and cultural dimensions, and its consequences, an expression of the line of the Party-Front.

*The Death Fast of 1996 was the rebellion of a people, together with its heroes, and in the minds of the people a greater and greater wave of revolution arose. It was a wave which from moment to moment, from day to day grew larger. The attacks launched by the oligarchy were answered with counter-attacks.*

### THE OLIGARCHIE'S GOVERNMENT GOES ON THE OFFENSIVE

In March 1996, a long period of “government crisis” came to a head and the ANAYOL government (a coalition of the Anavatan or Motherland Party and the Dogru Yol or True Path Party) set out on its mission to annihilate the revolutionary movement and wage total war on the people. The naming of the contra-guerrilla chief Meh-

met Agar as the new justice minister was a clear sign that attacks on the people would be repeated, including in the prisons.

The oligarchy was afraid of revolution. As they were contemplating stepping up the disappearances, massacres and torture which they saw as an antidote to it, two events took place. The first was the anniversary of the Gazi Uprising of March 12, and the second was May 1, 1996. When the oligarchy set in motion its plan of attack for May Day, it received an answer it did not expect. Its attempts to unleash provocations were frustrated in the square in which May Day was celebrated. Despite three deaths, May Day was celebrated without any loss of enthusiasm or participation by the masses. The people showed that it had made its choice through its massive participation and

enthusiasm in the square, and this threw the enemy into a panic. They stepped up their attacks. At this point, the revolution and the counterrevolution began to wage war at the highest level. While the task of the revolutionaries to drive back the attacks and organise the people assumed even greater importance, the oligarchy pursued a policy of trying to choke off popular participation and intimidate it in order to secure the regime's supremacy.

### THE FIRST TARGET: THE PRISONERS

At this point the oligarchy opened its tactical offensive by publishing the May 6 decree. With this decree, the high security wing in Eskisehir, which they had earlier had to close because of the resistance of the prisoners, was re-opened. A policy of bans and encouraging betrayals was set in motion. In this way the enemy wanted to destroy the organisations in the prisons which they had never been able to undermine for years and which had turned the prisons into schools of revolution; they wanted to divide the prisoners against each other and pressurise them into betrayals so as to guarantee that they could never be a threat to the system. But an important aspect of this tactic is that it was based on making the prisoners defend themselves against these attacks aimed at their political identity and human dignity. This means that the oligarchy's



tactic was to use repression in order to intimidate the revolutionaries inside the prisons and the people outside who supported them.

Now it was a matter of what answer the revolutionaries would give to this tactic, and what their own tactics would be. It was clear that at this point the prisoners had come to the fore-front of the common struggle, and choosing the correct tactic would determine success. Furthermore, the reply to the state's attacks should be made in such a way as to expose the fascist nature of these attacks to the people, to neutralise the enemy's counterpropaganda and to breathe life into the people's resistance to fascism.

In this phase, it was determined that the revolutionary tactic of the Party-Front, as a form of general resistance to the oligarchy, would be to carry out an indefinite hunger strike in all prisons. The indefinite hunger strike is a form of resistance that lasts for a long time, acts as a form of propaganda and at the same time exposes the enemy's attacks step by step and triggers off the people's reaction to these attacks. So the Party-Front suggested the indefinite hunger strike to other groups. The result of the discussion: on May 20, nine revolutionary movements embarked on an indefinite hunger strike.

### THE RESISTANCE DEMANDS A RECKONING IN THE STREETS, TO BEGINN WITH

**E**specially through the efforts of the families, the indefinite hunger strike was placed on the agenda and protest actions became widespread. But the justice minister

Mehmet Agar and his government carried on with their plans and ignored the resistance. There was virtually a curfew. All actions at press conferences or telegrams of protests given by leaders of democratic mass organisations were without exception attacked



and people were arrested, and the least democratic reaction was, when it was discovered, stamped out through repression and torture. The oligarchy persisted in this tactic and put it into practice.

On June 3, 1996, the increasing ruthlessness of the political powers that be was shown by the attacks unleashed against a sit-down protest by the families of disappeared, martyrs and prisoners outside the Galatasaray high school, a protest which had been taking place over a period of months. Another indication was an attack on a press conference held at the same time by public service workers. At the same time, the press and the foreign media which came to the HABITAT II conference held in Turkey at the time were subjected to the same kind of ruthless attack.

But the families of the prisoners were determined that they would publicise their demands in spite of the attacks. After every attack they went back on the streets. A week later they were dragged away outside the Galatasaray high school and

arrested. Not just in Istanbul and Ankara but everywhere in the country, increasing support was expressed through hunger strikes and press conferences.

But the powers that be were determined to crush the increasing mass participation in resistance that had shown itself at Gazi and on May Day, and to inflict a heavy blow against the revolutionary movement and to win the battle of wills. In this conflict the prisoners also had to accept the need to wage a bitter struggle with all the readiness for self-sacrifice and determination they could muster. Otherwise it would be impossi-

ble to win the struggle.

Outside the prisons, where at this time the struggle and open clashes were becoming more significant, reformism decided to abandon its tactical postures which up to that time had only shown itself in press statements anyway, and it went out of its way to show that it did not stand on the side of the revolutionaries. It was clear that the revolutionaries in their struggle would have to be even more determined and hold a position that could overcome the enemy's will, and they had to step up their action in this way.

### IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO WIN WITHOUT PAYING A PRICE

**T**he Party-Front in its resistance programme started with this assumption. It was conscious that the enemy would not easily give up waging its total attacks and this process would inevitably exact a price. This struggle could not be won unless one accepted the need



to escalate the fight against the enemy. The name of this struggle in the prisons was the Death Fast. And the Party-Front based its action programme mainly upon the Death Fast.

The enemy's determination became even clearer in the following days. In the phase in which the questions about the enemy's policies and tactics were being answered, the Party-Front's prisoners put forward the idea of the Death Fast for discussion. In the first talks some groups were in favour, others were against it. Apart from the TIKB (Revolutionary Communists' Union of Turkey), which finally went its own separate way, the other groups which had originally been against the Death Fast began to move towards joining it. This showed that the struggle via the Death Fast resistance and the martyrs developed the armed and unarmed war which the Party-Front had been waging, and this influenced the opportunists in many ways, and the ideological direction of the Party-Front forced them to take part in the Death Fast.

That many of these groups had earlier called the Death Fast a form of suicide or adventurism and so on and had now agreed to it is of course positive at one level, but it also showed the ideological shapelessness of the groups that now came to take part in the Death Fast.

### ANAYOL NOW GAVE WAY TO REFAHYOL. THE RECKONING CONTINUES

**W**hile the prisoners were discussing the Death Fast, the oligarchy tried to resolve its crisis by forming a new government. The enemy used this as an opportunity to try and break the determination of the Death Fast prisoners. They sent the message. "A new government is being formed. End your hunger strike."

But for the prisoners, this war was a reckoning with fascism. And in this reckoning, the smallest

retreat would give the enemy courage to step up attacks and this would open the door to defeat. It was a revolutionary responsibility, at a time when the struggle with the enemy was at its highest level, to influence the process in favour of the revolution. And this war must be won at any price.

On the 41st day of the indefinite hunger strike it became clear which organisations would take part in the Death Fast. The DHKP-C, TKP (ML), [Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist)], the TKEP-Leninist [Communist Labour Party of Turkey-Leninist], the TKP/ML [Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist], the MLKP [Marxist-Leninist Communist Party], the TDP [Revolutionary Party of Turkey] and Direnis Hareketi [Resistance Movement] were to take part in the Death Fast as of the 45th day.

### THE WAR OF THE VOLUNTEERS

**T**he Party-Front's fighters were almost beside themselves with excitement. Twelve years after the heroic hunger strike of 1984, it was being done again, but on an even bigger scale. In dozens of prisons, hundreds of Party-Front fighters opted voluntarily to take part in the Death Fast. Together with the other groups, 161 volunteers took part in the first Death Fast team. In this dignified struggle they were right at the front. Apart from the Party-Front prisoners, the other groups were unanimously in favour of ending the indefinite hunger strike on the 55th day. The Party-Front fighters continued the indefinite hunger strike until the second Death Fast team began its hunger strike. On the 65th day the third Death Fast team was to start the Death Fast as a sign of continued determination. The main slogan for the Death

Fast Action was declared to be "We will win victory with our martyrs". Yes, this slogan reflected the political core and character of the Death Fast Action. This action was

## THE MARTYRS OF THE DEATH FASTS OF 1984 AND 1996 ARE THE CALL FOR LIBERATION AND VICTORY

*The martyrs of 1984 created a tradition of resistance under all conditions by hoisting the people's banner of liberation. This banner carried by the martyrs was raised again by the prisoners of freedom in the jails. This banner will wave until a free world without exploitation has been created. They resisted, fought shook the world and won a victory. They live on and continue to teach us and shake us out of our lethargy.*

**Abdullah Meral:**



"For a militant who has become one with his movement, and who has engaged in many phases of the struggle, nothing could be more natural and holier than to accept death with joy."

**Haydar Basbag:**



"I must say that the slightest hesitation I display would be a denial of everything I have experienced up to today and be a betrayal of the memory of comrades with whom I fought shoulder to shoulder and who today live and march on in the spirits, consciousness and hearts of the people."

**Hasan Telci:**



"In taking this decision I am proceeding from a sense of responsibility to humanity and consciousness of the holiness of human dignity."

**Altan Berdan Kerimgiller:**

"Comrades: I know that many of the comrades present here and hun-



a war of wills with the enemy conducted at the highest level. For the enemy, the force that is most feared is a person who accepts death. And once again this action showed the invincibility of the revolutionary will in people who are prepared to accept death. Every fallen revolutionary was a victory and a new barricade against attacks directed at the people. In this action, victory was achieved through the martyrs.

On July 3 the indefinite hunger strike reached its highest level through the Death Fast. In the traditions arising from the 1984 hunger strike, a historical process was entered. The war sharpened, one ran step by step toward the enemy. From this point, the enemy was being defeated cell by cell, the victory was being achieved with the martyrs. Again the enemy showed determination. Some on the left who could not analyse fascism and its policies properly now saw the true face of the Refah Party. Refah wanted to prove itself to imperialism and the oligarchy by striking a blow at the revolutionaries. So its spokesmen claimed, "They will not die." "The prisoners emptied out the canteen and stockpiled food supplies." "They are eating secretly." Refah engaged in demagoguery in order to weaken support for the prisoners. Every moment of the action was a clash, a war of nerves.

Yes, in those days public opinion was shaken by the obituaries of prisoners, but not from the prisons where this might have been expected, but from other jails where it was not expected. Five prisoners who supported the resistance of the revolutionary prisoners with their own solidarity hunger strike were murdered in Usak prison by civil fascist prisoners acting in concert with the prison administration. These prisoners wrecked the demagoguery and policy of the rulers and contra-guerrillas by their action in support of the Death Fast. The rulers had said, "The ordinary prisoners have no problems, it is OK for them. The political prisoners are engaging in actions to stir up

unrest." The massacre in Usak prison was a blatant example of the perversity of the contra-guerrillas and the threat they pose to the people.

### THE SECOND DEATH FAST TEAM IN THE FIRING LINE

**O**n July 13, 58 prisoners took part in the second Death Fast team. The Death Fast was being continued with great steadfastness together with supporting hunger strikers in the prisons. With the second Death Fast team everyone saw that their steadfastness was becoming greater and more obvious.

In the same days, the prisoners announced that they were ready to undergo blood and urine tests to expose as lies the claims of the enemy that they were eating. But the enemy did not have the courage to agree. If they had done that, all the lies that had been told would have been shown for what they were. In fact the oligarchy knew the revolutionaries well, they knew the prisoners from DEVİRİMCİ SOL and the DHKP-C especially well. The lie that "they are eating secretly" was produced in the first place to deceive public opinion, and secondly it represented the egoism and lack of faith of the bourgeoisie who said, "They will not die," "They cannot die."

### THE CALL BY THE REFORMISTS AND INTELLECTUALS FOR A "PAUSE"

**U**nfortunately the reformists in this process operated according to the same pattern as the bourgeoisie and its entire sensitivity showed itself in the words, "End the action, you may not die." The moment in which they became most sensitive was the moment when the second Death Fast team began its action! The sign of their sensitivity was the appeal, "Give up

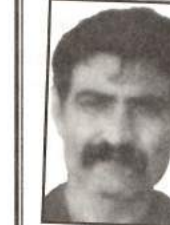


dreds of others in prisons in our country have volunteered for the Death Fast. This is a mighty force. You can be sure that we will carry this force all the way to immortality, because it represents our history and the traditions created in it along the path laid down by our ideology and leadership."



#### Ilginc Ozkeskin:

"I am convinced that we will win. For this aim I will fall, like my other comrades."



#### Mujdat Yanat:

"The Death Fast means being born again. In the process of becoming a party, becoming a party member through winning the struggle, this is a very important and major step that is being taken. My party is everything for me, my life and my feelings."



#### Ayce Idil Erkmen:

"When I decided to take part in the Death Fast, I thought of Sibel and Adalet. I will not be able to fire bullets at the enemy like they did. But I know that our victory will be a bullet exploding in the brain of the enemy." Her last words in the Death Fast were "I am a machine-gun."

#### Yemliha Kaya:

"Now is the time to go over to the attack. I will be worthy of my people, my comrades and my party. My Party and Front are the strongest force and the greatest source of support. Our comrades and martyrs are the greatest source of strength and support for me."





the action." It was obvious that in terms of their lack of faith the reformists were on the same track as the bourgeoisie. They did not try to support the action but instead sought to erect a barricade against it. Their appeals were in the name of the bourgeoisie.

The reformists, like the bourgeoisie, could not and would not believe that the prisoners would give dozens of martyrs. The  $\pm$ DP (Freedom and Solidarity Party) openly admitted this following the deaths. All these attempts to halt the action were frustrated. The death fast was an action in which all, young or old, knew in their conscience that the prisoners were approaching death with every passing minute, knew that mothers were having their heads and limbs broken on the streets because they supported their children. These actions exposed Refah as the representative of fascism, nobody could remain aloof from these events - everyone was deeply influenced and shaken. Actions in support increased in number, the number of people going out onto the street grew larger.

### THE FAMILIES ALSO PREPARED THEMSELVES FOR DEATH

**O**f course, three families of prisoners gave them the maximum support possible. On the 45th day they joined the prisoners in the death fast. the mother Nadire was 55, the mother Guzel was 60 and the father Ali Riza Eroglu was 62 years old. They said during the death fast, "We will not die so easily."

On July 10, three trade unionists and 10 workers announced at a press conference of the Belediye-Is union (public service workers) that, on the basis of a decision by the provisional executive committee of workers' councils, they were going on an indefinite hunger strike and had begun the Death Fast.

The indefinite solidarity hunger strikes spread throughout the country. In the same days the prisoners on the strike declared that they

would continue their indefinite hunger strike until all their demands were met.

### THE DEATH FAST TOOK STRENGTH FROM THOSE WHO FELL OUTSIDE THE PRISONS

**A**s the Death Fast Action neared the 60th day, the DHKC fighters Hassan Hüseyin Onat, Emine Tuncal, Ali Erturk and Gülizar Simsek fell in an exchange of fire outside the Gultepe police station in Istanbul which they had attacked. Adalet Yildirim had died on the 34th day of the Death Fast Action after an attack on the party office of the DYP [True Path Party] in a skirmish with the enemy. They were the ones who fell outside the prisons in the Death Fast Action.

The video cassette with the tape of the Death Fasters in prison was shown on foreign TV, but by order of the President it was forbidden to show it on Turkish TV. The tape was the voice of the prisoners which reached world public opinion. When actions in support began to take place abroad, this, together with the tape also moved foreign public opinion. Fascism was not only exposed in Turkey but also in the whole world. The conscience of the people of the world rose up.

### THE NUMBER OF DEAD INCREASE, DETERMINATION GROWS

**T**he TKP(ML) Death Fast fighter Aygun Ugur was the first to reach his target on July 21, the 63rd day of the Death Fast.

On July 20 there was a protest in Bagcilar/Yenimahalle in Istanbul against police attacks on the barricades in Gazi and also to salute the Death Fast. There, plain clothed and uniformed police deliberately shot dead the 17-year-old DHKC supporter Levent Dogan. He died on the spot.

The martyrs began to follow one another: on the 65th day, the first

Party-Front prisoner fell in Sagmalcilar. He was Altan Berdan Kerimgiller. In his last moments, he called out the slogan "long live our Death Fast resistance" and became immortal through his enormous willpower and determination.

While the martyrs went through their most powerful moments, the enemy were at their weakest. The enemy said, "They should die inside the prisons and they should be annihilated and killed outside." But this is not what happened. The prisoners did not dispense with death, the people's movement did not weaken and the world rose up.

At any moment the number of martyrs could have risen into the dozens. But it was not a time to withdraw, instead it was a time to spring forward. The Party-Front prisoners raised the battle of wills to a higher level with their third Death Fast team.

The families of the prisoners continued their street actions in Ankara and Istanbul. Every corner of Anatolia, great or small, was the scene of an action. The number of people on solidarity hunger strike rose into the thousands. On July 19, eight DHKP-C supporters began a solidarity death strike.

On the 67th day, there was news of more martyrs in the prisons of Anatolia. In Ankara, the MLKP Death Fast fighter Huseyin Demircioglu, in Bursa the TKP(ML) fighter Ali Ayata and in Aydin the Party-Front fighter Mujdat Yanat embraced death heroically.

The number of dead rose along with the number of those falling victim to mass arrests. Those who believed that there would not be deaths were forced to confront reality. There was no longer time for their commentaries and assessments, and even those whose convictions were the weakest were forced to act.

Were they too late? The families had a short answer for them: "You are too late." Could they prevent the deaths? No, the answer was not concerned with that. They were too late, had come too late to remember their humanity and human dignity. The prisoners went



along their road aware that they were about to die and that without dying they could not win victory. But every death that happened without bystanders lifting a finger chipped away a piece of the bystanders' humanity, their supposed advocacy of democracy, their alleged progressiveness. Yes, they were too late to remember that they were people.

### A LAST ATTACK BY THE ENEMY

**T**he enemy played their last trump card on the 68th day of the Death Fast.

They claimed that prisoners in Sıgırcılar prison had not permitted searches for six months and they had been forced by their organisations to embrace death. The enemy threatened to carry out an operation to "take the prisoners away from their organisations".

While they were making this threat, another two prisoners died. Ayce Idil Erkmek, the first woman in the world to die in a Death Fast, became the embodiment of the dignity of women in history. Together with this first woman martyr, Tahsin Yılmaz of the TIKB died in the same hours in Sıgırcılar prison.

So the prisoners entered the 69th day of the Death Strike. If an operation were to take place it would only increase the resistance through further martyrs. They had no fear of an operation. But they had to expose the demagoguery of the enemy. So they told officials that if they believed or claimed that anyone had been "forced into the Death Fast" they could ask the Death Fasters themselves. And whoever wanted to give up could do so. The lawyers of the prisoners made an official application and received information from prison authorities that searches were taking place regularly in prison, and this information was communicated to the

public. The enemy's last card was thus rendered null and void.

On the morning of the 69th day it was learned that on the 68th day the Party-Front prisoner Yemliha Kaya and the TIKB prisoners Hicabi Kucuk and Osman Akgun had fallen.

The enemy had been pushed so far that he had a choice: either to carry out an operation and cause the reaction and people's resistance to rise to the highest level, or to give in to the prisoners. For they knew that the prisoners would resist, hundreds of them would die but they would also kill, and the people



would show even greater anger and the revolutionary movement would strike with even greater force. The enemy opted for the second choice.

In talks, the enemy who had become helpless recognised he demands of the Death Fast resistance.

At 2330, the prisoners announced this historic victory to the world. It was July 27. But for the prisoners who had been coming up to the 70th day of the death fast, the line between death and life was not just a thin one but had disappeared totally. For this reason the TKP(ML) fighter Hayati Can died on the way from Bursa prison to the hospital just at the point that the hunger strike ended.

The Death Fast Action went into revolutionary history as an act of heroism with 12 martyrs and dozens of frontline fighters. But the Death Fast was not the last action, nor was the victory a final one.

### THE HISTORICAL PROCESS FROM WHICH THE DEATH FAST OF 1996 WAS DERIVED

**T**here are processes in the history of revolutions in which the revolution and the counterrevolution use all their weapons and engage in merciless battle and everything that is said and done with regard to revolution is put to the test in war. The only condition for passing this test is that those who claim to uphold the revolutionary struggle must be aware that they represent the people's hopes for liberation from a thousand years of oppression, and they must correspondingly behave in a fully conscious and responsible manner. Those who do not let the banner of liberation fall, those who come forward with dignity and in a deserving manner earn the right to be the hope of their peoples and the vanguard of the revolution and will leave their mark on history. And history is formed by the line that they follow.

The 27 years of history which began with the THKP-C and was carried on by Devrimci Sol and the DHKP-C up to the present, is full of impressive examples of resistance to fascism under the most difficult conditions, of socialist convictions, attachment to the people and faith in the ideology. This history is a history of courage and dignity which the martyrs have left us as our inheritance. The martyrs, who were ready to give their lives for the revolution, for the freedom of our homeland and the liberation of our peoples and whose consciousness, courage and conviction which could never be undermined, were able to defeat death.

The Death Fast of 1996 came about on the basis of this historical inheritance and the Death Fast strengthened this history and gave a boost to revolution.



# THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST ACTIONS OF DEVİRİMCI SOL were an expression of international solidarity

1

1977-1980

Imperialist installations and institutions were always targets of actions by Devrimci Sol, in support of national movements, wars for liberation by oppressed peoples and revolutionary movements and in opposition to imperialist attacks. Campaigns were started to reveal the existence of imperialist institutions and enterprises in our land and expose their activities directed against our people, and also to awaken anti-imperialist consciousness. As an expression of the struggle of Devrimci Sol against the loss of anti-imperialist consciousness among the people, and as a contribution towards the people accepting the anti-imperialist struggles of oppressed peoples as their own struggle, Devrimci Sol stepped up its international solidarity and never missed an opportunity to organise action involving revolutionary violence as well as meetings expressing protest and solidarity.

In the period before 1980, these were some of the anti-imperialist actions carried out on the basis of international solidarity:

In April 1977, a meeting was organised in protest at the presence of the Chilean ship *Esmeralda* in the harbour of Istanbul. The *Esmeralda* had been used as a torture centre in the bloody coup by Pino-

chet fascism. The Chilean consulate was partially destroyed.

In July 1977, a protest meeting against the Dutch state was organised outside the Dutch consulate in Istanbul, as a reaction to the cruel massacre of Moluccan guerrillas.

In July 1977, the people of West Sahara were bombarded by the French imperialists. A demonstration took place outside the French consulate to protest the behaviour of the French. The demonstration showed that the people of West Sahara and their leadership in the Polisario Front had friends on their side.

In August 1977, the fascist Shah's regime was accused of oppression and terror against the people of Iran. An effigy of the Shah was burned outside the Iranian consulate. The Iranian airline office in Harbiye was destroyed.

In September 1977, a campaign against NATO manoeuvres and US warships in the Bosphorus was started. Various meetings and events took place with the help of methods such as leafleting and putting up posters and stickers. US servicemen who made an excursion on land were beaten up and thrown back into the sea. Also in September 1977, the Macka Mining faculty was occupied by Devrimci Genclik (Revolutionary Youth), who used the

occasion to curse US imperialism.

After the storming of the Lufthansa jet in Mogadishu in November 1977 by German imperialists who killed two Palestinian hijackers, the German culture centre in Istanbul was destroyed.

In November 1978, Belgium attacked the guerrillas of Katanga. A protest took place outside the Belgian consulate in Istanbul which resulted in damage to the building.

In November 1978 there was a protest against the Camp David agreement, which was an attack on the Palestinian people by the imperialists and Zionists. In this way we expressed our solidarity with the Palestinian people. On the same day there were protests outside the consulates of the USA, Israel and Egypt, and the flags of these countries were burned. An attempt was made to storm the US consulate building.

In December 1978, the USA increased the activity of its bases, which had for a time been limited in scope. Turkey withdrew its troops from these bases and the USA installed its technical equipment and servicemen in these bases. So there were protests outside the US airline office, the streets were blocked with burning tyres, the office was pelted with stones and finally it was bombed. The cultural



attachÉ's car was stopped and destroyed with bombs. A protest took place outside the Pan Am office in Izmir, as a result of which the office was destroyed.

In August 1979 the most significant anti-imperialist actions took place under a banner which said, "For a completely independent Turkey which is not ruled by the IMF". Through slogans on the walls, banners with or without bombs attached and illegal meetings, the IMF and the oligarchy's true nature was exposed.

In many cities and districts in which Devrimci Sol was organised, thousands of people took part in the actions. The produce of Unilever and Migros was collectivised, to show the people who was responsible for the black market, which was created by the IMF and the monopoly capitalists. These products were brought to shantytown areas and distributed among the people. In Istanbul alone, 10 businesses belonging to the monopoly capitalists were raided. Many militants of Devrimci Sol rai-

ded these businesses and destroyed them without injuring the employees, and they hung banners from the windows and bombed the buildings.

A few days before the military coup of September 12, 1980, Devrimci Sol in Thrace started a campaign against NATO manoeuvres (Anvil Express-80) Tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed and meetings organised. On September 11, the streets were full of banners, with or without bombs attached, attacking NATO.

## ATTITUDE TO PREDATORY IMPERIALISM

# 1

1990-1991

On August 16, Devrimci Sol Güçler (Revolutionary Left Forces) assembled in Ankara's Ulus Cankiri Street. They blocked off both sides of the street with burning barricades and began to demonstrate, clutching banners in their hands. In the action, an American flag and an effigy of President Bush were burned.

On August 17, there was a demonstration outside the British consulate in Istanbul, in which 500 people took part.

On September 16 a demonstration was organised in Eminönü/Istanbul along with other left-wing forces, in which a mourning wreath was laid outside the US consulate.

Students of İY-İDER (Istanbul Student Association) carried out an action on board public transport. Instead of tickets, they put pieces of paper on which the words "No the war and inflation" were printed into the ticket cancelling machines. They also glued posters with anti-imperialist slogans onto the windows of public transport.

In September, 2,000 workers led by civil servants from BEM-DER and KAMSER held a rally outside the town hall in Istanbul, in which an American flag was burned. Moreover, revolutionary workers

organised a demonstration in Merter under the motto "No to imperialist war".

On September 23, Devrimci Sol Güçler held a rally against the imperialist war, attended by 1,500 people.

On October 8, the Committee against the Imperialist War was officially founded at a press conference. This committee organised many anti-imperialist actions.

On October 11, fires were started in 21 city districts as a protest against the imperialist war.

On October 15, 500 people protested the arrival of the US warship Saratoga in Turkish waters by going on hunger strike. Members of the revolutionary workers' movement İsci Hareketi issued statements in their workplaces, and US flags were burned.

On October 16, members of the committee "No to Imperialist War" went into the areas where US soldiers could be found. They punished American soldiers by beating them up.

On October 17 and 18, "pirate demonstrations" were carried out in many districts of Istanbul. Fires were started and an American flag and effigy of President Bush were burnt. This was a protest against the arrival of the Sara-

toga, imperialist war and price rises. On the same day, the DEMKAD women's movement held a protest against imperialism, war and price rises while holding empty saucers in their hands. Thousands of women took part in this action. This was one of the biggest mass actions in

Istanbul. In order to protest against imperialism and war, revolutionary workers in the İETT transport services held a two-day hunger strike.

On February 3, at 19:00 lights were turned off for 15 minutes as a protest against the imperialist war. In many working-class areas, the level of participation in this action was very high. These mass actions were accompanied by actions involving revolutionary violence. The targets of our armed actions were: In Istanbul: the MTMC outpost in Istanbul/Maslak, a logistical connection to the US base at Incirlik; the Turkish-American Board office in Istanbul/Tahtakale; the American shipping firm ABS in Kabatas; the Euro-Asiatic listening post at Tesvikiye (linked to the CIA); the insurance firm Commercial Union in Mecidiyekoy; the Italian consulate in Beyoğlu.

In Adana: the American consulate and the Turkish-American Association.



In Ankara: the building containing the French, Saudi Arabian, Japanese, Canadian and Austrian airline companies.

In Izmir: the American TUSLOG enterprise and the US-French culture centre.

Devrimci Sol in February 1991 punished the CIA agent Bobbie Eugene Mozelle with death in the base at Incirlik, considering him to be an accomplice in the US imperialist massacres of the Iraqi peoples. The NATO buildings in the Izmir districts of Sirinyer and Bayraklı were bombed.

In Izmir, Lt-Col Alvin Macke, responsible for setting up bases in Turkey from which the peoples of the

Middle East were massacred was attacked but escaped with serious injuries

Before 48's trip to the USA, the US businessman for VINNELL-BROWN ROOT(VBR) and TUSLOG, John Gandy, who was also a NATO courier, was punished with death. After that, VBR stopped doing business with Turkey. Further blows by Devrimci Sol against imperialist targets were organised. As a protest against the arrival of US Secretary of State James Baker in Turkey, various US enterprises in Ankara, Adana, Izmir and Istanbul were bombed by Devrimci Sol. 300,000 leaflets were distributed throughout the country. The Interbank and the American IMB

in Ankara, the Turkish-American culture centre and the American Life insurance firm in Adana, the American Autocare service and General Motors in Izmir, the Bank of Boston, SKY International-INT-BSS, the Voice of America, the Pepsi Cola administration building, the Cinga-SA insurance firm and General Motors in Istanbul were all bombed. In the protest actions against James Baker's visit to Turkey, Kahraman Altun, a member of the armed units of Devrimci Sol, fell. As a protest against the setting up of Cekic Guç (Rapid Reaction Troops), the deputy chairman of Commercial Union, a henchman of the imperialist monopolies named André Blake was punished.

## LESSONS OF THE ACTIONS

There is an intense anti-imperialist mood among the left in Turkey as a reaction to the latest developments in northern Iraq. This is a positive development. There is a second variation on this theme which should not be neglected. Everyone endorses criticisms of Talabani and Barzani, saying that the liberation of the Kurdish people is only possible by opposing imperialism. Now, aren't

suggestions made to other people valid for ourselves as well? And if they are, what is our own practice

like? Is it enough to be against imperialism and imperialist approaches in theory? All this was not adequately discussed. Some had discovered their "small deficiencies". This matter could not be passed over in a hasty manner, though. Anti-imperialism is not so much flawed among the left in Turkey as completely absent. Our series "Action teaches us lessons" contains several actions. These were chosen out of hundreds. From the many lessons that can be drawn from the actions, we will only talk about one here. This is the anti-imperialist side of our revolution and the anti-imperialist tradition of struggle which is not independent from it.

From the point of view of the developments and discussions mentioned here, it is a history of actions which is rich in lessons for us. It does not matter in which part of the world. Yes, that was said. Because that is our feeling. Wherever it happened, every imperialist attack received an appropriate response from us. This was how we conceived of the situation. From the USA to the French imperialists, from the Belgian, Dutch and British imperialists right up to German imperialism, all the imperialists of the world have felt their share of the anger of the people of Turkey, under the leadership of Devrimci Sol and the DHKP-C. This anti-imperialist attitude was not just solidarity with

the peoples and nations of the world. It did not just have an internationalist dimension. An anti-imperialist attitude was directly connected with our revolution and a matter of liberating our peoples. Since our appearance in the arena of political struggle, this uninterrupted and intensive work is a

result of this approach. It is naturally no coincidence that the imperialists in their "terror" reports have classified Devrimci Sol and, since March 30, 1994 the DHKP-C as "one of the most dangerous organisations". The actions we have listed here are concerned with two periods: between 1977 and 1980 and the Gulf Crisis of 1990 and 1991. The first represented our international dimension in a selective manner, and the second showed the unity of the anti-imperialist struggle with the struggle in our land. The essential points of these anti-imperialist actions are the following:

To adopt an attitude irrespective of where one is in the world;

To react immediately;

To target the imperialists in the form of campaigns;

To expose the concealed occupation by the imperialists and their allies;

To understand actions as a part of our military line and the organising of our cadres, and to connect them with our current aims and targets to form a coherent whole;

To move against the imperialists, whether with our fighters or with the masses we mobilise;

In the struggle against imperialism, these actions are a deeply rooted inheritance and a tradition. Both in a technical sense and in their political dimensions they are a history full of lessons for us. And they are not simply a matter of history, today...



# In The Policies Of Imperialism And Oligarchy There Is No Benefit For The Peoples Of Cyprus

The European Union took the decision to begin negotiations with six countries in 1998, to accept them into full membership. Since Southern Cyprus is one of these six countries and Turkey is not on the agenda, this decision, it seems, disappointed the Turkish oligarchy and government deeply.

On the 23rd anniversary of the occupation of Cyprus carried out by former Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, he visited the island on July 20 and announced a declaration on partnership with the president of the KKTC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) and this is nothing but a means of showing disappointment. By using the methods of "blackmail" and "threats" on the subject of solving the Cyprus question, they have supposedly showed that, they would not accept things quietly.

However, it was not so difficult to guess beforehand how the Cyprus question would develop. Because in 1995 Turkey made a concession in their claim that "The Republic of Cyprus cannot be a member of any organisation, unless both Turkey and Greece are full members of it", a claim which had been central to Turkish policy since 1960, in order to be accepted into the Customs Union and to pass over the barrier put up by the Greek veto. Turkey accepted the suggestions of the EU in order to have access to the Customs Union. According to these suggestions, the EU was declaring to Turkey that "Before a solution to the Cyprus question, the acceptance of Cyprus into EU membership will be denied, but the negotiations for full membership will be started before the end of 1998."

This was actually accepting that

All these policies are planned for the benefits of imperialism, and the Greek and Turkish ruling classes. The interest of the island's people is to oppose imperialist policies and stop the dirty deals over them. Their interest is in bringing about the departure of imperialism, the Turkish and Greek oligarchy, coming together to solve their own problems, the sovereignty of people and the reconstruction of an independent Cyprus. Any other way to solve the problems will only lead the peoples of Cyprus to slavery.

Southern Cyprus represented the whole island, because the European Parliament does not recognise the administration of the KKTC and sees Southern Cyprus as the representative of Cyprus. Consequently, the Ciller-Karayalcin government of that time, which accepted the suggestion of "beginning of membership negotiations with Cyprus", knew that negotiations would be carried out with the administration of Southern Cyprus.

That is, when they accepted this, they could easily see the oncoming situation and they were making concessions deliberately.

Because;

Firstly, it was inevitable to make concessions to imperialism to gain access to the Customs Union. Also,

then the oligarchy was hoping the EU door would be left ajar, for the full membership of Turkey to be accepted to the Customs Union would make things easier. There were even great hopes for full membership in the very near future.

Secondly, in domestic politics, the government, especially Ciller, needed to do "successful" work. It was a great opportunity for them to be accepted to the Customs Union, to stop the government becoming worn-out and to regain the support of people. That is why, the "solution" of offers by imperialism was accepted.

But now, since they have realised that it is impossible to be accepted into the EU in the near future, they are trying to use the Cyprus question as blackmail to show popular opinion that they are working on the matter and forcing the EU, once again to come to terms with Turkey.

## **NEITHER THE ANNEXATION OF KKTC BY TURKEY, NOR THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE GREEK PART OF CYPRUS INTO THE EU IS A SOLUTION FOR THE PEOPLES OF CYPRUS**

Neither Turkey nor Greece - both of whom see themselves in a position of primacy as far as imperialism and the solution for the Cyprus question is concerned - accept a solution which flouts their interests. Neither of them supports an independent Cyprus where Turkish and Greek people live in peace and brotherhood and find solutions together to their own problems.

Imperialism wants to prevent the formula of an independent Cyprus



which could be established by the demands of the peoples of the island, by joining the EU instead. The most important issue for imperialism is to keep Cyprus dependent on imperialism.

Secondly, by accepting the Greek part of Cyprus into the EU and avoiding the KKTC in the beginning, imperialism will be in a position where it can be more effective and has more control on the solution of the Cyprus question. The initiation of the negotiations with the Greek part will affect the Turkish counterpart, and according to the calculations of imperialism, the Turkish people having great economic problems, will force a "solution" in order not to be excluded from the unification of Europe. As a matter of fact, the declaration revealed by Deputy Prime Minister and State Minister Bulent Ecevit, who went to the island on July 20, and the president of the KKTC, Rauf Denktas, did not create a positive impact on the Turkish people of Cyprus either. The leader of the Republican Turkish Party, Mehmet Ali Talat stated that, "an autonomy agreement between Turkey and KKTC will not serve the interests of Turkish people in Cyprus." A similar statement was made by the leader of the Socialist (Popular) Liberation Party, Mustafa Akinci, saying; "political annexation is not suitable for the interests of the Turkish people of Cyprus."

Thirdly, the solution to the Cyprus question and the EU membership problem of Turkey became inseparable. By not including Turkey in the list of candidate countries for EU membership and by making the decision to initiate negotiations with the Greek part, imperialism, specifically, imperialism in Europe, wants to force Turkey to make concessions.

The landing of Ecevit to Cyprus on July 20 and his declaration are a very suitable step towards the annexation of KKTC and also includes the blackmail of "if you do not accept me into the EU, I will not make concessions in my Cyprus policy." The PM, Mesut Yilmaz, by saying "Without a solution for the Cyprus question and full members-

hip of Turkey in the EU, the EU membership of Cyprus is out of the question." Stating their blackmail openly. Ecevit, in his speech given in Cyprus, says that, "This sort of game and conspiracy increases the necessity of unifying the KKTC with Turkey. I say unification, not annexation. The KKTC, as an independent state, should live forever. The steps towards unification are possible in the areas of external security, foreign affairs, economic and financial."

A very good example of demagoguery. What kind of independence for Cyprus is mentioned here? Cyprus has been made dependent to Turkey for years anyway. Which policy of Cyprus could be applied independently? There is none. Turkey is there with its soldiers, tanks and guns. And now unification in the areas of foreign affairs, defence, economy and finance is on the agenda, what remains? The announced declaration has only one meaning; annexation. Whether they will be successful or not, it is the matter of another debate, but the only reality is that there is nothing in it for the interests of the people of Cyprus and there will not be any. As far as it is made real, the people of the island will lose whatever they own so far. The oppression and terror of fascism over the Turkish Cypriots, cruel exploitation, robbery and plundering will be more intensified. The latest developments are the proof of it. Income distribution, when the Greek part is compared with the Turkish counterpart, is unbalanced approximately fourfold against the Turkish people. That is, after the occupation, The Turkish Cypriot people became four times poorer when they are compared with their Greek counterparts. The economy of the KKTC is on the edge of bankruptcy. It only survives with the help of Turkey, the wages of the civil servants can be paid with the money borrowed from Turkey. The intervening of contra-guerrilla mobs and mafia and carrying their dirty businesses to the island is another major problem for Cypriots.

As a result, it can be said that, neither the acceptance of the Greek

part of Cyprus into EU, nor the "unification" of the KKTC with Turkey is for the interests of the island's people.

All these policies are planned for the benefits of imperialism, and the Greek and Turkish ruling classes. The interest of the island's people is to oppose imperialist policies and stop the dirty deals over them. Their interest is in bringing about the departure of imperialism, the Turkish and Greek oligarchy, coming together to solve their own problems, the sovereignty of people and the reconstruction of an independent Cyprus. Any other way to solve the problems will only lead the peoples of Cyprus to slavery.

### **THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY-KKTC COMMON DECLARATION**

"The KKTC will continue to stand as independent. In foreign affairs, to protect the interests of KKTC, a special relation will be established in between two countries.

- An attack on the KKTC will be counted as an attack on the Republic of Turkey. A common defence doctrine will be formed in between two countries.

- A council of partnership will be established, consisting of parliament and related ministries, between the two countries.

- Economic and financial cooperation between two countries will be formed.

The KKTC will also have the advantages of the support and encouragement which were originally provided by Turkey for the development of primary provinces in Turkey.

- The duty-free zones in both countries will be united.

- The KKTC will also be able to use the TURKSAT satellite.

- The transportation opportunities to KKTC via Turkey will be expanded.

- Turkey will supply water for the KKTC.

- The relations between Turkey and KKTC will be the same as the relations between the Greek part of Cyprus and the EU.



# NATO, Imperialism's

# Organisation For Military Aggression, And Turkey...

# A

fter the second imperialist war [World War II], imperialism was forced to resolve its own internal contradictions without such wars. It was necessary for a system of internal relationships to be made so colonies could be preserved and divided up without the need to have wars like the second imperialist war. The integration of new relationships was necessary, and so new international institutions were set up, like NATO, the IMF, the World Bank and so on.

NATO and similar treaties are a means of making countries which are already dependent in other ways, dependent and controllable in military ways also. These countries, as NATO members, are under obligations which make them both part of and a way of carrying out the strategies of the USA. Under ist treaties, NATO members are the headquarters of robbery on a world scale. US imperialism sees itself as a world gendarme, and so

it has to have bases in strategically important countries, and it has to make treaties with those countries. The USA has to have bases for NATO in Turkey, because these are important for its role as world gendarme.

The ruling classes in Turkey, which after the second imperialist war entered NATO because this was the best way of forming relations with imperialism, needed

to make Turkey's entry into NATO easier and win the trust of imperialism, so in 1950 they sent 4,500 troops to take part in the Korean War. Turkey showed its loyalty to imperialism by spilling the blood of its own soldiers, and as a reward it was allowed to join NATO in 1952. Turkey's membership in NATO,

which was founded in 1949 as a way of attacking the socialist system and was the most important aggressive organisation of imperialism and capitalism, was strategically important, because Turkey was the only NATO member to have a border with the Soviet Union. This was an important reason why the Turkish military became more dependent on imperialism, and why the military was transformed. The influence and domination of imperialism increased. In this way, the Turkish military became an army of occupation on behalf of imperialism.

NATO membership obliged Turkey to have a much bigger army than the one it had before. But Turkey is not a country that is constantly at war. Why does it have to have an army that is so large, proportionately three times as large as the average size of the world's armies, and why does it spend a third of the budget on defence? According to NATO sources, Turkey's armed forces consist of 1 million servicemen (inside NATO, Turkey has the second-largest armed forces after the USA). The soldiers of the Turkish army cost the least. Twenty-three of them cost the same as one US soldier. This is the secret of how Turkey can maintain 1 million soldiers. Moreover, this million-strong armed forces, which is in charge of the Bosphorus and is close to the Middle East, is worth supporting with "aid" and credits, and it is worth forming a relationship with it.

After entering NATO, the number of NATO bases and installations on Turkey's soil grew to 112 by 1964, and this is a sign of how dominated Turkey is by imperialism and how much it is under the imperialist boot. These bases are used both to keep the class struggle in our land under control and to act as a springboard for imperialist aggression in the whole Middle East. It does not matter how the collaborationist rulers present these bases, what matters is that 35 million square metres of Turkey's soil is allowed to be under the control of imperialism.

Because of the heavy obligations made on us by all bilateral military and political treaties, our land has almost become the





**Just like the past, when Truman in the name of the "Free World" dropped nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Eisenhower massacred the Korean people, Johnson and Nixon destroyed Vietnam and carried out massacres, and Bush during the Gulf War murdered the Iraqi people and levelled Iraq to the ground to show his gratitude to the imperialist financial concerns. Today Clinton is doing the same by using the "New World Order" to put pressure on the peoples and to attack struggles for independence, democracy and socialism. He is directing the massacre and torture of the Kurdish and Turkish people.**

52nd US state, all because of NATO membership. The bases and installations in Turkey were set up under Article 3 in NATO's constitution. This article states that an attack on one NATO member is the same as an attack on them all. But all these bases and installations are under the control of the USA, and their existence within a NATO framework is only a cover. This is because these bases and installations were not agreed among all NATO members, but are the result of 1954 talks between the USA and Turkey's government through a "military facilitation commission".

Turkey has fulfilled its role as a guardian of imperialism's Middle East interests through the bilateral treaty. From 1950, it has been a loyal ally and springboard. Also, while Turkey is a NATO country, at the same time it is a bridge to the Muslim countries. One of the great lies of imperialism and its collaborators is to call every movement directed against it "terrorist". In this way, they want to make liberation movements illegitimate by accusing them of "terrorism", and they also want to make their own terrorism seem legitimate. The leader of NATO, the USA, THE chief enemy of the peoples of the world, and its criminal organisation the CIA publishes "terrorism reports" aimed against social and national liberation movements as a way of keeping secret its own terrorist activities. For imperialism and its collaborators the DHKP-C (Revolutionary Peoples' Liberation Party-Front) is also a "dangerous" and "terrorist"

organisation. But we know that it can never be terrorism to fight against exploitative and oppressive powers and imperialism, and for the power of working people; on the contrary, it is legitimate. For the actual source of terrorism is imperialism. The Party-Front's fight against imperialism, wherever it occurs, its fight against imperialist terror and stand alongside the peoples of the world would fill entire pages. We have given many dead in the fight for this. Imperialism makes us into a target through the "terrorism" list and wants to use it to deceive the peoples of the world, but we will resist it and the imperialist terrorists and expose and adopt an attitude to it, because this is a duty for all who are against fascism. For one cannot be against fascism without being against imperialism. And to fight imperialism means internationalism. In 1991, the whole world saw the role played by these bases, when warplanes from Incirlik and other bases in Turkey massacred the people of Iraq. It was shown yet again that these bases have nothing to do with defending the country but are there to carry out imperialist aggression.

NATO was formed after the second imperialist war to integrate imperialist military forces in the struggle against the socialist system and the liberation movements, so imperialism could carry out aggression against the peoples of the world. It still plays this role today. The imperialists, for whom the question on the agenda was "Who is now NATO's enemy?", first tried to answer this question with "Russia is still a threat". Then the imperialists took control of Russia through Yeltsin, and they had trouble finding another enemy. Then the "New World Order", that is, the ethnic conflicts in the Balkans, the Caucasus and Africa, the Middle East and regional wars were the answer to this need.

Just like the past, when Truman in the name of the "Free World" dropped nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Eisenhower massacred the Korean people, Johnson and Nixon destroyed Vietnam and carried out massacres, and Bush during the Gulf War murdered the Iraqi people and levelled Iraq to the ground to show his gratitude to the imperialist financial concerns. Today Clinton is doing the same by using the "New World Order" to put pressure on the peoples and to attack struggles for independence, democracy and socialism. He is directing

the massacre and torture of the Kurdish and Turkish people. For imperialism cannot live without war. The history of the main gendarmes of imperialism, the USA and NATO is the history of war against the peoples of the world. And the task of the US president is to lead this war.

Apart from a tiny handful of people who have the same interests as the imperialists, nobody can say that our land is independent of imperialism. Because of this dependence on imperialism, the oligarchy that rules Turkey did not support the independence struggles of Korea and Algeria, but instead they supported US and French interests. Today Turkey is a land in which no mainstream political party can form the government without receiving the approval of the USA, NATO and the CIA. The military-fascist junta of September 12, 1980 was planned by the USA. NATO was delighted by the coup: "Your boys have done it," was what Paul Hantze, the head of the Middle East Department of the CIA, said when he heard the news. "In the Gulf it is burning. East Anatolia is the best fire engine in the region. It is very important to strengthen the defences of Turkey, because if there is a crisis, the military in Turkey can themselves act as rapid reaction troops. It is easier for Turkey to provide US rapid reaction troops with a base." This was said by Professor Wohlstetter, who carried out research for the US Department of Defence. On September 19, 1980, the NATO commander in chief Rogers said that if necessary nuclear missiles would be deployed in Turkey. The same was said by another NATO general, namely that they were thinking of bringing nuclear weapons into Turkey. In view of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, caused by the attempt to deploy such weapons, Turkey would have been brought into a very dangerous situation.

No NATO country agreed to become a "testing ground for tactical weapons", because of the negative effect on the environment and animals from low-flying warplanes, including night flights and supersonic flights, as well as from training in which live ammunition was used. But this kind of training was carried out in Turkey. These flights, which people could not stand, let alone animals, and which even damaged plant life, were carried out by up to 150 aircraft a day, and a total of 2,500 aircraft carried out such flights. What is that if it is not evidence of our lack of inde-



**Today we are fighting alongside our people for liberation and independence, to drive the imperialists out of our land. We are fighting to put an end to exploitation and oppression. To win this struggle we are ready to pay a price, no matter how high it is, no matter how much blood of ours is shed. What we are fighting for is to put an end to imperialism in our country.**

pendence? This is the proof that plant life and animals in the imperialist countries are worth more than the people of our country. Not a single treaty was agreed with the people of our country.

In particular, every year since 1945 dozens of economic and military treaties were concluded with the imperialists. These treaties were not shared with the public, and some were classed as "secret". They took us into NATO without asking our opinion. Turkish troops were sent to Korea and they did not ask us. We were the ones who had to die. The Gulf War happened on our doorstep. They did not ask us, but we were the ones who had to die. We were not consulted about entering the currency union, but we were the ones who became unemployed as a result of it. The rapid reaction troops are based on our soil, but nobody asked our opinion about it. Treaties were concluded with Zionist Israel, but nobody asked us. When events like those in Vietnam took place in Somalia and Turkish Kurdistan, or when the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania were massacred, imperialism was responsible.

We want a land that is not a slave to imperialism. We want all economic and military treaties with imperialism to be cancelled immediately. We want a foreign policy which does not trample on the dignity of the peoples and which is based on the interests of the peoples.

We do not want Turkey to be a base for the USA and NATO to carry out attacks on Lebanon and Iraq. We do not want our land to be a target for exploitation by imperialist firms.

We want a land which takes all its military and political decisions itself. Turkey may not be a tool of imperialist politics which try to turn the peoples of the world against each other. We want a country in which the peoples of the world

live with each other in a brotherly manner and help peoples who are fighting for their independence.

Today we are fighting alongside our people for liberation and independence, to drive the imperialists out of our land. We are fighting to put an end to exploitation and oppression. To win this struggle we are ready to pay a price, no matter how high it is, no matter how much blood of ours is shed. What we are fighting for is to put an end to imperialism in our country. It is not terrorism to fight against the exploitative and oppressive power of imperialism and for the power of working people. It is legitimate. This is what the DHKP-C is doing.

Today imperialism, and its aggressive military wing NATO, is still the greatest enemy of the peoples of the world. The fight against military attacks, against the politics, demagoguery, lies and collaborators of imperialism is always the basis of the liberation struggle by the peoples of the world. Any deviation from this struggle for peace, freedom and liberation is against the interests of the peoples of the world. We can see that, whatever the cost may be, this is the price to be paid, and this is the factor that must be taken into account in tactics and strategy. Because our land, Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan, is a military base. We know that an independent Turkey will come from the closing of NATO and US bases and the cancelling of bilateral treaties. For years we have been carrying the flag of our country's independence. When we pushed the sailors of the US Sixth Fleet back into the sea when they tried to use our harbours as rest and recreation centres for themselves, because we used slogans like "Down with American imperialism, Yankee go home, down with NATO", we were shot down in the street, murdered, tortured and executed and thrown into prison.

Our history, from THKP-C to DEVRİMCI SOL, from DEVRİMCI SOL to DHKP-C is full of such examples. For it is legitimate to fight against an imperialist force like NATO which is an enemy of the peoples. Under all circumstances we have defended the independence struggle against the servants of America and NATO. Great mass actions were the places in which the hatred of imperialism and its servants was expressed. DEVRİMCI SOL militants protested against the murders carried out by imperialism in all parts of the world. Solidarity was expressed with all peoples,

especially the Palestinian people. An attitude was taken to the murderous and exploitative Dutch, French and Israeli embassies. The visit by the Sixth Fleet was greeted by the "Yankee Go Home" campaign, and the sailors of the Sixth Fleet were harassed wherever they went.

We showed our anger against dozens of imperialist installations, banks, firms and consulates during the Gulf War. DEVRİMCI SOL made clear the reaction of the people during the Gulf War. In the process it made clear the reaction of the people against the war, despite the price it paid in killed, wounded and hundreds of prisoners, and it channelled the people's reaction into the organisation. In many areas and regions, "No to the imperialist war" committees were set up and the struggle against the imperialist war was furthered. Hundreds of street actions and shop boycotts took place. Lights were turned out. The slogans were "No to the imperialist war", in Europe as in Turkey. The CIA agent Bobbie Eugene at the Adana Incirlik base which was used to transport weapons of death, Lieutenant-Colonel Alvin Macke who worked in Izmir's NATO office, and the retired colonel and NATO courier John Gandy, who was director of TUSLOG in Istanbul, were all punished with death.

The peoples of Turkey, under the leadership of DEVRİMCI SOL, wrote a page in history by engaging in armed action which showed by far the strongest protest response to the imperialist war. A strong chain was formed in the link of the anti-imperialist tradition.

Today, as DHKP-C, national independence and international brotherhood are principles we will not give up. Nations, international ties and independence are valued by us within this framework.

We want every kind of political, economic and cultural form of dependence to be ended, because we value the independence of our land in all things. Dependence on imperialism is not our inevitable fate. Imperialism is not invincible. We defend the just and legitimate struggle of the Kurdish and Turkish people against the unjust wars of the imperialists of NATO and their collaborators.

Our struggle is against imperialism, for independence, against fascism and for democracy, against capitalism and for socialism. We are fighting for an independent, democratic and free country.

And we will definitely win this fight.



# People's Assemblies Is Growing

**P**eople's assemblies are the people's unity, solidarity, will-power, organisation and capabilities.

People's assemblies are the mass organisations where people who, are not happy with the regime, who believe in togetherness, struggle for their common interests, and from a different nationality, religion, creed, profession, tradition, culture and political thought.

People's assemblies are the organisations where all the problems and demands of people are debated and the opportunities to solve them are found in order to benefit the people. On the agenda of the assemblies there are hundreds of subjects including, roads, water, electricity, transportation, parks, schools, demolition of the shantytowns, health, unemployment, education, police terror in the local areas, destruction of villages in Kurdistan, tyranny, etc.

In the last couple of months, new people's assemblies were opened and they are spreading among the people in the shantytowns of major cities, workers, civil servants and students. People are establishing their own organisations and developing them.

## **T**HE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLIES DEMAND JUSTICE

After the Susurluk accident [in November 1996] the real face of the state was revealed, and people organised the "one minute of darkness for eternal light" action against the contra-guerrilla fascist state to demand justice. In this period, People's Assemblies and their initiators came forward more and more and

developed their initiative by means of directing the actions and affecting the masses at the end of "the first black-out action" and during the "second black-out action". Again, during the same period, the draft of the People's Constitution which was prepared by the people for the benefit of the people and aimed at achieving independence, democracy and a free country, was distributed widely all over the country and debated by the masses with the help of People's Assemblies. At every opportunity, People's Assemblies and their initiators spoke out the demand of the People's Constitution.

The Gazi People's Assembly announced demands for an "independent, democratic country, a people's constitution, and people's justice for the people once again". During the black-out actions, the members of People's Assemblies were inviting people to protest in the streets against the state and its parliament where the mafia mobs, murderers and thieves reside were taking the initiative by showing its power to be an alternative and were reflecting the traditions, power and rebelliousness of the people.

## **A**SSEMBLIES ON MAY DAY!

People's Assemblies cried out the demands of the peoples of Turkey and Kurdistan on May Day. They marched behind the banner of "Long live May Day!" and called out as one voice; "Susurluk is the state, let's interrogate it!" "Long live people's justice!", "People's Assemblies are our power!"

## **P**EOPLE'S ASSEMBLIES ARE OUR POWER AND OWNERSHIP TO THE CAUSE.

Fascist mobs were threatening the revolutionary-democratic students even in the classrooms and those who resisted were taken to the dens of fascists and tortured. In order to protest the intensified oppression, a People's Assembly initiative in Okmeydani organised a press conference in front of Beyoglu Trade Occupational High School on March 25, 1997. They stated that

"We demand a scientific, independent, democratic education and we will not let fascists oppress our children". Aid (books and clothes) for the village primary schools were given to the chairman of "the association for solidarity and communication with teachers in village primary schools" on the initiative of the student's assembly in Mimar Sinan University. The initiative of the Sarigazi People's Assembly, organised a meeting in April 4, 1997 with the participation of 350 people. In the meeting, the people of Sarigazi stated their problems on the subjects of health, transport, culture, education, electricity, water, etc. and what they expected from the assembly. The "electricity commission" was elected to solve the electricity problem of the area and the outcome of the meeting was unity and sheer exhilaration. In order to support the TODEF congress, People's Assemblies organised a press conference in the Turkiye Tabipler Odasi (Chamber of doctors of Turkey) in May 21,



# Düzgün Tekin;

Trade Unionist and delegate from the Second Section of the Textile Union Section of the confederation DISK and a revolutionary Worker

## DISAPPEARED

On October 21, 1995, he left his relatives' house in the Günesli Evren district to go to work. After that, nobody heard anything more of him. Before his disappearance on October 21, he told his family that a civilian vehicle with the licence plate 34F6676 had been following him.

There has been no trace of Düzgün Tekin since October 21, 1995. The counter-guerrilla state which was exposed by Susurluk made him disappear. Like all its other crimes, it refuses to admit to this one.

*"I lost consciousness and did not know what I was saying. I wanted to die. Now I know that I will not die, until I have found my son. Even if I only find his bones, I will lay them out and bury them with my own hands. We should not have left our village. Why did we come. I will continue. Let us dig everywhere and search everywhere. If we find Düzgün, we will perhaps find all the others. Let us dig in other places also. I always look at the*

*TV. I have trouble understanding it, but nonetheless I look at the news every hour. Recently it showed the 'dogs' [ie. the police] beating up a boy. The boy was covered in blood. I could not sleep for three days. For three days I felt pain. I thought of my son. The boy had given the victory sign with his hand.*

*"I love you all - the fallen, the prisoners, the disappeared - they are all my children. Help us to find all the Düzgüns. The cruelty must end."*

**MAY 27, 1997**

The confessions made by Kasim Acik in Gebze prison recently have shed some light on the path that the revolutionaries who have struggled for the disappeared have been following. After an interrogation of Acik in Gebze and his admission that he was a counter-guerrilla agent, he was punished. The confessions of the counter-guerrilla agent also shed some light on the case of Düz-

1997. Gazi and Okmeydani People's Assemblies and initiatives from Nurtepe, Sarigazi and Alibeykoy supported the scientific and democratic university struggle of students by sending greetings to the student congress in May 23, 1997.

While the struggle of the Bergama people were continuing against the gold contaminated by cyanide and imperialism, their rightful resistance was owned by People's Assemblies as their struggle. Okmeydani and Gazi People's Assemblies, the assembly initiations from Nurtepe-Guzeltepe and Alibeykoy were supporting the struggle of the Bergama people by organising a press conference under the title of "the Bergama people are not alone!"

on July 5, 1997. 150 people participated in the conference organised in Nurtepe's Sokullu Street. People's Assemblies sent greetings as women, men, youth and elderly people to the people of Bergama.. During the protest march, "Cyanide company, leave Bergama!"

"Bergama people are not alone!", "People's Assemblies are our power!" were the main slogans, and the

action ended with applause and protests against the company using cyanide for gold production.

### **WE SHALL NOT SUBMIT TO STATE TERROR!**

On July 19, 1997, the People's Assemblies and the relatives of martyrs and captives gathered in Gazi to protest the Gazi massacre and the protection of the murderers by the state. People's Assemblies of Gazi and Okmeydani and Nurtepe-Guzeltepe, and Alibeykoy, Kucukarmutlu, Gulsuyu initiatives by People's Assemblies, together with the relatives of martyrs and captives, stated that the systematic state terror in Gazi will not be the destiny of the people.

### **THE PROTESTS AGAINST PRICE INCREASES**

Okmeydani People's Assembly protested the newly increased bread price which was first brought in by the Refah-Yol government, a coalition between the Refah Party (Welfare

Party) and the Dogru Yol Party (True Path Party). They organised a press conference in Piyale Pasa District. The slogans on the banners were "Unite against price increases and tyranny!", "The mobs were acquitted, bread prices were increased", "The Susurluk state is responsible for increasing prices". After that, people started to a protest march by declaring, "We are starving", "The mobs will be interrogated by the people",

"Long live independent and democratic Turkey", "People's Assemblies are our power", "Susurluk state, do not prevent us from earning a living".

The march ended with the halay (a traditional folklore dance indicating the unity of the people).

People's Assemblies are the legal power of people in Turkey and Kurdistan and recently, initiatives took place in Europe as well. The regulations of the People's Assembly in Graz, Austria were accepted by the initiatives in July 6, 1997 and started to function, same as the sister assemblies in our country, on the basis of the problems of people.



gün Tekin, who disappeared in 1995. After he stated that Düzgün Tekin was first murdered and his body brought to the rubbish dump at Cadirkent, Acik drew a sketch of the plot of land on which, according to his information, several people who disappeared and whose bodies had not been found were murdered.

Accordingly the Platform for Rights and Freedom made an appeal to the public, to revolutionaries, to democrats, to all progressive people and to the press and then headed for Cadirkent after permission had been received to start digging there.

In front of the metro in Aksaray, where the buses were to set off, there were representatives of various democratic associations, trade unionists, lawyers and also Düzgün's family. More than 100 members of the Platform for Rights and Freedom, as well as unionists from the DISK/textile branch, the DISK general workers' section, Sen-Sen, mem-

bers of the IHD (Human Rights Association), DMP and media people set off for Kirklareli at 10:15.

The convoy of two busses, a large bus and private cars was stopped by the gendarmerie at about 13:42. The gendarmes said to the HHB (People's Law Office) lawyer Behic Asci that disinterments could only take place in the presence of a state attorney. After about 20 minutes the state attorney came and we set out with a gendarmerie escort to Cadirkent.

It is 14:30. A large plot of land with large and small piles of rubbish, dismembered animal carcasses and, nevertheless, flowers and grass growing everywhere. On one hand, the smell of carrion, on the other the scent of flowers. The first impression was that this would be a good place to bury people in a shallow grave. Especially if it was done by the counter-guerrillas who run the state. Nothing could be heard or seen... It is hard to judge where and how to start digging,

since Cadirkent is so big and impenetrable. The mothers are agitated, they have tied red bands around their foreheads. This time there is a difference - on the bands are written in yellow the names of the disappeared. The cries of woe of the disappeared are etched onto the brow of each mother.

"I am Düzgün", "I am Ali", "I am Aysenur", "I am Ayşe"... Mother Elif climbs out of the car with her son Düzgün's photo in her hand. She looks around. She cries out: "My Düzgün! Somebody has made my son disappear. I have been looking for my son for 17 months... My son... The state has made him disappear... The state tortures, makes people disappear and then throws the murdered onto the rubbish heap. Why, what is this cruelty for." She turns to the soldiers, "Tell me, what do you say to your mothers?" Then she turns to the journalists: "Take pictures and send them to Europe. The head of state and the president should see it. Here I am looking for my son." The families carried signs in their hands with the inscription "You will not succeed in dealing with the Düzgüns by making them disappear", "The Susurluk state is responsible for disappearances", "A reckoning will be demanded for the disappearances and massacres". The workers from Belediye-İs, the trade union of local government workers, brought banners with the inscription:

"Disappearances and massacres will not make the Düzgün Tekins die out" and "We will let Düzgün Tekin, who disappeared in police custody, live on in our struggle - he will be immortal".

People dispersed on the plot of land and began to search with the help of a mechanical digger.

This place, described by an agent of the counter-guerrillas, is a cemetery. Many people were murdered here. Rohe Harman and Ali Hasan Ay, who in 1995, a month after Düzgün Tekin was abducted by the contraguerrillas, were themselves abducted and were fortunate enough to escape, gave a description of ground which fits this place. It is also worth mentioning that bases of JITEM, the Turkish military's intelligence service, are there, and it carries out its activities in the nearby town of Tekirdag. People who were tortured in Tekirdag but managed to escape with their lives also describe this place. The bases in Tekirdag also show the relevance of Cadirkent.

**"IF NOT ALIVE,  
THEN I WILL FIND  
HIS CORPSE"**



"Since he 'disappeared', I have been looking for my son. I have been everywhere and knocked on every door. I asked the state authorities, but they said they did not have him. I come from Dersim and every week I go with the mothers of the disappeared to Galatasaray. I am looking for my son, I have never tried hard enough. 'If not alive, then I will find his corpse,' I think to myself. Bands of killers, secretive organisations have murdered my son and thrown him on a rubbish heap somewhere. It is a great pain to me. I raised my children in poverty and want and they grew up with bare feet and without clothing. We worked hard and Düzgün went to school. We could not let him continue in school because we had no money. I would not have harmed a hair on his head but now I am searching for his bones on a rubbish dump. 'Ah, what cruelty', I feel deep pains inside me. On the day he disappeared I did not know what to say or do. My son is there. Ciller should be hanged. She had my son murdered and thrown on a rubbish heap. 'Bring me tools to dig with, my son is here,' I told the state attorney and the soldiers. 'We have no information,' they said. 'If you don't know, then who does know?' Can a mother leave her child? If not alive, then I will find his corpse. We will find them all, all the 'disappeared'. They belong to us. All those who fell belong to us. The state always murders the revolutionaries. It tortures, burns villages, kills and throws the corpses on the rubbish heap."



# The Draft Of A People's Constitution Is Being Discussed Everywhere

In April 1997, the "the draft of a People's Constitution" was made public. The first edition had a print run of 200,000 copies, an unusually large one. To be on the safe side, the Serler printing works asked whether a "mistake" might have been made. But H-P, the Platform for Rights and Freedom, had envisaged such a high print run from the beginning when it drafted this People's Constitution together with the people's councils.

Shortly after the People's Constitution came out, the book was banned. The oligarchy knows well that, even the existence of a manifesto containing the demands of the people constitutes a threat to itself. Despite the ban, a campaign was started to distribute the draft constitution. The constitution should be read by everyone and its contents discussed and brought to perfection. In this campaign, lawyers, professors, writers, journalists, trade unions, democratic and progressive parties, intellectuals, artists, students; civil servants, workers and peasants were spoken to, seminars and picnics organised, interviews conducted and published...

The draft constitution has struck a thoroughly positive chord. For this People's Constitution is the first constitution in the history of Turkey to be written by the people for the people. In order to reach people, stands have regularly been set up since April in market areas and shopping streets, constitutions have been distributed and Grup Yorum has held street concerts. In a survey carried out with the help of a two-page questionnaire, opinions, comments, agreement with and criticism of the People's Constitution were sought. In the newspaper Kurtulus (Liberation), interviews

and comments by various personalities were regularly published. The point on which everyone is agreed is that, the constitution in force in Turkey, up to now, is the constitution of a fascist regime, the constitution of the 1980 junta.

Prof. Dr Toktamis Ates said in an interview on the draft constitution that, none of the four constitutions we have had up to now, had anything to do with the people. So he took this alternative constitution seriously because it was the first drawn up not to suit the self-interest of the uppermost sections of society. Cezmi Ersoz, a poet, writer and journalist, said: "We must be positive when we draw up a constitution. We must look towards socialism and using it, take hold of all things that we have in common. The thought going into this constitution is a very positive development and a means to achieve the final aim." Journalist and writer Ahmet Altan said: "If a constitution is drawn up which trusts in the people and does not exclude them, then it is also easy to put it into practice."

Without exception, progressive trade union leaders welcome this constitution because up to now, they have been granted no security, every day they must reckon with the possibility of closure, arbitrary dismissal and arrests.

TIYAD, the Solidarity Association of Families of Political Captives, one of the bodies affiliated to the Platform for Rights and Freedom (H-P), began work to publicise the constitution months before it appeared. On January 25, 1997, they protested against the Manisa trial and the repression of political captives outside parliament, alongside members of the Genel-İs union and the H-P spokeswoman Oya Gokbayrak. Despite all attempts to prevent them, they read out

a press statement which included the words "EMPTY THE PRISONS: FREE THE CAPTIVES", "STOP THE TORTURE", "FREEDOM OF THOUGHT"; "WE WANT A DEMOCRATIC, INDEPENDENT PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTION". After the protest ended, when people were heading back to Istanbul at about 14:30, the police attacked. At the bus station the mothers of captives, along with members of the Party of Labour of Belgium and other foreign delegations were beaten and arrested.

On February 15, 1997, 300 people assembled on Eminonu Square, where a press conference on the draft constitution was held by the spokeswoman of the Platform for Rights and Freedoms. The families from TIYAD were well to the fore. People gathered behind a banner with the inscription "WE DEMAND A CONSTITUTION THAT SECURES A NATION'S RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE!"

At the 13th Festival of Culture, a seminar took place on June 9 with the topic "constitution and democracy in Turkey." About 100 people attended the seminar which took place in the Galatasaray secondary school [Istanbul] including intellectuals, artists, democratic and progressive persons. The seminar was conducted by faculty member Bulent Tanor and the lecturer, Dr Soheyl Batum.

On May 18, TIYAD in Marmara held a picnic in the village of Firuzkoy, at which the People's Constitution was distributed and discussed. Plain clothed and uniformed police followed the 200 participants in the picnic, who included a delegation from Belgium, from the point where they disembarked, and watched them from a distance of some yards, right up to the end. Oya Gokbayrak, who never leaves the mothers of the captives to their own devices, talked about the People's Con-



stitution and how the fascist-Mafia bands will kill our children more and more often and carry out more and more disappearances if we do not begin to raise our voices. There was discussion about certain articles, especially Article 95 about the prisons. Then one of the mothers said, "In this article, it says all prisons are to be closed, eh? I tell you truly, I can't permit that. We must keep a few to put the torturers in." And another then said, "And write into our constitution a clause preventing them from going on picnics. See how they [the police] are looking at us!"

Miro, member of the Belgian delegation and a worker in the Cockerill-Schambre timber factory, said: "You have given me courage. Old people in our country are in a terrible condition. But the mothers here are leading a struggle! When I look at the mothers I can see the revolutionary spirit in their eyes!" And Bino said: "I cannot keep silent about the injustices here. I bear responsibility, for the police of our country have signed a treaty with yours. And we will stand against them, in international solidarity."

On June 25, civil servants of Bem-Sen (Trade Union of Public Service Employees) held a discussion in the Kadikoy citizens' house about the People's Constitution. The repression carried out under the current constitution and how the struggle should be carried out were discussed, to find a way to remove these problems. The wide dissemination of the People's Constitution was a keynote of the discussion.

On July 12, the SES (Trade Union of Workers in the Health Service) held a seminar discussing the first and second parts of the People's Constitution. In the discussion, the existing state was condemned, for "we live in a system that is not for the people. This state belongs to neither the Turkish nor the Kurdish people. Since its foundation, it has existed under and for the sake of imperialism and its collaborators." In the People's Democratic Republic, the state will exist for and through the people, for according to the constitution the people are the determining force." As for the second part, "The National Independence of the Country and the Fraternity of the Peoples", it was said: "All nationalities and

minorities must take part in leading the country. For a voluntary and fraternal life together will guarantee that our country will never again get into a situation like today, nobody will again be able to sow hatred among the peoples against one another." Since the time had run out, a date was agreed on which to discuss the third and fourth part of the constitution.

Distributing the constitution has been going on relentlessly for months. On June 20, members of the TODEF (the Federation of Students of Turkey) distributed People's Constitutions among the people at the marketplace in Findikzade/Istanbul. The students were careful to discuss with anyone who had questions. People were very open-minded towards them, they constantly asked questions and were surprised that the constitution was intended for them. An ever larger crowd of people gathered around the students and discussion went on for hours, until the last constitution had been distributed, and the action ended with a halay (folk dance).

The youth also became involved with the People's Constitution. At the TODEF congress on May 23, in which students from 41 universities took part, the students organised a seminar about the People's Constitution. They do not want education under the repression of YOK (State Higher Education Council) and its fascist structures, nor do they want higher education to be privatised as YOK wants, in order to create a small exclusive "elite". The students demand Democratic People's Universities, in which science serves the people and the history in school textbooks is no longer falsified. And the motto at the congress was that, the Democratic People's University would only come about under this People's Constitution.

On June 11, revolutionary workers distributed the People's Constitution to harbour workers in Haydarpaşa. After they had given 300 to the harbour workers, they went on the Eminonu ferry. The constitution caused great attention and animated discussion there as well.

On June 20, Grup Yorum held street concerts in the marketplaces at Findikzade and Kadikoy. They were accompanied by the FOSEM (Trade Union of Photography and Film Workers) members whom, interviewed people. They also addressed

the people, calling on them to support the People's Constitution and distribute them on their own initiative. Constitutions and leaflets were distributed and questionnaires filled out.

On June 24, Grup Yorum and artists from the İdil Culture Centre again held a concert at the market in Kadikoy. FOSEM was also there. A banner with the words "We Want the People's Constitution" was held up and after a speech, songs were sung along with the people who joined in halay. Altogether, on this day 400 leaflets and People's Constitutions were distributed.

In the Istanbul quarters of Nurtepe and Guzeltepe, the Revolutionary People's Forces (Devrimci Halk Gucleri) have been distributing the People's Constitution for weeks. One goes to each house, each teashop and business, and speaks to the people. The Revolutionary People's Forces explain why an alternative constitution is being drafted and what its aim is. The people show great attentiveness. Our people, who greet the Revolutionary People's Forces very warmly, ask: "Does this mean our houses will no longer be torn down?"

The Revolutionary People's Forces also visit the markets in these city districts. They come to the market beating drums and shout: "Don't say you have no idea. Don't fall for the constitution of the bandits and juntas... Don't delay in going for victory!"

The campaign for the People's Constitution is also under way abroad. Our workers abroad also want there to be democracy and justice in their country, with the rule of the people. For one cannot look at one's own country, look at Susurluk, look at one's own relatives, and see how they try to organise their lives. Families abroad are also visited, constitutions distributed, questionnaires filled out. The constitution was translated into German and English. Seminars are being organised to encourage discussion of the constitution among foreign friends, so revolution in Turkey can experience solidarity from people in Europe. In this way, a strong movement can develop if people in Kurdistan, people in Turkey, people in Europe support the People's Constitution, unite and demand a new order, the DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.



# In Kurdistan, The Only Road Is Revolution

*The oligarchy work in a professional manner. This was proven in a most concrete manner by two important developments which occurred recently.*

*The MGK (National Security Council) is talking "for the first time" - just like TUSIAD [Turkey's Association of Employers and Entrepreneurs] - about the need for economic and social measures in relation to the Kurdish question, separate from military measures. In the days immediately following that, a report by the MGK was published, saying that "for the first time" there is no longer a threat to the Kurds. All the attention was being directed towards "fundamentalism", and the "left-democratic" sections of the population were mobilising themselves in this direction.*

*Yet in these very same days, tens of thousands of soldiers were being sent towards the border with northern Iraq in conditions of great secrecy. Munitions, security for the operation and the materiel necessary for it were being prepared and deployed during this time.*

*These political and military operations, which actually are fundamentally different and apparently are contradictory approaches to the situation, were carried out at the same time and set in motion by the very same personnel. From the oligarchy's point of view, these operations have now been completed. The plan was a detailed one. On the very day before the attack on northern Iraq, there were countless arrests and detentions and the 'Demokrasi' newspaper was closed down.*

*The great theoreticians of the left who heard the MGK say that "now is the time for political and economic methods", were very*

*quick to declare that "a new policy" was in the offing, but at exactly the same time they had to come to terms with the biggest ever cross-border operation by the Turkish military. Their declarations about a new policy were left hanging in the air.*

*And again, in the very same days, the leaders of HADEP [People's Democracy Party, a legal pro-Kurdish party] who were in jail as a result of the "flag trial" [following an incident when a Turkish flag was allegedly burned at the HADEP congress] were set free.*

*This caused obvious confusion in the heads of many.*

*The great theoreticians on the left claimed the authorities were softening their position, after the release of the HADEP leaders became public. And immediately thereafter, note that HADEP was punished. Further confusion ensued in peoples' heads.*

*Where do these political and ideological meanderings come from and how do they arise? Or how do the personal interests and perspectives of various bourgeois and petty bourgeois get inside progressive and patriotic structures and become the dominant politics there?*

*The essential point is that in the sense of organisation and ideology, one should be completely independent, and in politics one should defend total independence.*

*The way to counter tendencies towards wavering and confusion every time the oligarchy tries to manoeuvre is precisely by adopting such a line.*

*Truly professional work, then, is solely possible when it is based on such a clear line. As we have*

*said, the oligarchy are themselves professional in how they act.*

*For, under the cover of various manoeuvres, the oligarchy and imperialism have a clear aim in this regard. In every respect this involves working to halt and destroy the Kurdish national movement's struggle for independence. To do everything to further the annexation of Kurdistan. To do everything to exploit the Kurdish people further. This is the only goal of the oligarchy when they talk of peace, when they talk of war, when they talk of military solutions and when they talk of peaceful solutions.*

*Those sections of the oligarchy with rather more self-confidence, the civil-military portions of it, can see that the various Kurdish national circles are watching them and are framing new policies and tactics every time the oligarchy make a move.*

*And just at the point when the oligarchy appear to be growing "soft", they suddenly launch an attack from another direction. They cause confusion in peoples' heads and endeavour to pacify responses to their attacks.*

*At the same time as the invasion of northern Iraq was taking place, the monopoly bourgeoisie organised a "poverty summit" in Diyarbakir with precisely this aim of pacification in mind. The fact that the invasion and the summit happened on the same day shows the multi-layered nature of the oligarchy's policies.*

*In a way, the monopoly bourgeoisie said the following during the poverty summit: "They are doing their work there, let us deal with our work here."*

*The revolutionaries and patriots will deal with their own work. This consists of organising the*



*Kurdish people in the struggle against the oligarchy's terror and to warn the people and make them vigilant against the demagoguery of the oligarchy and their games with democracy.*

*The task can only be fulfilled by refusing to make any compromises or to seek permission. Defending complete independence gives the people hope. It means having trust in one's own ideology. It means having the iron will to continue the war. If this does not happen, if it is not defended, it is inevitable to want to come to an agreement with the system and to look for solutions acceptable to the system at precisely the point when the greatest sacrifices for independence are being demanded.*

*In relation to the Kurdish question, the reason for the constant confusion in peoples' heads and the frequent upheaval in intellectual and Kurdish national circles is precisely this. And because of this, HADEP is in the situation it is in today. Even Kurdish national circles are now criticising HADEP and the party's current circumstances. But the problem is not a matter of this or that party leader in HADEP. The problem in every area in which the struggle is waged is that there is no clarity of political line. HADEP no longer has the line of leading the struggle for national independence through legal means, but instead it has become a symbol for seeking a solution within the system. Recently Sedat Yurttas said, according to a report, that "complete independence is unfashionable". This logic naturally makes it impossible to wage a militant struggle under legal conditions. This logic naturally gives rise to thoughts such as these: "Oh, the authorities are loosening up a little, let's not spoil it." Of course, this mentality makes it impossible to respond in an appropriate manner to the war of annihilation currently being waged in northern Iraq.*

*For the Kurdish people, for all the peoples who live on this soil, we want total independence for our homeland. We must be clear on this point. If we are, then there will be no confusion in our heads. For in our view, every policy, every strategy, legal or illegal, all organisations, whatever their form, are aimed at serving our people and serving the complete independence of our country.*

## *They Choosed The Peace* **What Did They Win** **What Did They Loose**

**A**fter the intifada had been going for a year, the Palestinian National Council which was meeting in Algeria, declared an "independent Palestinian state". But simultaneously with the announcement of an independent state, it accepted in the same breath something, it had never before accepted but had called treason, namely the UN Resolution 242 on recognising Israel, and Resolution 338 on calling an international conference under the UN's control aimed at "condemning terrorism". In this way they gave imperialism a guarantee that they would give up the armed struggle. In the third year of the intifada, Israel used new methods of force to end the uprising. Israeli soldiers began to break the bones of Palestinians they seized at protests. Pictures of such attacks were shown on TV screens all over the world. At a hearing which was convened in an attempt to neutralise reactions, an Israeli major declared that "Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin had called a meeting of top military commanders and said 'Start hitting them, break their bones.' At this meeting, in which I was present, he promised us that while recommending these methods as a way of fighting the uprising, he would also take care of the journalists and judges.

"In the 32nd month of the intifada, the USA and Egypt continued their attempts to institute their "peace plan".

In the meantime, Israel stepped up its attacks in an attempt to exploit the Gulf War which was breaking out in the Middle East. At a protest against a new Zionist organisation's attempt to build a new synagogue in Kubbet-ul Sahra at

the Temple of Solomon, Israeli soldiers fired on the protesters, killing 32 and wounding 150.

### **AFTER THE GULF WAR, THE USA PAVED THE WAY TO UNDERMINING THE PALESTINIANS**

**W**ithout losing any time, the USA embarked on its alternative solution to the Palestinian question, its "peace plan", as part of the conditions to be created for its "new world order". The first obstacle on this "road to peace" for the USA was, Syria. A "peace plan" which did not have the consent of Syria would not be able to alter the attitude of Israel to the Palestinian question. By using its strength, the USA gave Syria room to manoeuvre to strengthen its authority in Lebanon. As a quid pro quo, Syria agreed to the US peace plan. In this way it succeeded in breaking a taboo which had existed for decades and brought Syria to bilateral talks with Israel aimed at resolving the Palestine question. The reactionary Arab regimes left their own security and the future of their systems to the care of the USA's military and political forces. The USA no longer needed to worry about the reactionary Arab regimes as far as the implementation of the "peace plan" was concerned. The reactionary regime in Saudi Arabia did not just support the USA's "new world order" but, did not fail to set the flow of petrodollars in motion to support it.

In the Gulf War, Jordan stood on the side of Iraq. For this, Jordan attracted the wrath of both the reactionary Arab leaderships as well as that of the USA and the other imperialist powers. Jordan remained alone in the region.



# The PLO Leadership Is Surrendering Step By Step

When the reactionaries in Saudi Arabia, on whom it is economically dependent, failed to support it, its crisis deepened. The "peace plan" of the USA was the chance for Jordan to get back together with America. Jordan stuck to this plan which excluded the PLO and instead allotted Jordan an important role in representing the Palestinians with a view to resolving the Palestinian question. Until the start of the Gulf War it appeared no peace plan could be achieved which did not call for the withdrawal of the Israelis from the occupied areas and for the erection of a Palestinian state. The intifada also showed that without heeding the will of the Palestinian people, no "peace" could be achieved. According to the 1979 Camp David agreement an independent Palestinian area connected to Jordan consisting of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was supposed to arise gradually. This plan stayed on paper and could not be implemented, even though Israel agreed to it. The USA was forced to put it forward again and again in different forms.

Arafat tried to conceal the fact that he had capitulated to the USA. As though the representation of the PLO was the only thing that mattered, he stressed that "the PLO is the identity of Palestine. Every Palestinian belongs to the PLO and so the PLO will be represented at negotiations." He said this to hide the fact that he had lost the initiative. The PLO leadership went so far in its readiness to compromise and to support "peace" that it contemplated staging an armed clash to break a general strike against "peace" carried out by the Islamic resistance movement (Hamas), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the

Liberation of Palestine.

It was important for Syria to get back the Golan Heights in these peace negotiations which it had lost in 1967. Successful negotiations with Israel could be carried out on this basis. From the PLO's point of view the negotiations developed in such a way as to ensure new cases of submissiveness. Faysal Hussein, the chairman of the Palestinian committee inside the Jordanian delegation, explained the line three days before the conference: "Today the Palestine question is reaching a new level. In the past we made the mistake of rebelling against much stronger powers. Now we should adapt what we do to the new world order."

When it became clear at the Madrid conference that the hard line of the Israelis would prevent any result from being achieved, the Palestinian delegation panicked and took a step backwards. It declared it was ready "to accept temporary autonomy with a view of attaining an independent Palestinian state". In this way the "solution" proposed by the USA and Israel was accepted which the PLO had always rejected until then. The PLO declared that it agreed to a temporary autonomy for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and for these areas to be demilitarised and connected to Jordan through a federation. So the idea of an independent Palestinian state actually died. Federation with Jordan was one of the "solutions" favoured by the USA. As Bush stressed, nobody had expected immediate "peace" to arise from three days of negotiations. But the talks in Madrid were a very important beginning. Through discussion of the "peace plan", the bringing together of Israel and Arab states through the USA resolved a very

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complex problem. This was a very big success for them on the road to realising their plans in the Middle East. The basis was laid for taking new steps.

## ISRAEL CARRIES OUT NEW MAS- SACRES AND SETS UP NEW SETTLEMENTS

While Israel tried on the one hand to put a stop to the intifada, on the other, it continued its policy of building new settlements. The only progress at the Madrid conference was the offer by Israel to withdraw from part of the Golan Heights. While Israel tries to develop its ties to the Arab countries, it also tries to postpone repeatedly its withdrawal from the Golan Heights. At the same time it tries to legitimise its existence in the Occupied Territories while bringing in new Jewish settlers and increasing the number of Jewish inhabitants on a daily basis. The "peace talks" went into a dead end. The resistance and attacks on Israel by Palestinians in the Occupied Territories who are against the negotiations increased.

In 1991 there were 297 armed actions. In 1992 this rose to 508 and in the first three months of 1993



there were already three times as many as in the same period of the previous year. After the killing of four Israelis and the abduction and later killing of a border policeman, Israel arrested 1,600 supposed members of Hamas or other Islamic organisations in the zone between Israel and Lebanon. 413 Palestinians were sent into exile with the explanation that "terror has been finished". Rabin called this a choice between "Hamas and peace". Contrary to the declarations and expectations of Israel, the armed actions did not come to an end. The prestige of Hamas among the people rose. Armed actions became more frequent. In all, 15 Israelis died between December 1992 and March 1993 as a result of attacks by Palestinians on soldiers, policemen and civilians. The people in the Occupied Territories declared their solidarity with those who had been exiled. Rabin's policy of sending people into exile did not achieve the desired result, it even made the situation worse for Israel. Among the Israeli people voices began to be heard calling for direct "peace talks" with the PLO. According to a document of the Arab Studies Society, in 1992 a 52,000 square metre area in the Occupied Territories was confiscated by the Israeli government and used for settlements. This was the biggest settlement initiative in history. One of the favourite methods of the Israelis up to July 1992 was to blow up or make inaccessible the houses of "terrorists or their families", as part of the struggle against terror. This method became more widespread when Rabin came to power. From June 1992 until May 1993 it was done at least 26 times in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Seven Palestinians were killed and five were arrested on these occasions. Several people were found in the ruins of their houses. As a result of being fired on, 43 houses were uninhabitable and 147 damaged. 400 people became homeless. In the last week of July 1993, Israel dropped tonnes of bombs on the

Bekaa valley. This was done without bothering to check whether a guerrilla camp or a civilian settlement was being hit. Israel said the attack was revenge for the growing armed actions of Hezbollah and the Palestinian guerrillas. Rabin's statement, "South Lebanon could be turned into a place in which no one could live any longer," shows on the one hand how ruthless Israel can be, but on the other hand it shows the effect the escalation of the armed struggle was having on it and how scared it was.



**THE TREATY OF BETRAYAL:  
GAZA-JERICHO**

Israel, unable to end the intifada, said it was ready to sit at the negotiating table with Arafat, because of pressure from the USA and the additional guarantees given to it as a result of the PLO's declaration that it accepted Israel's existence.

On September 13, 1993, the two sides met in the US capital Washington. At the end of the talks, Arafat signed the treaty which betrayed Gaza and Jericho. According to this treaty, the autonomy of Palestinians in the Gaza and Jericho areas was to be recognised. In the beginning, a police force of 150 Palestinians was to be formed in the autonomous areas to maintain security. With the withdrawal of Israeli troops, this force would be increased in size to 9,000. By signing the treaty which granted Palestinians limited autonomy, however, Arafat officially dispelled hopes of setting up an independent Palestinian state. This treaty documented the submission of Arafat to the conceptions of imperialism and Zionism. And in later years, Arafat's

signing of the treaties of Cairo and Oslo strengthen the submission implicit in the Gaza-Jericho treaty. It contained not a single advantage for the Palestinians.

**THE PEACE TREATY IS SIGNED BUT  
"PEACE" DOES NOT COME**

Arafat signed the treaty, but as expected, no "peace" came about. On the contrary, while Israel continued its building of settlements and increased the area on which it settled people, it did not hesitate to carry out new massacres. Thousands of Palestinians were arrested and thrown in prison. Dozens of massacres were carried out. At the end of October 1993, Jews rebelled following the killing of a Jew in Jerusalem, and they practised total terror on the land occupied by them. In Ramallah and Bira, 50 houses of Palestinians were set on fire. Palestinians were beaten up. On November 1, armed Israelis blocked off the main streets in Gaza and the West Bank and prevented people in 48 districts from going to work. In some settlements, several Palestinians were wounded by Jews and cars and houses demolished. About 1,000 Israeli settlers demonstrated against the treaty on autonomy signed by Israel and the PLO.

In the meantime, a protocol was signed by the resistance forces which do not accept the treaty - the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) led by Naif



Hawatmeh, and Hezbollah, led by Hassan Nasrullah. In the protocol, the submission compelled by Arafat is not accepted and the continuation of the struggle until all Palestinian soil is freed from occupation forces is declared. In the last week of November, Israeli army helicopters bombarded positions occupied by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the DFLP in the refugee camp at Ayn al-Hilweh [Lebanon]. In the ongoing negotiations, no results were achieved. Instead of withdrawing its troops from Gaza and the West Bank as provided for in the December 13, 1993 treaty, Israel used the fighting as an excuse to postpone the withdrawal. Arafat encountered difficulties because of Israeli attacks on Al Fatah. To contain Palestinian protests, he made statements like "there are limits to our patience."

In the meantime, the Abu Jihad Group inside Al Fatah said it would carry on the fight until the last Israeli soldier left the Occupied Territories, and said the support they had provisionally given the treaty was now cancelled because the treaty had brought no advantages. On Sunday, December 5, 1993 the fighter of Abu Jihad, Khalid Ud Shiha-deh, carried out a suicide attack on Israeli soldiers at the Hulun intersection in southern Tel Aviv. Several Israeli soldiers were killed and wounded. The fighter himself was killed.

At this time, the Popular Front, Hamas, Jihad and Fatah took the decision to intensify the intifada by stages. Then the number of armed actions, bomb attacks, sabotage incidents and suicide operations increased. On December 15, 1993, 10 organisations met in Damascus which were opposed to Arafat. They said they wanted to make a new PLO and to work jointly within the framework of a programme for a "coalition of Palestinian forces". Throughout December the organisations opposed to the PLO carried out armed attacks and bombings against a variety of Israeli positions.

### **THE TRUE FACE OF ZIONIST ISRAEL: THE MASSACRE AT EL-KALIL (HEBRON)**

While the peace talks between Israel and the PLO to implement the Gaza-Jericho agreement were in a dead end, on February 25, 1994 a crowd of people in El-Khalil [Hebron] were fired on after Friday prayers. Sixty-three Palestinians died, and over 200 were wounded. While the Israeli government, wracked by guilt, said the massacre had been carried out by a "fascist Zionist", Israeli soldiers in the West Bank shot dead 19 Palestinians at a protest demonstration. The hopes of Arafat, whose "striving for peace" is preventing the Palestinian people from waging their struggle, drowned in the blood of the El-Khalil massacre. Since he did not want to encounter the wrath of the people, he blamed the Israeli army and said the incident was "a matter damaging to the peace process". With an appeal to the United Nations, Arafat wanted to strengthen the security of the Palestinian people by way of the Security Council. He clearly showed that he did not trust in the strength and decisiveness of his own people to conduct the struggle. At the same time the (DFLP), Hamas and some other groups called for the struggle to be waged. They called Arafat an accomplice in the massacre, along with Israel, and they said Zionism's attacks would be stepped up. With the latest massacres the intifada increased in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The PLO called for a three-day strike, while Hamas sought a general one. Together with the participation of other groups, all schools and shops stayed closed. The workers went on strike, and everywhere there were protest demonstrations and Zionist targets were attacked.

### **AFTER 27 YEARS, ARAFAT RETURNS TO THE GAZA STRIP**

At the start of July 1994 Arafat returned to the Gaza Strip where 27 years before he had been a guerrilla with a firm faith in

**In the course of his journey there were two different reception ceremonies organised for him. The first one was a protest. The second was a splendid welcome arranged by the rulers in El Fetih who competed with each other in their efforts to ingratiate themselves with imperialism. Protests came from Palestinian groups who did not want to make independence a matter for negotiations, who did not seek compromises but wanted to fight for independence. The imperialists consciously sought to play down and silence these protests in order to give the impression that the Palestinian people were seeking compromise.**

the liberation of the Palestinian people, only now he had sold hopes of liberation at the negotiating table and had capitulated to imperialism. The aim of his journey was to visit the autonomous areas and to participate in the inauguration of the "autonomous Palestinian government" in Jericho.

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military parades. People in authority in these areas who did not have any support from the Palestinian people put on a show for Arafat with a parade of soldiers equipped by imperialism.

**THERE IS NO END TO ISRAELI TERROR**

In February 1995 Israel started another massive attack on south Lebanon. This was the worst attack since the summer of the previous year. Its aim as to break down the front of the resistance. In particular, the areas of El Tuffah, the El Refig mountain, the El Zurhani river and the west of the Bekaa valley, where resistance is especially fierce, came under attack. The resistance responded with revenge attacks and the morale of the attackers sank.

It was not just Zionism which fought against the resistance. Arafat, who had brought the hopes of the Palestinian people for liberation to nothing through his treaty with imperialism, allegedly worked for the security of the Palestinian people, but in reality worked against his own people through the police he set up to suppress the intifada, in unity with the Zionist occupiers.

On April 11, 1996, Israel started a new attack on Lebanon. This campaign of revenge against Hamas and Hezbollah led to the massacre of civilians in full view of world public opinion. In a rocket attack on the UN refugee camp in Cana, 101 people were killed and over 100 wounded. Further attacks led to a total of 160 deaths.

Despite major Palestinian protests, Israel began to build a tunnel running under the Masjid-i-Aqsa mosque. This was one of the measures designed to put Jerusalem

fully under Israeli control. Protests were attacked by Israeli troops wielding guns. In the intifada which thus burst into renewed life, more than 50 Palestinians were murdered by Israelis.

The events described here are only a fraction of what has happened to the Palestinian people in the name of the "peace agreement". This reality will not change in the future.



**ARAFAT'S "PEACE" HAS BROUGHT NO SOLUTION BUT ONLY BLOOD AND TEARS**

In an interview in March 1996, Arafat declared: "We were besieged... Israel imprisons us with its anti-terror measures. We are literally being suffocated. Economically speaking, this is death for us. Our people are in danger of starving. We cannot take a step outside of the Palestinian areas. Our workers cannot go to work in Israel. In emergencies we cannot take our sick to hospital and they die. It is impossible to export to Israel. Flour, sugar, rice and various other foodstuffs from Egypt and Jordan cannot reach the Gaza Strip. We are experiencing a tragedy..."

Yes, this is indeed a tragedy. But Arafat himself is playing one of the leading parts in it, along with imperialism and Zionism. Arafat has sold to imperialism the decades-long struggle by the Palestinian people for independence, along with tens of

thousands of martyrs wounded and prisoners in the fight for national liberation for the sake of a "peace process" which has brought blood, tears and loss to national dignity. The situation is clear. An imperialist "peace" does not contain independence and will not give back land to the Palestinian people. It only contains blood and tears, life as a refugee on one's own land, a life without dignity accompanied by attacks and

oppression. It only involves more poverty and the further Israelification of Palestinian land through new settlements.

The nationalist perspective of the PLO leadership blinded it to the importance of classes. It could not or would not see a common fate for the Palestinian and Israeli peoples. This perspective also determined its armed struggle and eventually

led into a diplomatic dead end. The end of the armed struggle was seen as a tactical measure, and to this day no way has been found out of this dead end. Instead of trusting their own strength and that of their people, they tried to find a solution in the "peace proposals" put forward as a policy of the neocolonialism of the imperialists. While looking for a counterweight with the forces of imperialism, they ended up capitulating. As other examples in the world from the perspective of class struggle show, the loss of trust in one's own strength and people can lead to no other result. The end of this road is betrayal and capitulation.

The only way to an independent Palestine is through spreading the intifada. Independence can be won only on a basis of one's own strength, the strength of the people, the armed struggle and winning the support of the people in the region, but not through collaboration with the rulers. There is no other way.



# The Attack On And Occupation Of NORTHERN IRAQ

**T**he operations staged over the border in northern Iraq will not solve any problems for either the USA or Turkey. The Turkish army is carrying out the operations it started over the border with its invasion beginning on May 14 on a more intensive scale than ever before, and with the full cooperation of the bourgeois media.

The oligarchy, which every spring sends Turkish soldiers onto the soil of Iraq, is laying waste to that land. For the oligarchy, the coming of spring means the launch of a military assault. The unresolved "Kurdish question" pushes the oligarchy towards ever more violent attacks, using more and more forces. The bourgeois media wish to use headlines like "great operation", "so many dead", "complete defeat" to show how "successful" the Turkish army has been. If we were to add together all the official figures published over decades purporting to show the number of "killed" guerrillas, we would find that this is actually larger than the total number of PKK guerrillas in this entire period. The truth carries little weight with the bourgeois media. But the army's lack of success against guerrillas waging a national liberation struggle is so great that media headlines alone cannot conceal it. If we look at developments in the latest operation,

some points are particularly worth our attention. The oligarchy announced its plan to attack long before the May 1997 start of the operation, which began precisely when the National Security Council (MGK) declared itself to be the only power in the land. It would not be wrong to see the operation as a test of its strength. The General Staff wants to present this as the "final operation". The declaration issued by the MGK - "because of the danger of its becoming known to outsiders, we did not inform the government" - also shows that the army saw the operation in Iraq as a way of waging an internal struggle within the oligarchy.

A different matter arises in relation to recent years concerning the pretext for the operation. The pretext was an appeal to Turkey for help against attacks by the PKK. However, the idea did not come from Barzani but from the USA. This also suits the ideology and strategy of imperialism. Before the operation, the USA had meetings with its collaborators in Ankara. Representatives of the USA, Turkey, Barzani, Talabani, the Iraqi Turcoman Front and CIA-supported opponents of Saddam in the INC (Iraqi National Congress) gave the oligarchy the green light to launch an attack and military occupation. Moreo-

ver, it became clear that the USA wanted control in the area to be established through "purges" of armed organisations which were not its collaborators, and it insisted on this being done. On the other hand, collaboratorist Kurdish organisations were to be given more room for manoeuvre. Furthermore, the USA wanted to unite all its collaborators seeking to overthrow Saddam into one front. What this means is that the cross-border operation in Iraq, the open support for Barzani, the close ties between Turkey and Israel, their joint military undertakings as well as similar events, are part and parcel of imperialism's policies in the Middle East.

## WHERE ARE THE TUSIADS, WHICH PREPARED A REPORT ON "PERSPECTIVES FOR DEMOCRATISATION"?

**T**USIAD, which constantly talks about democratisation and which wrote a report last winter calling for TV and education for the Kurds in their mother tongue, has seemed to lose its "democratic essence" in the latest attack. We know TUSIAD, so we know how democratic it really is. Its behaviour with regard to this military operation is not surprising, for this is completely true to its nature. Those who



called TUSIAD democratic and expected it to provide a solution simply because it published a report should explain why it did not come out against the latest military offensive, in which the Kurdish people have been massacred, if it is really so democratic and concerned with the problems of the Kurds. Not just TUSIAD, but those who have called it "progressive", should answer the question: is it or is not the same TUSIAD we previously called collaborationist and an enemy of the peoples? Those who have sought to build feelings of trust towards TUSIAD should ponder whether they have behaved correctly, at a time when the revolutionary movement has demanded a reckoning from the monopoly capitalists and has refused to grant them credibility, and has persisted in applying its own analysis of them.

#### THE OPERATION HAS LOST ITS CREDIBILITY

**A**part from the collaborators, the media and the monopoly capitalists, nobody considers the so-called "successful" operations of the Turkish army to have been crowned with "certain triumph". Even though they always say they have killed such and such a number of the PKK, destroyed such and such a number of camps and had such and such a success, the people do not believe them in the slightest. According to what they are saying in Turkey, there is no longer a "terrorism problem". But not even the fascist collaborators have bothered to "thank" the Turkish army.

#### THE SOLDIERS WHO ARE TAKING PART IN THE OPERATIONS OVER THE BORDER WILL HAVE TO PAY THE PRICE

**T**he soldiers who on the orders of imperialism carried out depredations on the soil of another land in the name of the "unity of the fatherland" have

### TURKEY'S PRO-SYSTEM PARTIES SHOW FULL SUPPORT FOR THE ATTACK

A short time ago it was said that the Refah Party wanted to solve the "Kurdish problem". But as the party in power, it stood behind the attack. The bourgeois opposition parties are also behind it. Mesut Yilmaz, who said he was for a "solution", and the Republican People's Party (CHP), with whom the  DP (Freedom and Solidarity Party) and the [pro-Kurdish] HADEP party want to form a coalition, have said nothing about the attack. They have always supported the massacre of the Kurdish people. The president of the DSP (Democratic Left Party), B. lent Ecevit, called a press conference on June 9 and said "the operation should continue until Iraq's national unity and borders have been restored." Ecevit thought it wrong to withdraw the Turkish army before the area had been cleared of the PKK. Amongst others, he criticised Erbakan for saying the operation had ended.

had to pay a price for it. On May 18 and June 4 the PKK destroyed two helicopters, punishing 13 soldiers. At first the General Staff claimed the helicopters were lost because of technical failures. Then they had to confess to the truth. The army which at the start of the operation spoke of "great successes", did not know what to make of this successful action by the guerrillas and first tried to blame Armenia for it, and then Greece, Serbia, Greek Cyprus, Iran and Russia. Then they issued a declaration saying the government had not paid the armed forces money for the operation that it had promised. It was as though they wanted to say that the helicopters were destroyed because the military budget was too small. However, the costs for the operation in northern Iraq, which neither the army nor the government bothered to inform the people about, but only gave notice to the USA, amounted to 100 million dollars. A further report to the USA about an operation in 1995 involving 35,000 soldiers had cost 200 million dollars. Whatever the reason may be, an army which massacres a people to guarantee the "unity of the fatherland" will always be condemned to defeat. Everyone knows that the soldiers killed in the cross-border operation did not "die for their country", but while occupying the soil of another country. There was nothing for them there. They are not there to secure the future of their country but to guarantee the future of America and the collaborationist monopoly capitalists.

### REACTIONS TO THE OCCUPATION OF NORTHERN IRAQ

#### Warning from Iran:

*In a declaration on May 31 by the Iranian foreign minister, the attack was called a "cross-border operation and occupation". And the president of the National Security Council and parliamentary deputy, Hasan Ruhani, sent a warning to the Turkish government. "We are paying attention to the security of our borders and Turkey's bad reputation in the past. So we are sending an official warning to Turkey. Our forces are ready to make a reply to anything that is done," Ruhani said.*

#### A warning from non-aligned states:

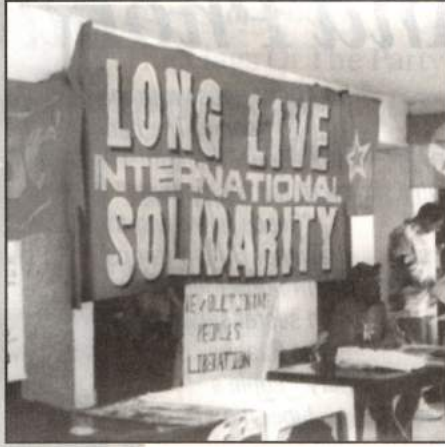
*Together with the Arab countries in the UN, the non-aligned countries at the UN issued a statement on May 29 calling on Turkey to withdraw its forces unconditionally from northern Iraq. The attack on northern Iraq was criticised.*

#### A warning from Gulf Cooperation States:

*The Gulf Cooperation Council, which met on May 31 in Riyadh, criticised Turkey's attack on northern Iraq and demanded its withdrawal from the region. The members of the council are Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain.*



## CUBA 14TH INTERNATIONAL WORLD'S YOUTH AND STUDENT FESTIVAL FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY, PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD



Also we all found chances to meet the people who succeeded in bringing about a revolution which was and is a nightmare for US imperialism. This is the reason why US started the blockade and trying to oppress the Cuban people by preventing them from receiving medicine, food and all kind of essentials. Cuban children forgot the taste of milk. But imperialism seems to have forgotten a very basic fact. The determination and trust of the Cuban people in the revolution.

July 26 is the national day in Cuba. It is the day when the revolutionary movement started under the leadership of Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara. The Cuban flag and the flag of the July 26 Movement were flying everywhere. The festival began with a marathon in Manecon Street which is the longest street in Cuba. After the marathon, the delegates marched for what seemed like hours to show their solidarity with the Cuban people. The next day it was the beginning of the continental clubs where the delegates of the related continents came together, arranged meetings and musical activities, exchanged addresses and information and showed their concern about each other's problems and shared their experiences. The stall of the DHKC was in the Europe club in front of a massive banner, written as "Long Live International Solidarity" and surrounded by Party and Front flags. The interest of the visitors in our publications was enormous. On the third day, we informed Cuban youths for at least an hour. The Kurdish question, constitution, people's assemblies, revolutionary guerrillas, the great Death Fast resistance, martyrs, torture, disappearances - they kept asking questions and we were racing to answer them. The hunger of Cuban youth for information cannot be compared with anything else.

We prepared a declaration titled "Long live internationalism", to be signed by progressive and revolutionary movements. Briefly it says; "In today's conditions, the international solidarity of the world's working class and oppressed peoples carries a crucial role more than ever.

Over 13,000 delegates from all over the world gathered in Cuba, between July 28 and August 5, to show solidarity with the Cuban people and condemning the US blockade.

For eight days, the youth of the world exchanged information, got to know each other and strengthen the friendship of the peoples of the world.

It is essential to build a united struggle against the common enemy and we need to establish our own front and expand it. Unite! Against the exploitation, imperialism and for liberation and independence. 20 parties and movements signed the declaration in one day from Peru, Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, Greece, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Cyprus, Portugal and Turkey.

The next day, we joined the group who would visit a beer production factory. When we arrived a warm welcome is waiting for us. The first thing that we have noticed is the big writing on the wall: "Socialismo o muerte!" (socialism or death). The factory, says our guide, "is temporarily not functioning because of restoration and modernisation". "What about the workers?" was a question from our group. "The workers were transferred to some other factories and the ones who could not be placed, receive 60% of their wages."

The factory manager is 30 years old and in some other factories this number drops up to 26. He is from the "Pioneers' School" as well. It is a unique school where the children of the world are educated in a very different way. 6-7 year-old children learn how to build, look, practise medical operations on dolls etc. The graduates have great responsibilities when they start to work, like the factory manager, and 99% of them become Communist Party members. The students who came from abroad take up important positions in their own countries.

The outer walls of the factory are full of pictures and writings. Some are for the anniversary of "the attack on Moncada Garrison", are about revolution or quote Che or Fidel Castro.

There are economic problems in Cuba. Nobody and none of the Cuban people are denying them. There are known factors causing these problems and according to Cubans, socialism is not one of them. The US blockade and the decomposition of Soviet Union are the main factors. When we spoke to one of the party members, this is what she says; "Before the collapse of the socialist bloc 70% of all our trade was with the former socialist countries and this is very natural. But we relied on them, rather than developing our own industry and technology. Instead of buying cement, for instance, we had to concentrate on how to find a way to produce it in Cuba. This was our fault." Cubans are happy with their system. They know that, under capitalism their life will be too difficult to live. Health and education is free for all citizens, the accommodation problem is solved. The rents are very cheap, so is transportation. Cubans had used their creativity and the "camel" is their one of production. It is a public bus. An articulated lorry was converted into a hunchbacked bus. This is where the name comes from.

The flag of the DHKP-C is flying wherever we go. The people are waving when we pass by. A woman is hel-



# LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY!

## WEST BELFAST CULTURAL FESTIVAL

### *(West Belfast Feile And Phobail)*

The main issue in the 10th anniversary of the West Belfast Cultural Festival between 6th and 11th August, was excitement and solidarity. The first activity of the festival concerned political women prisoners and Bernadette, the mother of Roisin McAliskey, a political prisoner charged with planting an IRA bomb. A former political prisoner and relatives of the captives gave speeches. There were 500 people in the meeting and by using the examples from Turkey and Kurdistan, the necessity for the solidarity of captives and their relatives was stated.

The DHKC representative started the speech with a well-known IRA greeting: *Tiocfaidh ar la!* (Gaelic for "our day will come") "Friends, we could not participate in last year's festival because the great death fast resistance was on the agenda in our country. The position of the political women prisoners was very important in the death fast. In the resistance, DHKP-C fighter Ayce Idil Erkmen died a martyr as the first woman death fast participant. She said, "I am a machine gun," while lying delirious and close to death. In the prisons of our country, massacres may be faced on a daily

basis, but our captives are already "free".

Our enemies are afraid of the struggle and bravery of women in our country and they are right to feel this way. I will finish my speech with a widely used slogan, "The hatred of mothers will strangle the murderers."

The speech ended with a standing ovation.

The Bobby Sands Prizes were given by his father with a traditional ceremony on 7th August. The marches were sung and slogans of the IRA echoed in the hall.

On 8th August, the IRA's day started with the announcement of the names of death fast volunteers and speeches. In the speeches, our presence was mentioned with the words "Friends from the Basque country and Turkey are with us," and the flags on the stands of ETA, IRA and the DHKC were saluted. A Republican music group, Summerfly sang songs and marches about Bobby Sands and the IRA Death Fast of 1981. Summerfly, announced that they were singing a song for the Death Fast martyr, Ayce Idil Erkmen. The song was applauded for a long time. There was a march

on 10th August with the participation of 10,000 people. The banner in the front was about "the right of self-determination of the Irish people" and followed by;

"Peace to Ireland through the withdrawal of British troops", "A Basque freedom fighter was massacred by the Spanish secret service in Mexico", "Freedom to the Basque country" and "Revolutionary People's

Liberation Front" accompanied by two Front flags. There were approximately 15 bands. During the march, two IRA flags were hanged on the roof of a British police station and the excitement of the crowd was great. After that, a British flag was burned in front of British policemen. On each occasion the police were encountered, IRA slogans were echoed. The DHKC banner was applauded at every point of the demonstration.

The march ended in front of the parliament building with some speeches, mainly demanding the transfer of IRA captives to Ireland.

Regardless of the wish of imperialism to incite hatred between the peoples, people, who resist in solidarity with other people will win. WE WILL WIN!

ping us to hang the flag and another one, in different occasion, is trying to make a flagpole from a broom stick.

"Hasta la victoria siempre!" said Che, (Until final victory) and wherever we go his words are welcoming us. The museum of revolution is one of the main attractions in Havana. The whole history of revolution is there, including the personal belongings of Che. He is a hero and living in their hearts. From 7 to 77, all Cubans love and are proud of having him.

We found the chance to see Fidel (Cubans prefer to call him by his first name), in the closing ceremony in the Pan-American stadium. He was waving to 13,000 delegates and thousands of Cubans. "Cuba SI, Yankees NO!" is the main slogan of the night. The show is spectacular and well prepared but unfortunately, we miss most of it. We had 2,000 declarations to distribute. What do we say in this declaration? We say "the only way is revolution." We say "for a dignified life, freedom, independence and democracy, all progressive forces should unite against imperialism. We will not let our oppressed peoples down, all crimes of the fascist state will face People's Justice. We will shake the world, once again, from Turkey." We finished the Spanish

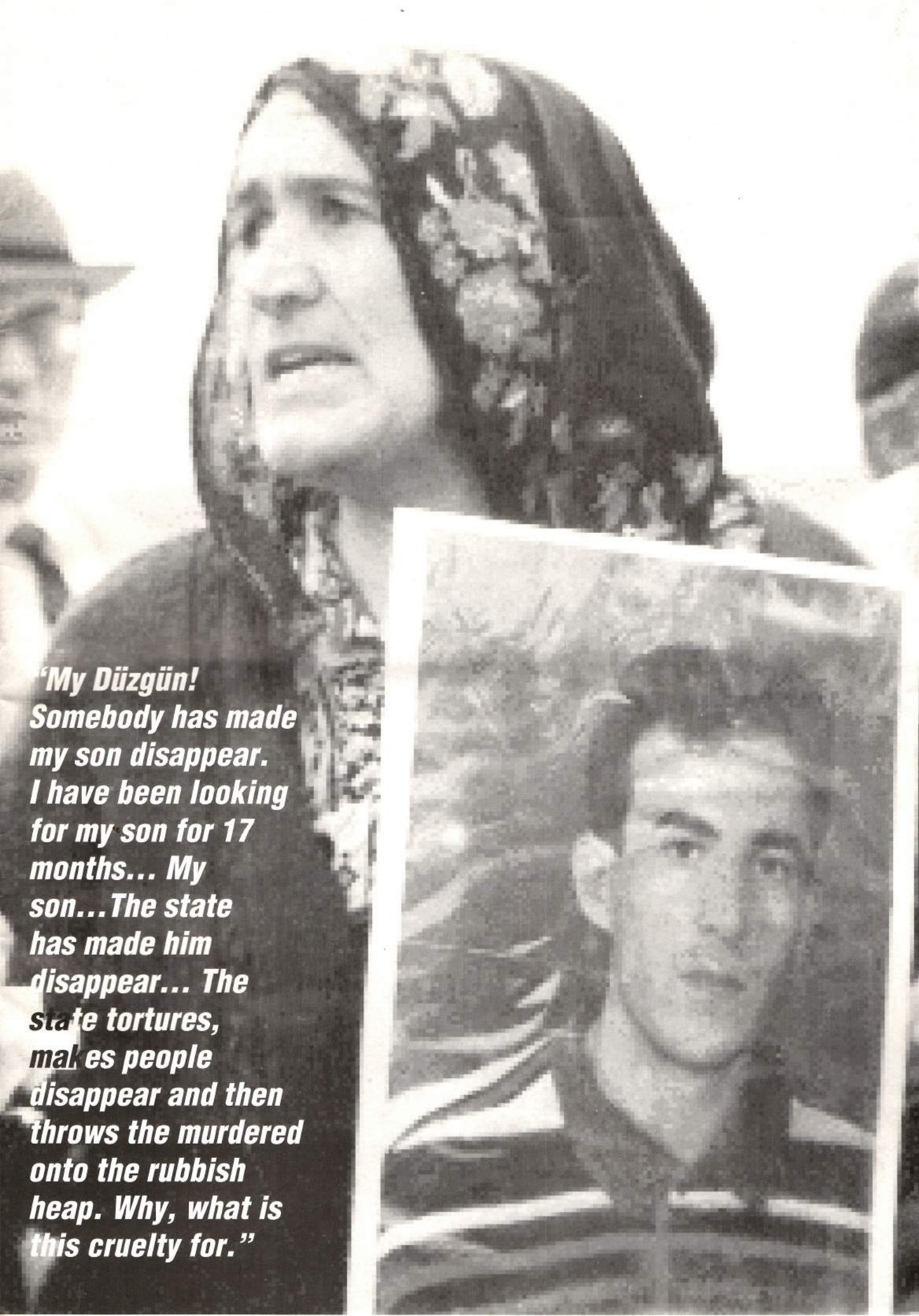
copy within an hour. The Cuban people were racing each other to get a copy. Later on we take our seats in between our banners,

"Long Live International Solidarity". and DHKC. People are asking, "How was Cuba, how did you find Cuba, was it how you thought it would be?"

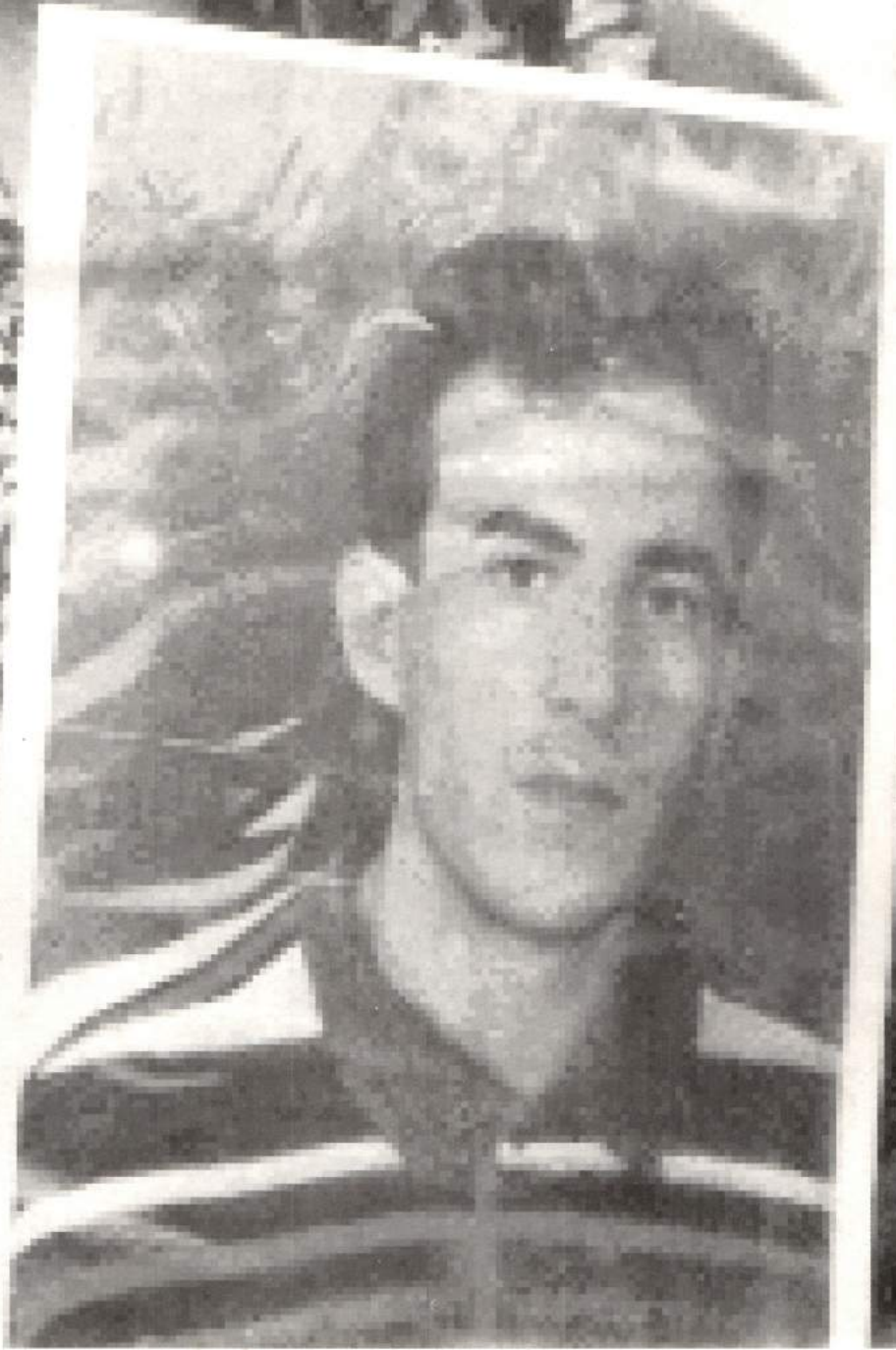
We say, "No! Better than we thought. Our priority has to be, to make revolution in our countries. The best way to help Cuban people is to break the chains of imperialism, today from Turkey, tomorrow from anywhere in the world. The USA cannot make blockades all over the world! We promised our people independence, liberation and democracy. They trust us and we will not let them down. Imperialism will lose one of its major colonies, Turkey. We believe in our people, our forces and our leadership."

**WE ARE RIGHT, WE WILL WIN!**  
**LONG LIVE THE CUBAN REVOLUTION!**  
**LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!**





***‘My Düzgün!  
Somebody has made  
my son disappear.  
I have been looking  
for my son for 17  
months... My  
son... The state  
has made him  
disappear... The  
state tortures,  
makes people  
disappear and then  
throws the murdered  
onto the rubbish  
heap. Why, what is  
this cruelty for.’***





**We  
Salute  
The  
Martyrs  
Who Fell  
For The  
People**

