

REVOLUTIONARY LEFT
(DEVİRİMCİ SOL)

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• This Brochure contains the development of the Marxist-Leninist organization Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left) up today, since it appeared on the political arena.

The brochure has been prepared, to public this revolutionary organization. It has been translated into different languages.

INTRODUCTION

Devrimci Sol is a popular movement, organized under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. It aims first an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic popular revolution, and then a communist society.

To achieve its goals, Devrimci Sol - in accordance with an analysis based on the historical, social, economic and political conditions of our country and the experiences of world communist movement - believes in the necessity of an armed popular struggle under the guidance of a proletarian party. However, Devrimci Sol has not yet completed the process of evolving into a party at the present stage. Devrimci Sol does not view this as a process without struggle. It perceives that the process of evolving into a party can be achieved by using all means of political struggle on the basis of revolutionary violence, by leading the economic-democratic struggle, and by organizing the people. And it has been carrying on its struggle in compliance with this perception since its birth.

Devrimci Sol is an internationalist movement, regarding itself as a party of the world communist movement and as a follower of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the Third International. It showed its internationalist spirit by supporting the world revolutionary movements and protesting the imperialist aggressions against peoples.

Devrimci Sol is a successor of the Turkish leftist movement, especially the Turkish Popular Liberation

THE RISE OF DEVRIMCI SOL

THKP-C, after being defeated organizationally, left behind a huge potential, including all sectors of the people. Especially the student youth was an active potential power. Despite the dreadfulness and the repudiation created by the defeat, young revolutionary students accepting the ideological views of THKP-C began to organize in several cities of Turkey.

Meanwhile, the civil fascist gangs, supported by the state and CIA, had begun to assail on all the sectors of the people, particularly on the youth. The fascists committed murders and massacre in the course of time. "*Safety of lives*" became the main problem of the people.

The revolutionary youth, began to organize under these conditions, stood up against these attacks. At the cost of martyrs, they prevented the people of being subjugated by the fascist terror.

The Revolutionary Youth movement (Devrimci Gençlik), born in the process of the struggle and organization, evolved into Devrimci Yol (Revolutionary Path) in 1977. But the clique in Ankara, that led this movement didn't accept the thoughts and practices of the THKP-C in fact and betrayed its legacy. Therefore, neither there could be a development - in the establishment of cadres and in the achievement of an ideological unity - nor could an active and deterring struggle be conducted against the fascist terror. Under these conditions, the Marxist-Leninist cadres in the Devrimci Yol movement struggled against the organizational and political liquidatorship.

Devrimci Sol put forth its ideological line in detail shortly after appearing on the political arena and published brochures and periodicals for this purpose. It explained the people and the entire revolutionary public opinion that opportunism rejected the ideological line and the legacy of THKP-C, adopted spontaneity in

organization, conducted a submassive policy against the fascist terror.

Devrimci Sol is a movement known by keeping its promises. It fulfilled all its words and writings, using all its power and energy. Otherwise it couldn't have a glorious history of struggle and become a movement that succeeds THKP-C today.

2. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE OF DEVRIMCI SOL

The fascist state terror and the civil fascist terror had gained a tremendous dimension in 1978, when Devrimci Sol arose. Schools, districts, villages, towns and even cities were within the sphere of influence of the fascist terror. Fascist murders had been transformed into massacres. Under these conditions, the main question was the safety of people's lives.

Assesing this concrete fact, Devrimci Sol adopted a program of struggle and organization consistent with this and started to practice it. In fact, Devrimci Sol was not yet a party, however, it was aware of the fact that it was not possible to establish a party by abandoning the revolutionary tasks presented by life. To Devrimci Sol's understanding of organization and struggle, it was possible to neutralize the fascist terror by uniting with the people in all the places, fascist terror was present. The basic method of struggle for this was *"revolutionary violence"*. But it was necessary to combine revolutionary violence with other forms of political, economic-democratic struggle. Otherwise, it would be inevitable to fall into either *"leftist"* or *"rightist"* deviations.

Revolutionary violence aimed not only at the civil fascists, but also the state's tortures, police stations where tortures were, the officers responsible for the

tortures, and the informers. Devrimci Sol has organized according to this understanding. It established armed teams in schools, districts and factories, and organized armed revolutionary units which punished torturers and raided police stations. In addition, it tried to organize and arm the people against fascist terror in all aspects of life.

Devrimci Sol prevented fascist terror to subjugate the people by practicing all forms of political, economic-democratic struggle ranging from actions of revolutionary violence to mass demonstrations, from student boycotts and occupations to strikes, and creating organizations consistent with these.

Devrimci Sol carried out its struggle in the form of "campaigns". Each campaign lasted one or two months, and each was followed by a new one. The campaigns highlighted the political targets and slogans consistent with the process and offered a perspective to the masses.

THE IMPORTANT CAMPAIGNS CARRIED OUT BY DEVIRIMCI SOL SO FAR, and ITS NOTEWORTHY ACTIONS DURING THESE CAMPAIGNS

a) The Period Before the Fascist Military Coup of 12 September

- The Campaign of Struggle Against Imperialism, Fascist Terror, Unemployment and Expensiveness (July-August, 1979)**

During this campaign, carried out to explain the working people that the responsables of the fascist terror, unemployment and expensiveness were imperialism and the oligarchy, Devrimci Sol - as almost in all campaigns conducted before 12 September - distributed

hundred thousands of stamps and hand bills, along with hanging hundreds of placards with or without bombs.

In addition to a great armed and illegal demonstration in front of the Chamber of Commerce in Istanbul, seizures were carried out in an environment of black-marketing and scarcity created by the IWF and collaborator monopolies. In this regard, the big distribution trucks belonging to Unilever and Migros (two of the imperialist multinational companies) were seized, and the goods were distributed to the people at the districts of the poorest people:

In the context to this campaign, the representative agencies of six imperialist institutions activating in our country were raided, their personnel neutralized, the offices damaged, and slogans consistent with the campaign were written on their walls.

*** Protestig Campaign Against Price Increases and the Resolutions of January 24th, and the Action of Closing Down the Working Places (February, 1980)**

To protest the rising prices and the Resolutions of January 24th that were determined in line with the demands of imperialism and the collaborator monopolies, and had a great effect on the economic, political, social life in our country in the ensuing years, Devrimci Sol made a call to the craftsmen of Istanbul to close their working places and made an announcement the day before the action. More than ninety percent of the craftsmen in Istanbul responded to this call and attended the campaign, during which the aims of the action were explained to the public opinion and the craftsmen.

• The Campaign Against Torture in Police Stations and the Police Oppression During the Resistance of Tarih (January-February, 1980)

During this campaign, Devrimci Sol carried out armed raids on three separate police stations in Istanbul along with a great illegal demonstration in front of the Chamber of Commerce in Istanbul to protest against tortures in police stations and the police terror in the Resistance of Tarih Workers in Izmir. Between late January and early February, the militants of Devrimci Sol raided the police stations in Karagömrük, Yedikule and Tahtakale, neutralized the police officers and seized their weapons, hanged on placards stressing that the torturers would be punished sooner or later. After these actions, the oligarchy had to promote special measures to protect the police stations, their police officers and superintendents became more cautious, sent indirect messages to Devrimci Sol claiming, that there was no torture in their stations and that they were on the side of the people.

• The Campaign Against Torture (April, 1980)

In this regard, along with their other activities, the militants of Devrimci Sol have raided the police station of Bostancıbaşı at Tophane in Istanbul, neutralized the police officers and seized their weapons, stressing once again that the torturers couldn't escape from punishment.

With these respective raids on police stations, a widespread sensitivity and a thought of how weak the state institutions were, began to arise among the masses, in addition to discouraging the torturers.

*** The Week of Campaign Against the National Oppression in Kurdistan (June, 1980)**

Parallel with the developing struggle in Kurdistan, the oligarchy's assimilative and genocidal policy towards the Kurdish nation had gained momentum. Devrimci Sol promoted a campaign called *"Struggle Against the National Oppression in Kurdistan"* in a period when the aggressions against the Kurdish people were intensified, and carried out an intensive struggle in Elazığ, Tunceli, Malatya, Gaziantep, Diyarbakır, Van, their neighborings and villages for a week. Devrimci Sol's struggle and activities in Kurdistan have continued before and after this campaign. One of these activities was the raid on the gendarmery station in Pertek/Tunceli, and the disarming of the persons inside.

*** The Campaign Against Fascist Terror, and the Punishment of Gün Sazak (May-June, 1980)**

In this campaign, Devrimci Sol punished Gün Sazak, a member of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) who, as one of the leaders of the capitalist and fascist movement on the national scale, had an important role in working out the tactics of this movement. During his Ministership of Customs and Monopolies in the government of the *"Second Nationalist Front"*, he trained the cadres of the fascist movement at special units and put them up within the ministry. Then he mobilized these cadres in the national scale organization of the fascist movement and massacres. So the punishment of Gün Sazak gave a hard moral blow to the civil fascist movement. The line of active struggle against the civil fascists (1) pursued so far. The result of this action was the end of oligarchy's strategy of hindering the revolutionary struggle by using civil fascists.

*** The Campaign Against Torturers and the Fascist Terror, the Punishment of Nihat Erim (one of the Prime Ministers during the period after the Fascist Coup of 12 March, 1971) (July-August, 1980)**

During the history, oppressed peoples have never forgotten the repressions implemented on themselves. They settled accounts with the oppressors when the time came. In this campaign, Devrimci Sol punished the fascist torturer Nihat Erim, who had endorsed and contributed to the murder of the leaders and cadres of THKP-C (the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle in Turkey) and the execution of three revolutionaries, to introduce laws limiting the rights of working people, to intensive detentions, arrests and tortures-and thus fulfilled the justice of the people.

Also in this campaign, Devrimci Sol organized two massive and armed illegal demonstrations at Topkapı and Çemberlitas in Istanbul, which were much bigger than the ones before. At that period, these massive and armed illegal demonstrations, particularly these two-with respect to their preparation, organization and the level of participation-became a challenge and a show of strength against the police and military forces of the oligarchy.

With this campaign, Devrimci Sol expressed the reaction of the people against fascist terror and torture in a powerful way.

Devrimci Sol couldn't prevent the military that was dependent on American imperialism to plan a fascist coup, although it was greatly successful in preventing the fascist terror to carry out its program of subjugating the people before 12 September 1980. However, it didn't surrender to the terror of the fascist junta, on the contrary, it carried out its struggle by using most of its force and proved once more that it deserved the confidence of the people as a vanguard of it.

While refugeeism and "withdrawing" from the struggle became the only way out for almost all the leftist groups in the junta conditions, Devrimci Sol rejected refugeeism and believed that a movement abandoning struggle and people, viewing refugeeism as a remedy, could never achieve a revolution.

b) The Process After the Fascist Coup of 12 September 1980

*** The Campaign of Struggle Against the 12 September Fascist Junta (September, 1980)**

During this campaign, carried out against the 12 September Junta, Devrimci Sol performed an extensive activity of agitation and propaganda, distributed hundred thousands of leaflets and hand bills, hanged posters, wall newspapers, etc. and carried out illegal demonstrations. Throughout Turkey, it hanged hundreds of placards with or without bombs on the same day, bombed and damaged more than a hundred banks and imperialist institutions at the same night, when the implementation of curfew started. It punished many predetermined torturers, informers and enemies of the people also in this campaign. Never abandoning the resistance during the 12 September Junta, Devrimci Sol became an example by rising high its banner of struggle against the fascist coup of 12 September. In addition, a massive boycott was conducted at the Technical University of Istanbul upon the murders of a militant of Devrimci Sol and another revolutionary at the Political Branch of the Police Headquarters in Istanbul.

*** The Campaign Against the Terror and Torture of the Fascist Junta and the Punishment of Mahmut Dikler, the Assistant Director of Public Security responsible for the Political Branch (February-March, 1981)**

To protest the murders and massacres committed by the Junta and the wave of terror and torture, Devrimci-Sol against started the revolutionaries and working people as soon as it came. To give the torturers the message that no massacre would remain unpunished, it started a new campaign and put actions of punishments against torturers on the agenda. In those days, when most of the Turkish Left with drew from the struggle, Devrimci Sol, in addition to its classical activities, conducted actions against the hotbeds of terror and torture and punished many torturers and enemies of the people. The Kemerali Police Station in Izmir where intensive tortures were carried out, was raided, and the torturers were punished properly. The most important action in this campaign the punishment of Mahmut Dikler, the Assistant Director of Public Security, responsible for the murders of revolutionaries during tortures. The informants and fascists in the countryside and the torture gendarmery were also punished.

In addition to the actions mentioned above, Devrimci Sol distributed during almost all its campaigns hundred thousands of leaflets and hand bills, hanged posters, hanged placards with and without bombs, punished more than hundred torturers, police officers, members of National Intelligence Organization (MIT), informants and members of the fascist MHP who were the murderers of revolutionaries and enemies of the people. It carried out hundreds of bombing actions against police stations, police posts, banks, representative offices of imperialist institutions and workshops of fascists, and organized tens of illegal mass demonstrations and street fights.

Devrimci Sol sacrificed more than a hundred of its militants and cadres during the revolutionary struggle. It publicized the names of the police officers, MIT officials, fascist members of MHP, soldiers and informants responsible for killing its cadres and militants, and punished them shortly after publish.

Devrimci Sol proved its fidelity to internationalism and its ownership of the revolutionary heritage by the memorial days, it organized. In this regard, it adopted the week between 31 March and 7 April as the memorial week for the revolutionaries martyred in the struggle, including the leaders of THKP-C. The Memorial Week has become a nightmare for the oligarchy as a platform on which the struggle against fascism raised under all conditions.

Devrimci Sol greeted May Days as the days of struggle consistent with the spirit of May Days and participated with its thousands of militants and sympathizers in the huge demonstrations at the May Day Square. It didn't remain silent even on the May Days of 1981, '82, '83, the hardest days of the period following the coup. From then on, Devrimci Sol organized demonstrations each year at the May Day Square, a tradition, abiding by the memories of both, the martyrs of the massacre of the May Day of 1977 and the martyrs of May Days all over the world.

To meet the financial needs of the struggle, Devrimci Sol relied on the voluntary contributions of the people and conducted big actions of seizure against the monopoly capital.

The cities in which Devrimci Sol has carried out its struggle before and just after 12 September were mainly Istanbul, Ankara, Bursa, Izmir, Eskişehir, Uşak, Denizli, Manisa, Adana, Tarsus-Mersin, Gaziantep, Elazığ, Malatya, Tunceli, Sivas and Aybastı-Ordu. Six common cases were opened in Istanbul, Bursa, Elazığ, Erzincan, Izmir, Ankara against more than one thousand Devrimci Sol cadres and sympathizers who had been seized and

arrested after 12 September 1980. In these cases, capital punishment was demanded for more than 400 of them.

- * The campaign against the joining of universities, faculties and higher schools under the umbrella of the *"Institution of Higher Education"* (YÖK), bringing them under fascist discipline, and creating a fascist institution under the name of *"Institution of Higher Education"*. (1982)

- * The campaigns, *"We will Stand Against the Tortures in Prisons"* and *"The Junta cannot Judge the Revolutionaries"* (against the trials started at the military courts of the junta). (1982)

The campaign, *"The Junta cannot Judge the Revolutionaries"* (March, 1982) was carried out on a large scale; on the day the trial in Istanbul started, the city was decked with more than hundred thousand hand bills, posters and more than fifty placards, and various bombing actions were carried out.

- * The campaign, *"No, to the Constitution of the Junta"* to reject the Constitution of 199982, which was imposed on the people and complemented the institutionalization of fascism in our country. (November, 1982)

During this campaign, in addition to the actions carried out inside the country, the General Consulate of the junta in Cologne, was raided by the militants of Devrimci Sol, and kept under control for 15 hours. Besides, many representative offices of the junta in various Western European countries were raided and occupied.

- The campaign, *"We will reject the Election Game of the Junta"* to protest the election manoeuvres in which only the three fascist parties that were junta supporters participated, and no other parties or independent, patriotic candidates were permitted to participate, and to create an awareness within the people. (November, 1983)

In this coloured election in which only three fascist parties, entirely controlled by the fascist junta which aimed to legitimate itself and consolidate its rule for the future five years, participated. Devrimci Sol-handling the question in a historical perspective, and despite that its capability had been gradually weakened-has called the people to boycott the elections, not to contribute to and be an instrument of the legitimization of the junta.

Also in this campaign, extensive activities were organized abroad, and many representative offices of the fascist junta were occupied.

- The campaign, *"Struggle Against ANAP"* after ANAP-the party of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the collaborator of imperialism- ascended the power as a result of the 1983 elections. (1984)

In this campaign, in addition to the classical activities like distributing hand bills, hanging placards, Devrimci Sol has bombed ten of the district branches of ANAP in Istanbul, thus publicized that ANAP was responsible for the tortures, terror and exploitation.

- *"The Hunger Strike Campaign"* (April-June, 1984)

This campaign was carried out, in the prisons where a tooth and nail fight was carried out against the fascist

junta, to protest the junta's policies aimed at intimidating and subjugating the revolutionaries in the prisons morally, ideologically and politically, and the wild aggression, and to support the resistance that was started by the members and the sympathizers of Devrimci Sol and by some patriots, and transformed after a while into a hunger strike to death, lasting totally 75 days (three leading Devrimci Sol fighters have died in this resistance that was conducted in the prisons of Istanbul).

The struggle of Devrimci Sol, set back against its will as a result of the hard organizational blows, got during the process after the fascist coup of 12 September, has regained its momentum and begun to develop again.

To protest the massacre of the civilian people and the peshmerges by the fascist Turkish army during the assault operation carried out against Iraqi Kurdistan in 1986, Devrimci Sol has raided the Kadıköy-Istanbul branch of the governing party, ANAP, neutralized the personnel, thrown flame bombs into the building, and damaged it.

In the May Days and campaigns carried out to commemorate the Martyrs of Revolution (31 March-7 April) in the years 1987-'88-'89, imperialist institutions and representative offices were raided by the militants of Devrimci Sol, acts of bombing followed. Despite the intensive repression, terror, mass detentions, tortures and arrests of the oligarchy, Devrimci Sol has celebrated the May Day of 1989, it participated in the celebrations with its thousands of sympathizers. During this celebration, clashes broke out, hundreds were wounded, and M. Akif Dalci was martyred. Devrimci Sol has later punished the police officer who had murdered M. Akif Dalci, fulfilled so the justice of the people. Devrimci Sol never remained silent in regard to the activities of informants; it showed the necessary attitude against these, including punishments.

In addition, to protest unemployment, higher price

rates, fascist repression and terror, raids were conducted against monopoly institutions, and numerous acts of revolutionary violence, including bombings, were conducted.

Devrimci Sol--beginning from 1987-'88 --has carried out tens of illegal (small and big) demonstrations. In these it protested the economic conditions of living, the tortures and repressions in prisons, the terror and tortures in police stations, the intensive repressions directed against the socialist press and mass organizations, and the aggressions against the youth, and at various times, carried out its tasks in regard to international solidarity (Devrimci Sol's actions in regard to anti-imperialist and internationalist solidarity are mentioned under a separate title).

Today, Devrimci Sol carries out these legal, semi-legal and illegal demonstrations with its supporters whose numbers vary from 200-300 to 1000-2000-5000, depending on the situation and the type of demonstrations, and clashes in mass with the police in these demonstrations.

In our country--as in all neo-colonial countries-- the youth has been an important and the most active part of the revolutionary struggle, and provided militants and sympathizers for the revolutionary struggle. The activities of Devrimci Sol in regard to the youth have never stopped so far, and have begun to develop again since 1985-'86 particularly. Tens of mass demonstrations, university occupations were carried out to protest the fascist discipline and regulations of YÖK, the attempt to close down the student associations, and the collaboration of university administrations with the police. The name of the organization of Devrimci Sol in the youth sector is DEV-GENÇ (Revolutionary Youth). DEV-GENÇ, besides organizing the university youth on an academic-democratic basis and activating them for the struggle, identified itself with the problems of the people, and followed an active path in the anti-fascist

struggle especially before the fascist coup of 12 September. Also at present, it identifies itself with all the economic-democratic and political problems of the working people and participates in almost every campaign. DEV-GENÇ has never limited itself only with academic activities; it has participated actively in almost all the activities of Devrimci Sol, carried out its tasks of international solidarity without any halt, and been always sensitive in this matter.

The struggle of Devrimci Sol in the youth sector has been gradually extending, and this fact expresses itself within the high schools. LISELI DEV-GENÇ (High School Revolutionary Youth) has been developing, as before the coup of 12 September, within high schools, organizing activities against the fascist repressions and discipline, beating and reactionary-fascist education system, carrying out actions like distributing leaflets and hand bills, hanging posters and placards, and illegal mass demonstrations. Parallel with its level of developing and becoming massive, it becomes more sensitive to the economic-democratic and political problems of working people and takes the necessary actions in accordance with its level of organization and consciousness.

Devrimci Sol activates also within the working class. This fact expresses itself under the name, DEVRIMCI İŞÇİ HAREKETİ (Revolutionary Workers Movement). Devrimci Sol, in addition to many actions like strikes, work slow-downs, demonstrations, resistances and acts of solidarity at the working places, work shops and factories, also tries to organize acts of revolutionary violence within the workers sector consistent with power. Devrimci Sol identified itself with the economic-democratic demands of the working class, tried to direct struggle consistent with its power, carried out legal and illegal mass demonstrations and various actions to protest the big occupational accidents which occur very often in our country. Again, Devrimci Sol's struggle and

efforts of organizing within all the sectors of laborers like employees, teachers, etc. have been developing. Besides these, Devrimci Sol has been in a concrete effort of raising the level of organization and struggle of women at various levels. It identifies itself, as in the past, also with the demands of the producers in agriculture who show their reactions to the low minimum prices, and carries out mass demonstrations and other various actions in support of them.

Devrimci Sol has been carrying out a struggle-in compliance with the perspective, struggle for revolution- to develop the democratic rights of all people, and organizing various actions and activities in this regard. Not remaining silent against the policies of fascism like repressions and hindrances directed against democratic mass organizations and legal leftist periodicals, detaining, torturing, arresting and imprisoning for month or years the managers and members of these; it carried out campaigns and actions to protest these repressions and aggressions, and tried to create an awareness within the masses and encourage them, thus aimed to barricade the aggressions of fascism in this sphere.

It never remained silent against the aggressions and assassinations of the institutions like MIT and CIA-the intelligence and provocation organizations of the oligarchy and imperialism-directed against democratic-progressive professors and the bourgeois press, to the masses that and to identify them with terror and to create an image within the people that the source of all actions were the same, that it is "terror", upon the rise of the revolutionary struggle. It carried out actions and demonstrations to expose and protest these provocations and thus to make the broadest masses aware of this subject.

The Anti-imperialist and Internationalist Solidarity Actions of Devrimci Sol

The anti-imperialist and internationalist solidarity actions of Devrimci Sol had begun already before the rise of Devrimci Sol as a separate organization. The cadres and sympathizers who would establish Devrimci Sol later, had tried to carry out their anti-imperialist tasks without a halt at that period, too.

* In April 1977, the Istanbul visit of "*Esmeralda*", a Chilean ship which had been turned into a center of torture by the Pinochet fascism that had seized the power by a bloody coup, was protested, in this regard an illegal demonstration was carried out, and the Chilean Consulate was damaged partly.

* In June 1977, a demonstration was carried out in front of the Netherland Consulate in Istanbul to protest the state of the Netherland which had brutally slaughtered the Molucan guerillas.

* Again, in June 1977, a demonstration was carried out in front of the French Consulate in Istanbul to protest the bombing and massacre of the Western Saharan people by the fighters of the French imperialists, thus it was stressed that we were with the Polisario Front.

* In September 1977, to protest the military exercises conducted by NATO in our country and the anchorage of the US warships at Istanbul Port, the US soldiers who disembarked were beaten and thrown into the sea, besides a series of actions. Besides, US imperialism was condemned by DEV-GENC's occupation of the Mining Faculty of Maçka.

* In November 1977, the German Cultural Center was damaged, to protest German imperialism which raided the Magdichu Airport and murdered two Palestinian guerillas.

In November 1978, a demonstration was carried out in front of the Belgium Consulate in Istanbul, and its building was partly damaged. The aim of this act, was to

protest the state of Belgium which had attacked the guerillas of Katanga.

- * Again, in November 1978, to protest the Camp David Treaty which was a kind of attack against the Palestinian people's struggle against imperialism and Zionism, demonstrations were carried out in front of the consulates of USA, Israel and Egypt, and an attempt was done to set the building of US Consulate on fire, the building was damaged partly, all the same day.

- * In December 1978, Devrimci Sol carried out a demonstration in front of the office of American Airways, damaged the office partly, along with the stopping, bombing and damaging a car which belonged to the Office of US Cultural Attache, to protest the reactivation of the military bases of US imperialism which had been closed down temporarily, and the transfer of these bases back to USA.

- * A few days before 12 September 1980, a broad campaign was carried out against the NATO exercises which began in Thrace.

Devrimci Sol, despite the heavy blows it had got, has tried to carry out its anti-imperialist tasks consistent with its power.

In this regard:

- * In 1982, actions were conducted against Israeli and US institutions to protest the Israeli invasion of Libanon and the massacres of Sabra and Shattila.

- * In 1986, to protest the US bombing on Libya, leaflets and hand bills were distributed, posters and placards hanged, and stampings made.

- * In 1987-'88, ten thousands of leaflets and hand bills were distributed, posters and placards hanged, stampings made, and demonstrations were carried out in support of the Palestinian Intifada.

- * In 1988, to protest the massacres and repressions of the Pinochet regime directed against the Chilean people, the Chilean Consulate in Istanbul was raided and damaged.

*** Devrimci Sol has distributed ten thousands of leaflets and hand bills, hanged placards with and without bombs, and carried out illegal mass demonstrations to protest:**

- the appointment of Abromowitz as the US Ambassador to Turkey in 1989**
- the US imperialism's invasion of Panama in 1989**
- the counterrevolution carried out in Romania in 1989-90**

In addition to these activities mentioned above, Devrimci Sol participated actively in all the anti-imperialist demonstrations and activities in regard to international solidarity in all the spheres it activated abroad.

The cadres and sympathizers of Devrimci Sol have accepted struggle and resist in their fields against imperialism and its collaborators as a revolutionary task.

During the period of the 12 September fascist junta, thousands of militants and sympathizers of Devrimci Sol were tortured at police stations, detention centers and army barracks, and were stuffed into prisons by the police forces and the army. In the prisons, the militants and sympathizers of Devrimci Sol resisted bravely against the tortures and sanctions of fascist directors, and carried out hunger strikes lasting totally more than one year in a ten years' period. As mentioned above, three leading Devrimci Sol fighters died in the resistance of 1984.

Devrimci Sol has maintained its communist attitude also at courts, and become a judge, not a defendant. It has defended its political thoughts and actions boldly.

Devrimci Sol's struggle has been rising today. And now, it is the most active and effective force of the revolutionary struggle in our country. The basic slogan of Devrimci Sol is "*Fight Until Liberation*". And it will maintain its devotion to this slogan until the revolution.

3. THE GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF DEVRIMCI SOL

Devrimci Sol aims an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic popular revolution. This revolution will put an end to the political, economic, military and cultural hegemony of imperialism, overthrow the rule of imperialism and its exploitative local collaborators, and eliminate the national oppression on the Kurdish nation. Our country will gain independence and be governed with a genuine people's democracy when an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic popular revolution is achieved.

What makes an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic popular revolution necessary in the socio-economic and political conditions of our country ?

Our country depends on imperialism, primarily on the USA. Although the process of becoming a semi-colony that had begun in the period of Ottoman Empire (in the second half of the 19th century) has ended, especially politically, after the National Liberation War in 1920, our country once more became a colony after the World War II. And, this time its name was neo-colonialism. Imperialism occupied our country through its local armies which it made dependent on itself politically and militarily-not through its own troops (Hidden Occupation). Imperialism, which developed an awry capitalism dependent on itself, has made huge profits by consolidating this dependence politically through the collaborationist monopoly bourgeoisie and big land owners. Imperialism has made the political powers unable to activate without its permission and planned fascist coups when the civil governments seemed incapable. It filled up our country with military bases and made it a kind of air base. Imperialism-by making dependent on itself economically- has put our country in the service of the international financial institutions like IWF and World Bank.

The local monopoly bourgeoisie, the collaborator of imperialism, and its allies, the big land owners and the

usurers-merchants govern the country under fascism. The local ruling classes, who impose plain fascism when parliamentary fascism becomes incapable, has no alternative than fascism, to guarantee their luxurious lives and profits which they get by exploiting our people wildly. Democracy is a too heavy burden for the oligarchy to bear. For this reason, our country needs an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic revolution. The vanguard force of this revolution is the proletariat. However, the proletariat is not the only class who will benefit from the revolution. The peasantry and the urban petit-bourgeoisie are also the main forces of this revolution. The anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic popular revolution will be a revolution in which all the working classes will participate under the leadership of the proletariat.

4. THE REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY OF DEVIRIMCI SOL

Devrimci Sol has adopted the Strategy of Politicized War (PASS) as the revolutionary strategy to achieve the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic popular revolution.

PASS is a strategy of popular war in which armed struggle is the main form, and the other forms of political, economic-democratic struggle is subject to armed struggle, and which will achieve the victory passing through a vanguard's war. Our country is a neo-colonial country under the occupation of imperialism, and is governed under continuous fascism. In our country Capitalism has developed at certain levels, parallel with the imposition of neo-colonialist relations. However, this is an awry capitalism dependent on imperialism in all aspects. The class antagonisms are very sharp in our country. But the consumption economy, grown with the development of awry capitalism, created an image of a repressive state in the minds of the masses and despite the sharp class antagonisms, it prevents the repression

and class antagonism to come out with all their severity. On the other hand, the fact that imperialist occupation is hidden, not plain, neutralizes the antipathy of our people against imperialism. The facts that our country is under the hidden occupation of imperialism, imperialist control extends to the remotest party of the country, the country is governed by fascism, and the lack of democratic rights and liberties even in the bourgeois meaning, make inevitable a popular war which will pass through a stage of vanguard's war to win the masses to the rows of revolution.

This war will be carried out—in a dialectical integrity of the cities and the countryside—in both the countryside and the cities simultaneously. Devrimci Sol formulates this in the form, *"Combined Revolutionary War"*.

Although Devrimci Sol has been carrying out the revolutionary struggle with the perspective of this strategical understanding so far, it does not claim it carries out PASS today since it couldn't have complete evolving into a party yet. However, it organizes and struggles with this perspective. For this, it takes armed struggle as the basic form also at the present stage of its struggle.

S. DEVRIMCI SOL IS IN THE PROCESS OF EVOLVING INTO A PARTY

Devrimci Sol tries to organize in consistence with the strategy it adopted. According to this organizational understanding, there must not be a distinction between the party and the armed organization at the beginning. The party must be an armed organization at the same time, and this basic organization must be integrated with the political organizations that cover all the spheres of life. It is possible to achieve the continuity of the struggle unless a movement which expands through the masses can be created.

Devrimci Sol couldn't yet reach this stage of organization, it passes through the process of evolving into a party. However, Devrimci Sol does not view the process of evolving into a party as an endless process, either. Nor, it approves the efforts of offering an organization, which is not able to carry out the functions of a party, as a "party".

Devrimci Sol's process of evolving into a party-although it had reached an advanced stage before 12 September-was interrupted as a result of the assaults of the 12 September fascist junta. For this reason, Devrimci Sol has been yet passing through the process of evolving into a party in the present conditions.

Devrimci Sol has never viewed the process of evolving into a party as a preparation process isolated from the struggle. Evolving into a party can be achieved only by participating in the struggle determined by the political conditions. In this perception, Devrimci Sol has taken political struggle in connection with the process of evolving into a party, and never suspended it since its inception.

Despite the loss of strenght it suffered as a result of the blows got during the period of 12 September junta, Devrimci Sol has compensated this (loss of strenght) in the process of time, and made remarkable progress towards becoming a party.

6. DEVRIMCI SOL'S VIEW WITH REGARD TO FRONT/UNITY

Devrimci Sol, which perceives that the anti-oligarchic popular revolution can be achieved by the alliance of various classes and strata of the people, defends the perception that a front can only be established under the leadership of the party of the proletariat. It is impossible to establish a popular front, which will unite the working classes strata, unless there exists a party of the proletariat that will lead the struggle of the working classes, and the revolutionary struggle reaches at

a level at which there will be a broad participation of the working classes and strata. In this reason, fronts to be established today are doomed to remain on paper.

Couldn't a unity be realized against fascism and imperialism in the present conditions Devrimci Sol has defended that it could, and spent efforts for this since the beginning. It made calls-both, before and after 12 September-for a *"unity of strength and action"* of the anti-fascist forces, attended meetings for this purpose. But, unfortunately no concrete improvement could be achieved in this matter because of the capitulationist and reconciliatory policies of the opportunist groups. Despite this, Devrimci Sol will never cease to maintain its efforts in regard to *"unity of strength and action"*. Because, it is obvious, that it is essential to realize the unity of strength and action for the benefits of the revolution.

In this regard, Devrimci Sol has adopted the method of ideological struggle against the other leftist groups, and taken care not to get into conflicts among the left. That is the only revolutionary movement which had never got into any conflict among the left, and never stained its hand with the blood of any revolutionary, is Devrimci Sol. More, Devrimci Sol has never stood silent against the conflicts among the leftist groups. On the contrary, it always did its utmost to end these conflicts.

Devrimci Sol has always defended that the only method of struggle between the groups, which it considered among the forces of people against fascism and imperialism, is ideological struggle and that this is essential for the *"unity of strength and action"*.

7. DEVRIMCI SOL'S POLICY WITH REGARD TO THE KURDISH QUESTION

Turkey is a multinational country, where various minorities live along side the Turkish and Kurdish nations.

Although the Kurdish nation had participated in the National Liberation War guided by the Kemalists, their self-determination right was not recognized; on the contrary, the repression and assimilation efforts on the Kurdish nation increased.

Kurdish nation rised several times against the national repressive policy of the Kemalist rule. But these risings hat not succeeded, and were suppressed by the genocide of the Kemalist rule.

Devrimci Sol believes that the Kurdish question can be solved by an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic revolution. Because, the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation is not able to solve the national question. On the other hand, it is impossible to solve the national question in the concept of capitalism, today. Based on the analysis that the Kurdish working people are among the main forces of the revolution, Devrimci Sol aims to organize and unify also the Kurdish workers along with the Turkish workers within the same organization.

In this reason, Devrimci Sol struggles particularly against the oppressor nation's chauvinism which is against the revolutionary unifaction of the two peoples. However, Devrimci Sol is also against the nationalism of oppressed nations. But it supports the national liberation struggle of the Kurdish people, because it realizes that this struggle has a just ground against oligarchy and imperialism. The policy of Devrimci Sol is to draw a thick line between oppressed nations' nationalism and itself, but also to make allience with it.

Devrimci Sol believes that both people will unite under the same roof, and achieve the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic popular revolution under the leadership

of the proletariat. In this way, the Kurdish question will be settled in consistence with the benefit of the proletariat and with the concrete conditions.

8.DEVRIMCI SOL'S VIEW IN REGARD TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM

The split in the socialist world has started in the 1960s, with the ideological conflict between CCP and CPSU. CCP has followed a correct line at the beginning. Because, the CPSU led by Crushchev's revisionism was following an anti-Stalin line, defending that revolution could be achieved by peaceful means, carrying out a reconciliatory policy against imperialism, and finally evaluating socialism from an economist point of view and claiming that communism could only be achieved by the development of productive forces.

However, the CCP has slid further down to the right in reaction to the CPSU, after 1970. It defined the Soviet Union as "*social-imperialist*", and began to collaborate openly with imperialism.

Devrimci Sol didn't take sides in this split in the socialist world, contrary to the imitator groups in Turkey.

It criticized both, Soviet and Chinese revisionism.

Devrimci Sol concluded that if revisionism couldn't be prevented, it would become a basis for capitalist restoration in socialist countries, and made public its perception in this regard.

A new process has started in the Soviet Union with Gorbachev's ascending to the power. Revisionism had putrefied the Soviet socialism, from the Communist party to economy. Gorbachev, with his Perestroika and Glasnost policies, started the process of overcoming

the obstructions in front of socialism by way of capitalist recipes. Gorbachev's *"reform"* wind has first influenced the socialist countries in Eastern Europe. All the socialist countries except Romania were swept by the winds of *"reform"*. They either surrendered to the bourgeois opposition and shared the power with them, or delivered it almost entirely to them. The communist parties in Eastern Europe, which adapted themselves to the new process, either changed the names of their parties, or abolished themselves to reorganize in a different character.

It was different in Romania. When the leader of the Romanian Communist Party, Ceausescu, didn't surrender, he was overthrown by a coup, relying on the army and the partial *"support of the people"*. Ceausescu and his wife were executed. The communists defending socialism were massacred. Devrimci Sol supported Ceausescu's defending socialism against the winds of *"reform"*, despite all his errors in the past. It conducted demonstrations to protest the counterrevolution in Romania, in a milieu when everybody was silent or applauded the counterrevolution while socialism was being massacred.

Devrimci Sol defends the perception that the problems of socialism arising from revisionism cannot be solved by reconciling with imperialism worldwide and by conducting capitalist reform policies. These methods will have no outcome except reviving capitalism, and starting the process of capitalist restoration.

The problems of socialism can be solved by imposing force against imperialist intrigues and bourgeois forces under proletarian dictatorship, achieving the active participation of the working class and popular forces in building socialism, keeping bureaucratism, which alienates the people to the party, far from the communist party; not reconciling with imperialism worldwide, always keeping the internationalist spirit high and making alliances with national liberation struggles, and the most important, creating the *"socialist man"*. All the opposite recipes only revive capitalism.

9. THE IMPORTANCE OF TURKEY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Turkey's position in the Middle East is extremely important for imperialism. Neither the changes in the socialist countries, nor Soviet Union's reconciliation with imperialism can eliminate its importance. On the contrary, these events increase its role in the Middle East.

Particularly for its interests related with petroleum in the Middle East, imperialism always wanted Turkey to play the role of gendarmery against the revolutionary developments. And Turkey responded always positively to this demand. In consistence with this policy, strategy of imperialism is to have Turkey collaborate with the reactionary Arab regimes and particularly with Israel. Thus, it would be possible to suppress the revolutionary movements, including the Palestinian and Kurdish national movements, to keep the progressive natured Arab regimes (Syria, Libya) under pressure, and to prevent the instability in Libanon to result in a revolution.

Since its inception, Devrimci Sol has always opposed the counterrevolutionary gendarmery role of Turkey in the Middle East.

In consistence with the policy, Devrimci Sol carried out solidarity actions supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people to contribute to the solution of the Palestinian question-which is one of the most important questions in the Middle East- in a revolutionary way, and tried to carry on this support in consistence with its power. Devrimci Sol also established various relations with the revolutionary Palestinian organizations.

Kurdish question is also another important question of the Middle East. The Kurdish nation, deprived of all its national rights, has been struggling in Iran, Iraq and Turkey. Devrimci Sol has always supported the revolu-

tionary side of the Kurdish national movement, and condemned chauvinism and social chauvinism.

Devrimci Sol has always defended that the revolutionary, progressive movements in the Middle East had to be in solidarity with each other. These revolutionary, progressive movements have to establish a solidarity among themselves to respond to the unification of the countries like Turkey, Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, etc. against progressive movements.

Devrimci Sol is aware of how the developing revolutionary movement in Turkey will affect the plans and interests of imperialism in the Middle East. A revolution in Turkey will accelerate the revolutionary struggle of the Middle Eastern people, and weaken imperialism. A revolution in Turkey will weaken imperialism also worldwide, contribute morally to the struggle of the oppressed peoples, and revive the beliefs of the socialist countries in socialism.

There, Devrimci Sol carries on its struggle with this understanding. We believe that Marxism-Leninism is the only correct thought. We believe that socialism is the future of all the peoples of the world.

(1) Devrimci Sol has never separated the struggle against the state supported civil fascist forces - who attacked the people and revolutionaries that period, to discourage and hinder revolutionary struggle - from the struggle against the state terror. It viewed these two struggles as linked up with each other, carried out an extensive and effective struggle against civil fascist forces on the basis of revolutionary violence, created a sensitivity and a broad anti-fascist awareness within the people. Devrimci Sol - punishing tens of fascist chiefs and murderers and bombing more than a hundred of their workshops, offices and buildings belonging to MHP - denied these forces the *"right of existence"* in the fields where it was active. By wiping out one by one the civil fascist occupations in schools, districts, factories and towns, in short, all units where it was active, and thus saving the lives of the people. It overwhelmed these obstacles set up in front of the revolutionary struggle by the oligarchy and opened the way to the struggle.

Short after its inception, Devrimci Sol carried out one of its first serious strikes in Istanbul against the civil fascist occupation, by a raid on the center of the fascist terror in Gültepe (September, 1978). Gültepe, a slum area for working people, most immigrated from the countryside was under the occupation of fascists. The militants of Devrimci Sol raided the building of the fascist MHP and bombed it, raided the workshops of the fascist chiefs and punished them.

This action was an early sign of Devrimci Sol's line in the struggle against fascist terror, a leading and immediate question of that period.

