

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

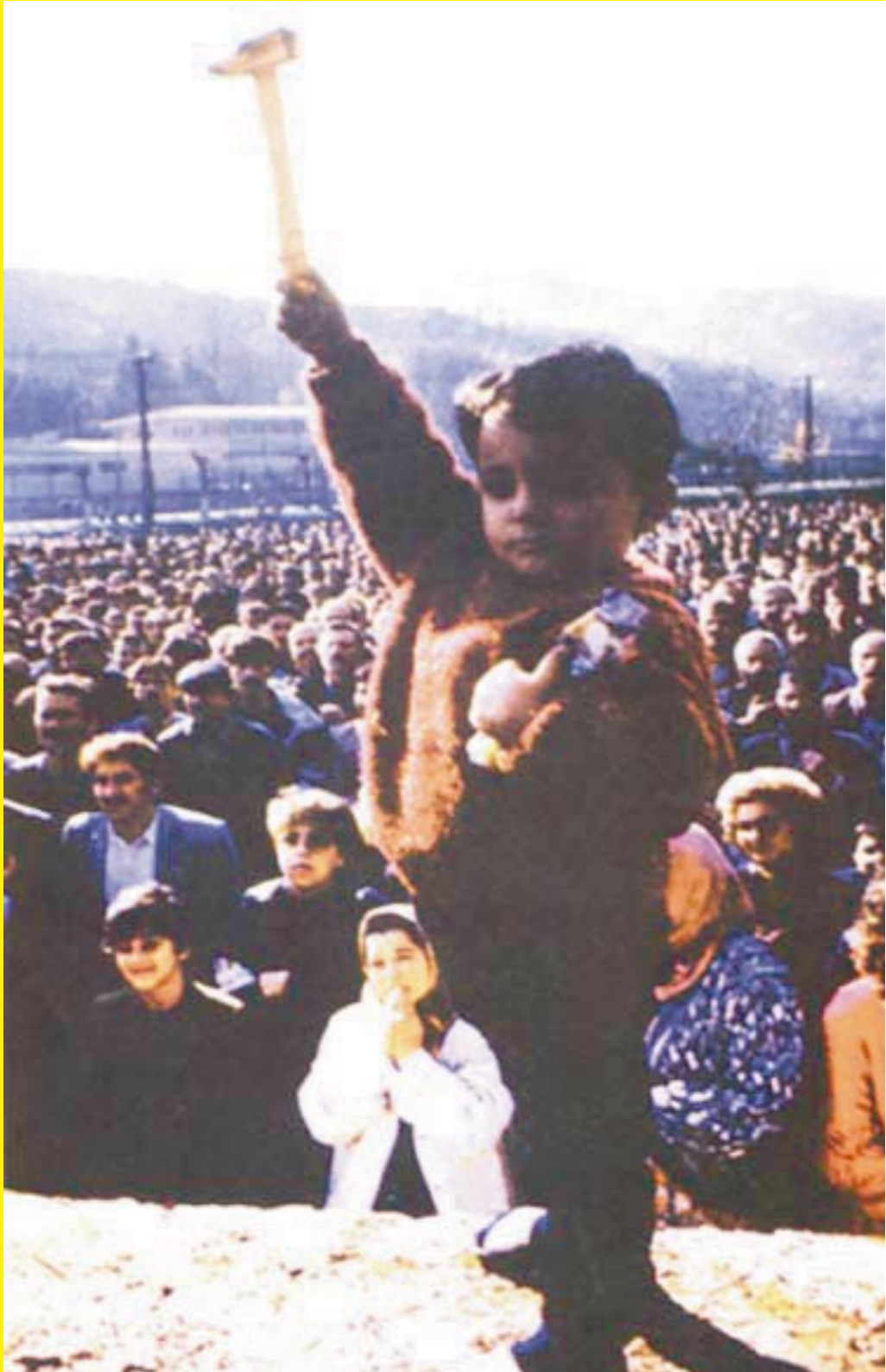
MAY - 1995

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# RED DAWN

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY - FOUNDATION



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# Preface

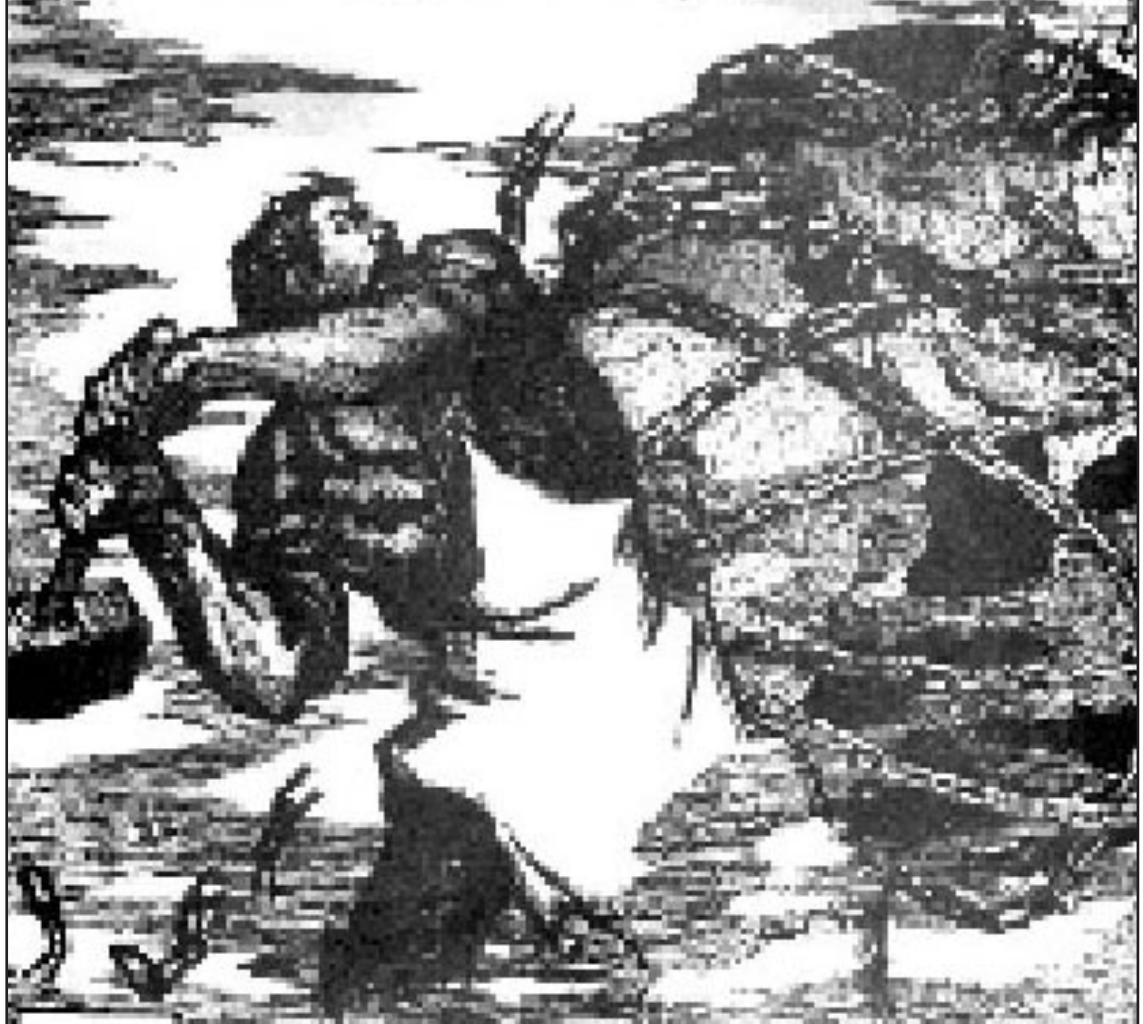
We are delighted to be able to present the first issue of RED DAWN, the international bulletin of MLCP-F. The principal function of RED DAWN shall be to inform communist and revolutionary groups and progressive people the world over about the views, analyses, work and activities of MLCP-F. But it shall also try to reflect the analyses of MLCP-F about the situation in our turbulent region and the world.

MLCP-F regards the extension of exchange of information and experience and strengthening of ties and solidarity among various sections and detachments of international communist movement as well as world revolutionary movement an extremely important task and hopes that through RED DAWN and through other channels it will make its contribution to the building of a united front of workers and oppressed peoples of the world against capitalism and imperialism.

**23 April 1995**

СОВЕТСКОМУ НАРОДУ  
И ВООРУЖЕННЫМ  
БОЯМ

# КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКИЙ ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛ



№ 1

МОСКВА  
ИЗДАНИЕ



ПЕТРОГРАД  
СОВЕТСКОЕ

1  
МА  
1918

# INTRODUCTION

Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) Movement [CPT (M-L) M] and Communist Workers' Movement of Turkey (CWMT), which dissolved themselves and founded Marxist-Leninist communist Party-Foundation (MLCP-F) at a Unity Congress held in September 1994 in Turkey, were offshoots of radical and revolutionary organizations which date back to the first years 1970s. The surge of revolutionary mass struggles of workers, toiling peasants, youth and other oppressed strata during the second half of 1960's had at this juncture of time led to the formation of three revolutionary organisations: People's Liberation Army of Turkey, People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey and Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist). These three organisations were set up mainly by the radical leaders and cadres of revolutionary student movement and were characterized by their consistent opposition to legalist and reformist line of the traditional left, which was almost completely liquidated by reaction at the beginning of 1950s, but showed strong signs of recovery in 1960s. Though influenced from Marxism-Leninism to a certain degree, the political line of these organizations was characterised by Castroism and Maoism. The armed struggle they started to wage against the military-fascist junta, which came to power in March 1971 ended in defeat, mainly due to their 'left' mistakes. Most of the revolutionary and anti-fascist groups of 1970s were direct successors to these three revolutionary organisations.

In the second half of 1970s there were three revolutionary Maoist organizations, which under the influence of international communist movement led by Party of Labor of Albania, were evolving toward Marxist-Leninist positions: People's Liberation Army of Turkey (which later adopted the name Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey-Construction Organisation), People's Liberation Party Front of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) and Communist Party of Turkey (M-L) Movement. These groups took a stand against the "theory of three worlds" and finally against Maoism itself during the 1977-1980 period and began to orientate themselves more and more toward the working class. But, even at the end of 1970s, they still had very little or almost no contact with the working class and remained established mainly among the non-proletarian sections of the population. In the meantime, due to internal struggles in the ranks of these groups, two new smaller groups [Communist Party of Turkey (M-L)/Reconstruction Organisation and Revolutionary Communist League of Turkey] were formed. So, at the end of 1970s and the beginning of 1980s the nascent communist movement was composed of five groups, differing in size and ideological maturity. Under the influence of extreme sectarianism which characterised the whole of revolutionary movement during the second half of 1970s, each of these five groups maintained that they and only they were communist, while the others, who defended the same general ideological and political line and upheld the international communist movement led by Party of Labor of Albania, were petty-bourgeois.

In 12 September 1980, the ruling classes effected a military-fascist coup

and organized a wholesale attack on revolutionary masses and revolutionary and anti-fascist movement. Very extensive, but at the same time extremely fragmented revolutionary movement was faced with a devastating defeat, due to both objective and subjective reasons. The defeat of revolution brought forth liquidationist tendencies which also influenced the components of nascent communist movement, though in differing degrees. Their relatively easy victory of political reaction dealt a heavy blow at petty-bourgeois sectarianism and narrow group mentality and promoted its mechanical opposite: It fostered an ideology and policy of unprincipled unity. But it also helped to create a non-sectarian climate, with the support of which real steps could be taken in the direction of principled unity of all communist forces.

In the second half of 1980s communist groups, as well as some revolutionary-democratic organisations had shaken off the disruptive and demoralizing effects of fascist onslaught and restarted their political and organizational work among the masses. By the end of 1984 PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), a Kurdish nationalist organization, had started guerrilla warfare against Turkish military occupation of Northern Kurdistan and workers and students begun their mass struggles against capitalist exploitation and fascist terror once more. These developments gave a further impetus to the communist and revolutionary groups whom were reorganizing and restructuring themselves.

In 1984 People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey (M-L), which had reconstituted itself under the name Communist workers' Movement of Turkey had held a General Meeting, while Communist Party of Turkey (M-L) Movement held its Second General Conference in 1986. In 1989 CWMT and CPT (M-L) M issued a Joint Declaration in which they maintained that the unity of communists was both a question of principle and an urgent matter. In March 1990 a joint committee was formed to co-ordinate the process of unification among three groups: CPT (M-L) M, CWMP and Revolutionary Communist Workers' Movement of Turkey, a small group that had broken away from Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey in the second half of 1980s.

First phase of unity process got stuck in 1991 owing to inexperience, sectarian psychology and a lack of will for unity; but contacts between these groups were continued. In September 1991 CPT (M-L) M held its Forth General Conference and RCWMT joined CWMT at a unity congress. In April 1993, a joint meeting representatives of two communist groups discussed the possibility of unity in an extensive and comradely manner. They decided to continue efforts at communist unity. This decision was ratified at the Second Congress of CWMT and Fifth General Conference (there after called Congress) of CPT (M-L) Movement in the autumn of 1993. After the congresses of two organizations, a joint committee (committee for the Organization of Unity Congress) was set up. This committee arranged an internal discussion on points of disagreement between two organizations in which members, candidate members and advanced symphatizers were invited to voice their views and criticisms. For this purpose, an internal discussion journal called Birlik Iradesi (Will for Unity) was published. Apart from the publication of 26 issues of Birlik Iradesi, in various localities and at various levels oral discussions were organised in which members, candidate members and advanced symphatizers

participated. And during this process, unity of action at factory, school and street level was gradually strengthened and virtual unification of two communist groups got under way long before the formal convocation of the Unity Congress.

The Unity Congress was held between 5 and 18 September 1994 in Turkey, under conditions of heavy illegality just as almost all-previous conferences and congresses of CPT (M-L) M and CWMT were. It was the victorious pinnacle of a long, tortuous and difficult fight against sectarianism and prejudices that had erected artificial walls among communists. The unity of two communist groups was by no means the result of unprincipled bargaining and opportunist compromise. The main issues which divided and/or seemed to be dividing them (that is, evaluation of 1972-1979 period when the forerunners of communist movement were under the ideological yoke of Maoism, questions pertaining to strategy and tactics, the question whether Northern Kurdistan was and is a depended country or a colony of Turkish collaborationist-monopolist bourgeoisie etc) were discussed thoroughly and solved in the main.

A comparatively small group call Communist Party of Turkey (M-L)/Reconstruction Organisation (which had broken away from CPT (M-L) in 1978) was represented at the Unity Congress in the capacity of guest delegation. It is expected to join MLCP-F in the near future, following the settlement of some minor points of disagreement. But the question of unification of all communist forces is far from over and will remain so even when the unity between MLCP-F and CPT (M-L)/RO gets accomplished. Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey and Revolutionary Communist League of Turkey have remained and do continue to remain away from this process, in spite of the calls addressed to them. These groups and especially RCPT, which considers itself a party and even tries to present the five-year struggle for unity as a plan aimed at breaking up RCPT (!), still preserve their sectarian standpoint. MLCP-F hopes that these two organisations shall place the interest of proletariat, revolution and communism over and above the interests of their groups and join the struggle to form a united Marxist-Leninist party of proletariat in Turkey.

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\* Türkiye Komünist Partisi (Marksist-Leninist) Hareketi (TKP/ML Hareketi)

\*\* Türkiye Komünist İşçi Hareketi (TKİH)

# **MESSAGE FROM MLCP-F TO SISTER COMMUNIST PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS\***

Comrades,

Communist Workers' Movement of Turkey and Communist Party of Turkey (M-L) Movement, two organizations with a history of decades of struggle have dissolved themselves at a Unity Congress held by elected delegates and founded the MLCP-F on the basis of a communist programme, constitution, strategy and other fundamental theses.

Foundation of MLCP-F in the land of Kurdish and Turkish nations is of historical significance; That is so, since this result has been achieved in a country where during the last 20 years organisational fragmentation has become a tradition and unity has been considered an almost impossible dream to fulfill. Foundation of MLCP-F has great political value too. That is so, since it will enable communists to intervene in class struggle much more effectively.

Comrades, foundation of MLCP-F is a communist answer from Turkey and Northern Kurdistan to the lies of world bourgeoisie to the effect that capitalism is eternal and socialism has died.

Foundation of MLCP-F is a challenge to collaborationist Turkish bourgeoisie who tries to lead revolutionary and communist movement to capitulation and drag it towards liquidationism through a savage and fascist terror.

Comrades, MLCP-F is aware of the international character of communist movement. It sets a high value on its internationalist obligations.

Comrades, MLCP-F believes that confronting world bourgeoisie with the organised strength of communist proletariat, with the Communist International is a principal and pressing task.

As our Unity Congress has stressed, development of international relations between various sections of world communist movement whose ideological unity has been shaken considerably due to many sided ideological attacks of world bourgeoisie in the process of down-fall of revisionist camp and capitulation of Party of Labor of Albania, is of vital importance. Even if it remains restricted for a certain period of time to getting know each other and an exchange of views and experience, taking of concrete steps in this direction in the perspective of foundation of an International, is an urgent task for communist parties and organizations.

MLCP-F, who follows the lead of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin call on all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations to take concrete steps for the formation of the international unity of communist proletariat, for the creation of a strong platform in the struggle against world bourgeoisie and for joint treatment of all basic questions that need to be discussed.

**LONG LIVE MARXISM-LININISM!**

**LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!**

**LONG LIVE ORGANIZED UNITY ON COMMUNISTS OF THE WORLD!**

September 1994



## Message to

# "Stalin Seminar" held in Moscow



Comrades, Friends,  
Marxist-Leninist Communist Party-Foundation (MLCP-F) was founded on September 1994, when its two constituent parts held a Unity Congress under conditions of heavy illegality in Turkey. Proceedings of the Unity Congress were characterised by communist enthusiasm, conscious proletarian discipline and comradely discussions regarding the differences of opinions. The Unity Congress, where the democratically elected delegates from TKIH (Communist Worker's Movement of Turkey) and TKP-ML Hareketi (Communist Party of Turkey (M-L) Movement) decided to end their organisations and establish MLCP-F, has lasted for thirteen days and was crowned with success. A delegate from another communist group called TKP(M-L)/ Yeniden Insa Orgutu (Communist Party Of Turkey (M-L)/ Reconstruction Organisation) was invited to and attended the Unity Congress. This comparatively small group's affiliation to the MLCP-F is expected in the near future.

The establishment of MLCP-F is a big step forward in the process of unification of all communist forces of Turkey under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. But the process of unification of all communist forces in a Marxist-Leninist Party is far from being over. The two other communist groups, that is TDKP (Revolutionary Communist Party Of Turkey) and TIKB (Revolutionary Communist League of Turkey) continue to remain aloof or especially in the case of former display a negative attitude to calls of unity. MLCP-F will continue to criticize and expose the divisive activities of irresponsible communists and will continue its efforts to further the cause of communist unity, which is an essential precondition for victory in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The two communist groups which established MLCP-F together, owed their origins to the revolutionary generation of 1960s. At the end of 1960s and the beginning of 1970s first revolutionary organisations distinctly different from the mainstream legalist left were beginning to form. Forefathers of TKP(M-L) Hareketi and TKIH were born in these years as petty-bourgeois revolutionary democratic groups, influenced by Marxist-Leninist ideology. These groups evolved into communist organisations though a series of internal ideological struggles which culminated with the repudiation of Maoism in 1979-80. The

ideological struggle launched by Enver Hoxha and PLA against Maoism played an extremely important role in this process of transformation. The military-fascist coup of September 1980 and the liquidationist tendencies it roused up did not only weaken these organisations in general, but also slowed down their fight against the remnants of opportunism and especially of Maoism in their ranks in particular. At present the task of the unification of all basic and local organisations and that of the consolidation of unity are successfully being tackled.

The union of two communist groups and the establishment of MLCP-F was warmly greeted by communist cadres and sympathisers. This union has also had a positive effect on the general revolutionary movement in Turkey, where narrow group spirit and sectarian psychology are still very much alive.

Both TKIH and TKP(M-L) Hareketi have always defended Stalin against the lies, demagogy and slanders of the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and their revisionist and Trotskyite lackeys. Moreover they have regarded the defence of Stalin as an extremely important question of principle and have vehemently opposed the revisionist- Trotskyite trickery of allegedly defending Marxism-Leninism, while covertly or overtly attacking Stalin. MLCP-F, which considers itself the interitor of the finest traditions of its two constituent parts, is proud of fighting under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and is determined to maintain its principled stand with regard to Stalin.

The name and work of Stalin (and of course also that of the Bolshevik Party) is indissolubly linked with the transfer of socialism from the realm of ideas and theory into the realm of concrete facts and practice. For the bourgeoisie Stalin means the shameful defeat of Nazi hordes at the hands of Soviet workers and peoples and their Red Army, the revolutionary organisation of international communist and workers movement under the aegis of the Comintern and the victory of socialism in one-sixth of the globe; that is the irrefutable demonstration of the superiority of socialism over capitalism in many fields.

Despite all their lies about the so-called final collapse of socialist ideals and Marxism-Leninism, bourgeoisie and its lackeys, who are still haunted by the spectre of communism, feel themselves compelled to attack even more viciously at socialism and its personification, Stalin.

We, Marxist-Leninists are in need of analysing the rich experiences accumulated in proletarian revolution and socialist construction by the peoples of various countries, and derive from these experiences as many lessons as possible. But this has nothing in common and nothing to do with the alleged "Question of Stalin" bourgeoisie and its revisionist and Trotskyite lackeys are trumpeting about. Such an analysis should be based on revolutionary premises and should be accompanied with the socialist struggle against capitalism. Otherwise, it will be idle talk at best. Only those who are fighting for socialism and communism can analyze past experiences of proletarian revolution and socialist construction correctly; and only those who do so have the right to "criticize" Stalin. Stalin belongs to proletariat and communism. And he will remain thus.

# Message From MLCP-F to DFLP

Dear Friends,

Palestinian people have been fighting against their ferocious enemies for decades. During this Long March of theirs, they have witnessed to both joy and sorrow, they have scored great victories and have experienced grave defeats. But in both good and bad times, they have never lost hope; they have always persisted on the road of revolution and have always set an example for the oppressed peoples of the world. This heroic people was always obliged to fight not only against its overt enemies, but also against covert enemies, which at various junctures of the glorious history of Palestinian people, have not hesitated to stab them in the back and play the heinous role of renegades and traitors.

The national liberation struggle of Palestinian people continues to stand at the forefront of Arab peoples of Middle East and to bear the brunt of savage and vicious attacks of imperialism, Zionism and local reaction. The enemies of Palestinian revolution have intensified their onslaught again and they have hatched new plots to extinguish the burning flames of resistance. The so-called leaders, who have been openly collaborating with the Zionist enemy in the name of peace since the reactionary "peace accord" of 13 September 1993 are playing the role of Israel's henchmen. They have completely betrayed Palestine and sold out the cause of national liberation for a few crumbs. But this reactionary deal supported by US and European imperialists plus Arab reaction was doomed to failure. Development of events since the so-called peace accord have definitely proved the fact that this last scheme of imperialists and Zionists, concocted in league with the Arafat clique has come to an inglorious end. During the last year, Intifada and various demonstrations of Palestinian youth and people and armed struggle of Palestinian guerrillas have once again begun to rise, in spite of fierce repression of Zionist occupation forces. As always, Palestinian people are paying a high price for the cause of national liberation and they are ready to do so. Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine has always played an important role in the protracted struggle of Palestinian people against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. At the moment it is called on to play an even more distinguished role and to continue to hold aloft the banner of Palestinian revolution. We firmly believe that it will fulfill its historical responsibility to long suffering Palestinian people. Since its foundation in 1969 DFLP, fighting shoulder to shoulder with other revolutionary organizations has generously shed the blood of its martyrs to defend Palestine. And we believe that, despite overwhelming odds and great difficulties it will continue to fight and persist in revolution at the forefront of Palestinian people who refuse to kneel in front of its enemies. We, communists of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan are in complete solidarity with Palestinian people, revolutionary organizations of Palestinian people and DFLP. Whatever their temporary difficulties Palestinian people shall win, found a democratic Palestine and continue to walk on the road of revolution. Taking the opportunity we commemorate DFLP on its 26th anniversary and send our warm and revolutionary greetings.

15.2.1995

Central Committee of Marxist-Leninist Communist Party-Foundation



**"THE ESSENCE OF THE  
REVOLUTION IS THAT THE  
PROLETARIAT DESTROYS THE  
'ADMINISTRATIVE  
APPARATUS' AND THE  
ENTIRE STATE APPARATUS,  
REPLACING IT WITH A NEW  
APPARATUS COMPRISED OF  
ARMED WORKERS."**

# "WE WILL SMASH FASCISM!"

A comment by Marxist-Leninist Communist Party-Foundation on the Latest clashes in Turkey.

On 13th March 1995, unidentified gunmen, who were doubtless members of Kontrgerilla (the ill famed counter-insurgency organization of Turkish ruling classes) or of fascist bands working in close co-ordination with the 'security' forces of the state, fired a volley to four coffee-houses, killing two people and wounding one other. These cold-blooded murderers performed their evil act following the seizure of a cab, driver of which they had also killed, in order not to let a witness behind. These tragic events took place in the Gazi district of Istanbul, Turkey. 40,000-strong Gazi district is populated mainly by workers (including those who have lost their jobs in recent months), semi-proletarians, public employees and small shopkeepers. The people of Gazi district -and of some adjoining districts- are mainly of Alevite origin and have strong revolutionary traditions. That was the reason why these districts were targeted by the military fascist dictatorship, which seized power in September 1980 and that, was the reason why they have been frequently attacked by police and Mafia-type bands who work hand in glove with the repressive organs of fascist dictatorship. But revolutionary people of Gazi district have not been intimidated by such moves. The fact that Gazi toilers and youth marched on Gazi police twice in the past-first, after the burial ceremony of a revolutionary militant killed by police and second, when a poor pedlar was killed by police under torture- bear witness to this.

Upon hearing this last vicious of mercenaries of the bourgeoisie, Gazi toilers and youth once more took to the streets and protested against the atrocities of fascist dictatorship, which is a servile lackey of US and Western European imperialists. Hundreds of riot police armed with panzers, light machine guns and dogs and later a portion of 26th Armed Brigade were mobilized against them. But the brave toilers and youth of Gazi did not beat a retreat in the face of this show of force. On the contrary the people and revolutionaries who were armed only with stones, clubs and a smaller number of handguns and a few light machine guns, drove them back. And they did it despite indiscriminate fusillade of fascist 'security' forces, who had an overwhelming superiority with regard to firepower. At the end of daylong anti-fascist demonstrations and clashes Gazi toilers and youth lost about twenty of their comrades. Tens of policemen and hundreds of demonstrators were wounded. Istanbul governor of bourgeois state imposed a curfew in Gazi, Esentepe and Zubeyde districts, which in general was not complied with. Revolutionary masses also did not allow the military, who had replaced the much hated riot police, to remove the barricades.

This barbaric aggression of fascist regime heightened the anger of working and progressive masses all over Turkey and triggered protest actions in various parts of the country, most of which were organized and led by communist and

revolutionary groups. On 14th March in various districts of Istanbul, such as Kartal, Gulsuyu, Tuzla, Cagaloglu, Ikitelli, Esenyurt, Alibeykoy, Yildiz etc demonstrations were organized, shops and schools closed and clashes with the police had taken place. On 14th and 15th March in other metropolitan centres, such as Ankara, Adana, Izmir and in a number of smaller cities revolutionary masses took to the streets and protested against the Gazi massacre. On 15th March further demonstrations took place in Umraniye region of Istanbul. During the clashes between fascist riot police and thousands of poorly armed demonstrators at least five more people were killed, tens of people were wounded and a curfew imposed in Mustafa Kemal (formerly known as '1 May'), Namik Kemal, Ornek and Istiklal districts. Once again the military was called in. During these three day-long demonstrations and clashes total death toll approached thirty. Total number of wounded is about 700, while at least 500 people are believed to be in police custody. Official figures are somewhat lower.

Communist and revolutionary-democratic groups and especially MLCP-F (Marxist-Leninist communist Party-Foundation) were very active and stood at the forefront of the struggle. Several revolutionary militant and a lot more sympathizers of these groups have laid down their lives, been wounded and are under police interrogation at present. Reactionary government has indirectly conceded the role played by communist and revolutionary-democratic groups, when it accused the so-called provocators and terrorists who are allegedly at the service of a foreign powers bent on destroying the unity of Turkish nation. We may admit that there indeed has been a 'provocation'. But this 'provocation' is committed by fascist dictatorship and bourgeoisie, who have been ruthlessly exploiting and mercilessly oppressing workers and toilers of all nationalities, who have killed nearly ten thousand Kurdish guerrillas and poor peasants in the 'dirty war' they are waging in Northern Kurdistan and who have forcibly vacated more thousand a villages there, who have encouraged and actively supported reactionary Muslim fundamentalism with a view to obstruct the rising anger and struggle of working masses and Kurdish people, who have transformed entire Turkey and Northern Kurdistan into a gigantic torture chamber and concentration camp, who have sacked during the last coupe of years hundreds of thousands of workers and condemned them and their families to poverty and hunger, who have played the role of accomplice of reactionary Muslim fundamentalists in the burning to death of 37 Alevite and other progressive intellectuals and artists in July 1993 at Sivas, who turned Turkey and Northern Kurdistan into a military outpost of US and Western European imperialists. So, Ciller government and other representatives and Servants of the ruling classes prove and expose nothing but their utter hypocrisy and depravity, when they accuse the 'provocateurs'. This is equally true with regard to their allegations to the effect that these demonstrations were organised to delay and hinder Turkey's entry to a customs union with Western European imperialists, to prevent the so-called 'democratisation' of the country and its so-called 'integration into civilised world'. The so-called Isci Partisi ("Workers' Party") with renegade Dogu Perincek at its head has also viciously attacked the glorious struggle of Gazi people and tried to represent it "a provocation of US imperialists" who are allegedly bent of splitting Turkey. Perincek and his cohorts have come out against all revolutionary struggles of proletariat and peoples of Turkey and

Northern Kurdistan under the pretext of protecting the "national unity of Turkey" and have proved them selves to be overt enemies of revolutions.

Bourgeois press and TV stations have tried to present the fascist aggression against Gazi and other districts and ensuing clashes as a sectarian conflict between the majority Sunnite and minority Alevite communities. Similar comments have appeared in European and American imperialist press, radio and TV stations. Such evaluations do not conform to facts. Although limited Alevite revival has been observed during the last few years partly as a reaction against the growth of reactionary Sunnite fundamentalism and partly due to the efforts of the ruling classes, who plan to build an alliance with at least a section of 20 million-strong Alevite community against the Kurdish national liberation struggle led by PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), the recent demonstrations and clashes bear a distinct anti-fascist, anti-chauvinist and anti-capitalist character. In Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, where a big and pretty militant working class exists, class and national contradictions are extremely sharp, revolutionary and communist groups still command considerable prestige, the probability of development of a 'religious war' is very small, if not totally absent.

On 14th March, Central Committee of MLCP-F issued a declaration to workers and peoples of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan in which it condemned the Gazi massacre and barbaric violence of fascist dictatorship and hailed the heroic resistance of Gazi toilers and youth. In its declaration MLCP-F leadership called on all workers, toilers, public employees and youth to close their ranks, to unite their separate struggles and to strive to organize an all-Istanbul general strike-general resistance. It also demanded an end to the curfew imposed in Gazi, Esentepe and Zubeyde districts, and immediate release of all anti-fascists in custody, disclosure and punishment of murderers an organization by various sections of people of solidarity actions with Gazi toilers and youth.

Cadres and sympathisers of MLCP-F, including members of Istanbul City Committee were present at the demonstrations and clashes both in Gazi district and Umraniye region and played a prominent role in the mobilisation of people and in the organisation of resistance and united action of all revolutionary forces. Moreover they were active in the organisation of protest actions in other districts of Istanbul and in other cities. Central Committee of MLCP-F believes that the glorious March action is a dress rehearsal or one of the dress rehearsals of great revolutionary battles awaiting the proletariat and other working people of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. And it firmly believes that future belongs not to rotten and discredited system of capitalist exploitation, but to socialism and communism.

**DOWN WITH FASCISM!**

**DOWN WITH CAPITALISM!**

**LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!**

**WE WILL SMASH FASCISM!**

**16 March 1995**

**Central Committee of Marxist-Leninist Communist Party-Foundation**



## "INVASION"

The editorial of the 25th issue of legal weekly (circulation: app. 6,000) of MLCP-F published on 25 March 1995 entitled "Invasion", analyzed the aggression of Turkish armed forces in Southern Kurdistan (=Northern Iraq). Following is a summary of this article:

Gazi massacre proved the chatter of the ruling classes about democratization, rights of Kurds, peace and brotherhood etc to be a sheer demagoguery once more. Their imperialist masters had attacked reactionary Saddam regime four years ago with an overwhelming force numbering about 600.000 troops. Their Turkish collaborators are now following in the footsteps of their imperialist masters. According to their own figures, there are 2,800 "terrorists" in the military camps of PKK(="Kurdistan Workers' Party") in Southern Kurdistan. But Turkish fascists have

mobilized 35-40,000 troops against lightly armed Kurdish freedom fighters, supported by tanks, heavy artillery and war planes and helicopters.

Imperialist powers and above all US imperialists have come out in support of Turkish invaders. Imperialists and their Turkish lackeys are for the invasion of Southern Kurdistan because they want to prevent the revolutionary liberation of Kurdish nation.

Four years ago, following the defeat of Saddam regime in the Gulf war, a so-called Kurdish "state" was founded in Southern Kurdistan, above the 36th parallel, under the protective umbrella of imperialists. Their manifold aims in allowing a Kurdish state in this region included the maintenance of divided and colonial status of Kurdistan, control of oil-rich Southern Kurdistan and of especially Musul-Kerkuk region, mobilization of Barzani (leader of Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iraq) and Talabani (leader of Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) cliques against PKK, perpetuation of pressure on Saddam clique and strengthening the subjugation of Turkish ruling classes to imperialists. That was the reason why they put "Operation Provide Comfort" into effect, the apparent reason for which was to end the plight of Kurdish people, who were provoked into an immature uprising against Iraqi reaction at the end of the Gulf war by Bush administration. But this plan backfired. While the prestige and political influence of reactionary tribal chiefs such as Barzani and Talabani was gradually declining, that of the PKK was on the rise. Moreover these chiefs, who couldn't form



a viable alternative in the eyes of people of Southern Kurdistan, had begun a long and bloody war among themselves, in which more than a thousand people have died over the last year.

Turkish armed forces had invaded Southern Kurdistan more than once over the last couple of years ostensibly to curb the growing influence of PKK in Southern Kurdistan and to prevent guerrilla attacks from the military bases there. But these operations have not been successful. From the point of view of Turkish ruling classes, these operations have mainly aimed to conceal their failure in crushing the Kurdish uprising in Northern Kurdistan (=Southeastern Turkey). So at present a bigger military operation is taking place inside the borders of Turkey, in Northern Kurdistan, for which a much greater amount of troops have been mobilized. This is the background of the ongoing invasion that began on 20 March. Turkish government and the military try to justify their action by arguments such as the existence of a "power vacuum" in Northern Iraq and the necessity of "prevention of terrorist attacks" which are supposedly originating from that region. But their (and also imperialists') real aim is to deal a heavy blow at PKK in Turkey which most probably will not be realized.

This aggressive military operation is supported by all fractions of the ruling classes and has once again exposed the expansionist ambitions of Turkish bourgeoisie, which despite its assertions to the contrary, has never relinquished definitively its dreams to resurrect the late Ottoman Empire. Just as in the days of the Gulf war, some of their spokesmen have openly begun to talk of the annexation of oil rich Musul-Kerkuk region of Southern Kurdistan which until the end of First World War was under the control of Ottoman Empire.

As to the liberals, they have been raising their voices and been begging fascist dictatorship for integrating the military operation with counter-revolutionary reforms (such as the opening of schools to provide education in Kurdish etc.). They in this way hope to extinguish national-revolutionary fervour of Kurdish people. But their cries were muffled rudely by the directives of General Staff. Cries of "reform" of the liberals serve only to lead millions of workers and toilers astray and prevent them from understanding the nature of the onslaught of Turkish ruling classes which aims to destroy the national liberation struggle of Kurdish people.

Proletariat of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan can not remain indifferent to the extension of dirty war being waged on Kurdish people to Southern Kurdistan. They must reject to be docile tools in the hands of reaction and reject to play the role of cannon fodder in the colonialist war that is being fought for the destruction of an oppressed nation and should rise against the invasion of Southern Kurdistan.

History shall condemn all, who do not take an attitude of uncompromising struggle against this invasion and shall regard them accomplices of colonialists and imperialists.



# A COMMUNIST 'SUN'

Sengul (Shengul) Boran, one of the founding of MLCP-F fell on 3 April during military training. Following is a slightly abridged version of the announcement of Central Committee of MCLP-F on the martyrdom of our beloved comrade.

The almost six-month old MLCP-F has lost another comrade. Gunes (Gunesh, meaning Sun-code name of comrade Sengul) who at the same time was a founding member of KGO (Communist Youth Organisation-youth organisation of MLCP-F) and the secretary of Istanbul City Committee of CYO fell when a bomb exploded in her hands.

Comrade Sengul was born on 23 April 1974 in the Hisardere village of Malatya province. Her heart was pounding for freedom and socialism since she was 14. She was a communist, a comrade.

She took her first important responsibility in Ceyhan (Jeyhan) town of Adana province. Later she was sent to Adana itself. Despite the fact that she felt great affection towards her family, she never let these feelings or her studies to stand in the way of Party tasks. Gunes put the needs of the revolutionary struggle above and in front of everything else. Nobody ever witnessed her of complaining about the repression and corrosion of bourgeois world. She was 'frightened' only of hurting her comrades, revolution and cause of communism through a mistake she might commit.

She was called Dilek in Adana by her comrades. Gunes pushed forward during this period by the aid of her dynamism. Determination in overcoming difficulties and extraordinary sensitivity. Police surveillance, lack of opportunities and indifference of certain sections of toilers to revolutionary mass work etc. did not decrease her militancy. She knew that masses could be heroes as well as cowards.

When captured by the class enemy, she added another page to the

glorious history of MLCP-F in defeating the police in their own house and refused to talk under torture. Gunes was set free after a relatively brief period of detention.

Comrade Sengul was obliged to leave Adana temporarily together with some of her comrades when a weak person was bought over by the police and informed them about the activities of the organization in that city. After a while this organizational security measure was lifted and comrade Gunes was once again able to return to her former tasks. She did not even slightly hesitate to do so, in spite of the fact that she was in the search list of the police and considerable damage had been inflicted upon the organisation and its mass contacts. Comrade Sengul was appointed to Adana City Committee of MLCP-F just at the age of 19 under these conditions.

She was an enthusiastic supporter of the cause of communist unity and at all the platforms of the organization fought with all her might for its realization. Following the Unity Congress that led to the formation of MLCP-F, she was appointed to the post of Istanbul City Committee of CYO. During the six months when she worked at this post, comrade Sengul contributed a lot to the development of a communist atmosphere, through her enthusiasm, will to march forward, desire for innovation, spirit of self-sacrifice and moral strength.

This brave communist who was filled with affection towards her comrades and toilers, was at the same time filled with deep hatred towards the class enemy. One of her utmost desires was to put up a glorious armed resistance against the fascist killers in the event of a probable house raid. The embodiment of revolutionary romanticism and the spirit of self-sacrifice, she became a fighting slogan of all members of MLCP-F and CYO in her march towards immortality.

You may rest in peace our beloved Gunes. MLCP-F shall realise the aim 'Party-Surge-Victory' you've so much longed for. Our slogans, arms and songs shall never be silenced; the dear memory of our martyrs shall guide the forces of the Party and be a source of strength for them. You shall continue to live at the innermost retreats of our hearts.

**You Are Always With Us, We are always with you!  
Comrade Sengul Boran Is Immortal!  
Party, Surge, Victory!**

**5 April 1995  
Central Committee of MLCP-F**



# ENVER HOXHA IS IMMORTAL

On 11 April 1985 Enver Hoxha drew his last breath. Communists of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan have always paid great respect to this great Marxist-Leninist will and continue to do so.

Comrade Hoxha who was born in 1908 got acquainted with communism in France. Especially during the years subsequent to 1936, he actively strived for the unification of all communist groups in Albania and after 1939 for the organization of resistance against Italian fascist aggression. Various communist groups came together on 8 November 1941 to establish the Communist Party of Albania in the midst of growing struggle of Albanian people against fascist invaders. Albania was liberated from the yoke of Italian and German fascists at

end of the Second World War under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, headed by Enver Hoxha.

Especially in the wake of the Second World War, Enver Hoxha and the Communist Party of Albania waged an uncompromising struggle against the intervention and disruptive activities of British and US imperialists and Greek monarcho - fascists and sabotage and subversion of Titoites who tried to dominate the CPA and convert Albania into the seventh republic of Yugoslavia.

Despite being a small and extremely backward country almost entirely laid waste during the fascist invasion, Albania was able to proceed uninterruptedly from anti-imperialist democratic revolution to socialist revolution, thanks to resolute and far-sighted leadership of the CPA headed by Enver Hoxha and the support of Soviet Union led by the Bolshevik Party of Stalin.

Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labor of Albania built socialism in Albania defying imperialist-revisionist encirclement, threats of and attempts at invasion, economic blockade and all sorts of plots and provocations. Socialist Albania was not a rich country; but the Albanian people who were the masters of their own house were rid of centuries long backwardness, ignorance and humiliation. Albanian workers and peasants by relying almost completely on their own strength succeeded in establishing a socialist economy, where the level of productive forces and the standard

of living of all toilers were rising continuously. All working people had employment, accommodation, access to education, health services and leisure and all participated in the administration of the state at various levels.

No privileged status existed in socialist Albania like the ones in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies of Eastern Europe, which were the main cause of the emergence of revisionism there. Capitalist restoration in Albania came about as an outcome of the capitulation of the leading cadres of the Party headed by Ramiz Alia under the pressure of imperialism and reaction. The fact that socialist Albania gave in to imperialist-revisionist encirclement, does not and can not blur the accomplishments and victories of socialism in this country of eagles under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

\* \* \*

Enver Hoxha defended Marxism-Leninism and defended Stalin against the onslaught of Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique, which bared its mask beginning with the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union. Enver Hoxha, Party of Labor of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania did not bow in the face of pressures, provocations and intimidations of Soviet modern revisionists who were converting the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist country and the CPSU into a revisionist and social-fascist party. In the second half of 1970s, Enver Hoxha and the PLA intensified their criticism of Mao Tse-tung Thought and Chinese revisionism, condemned the "theory of three worlds" and Maoism itself as a brand of revisionism. The facts show that Enver Hoxha and the PLA have held aloft the banner of communism and consistently fought against Titoism, Soviet modern revisionism, Maoism, Trotskyism and Eurocommunism. They also show that while building socialism under immensely difficult conditions, they have stood by the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world and supported their struggles against world bourgeoisie and reaction headed by two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

Communists the world over have a lot to learn from the principled stand of Enver Hoxha and his exemplary and uncompromising struggle against all brands of opportunism and revisionism. At a time when communist groups and parties are striving for the strengthening of international communist movement and reunification of all communist forces, they need to study carefully the rich and instructive experience of Enver Hoxha and the PLA. And should never forget the following words of great Lenin which Enver Hoxha often quoted:

"... the most dangerous of all are those who do not wish to understand that the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." (V.I.Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 22, p. 367, Alb.ed.)



## **THE ACTION OF 15 - 16 JUNE LIVES!**

On 15 and 16 June 1970 about 100,000 workers of Istanbul and Izmit provinces staged militant demonstrations against bourgeoisie. The immediate aim of the action was the driving back of the attack of reactionary AP (Justice Party) government against the then progressive trade-union confederation, DISK. But as soon as the workers took to the streets and were faced with the 'security' forces of the regime, the action quickly took on the dimensions of a political conflict. The clashes between the workers, who were supported by revolutionary students, scared the hell out of the ruling classes, whose armed thugs took to flight in the face of the onslaught of the revolutionary masses. However, due to their low level of political consciousness and lack of revolutionary leadership, at the end of two day-long glorious struggle, worker's action subsided and died down.

Despite its gross deficiencies, 15-16 June 1970 action has remained and remains one of the most heroic exploits in the history of the proletariat in our country. Communists and class conscious workers have inherited the revolutionary legacy of 15-16 June 1970 and are carrying it forward. Martyrs of this glorious action live in the struggles of workers and toilers of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, they live in factories, streets, schools, villages, shantytowns and mountains of our beloved country. New and mightier 15-16 Junes shall come!

## **Brief Summary Of Actions In Which MLCP-F Or Its Predecessors**

**[Communist Workers' Movement of Turkey And  
Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) Movement]  
Have Played A Leading Or Important Part**

1- On 12 September 1990, four communist organizations carried out an illegal armed demonstration in Findikzade district of Istanbul to protest against the tenth anniversary of military-fascist coup d'etat and the support Turkish ruling classes had been providing for the war preparations of US imperialists against Iraq. In all 200 cadres and advanced sympathizers were present in the action. They put up both joint banners and the banners of their own organizations. Police cars, which came to the scene of demonstration, were raked by gunfire of communists and thus forced to retreat. A police car was overturned and partly destroyed by the demonstrators who got away without any of them being captured by the class enemy.

2- On 12 September 1991, 450 workers of Pancar Motor factory in Istanbul started an action and occupied the factory in response to the dismissal of 200 of their companions. The action which was steered by a workplace committee including communist workers, drew extensive support both from the workers' families and from the other factories and workplaces such as Suser, Erka Balata, Orpas, Gaziosmanpasa municipality, Alibeykoy municipality etc. This action ended with the victory of workers and the factory administration was forced to suspend the dismissals.

3 - On 7 January 1992, 280 workers of Izmir municipality, who were dismissed by the mayor and his cohorts began the famous "death march" to Ankara. A celebration was organized before the march where more than 2.000 people were present. About 5.000 people, consisting of workers' families and other working people of Izmir came to bid farewell to protest marchers. Most of the workers participating in the march were not politically conscious and besides some of them were under the influence of reactionary and fascist bourgeois parties. But the communists, who from the very beginning had been at the helm of the action, were able to win the confidence of almost all workers and establish comradely relations with them in the course of struggle. The "death march" lasted 28 days and was carried on despite cold, fatigue, harassment by the police and the

gendarme and the disruptive activities of trade-union bureaucrats. On the way workers, toiling peasants, students from various localities displayed their sympathy and support to the marchers. Wives of the workers, who were organized in a special committee, also played an important role in the action. Bourgeois politicians and the trade-union bosses intensified their efforts to end the action as the "death marchers" approached Ankara. They were afraid of an eruption of extensive strikes on the part of workers of Ankara. In the end, due mainly to vacillations of advanced workers leading the march, but also to the general backwardness of the marchers and to insufficient level of solidarity actions, the tired workers were able to win only a half-victory. But this glorious action had a significant effect upon working class movement in Turkey and taught a lot to communists.

4- On 12 May 1992, in Gulsuyu district of Istanbul, 2.000 people launched a protest action upon the killing of a youth called Atakan Narin in Esenkent police station. Demonstrators condemned the police and took the remains of the youth to the cemetery with anti-fascist slogans following a long march. The police didn't dare to intervene at the angry masses.

5- On 8 July 1992, 350 workers of Kartal municipality in Istanbul, began a strike to protest against the sacking of 11 of their workmates. On 10 July, an unauthorized meeting was held in Kartal Square at which 6.000 people were present. The meeting ended with a protest march where various revolutionary slogans were chanted in support of striking workers. On 14 July, 2.000 workers and their families organized a second action in the same place and clashed with the police. On 17 July there was another clash between the workers and the police. When they were overpowered by the workers, who responded to them with stones and sticks, police opened fire on them and wounded 25 workers. Kartal municipality workers retreated a bit and built a barricade with lorries and kept on their resistance<sup>01</sup>. A growing number of people of Kartal came to support the workers waiting behind the barricade. This turn of affairs prevented the police who in the meantime were reinforced by armoured vehicles and additional units, from renewing its attack. This glorious action ended on 30 July with the victory of the workers. It was a turning point in the struggle of the proletariat, which under the guidance of communists, openly defied the police violence and frustrated the disruptive activities of liberals and trade-union bosses.

6- 343 workers and employees of Kagithane municipality in Istanbul resisted against the reactionary-fundamentalist mayor and



his cohorts and the police for 15 months. 120 of the workers began a 25 day-long march to Ankara on 13 April 1993. The marchers, who were bidden farewell by 2,000 people in Istanbul were led astray by trade-union bosses after their arrival in Ankara. This rich and stubborn resistance which was a real school of struggle, ended in defeat on April 1994 despite the self sacrificing efforts of communists.

7- Between March 1993 and April 1994 another protracted and complicated struggle was fought between hundreds of leather workers of Tuzla district of Istanbul and communist forces on one side and the employers, gendarme, police, fascist gangs and trade-union bosses on the other. Leather workers, defying against dismissals, hunger, house raids, arrests, torture, unfair court rulings and counterrevolutionary violence closed their ranks and resolutely stood against the onslaught of their class enemies with the aid of communists. At the end they won not only a victory, but also accumulated rich experience in the school of class struggle.

8- On 10- 11 July 1993, a Working Women's Congress was held in Istanbul with the participation of 3.000 communist, revolutionary and progressive women. Participants included workers, public and office employees students, housewives intellectuals, trade-union functionaries, mothers and sisters of martyrs etc. from all over Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. Working Women's Congress was the outcome of months long hard and stubborn work, the heavy burden of which fell upon a small group of dedicated communist and revolutionary woman militants. This congress, which was the first of its kind in our country was also a model of united front work: Revolutionary and progressive women from various organizations and groups were able to come and work together, thus contributing to the weakening of sectarian spirit. Despite the unceasing harassment, sabotage and provocations of the police and bourgeois state, the congress was able to convene in a militant atmosphere, carry its agenda through and issue a revolutionary resolution calling upon all working women to fight against fascism, national oppression sexual discrimination and capitalism. Communists played a very prominent role and indeed were the leading force behind the whole political and organizational work preceding the congress.

9- On 10 April 1994, 3.500 toilers of Gulsuyu district protested against price hikes on basic commodities. They burst through three police barricades and marched about 1.5 km. chanting revolutionary and anti-government slogans. On the same day 1.000 toilers, most of whom women, launched a protest action against price hikes in

Umraniye district of Istanbul.

10- On 14 April in Gulsuyu district, 1.500 toilers attacked at civilian fascist gangs and the police protecting them. These gangs, closely related to criminal bands and actively instigated by the police had for a long time been harassing the people of Gulsuyu district. In the clash that ensued fascists and the police were severely beaten and their cars demolished. In the wake of this action, police carried out reprisals and tortured tens of youth and people from the district. But this didn't in the least influence the masses, whose morale was boosted greatly.

11- On May Day celebrations in 1994, three communist organizations (Communist Workers' Movement of Turkey, Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) Movement and Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist)/Reconstruction Organization) brought together more than 2.000 communists in Istanbul, where a total of 100.000 workers, toilers and revolutionary people were present. On the same day there were about 500 communists marching under the banners of CWMT and CFIT (M-L) Movement in Izmir, where a total of 25.000 people were present.

12- About 700 workers and employees of Gebze municipality began a militant action on June 1994 against the dismissal of some of their workmates. This action immediately drew widespread support from the inhabitants of Gebze town, most of whom themselves are workers and employees. Communist and revolutionary groups actively intervened in the struggle and there were a great amount of solidarity visits from various factories. Fascist dictatorship mobilized about 4.000 police and gendarmes to break to strike and the occupation of the workplace, in which the wives of the workers and employees actively participated. There were a series of clashes between the strikers and their supporters on one side and the police, gendarme and fascist gangs on the other during the 22-day long action. In the end Gebze action was defeated due to the vacillations of petty-bourgeois element in the Resistance Committee (formed to steer the strike), insufficient solidarity and some mistakes of communists. But it left an indelible mark on the collective memory of proletariat of Turkey and taught much to communists and class conscious workers.

13- On 2 July 1994, a commemoration meeting was held in Zincirlikuyu cemetery of Istanbul, at the grave of Asim Bezirci, one of the 37 progressive intellectuals and artists who were burned to death just a year ago in Sivas province by reactionary fundamentalist and

fascist gangs. About 10.000 communists, revolutionaries and anti-fascists participated in the action. On the same day, 20.000 people in Ankara and 10,000 people in Izmir took part in the demonstrations to protest the Sivas massacre.

14- On 24-25 December 1994, about 600 revolutionary students from 50 Lycees in Istanbul held a Democratic Lycee Congress. This congress which was the outcome of a two month long preparations, brought together and united numerous revolutionary lycee organizations around a center. This congress was held under tile leadership and guidance of Communist Youth Organization (youth branch of MLCP-F). Although far from bringing together the majority of revolutionary lycee students, the organization of such a center was an important step taken in that direction.

15- A rocket was fired at the 100. Yil police station in Bagcilar district of Istanbul on 18 March 1995. This attack was carried out by the Red Detachments, the military branch of MLCP-F in revenge for the massacre at Gazi district. None of the 25 policemen present at the station during the attack were wounded or killed. They were lucky, since the rocket had passed through the window and exploded on the ceiling, causing extensive damage to the building. This action of Red Detachments was hailed with sympathy by the progressive toilers of Istanbul. This police station was chosen as a target, because it had gained notoriety through the insults and torture accorded there to revolutionary youth and toilers and to ordinary people. The justice of the military action of the Red Detachments would be confirmed soon. About two weeks after the rocket attack, an ordinary person called Atac Kuruturk was killed at this police station. The killers alleged that Kuruturk had suddenly snatched the gun on one of the policemen during the interrogation and shot himself at the head!

16- On 20 March 1995, a police car plying between Ornekkoy and Yamanlar districts of Izmir province, was raked by gunfire. The action was carried out by Red Detachments.

17- On 11 April 1995, a bomb explosion in a hijacked police car in Karakoy district of Istanbul resulted in the complete or partial destruction of about twenty cars and of two ships. This action was a response of Red Detachments to the kidnapping and most probably murdering of comrade Hasan Ocak (Ojak) by the police. It also was a response to the illegal detention of tens of toilers following the clashes in Gazi district, which until now the police haven't admitted to. A Red Detachments announcement emphasized that great care had been taken not to hurt anybody.

