

ISOLATION IS AN IMPERIALISTIC POLITICY  
STOP ISOLATION!

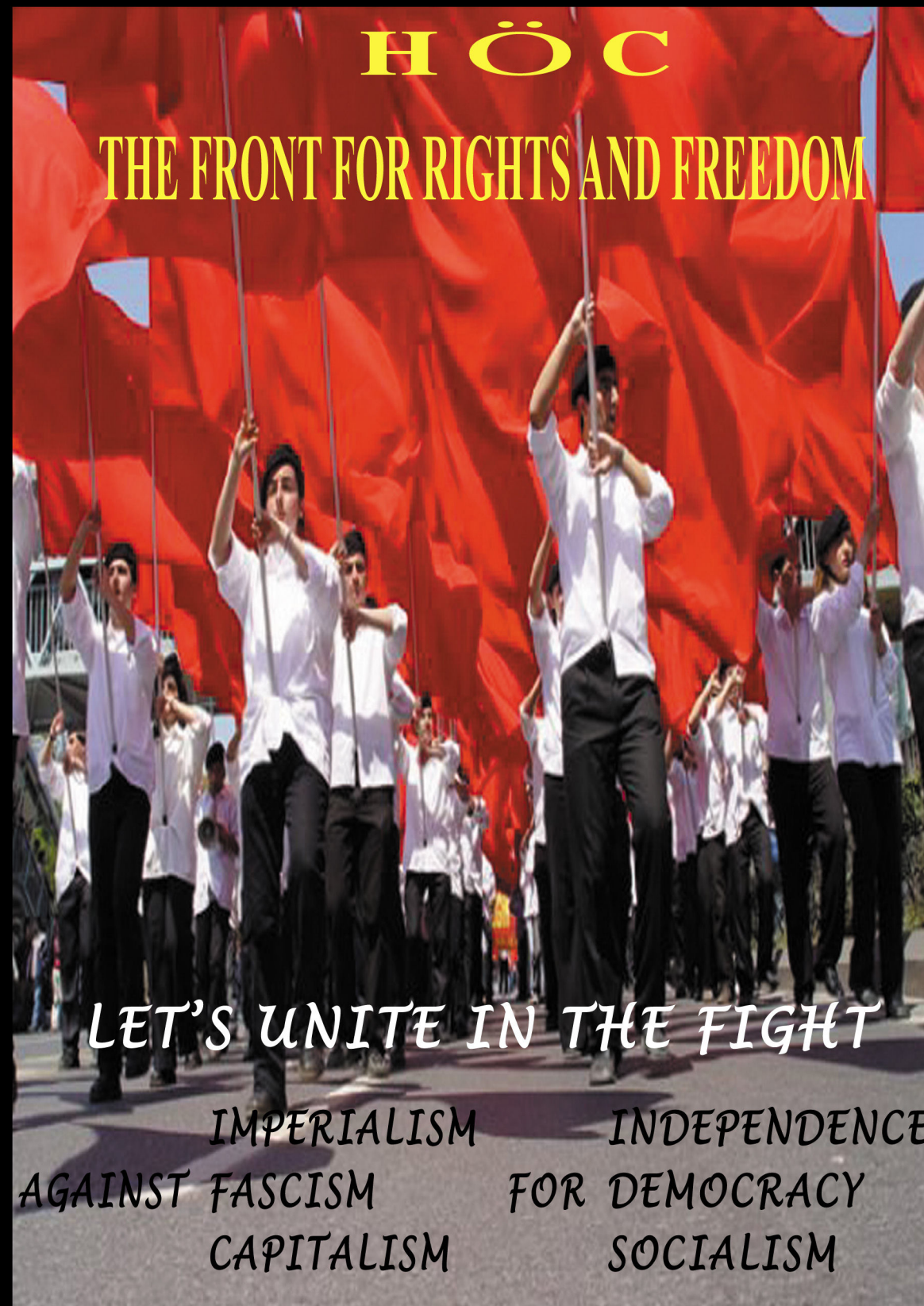
# TAYAD

Association of Solidarity With The Families of Prisoners



# H Ö C

THE FRONT FOR RIGHTS AND FREEDOM



LET'S UNITE IN THE FIGHT

IMPERIALISM	INDEPENDENCE
AGAINST FASCISM	FOR DEMOCRACY
CAPITALISM	SOCIALISM





Education For The  
Benefit of People,  
Science Under The  
Service of People!

FEDERATION OF YOUTH



FEDERATION FOR THE BASIC RIGHTS



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ART FOR THE PEOPLE WILL  
NEVER BE STOPPED!







# HÖC

## FRONT DES DROITS ET DES LIBERTÉS

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**NOUS MENONS UNE LUTTE POUR L'INDÉPENDANCE CONTRE  
L'IMPÉRIALISME, POUR LA DÉMOCRATIE CONTRE LE FASCISME  
ET POUR LE SOCIALISME CONTRE LE CAPITALISME**



3

Le Front des Droits et des Libertés (HÖC) est le protagoniste de la lutte démocratique en Turquie. Il a les caractéristiques du front révolutionnaire qui mène une lutte démocratique sur fondement légal. Étant le représentant d'une tradition, HÖC a l'honneur d'être le seul lutteur continu anti-impérialiste et anti-oligarchique en Turquie depuis 1968.

**De quelle tradition venons nous?**

**Quelle histoire avons nous?**

HÖC est apparu indépendamment des mouvements de masse de '68 qui ont été créés en Europe et qui ont influencé le monde entier, à la suite d'une séparation révolutionnaire qui refuse la tradition révisionniste de 50 ans. Ses premiers représentants sont Mahir Cayan et ses amis qui se trouvaient dans le mouvement de jeunesse et qui étaient les protagonistes et des leaders des actes anti-impérialistes. Cette tradition ne se limite pas par les lois. Elle s'est développée dans la lutte contre l'impérialisme et ses collaborateurs à toute occasion et avec toutes les

méthodes légales. Elle a pris sa forme précise le 30 mars 1971, à Kizildere. Ce jour, Mahir Cayan et ses amis qui ont créé cette tradition furent massacrés, mais non sans laissant un manifeste de lutte. On a apporté à nos jours la tradition prise de Mahir et ses amis

Dans les premières années de '70, son nom était "Dev-Genç" (La Jeunesse Révolutionnaire), mais elle ne s'est pas limitée seulement à la lutte de la jeunesse. Dev-Genç a organisé des manifestations des tabacs avec les paysans à Manisa, à la région d'Égée et des actions d'ouvriers à la résistance du 15-16 juin, une date importante pour les ouvriers de la Turquie. Aux manifestations du premier mai, elle était le représentant "des premiers mais révolutionnaires". Elle était le protagoniste de la jeunesse à la lutte académique-démocratique sous le nom d'IYOKD (Association D'Études Supérieurs d' Istanbul). Elle était le leader des ouvriers dans le Mouvement des Ouvriers Révolutionnaires, et le leader des femmes dans le

in the factories with the "Revolutionary Workers Movement, for the women with the "Revolutionary Women's Movement". In the slums against the demolition of their houses and in order to solve the housing problem, it built houses and neighbourhoods with the people. It became the vanguard of the struggle against fascism by organizing FTKSME (The Armed Struggle Teams Against the Fascist Terror) in order to protect the lives of the people from the fascist terror attacks before the junta of 12 September 1980. It moved people to participate in the struggle and showed in practice how to form their own organizations and help organized it.

This tradition gets its strength from people like Abdullah Meral, Haydar Basbag, Hasan Telci who were murdered but never subdued by the fascist junta of 12th September 1980, who resisted against it inside the prisons and defended the revolutionary identity. It gets its strength from TAYAD's (The Solidarity Association for the Families of the Prisoners) fight which laid a garland in the Taksim square as the first democratic action after the junta and who became their children's voice outside. It gets its strength from the 1987 April Days of Resistance that were initiative of Dev-Genç, the organization for the academic-democratic rights of the youth.

Their fighting tradition continued against every effort of oligarchy to suppress and subdue the militants. Their message passed through also to the workers, as they struck in the Migros Supermarket for the first time after the establishment of the dictatorship and they won. At the same time the first workers unions were founded, like ISPOR-DER (The Association of Street Venders) - which was established by the vanguard of Yemliha Kaya who died in the 1996 death fast resistance - Saglik – Sen (The Union of Health Labourers) and Bem – Sen (The Union of Municipal Employees).

"The Front for Rights and Liberties"-HÖC is a democratic front which has proposals and initiative every aspect of life and its precedent was HÖP (The Platform for Rights and Liberties). HÖC is an organization which includes the most massive organizations of our country, like the "Revolutionary Public Sector Workers Movement", "Dev – Genç" the revolutionary movement of students and working youth, the DSG (Revolutionary Left Forces) of the neighbourhoods and its actions take place in 33 cities.

Also, HÖC includes several institutions and has a lot of publications. The Youth Federation which is established in 36 different cities and fights for the academic-democratic rights of the student youth. The Idil Cultural Center and Group Yorum, which are the voice of the people, in the cultural area. The People's Law Office-(HHB), who defend the rights of the activists. Lawyer Behiç Aşçı, from the HHB, who never limit his struggle for justice in the courthouses, now begun death fast -on 5 April 2006, which is the International Day of Lawyers -demanding that "the abolishment of isolation in F-type prisons". The TAYAD (The Solidarity Association of the Families of the Political Prisoners)

which was established by the families of the prisoners and for their struggle which already had many martyrs. The political magazine "Yürüyüş", as a revolutionary alternative among several publications promotes the revolutionary-socialist ideology against the bourgeois ideology.

HOC is the only alternative that can promote a significant political proposal in contrast to every policy and strategy of the oligarchy. For example, fought with the people in the slums with its program "Solution with the People" and against the demolition of the poor neighbourhoods. Stand in front of the bulldozers and cancel the demolition which was an action as part of the government plan under the name "City Transformation Project". Plan which was developed by the Turkish government, in order to deprive people from their houses. About the epidemic bird flu in Turkey, it has an alternative policy with the slogan "not the bird flu but AKP government kills" and hold massive demonstrations.

However, this is not all that it does. In the neighbourhoods, it campaigns against prostitution, robberies etc. Moreover it initiated local actions called "Neighborhood Workshops for Women" for unemployed women. It struggle together with the SEKA (Public Industry of Selulosic Paper) workers and the workers of TEKEL (Public Industry of Tobacco and Alcohol of Turkey) against the plan of privatization and the unjustified closure of the factories. They never gave up in spite of several attacks and finally, after 2 months of struggle, they won in the case of TEKEL. Against the armed counter-guerilla attacks which targeted the Kurdish people who live in Semdinli and Yüksekova, it organised committee visits to these cities in order to investigate the attacks and show that Kurdish people is not alone, and so it presented a real alternative to these people.

Of all the organizations that constitute HOC, TAYAD's struggle for the last six years against the F-Type Prisons and the sacrifice of its members which took part in the death fast outside the jails showed its resolve against any and every policy of repression.

The Youth Federation organized many campaigns until today even though many of its members were attacked several times, tortured and arrested. The campaign "We demand our student rights" in the area of secondary education is a unique campaign in its field.

In the area of culture and arts there is a continuous tradition from OKM (Ortaköy Cultural Center) to Idil Cultural Center. Group Yorum is associated with this center and it composes and sings songs of resistance and struggle. Group Yorum has a 20-year history since 1986.

The Front for the Rights and Liberties- HÖC has not limited itself to a struggle concerning only national issues of Turkey. It showed its internationalism and solidarity defending and organizing every kind of solidarity and struggle action with all the peoples who were attacked by imperialism. It organized a massive demonstration against the yankee soldiers in



Dolmabahçe in Istanbul and the sailors and soldiers of the Sixth Fleet were thrown into the sea with the slogan "Yankee go home". It expressed solidarity with the resistance of the Palestinian people and their struggle against the Israel zionism. It expressed its solidarity with the peoples of the former Yugoslavia while it was bombed by the NATO forces. It has been organizing campaigns and demonstrations since 1990 against the imperialist aggression vs. Iraq. It called together all the anti-imperialist peoples and institutions before the beginning of the attack in 1990, with the slogan "No to Imperialist War". After the beginning of the attack it went on to struggle continuously with the slogan "Fight against the Imperialist War". It organized demonstrations against the imperialist war in Afghanistan and later the second war in Iraq.

During the nineties when the imperialists, celebrating their victory of the so-called "new world order" so called after the end of socialist states that it was "the end of history" it defended socialism and raised the red flags with hammer-and-sickle shouting "Down with imperialism"! Always with internationalism and solidarity it was one of the main pillars of the "Coordination against the Occupation in Iraq" which organized actions and demonstrations against the occupation in Iraq and 2 of its

members, Cihan Keskek (member of Group Yorum) and Eylül İscan (member of TAYAD) they went from Turkey to Iraq and took part in the "Shield Alive" action.

HOC continues its struggle for the rights and liberties in Turkey, with nearly 100 organizations it has, in spite of all repression, banning and massacre policies of the state.

Worker, state employed, peasant, merchant, inhabitant of the slum areas, there is something we have to say, there are problems that have to be solved. In the name of a live in dignity these urgent requests have to be answered immediately under all circumstances:

1) Still people are dying in the F-Type prisons. The isolation has to be stopped immediately.

2) Work has to be found for the ones jobless and hungry. Until they work again their needs have to be taken care of with means like public-insurance in a way that enables them to live in dignity.

3) The work- and health-conditions of all the people have to be secured.

4) Salaries have to be that high that anyone can live on it in dignity.

5) The politics that turn public health and education in a profit-making machine have to be stopped. Everyone has to have access to public and free health care, education and a roof over his head.

6) The politics of the IMF that create nothing but poverty and hunger have to be stopped.

7) Every peasant, every merchant, who suffered damage from the IMF politics has to receive compensation. The programs for supporting peasants and merchants have to be put in effect.

8) The constitution of the September 12th military coup has to be withdrawn. All related anti-democratic laws and rules have to be abandoned. A new and democratic constitution has to be created under the participation of the people.

9) The Anti-Terror-Law and the State-Security-Courts (DGM) have to be withdrawn.

10) The ones that are responsible for the killing, torture, massacre and vanishing of ten thousands of our people, lasting since decades, have to be punished.

11) Every oppression on the Kurdish and every other nationality because of nationality has to be stopped. People of every nationality have to be guaranteed their national rights without any obstacle.

12) The inhabitants of the villages driven out of their homes and into exile by force have to be compensated for their losses. The conditions for their secure and economical safe return into their villages have to be created.

13) The collaboration of USA and Israel against the peoples has to be abandoned and replaced by politics and rules in the common interest of the peoples.

### THESE ARE OUR DEMANDS!

We accumulated or urgent demands in 13 topics. Hundreds more could easily be added. We want them to be fulfilled urgently so that man can live in the dignity of a human being. That's nothing more than our right; it is simply what the real owners of this country, the ones that produce all its wealth want.

Our people are dying; they die of hunger or the repression of the F-Type prisons. What could be more urgent than death?







# FEDERATION FOR THE BASIC RIGHTS

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To live in freedom, in an independent and democratic country

## **When was the Federation for the Basic Rights established?**

Federation for the Basic Rights was established by the union of several associations, around the country, that had been struggling for the same goals. The process of founding the federation was unbidden. Associations from Bahcelievler, Okmeydani, Gazi, Ikitelli, Istanbul, Izmir, Sakirpasa Adana, Antalya, Ankara, Dersim, Malatya and Ordu, applied on the 6th July 2005 to become a legal federation. The application was accepted.

## **Why was our federation established?**

We established our federation aiming at a democratic, independent and free country where the people can regain their full rights and freedoms. We can mention many examples of economical, social, cultural and political rights violation, along with examples of oppression and obstructions, of which the official media rarely refer to. Today we have no other choice but to be ORGANISED and UNITED in

order to gain rights and live as human beings deserve to live. Truly, we founded our federation to fulfill our need for organization, which is equal to our need for bread, water or oxygen.

The history of our federation is the history of our struggle for rights and freedom.

The 6th July of 2005 is the birth date of our federation but its history is much longer. Because our federation carries the experience, tradition and teaching of the struggle that rages in our country and throughout the world, and also wishes to enrich it. The history of fighting for rights and freedoms began the day that society was divided in opponent social classes and moves in parallel with the evolution of societies. Rights and freedom, along with every victory of the oppressed against the oppressors, moved a step forward. Consequently, our history is part of the history of all oppressed people. All the values that have emerged during the struggle for human prosperity and democracy around the world and our country, are also values that our Federation adopts. All the people who died for these ideas are the honorary founders of our federation.





So our federation will carry the inheritance that comes from Baba Ihsak, Seyh Bedrettin and Pir Sultan from the land of Anatolia.

### **What is the aim of our federation?**

The aim of our federation is defined in the second article of our regulations:

«2nd article: The aim and activity of the Federation defines that every person independently of his origin, religion, gender, language, class or ethnic difference has the Basic Rights and freedoms connected to his personality. This rights are not to be violated, nor transferred. We plan to organise democratic actions with every association, institution and individual who adopt the same principles and aim at canceling the limitations that are force on our people. These rights and freedoms must be enlarged in favor of the people, in order to be used in a more effective way».

In other words, our Federation by fighting against all the violations of the Basic Rights and freedoms, is expressing its solidarity towards all suffering people in our country and all over the world whose rights and freedoms are taken away from.

### **What are the activities of our Federation?**

We struggle for:

- a- Freedom of public expression, press and publication of information and communication.
- b- Freedom of the workers to be associated and struggle against their exploitation.
- c- Freedom of the self-determination of nations and minorities.
- d- Freedom of conscience.
- e- Freedom and protection of the human personality.
- f- Against the ideas humiliating the personality of women.
- g- Against the use of children as cheap labor power in our country and all over the world, and the activities that prevent children from developing their personality.
- h- For the self-development of the youth and the participation in the process of education and production. We defend the youth's right on education, employment, housing and expression. For the participation of everyone with a talent and interest in cultural and artistic production.
- i- For the participation of everyone with a talent and interest in cultural and artistic production
- j- For the right to free education, social security,



housing and development of personality.

k- For the rights of children living in the streets, drug addicts, homeless people, aged, handicapped, mentally handicapped, poor and others in need of help.

l- All imprisoned people and the victims of surveillance, along with their relatives should live with dignity, away from any kind of oppression, violence, isolation and unjustified behaviour.

m- For «the right to a just trial»..

n- For the protection of the environment and nature of our country and of the world and the development of an environmental consciousness.

To sum up, our federation beginning with the idea that all the basic Rights and freedoms are innegotiable, is acting for these rights that constitute the basic foundations for every independent, democratic and free country. At the end, all the political, social, cultural and economic problems constitute subject of our activities. Our aim is to live free in an independent and democratic country.

So, for the realization of these aims, first of all our country must be independent and democratic. It's impossible to talk about rights or freedom without democracy and independence. Today our country is a subordinate of imperialism, there is no decision made, in the fields of national or international policy, without the permission of the imperialistic monopolies and countries. Our people has been sacrificed for the interests of the imperialists. For that reason, laws are made to deprive us of our rights and freedoms. Our main aim in order to create a wealthy and happy country, for the sake of independence, is to put an end to that situation. Our Federation is our power for struggle for rights and liberties. We call everyone that shares our aim and our dreams to take upon that power to unify their strengths with ours, under the roof of the Federation for the Basic Rights.



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# TAYAD

**Association of Solidarity With The Families of Prisoners**

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## **THEIR HONOUR HAS BEEN OUR HONOUR FOR 25 YEARS...**



We, the families of TAYAD, have become the voice outside the cells of our children, who were imprisoned and tortured after the dictatorship (junta) of September the 12th 1980, by carrying their resistance outside to our people with deep pain in our hearts.

The suppression and torture we experienced during the initial years of our 25 years history drove us to gather together under the roof of TAYAD. In spite of the fact we were beaten on our heads and backs by batons, and that we were arrested and imprisoned we took the resisting voice of our children to our people. We had the honour of being the first Democratic Mass Organization established after the dictatorship (junta).

We acted in various ways of democratic struggle and during our history of 25 years we handed out millions of notices, posted tens of thousands of posters and hung out thousands of banners. We organized petition campaigns and marched to Ankara (the capital of Turkey) so that our voices could be heard from the authorized officials. Either by entering cages or coffins alive to override censorship we became the voice of our children. We organized so many campaigns, we cannot remember now how many they were.

In a period when nothing was happening, on the 19th of May in 1984 we laid a garland on the Taksim

Monument on which was written "Ameliorate the conditions in prisons – no more deathfast" in order to protest against the increasing torturing in prison.

In 1984 our children Abdullah Meral, Fatih Öktülmüş, Hasan Telci, Haydar Basbag, deathfast martyrs for the abolition of uniform clothes to prisoners, who defended their political identity, urged the fire of struggle deeper in our hearts.

Therefore we were able to legally establish TAYAD in 1986 on the 3th of February, thanks to our determination to continue our struggle against all difficulties.

We marched to Ankara under TAYAD banners in August 1988 against the circular of August the 1st, which was proposed by Özal government. We demanded the abolishment of this circular with the hunger strike we made in November 1988 while suffering the suppression, torture, beating and attacking of the police. We held a demonstration for this purpose with our banner on which was written "Our children have to be released, The constitution introduced from the 12th of September has to be overturned all together with its relevant results". We learned and told the truth, that beating and torturing are state policies and the struggle for democratic rights and freedom can't be won without a price to pay.

As our struggle became stronger, the attacks



against us also increased. Our association's building was raided on 18 September 1988. Then the secret police put a fire there. After that we, as the families of TAYAD, went in front of the Police Headquarters in Istanbul in order to put the blame on them and shouted, holding matches in our hands "we have gas and we have matches, we call the ones that burnt our place, to burn us too".

The attacks against us, the locking of our doors, weren't able to disorientate or limit down our struggle. Sometimes our name was ÖZGÜR-DER, sometimes it was TIYAD, but our name and struggle always went on. We were out in the streets on the Mayday and also on Newroz Day calling for the brotherhood of people against the burning of the Kurdish villages and the massacre of the Kurdish people. In spite of all the difficulties our struggle was spread through the workers, the public employees and the people of the shanty-towns.

In 1995 the struggle for democratic rights and freedom became much more massive and so the massacres in the prisons became even more massive. 3 prisoners were murdered on September 26th 1995 in Izmir Prison, 4 were killed on 4th of January 1996 in Istanbul Prison and 10 were killed in September 1996 in Diyarbakir Prison.

We began hunger striking for solidarity, although being old, outside prison, together with our children who began their hunger strike in prison in May 1996. We managed to face the attack with our resistance, which costed the lives of 12 of our children.

Soon after that the attacks against prisoners began again. 10 of our children were tortured to death in Ankara Ulucanlar prison in September 1999. Hundreds of our children were exiled to several prisons while they were injured, with no medical treatment. But this was not enough for the state and there was another attack to Burdur Prison, where the arm of one of our children was rended by construction machines and our children were exiled again. In the Bergama Prison where they were exiled they were again tortured and attacked. We, TAYAD, held many demonstrations for many days during these attacks in front of the prisons, in the streets, in the squares of Ankara to defend our children. We were attacked by the official and civilian fascists. We were injured, our heads, arms were broken, we were tortured. These attacks were also proofs of the cruelty of the isolation cells in F-type prisons, named "White Death".

By the year 2000 we began demonstrations and several actions in order to tell the truth to people about the isolation cells in the F-type prisons, which

resembled the medieval ages darkness. We are still going on with our insistant struggle against the isolation cells since 2000. During this period we organized many campaigns, demonstrations and marches. We were also in hunger strike and for the demands of our children 10 of our families became martyrs of this struggle. Among our martyrs Gülsüman Dönmez and Senay Hanoglu were both mothers and labourers. They told at the beginning of the deathfast to their children that "Everything is for your future". Among our martyrs Sultan Yıldız made her body a barricade to protect the deathfast martyr Arzu Güler during the attack to the resistance house in Istanbul Küçükarmutlu. Both of them were TAYAD members. 18 year old Baris Kas and 40 year old Hülya Simsek were also with them. They have become "one heart" with their imprisoned sisters, brothers, wives, husbands and children. Our martyrs made TAYAD much stronger.

We went on telling all the world that isolation is not limited to the prisoners in the F-type cell prisons and that imperialism is trying to isolate all the people in the world and the F-type prisons are financed by the USA and EU imperialists. For this purpose we organized a conference together with the "Internternational Struggle Platform Against Isolation" during which the isolation was examined in detail concerning its humanistic, legal and political dimensions. Under the naming of the conference "Isolation and the Struggle Against Isolation" we raised our voices together with our Turkish, Kurdish, Italian, Arabian, German, Bulgarian, Irish, Greek friends in the name of the people, that all kinds of isolation have to be abolished.

Our hearts beat in Abu-Ghuraib, Guantanamo, Palestine and with the people of the world who are fighting against imperialism.

Today, having the same feelings we still have the honour of bringing to you the voice of our children's resistance with which they have been going on for 6 years. Until today 121 revolutionaries both from prisons and outside became martyrs during the resistance against isolation. Imperialism insists on F-type isolation cells which were built by its collaborators, at its order. Imperialism wishes to possess the struggle for democratic rights and freedom of our people by possessing the prisoners. We as the families of TAYAD are never going to hesitate to pay any price, including death, in order to abolish the isolation and put an end to the deaths. We will never hesitate, just like Fatma Koyupinar and the lawyer Behiç Asçı never hesitated and are both in hunger strike, outside prison, in Istanbul...

# FEDERATION OF YOUTH

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## WE ARE FIGHTING FOR EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC and SCIENCE FOR PUBLIC



We the young people of Turkey that mobilized in thirty-three cities, are fighting for public and free education. We consider that struggle directly linked to the struggle of the oppressed peoples of our country for independence, democracy, sovereignty and socialism. From the beginning, our actions were endorsed and legitimized by the people. And finally, the official legitimization became a reality at April 18th, 2005. But when we are asked about who we are, we're answering with the history of the youth movement from its beginning in the late sixties. In 1965, the young people of our country begin to organize in student association clubs on the basis of the people's struggle and as a reflection of the development of the anti-imperialistic and liberation movement around the word. Soon these student association clubs were united in the creation of the first Federation of its kind, FKF. At the 10th of October, 1968, during its general assembly, the FKF changed its name to Federation of Revolutionary Youth of Turkey (DEV-GENC). That change meant the domination of revolutionary ideals and its decision to unite with the popular masses struggle. The slogan "workers, farmers, students, all united in DEV-GENC", is characteristic of the evolution and the awareness of the young people for the social phenomena and the popular struggle going on.

DEV-GENC, which was founded at the late sixties, had a wide range of actions, such as demonstrations, takeovers of universities, student strikes from classes, and assemblies. Nevertheless, its actions were not limited in student demands but spread outside the Universities. It grew along the workers strikes, the seizures of land together with poor farmers against a government that wanted to steal their properties on the behalf of the monopolies. Later, it became more massive, during the struggle against the arrival of the US Navy's Sixth Fleet: with the slogan "oust the USA" they threw the Americans sailors to the sea.

DEV-GENC, with its struggle and its

participation in every anti-imperialistic and anti-fascist fight, became the biggest and most massive organization of students and working young people. The militants of DEV-GENC as in abroad also in Turkey, realized that fulfilling of their goals would require a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party. So DEV-GENC became the workshop of the revolutionary organization of Turkey. The revolutionary heritage continued through the lines of DEV-GENC and its roots in popular masses. Even though the name of the DEV-GENC gained a lot of respect in the youth, it causing rage and fear to the regime. After the fascist junta at March 12th 1971 which was imposed by imperialism, tens of fighters of the DEV-GENC were murdered and hundreds were imprisoned. The repression and the terrorism by the junta towards the members of the DEV-GENC and the leftist progressive activists in general, failed to subdue them. The flame of the struggle of Mahir Cayan and his comrades that were murdered in March 30th 1972 propagated through the country and in just a few years the movement was reborn from its ashes. The young fighters which were inspired from the heroic actions of the militants of DEV-GENC established the IYOKD (Cultural Association of University Students in Istanbul. The first aim of this organization was to counter the terrorism of the so-called "Grey Wolves", which with direction of the regime were active in the Universities. In a little while, IYOKD was established in every university and with determination and radicalism managed to throw out the fascists and take control of the movement. The fighters of IYOKD as a continuation of the struggle of DEV-GENC were able to overturn the passiveness and defeatism that was spread by the opportunistic and reformist theories. The



development of popular struggle and the acuteness of the economic and political crisis of the regime forced them to establish an open "official" form of dictatorship in September 12th 1980. The fascist junta that was determined to repress the popular struggle and neutralize the revolutionary movement attacked with every mean that it had also the youth. So, all students associations were shuttered. The Universities became "camps", where intense brainwashing was taking place in order to grow an apolitical generation, unable to think and act. The fascist junta, a US regime client, which for years continued to commit its barbaric atrocities, including executions and imprisonments of thousands of activists, was only a temporary impediment and not an insurmountable obstacle. When the junta leaders, removing their uniforms, remained the true leaders of the country, they had

already secured impunity for their criminal conduct by enacting a fascistic Constitution —that is still in place today— and creating organs for prescribing state policy, such as the National Security Council (MGK) and the Institution for Higher Education (YOK). A telling example was the decision by the YOK in November 6th 1981 to fire all and every university professors that did not obey to the dictates of the junta. With the same decision the universities asylum was abolished and the students that were fighting the junta were expelled from their schools and turned over to the state authorities.

Notwithstanding, the revolutionary will of the youth did not bend. It went on with the actions of the holdovers of the tradition of the DEV-GENC. Those who dared to resist to the state and non-state fascism were the members of DEV-GENC, which under very difficult conditions never stopped





their struggle and never abandoned the field of the battle. Because the militants of DEV-GENC were implementing a crystal clear theory, the theory of Marxism-Leninism, they considered that the youth movement was part of the liberation and class movement, and they were unmoved in their political views. In the middle eighties, the youth that was organized in the lines of DEV-GENC, tears apart the fascist darkness that ruled the country and establishes itself again in the vanguard of democratic and anti-imperialistic struggle. In the early nineties, students of universities and high-schools, which were organized in a variety of associations around the country, established TODEF (Federation of Students Associations of Turkey). The revolutionary tradition was now passed from DEV-GENC to the young of TODEF. Their struggle expanded all over the country. From that moment on until today the members of the youth movement in the same line with DEV-GENC, with their militant and radical stance, are the leaders in the youth struggle inside and out of the universities and schools.

We the students of schools and universities that we organize in TODEF are proud of our history.

The revolutionary will of DEV-GENC was strengthened throughout the years by the sacrifices of dozens of our comrades that fell in their battle for democracy, independence and socialism. A significant number of our comrades which were in the vanguard of struggles against imperialism and oligarchy were nursed in the lines of DEV-GENC. The history of our country makes clear that the fighters are the ones ready to sacrifice their lives for the revolution and socialism and participate in every democratic, popular and class struggle.

The fighting spirit of DEV-GENC which was realized with the sacrifice of Mahir and his comrades grew with the new comrades which under a spirit of solidarity participated in the death fast outside the prisons. Among the 121 activists which sacrificed themselves in the struggle against the isolation cells of the F-Type Prisons devised by the imperialists and the oligarchs, were our comrades like Canan, Zehra, Ozlem. . . comrades that we fought together, for academic, democratic and students rights. We pledge to realize their dreams and ideals and sooner or later take our future in our own hands, free from every kind of oppression and exploitation.



# Yürüyüş

FOR INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM  
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## MARCH FOR INDEPENDENCE DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

"March (YURUYUS) is a socialist review, which is published for one year. Although, it has been only one year since its publication begun, "March's history is rather long and its inheritance is definitely very important. It is a continuation of the reviews "Solution", "Struggle", "Liberation", "Motherland" and "Bread and Justice" that were being published during the previous years. These reviews display the social-political history of the past 20 years. The fact that the same magazine has changed name and publishing office, in order to avoid persecutions, illustrates in an obvious way the political circumstances in our country.

In a country where fascism prevails, there is no guarantee for the socialist press and its existence. In our country, socialist review offices are regularly raided by heavily armed police forces. In the middle of the night, teams carrying machine guns, gas bombs and with snow masks on their faces, break into our review offices. Our computers and archives are removed. Our review workers and journalists are arrested, beaten and tortured. They face the accusations of being members of illegal organization and as a result, they are sentenced to many years of imprisonment. It hasn't been a long time since the 1st of April 2004, when the operation "Big Organization Operation" was held. During this operation, the review "Bread and Justice" was raided, and its employees (including its editors) were arrested or put under house arrest. The editor is still in prison. The accusations are the same again: membership in illegal organization!

If you were a socialist press employee in our country, you could be taken under arrest, at any minute for any reason, you could be tortured, and could stay in prison for many years. While you are out collecting information, you may be attacked and your equipment can be broken. Your socialist press identity doesn't mean anything. You can be

taken away by force and find yourself in a police bus with the signal of a police chief: "take him too".

If you were a distributor of a socialist review in our country, you could face, during your work, any kind of annoyance, from swearwords to attacks. You could even get SHOT! In 1997, 17 years old Irfan Agdas, distributor of the review "Liberation", was shot in the middle of the street while distributing. Reporter of the newspaper "Universal", Metin Göktepe, while being under house arrest, died after being tortured. In Kurdistan many journalists were murdered or have disappeared. It hasn't been one month since a revolutionary journalist named Ilyas Aktas was shot at the funeral of the revolutionaries that were murdered in Diyarbakir. In our country, the freedom of press, simply , doesn't

exist !

Our review readers frequently face the possibility of being threatened and attacked. Till today, thousands of our readers have been taken under arrest and have been tortured. Press freedom and liberty of speech isn't valid even for readers. They are regarded as "dangerous", even as "terrorists", and are treated so.

In our country the sale and distribution of socialist reviews is hindered by any means: censorship, raids and sometimes indirectly. For example, our review is never exposed in sight at the newsstands, which are supposed to display any kind of newspaper and magazine. Almost all newsstands are warned not to display our review, and are being threatened. Everything is done in order to prevent the review from being sold and reachable to people.

In our country, publishing a socialist review is extremely difficult since it has to overcome many obstacles. It is carried out under severe circumstances.





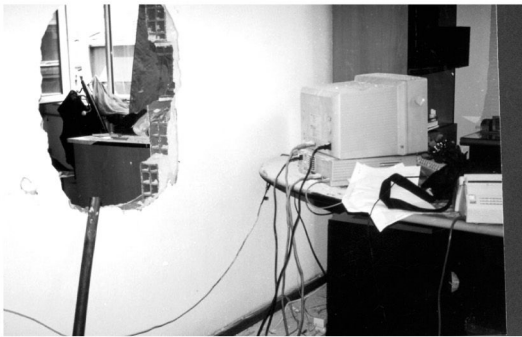
Everyone, from the editors to the distributors, is threatened. The reviews are confiscated at the exit of printing house. The vehicles carrying reviews are stopped. Practices, which are beyond belief for many of you, are common practice in Turkey.

In the struggle for a better life, we face "Anti-Terrorism" prohibitions, high fines, long sentences against the press (especially the socialist press): all these are obstacles that we know we must overcome. Freedom of press seems to be something absolutely abstract. In practice this freedom is never being respected, you simply cannot take advantage of it. There are times that the half of the pages of your review cannot be published, because they have been censored. Our reviews are seized. Before the review comes out from the press (before the review itself can reach the public prosecutor who is responsible for the censorship) the review is seized illegally. Fascism ignores its own law. They don't even wait for the public prosecutor. Instead of him, the police takes the decision to censor and applies it.

In our country, the price we have to pay, when publishing socialist reviews, is extremely high. The

people, who cannot accept the risks, also cannot struggle. Being an employee, review representative, even a review reader requires accepting the risk of being tortured, arrested, imprisoned, or even killed!

Our review is representative of a political 'area' which has been continuously struggling for the last 20 years. With honor and pride. It is a review that has paid these prices, and despite the difficulties has remained standing and fighting. Our aim is to reveal the truth to our people, no matter the conditions. We want to organize people



according to the ideas and ideology that we represent and defend. The only way to achieve this goal is through organizing and being organized. Our review aims to spread the call for struggle against imperialism, fascism. Our call is addressed to all people, to the whole world. In order to fight for independence and

socialism, we must accept the high price of the struggle. We, as the review "March", have stood up to the needs of the revolutionary struggle. Even though our name has to change oftenly, we will march towards with the same determination, belief, pride and excitement. Until our country obtains its independence.



# OUR SONGS WILL WIN

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## IDIL CULTURAL CENTRE

When we started our activities in art and cultural area in 1985, we began to carry out our works in Ortaköy Cultural Centre. We changed the name of Ortaköy cultural Centre as Idil cultural Centre later on. The reason for this is the death of a worker of our cultural centre at Death Fast. In 1996, Idil in the prison she was jailed, by making death fast for the closure of cell type prisons became the first women in the world died as a result of death fast, we gave her name to our cultural centre.

## OUR IDEOLOGY

We are the ones that defend an alternative culture against imperialist, degenerate culture that the system wants to spread, got our share from dominants' attacks and going on to get. Capitalism is not only exploiting, but also consuming the good

values of people. Because the system that it wants to keep alive requires this. To be able to spread individualistic-egoistic culture, it must destroy all the values that make people social.

We are giving the struggle of forming the culture of future, beside the protection of values that are to be destroyed in art and culture area. In line with this, we are as the followers of struggle that began at the end of 60s, are experiencing the dimensional attacks of the system beside a right honor.

We do not consider the struggle against fascist and cultural attacks of imperialism as a hobby that is performed in definite hours of the day, but consider as a part of the revolutionary struggle, we are performing organized art. We are carrying out activities in several areas; choir and course activities are proceeding with them. Our artists put meaning across to young people.





Choir of Group Yorum is composed of 80-100 students every year. We are lecturing musical note, solfege, singing, at the same time the historical evolution of music to the students that do not have music knowledge but wants to work on music.

Choir of Kids is a choir composed of children that want to work on music but cannot get an education of music because of economical difficulties. We are teaching singing, playing an instrument, musical notes. Musical genius children are not only composed of children of bourgeois, there can be very successful musicians from children of poor, but they do not have a chance to get education. We are giving an education to the ones we can reach by providing such an opportunity to children of public

In our country the rate of theat attending is very low, high prices of tickets and the existence of the same repertoire during long years has been decreased the attention to theatre. In order to endear theatre to public, to give message to masses, we carried the theatre to the streets. We played at bazaars, strikes of workers-civil servants, queues of bread, streets, schools and scenes of theatre.

At the films we filmed and published, we used the subjects like migration, massacres in prisons,

losts in arrestments and thousands of VCD has reached to people in Turkey and abroad. We have worked on the losts in arrestments with the first film we published "Boran" and Group Yorum has prepared the music.

It is a reality that isolation is not local, and applied in order to receive and eradicate revolutionary people. The massacre in Ulucanlar Prison in 1999 has become the subject of the film called "Real Story".

#### **TAVIR MAGAZINE**

We are performing the art of common people with the poems, stories, articles, interviews, debates of art, writings of theatre and movie that we publish in Tavir Magazine. We are making this publication against the degenerate, reactionary and populist magazines.

We began to publish our magazine in 1980, monthly published Tavir Magazine was forbidden after the sovereignty of fascist junta at September 12, 1980. But after 10 years, we again began to publish our magazine in 1990.

We are performing socialist art against the degenerate ideology that capitalism spread and the art nurtured by this. Our publication principles is composed of the culture of the

public, not popular culture and glorious life of bourgeois. We are performing the art of public, opening the pages of our magazine to the ones who perform art on behalf of public.

The repression and prohibition on us has never declined, our workers were put under house arrest, jailed, fined.

An example about the repression on our magazine is very striking: Our magazine dated September 2002 was collected because of the poem of Pablo Neruda called "songs to the mothers whose children have died" and we were sued with the claim that "propagand of terrorist organization" and sentenced to fine. The case about Neruda has fallen because of the death of poet.

### GROUP YORUM

A short history of the music group that experienced the biggest repression in the world.

We as Group Yorum have used all the subjects in our songs that interest our people from work to affection, from repression and prohibition to resistance during 20 years. 'Cause we were living and sharing with them. Our roots were within them. We defended hope, struggle, resistance against fatalism, quietness imposed. We defended collectivism against individualism, being organized against unorganized. We connected the liberation of work to the liberation of art. We became principled and without concession in our artistic works and life in 20 years. Despite of the difficulties we faced, we sang on the way we believe by not making concession from our political thoughts, we are not scared to defend what we know as correct in every condition. After September 12, we broke new ground from singing Kurdish songs as being the first to the occupation of a building of a party for our rights.

They wanted to keep us silent for 20 years. Our album "Sacrifice" presented in September 5, 2001 was forbidden one month after it appeared by Ministry of culture.

Our group is wanted to be kept silent and dispersed by prohibition of concerts, house raids, arrestments and conspiracy for several times during our music life. We were worried about the arrestment of one of our member at the same day when we were rejoicing the release of our member. We were at the first line in a secret document prepared by National Safety Council that involves the artists who should be kept silent.

### REPRESSIONS ON US

On July 9, 1989, the concert that is organized by a union called Mersin Likat-IS and will take place in Open Air Theatre was forbidden one hour before the concert. We were put under house arrest when we were protesting prohibition by singing with the audience that came for the concert and put to Mersin Prison by arresting. We were released at the first trial after two months of imprisonment. Minister of culture, Fikri Sağlar, Danish music group Savage Rose, a delegation from Association of Authors of Greece followed the trial.

In January 1994, 20 months imprisonment penalty became final that Izmir State Security Court sentenced our two friends because of concert in Denizli in 1992. Our friend who was abroad that time could not return, the other one was put under house arrest in Edirne on January 5, arrested on January 15 and kept imprisoned nearly 1.5 years in Edirne, Kesan, Corlu.

At 1996, July 20, two of our members was put under house arrest after the fire by police when the works of our album called "Marşlarımız" continuing and by raiding their houses. House arrest lasted 14 days, both of them arrested. Nearly 3 months later in September 13, they were released although they were judging for 12.5 years of imprisonment. This trial was resulted and our members were sentenced to 3 years 9 months of imprisonment.

On August 22, 1998, we gave a concert at Fair of Izmir. Nearly 2500 people has watched the concert. After the concert, one of our members was arrested because of 6 months imprisonment penalty that was given as a result of a speech made in Denizli in 1994 and put to Kocaeli Prison.

In 1999, four of our members were sentenced to 3 years 9 months imprisonment by Istanbul State Security Court.

On January 22, 2004, member of our group Ihsan Cibelek was arrested in Ankara and sent to Sincan F type Prison. He is still in F type prison.

On March 5, 2004, our group member Muharrem Cengiz, became a suspect in Istanbul State Security Court when he attended as a sworn witness. He was put under house arrest, after two days house arrest was again sent to Istanbul State Security Court as a suspect and put to Tekirdag F type prison by arresting.

On April 1, 2004, five of our friends were put under house arrest after the raid of Idil cultural Centre. One of our members was arrested after four days of house arrest.