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## MARTIAL LAW IN TURKEY:

### A MEASURE TO STOP THE FASCIST ESCALADE OR A STEP TOWARDS MILITARY RULE?

ANKARA (ITA) - Unable to bring under control bloody fighting in south eastern Turkey, the Ecevit Government had to call in the military and martial law was declared in 13 provinces of Turkey.

The decision came after the Kahramanmaraş Massacre claimed at least 107 lives.

Martial law, in effect in the major urban centers of Ankara and Istanbul and 11 "sensitive" eastern provinces, generally means curfew if necessary, press censorship, a lid on labor strikes, mass rallies and marches, establishment of military courts to try "crimes against the state", relaxation of legal restrictions on search of premises and persons and detaining of suspects for as long as a week without bringing them to court.

The decision came from a leader, social-democrat Premier Bülent Ecevit, who appeared painfully aware that the move ran against all his professed political beliefs.

The Turkish press reported that the military leaders had wanted their "authority" exactly spelled out when Ecevit requested more troops to restore law and order in devastated Kahramanmaraş, then martial law became inevitable.

Some heavy opposition was reported in the Republican People's Party (CHP) Parliamentary Group against martial law.

Addressing his party's parliamentary group Ecevit conceded the contradiction in his latest decision and former stand.

He linked the incidents in Kahramanmaraş to a "direct insurrection against the state", an extraordinary situation which demanded extraordinary measures. Civilian security forces were insufficient in numbers, equipment and training to deal with such a serious development, but there was a question of ./.

"authority" if large number of troops were moved in without a formal declaration of martial law, he explained.

Under Turkish Constitution, martial law can be proclaimed for two months at a time and the ratification of the Parliament is needed at the beginning as well as for each extension later on.

### Provocations for the proclamation of martial law

In fact, the massacre in Kahramanmaraş has been the latest link of the chain of bloody provocations carried on by the fascist circles with the purpose of forcing the government to proclaim martial law. Without naming, Ecevit blamed those who had been "indoctrinating and training Turkish youths for genocide and provoking sectarian rivalries". This was interpreted as a veiled reference to the Nationalist Action Party, neo-fascist party of Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkeş, which is held responsible for organizing and arming rightist "Grey Wolves" commando units in Turkey's bloody political warfare.

The events developed in Kahramanmaraş as an ostensibly sectarian conflict between the Alevite (Shiite) and Sunnite Moslems, with the rightist Sunnites reportedly in the role of the aggressors.

Civil disorder was sparked by the murder of two left-wing teachers by unidentified gunmen. During the funeral of two teachers, right-wing groups attacked the prayers at the town mosque by chanting "Moslem Turkey" and "death to the communists!", murdered three more persons and wounded 39.

Saturday, 23 December 1978, despite an indefinite curfew clamped on the city, rightist mobs, estimated a couple thousand, began roaming the town, burning and ransacking progressive party buildings, shops and houses.

Most of the victims were killed with long-range rifles or two-sided swords. The aggressors attacked also on the state hospital, ambulances carrying wounded people. Even the car of Health Minister Mete Tan came under the attack.

Press reports said many members of the rioting mobs were masked and led by Yusuf Özbaş, deputy of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party; the "Grey Wolves" instigated the Sunnite people to kill the Alevites and the leftists.

It is also significant that Ex-general Faik Türün, deputy of the Justice Party and one of the former chiefs of the sinister Counter-Guerrilla Department had visited this area one week earlier.

Before and during the incidents, Ex-colonel Türkeş and former Premier Demirel had insistently demanded the proclamation of martial law and overthrowing the Ecevit Government until the end of 1978.

### 30 out of 70 years under martial law

The proclamation of martial law has always been one of the most efficient ways of suspending the democratic rights and liberties and of giving the bourgeoisie and right-wing forces possibility of enjoying a regime against the working class and progressive forces.

Indeed, since the 1908 bourgeois revolution, 30 out of 70 years have passed under the martial law regime:

<u>YEARS</u>	<u>DURATION</u>		<u>PRETEXT OF THE MARTIAL LAW</u>
1909-1912	3 years	2 months 2 days	Religious insurrection
1912		42 days	Anti-government activities
1912-1919	7 years	17 days	Balkan and 1st World Wars
1920-1922	2 years	6 months 19 days	Imposed by the Occupation forces
1925-1927	2 years	8 months 26 days	Rising in Eastern Anatolia
1940-1948	7 years	1 month 11 days	2nd World War
1955-1956		8 months	Anti-Greek riots in Istanbul
1960-1961	1 year	7 months 2 days	military coup d'état
1963-1964	1 year	1 month 28 days	military insurrection
1970		3 months	Workers' resistance
1971-1973	2 years	3 months	military intervention
1974-1975	1 year	11 days	Cyprus operation

During all these periods of martial law, only the progressive forces had gone under repression, socialist organisations and publications had been banned, thousands of progressive people had been arrested, tortured, tried and condemned for the sake of "establishing law and order". The latest example of this practice was the martial law proclaimed just after the military intervention of 12th March 1971.

Hoping that the same would happen again this time, Ex-colonel Türkeş was not satisfied with the proclamation of martial law only in 13 provinces and called for the same military order in 7 more provinces which he sees as "leftist strongholds".

But after the proclamation of martial law, Prime Minister Ecevit indicated that this emergency period would be different from those in the past. As a first step, Ecevit set up a Martial Law Coordination Command at the Prime Ministry with the purpose of providing cooperation and coordination among martial law commands. In order to keep martial law commanders under political control, the Premier would meet daily with the Chief of Staff, Gen. Kenan Evren, and Gen. Şahap Yardımcıoğlu, Head of the Martial Law Coordination Command, to review martial law operations. Once a week, on Mondays, this meeting would be enlarged to include key cabinet members and other military leaders.

Besides, the military judges who had tried and condemned the progressive people during the 12th March period were not appointed to the military tribunals of the new martial law regime.

#### Neo-fascist party attacks on the government and provokes the military

It has been evident that Ecevit intended to prevent involvement of martial law administrations in purely civilian affairs. The Premier does not favor restrictive measures, such as night curfews, unless clearly dictated by necessity.

This apparent policy immediately came under attack by the neo-fascist party and other right-wing political groups which had hoped that the military would control everything. Ex-colonel Türkeş accused the Ecevit Government of intervening in military affairs. Süleyman Demirel, leader of the main opposition Justice Party, too tried to provoke the military by declaring "if the Prime Minister intends to run the martial law operations personally, he will soon be stalemated. Our trust is not placed in this government but in our armed forces. Ecevit should let the generals 'who are experienced' run the show".

Despite these attacks, martial law commanders have accepted for the time-being to operate under the supervision of the Prime Minister.

But martial law commands, within first three weeks, have not taken effective measures against the fascist forces who provoked and perpetrated political violence in Turkey. Although 219 persons have been arrested in Kahramanmaraş for having participated in the massacre operation, many "Grey Wolves" are still at large.

On the contrary, some repressive measures have been taken against the left-wing elements:

On December 28, 1978, 32 leftist persons were taken into custody in Istanbul.

On January 15, 1979, Martial Law Command of Istanbul banned the publication of four leftist reviews, Kurtuluş, Halkın Kurtuluşu, Halkın Yolu and Halkın Birliği.

Same day, the Turkish Radio-Television News Department Chief Teoman Karahun and reporters Selim Esen and Ali Karca were detained for not having made public a martial law announcement.

In Adana, two progressive associations, Cultural Club of Karsiyaka and People's Club of Independence were closed down by the martial law command.

On January 17, 1979, two progressive youths, Dursun Işık and Hasan Bölükbaşı were tried before the military court of Istanbul Martial Law Command.

Furthermore, the Martial Law Command in eastern Turkish provinces banned all political meetings and forbade any strike without prior permission.

Troubles within Ecevit's own party

Ecevit hailed as successful the implementation of martial law in 13 provinces, with "a gradual softening of the atmosphere and reduction in the number of political violence incidents".

But it is not possible to talk of a lasting peace in Turkey without eliminating the instigators of political violence such as the Counter-Guerilla Department and the Nationalist Action Party.

With the declaration of martial law, the position of the Counter-Guerilla Department is reinforced, because the big majority of the units commanders charged with establishing law and order in 13 provinces are generally the officers trained by this department.

As to the Nationalist Action Party, despite the indications that this martial law would be different than earlier ones, it insists on to enlarge the area included in martial law regime and provokes the military to act without taking into consideration the Prime Minister's orientations.

The supreme commanders of the Armed Forces, apparently obeying to the Prime Minister's orientations, lead in fact a "wait and see" policy. In order to say their last word, the military commanders follows prudently the developments in interior and foreign political relations.

Although the defeat of an opposition censure motion against the Government by 16 votes has indicated the "strong position" of the cabinet, in recent days Ecevit's own party, Republican People's party has been experiencing inner difficulties. Two key ministers, Minister of Interior İrfan Özyayınlı and Minister of Defense Hasan Esat Işık have resigned from these posts. Some new resignations are also expected. The position of 10 independent deputies who gave support to Ecevit for constituting the actual government is always the subject of speculations.

In the international arena, the degree of the foreign financial and economic aid to be obtained from western powers will also determine the fate of the government.

In the case of any governmental crisis, the military will assume without any doubt the role of arbiter. Since there is not any powerful parliamentary alternative to the actual government, this role of arbiter can lead to a military rule at least for a few years. Such a solution will find a strong support from the part of neo-fascist and conservative political circles.

Hence, the martial law proclaimed in Turkey seems as a step towards military rule more than as a measure to stop the fascist escalade. And by proclaiming the martial law, Mr. Ecevit has played with fire. (DG-19/1)

GREY WOLVES CHANGE THEIR TACTICS

ANKARA (ITA) - With the proclamation of martial law, the neo-fascist party has apparently attained one of its objectives. As provoking the military against the setting up of the Martial Law Coordination Command under the control of the Prime Minister, the Nationalist Action Party does its best in order to create the image of being helpful to the martial law commands.

As a first step, the Idealists Clubs, side-organisations of the neo-fascist party, declared that they had suspended their activities with the purpose of facilitating the implementation of martial law.

In fact, this is a new manoeuvre to avoid any danger of being closed down by the martial law commands. The evidences about the criminal acts about the Grey Wolves are so abundant that it would be very difficult for any martial law tribunal to keep the Idealists Clubs open.

On the other hand, the identified ones of Grey Wolves who were involved in terrorist acts flee the country and take refuge in Cyprus or in European countries. The possibilities for fleeing the country are provided by the Counter-Guerilla Department of the Turkish Armed Forces' General Staff HQ.

The juridical assistance for obtaining the right to stay as political refugee in the Federal Republic of Germany is provided by some extreme-right minded German lawyers.

According to a Turkish daily newspaper, two of these lawyers are Werner Beckmann and H. Haun Volker in Hannover. Any Grey Wolf having succeeded to escape from Turkey is welcomed first by the local Idealists' Club in FRG, then his case is handed over to these lawyers.

The police administration of Hannover declared that in recent months 150 persons of Turkish nationality had demanded political asylum.

As to the Nationalist Action Party itself, there are numerous evidences for closing down this neo-fascist organisation.

First of all, the Grey Wolves taken into custody by the police have stated that they had perpetrated political assassination on the orders coming from their superiors in the party.

A recent example:

Just after the Kahramanmaraş riots, in order to escape from the responsibility of the massacre, the neo-fascist party leaders claimed that the incidents were provoked by the leftist who "placed a bomb in a theater where an anti-communist film was being projected".

But on January 16, 1979, a Grey Wolf, Ökkeş Kengör who was arrested for having participated in the riots admitted that the bomb had been placed in the cinema by himself and his fellows in order to instigate the Sunnite people against the leftists and Alevites.

On the other hand, the Head-Prosecutor of the Republic has initiated an investigation on the Nationalist Action Party's declaration dated October 2, 1978. In this declaration, the party's administrative board called for military rule and for setting up state security courts to cope with "anarchists". The statement said: "This country cannot head for elections under the rule of the actual government. It is impossible to keep this government in power. The responsibility should be handed over to the military".

In accordance with the 2nd paragraph of article 111 of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic, any party which pursues objectives contrary to the principle of pluralist democratic regime can be closed down by the Court of Constitution.

The acts and statements of the Nationalist Action Party are completely in contradiction with this principle and all democratic forces ask the supreme judges to fulfil the task which the Constitution designs for them; To close down the Nationalist Action Party, political organisation of Grey Wolves.

(G-H-A-DG-16/1)

#### DESPITE THE MARTIAL LAW, POLITICAL VIOLENCE GOES ON

ANKARA (ITA) - The number of the victims of political violence in Turkey has reached a record level at the end of last year because of the Kahramanmaraş Massacre. The bloody incidents of last one month claimed 240 lives throughout Turkey, including 107 victims of Kahramanmaraş riots. So the number of terror victims since the formation of Ecevit Government rose to 978.

Below is the list of 113 assassinations apart from those in Kahramanmaraş:

- DEC 5: Istanbul - an unidentified person
- DEC 7: In Adana - leftist Selahattin Erkan
- DEC 11: In Ankara - leftist Hüseyin Polat and Mehmet Çelik, rightist Hüseyin Gönül and Kemal Demir; In Adana - Halil Erdogan, İsrail Arıkan, Yusuf Aladı; In Kayseri - Attila Kaytanca; In Gaziantep - Muammer Oguz.
- DEC 12: In Diyarbakır - university general secretary Erol Cengiz; In Istanbul - rightist Günay Akdag, leftist Niyazi Ekinci and Yusuf Dogan;

- In Göle (Kars) - leftist Mahir Can; In Elazığ - Mrs. Şadiye Koç and leftist student Nurettin Güler.
- DEC 13: In İstanbul - leftist student Ali Yılmaz; In Elazığ - Necdet Tuna
- DEC 14: In İstanbul - student Murat Yıldırım, student Mustafa Şişman, student Mehmet Tepe, 4-year old girl Nilüfer Gürban; In Adana - Arif Çelik and Ramzan Kaya; In Viranşehir (Urfa) - Republican People's Party's local chairman Ali Güranlıoğlu and Hüseyin Pek, Mahmut Kurşun, Sinan Durun.
- DEC 15: In İstanbul - trade union representative Adem Toygan and unidentified beggar; In Ankara - rightist Murat Oğuz.
- DEC 16: In Kars - Ekrem Akbaba; In Ardahan - 16 year-old Ali Daydar; In Artvin - local Justice Party official Selim Dede; In İstanbul - Kadir Top.
- DEC 17: In Adana - worker Hasan Işık; In Bingöl - Kazım Artukaslan; In İstanbul - student Kemalettin Er and another 19-year old youth.
- DEC 18: In Adana - Cooperatives Union Director Akın Özdemir; In İstanbul - student Asaf Tunç; In Karabük - leftist youth Halil Köprü.
- DEC 19: In Muş - primary school principal Ali Algün and driver Fuat Turgut; In Urfa - driver Celal Kılıç; In Malatya - Nationalist Action Party district chairman Alihan Durmuş; In Diyarbakır - primary school teacher Mehmet Çakmak; In Ankara - student Mustafa Ekinci; In Adana - the Workers' Party of Turkey member M. Ali Alibeyoğlu, grocer Turgay Subaşı and an unidentified student.
- DEC 20: In İstanbul - an unidentified man; In Malatya - leftist taxi-driver Şahverdi Altıparmak and another driver Mehmet Dal, teacher Mustafa Ding; In Gaziantep - student Mehmet Aybek; In Söke - watchman Gazi Yılmaz; In İstanbul - milkman Abdullah Can and grocer Ömer Bakırdöven
- DEC 21: In Gümüşhane - Yaşar Nasuhbeyoğlu; In Diyarbakır - leftist İbrahim Yoldaş; In Ankara - Mehmet Kaplan; In Adana - worker Osman Arıca; In İstanbul - ship's steward Mehmet Mamuş, Veli Öztür and an unidentified youth; In Kahramanmaraş - leftist teachers Hacı Çolak and Mehmet Yızbacıoğlu.
- DEC 22: In Adana - student Osman Sinan; In Elbistan - former senator of the Republican People's Party, Hilmi Soydan; In Ankara - messenger Halil Gürbüz and waiter Cavit Aydın; In Malatya - leftist driver Bülent Gül
- DEC 23: In Kırıkkale - Vedat Arıkan; In Kadirli - Vedat Metullahoğlu; In Adana - shopkeeper Bayram Derin.
- DEC 24: In Suruç - notary Samil Yigitözlü; In İstanbul - chemist Nevin Tiryaki; In Ankara - leftist printer Cengizhan Güllagaçoğlu; In Gaziantep - rightist worker Ökkeş Nuri Bozkurt and a student.
- DEC 25: In İstanbul - waiter Adil; In Adana - 15-year old Şenol Cirit, 16-year old Ahmet Tanrıtanır, Hasan Koç and Mehmet Metullahoğlu; In Kadirli - dentist Vedat Güvenoğlu and teacher Mustafa Har; In Kayseri - leftist worker Mehmet Maraşlı; In Diyarbakır - retired sergeant Erdal Eren; In Silvan - watchman Alaaddin Orak; In Urfa - Emine Güvenç; In Tarsus - rightist Ali Düzenli and İskender Özkul
- DEC 26: In İstanbul - 40-year old Mehmet Acar, a person named Mustafa, a youth named Sedat Kurban; In Antakya - student Sühan Özveren; In Diyarbakır - teacher Mehmet Sümbül.
- DEC 27: In Nevşehir - Cengiz Ünal; In Tarsus - driver Cahsin Karpuzoğlu; In Trabzon - rightist Kemal Kup
- DEC 28: In Adana - deputy prosecutor Süreyya Altınominsoy; In Trabzon - Mete Vural
- DEC 29: In İstanbul - rightist İlyas Emiroğlu
- DEC 30: In İstanbul - Republican People's Party member İsmail Hakkı Nişoğlu
- DEC 31: In Gaziantep - worker Memiş Taş
- JAN 1: In Adana - İskender Özkul; In Bandırma - judge Mete Aksoy
- JAN 3: In Kırşehir - student Metin Akkoç; In Trabzon - rightist V. Aslankaya; In Diyarbakır - rightist student İsmail Öksüz
- JAN 4: In Erzincan - Ali Horoz
- JAN 7: In Vezirköprü (Samsun) - leftist Ali Koşan

- JAN 11: In Adana - teacher Yavuz Özkaya; In İstanbul - an unidentified youth
- JAN 12: In Vezirköprü - Justice Party member Muhammed Diri
- JAN 15: In Tarsus - Mrs. Hayriye Targan, wife of the local chairman of the Workers' Party of Turkey; In İstanbul - an unidentified person; In Trabzon - rightist Raşit Gündüz.
- JAN 16: In İstanbul - rightist student Murat Şahbaz; In Trabzon - university student Ahmet Çebi; In Uşak - Mrs. Hatice Vural and his son Cemil Vural.
- JAN 17: In İstanbul - leftist Turgay Cilanbol, university student Erdoğan Yandal, teacher Kazım Uçkan and Kerim Çevik; In Ankara - worker Hasan Demircioğlu and progressive youth Bahri Gülpinar.

#### PREMIER ECEVIT HOPEFUL ON WESTERN AID

ANKARA (ITA) - Premier Minister Bülent Ecevit declared on January 16, 1979 that Turkey had come to a "hopeful phase" in the way of obtaining urgently needed economic aid from its western allies.

Ecevit's statement came in the wake of a visit to Turkey by US Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher. During the visit Mr. Christopher relayed to Mr. Ecevit an agreement in principle among the leaders of four western nations, Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, to come to Turkey's aid.

The amount and form of such possible assistance were worked out in technical level meetings in Bonn on January 19, 1979.

Ecevit said his one-year-old government had obtained 650 million dollars fresh credit in 1978 in addition to realizing one of the biggest debt re-schedulement programs ever undertaken.

Turkey, suffering from chronic balance of payments deficit and burdened with at least 15 billion dollars in foreign debts, has negotiated a 1,5 billion dollar debt postponement agreement with OECD countries and is still working on a similar restructuring, to the tune of three billion dollars, with 227 foreign banks.

But all of these creditors ask Turkey to accept the conditions set up by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which stipulates a new devaluation about 40 percent, a restriction of public expenses and rising the prices of the products of public enterprises. The Fund asks also curbs on wages and consumption in Turkey.

There are also newspaper report that western economic relief was tied to Turkish concessions on the Aegean sea oil rights dispute with Greece or on Cyprus. The Premier denied this report and said: "The political will to help Turkey evolved because of his government's success in explaining Turkey's geopolitical importance in the world to its allies".

The diplomatic observers stressed also that after the recent developments in Iran, the geopolitical importance of Turkey in the Middle East has become greater than ever.

There are also news reports claiming some sensitive US intelligence posts in Iran would be removed to Turkey. Four key US intelligence gathering stations in Turkey were already reopened recently, following the congressional repeal of an American arms embargo on Turkey last August.

Turkish-American negotiations, aimed at hammering out a new defense co-operation pact and a permanent status for the bases were started on January 18, 1979 in Ankara.

The United States insist on obtaining a permanent status for the bases before October 1979. The observers say that western economic relief is tied also to the Turkish attitude on the US bases question. (C-DN-DG-19/1)

THE WORKING CLASS OF TURKEY AGAINST THE MARTIAL LAW

ANKARA (ITA) - The proclamation of martial law in Turkey has provoked a great reaction from the part of the working class organisations and of other democratic forces.

The Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) criticizing the Ecevit Government for not being able to halt the escalation of fascist terror through democratic means declared:

"For the time-being the most important question is under what kind of a power the martial law will be implemented. The fascist forces look for turning the illegal terror into legal terror through the martial law. It should not be forgotten that the martial law commands are tied to the authority of the government. Whatever they do, only the government will be responsible of them. The government can never escape from the responsibility of what the martial law commands do. The responsibility of this government is on the shoulders of the Republican People's Party and its chairman Ecevit. As long as the government works for democracy and for the people, all patriotic, democratic, progressive and left forces will give it their support."

The TIP, on the other hand, calls on all political, professional organisations and trade unions to defend the liberties and democratic rights without falling in any provocation and by refusing any kind of adventurism.

The Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) too criticized the government of proclaiming martial law and called on all democratic forces to defend the democratic process.

Besides, about 1 million workers left the work for 5 minutes all over Turkey with the purpose of manifesting their homage to the victims of the massacre in Kahramanmaraş.

(C-F-Y-DG-15/1)

MAN-POWER TRAFFIC BETWEEN TURKEY AND BELGIUM

BRUSSELS (ITA) - In the course of a press conference on December 21, 1978, the Cultural Center of Turkish Workers in Belgium (TIKM) made public that a man-power traffic between Turkey and Belgium is carried out by the coal-mines administrations and it is tolerated by the Belgian and Turkish authorities.

Five Turkish miners lodged a complaint to the Prosecutor of the King against Mr. Zeki Agirer, interpreter of Winterslag Coal-Mines. The TIKM claimed that the man-power traffic is exercised in the region of Winterslag by this interpreter.

The Turkish workers holding the press conference said:

"According to the latest statistics, there are about 65.000 Turkish migrant workers in Belgium of which about 25.000 are in the region of coal-mines.

"The direction of the Winterslag coal-mines employs Zeki Agirer as interpreter. This person had already been arrested in 1967 for man-power traffic. Apart from this function, Agirer is also the patron of many coffee-houses, restaurants in this region. While exercising this kind of commerce, he exploits also the religious sentiments of the Turkish workers and, as the president of a local association of Turkish workers, collects donation without receipt in order to have constructed a mosque.

"This person gets a sum up to 50.000 BF as bribe from any Turkish worker who applied in order to work at mines. If the worker refuses to pay this bribe, the interpreter can have him expelled from Belgium thanks to his collaboration with some officers of the Foreigners Police. The Turkish Consulates also tolerate his illegal activities, because he welcomes them very often to his coffee-houses and restaurants, and furnishes them with information about the workers' tendencies and breaks strikes if necessary.



"Our aim is clear. Due to the fact that it has never applied a true immigration policy, the public power bears the main responsibility of this man-power traffic. The coal-mines administration is also responsible, because all interpreters are employed by it. They are employed also for the purpose of breaking the strikes and of getting information about workers' activities.

"The Turkish authorities which are trying to keep Turkish workers under control through pseudo-cultural organisations created by their functionaries legitimate these practices.

"The immigrant workers of Turkey in Limbourg region say: "That is enough. We came here to sell the sweat of our brows, not to sell our human dignity!"

"Then, we claim:

" - that the coal-mines administration, the principal responsible of this traffic, put an end to this practice by accepting the interpreters be elected by the workers,

" - that the Belgian authorities, instead of closing their eyes before this kind of practice, must put into practice a true immigration policy,

" - that the Turkish authorities take a clear position against these actions."

(TIKM-DG-1/1)

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