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SINISTER ROLE OF THE COUNTER-GUERILLA ORGANIZATION AND THE SUI-GENERIS FINANCE-HOLDING OF THE TURKISH ARMY

ANKARA (IYA) - The issue of the covert activities of an illegal setup popularly called Counter-guerilla has become focus of attention in recent days due to the continuation of political terror and because a daily newspaper was confiscated for having published some documents about this organization.

Counter-guerilla is directed by the Special War Department of the Turkish Armed Forces. The apparent aim of this organization is setting up of resistance forces in case of "uprising" or foreign aggression. But the application and training directives show that the organization could function against the domestic movements of social awakening, and that the main aim may even be this.

In various written official regulations "uprising" is defined as "political and social opposition against the established order in the country" and it is mentioned that this should not be tolerated.

According to ex-military judge Mr. Emin Deger who has also published a book on this subject, there is a close connection between the Counter-guerilla and the USA. It is in the US that organizes the training. The American Military Assistance Mission and the Turkish Special War Department are in the same building in Ankara. The training of the officers of the department are carried out in the US. The reading material is published by the CIA.

According to the views expressed in the official documents, "the social development in its natural trend will lead to the inevitable result. Thus it is necessary to infiltrate the ranks of social opposition and through the activities of provocateurs lead opposition towards terrorism and end up in military take-over."

Also a relation between Counter-guerilla and right-wing "Gray Wolves" commando movement is revealed by the similarity in the process of their training and the comments of neo-fascist MHP leader, ex-colonel Alpaslan Türkeş.

Ecevit and the private sector praise the Army

Although the government program involved comments on the abolition of illegal activities of intelligence agencies, Prime Minister Ecevit has recently preferred to ignore the sinister role of Counter-guerilla in the political terror, even gone so far to deny the existence of such an organization. (See: BULLETIN, February 1978).

Instead of stopping illegal activities of this organization, Ecevit, in his speech to the Supreme Military Council, lauded the Armed Forces for strengthening Turkish democracy and assisting the national economy through the current bottle-neck.

Ecevit praised the top military officials for "grasping the link between global respect to Turkey with the strength of Turkish democracy, and the link between a strong economy and a strong defense structure," and claimed "this is a major factor for us to look into the future with hope".

It is evident that Ecevit, ignoring his earlier accusations against Counter-guerilla organization and praising the Armed Forces, tries to avoid any open conflict with the Armed Forces and believes that he can convince them to give up illegal activities and to take place within the ranks of democratic forces.

But it is not only the prime minister who praises the Armed Forces and looks into the future with hope, but also the top capitalists of Turkey. With the purpose of manifesting their admiration for the Armed Forces they opened a donation campaign for contribution to the "National War Industry" and formed an "Honorary Assistance Committee" within the body of the Land Forces Strengthening Fund. Chairmen of the Turkish Confederation of Employers Unions, the Turkish Union of Industrialists and Businessmen, the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, the Istanbul Chamber of Industry too took place in this committee.

The capitalist class sees the Armed Forces as the sole alternative to Ecevit's government. For this reason it appreciates also the maintaining of Counter-guerilla who will crack down on left opposition in case of a military intervention. This was already proved during the 12th March military regime.

The capitalists have a great confidence in the army officers since they too turned capitalist with the creation of the sui-generis OYAK Holding.

OYAK, this senseless word in Turkish language, represents the abbreviation of "Ordu Yardimlasma Kurumu" (Armed Forces Mutual Aid Fund). Although originally formed as a mutual aid fund, it was later turned one of the top finance-holdings of Turkey. It has investments in 14 factories, employs about 10 thousand workers, collaborates with foreign capital in three sector and holds the first rank in the automobile industry of Turkey.

From anti-imperialist position to collaboration with foreign capital

Since the days of collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Armed Forces was always one of the principal motive forces of the Turkish society. For example, progressive "Young Turks" Movement in 19th Century found its most ardent supporters among the young army officers. This was due to the fact that the army officers represented an important section of the well-educated elite of the population and that they considered the "sick-man" position of Ottoman Empire as a shame for traditionally conqueror Turkish Army. Their primary concern was to strengthen the state and to prevent territorial losses. This concern led them to an anti-imperialist attitude on the one hand, and on the other to a bourgeois-revolutionary stand.

The bourgeois revolution of 1908 (Mesrutiyet), the National Independence War (1919-1922) and the proclamation of the Republic all have been led by the army officers.

Although the main burden of the National Independence War was on the shoulders of workers and peasants, the military bureaucracy, with the purpose of granting all possibilities to the growing local bourgeoisie, took every measure to prevent the working class from gaining class conscience, organizing in political parties and trade-unions and being represented in Parliament. It is the alliance of the military bureaucracy and the rising local bourgeoisie

who made assassinated 15 leaders of the Communist Party of Turkey, outlawed this party and suppressed all trade-unions and democratic organizations. Besides, adopting a chauvinist ideology which was corresponding to the ambitions of the rising local bourgeoisie, the military bureaucrats put the Kurdish nationality of Turkey under national repression.

Dual character of the bourgeois progressiveness was always manifested in the course of the republican period of Turkey. While carrying on an anti-imperialist stand in order to safeguard the state's political sovereignty, the army officers, in the internal plan, kept always their concern to strengthen the local bourgeoisie at the expense of working masses.

After the Second World War, the big bourgeoisie who had grown up thanks to the support of the Armed Forces, found then a new powerful ally: the United States which intended to include Turkey and Greece in its military camp. On May 22, 1947, the Law of "Aid to Turkey and Greece" and on July 12, 1947, the Agreement on "Aids to Turkey" came into practice. Later the "Foreign Aid Law" of 1948 and the "Mutual Aid for Defence Law" turned the Turkish Armed Forces into mercenary army of 500.000 troops in charge with defending the US interests in the Middle East. And one more step in this way was the Turkish affiliation to the NATO Alliance in 1952.

Despite this formal dependence on the USA, for two reasons, some elements of the Turkish Armed Forces maintained a counter position against the US domination and the government of the collaborating bourgeoisie.

First, the big majority of army officers then had a poor peasant background and saw themselves close to the people. This position was strengthened also due to the unfaithfulness of the collaborating bourgeoisie who ignored the welfare of its former ally and even caused the army officers to be poorer than ever.

Second, about all of the army officers considered themselves as the sole guarantee for national independence and were discontent with the augmentation of US control on the Armed Forces.

Under these conditions that the Turkish Armed Forces, being encouraged by the popular mass resistance against the Democrat Party Government, realized the 27th May 1960 coup d'état and put into force a new Constitution guaranteeing human rights and fundamental liberties as well as some social security measures,

A Well-Planned Trap: OYAK

Although being very well aware of the preparations of the coup d'état, the USA did not make any intervention to prevent it. Because, if the Armed Forces had not intervened, the discontentment of the masses could lead to a real popular uprising. But just after the changement of power, the US advisors in Ankara imposed on the National Unity Committee (military junta) the project of this sui-generis OYAK.

Then this project seemed very innocent and it was impossible to notice the notorious trap behind it. In accordance with the law adopted by the NUC on 1st March 1961, the Armed Forces Mutual Aid Fund (OYAK) aimed some special activities such as supplying cheap consumer goods, providing credits with low interest-rates and constructing low-cost residences for army officers and NCO's who had materially suffered very much during the 10-year period of the Democrat Party power.

By the force of the law, all army officers and NCO's were obliged to be affiliated to the OYAK and to contribute 5% of their salaries, totalling up for all 20 million dollars a year. The fund was to be managed by an administrative board formed by army generals and officers elected among the commanding body of the Turkish Armed Forces. Once a year the representatives of military shareholders were to hold a meeting to verify the accounts, to determine the strategy and to decide how to use the incomes of the fund.

With the purpose of gaining some experience of managing a fund, at the beginning, they accepted the biggest capitalists of Turkey, Vehbi Koç and Nejat Eczacıbaşı, into the Administrative Board. But after having gained experience enough, the military members of the Board saw that the compulsory cotisations of army members had created enormous accumulation of capital. Then they decided to use this capital for profit-making investments in industry and

commerce, and excluded from the Administrative Board Koç and Ezacıbaşı, whom they considered as prospective rivals.

In fact, once having tasted the pleasure of playing with millions, members in uniform of the Administrative Board turned the Fund into a big finance-holding which controls fourteen joint-stock companies and started to seek the possibilities of collaborating with foreign capital.

Hence, the army officers and NCO's have spontaneously become capitalists in uniform. Besides, they were granted the privileges of buying the products of the OYAK, such as Renault cars, through monthly instalments with a very low interest-rate.

In order to have a clearer idea on OYAK, one must look at the statistical data concerning its investments:

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL INVESTMENTS OF THE OYAK

<u>Firms</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>OYAK's % in Capital</u>
OYAK - Investment and Holding Co. (Principal company controlling others)	13.500.000 dollars	100.00 %
OYAK-Renault Automobile Co.	16.700.000 dollars	42.00 %
TOE-Automotive Industries Co.	5.700.000 dollars	86.97 %
PETKIM-Petrochemicals Co.	100.000.000 dollars	9.33 %
Türkiye Petroleum Co.	135.500.000 dollars	3.86 %
Goodyear Tires Co.	5.400.000 dollars	23.00 %
Motor Vehicles Production Co.	10.000.000 dollars	99.98 %
Motor Vehicles Trade Co.	2.700.000 dollars	77.26 %
Çukurova Cement Industry Co.	4.140.000 dollars	48.39 %
Ünye Cement Industry Co.	8.400.000 dollars	45.20 %
Mardin Cement Industry Co.	11.700.000 dollars	48.22 %
Bolu Cement Industry Co.	8.400.000 dollars	30.05 %
Hektaş Trade Co.	2.000.000 dollars	39.66 %
OYAK-Insurance Co.	400.000 dollars	66.00 %
TUKAŞ-Turgutlu Canned Foods Co.	1.000.000 dollars	58.00 %

Furthermore, four of these 14 companies take place among the 100 top Turkish firms in 1975.

<u>RANKING</u>	<u>ANNUAL TURNOVER</u>	<u>ANNUAL PROFIT</u>	<u>EMPLOYMENT</u>
5. PETKIM-Petrochemicals Co.	143.000.000 ₺	21.400.000 ₺	2.693
6. OYAK-Renault Automobile Co.	142.200.000 ₺	470.000 ₺	2.688
36. Goodyear Tires Co.	38.000.000 ₺	1.740.000 ₺	920
40. TOE-Automotive Industries Co.	33.500.000 ₺	1.270.000 ₺	1.029

(Source: Economic Survey, Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association, Istanbul, April 1977)

Army officers' turning into capitalists in uniform has created an economic and social gap between them and the working masses. The growing contradiction has reflected during the mass strikes of industrial workers in June 15-16, 1970 and after the 12th March military intervention in 1971. The martial law regime practiced brutal pressures on the working class and all democratic forces for the sake of safeguarding the interests of finance-capital.

Contradictions between OYAK and other holdings

In spite of being a component part of big capital, in accordance with the laws of capitalism, OYAK too has faced inter-capitalists contradictions.

The main contradiction between OYAK and others appeared in the field of automotive industries. For the time being, three automotive companies compete with each other:

1. RENAULT owned by OYAK Holding,
2. MURAT, Turkish version of FIAT, owned by the Koç Holding,
3. ANADOL, owned again by the Koç Holding.

From 1975 on, RENAULT of OYAK has beaten others:

AUTO PRODUCTION IN TURKEY

Years	Total Production	Renault	Murat	Anadol
1971	13.000	12 %	59 %	29 %
1972	30.000	26 %	59 %	15 %
1973	47.000	32 %	53 %	15 %
1974	60.000	39 %	48 %	13 %
1975	67.000	46 %	44 %	10 %
1976	63.000	48 %	41 %	11 %

(Source: daily Vatan, Istanbul, October 8, 1977)

General Nazmi Yavuzalp, Chairman of Administrative Board of OYAK said that Renault automobile production capacity would be increased to 200.000 in 1985. He also said that OYAK would establish its own "bank" for purpose of improving "social" services and of widening and developing its investments.

This rapid development of OYAK has always been alarming for other finance-holdings such as Koç, Ezacıbaşı, Sabancı, etc.

This competition very often reflects on governmental decrees. In 1977, when the Ministry of Industry and Technology, under the pressure of Koç Holding, refused a demand to introduce new models of Renault cars, OYAK did not hesitate to blackmail the government by threatening to stop the production. Thereupon, the government, under the pressure of the military, had to cede and gave the permission.

Similar practices have been witnessed when Renault demanded permission to augment the prices of cars, and the one who gained at the end has always been OYAK.

Class positions of army officers

At the OYAK-Renault Automobile Factory alone work now 2.688 employees, but according to the annual report of 1976, the number of them would be increased to 3.325 soon. Taking into consideration the employees of other factories owned by OYAK, total number of labourers exploited by the military, reaches about 10 thousands.

So, the Armed Forces, not only as the means of repression of the dominating classes, but also as being itself a contingent of capitalist class, has taken a position against the working class of Turkey.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that all officers, without any exception, are the shareholders of OYAK and enjoy the facilities of obtaining cars cheaper than any citizen can do, respecting the partition of plus-value there are considerable differences between high-ranking officers and younger ones. Since the amount of share corresponds to the 5% of actual salary, the partition of profits too changes accordingly. But more important, in order to draw their shares of profit, army officers are obliged to wait until their retirements. So, for a lieutenant, a captain, even for a major, the shares of profit nominally accumulated on the books of OYAK do not have any significance in their daily life. On the contrary, for the high-ranking officers and generals, who are at the threshold of retirement, the profits of OYAK are rather important and this fact makes them involved in commercial and financial manoeuvres of OYAK Holding.

This difference between two generations of army officers influence also their acts both as a human-being and a member of the Armed Forces. The senior officers' assimilation to the capitalist class is easier than the younger ones'.

The confidence of the top capitalists is put rather on older generation who hold commanding posts of the Army. (DG-21/7)

POLITICAL TERROR HITS EVERYWHERE IN TURKEY

ANKARA (ITA) - On July 11, 1978, in the capital city of Turkey, Bedrettin Cömert, 37, fine arts associate professor from the Hacettepe University, and his Italian wife, Maria Agostina, were stopped by three unidentified gunmen riding a red Fiat car when they left their home on the way to work. The assailants emptied their guns into the Cömert's car, killing him and seriously injuring his wife.

The assassinated was also a renown art critic and translator of poetry and art books.

On this murder, Prime Minister Ecevit, himself a poet, denounced Cömert's killing as an inhuman murder "committed by robots of traitorous forces who aim to replace Turkey's democratic regime by a totalitarian one".

Although the killers were not identified, the ambush set for the Cömerts closely resembled tactics used in similar assassinations in the past by rightist terrorists in Turkey. Moreover, it is known that Cömert was currently serving on a committee investigating the operations of rightist terrorists at the University.

Ten days after the government launched a new "Security Program" including "crash courses" for police officials abroad, new weapons for police force, 20,000 gendarmes to help police at sensitive areas.

Despite new measures political terror continues without any interruption. Below are the victims of the political violence within last two months:

- JUNE 17: Yıldırım Atakan (Istanbul), Akif Bekiroglu (Kocaeli), Mustafa Baykal (Ankara).
- JUNE 20: Mehmet Polat (Adana)
- JUNE 21: Teacher Murtaza İçen (Malatya)
- JUNE 23: Ahmet Türkgenç (Istanbul), excolonel Cihangir Erdeniz (Istanbul)
- JUNE 24: Murat Tuncay (Istanbul), worker Osman Kandıroglu (Ankara)
- JUNE 26: Worker Ömer Kartal (Adana), Cemri Yürekli (Istanbul), Mehmet Altın (Düzce).
- JUNE 27: Sabri Kiran (Istanbul)
- JUNE 28: Teacher İclal Akin and student Özer Üstüntaş (Alaşehir)
- JUNE 29: Ersoy Yıldız (Adana), Erkan Başar (Istanbul), Davut Furhan (Samsun), Mehmet Evren (Konya)
- JUNE 30: Mehmet Ayık (Mersin), Hürcem Gürsoyrak (Ankara)
- JULY 1: Adnan Medeni (Silvan), Fatma Yıldırım (İzmit), Orhan Ahmet Uğgun (Ankara), worker Hüseyin Şingek (Gaziantep), Kerim Büyükkent (Antalya)
- JULY 3: Kenaladdin Öztürk (Ankara), Ali Güvercin (Adana), Nazmi Güneş (Ankara).
- JULY 4: Mustafa Öztürk (Ankara),
- JULY 5: Director of Education Institute Fahrettin Yılmaz, bank director Aydın Sönmez, coffee-keeper Harun Erol and worker Server Sönmez (Istanbul)
- JULY 6: Worker Satılmış Coşkun (Ankara), Salih Yakır (Istanbul).
- JULY 8: Tea her Cuma Ocaklı (Istanbul)
- JULY 11: İsmail Kandırcı (Ankara), Selin Gemici (Istanbul)
- JULY 13: 12 years old Selahattin Baylaz (Bitlis)
- JULY 14: Yüksel Yaşar (Elazığ).
- JULY 15: Bedri Akbaş (Elbistan), Battal Kılıçaslan (Ankara)
- JULY 16: Mehmet Günüşbaşı (Manisa)
- JULY 17: Yaşar Bayrak (Ankara)
- JULY 18: Driver Hacı Çeliker (Diyarbakır), Özcan AYTEKİN (Istanbul), Ali Ata (Adana).
- JULY 21: Teacher Ali Avar (Isparta), teacher Kemal Pehlivan (Eskişehir)
- JULY 22: Osman Kaptan (Istanbul)
- JULY 23: Prisoner Hüseyin Külle (Sakarya)
- JULY 26: Ali Gül (İslahiye)
- JULY 27: Municipality employee Kerim Kaşlı (Adana)
- JULY 28: Kaya Muradın (Samsun)
- JULY 29: Murat Çakmak (Urfa)
- JULY 30: Mehmet Atlı (Kırıkkale), Murat Öztürk (Adana)
- JULY 31: Nihat Çilgin (Gaziantep), Oktay Çiğdemal and Faysal Kelleci (Adana), İsmail Tonbul (Urfa).

- AUGUST 3: Student İsmail Yetik (Nigde), student Turgay Gürpınar (Malatya), student Harun Baran (Diyarbakır), student Mehmet Çiçek (Gaziantep), student Galip Üstün (İstanbul).
- AUGUST 4: Student Hüseyin Akıgılı (Antalya), student Alaattin Yakut (Elbistan)
- AUGUST 5: Student İsa Abacı (Urfa)
- AUGUST 7: Worker Gani Çelik (Generek)
- AUGUST 8: Student Ahmet Aslan (Urfa), Fatma Tuncer, Rahin Akbulut Kaçar and Keser Köroglu (İğdir).
- AUGUST 9: Kamil Dilici and Hasan Harputlu (Ankara), Remzi Güneş (İstanbul), Mehmet Kılıç (Ankara), Ahmet Ata (Kilis).
- AUGUST 10: Şahin Akar (İğdir), Faruk Çınar (Kilis).
- AUGUST 11: Four persons (Ankara), Hüseyin Ceylan (İstanbul)
- AUGUST 13: Student Ahmet Yıldız (Gaziantep)
- AUGUST 15: İbrahim Aktaş and Arif Yılmaz (Ankara)
- AUGUST 16: Ziya Akyüz (Urfa), Yusuf Metin (İzmir), Veysel Yılmaz (Samsun).

So, the number of the political assassinations committed during two months has reached 93 and the total number of victims within 7-month period of Ecevit Government rose to 343.

The Gray Wolves do not hesitate to use most inhuman methods for liquidating their political opponents. For example, on August 9, in the evening, when a bus was passing near the Highschool in the suburb of Hanak, three "Gray Wolves" sprayed the bus with machinegun fire and then got away killing two persons and wounding 14.

Again in Ankara, on August 11, "Gray Wolves" opened machine gun fire on four coffee shops usually attended by left minded people and killed four.

In İstanbul, during a police operation, the suspects hid themselves in local branch of neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP). Thereupon the police searched the building and found a secret wayout, fire arms and explosives.

These evidences are enough to ban a political party and to judge its leaders before the Court of Constitution, but the "Gray Wolves" of this party still carry on their bloody violence acts. (C-11-DN-DG-17/8)

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DISK AND CGT AGREED ON THE NECESSITY OF AFFILIATION TO THE ECTU

PARIS (ITA) - Invited by the French trade union center CGT, a delegation of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK) visited France in May and had important meetings with the Confederal Bureau of the CGT and its different departments. The DISK delegation got in touch also with the Turkish immigrant workers in France.

The final communiqué issued at the end of the talks says:

"The CGT and the DISK consider that it is possible to develop trade union relations at the level of transnational societies, in order to realize concrete actions in the branches of automobile, chemicals and food industries.

"The two organizations consider that the European Confederation of Trade Unions (ECTU) which has importance for the common and united struggle of the labourers of Western Europe should regroup all of the national trade unions of Europe without any discrimination and the CGT and the DISK can participate in it.

"The CGT and the DISK decided to develop their cooperation and exchange in many fields of trade union movement: immigrant workers, trade union training, publication and relations between professional federations."

(LP-D-DG-30/7)

A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE TURKISH POPULAR MUSIC

BRUSSELS (ITA) - Since the Turkish immigrant workers have turned a component part of the Western European population, naturally their popular songs are heard very often by the local people and other immigrant workers. One can hear Turkish popular songs on the radio and TV, or can witness any festivity organized by the Turkish community in any country.

An important aspect of Turkish workers' music is the fact that they play a very ancient and popular Anatolian musical instrument with a very long key-board, the "saz".

Taking into consideration the need of having a general idea about Turkish popular music, we reprint a summary of the article about the LP record "Chants Révolutionnaires turcs" (Turkish Revolutionary Songs) edited by Goodiff s.c:

In Anatolia, a centuries-old musical and poetical tradition exerts a profound influence on the daily life of the people. The most popular ballads of the wandering minstrels reach back to the 13th Century, and have been handed down from one generation to another in meeting us today.

Anatolian music presents a rich diversity, being a product of various cultures. The Ottoman Empire, which exercised a six-century long hegemony over Anatolia, transmitted cultural elements from wherever they conquered. The origins of Anatolian music can be traced to the separated influences of the civilizations of Central Asia and Byzantium, Arab-Islamic, Balkan, Ionian, Cretan, Georgian, Caucasian, Persian, Kurdish and Armenian. While the music and literature of the Ottoman Court were coming entirely under the sway of Arab-Islamic culture, the Anatolian people synthesized all of these various influences into the development of their own culture and music, a continuous process of renewal and creation.

In essence, the songs of Anatolia express the sustained resistance against the tyranny of the Ottoman dynasty and, as such, were means of propaganda and agitation. The Ottoman Empire's expansionist policy and repressive rule (contrary to common beliefs) was harshest towards the people of Anatolia, and constantly sought to degrade Turkish language, literature, and music. Anatolia's history is checkered by the numerous massacres perpetrated by the Ottomans.

The resistance songs of Anatolia, however, are not mere slogans. The spirit of revolt and heroism is combined with that of sorrow. The revolutionary spirit is expressed from a far more encompassing viewpoint - developed around the themes of work, life and nature. Even the many love songs are to be regarded as revolutionary in essence. This spirit has a structure as complex, refined, and profound as that of life itself. The song states, "The tree accomodates the bird - And the bird, the tree," as expressing the dialectic of nature.

The religious songs also play an important role in the tradition of revolutionary music in Anatolia. This is not contradictory, for in the history of the Ottoman Empire many resistance struggles were led by certain religious groups. The symbols which emerged from the moral values of the masses at that time became transformed into the standards of the class struggle in Anatolia.

With the extension and development of capitalist relationships in Turkey, and following the proclamation of the Republic, the class struggle in Turkey has centred about the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The ruling classes have utilized all means of suppression to prevent the organization of the working class. With the 1970's, imperialism and its local allies have installed a military rule and launched a brutally repressive campaign against the working class movement and the democratic forces. Thousands of revolutionaries have been arrested, imprisoned, tortured, and killed.

The revolutionary songs of the period of the Republic convey the pride of struggle and the grief at defeat, the revolutionary heroism and the necessity for the people to engage in the long-term struggle and appeal to all the people of Turkey to fill the revolutionary ranks.

(Long-play record "Chants révolutionnaires turcs" can be ordered to:
COODIFF s.c. - Square Wiser 13, Boite 2 - 1040 Bruxelles. Price: 300 FB)

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