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BÜLTEN BULLETIN

COLLECTIF TURC D'EDITION ET DE DIFFUSION
SQUARE CH.M.WISER, 13/2 - 1040 BRUXELLES
TEL: (32-2) 230 34 72 - DEPOT LEGAL 2198
BANK ACCOUNT INFO-TÜRK: 310-0148714-02

Reprints of our articles authorized
with the mention of Info-Türk

Monthly periodical
Year IV - July-August 1980
English 45/46
Price 20 BF
Annual subscription
Benelux 200 BF
Abroad 250 BF



(From daily Milliyet)

TOWARDS A PARLIAMENTARY FASCISM

EARLY ELECTIONS: A STEP TOWARDS PARLIAMENTARY FASCISM

ANKARA (ITA) - As the political terror which claimed 904 lives within only last two months keeps on climbing, early elections became one of the hot topics in the capital of Turkey. Earlier Prime Minister Demirel announced that his Party's intention was to hold early elections some time between 15 October and 15 December of this year; later Chairman of the Islamic fundamentalist National Salvation Party, Necmeddin Erbakan gave the National Assembly a proposal fixing the date of early elections as 26 October 1980.

Besides these two political parties, the Nationalist Action Party of fascist-minded colonel Türkeş has manifested that it was also in favour of an early election.

On the other hand, the Republican People's Party of social-democrat Ecevit and all progressive forces of Turkey have expressed their opposition against the idea of early election.

The explanation of this conflict lays in the following facts:

First of all, an early election seems for the Justice Party as the last chance for staying in power for a new legislative period. Because, contrary to what the Government officials say, the economic scene is not all that promising. Another winter with this minority government will erase all electoral chances of the Justice Party, if the elections is held in the spring of 1981.

Secondly, the political violence has reached such a level that, if an early election is not

held, the possibility of a military intervention will be greater and a military-backed non-parliamentary government may replace the Demirel Government. Instead of a military intervention, an important section of big capital prefers a parliamentary fascism. An early election to be held before Demirel loses his electoral chances might result with an absolute majority of the rightist parties. /.

POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS FROM 16/6/1980 TO 15/8/1980 ++++++
 (1st Column: 16/6 to 15/7; 2nd Column 16/7 to 15/8)

ISTANBUL	107 + 82 = 189	KIRSEHIR	2 + 2 = 4
ORDU	36 + 34 = 70	NEVSEHIR	4 + - = 4
ANKARA	28 + 41 = 69	NIGDE	- + 4 = 4
URFA	29 + 36 = 65	RIZE	2 + 2 = 4
ADANA	17 + 47 = 64	SIVAS	4 + - = 4
GAZIANTEP	21 + 31 = 52	ARVIN	- + 3 = 3
CORUM	40 + 7 = 47	BALIKESIR	- + 3 = 3
SAMSUN	8 + 23 = 31	ERZURUM	1 + 2 = 3
BURSA	8 + 18 = 26	KAHRAMANMARAS	1 + 2 = 3
MARDIN	9 + 17 = 26	USAK	1 + 2 = 3
DIYARBAKIR	11 + 13 = 24	VAN	- + 3 = 3
ICEL	5 + 14 = 19	AFYON	2 + - = 2
IZMIR	5 + 12 = 17	ISPARTA	2 + - = 2
KAYSERI	5 + 10 = 15	KUTAHYA	2 + - = 2
SIIRT	7 + 7 = 14	MANISA	1 + 1 = 2
HATAY	6 + 6 = 12	SINOP	- + 2 = 2
MALATYA	4 + 8 = 12	TUNCELI	2 + - = 2
TRABZON	6 + 6 = 12	ADIYAMAN	1 + - = 1
KOCAELI	4 + 7 = 11	ANTALYA	- + 1 = 1
KONYA	9 + 2 = 11	AYDIN	1 + - = 1
ELAZIG	7 + 3 = 10	CANAKKALE	- + 1 = 1
ESKISEHIR	3 + 7 = 10	EDIRNE	- + 1 = 1
GIRESUN	5 + 3 = 8	GUMUSHANE	1 + - = 1
TOKAT	8 + - = 8	KIRKLARELI	- + 1 = 1
KARS	3 + 4 = 7	MUS	- + 1 = 1
AMASYA	2 + 3 = 5	SAKARYA	1 + - = 1
MUGLA	4 + 1 = 5	YOZGAT	- + 1 = 1
AGRI	4 + - = 4	ZONGULDAK	1 + - = 1

TOTAL OF LAST TWO MONTHS	430 + 474 = 904
9-MONTH PERIOD OF DEMIREL GOVERNMENT	2685
TOTAL OF 4-YEAR AND 7-MONTH PERIOD	4895

Demirel is hopeful that the rightist parties will obtain absolute majority in early elections for following reasons:

1. Especially during the month of holy Ramadan, the Demirel Government wasted all exchanges obtained through new international credits and remittances of Turkish immigrant workers abroad in order to make abundant some consumer goods which had disappeared during the Ecevit's power. So, it gained advantageous position at least for a few months.

2. By encouraging and protecting the rightist terrorists, the Demirel Government led the masses to the atmosphere of fear and intimidation. The "Grey Wolves" of the fascist party took under their control the major provinces of Central Anatolia. Even the local chiefs of this party declared in newspapers that the law and order is maintained not by the state forces but by the militants of their organizations. Under these circumstances, in many provinces, it will be impossible for progressive electors to go to polling-booths. Benefiting from this atmosphere of intimidation and fear, Demirel hopes that Justice Party and its ally, Nationalist Action Party, will obtain absolute majority.

An absolute majority of the two rightist parties will be able to pass the economic and political measures imposed by international and local capitalist circles:

1. Amendment of the Constitution in an anti-democratic sense which will increase the power of the government and reduce the authority of the institutions of democratic control such as the Court of Constitution and the Council of State.

2. Direct election of the President of the Republic. Actually, the President of the Republic cannot be elected by the Parliament because of the balance of force between the governmental and opposition parties. Since the acting president of the Republic is a member of the Justice Party, Demirel prefers a deadlock in presidential elections. However, if an early legislative election ends with the absolute majority of the Right, by changing the Constitution, a fascist-minded politician can be elected to this post.

3. Re-establishment of state security courts which had been annulled by the Court of Constitution on the ground that they were unconstitutional.

4. Enactment of the law providing powers and authorities of Martial Law Commanders.

5. Amendment of the Military Penal Code and the Law on the procedures at penal courts.

6. Amendment of the laws on trade unions and collective bargainings.

7. Ratification of the new Turco-US Defense Cooperation Agreement.

After such kind of changes, it will be impossible to talk of a democratic system in Turkey, it will be logical rather to talk of a "parliamentary fascism" reigning in the south-eastern flank of the Atlantic Alliance and the European Community.

In order to keep the image of "democracy", the Turkish Parliament will exist, but it will be a "rubber-stamp" parliament taking orders from the international and local capitalist circles.

It is because that the progressive forces of Turkey oppose against an anticipated legislative election and prefer to wait until the next spring when the actual minority government of Demirel will be bankrupt of prestige.

Rightist terror encouraged by the NATO Meeting in Ankara

Even before the installation of an open fascist regime, parliamentary or military, the rightist terror gangs have accelerated the rate of political assassinations within last two months. With 90% assassinations between June 16 and August 15, 1980, the total number of the terror victims of the 9-month period of Demirel Government rose to 2,685 and the total number of the 4-year and 7-month period to 4,895.

Alongside the encouragement and protection granted by the Demirel Government, the rightist terrorists were encouraged also by the ministerial meeting of the NATO in Ankara on June 25-26, 1980. In fact, since 1960, the

NATO Alliance dared not to have any meeting in Turkey because of the anti-NATO and anti-US resistance of the progressive forces of the country. But after the proclamation of martial law at the end of 1978, the pro-NATO and pro-US circles have gained influence in the state apparatus and started to use the extreme-rightist elements placed at the key posts of the Armed Forces or the Police to eliminate anti-imperialist and anti-fascist elements.

The NATO Meeting in Ankara has been a manifestation of this pro-US escalation in Turkey.

It is not astonishing that just few days later, on July 5, 1980, the military troops, on the order of the Martial Law Command, raided the Congress of the Ankara Federation of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) and detained 588 party members. Among them were also the President of the party, Behice Boran, and the Secretary General Nihat Sargin. They were accused of having launched the slogans: "Socialist Turkey!" and "We shall defeat the fascism!"

Parallel to the terror practised by the state forces, the fascist gangs murdered first a center-left parliamentarian, Köksaloğlu. It was followed by another mysterious assassination: Former prime minister Nihat Erim was murdered by unidentified persons in apparent retaliation for the murder of the Republican deputy. Since Erim was one of the executors of the 12th March repressive regime between 1971-73, his assassination was presented to the public as a terrorist act of the Left.

On July 22, 1980, acting in defiance of extraordinary security measures taken for Mr. Erim's funeral, fascist gangs shot and killed Mr. Kemal Türkler, President of the Metal Workers' Trade Union, as he was leaving his home in an Istanbul suburb, then escaped.

In fact, the murder of Mr. Türkler, also former president of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK), was aiming at dragging the working class into the current cycle of violence.

Meanwhile, the massive terror was put in practice in many provinces of Central Anatolia. Only in the province of Corum, the fascist killers assassinated more than 40 persons within one month. The similar massacres were perpetrated also in the provinces of Ordu, Ankara, Urfa, Adana, Gaziantep, Samsun, Bursa, Diyarbakır, Hârdin. The principal tactic of the fascists to increase the number of the victims was to instigate the members of a religious sect against another sect, as it was so at the Kahramanmaraş incidents at the end of 1978.+

Another massive terror was applied in the district of Fatsa in the province of Ordu by the state forces. They raided the little town of the Black Sea coast, arrested thousands of people as well as the progressive mayor of the city. Mayor Fikri Sönmez and hundreds of people were tortured by the police.

The answer of the working class to all these pressures and provocations has been a mass strike. On July 23, 1980, about 1 million workers all over Turkey went on strike or held slowdowns. The funeral of Kemal Türkler was another mass demonstration manifesting the resolution of the working class to defend democratic rights; about 600.000 persons took part at the funeral.

In Europe, The Europe Committee of the Unity for Democracy in Turkey (DİB-AK) and other democratic organizations of the Turkish immigrants have protested against the assassinations and mass terror. In Brussels and in Köln, these organizations left black wreaths in front of the Turkish embassies.

In Brussels, the Turkish sections of the trade unions centers FGTB and CSC, Cultural Center of Workers of Turkey in Belgium, Union of Workers of Turkey in Belgium, Union of Kurdish Workers and Students (Tekoşer), Union of Youth and Workers in Heusden-Zolder, Solidarity Organization of Turkish Workers in La Louvière and the Belgium Committee of the Unity for Democracy in Turkey (DİB-BK) have united for protesting against the Türkler's assassination.

+) Trial of Kahramanmaraş incidents ended with the condemnation of 408 out of 822 accused. 22 persons were condemned to death and others to different prison terms. But 414 persons including the major instigators of the massacre were acquitted.

7TH CONGRESS OF THE DISK REAFFIRMED THE WILL TO STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

ISTANBUL (ITA) - The 7th Congress of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK) was held on June 25 - July 2, 1980 in Istanbul, with the participation of 465 delegates representing 28 trade unions and more than 500 thousand workers as well as of the representatives of national and international organizations.

The report of the administrative board and the resolutions adopted by the congress reaffirmed the will of the progressive trade union center to carry on its struggle for defending democratic rights as well as for the objective of an "independent and socialist Turkey".

Accusing the actual government of having encouraged the rightist terror and having given the international capitalist circles many concessions in economic, political and military fields, the documents of the 7th Congress criticized also the Republican People's Party (CHP) of social-democrat Ecevit of having betrayed the working masses who had supported it against the rightist parties.

The delegates sent the Turkish Prime Minister a message protesting against the holding of the Conference of NATO ministers in Ankara at the same dates.

At the end of its works, the 7th Congress reelected Mr. Abdullah Bastürk as the president of the confederation and Mr. Fehmi Işıklar as the secretary general. The administrative board and the executive board have been composed of the representatives of the member trade unions. (C-M-H-DG-5/7)

DISK under the menace of interdiction

The fact that the DISK reaffirmed its unity and resolution to struggle against anti-democratic practices and manifested it in a massive manner during the funeral of its former president Türkler, assassinated by the fascist killers, with the participation about 800 thousand persons caused a great panic at the ruling circles.

On 1st August 1980, the Public Prosecutor of Bakirkoy (Istanbul) brought a law-suit at the Tribunal of Labour for the interdiction of the DISK. The prosecutor claimed that the DISK aims to establish the hegemony of the working class in Turkey by resorting to the mass actions. He qualified the mass funeral of Türkler as the one of these "revolutionary" actions.

On this proceeding, the Europe Committee of the Unity of Democracy in Turkey (DIB-AK) issued a communiqué accusing the Turkish government of trying to eliminate the progressive trade union movement of Turkey by using the means of assassinations as well as of judicial actions.

Responding to this communiqué, the French trade union center CGT issued a declaration condemning the attempts of eliminating the DISK and called all French trade unions to manifest their solidarity with the Turkish trade union movement.

The World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU) and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) too have protested against this anti-democratic proceeding and expressed their solidarity with the DISK. (C-N-Y-DG-3/8)

GOVERNMENT POSTPONED 55 STRIKES WITHIN SEVEN MONTHS

ANKARA (ITA) - According to the news given by the daily Cumhuriyet, the Turkish Government has postponed within only seven months 55 strikes at alimentation, energy, transportation, metalurgy, glass, communication, public services, cement, railways, petro-chemical and shipping sectors.

The number of the postponed strikes within a 17-year period reached about 200. Since 1976, the annual rate of the postponed strikes was about 20-30.

A former Research Department Director of the State Planning Organisa- ./.

tion, Mr. Tunc Tayanc, explained the reason of these postponements as follows in his article appeared in the Anka Review of July 22, 1980:

"Postponement of strikes by the governments in Turkey is not a new phenomenon. The first implementation dates back to the legislation of Act No. 275 on Collective Bargaining, Strike and Lock-out procedures in 1963. The article 21 of the act allows for the postponement of a decided or started strike (or a lock-out) with a government decree for a maximum of 30 days on the condition that the strike (or the lock-out) is deemed detrimental to the welfare or the security of the nation. Not confining itself to that, the act has gone further to grant the prerogative to the governments to extend the postponement up to another 60 days with the approval of the Supreme Mediation Board.

"Within the first six months of 1980 the announced or contemplated postponements almost totally involve strikes at private sector enterprises save for a few exceptions. The explanation of these interventions lies in the decisions designed to 'liberalise the economy' taken on January 24 and supplemented by a series of implementations. The package of measures introduced since then aim at installing the free-market mechanism to a dominating position at the economy as championed both by the domestic and international capital and the organisations which articulate their demands.

"The postponements announced by Demirel Government within the first half of 1980 cannot be attributed to 'public welfare' or 'national security' considerations since the clear objective emerges as the 'liberalisation of the economy'."

It is not only the postponement of strikes which aim at braking the wage rises and breaking the resistance by workers to the Government plans. The Government aims also at altering the existing Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining acts as to meet the requirements of the economic policies. The target sought with the envisaged alterations is to introduce the system of "single union representation" at the workshop and industry levels. The hoped-for result is the practical destruction of the power base of the DISK. Meanwhile the contemplated alterations are wielded as an appetizing carrot at the negotiations carried on with the rival confederation, the conservative "Turkish Trade Unions Confederation" (TÜRK-İS) to reach a Gentlemen's Agreement for the collective bargaining procedures. People cannot help but remember the bloody demonstrations of June 15-16 in 1970 which provoked by preparations to affect similar changes.

(C-M-ANKA-DG-10/8)

SLOW PROGRESS ON THE PATH TO THE FULL-MEMBERSHIP OF TURKEY TO THE EEC

BRUSSELS (ITA) - The Turkish-EEC Association Council meeting held at the end of June 1980 in Brussels manifested once more that the gap between the EEC and the full-membership aspirant Turkey's actual government is as wide as ever.

The EEC, first of all, did not bow to the Turkish demands for the free circulation of Turkish workers within the Community according to the stipulations of the Association Agreement and the Article 36 of the Appended Protocol. Turkey thus did not secure a concrete improvement concerning the Community practice and did not succeed in obtaining guarantees against the implementation of visa obligation to the incoming Turks.

At the meeting, Turkey requested the sum of a US \$ 850 million credit to be increased but the request was rejected as Britain and Holland strongly opposed it.

Despite these negative conclusions, Turkish Foreign Minister Erkmén described the decisions of the Association Council to be "the proof of a mutual spirit of good will to re-vitalise the relations" and reiterated his government's resolution to apply for full-membership to the EEC until the end of this year.

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ETUC against the EEC membership of an anti-democratic Turkish regime

As the speculations on the Turkish affiliation to the EEC are continuing in the Community and in Turkey, the European Trade Union Confederation has informed the Turkish Government that "a preliminary condition of such kind affiliation is that one must accept the fundamental democratic and trade union rights. The incidents like the arrestation of Turkish trade union leaders on April 30, 1980 can lead the European trade union movement to be opposed to a possible demand of the Turkish Government for affiliation to the EEC."

Mr. Mathias Hinterscheid, Secretary General of the European Trade Union Confederation, sent copies of his message also to Mr. Roy Jenkins, President of the Commission of European Communities, Mr. Wilhelm Haferkamp, Vice-President of the said commission, Mrs. Simone Veil, President of European Parliament and Mr. Franz Karasek, Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

In another letter sent to the affiliated trade unions, Mr. Hinterscheid said: "You know certainly that since years martial law reigns in Turkey. Since years, all trade union activities and political activities opposing the regime have been forbidden and repressed.

"A very clear proof of this practice is the attitude of martial law against the 1st May demonstrations. Since few years, for preventing these rallies, the trade unions leaders have been arrested just before the 1st May and kept in prisons for one or two weeks.

"Since the Turkish Government tries through all means to enter in the West Europe's democratic countries family, we thought that it is better to write to the Turkish Government in order to explain to it that the Western European Trade Union movement is not ready to accept a country which does not respect the fundamental freedoms and trade union rights.

"We have chosen this method, perhaps not very spectacular but probably more efficient, because we hope to incite so the responsables of the European organisms and of the Turkish Government, beyond limiting their talks on economic and strategic problems, to discuss seriously also the grave social and political problems which shake the population of this country."

The two national trade union centers of Turkey had already demanded their affiliation to the ETUC. The demands of the DISK and the TURK-IS were taken on the agenda at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the ETUC on June 12-13, 1980 in Geneva. Along with six other organisations, the demands of the two Turkish confederations were handed over to the Secretariat for further study on, while the demands of eight other trade union centers were refused.

The Executive Committee of the ETUC will take its final decision on the demands of the DISK and the TURK-IS at the first half of the coming year.
(C-N-ANKA-ETUC-7/7)

TWO JOURNALISTS VICTIM OF POLITICAL TERROR

ANKARA (ITA) - During the political terror incidents, two Turkish journalists lost their lives, one of them under torture.

On July 22, 1980, Recai Ünal, a reporter of the daily Democrat, left-wing, was found killed in the quarter of Karagümrük, Istanbul. The victim has reportedly been strangled to death and left near a mosque. He was 21 years old.

Again in Istanbul, Mete Atabek, photographer of the daily Istiklal, could not escape an armed conflict between an armed terrorist group and a military squad, and he was shot dead with the bullets of the soldiers, on July 24, 1980.

On the other hand, according to the daily Democrat of May 22, 1980, within a 6-month period, more than 50 teachers were assassinated by the rightist terrorists.

Again within a 6-month period after the formation of the Demirel Government, 800 teachers were arrested, 20 thousand teachers were removed from their posts, 200 were dismissed from the service of education and 30 thousand were subjected to different sanctions for having participated in the actions of protesting against the massacre of Kahramanmaraş. Besides, 12 thousand teachers were transferred from their posts to other provinces.

Weeklies "Yürüyüş" and "Adımlar" forbidden

The Martial Law Command of Ankara province has forbidden the printing and distribution of the socialist weekly "Yürüyüş" as well as of the daily "Demokrat" within the Ankara province. On this ban, the editors of the "Yürüyüş" started to publish another weekly review entitled "Adımlar", but the same command banned it as well.

A Canadian girl detained for carrying a "forbidden" publication"

A Canadian girl who was the student of the Bogazici University in Istanbul was arrested on July 14, 1980 at Yesilkoy Airport for having "left" books in her luggage. Miss Philippe Creery stated that she had brought these books in English when she came to Turkey and she did not any idea that they were considered as the "subject of crime" in Turkey.

Despite this objection, the Canadian girl was put in detention house for a certain time and the books were sent to the Political Police Department in order to verify if there is any crime in them.

Four theatre artists sanctioned

The anti-democratic practices within the State Theatres have increased especially after the changement of all administrative cadres of those cultural institutions. Recently, four theatre artists, Emine Orhun, Albay İzbirak, Ferdi Mörter and Alp Öyken were sanctioned by the Director General Cüneyd Gökçer for having signed a protest message on behalf of their professional organisations. That message had been issued against the dismissal of the progressive administrators of the theatres.

Protest of the German parliamentarians

Three German parliamentarians, Manfred Coppik, Klaus Tuusing and Klaus Kirschner have sent Turkish Primer Minister Demirel a message protesting against the pressure on the Turkish press.

In this message signed also by the German section of Amnesty International as well as by some German writers, the interdiction of the publication of some newspapers is considered as a blow on the liberty of press and the Turkish Government is invited to rest attached to the freedoms. (C-M-DG-15/8)

425 THOUSAND YOUTHS DEPRIVED OF THE RIGHT TO HAVE HIGHER EDUCATION

ISTANBUL (ITA) - University entrance examinations was held on June 13, 1980 in 35 cities of Turkey and in Nicosia, Cyprus.

Of the 467.210 candidates (343.000 male and 124.210 female) who took part at the examinations only 42,000 will be able to enter a higher education institution through the central placement system. It means that only 9% of the candidates have the chance of higher education. Since there is a grave unemployment in the country, about 400 thousand youths will have neither education nor job.

The chance of entering higher education was 50% in 1970 (38.662 out of 76.540), 24% in 1975 (68.508 out of 280.000), 10% in 1978 (37.500 out of 373.000). One of the reasons of the political violence in Turkey lays in this fact.

PROTEST AGAINST THE IMPRISONMENT OF DR. ISMAIL BESIKCI

OSLO (ITA) - Following the writers organisations of Sweden and Switzerland (See: BULLETIN of April 1980), the Board of the Norwegian Authors' Association sent the Acting President of the Republic Ihsan Sabri Caglayan-gil a telegram protesting against the imprisonment of Turkish sociologist Dr. Ismail Besikci.

Dr. Besikci is in prison for having published a scientific study criticizing the Turkish Government's policy violating the fundamental rights of the Kurdish people in Turkey (See: BULLETIN of October 1979).

The message of the Norwegian authors says: "In our opinion, suppression of the freedom of speech will always lead to stagnation. To our distress we learn that the Kurdish language, Kurdish literature and Kurdish culture are forbidden in the entire part of Turkish Kurdistan, while at the same time many Turkish authors are silenced, publications banned, the Press censored etc. We appeal to you to use your authority to effect the release of Ismail Besikci."

The message is signed by Chairman Camilla Carlson. (ME-DG-6/6)

PROGRESS OF THE LEFT PARTIES IN THE TURKISH SECTION OF CYPRUS

NICOSIA (ITA) - Despite the repressive practices carried out by the Denktash administration, the left-wing parties of the Turkish Section of Cyprus showed a considerable progress at the local elections held on 1st June 1980.

Out of 11 mayorship of the "Federated Turkish State of Cyprus" 3 were won by the Socialist Liberation Party, so the number of the mayors elected on the lists of the Denktash's party fell from 8 to 6. Two mayorships were gained by independent candidates.

The rate of participation reached 80% while it was only 65% in the 1976 local elections.

Along with the SLP, another progressive party, Republican Turkish Party too increased its votes, but failed to gain mayorship. (C-3/6)

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