"Low Intensity War" is the strategy of counter-guerrilla and People's War is strategy of proletariat

If there is Party and the masses, every kind of the miracle is created.

What is the counter-guerrilla war strategy which is named as "Low Intensity War", "Special War", "The War that Undeclared" that imperialism, wants to develop by himself or put forward as a new thing after the World (distributing) War 2'nd, especially after 1950's?

Why does the bourgeoisie try to show this strategy as an advanced one? Why do they want to blow this balloon so much in today's process?

We have to expose theoretically and practically "Low Intensity War" which is a counter-guerrilla war strategy that imperialism and his servants embrace inevitably for surviving of their system. We must glance at the factors that this strategy is needed before entering this process.

National and class struggles, which begin to develop after 1900's in Asia, South America, Africa and Europe, caused social developments. In many countries, there is guerrilla war, people's war. The bourgeoisie has missed his power, after defeating in these wars, in these uprisings and in many places are founded new powers.

Counter-guerrilla war strategy "Low Intensity War" which is called as the methods of suppress the developing social opposing, is put into use in many places of the world after 1950's. They want to put into use in every area that there is national and class struggle firstly in South America.

What is "Low Intensity War"? How is used?

"Low Intensity War" is defined as below in the regulations of 100,20'th of which is used land and air forces of USA: "Low Intensity War" is military, political, economic, cultural fight. It realised over the level of usual competition which survives in peacetime and under the classical wars between the states.

It appears between states or groups. It forms often in the struggle of principal and ideological which long-term competition. "Low Intensity War" contains a fighting area from destroying activities to the requirement of using armed forces.

The means, which are used in this type of fighting areas, are political, economic, cultural, military and informational means. "Low Intensity War" survives in generally the places where there are classes. But his effects are both regional and global."

What will it used against? Firstly, against the struggles which are developing on the base of national and class. It will be used against as a method of oppressing guerrilla war and people's war. They suppose to use it against the other forms of the struggle too.

It was used against Vietnam as against IRA in England, against ETA in Spain, against Algerians by French, against many countries especially South America by

USA. Namely, it was urged to realise in all struggle areas by imperialists and their servants where their interests are in danger in their country.

Although "Low Intensity War" has differences in every country, his methods are same. Why did the bourgeoisie apply the counter-guerrilla strategy by giving up old regular classic war types where they couldn't get chance to succeed against guerrilla war and people's war?

Although today having no chance of regular wars against guerrilla war and people's war brings them to counter-guerrilla war strategy, there would be no succeed in this is understand where they are used. Uncovering the counter-guerrilla war strategy "Low Intensity War" more will make the matter understood.

Today "Low Intensity War" is not a monotonous type of regular war. And it is not only military operations, the mobilisation of all the regular military units with state terror, but also is a type of complete attack which adopts surviving political, economical, cultural, ideological, psychological war.

The "Low Intensity War" which is used in many countries and has been used in some others, targets not military conquest but stabilisation of the social opposing and political relations. For this reason, they agree on six items which is adopted by a lot of imperialist countries and theirs servants:

1. Government must keep his legality absolutely in his struggle towards the ones uprising.

2. In surviving their struggle, they must be in a complete undivided by dimishing the being divided.

3. Foreign support must be important and consistent to the government which struggles against uprising.

4. The foreign support of guerrilla must be decreased, if it is possible, it must be destroyed.

5. It must be provided a good intelligence net against the disturbing activities and uprising.

6. The forces of governments that will survive the struggle must absolutely be talented, disciplined and well-educated.

The "Low Intensity War" that formed over these primary points, has been used in more than 40 countries today, as it is mentioned by war strategists of USA. "Low Intensity War" applies, works to apply nasty, backward, Unjust methods of war by organising completely in the type of counter-guerrilla, applying counter-guerrilla tactics into reality and essentially organising like guerrilla in the countries where there is guerrilla war and people's war. Namely, it survives counter-revolutionary war against the people, masses who have interests in revolution.

Imperialists and his local collaborator servants are reactionary classes. Preventing

in front of the going forward of producing devices, trying to stand in front of the social development, can not rescue of going the state of boss-landlord to the dustbin of the history by our people's war strategy today. And counter-guerrilla war strategy "Low Intensity War" which they are tied as a hope of complete liberation, can not save their smelling, rusting system.

What are the kinds of movement, methods and politics of "Low Intensity War"?

It applies disappearances in custody, killing in torture, killings without trial, massacres by making open or secret operations; it applies to the masses pressure, torture, fascist terror wildly to prevent the strengthening guerrilla war, people's war and spreading of his effects to wider areas.

It doesn't stay limited in this. Ordinary persons, sympathisers, supporters etc. are disappeared, killed. As their aim of doing these is to effect psychologically, pervade, become cold for struggling of masses, they target to create "panic" in revolutionary ranks by these methods.

The aim is simple. To become the masses uneffective, to prevent them coming off as an organised force, everything can be applied against of these. Especially burning the villages after emptying, obligatory immigration, embargo of food, obligatory exile are the most used and spreaded methods. They want to inspect the masses and keep them under control easily.

They realised their politics of controlling the people by "Strategic gathered village centres". There is no difference of these from concentration camps. After emptying the villages and taking the villagers to the controlled areas, these regions will be called by enemy as "area domination". The humanless areas will be the areas which can be controlled by enemy.

It doesn't matter what the name of it; "Low Intensity War", "special war", "the war which isn't declared". They are the definitions that mean the same thing. They are the counter-guerrilla war strategy and tactics. The strategy of "Low Intensity War", specially directs all of the establishments of the state suitable to this strategy.

The role of bourgeois media is especially quite important in "Low Intensity War". Media tries to provide the masses being against the national and class struggle by creating misconciousness in the reactionary-Unjust war which is survived by ruling classes.

They hide the massacres of the ruling classes. They made false propaganda about revolutionaries, patriots. They provide the masses being against revolutionaries by forming them under the effect of reactionary ideology and propaganda.

Today, Foreign Ministry of USA confess as below that this type of reactionary and

Unjust war which is survived by imperialists and his local collaborator servants against national and class revolution struggle, was unsuccessful and will be unsuccessful;

"In fact, the doctrine of Low Intensity War, is a strategy of weakness because it only shows reaction Copying the revolutionary strategies and attempting to apply it reversion the revolutionaries by a super power."

The reflections on Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan

The fascist pressures of ruling classes which are applied on the people is concentrated especially on Kurdish people who are seen as a serious danger since the establishment of Turkish Republic. After realisation the politics of destroying Communist Party of Turkey which is built on the leadership of Mustafa Suphi, ruling classes specially tried on Kurdish nation the Kurdish nation who has been under the pressure of ruling classes, can't be destroyed easily like Communist Party of Turkey.

Because Kurdish nation was in an uprising against Turkish State, although it's political target is narrow. Against the development of this uprising and class struggle, the dimension that get today, the strategy of "Low Intensity War" which is developed by imperialists as we mentioned above, has been used in Turkey with some certain aspects since past years.

Nowadays its using, reached the highest point. Investigating this strategy in Turkey's application will show and teach us the understanding of reactionary war strategy and the way politics that must be survive against.

The uprisings that survived in Turkish Kurdistan and their oppressions bloodly, killing the leaders of uprising, burning the villages; exile, immigrations and massacres; killing the people without thinking that they are young, old or child; Dersim uprising which is oppressed in the most bloody way, the massacre after uprising, exile, immigration... At the same time, it was followed a politics making Kurds as Turkish by force with realisation of genocide and assimilation politics.

It was used the methods of counter-guerrilla in massacre of March 16'th, 1977's Mayday massacre, massacres in Maras and Corum when we came to 1970's.Under the name of oppressing the developing class and national struggle in Turkish Kurdistan, more than 3 500 villages are burnt down, more than 4 million people are immigrated from their settlements by force, thousands of people are killed in massacres, disappeared, all of these and killing without law is increasing in everyday.

The army of Turkish Republic, which formed in regular war, has been unsuccessful against developing class and national struggles since 1970's. By understanding that they can't oppress these wars, ruling classes started village guards system with Extraordinary Rule which is used in many countries leading Turkish Kurdistan against class and national liberation struggles.

Somewhere they became village guard voluntarily, other places people are forced to be guard by force, violence and pressure. Every kind of Unjust, nasty war methods was used, are used against the people in the region that are not near to the state, are not a tool of the state politics, don't accept to be village guard, to make them ineffective and neutral, too.

Why do they require strategic gathered village centres? "Tactic of drying the sea"

The tactic of "Dry the sea if you don't catch the fish" is a method that imperialist and collaborators had used. Sea means masses and the fish means guerrillas here. The essence of this tactic, is breaking off the relations between the masses and guerrilla, leaving the guerrilla alone. They think to destroy the just war by preventing mass support, organising in masses, pulling them into the war and fight, logistic support of the people.

How will this happen? At first stage, burning down the villages and arable fields (if it isn't sufficient for the result, towns will be burnt down too), embargo on food, obligatory immigration of regional people by methods like obligatory residence. Of course these applications are not enough.

Target is to collect these masses on an area that can be controlled easily. Namely, forming "strategic gathered village centres" is the target. Although Turkish Republic targets this kind of attempts, it can not succeed at the point of forming "strategic gathered village centres" in Turkish Kurdistan yet. But they are trying to do so continuously.

Because the people who are immigrated by force, continued to be dynamics of revolution where they went and protected and developed their ties with revolutionary, communist, patriot forces in that areas. This situation formed an another danger for ruling classes, too. USA applied this method in Vietnam. But, insisting on surviving the war, this counter-guerrilla tactic came to naught.

A similar method is applied in Peru, too. By interfering of Communist Party of Peru, the people who are immigrated, are placed in the regions that are in their control, are organised and fight against state. Both examples have specialities inside themselves. But the counter-revolutionary politics which is applied in suitable for the strategy of "Low Intensity War" has been come to naught.

The counter-guerrilla strategy "Low Intensity War" which is developed by imperialism, is a strategy developed by bourgeoisie today. "Low Intensity War" which is taken from Mao, Ho Chi Minh and ways of guerrilla war with many aspects and applied against revolutionaries, has been unsuccessful and will go on being unsuccessful. One of the important factors in coming to naught is surviving the war, it was, will be possible by having the conscious of war laws.

Develop People's War against counter-guerrilla methods!

Let's note Comrade Gonzalo's speech to comprehend and understand the difference between the counter-revolutionary war strategy and people's war:

"Each class has own way of war, so own war strategy. Proletariat has created own war strategy people's war, too. And this is a superior strategy. Bourgeoisie never can have a strategy which is more superior than this. Further more, any strategy more superiors than proletariat's will not exist. This is a matter of investigating military processes in the world. Every class always creates own type of war and own strategy. And everytime the superior strategy has beaten the backward one than his. And new class has superior strategy every time. This is people's war. There is the evidence of this. There are military analysists that say this like this. Communists never lose any war when they apply their principles. They lose the wars only when they don't apply the principles."

The correctness of the determinations of Comrade Gonzalo is proved a lot of times. It is important to separate People's War from the guerrilla war which is survived by national bourgeoisie, petit bourgeois revolutionaries.

People's War is not an original military tactic of class struggle. It is a complete revolution strategy which is based on class struggle and at the same time, using guerrilla war as a tactic type of war.

People's war is building the people's power, building in every piece instead of the destroyed one when it is destroying the old one, creating the new one.

People's war is creating the transforming the masses in all areas; ideological, political, cultural, ethical etc. from the beginning. People's war is a scientific military revolution strategy of proletariat. There are strategy and tactic politics as sections in this war that complete them each other.

This is a war that contains attack, defence, building political, ideological, cultural, economic building in new people's power building in liberated base areas Red Politic Powers.

People's war strategy is a strategy that is in masses, organising the masses, fighting them at the point of power struggle and carrying the conscious of this war is masses war, setting in the masses motion for war by organising. If we say that revolution will be a work of masses, we must apply an organisation and war strategy which is suitable to this condition.

The difference between the other strategies and people's war strategy, the aspects that differs it from the other war types, forming liberated bases, building new powers here and aiming to build Democratic People's Power in all country.

People's war is starting the armed struggle from the beginning with guerrilla war, mass line, principle of trusting to own power, applying a war strategy depending on a base that saving the cities from rural areas.

People's war, targets to war organising as in the way of guerrilla units in the term of strategic defending, transforming from small to big, simple to complex, guerrilla units to red army; in surviving the war destroying on the one hand and building the people's power is on the other hand, namely destroying and building must go together.

Let's developed and become widespread the people's war for coming to naught the counter-guerrilla strategy "Low Intensity War" Counter-guerrilla try to make operations aiming to destroy personals, militants, guerrillas of organisations, parties which surviving class and national struggle by trying to create a net of informers in all activity areas. It tries to act in the direction that is given by informers, agents, collaborators.

However, it applies counter-revolutionary terror as burning the villages down, obligatory immigration etc. against the people who give material-spiritual support. In addition to this, it tries to insert agents who are educated specially, into the parties aiming to conquer the castle from inside.

We can say that the main elements of counter-guerrilla are Special War Department (his new name is Commandership of Special Forces), anti-terror department in National Intelligence Organisation, Special Team in police organisation and in addition to this civil fascists, confessioners, agents, collaborators are the ones who act in counter-guerrilla activities in the axis of its politics.

We can dissolve in the masses by carrying own politics without dreading, trying against all of these counter-guerrilla tactics. We can develop methods for going to masses. Because organising and fighting the masses, carrying own politics to them must be understood as an obligatory.

The ones who don't recognise his enemy and don't know how to struggle against him, can not develop the class struggle. And he can not apply his war strategy into the life as healthy. What is important according to us, must be recognising our enemy and applying people's war into the practice in the dimension of existing politics against him. If we don't realise our politics in a right way, there will be no progress. What is the problem?

What are the tactics that enemy follows firstly in rural regions?

For example, if enemy goes to the villages in the morning, we go there at nights. We gather the masses, speak to them, listen their problems and produce solutions, we make organisation study at the same time. We must organise and fight the masses especially at the point of people's war. We must attack to the weakest point of the enemy which is determined by us. These weak points may be police stations or convoys. It may be soldiers that going to operation etc. By laying an ambush, attack can be organised on the places which is known very well as strategically. By organising continuos attacks they can get out of the area that they exist.

Let's note quotations from Chairman Mao who theorised people's war at the point of realising these tactics and applied in practices in China example:

"Coming back when the enemy is going forward, disturbing it when they are camping, attacking when the enemy is tired, following when the enemy is going back"

"Widening the consistent base regions, using the politics of going forward as waves, applying the politics of turning it around when we are following by a strong enemy"

"Mobilising the big masses by the best methods in the shortest time. These tactics are like casting a net. We cast a net whenever we want and we draw a net whenever we want. We take the net large to gain the masses. We take the net smaller in trying against enemy."

When we think in the aspect of today, if there is a role in revolution for only masses and they will take the history forward, we must organise as vanguarding the masses and fight them.

On the aspect of us, when we are going to the masses, we don't think them only providing food or staying places, relations. What is important aspect is organising and fighting when we are going to the masses. The ones who go providing food and staying places only, can not comprehend, can not understand the people's war sufficiently. For comprehending, we must apply the people's war insistently.

By vanguarding the masses we can organise and fight them, we can only build Democratic People's Power by directing the masses into the political power struggle, proletariat military war strategy people's war under the light of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by depending own force.

Vanguard is the key point in all of these. There is hinder and there can be no hinder in doing these under the vanguard having Maoist point of view. At this point if people's war is wanted to transform a material force, party members and his sympathisers must form and must be formed suitable to this.

An another aspect of this problem is, the ones that applies counter-revolutionary terror against masses, must know that the counter-revolutionaries will account for this in judgement of history.

On the other hand, we must mobilise the masses by organising, fighting against the fascist Turkish Republic that immigrates the masses by force, burns the villages down, commits crimes as without knowing who is the murder. We must target to gain the

largest masses by surviving agitation, propaganda, exposing activities in both country and international areas against exile, immigration, massacres politics.

When we organise the masses for coming back, at the same time, we have to take it together the politics of developing, strengthening and widening the people's war. We have to see concrete steps for this obligatory. On the other hand, we must gather the masses, who are immigrated, prevent their dividing into pieces.

We can take them to the districts where we have the most developed relations and don't leave them alone where they go, it must be seen that we own them the problem is not the knowing the masses this violence and tyranicalness when we organise them.

They live them in their lives anyway. This is one aspect of the problem, the other aspect is the problem of how they organise and fight.

When organising coming back, paying the losses of immigrated masses and it can be organised comings back without bargaining with the state and without preconditions.

The victory of People's War can't be prevented

Counter-guerrilla war strategy "Low Intensity War" which is applied, tried to apply in many countries by USA imperialism and imperialists, is a reactionary Unjust war strategy which is put against the masses and is showed as "the best, the most superior" war strategy by bourgeoisie today.

This war strategy which left nothing but massacres, burning down, is applied by bourgeoisie and landlords in our country, too. "Low Intensity War" of which oppressing class and national struggle, will be defeated against people's war in our country like the others.

But if we, communists became unsuccessful in this war, this does not mean that bourgeoisie politics is right. Bourgeoisie "can be successful" when we don't apply people's war correctly in our reality principally.

Counter-guerrilla strategy

The target of the survivors that they reach, can reach will be degenerating and rusting if they survive the war against people -that is the reality- whatever the dimension and condense of "Low Intensity War". It will take the place that deserve in the history.

Against Communist Party that locked towards correct politic power, the ones that armed with science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, whatever war methods, they are obliged to beat against people's war. Briefly, the method of gathering a superior force to destroy enemy forces one by one, is based on surviving people's war which is under the control of people's war and dialectic materialism. People's war strategy can be used suitable by only people's army. None of the counter people (counter-guerrilla) can use this strategy in efficiently. Although all fascist methods the victory of people's war can not be prevented.

Counter-guerrilla organisation of fascist dictatorship

A lot of things are said on counter-guerrilla and many things are written, drawn. "Dirty relations" and "strange declarations" which are revealed with all dimensions along with "Susurluk Accident", the dimensions of the relations became "apparent" that these relations are not the job of "a few" men that are impertinent in the mouth of state officials like Mehmet Eymur, Hanifi Avci (who were the chiefs of fascist Intelligent service). There are countless examples of organisation of fascist dictatorship and counter-guerrilla's way of acting in this respect.

Despite of all these and organisation of counter-guerrilla is not "a few" mice in country as it is said by ruling classes; of course there is a meaning of saying them "Don't burn the house for 'a few' mice. You remain outside."

Nobody can think that the President who said this sentence can have no knowledge about the surviving process and the organisation of counter-guerrilla in anyway. Declaring as if he has no knowledge about anything of the person that is on the top of state of Turkish Republic, is not a fact that can not be understood by us, too.

With these declarations, "a few" sin goat are found because of Susurluk accident and they want to close the problem by saying that there is no interference of Turkish Republic in this organisation. When we look at on one part of the scene, there are the names of Abdulłah Catli, a few special team policemen, the headmaster of police and a few officers. Well, what do they try to explain with this part of the scene? Of course, "the state is clean", they founded a gang with "a few" people.

How do they explain the surviving Unregular War in our country and operations, attempt to coup d'etats, sabotages, kidnapping, massacres even in Azerbajian, Uygur region of China and even in Greek. Were all of these done by only Abdullah Catli and "a few" special teams? What about the ones that said "We had done thousand operations" and the ones that said "We had done everything for surviving our state."?

Of course, these can not be explained by "a few" people. In Unjust, reactionary war that survives in Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan, more than three thousand village were burnt down, almost four million people were immigrated by force, thousands of disappearances in custody, the number of torture and killing without law is increasing everyday and it can not be taken the list of them any more.

Somebody is killed without law or disappeared in custody or massacres are done everyday. In addition of these, the things that they wants to try by the politics of bombing the villages-towns, making village guards by force, obligatory settlement, embargo on food, giving the food by ration card, "Strategic gathered village" centres known as gathered village centres; aren't the things that Turkish Republic done? Are the things done, another state's activities?

Abdullah Catli and his a few friends had not done all of these in any way. Abdullah Catli had not posses supernatural properties. If it is so why did he died in the traffic accident? If all the things are done by "a few" people, they must be "Robocop" or "rambo" that are virtual heroes of films in any way. If all the things are done by "a few" people, Turkish Republic doesn't explain its activities in "struggle against the terrorism". Everything is done by this "a few" people.

There must be absolutely a logical explanation of these. All the things that are done, aren't and can not be independent from Turkish Republic and his politics. As Turkish Republic tries to explain it by sin goats, the problem can't be solved by sin goats, the struggle of fractions in ruling classes, "dissolving" and declaring on each other's "dirty clothes" the problem is not "a few" people, on the contrary his big dimension and there is state on the top of it, reveals apparently.

Well, as these are apparent, how do "the responsible" reduce the problem into the "a few mice" and how do they spend big efforts? Although all of these, who and which establishments are creators of the scene that has come?

Which establishment does the key of the lock have?

The things that Turkish Republic had done are apparent in Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan. There is a war in our country and this war is the strategy and tactics of counter war strategy "Low Intensity War" which is used by ruling classes against just war. What is the general logic of this war strategy?

"Low Intensity War" is a strategy to survive military, political, economical, cultural, social, psychological war. Who and which establishments are the appliers of this war strategy? First responsible and applier of the "Low Intensity War" is Turkish Armed Forces that contains armed forces of Turkish Republic namely, the counterguerrilla republic of fascist dictatorship. Is it enough to expose this problem like this?

Of course, our answer will be "no". There is a state that has an instrument having organised with all establishments against us. And how is the counter-guerrilla organisation of this state? Let's look for answers to these questions.

The organs and establishments of counter-guerrilla republic

We can not take up counter-guerrilla independent from fascist dictatorship.

"If we say generally, the existence of organisations in counter-guerrilla type depends on the existence of fascist dictatorship on the land that we live. Fascist dictatorship is rised on this kind of organisations. Organisations in counter-guerrilla type, developed and had variations parallel to revolutionary, national movement and move-

ments of people." (1)

Fascist dictatorship that is established to oppress the developing class and national struggle, varietied these establishments in many dimensions. Which organs and establishments are there in this counter-guerrilla war? And which organs and establishments does it organise to oppress the developing struggle?

When the fascist dictatorship counter-guerrilla republic which is the power and the state of comprador bourgeoisie and big landlords which tied to imperialism from their belly, entered into NATO, the existence of counter-guerrilla began to "argue" up to now in our country too. And in these arguments, the fact of Alparslan Turkes is the first leader of counter-guerrilla, has been revealed by their documents.

These arguments come up today by a certain dimension. But the representativeapplier of this is out of the argument everytime and "never can revealed truly" and the problems are comprehended as "a few events". Almost everybody knows these establishments and doesn't think them independent of the state today.

The creator and applier establishments are known as National Security Council and the organs which are related to it, General staff of Turkish Army, Commandership of Special Forces which is related to the Second Headquartership of General Staff (First name of this establishment was Study Council of Mobilization, After being a member of NATO its name becomes Department of Special War.

When the existence of counter-guerrilla began to argue, in 1994 its name changed to Headquartership Special Forces), Department of Propaganda-Psychological War, Intelligence Service of Gendarme, Special Team, Governorship of Extraordinary Rule, Ministry of Interior, National Intelligence Organisation, intelligence establishments. All of these establishments have branches in their own structure and there is division of labour between all of them.

Of course, although this scene is like this in generally, which duties are given to these organs and establishments in Unjust war and how this duties are tried to put into realisation in details, will not be mentioned because it is a title of an another article.

Quoting 31.15 Desert Regulations which is a regulation of counter-guerrilla to recognise the organisations of counter-guerrilla type better, will make the subject comprehensible. This will give some small indicates about which duties are loaded on which branches of this organisation and whom are they formed from.

<u>31.15</u> Local directors of policemen; The directory of the school and directors; Leading religion representatives; Judges and representatives of law; The leader of trade union or leaders; Publishers of effective media; And the other effective persons (2)

They organise civil fascists, Mafia, collaborators, agents etc. in counter-guerrilla

type of organisations and for realisation of politics in the axis of counter-guerrilla politics.

These are the complementary parts of the scene which reveals in today's conditions. When we take out only one part of a completely scene and try to build our idea on that piece, we will be across a part of a meaningless scene. But starting from parts, when we gather the pieces together, it will be seen mechanisms, organisations of the state with all dimensions. And the targets and aims of these will be apparently in front of us.

In the conditions that we are in, Un-regular War which is an Unjust war, stability movement, psychological war which are applied on Turkey's lands, will be seen and comprehended more clearly. We will see and comprehend the way of surviving the war of fascist dictatorship counter-guerrilla republic and their aims in this war.

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Sources:

(1) Special issue, December 9'th, 1996

(2) Talat Turhan, Special War-Terror and Counter-guerrilla