Utopia and History:
Political Movements, the Explosion of Communication and Education, and Unimaginable Encounters in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey

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Declaration of Originality

The intellectual content of this dissertation, which has been written by me and for which I take full responsibility, is my own, original work, and it has not been previously or concurrently submitted elsewhere for any other examination or degree of higher education. The sources of all paraphrased and quoted materials, concepts, and ideas are fully cited, and the admissible contributions and assistance of others with respect to the conception of the work as well as to linguistic expression are explicitly acknowledged herein.

Abstract

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Ummahan Ceren Ünlü Ertan, Doctoral Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2020

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This dissertation is a critique of historiography and presents a critical historical reading of leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, including both youth and worker movements. It scrutinizes historical narratives and the historical process of the politicization of the period. First, the coup d'état of September 12, 1980, is examined as both a rupture with harsh impacts on leftist politicization, especially on the practices of communication and education, as well as a constructive historiographical moment that sponsored a hegemonic historical narrative under the wave of neoliberalism. The study also analyzes the impact of the military memorandum of March 12, 1971, questioning the supposition that the intervention separated the 1960s from the 1970s. The dissertation analyzes testimonies and other historical narratives that have piled up since the late 1980s to interpret the trends in the remembrance and forgetting of the leftist politicization of the period.

Second, after introducing the concept of utopia as a theoretical tool to problematize the discrepancy between historical process and discourse, the dissertation conducts a critical historical reading via a problematized utilization of archival materials. It investigates the communication boom of the 1960s and 1970s – the proliferation of communicative practices and cultural production around leftist movements. It then traces the education boom – the broad concept and manifold practices of education by leftist associations, organizations, and trade unions. These two historical trends and their utopian features such as the sociopolitical encounters of

various social segments – which have been forgotten or rendered unimaginable in present narratives – are analyzed.

85,500 words

Özet

Ütopya ve Tarih: 1960'lar ve 1970'ler Türkiye'sinde Politik Hareketler, İletişim ve Eğitim Patlaması ve Hayal Edilemez Karşılaşmalar

Ummahan Ceren Ünlü Ertan, Doktora Adayı, 2020
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Profesör Dr. Meltem Ahıska ve Profesör Dr. Cengiz Kırlı, Tez Danışmanları

Bu tez, bir yandan, gençlik ve işçi hareketleri dahil olmak üzere, 1960'lar ve 1970'ler Türkiye'sinde sol hareketlerin yükselen politikleşmesinin tarihsel sürecini, öte yandan süreç üzerine olan tarihsel anlatıları inceleyerek hem bir tarihyazımı eleştirisi hem eleştirel bir tarih okuması yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. İlk olarak, 12 Eylül 1980 darbesi hem sol politikleşme – özellikle iletişim ve eğitim pratikleri – üzerinde yıkıcı etkileri olan bir kopuş anı hem neoliberalizm dalgalarını arkasına alarak hegemonik bir tarih anlatısını destekleyen yapıcı bir tarihyazımı anı olarak incelenmektedir. Bu hegemonik anlatı, geçmişin bazı öğelerini dışlarken, 1960'ları 1970'lerden ayırmakta ve bu ayrımın kırılma noktasını da 12 Mart 1971 askeri muhtırasıyla imlemektedir. Çalışma, 1971 askeri muhtırasının da benzer etkilerini araştırıp müdahalenin 1960'ları 1970'lerden ayırdığı savını sorgulamaktadır. Tezde, daha sonra, dönemin sol politikleşmesinin hatırlanma ve unutulma eğilimlerini yorumlamak üzere, 1980'lerin sonundan beri birikmiş tanıklıklar ve diğer tarihsel anlatılar incelenmektedir.

Tez, ütopya kavramını tarihsel süreç ve anlatı arasındaki boşluğu, hatırlanan ile yaşanan arasındaki ayrımı sorunsallaştırmaya yarayacak teorik bir araç olarak sunduktan sonra, arşiv belgelerini kullanarak eleştirel bir tarih okuması gerçekleştirmektedir. Öncelikle, 1960'lar ve 1970'lerde sol politik hareketler çevresinde görülen iletişim pratikleri ve kültürel üretimdeki çoğalmaya denk gelen iletişim patlaması araştırılmaktadır. Daha sonra, sol dernekler, örgütler ve sendikaların genişleyen eğitim algısı ve artan eğitim pratikleri, başka bir deyişle, eğitim patlaması incelenmektedir. Ütopya kavramı, yaşandığı anda mümkün olanın – sol politik

hareketler çevresinde gelişen iletişim ve eğitim patlamalarının ya da farklı toplumsal kesimler arasında bu iki tarihsel eğilimin ve politikleşmenin yol açtığı sosyopolitik karşılaşmaların – sonrasında neden hatırlanmadığını ya da hayal edilemez kılındığını anlamaya imkân sağlayacaktır.

85,500 kelime

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LANGUAGES

- Turkish – Native Speaker
- English – Fluent
- Italian – Novice

Umut'a

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AKD	Ankara Kadınlar Derneği (Women's Association of Ankara)
AP	Adalet Partisi (Justice Party)
AÜ	Ankara Üniversitesi (Ankara University)
Bank-Sen	Türkiye Devrimci Banka, Büro, Borsa ve Sigorta İşçileri Sendikası (Revolutionary Union of Bank, Office, Stock Exchange, and Insurance Workers of Turkey)
Basın-İş	Türkiye Basın Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası (Trade Union of Press Industry Workers of Turkey)
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
Çay-İş	Karadeniz Çay Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası (Trade Union of Tea Industry Workers of Karadeniz)
ÇHD	Çağdaş Hukukçular Derneği (Contemporary Lawyers' Association)
DDKD	Devrimci Demokratik Kültür Derneği (Revolutionary Democratic Culture Association)
DEŞ	Devrimci Eğitim Şurası (Council of Revolutionary Education)
DEK	Demokratik Eğitim Kurultayı (Congress of Democratic Education)
Deri-İş	Türkiye Deri, Debbağ, Kundura ve Saraciye Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası (Trade Union of Leather, Tanning, Shoe-Making, and Leathercraft Accessories Workers of Turkey)
DEV-GENÇ	Türkiye Devrimci Gençlik Federasyonu (Revolutionary Youth Federation of Turkey)
DEV-YOL	Devrimci Yol (Revolutionary Path)
DHKD	Devrimci Halk Kültür Derneği (Revolutionary People's Culture Association)
DİSK	Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions)

EMO	Elektrik Mühendisleri Odası (Chamber of Electrical Engineers)
FKF	Fikir Kulüpleri Federasyonu (Federation of Idea Clubs)
GENEL-İŞ	Türkiye Genel Hizmetler İşçileri Sendikası (Trade Union of Municipal Workers)
GSD	Görsel Sanatçılar Derneği (Association of Visual Artists)
HÜ	Hacettepe Üniversitesi (Hacettepe University)
İGD	İlerici Gençler Derneği (Progressivist Youth's Association)
IISH	International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam
İKD	İlerici Kadınlar Derneği (Progressivist Women's Association)
İLK-SEN	İlkokul Öğretmenler Sendikası (Trade Union of Elementary School Teachers)
İMO	İnşaat Mühendisleri Odası (Chamber of Civil Engineers)
İTÜ	İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi (Istanbul Technical University)
İÜ	İstanbul Üniversitesi (Istanbul University)
KÖGEF	Kıbrıslılar Öğrenim ve Gençlik Federasyonu (Education and Youth Federation of Cypriots)
KÖY-KOOP	Köy Kalkınma ve Tarımsal Amaçlı Kooperatifler Birliği (Association of Cooperatives for Village Development and Agriculture)
Lastik-İş	Türkiye Lastik, Kauçuk ve Plastik Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası (Trade Union of Tire, Rubber, and Plastics Industry Workers of Turkey)
Maden-İş	Türkiye Maden İşçileri Sendikası (Trade Union of Mining Workers of Turkey)
MGK	Milli Güvenlik Konseyi (National Security Council)
MHP	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party)
MSP	Milli Selamet Partisi (National Salvation Party)
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

ODTÜ	Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi (Middle Eastern Technical University)
ÖYDB	Öğretmen Yardımlaşma Dernekleri Birliği (Union of Teachers' Mutual Aid Associations)
PİM	Pahalılıkla – İşsizlikle Mücadele Derneği (Association Against High Cost of Living – Unemployment)
PTT	Posta Telefon Telgraf Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Post, Telegraph, and Telephone)
SSK	Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu (Social Insurance Administration)
TBMM	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Great National Assembly of Turkey)
TCK	Türk Ceza Kanunu (Turkish Criminal Law)
TDK	Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Institution)
THK	Türk Hukuk Kurumu (Turkish Law Foundation)
THKO	Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu (People's Liberation Army of Turkey)
THKP-C	Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Parti-Cephesi (People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey)
TİB	Tüm İktisatçılar Birliği (Association of All Economists)
TİP	Türkiye İşçi Partisi (Workers' Party of Turkey)
TKMD	Türkiye Komünizmle Mücadele Derneği (Association for Fighting Communism in Turkey)
TKÖDF	Türkiye Köy Öğretmen Dernekleri Federasyonu (Federation of Village Teachers' Associations of Turkey)
TKP	Türkiye Komünist Partisi (Communist Party of Turkey)
TKP/ML	Türkiye Komünist Partisi/Marksist Leninist (Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist Leninist)
TMMOB	Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects)
TÖB-DER	Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği (All Teachers' Association of Unity and Solidarity)
TÖDMB	Türkiye Öğretmen Dernekleri Milli Birliği (National Union of Teachers' Associations of Turkey)

TÖDMF	Türkiye Öğretmen Dernekleri Milli Federasyonu (National Federation of Teachers' Associations of Turkey)
TÖS	Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası (Teachers' Trade Union of Turkey)
TSİP	Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi (Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey)
TÜİK	Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)
TÜMAS	Tüm Üniversite, Akademi ve Yüksek Okul Asistanları Birliği (Association of All University, Academy, and College Assistants)
TÜM-DER	Tüm Memurlar Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği (All Civil Servants' Association of Unity and Solidarity)
TÜMÖD	Tüm Öğretim Üyeleri Derneği (Association of All Professors)
TÜRK-İŞ	Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Trade Unions of Turkey)
TÜS-DER	Tüm Sağlık Personeli Derneği (Association of All Health Employees
TÜSTAV	Türkiye Sosyal Tarih Araştırmaları Vakfı (Social History Research Foundation of Turkey)
TÜTED	Tüm Teknik Elemanlar Derneği (Association of All Technical Employees)
TYS	Türkiye Yazarlar Sendikası (Writers' Trade Union of Turkey)
ÜNAS	Üniversite Asistanları Sendikası (Trade Union of University Assistants)
YÖK	Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu (Council of Higher Education)

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I've finally finished writing my dissertation but it will never actually be finished, not only because I will continue to develop it in the coming years of my academic path but also because it will survive as pain in my cerebral cortex, as an experience worthy of a lifetime, as a memory striving to be forgotten, and as a utopia that I have and haven't reached at the same time.

NOTE: The in-house editor of the Atatürk Institute has made detailed recommendations with regard to the format, grammar, spelling, usage, syntax, and style of this dissertation.

1

Introduction

Writing contemporary history is a challenging task. Seemingly immune from the difficulties of studying remoter periods – a scarcity of sources or proficiency in a dead language – studying recent history deals with an opposite problem: an excess of historical materials. The historian of contemporary history faces past historical sources which include not only written and visual ones but also testimonies of witnesses. The historian must grapple with them in an immense struggle to classify, select, and eliminate them in order to frame a meaningful picture. Moreover, the researcher of the recent past must also tackle the question of objectivity and lack of reflexivity. Emphasizing the contemporary historian's "depriv[ation] of the usual historian's advantage of hindsight,"[1] most historians view askance whether the historical events that are still in living memory, which directly affect the period in which the researcher is living, can be narrated objectively and integrally. Pushing the study of recent history to the fringes or to the category of nonacademic works of biography and autobiography, many historians and laypersons alike question the necessity or respectability of writing recent history.

1 David Thomson, "The Writing of Contemporary History," *Journal of Contemporary History* 2, no. 1, "Historians on the Twentieth Century" (January 1967): 32.

This dissertation turns these challenges of writing contemporary history itself into a research subject. On one hand, the target is not only to unearth the historical events and trends of a period of recent past from a plethora of sources that is still fresh in memory but also to historicize this abundance of historical materials. One the other, turning the so-called weakness of a "lack of objectivity" into a research subject, the dissertation sets out to analyze the plenitude of historical narratives and the memory boom surrounding leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s and to decipher the present relations of power that have framed and reframed the relevant historiography and memory. In other words, this dissertation arms itself with the complexities and impediments of studying contemporary history.

This study has two targets. Situated at the crossroads where the past and present meet and split, the dissertation conducts both a critique of historiography and presents a critical historical reading of the leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s, including both youth and worker movements. Both the historical process of and historical narratives on the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey are analyzed. Starting from the end of the period, when the intervention of the coup d'état of September 12, 1980 harshly suppressed the leftist political movements of the period, this study first lays out a historical inventory of the severe impact of the intervention on leftist politicization. It criticizes the hegemonic historical narrative sponsored by the state after 1980 along with present concerns that have influenced this narrative. The study engages in a similar critique of the impact of the military memorandum of March 12, 1971, and questions the supposition that it sharply divided the history of the 1960s from that of the 1970s. The study then sets off for more recent history to analyze testimonies and other historical narratives that have emerged since the late 1980s to decipher trends of remembering and forgetting with respect to leftist politicization in the 1960s and 1970s.

After introducing the concept of utopia as a theoretical tool with which to criticize historical narratives and frame a critical historical reading, the dissertation turns from the realm of the present to that of the past

– embarking on a journey to unearth neglected moments of history via a problematic utilization of archival materials. The study first investigates the communication boom of the 1960s and 1970s – that is, the proliferation of communicative practices and cultural production around leftist political movements. Second, it traces a similar explosion in the realm of education, namely the education boom – incorporating the broad concept and multiple practices of education in the hands of the leftist associations, organizations, and trade unions.

All in all, the dissertation presents a critical history of the 1960s and 1970s focusing on historical trends in communication and education that sprouted around leftist political mobility, along with the expanded socio-political possibilities that they released. At the same time, it criticizes existing narratives that have dominated history since 1980. Spoiler alert: an investigation into the history and historiography of the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s reveals a gap between the historical process and the discourses on that process – a gap that is generated by power relations in the present and the past. This dissertation problematizes this gap and tells the story of the communication and education booms as expanded historical possibilities, or utopias, of the past that have been forgotten or that are perceived as unimaginable in the present.

§ 1.1 Outline through Concepts

Avoiding Identifying the Period as 1968. Every piece of writing starts with a title: with identification. This dissertation is, above all, about leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. In many accounts, this section of history is identified as "the Turkish 1968." Correspondingly, a memory boom surrounds the events every ten-years thereafter; the decennial anniversaries of the political events are characterized by the emergence of related publications, the organization of commemorative events, and, thus, an increase in the public memory. 1968 is a symbolic date not only in the West but also in Turkey, and is universally associated with the upsurge of leftist political movements at the time. For the Turkish case, 1968 might be a neat title but has its problems.

This dissertation refrains from identifying the period as "the Turkish 1968." As the study makes clear in the following pages, 1968 was indeed a year of rising political protest in Turkey, as in the West, but the heightening of leftist politics did not start in 1968 nor was confined to this year. Moreover, as broached in the subsequent two chapters, highlighting 1968 as a symbolic date has further connotations. First, accentuating the date of 1968 contributed to confining the leftist political rise of the period to youth politics – to the post-factum *generation of '68* or *the 68ers*, which is almost entirely composed of young militants of the 1960s. Thus, the reference to 1968 has a propensity to disguise the presence of workers and peasants as political actors in the period. Second, the emergence of 1968 as a year for commemoration coincides with the commodification of the events which has accompanied nostalgia and their mythologization. The objectification of iconic images to be consumed, the mythologization of prominent student leaders, and the rise of nostalgia about the events not only cloud the remembrance of the period but also contribute to its "depoliticization."[2]

Third, peculiar to the Turkish case, the discovery of "1968" in the second half of the 1980s thrust the 1970s into the back row of history, casting a shadow on the political path of the 1970s while eliminating that of the 1960s. The invention of the year 1971 as a historical break and almost as an antithesis to 1968 has masked continuities from the 1960s and throughout the 1970s. The progression of the praxes of communication and education throughout these two decades are scrutinized in this dissertation, exemplifying this continuity. Therefore, the identification of the period as 1968 operates as an obstacle to remembrance that has rendered certain political elements of the period and continuities between decades unimaginable in the present. For this reason, the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s is not identified as "the Turkish 1968" in this study.

Two Sides of Historicity. Chapter 2 of this dissertation engages first in a critique of historiography. Employing Michel-Rolph Trouillot's notion of "two sides of historicity," the study analyzes both "what happened" –

2 Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 3, 6.

namely, the historical process – and "that which is said to have happened" – namely, the historical narratives about the process.[3] Strictly speaking, chapter 2 scrutinizes the historical process of the coup d'états of 1980 and 1971 with their effects on the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s and the historical discourses about them. Reversing the chronology, the study starts from the end of this period – that is, in 1980. The impact of the military intervention of September 12, 1980, on leftist political movements with their heightened practices of communication and education is analyzed through an archival study. A similar analysis is conducted for the military memorandum of March 12, 1971, underlining "what happened."

On the other hand, in the realm of "that which is said to have happened," the chapter traces the historiography sponsored by the state after 1980. Here, the impact of September 12 parts from that of March 12. The coup of 1980 was both a main historical event in the recent history of Turkey and a historiographical landmark that shaped the outlines of the historical narrative of leftist politicization in the 1960s and 1970s. The official historical narrative sponsored by the instigators of September 12 identifies the military memorandum of 1971 as a historical barrier separating the 1960s and 1970s and the political movements of the two decades. However, the intervention of 1971 itself, although harsh on leftist movements, did not enjoy a similar historiographical privilege. What separates 1980 from 1971 was that not only that the implementation of the coup in 1980 was more severe but also the impact of September 12 proceeded along the lines of an international, profound process of transformation: neoliberalism.

Historical Ruptures. In this study, military interventions are handled as historical ruptures that not only break the historical process by forcibly transforming the political, socioeconomic, and cultural direction of the country but also by constructing historical narratives. The coup

3 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 2.

d'états of 1960, 1971, and 1980, which start, cut, and end the historical period on which this study focuses, are historical breaks that set temporal limits and divide eras. While acknowledging the status of the coup of 1960 as a point of rupture, this dissertation does not address the effects of it on periodization. It addressed the military interventions of 1971 and 1980, examining their impact on the rupture of history and construction of historiography at the same time. However, unquestioningly interpreting the military coups as impervious historical and historiographical barriers conceals certain continuities between the eras. Indeed, the archival analysis in the following pages reveals a continuity between the 1960s and 1970s in terms of leftist politicization, along with its byproducts, namely booms in communication and education. This dissertation expresses the need to pursue a critical historical reading that problematizes the historiographical impact of the coup of 1980 and dissects this narrative to expose the continuities between the 1960s and 1970s that have been obscured by the historiographical hegemony.

Presentism. This dissertation hunts after divergences and convergences between a historical process and historical narratives on that process, not for the purpose of fact checking but to decipher present concerns and political conditions that prop up the differences. Following Trouillot, the dissertation asserts that these divergences and convergences are historically constructed by the exercise of power in the present.[4] Correspondingly, the coup of September 12, combined with the neoliberal transformation that started in the 1980s, constructed a historical narrative on leftist movements of the earlier period by highlighting, manufacturing, and excluding certain historical elements. In this state-sponsored history, not only the continuity between the 1960s and 1970s but also historical elements such as the explosions in communication and education have been sidelined. The critical historical reading that this dissertation undertakes challenges this hegemonic narrative, demolishing its assumptions and engaging in a historical study that brings to light

4 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 3.

these historical occurrences through a problematized utilization of archival materials.

Public Memory. Chapter 3 analyzes the extended realm of the present by examining biographies, autobiographies, journalistic accounts, and academic studies that concern leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey that have proliferated since the late 1980s. This examination of various testimonies and interpretations uncovers shared and diverse characteristics of remembering and forgetting the period, or in other words, the trends of the public memory. This dissertation employs Esra Özyürek's term "public memory," instead of collective or social memory, to emphasize the fact that even in a collectivity, memories are not always collective or shared. Differing or contending memories, as well as common ones, exist within any group. "Public memory" incorporates shared and differing memories and brings a dynamic approach to remembering that does not exclude debate, confrontation, and controversy.[5] Therefore, the term is useful and appropriate for incorporating both harmonious and deviating narratives in the testimonies on leftist movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Chapter 3 presents a critical analysis of these testimonies which demonstrates convergences and divergences in ideology and approach, again questioning the present conditions that underline them. The aim is to overcome "active forgetting"[6] within the testimonies that overlook or exclude elements of the past, such as the presence of workers in leftist politicization, politicized encounters among different segments of society (like students, workers, peasants, and intellectuals), and the continuity between the 1960s and 1970s.

Utopia as a Tool for Historiography. Chapter 3 then introduces the concept of utopia, not as an island of impossibility but as the product of a sociohistorical process. In this dissertation, utopia is employed as a theoretical instrument that functions in the narrative gaps. Utopia as a conceptual tool is instrumental in problematizing the empty space between the past and the present – between "what happened" and "that which is

5 Esra Özyürek, Introduction to *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 8-9.

6 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 3.

said to have happened" in the 1960s and 1970s. It helps to detect moments of expanded possibility in the past, such as the explosions in communication and education that have been deemed unimaginable through the conceptual lenses of the present. Thus, the historiographical tool of utopia helps to puncture the official historical narrative that was sponsored by military and that affected public memory after 1980. Therefore, it opens a path to create a critical historical narrative on leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s. In brief, this dissertation argues that the empty spaces between what happened and the corresponding narratives of what happened are filled by political concerns in the present and utopian moments in the past. The conceptual tool of utopia is instrumental in both excavating past events and questioning current historical narratives.

Communication Boom. The dissertation proceeds to conduct a thorough examination on the site of the past to frame a critical historical reading of leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. Chapter 4 analyzes one utopian moment of the past, namely the communication boom of the 1960s and 1970s. The period was characterized by a proliferation of communications and publications in the form of books, periodicals, leaflets, brochures, bulletins, posters, graffiti, forums, speeches, discussions, and encounters, especially around leftist political movements. The quantitative rise in communications was expedited by heightened politicization. Every leftist group, with their proclivity for political organization, propaganda, and movement, strove to propagate their ideas among the public. In conclusion, new practices of communication emerged which were direct, radical, and dispersed throughout the country and among different segments of the population. This explosion in communication resulted in, first, a social decompartmentalization that shattered to some extent the divisions among those with the social and occupational privilege to read and write and those without it and, second, new relationships among different social groups. Moreover, as the research reveals, the boom in communication continued from the 1960s throughout the 1970s.

Education Boom. Chapter 5 analyzes another moment of expanded possibility of the 1960s and 1970s, that is, the education boom. Like the explosion in communication, the period was characterized by the proliferation of government and nongovernment practices of education, as well as a broadening of the understanding of education. The study particularly focuses on the expanding educational practices and ideas of unionized and associated teachers in schools as well as leftist political organizations and trade unions outside of schools. An archeological dig into archives unearthed a rise in belief in the revolutionary role of education that sparked educational practices that went beyond the classrooms. This explosion resulted in the emergence of revolutionary, egalitarian ideas about and practices of education that paved the way for the encounters between the educated and uneducated. Furthermore, as in the communication boom, the explosion in education did not end with the military memorandum of 1971. Chapters 4 and 5 retrieve the explosions in communication and education in the 1960s and 1970s from the archives as utopian moments of the past that have been largely ignored or forgotten in historical narratives and public memory.

Ideological and Organizational Diversity of the 1960s and 1970s. The subjects analyzed in chapters 4 and 5 make it clear that the realm of leftist politics in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey abounded with political groups, ideological fractions within those groups, and differing political opinions rather than ideological and organizational unanimity. Thus, while this leftist politicization progressed along certain shared ideas and lines of political action that are traced in this dissertation, at the same time it incorporated schisms within organizations, multiple ideas, and ideological debates that sometimes turned into verbal and physical confrontations. Similar to the testimonies on the period that are examined in chapter 3, the political and ideological stances in the 1960s and 1970s had both convergences and divergences. The ideas excavated from the archives and presented in chapters 4 and 5 exhibit distinctions and contentions as well as points of intersection. Thus, the explosions in communication and education that flourished around leftist political organizations of the period

were built on these distinctions and intersections; they were characterized by this atmosphere of debate rather than by harmonious practices of communication or corresponding ideas on education. Thus, this dissertation identifies utopian moments of the past not in the content of communications and discussion but in the practice of them.

Anti-imperialism. Revolutionism and belief in the possibility of revolution were the cement that held together leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. A glance at the ideological accumulation and history of political action in the period demonstrates that the idea of revolution and projects to fulfill it usually coincided with the notion of anti-imperialism. This was not particular to the Turkish case. In underdeveloped countries like Turkey, the rise of leftist political movements in the 1960s generally proceeded along the axis of anti-imperialism. After the Second World War, more than fifty countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America gained independence through successful wars of liberation. Correlating national liberation with anti-imperialism, these newly-independent countries set off to search for ways to achieve economic development outside the capitalist path.[7] In the 1960s, these searches provided emerging political movements in developing countries with an ideological foundation. In an atmosphere of global political upsurge, the distinctive economic and political path of Cuba,[8] India's war against Portugal in 1961,[9] liberation struggles in the Middle East,[10] resistance movements in the Southeastern Asian countries of Cambodia, Laos, and Indonesia, and especially Vietnam's resistance against the American offensive[11] influenced the course of leftist movements in countries like Turkey.

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7 Gökhan Atılgan, "Türkiye Sosyalist Hareketinde Anti-Emperyalizm ve Bağımsızlıkçılık (1920-1971)," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 8: Sol*, ed. Murat Gültekingil (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 680.

8 "Küba Devriminin Zaferi," *Genç Öncü* 8 (January 1979): 24-27.

9 "Sömürgeciliğin Çöküşü," *YÖN* 2 (December 27, 1961): 17.

10 "Arap Halklarının Kurtuluş Mücadelesini Hiçbir Güç Durduramıyacaktır," *Proleter Devrimci Aydınlık* 9, no. 23 (September 1970): 369-376.

11 Okay Gönensin, "Güney-Doğu Asya'da Emperyalizm ve Halk Savaşı," *Aydınlık: Sosyalist Dergi* 24 (October 1970): 478-495; Gérard Chaliand, "Kuzey Vietnam Nasıl Direniyor?" *Türk Solu* 40 (August 20, 1968): 4-5.

The history of the Turkish Republic itself bestowed activists with an example of a successful anti-imperialist struggle, namely its own historic War of Liberation (Kurtuluş Savaşı) and the subsequent foundation of the republic. Thus, in the 1960s, leftist political activists considered the ideology of Kemalism as a historically-proven path to liberation. In the first half of the 1960s, leading platforms and figures of the Turkish left – such as the milieu of the periodical *YÖN*, the Workers' Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Partisi, or TİP), and Mihri Belli, a prominent activist and writer who particularly affected youth politics in the period through his theorization of a national democratic revolution (*milli demokratik devrim*) – prioritized in the revolutionary struggle to the fight for the economic and political liberation of Turkey vis-à-vis imperialism in their revolutionary rhetoric. For them, in order for a revolution to occur in Turkey, the country had to first gain its independence from imperialist countries through a "Second War of Liberation."[12]

Youth politics in the 1960s and 1970s also adopted the idea of anti-imperialism as a leading principle and combined it with Kemalism. To illustrate, in an article published in January 1970, Mahir Çayan, one of the youth activists and theoretical contributors of the period, regarded anti-imperialism as an indispensable component of Kemalism, which was a movement of national liberation. For him, the national liberationist character of Kemalism is what kept it alive as an ideology; because, as he asserted in 1971, the anti-imperialist character of Kemalism is what approached it to leftist politics.[13] Correspondingly, leftist youth of the period struggled against American imperialism, demonstrated against the arrival of the American Sixth Fleet,[14] protested Turkey's involvement

12 Atılgan, "Türkiye Sosyalist Hareketinde Anti-Emperyalizm," 683-685.

13 Mahir Çayan, "Sağ Sapma, Devrimci Pratik ve Teori," *Aydınlık: Sosyalist Dergi* 15 (January 1970): 213-214; Çayan, "Kesintisiz Devrim," in *Teorik Yazılar* (Istanbul: Gökkuşağı Basın Yayın, 1996), 317-318.

14 Harun Karadeniz, *Olaylı Yıllar ve Gençlik* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1995), 65-67; "6'ıncı Filonun Gelişinin 3'üncü Gününde Protesto… Çatışma… Ve 40 Yaralı Var," *Milliyet*, July 18, 1968, 1, 7.

in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),[15] and fought for "a fully independent really democratic Turkey."[16] Therefore, revolutionism in the 1960s and 1970s was intertwined with notions of anti-imperialism, national liberation, nationalism, and independent political and economic development.

However, while anti-imperialism remained an ideological umbrella, leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey did not entirely support Kemalism. Criticisms of the historical and ideological path of Kemalism emerged among leftist movements of the period. For instance, Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, a prominent revolutionary and theoretician, regarded Kemalism as "a movement of rural usury that attempted at colonial liberation."[17] Similarly, for İbrahim Kaypakkaya, a leading youth activist of the period, the history of Kemalism was not an example of a proletarian revolution but of a bourgeois one that did not eliminate the dominance of the comprador bourgeoisie.[18] Accordingly, in the second half of the 1960s, the axis of anti-imperialism became a source of political fractures and discussion that provided the Turkish left into opposing organizations and factions. Major groups and actors of the left diverged in their interpretations of the equilibrium between anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles – their projections about a new government order and their opinions on which class would lead the revolution.[19]

Further analysis of the notion of anti-imperialism in the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey does not fall within the scope of this dissertation but it is important that it was one of the main lines along which the ideas, discussions, demonstrations, ideological

15 "NATO Meselesini Doğru Koyalım!" *Türk Solu* 10 (January 23, 1968): 1.

16 "Tam Bağımsız Gerçekten Demokratik Türkiye İçin," "Neden Çıkıyoruz?" *Türk Solu* 1 (November 17, 1967): 1.

17 "… taşra tefeciliğinin sömürge kurtuluşuna kalkışan bir hareket[…]"), Hikmet Kıvılcımlı cited in Orhan Koçak, "Kemalizmi Aşmak?" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 8: Sol*, ed. Murat Gültekingil (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 638.

18 Ateş Uslu, "İbrahim Kaypakkaya ve Proleter Devrimin Güncelliği," in *Mühürler*, ed. Gökhan Atılgan (Istanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2019), 475.

19 Gökhan Atılgan, "Türkiye Sosyalist Hareketinde Anti-Emperyalizm," 686, 702.

agreements, and political contentions that this study analyzes progressed. Anti-imperialism and "a fully independent Turkey" was both a major component of the utopia of the leftist activists and theoreticians of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey as well as a major source of intellectual accumulation, discussion, and communication. The political ideas and actions analyzed in this dissertation swing between the political embrace of the history and principles of Kemalism and a newly-emerging critique of it, between national anti-imperialism and global proletarian struggle, and between socioeconomic conditions peculiar to Turkey and observation of both anti-imperialist struggles and "the Western 1968" in a world that had become smaller via recent developments in the media.

§ 1.2 Sources and the Gap in the Literature

This dissertation is based on an analysis of archival materials, testimonies, and newspapers. In a six-month stay in Amsterdam, I had access to the International Institute of Social History (IISH) and its vast resources on leftist political movements in Turkey consisting of documents on political parties, political organizations, and trade unions as well as court decisions and an immense collection of periodicals. The Social History Research Foundation of Turkey (Türkiye Sosyal Tarih Araştırmaları Vakfı, or TÜSTAV) in Istanbul also possessed archival documents and periodicals on leftist politicization of the period. Both institutions not only manage large collections of archival materials but have embraced the duty to save documents pertaining to the past of the Turkish left from government interference and to make their vast collections available to researchers. Therefore, a historical study based on these documents has the potential to problematize the official historical narrative of the Turkish left and frame a critical one.[20]

20 Given the abundance of sources concerning leftist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, this study did not analyze the archive of the History Foundation (Tarih Vakfı). Nevertheless, this dissertation does not fall short of analyzing most of the materials that History Foundation records inventory include such as the papers of the TİP.

In addition to documents and periodicals from the IISH and the TÜSTAV, this dissertation benefits from the minutes of sessions of the National Security Council (Milli Güvenlik Konseyi, or MGK) founded after the coup d'état of September 12, 1980, from martial law ordinances issued after the military memorandum of March 12, 1971, and from promulgations in the *Official Gazette* (*Resmi Gazete*). These are peepholes from which to observe and interpret the policies of military following the coups of September 12 and March 12 vis-à-vis heightened leftist politicization in the 1960s and 1970s. The MGK minutes and issues of the *Official Gazette* are available online from the websites of the Great National Assembly of Turkey (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, or TBMM) and the *Official Gazette*, respectively. For the ordinances of March 12, Zafer Üskül's compilation *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi* has been more than beneficial.[21] Moreover, research of *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* newspapers has provided further access to martial ordinances. This dissertation investigates these two newspapers in-depth to trace past events surrounding leftist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, as well. Moreover, this study uses statistics of the Turkish Statistical Institute (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, or TÜİK) and the bylaws of the Constitutions of 1961 and 1980.

In addition to primary sources, biographies and autobiographies of the leftist activists of the period have also been analyzed. These testimonies are handled as primary sources – as the components and constituents of the historical narrative and memory that have been framed and reframed since the 1980s. Besides such testimonies, journalistic studies on the topic that provide insight into the construction of a historical narrative of the period have also been examined.

As for secondary sources, academic works on leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey are analyzed as well as those on "the Western 1968." Works that provide a general view of the political and socioeconomic history of Turkey are also used. Furthermore, studies that

21 M. Zafer Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014.

provide theoretical insight into the subjects of the politics of historiography, memory, and utopia, along with those examining matters of neoliberalism, the working class, the politics of archives, periodization, and libricide are investigated.

For access to the primary and secondary sources, other than those of the IISH and the TÜSTAV, this dissertation benefited immensely from the Boğaziçi University Library (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi), the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality's Atatürk Library (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı), the Turkish Religious Foundation's Center for Islamic Studies (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi), and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's Beyazıt Public Library (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi).

The literature on the heightened politicization of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey mostly focuses on personalities, political organizations, and thought movements. Biographies and autobiographies comprise the bulk of literature, though there are also general studies of Turkish political history that touch on leftist political movements of the period. Suavi Aydın and Yüksel Taşkın's *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, *Türkiye'nin 1960'lı Yılları* edited by Mete Kaan Kaynar, and Erik Jan Zürcher's *Turkey: A Modern History* fall into this category.[22] There are also analytical historical studies that specifically address the issue of the Turkish left in the 1960s and 1970s, as exemplified by Ergun Aydınoğlu's *Türkiye Solu (1960-1980)*, Vehbi Ersan's *1970'lerde Türkiye Solu*, or Haluk Yurtsever's *Yükseliş ve Düşüş: Türkiye Solu, 1960-1980*.[23] There are studies that conduct an institutional history of trade unions and political associations through documentation of historical sources, such as İsmail Aydın's *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, Süreyya Aygül's *Türkiye'de Sendika-Siyaset İlişkisi: DİSK (1967-1975)*, Halit

22 Suavi Aydın and Yüksel Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014); Mete Kaan Kaynar, ed., *Türkiye'nin 1960'lı Yılları* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017); Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005).

23 Ergun Aydınoğlu, *Türkiye Solu (1960-1980): Bir Amneziğin Anıları* (Istanbul: Versus Kitap, 2007); Vehbi Ersan, *1970'lerde Türkiye Solu* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013); Haluk Yurtsever, *Yükseliş ve Düşüş: Türkiye Solu, 1960-1980* (Istanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2016).

Çelenk's *Hukuk Açısından TÖB-DER Davası*, Canan Koç and Yıldırım Koç's *DİSK Tarihi*, Yıldırım Koç's *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, and Muazzez Pervan's *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği (1975-80)*.[24] Studies such as Gökhan Atılgan's *Yön-Devrim Hareketi* and Hikmet Özdemir's *Yön Hareketi* shed light on a stream of the intellectual history of the period.[25] Özgür Mutlu Ulus's *Türkiye'de Sol ve Ordu (1960-1971)* addresses the specific issue of how leftist movements approached the army and military coups.[26] Emin Alper's *Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971)* presents the evolution of leftist student movements and their political opportunities between two coup d'états.[27] The articles in *1968: İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük*, edited by Ömer Turan, not only trace "1968" in different countries and societies but also give insight into the experiences of underanalyzed political subjects.[28]

While these studies capably narrate and interpret the lives of revolutionaries, the political trajectories of leftist organizations, the movements and transmission of ideology, and principal historical developments, most of the existing literature falls short of going beyond biography and histories of political organizations and thought movements in isolation. Studies with comprehensive analyses that connect the movements of the period socially or culturally are exceptional. In other words, the literature that incorporates testimonies and analyses leaves a historical field empty,

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24 İsmail Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi* (Ankara: Eğitim-Sen Yayınları, 2016); Süreyya Algül, *Türkiye'de Sendika-Siyaset İlişkisi: DİSK (1967-1975)* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016); Halit Çelenk, *Hukuk Açısından TÖB-DER Davası* (Ankara: Eğit-Der Yayınları, 1990); Canan Koç and Yıldırım Koç, *DİSK Tarihi: Efsane mi, Gerçek mi? (1967-1980)* (Ankara: Epos Yayınları, 2008); Yıldırım Koç, *Kuruluşunun 50. Yıldönümünde (Belgelerle) Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi* (Bursa: Kuzgun Kitap, 2015); Muazzez Pervan, *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği (1975-80): "Kırmızı Çatkılı Kadınlar"ın Tarihi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013).

25 Gökhan Atılgan, *Kemalizm ile Marksizm Arasında Geleneksel Aydınlar: Yön-Devrim Hareketi* (Istanbul: TÜSTAV, 2002); Hikmet Özdemir, *Kalkınmada Bir Strateji Arayışı: Yön Hareketi* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1986).

26 Özgür Mutlu Ulus, *Türkiye'de Sol ve Ordu (1960-1971)* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016).

27 Emin Alper, *Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971)* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2019).

28 Ömer Turan, ed., *1968: İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2019).

one that was filled with social and cultural trends and that expanded the realm of possibilities that surrounded the leftist movements. This dissertation fills this empty space by conducting a critique of existing historical narratives in testimonies and a problematized analysis of archival materials. With these tools in hand, the dissertation follows a criticism of the pertinent hegemonic historical narrative with a focus on two neglected historical elements in the 1960s and 1970s that flourished around the leftist movements of the period, namely the communication and education booms.

This dissertation sheds light on leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s and the utopian islands of communication and education that sprouted around them. In a poem he penned while a prisoner in a solitary confinement cell in the Selimiye Barracks (Selimiye Kışlası), Mahir Çayan described an island that seemed to "defy the nature of things."

…
In the middle of the Sea of Darkness,
There is an island on which the sun never sets.
    I don't belong anywhere,
But to this island,
My island is forested.
    A forest of friendship, camaraderie, valor,
    covers my entire Island.
The sun of virtue shines upon my Island for twenty-four hours,
we islanders do not know darkness.
    I'm an Islander, oh cruel cell, an Islander.
    How would you know my Island
oh age-old, feudal-militarist cell?
…
"There is no such island even in poems, in tales.
Such an island defies the nature of things."
Isn't it for you, the dark poet of darkness?
…

it defies the nature of darkness.[29]

Çayan was an influential member of the growing politicization of the 1960s and 1970s. He profoundly affected the progress of the Turkish left in the period, first as a student and member of the Federation of Idea Clubs (Fikir Kulüpleri Federasyonu, or FKF) in Ankara University (Ankara Üniversitesi, or AÜ) and later as a young militant and one of the founders of the People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey (Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Parti-Cephesi, or THKP-C). Moreover, through his articles in the significant leftist journals *Türk Solu* and *Aydınlık: Sosyalist Dergi*, the brochures he published, and the political trips he took in Anatolia, he contributed to an effusion in communication that surged in parallel with the rise of politicization.[30] His influence is not confined to that period but transcended his lifetime; he secured his place in the public memory of the 1960s and 1970s as a member of *the '68 generation*, a post factum designation. Imprisoned in June 1971 for unlawful actions in the name of the THKP-C, Çayan spent his days in incarceration documenting his reflections on the political and socioeconomic system of Turkey and his experiences as a revolutionary trying to change that system in his poem "The World of the Islander in the Cell,"[31] as an "islander in the cell." This island was his utopia, what Ernst Bloch would call a utopia of a "concrete"[32] kind, which was ephemerally-realized sometime in the 1960s and early 1970s.

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29 "… Karanlık Denizi'nin ortasında, / Güneşi batmayan bir ada. / Ben ne şuralıyım ne buralı, / Adalıyım adalı, / Adam ormanlıktır. / Dostluk, yoldaşlık, mertlik ormanı, / bütün Ada'mı kaplar. / Erdemin güneşi, yirmi dört saat aydınlatır Ada'mı / biz ada sakinleri bilmeyiz karanlığı. / Ben Adalıyım ey kahpe hücre, Adalı. / Doğru ya sen nereden bileceksin Ada'mı. / asırlık, feudal-militarist, hücre… "Değil şiirlerde, masallarda bile böyle bir ada yoktur. / Böyle bir ada eşyanın tabiatına aykırıdır." / Senin için değil mi karanlıkların kapkara şairi?… karanlığın tabiatına aykırıdır…" Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Mahir* (Istanbul: Su Yayınları, 2000), 354, 358. All translations in the text and footnotes are mine unless indicated otherwise.

30 Ibid., 36, 100, 140, 200, 257, 271, 299.

31 "Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı Savcısının Hazırladığı Çayan Hücresi ile İlgili İddianame'nin Özeti," *Milliyet*, August 21, 1971, 5; "Hücredeki Adalının Dünyası," Feyizoğlu, *Mahir*, 357.

32 Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope, Volume One*, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice, and Paul Knight (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 144.

This dissertation recounts the particular political acts of neither Çayan nor any other influential revolutionary of the 1960s and 1970s, nor does it portray the journey of the THKP-C or any another political organization. It departs from the "island" that Çayan portrayed and traces the heightened politicization and the expanded historical possibilities it released by problematizing testimonies and archival findings as well as the gap between the two. It does not narrate the memories of or about singular figures but shows the trends of memory and historiography and traces the political effects of the present on remembrance and forgetting. The dissertation tacks two-ways. On one hand, it engages in a historical analysis of the 1960s and 1970s trailing the archival footsteps of the historical "islands" of communication and education booms of the period as both products and igniters of escalated politicization. On the other, it deciphers the politics of historiography and public memory through the discursive effects of the coup d'états and present political concerns.

2

History Through Coup D'états

… flamma fumo est proxima.[1]

– Titus Maccius Plautus, "Curculio," *Plautus in Five Volumes II*

Early autumn is usually warm, even summery in most regions of Turkey. However, in September 1980, witnesses all over the country noticed smoke was rising from the chimneys of the houses throughout Turkey, as if coal- or wood-burning stoves were lit. In a short span, it was clear that these stoves were not fueled by coal but by books; the kindling was not firewood but periodicals. In the days following the coup d'état of September 12, 1980, numerous books of *politically inconvenient* content were burnt, buried, or thrown into the sea by their owners.[2] The burning paper over-heated the houses, in hopes of eluding the police search and subsequent incrimination, since such books and journals were regarded

1 "… first smoke, then flames," in Titus Maccius Plautus, "Curculio," *Plautus in Five Volumes II*, trans. Paul Nixon (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), 192.

2 Orhan Apaydın, "Faşist Uygulamalara Karşı Yasal Direnme," in *Toplatılan Kitaplardan Seçmeler* (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazarlar Sendikası Yayınları, 1976), 62.

as evidence of crime under martial law.[3] Thus, the junta of September 12 arose from the ashes of books.

This chapter, on one hand, analyzes the fires and ashes, namely the impact of the military coups of March 12, 1971, and September 12, 1980, on the heightened leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s and the subsequent praxes of communication and education in Turkey. Along with the historical impact of coup d'états on "what happened," this chapter also examines their drastic influence on "that which is said to have happened,"[4] namely on history-writing and public memory in Turkey. The last two chapters of this dissertation analyze these heightened praxes of communication and education, while this and the following chapter focus on matters of historiography and memory. This chapter asserts that the military coups in Turkey's recent history, especially the one in 1980, are central, indispensable elements of Turkish historiography, not only as major historical events but also as historiographical landmarks that established temporal boundaries and divide eras. As major determinants of historiography, the military coups of Turkey both construct and rupture the history at the same time, first as building blocks that dominate the historiography and memory on the 1960s and 1970s and second as milestones that sharply sever the 1950s from the 1960s, the 1960s from the 1970s, and the 1970s from the 1980s.

The archival analysis of the period and survey of the memoirs covered in this dissertation acknowledge the drastic impact of the military interventions of 1971 and especially 1980 on the politics, economy, society, and culture of Turkey. However, whereas the brunt of September 12 and its subsequent historiography and recollection almost overlap, a slightly different tally of "what happened" and "that which is said to have happened"

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3 "1402 Sayılı Sıkıyönetim Kanununun Bazı Maddelerinin Değiştirilmesine İlişkin Kanun Tasarısı ile Aynı Kanunun 2nci Maddesinin Son Fıkrasının Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun Teklifinin Danışma Meclisince Kabul Olunan Metinleri ve Millî Güvenlik Konseyi Millî Savunma Komisyonu Raporu," Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, accessed July 10, 2017, https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/MGK_/d01/c007/mgk_01007124ss0515.pdf, 2, 7-9.

4 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 2.

can be inferred from the archives with regards to March 12, especially in terms of two fields: the communicative and educational practices of leftist activists. This chapter also analyzes the facts that gave the coup of September 12 a historiographical authority over the coup of March 12. In most written records post-1980, the military memorandum of 1971 is considered a historical barrier, as impassable as September 12, standing impenetrably between the 1960s and 1970s, between the post factum generations of '68 and '78. Nevertheless, in terms of multifarious means of communication and emphasis on nongovernment practices of education, there is a mostly overlooked or forgotten continuity between the 1960s and 1970s, even though the military intervention of March 12 and subsequent rule sought to suppress these practices in particular. The resultant discrepancy between history as it happened and history as it is written or remembered conceivably stems from the fact that the military intervention of 1980 has dominated Turkey's subsequent historiography. It is a historiographical chicken-and-egg-problem. The severity of military intervention and political dominance of the army in Turkey's recent history have reasonably made coup d'états and military memorandums indispensable for the writing and recollection of history, which in historiographical terms have made anchors of the army interventions. They are period-breakers and era-definers. The political, economic, social, and cultural continuities that survived the sieves of the coups but have been sifted out by historiography and memory are waiting to be discovered on the dusty shelves of archives.

This chapter is mainly based on a thorough study of the minutes of the MGK, ordinances of martial law command bases established after the military memorandum of 1971, promulgations in the *Official Gazette*, and newspaper reports from *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. Grounded in these historical materials, the chapter first examines the ending of this period by the military coup of September 12, 1980, analyzing both historical examples of terminated communication and education and their subsequent reflections in historiography and recollection. Afterward, a similar historical and historiographical analysis is conducted for the military memorandum of March 12, 1971, questioning the assertion that 1971 was also a

historically terminal milestone. Lastly, the significance of military interventions in Turkey's history and memory is considered from a historiographical perspective, utilizing Michel-Rolph Trouillot's characterization of "two sides of historicity," which is the coexistence of – or convergence or divergence of – "what happened" and "that which is said to have happened."[5] This subchapter also scrutinizes the conditions that underlie the historiographical preeminence of junta rule following September 12. In brief, following in Trouillot's footsteps, this chapter scrutinizes the "sociohistorical process" of the 1960s and 1970s, which were harshly affected by the coup d'états of 1971 and 1980, and then pursues the "story about that process" to reveal the historiographical overlaps and gaps.[6]

§ 2.1 Blacklisting Books and Sealing Off Classrooms: The Disruptive Impact of the Military Intervention of 1980 on Leftist Praxes of Communication and Education

In a speech addressed to the public on November 4, 1982, at the politically and historically significant Taksim Square of Istanbul, President Kenan Evren stated that the articles of a newly prepared and soon-to-be-ratified constitution designated terms of the freedom of press that would never be censored or restricted. However, he subsequently added that the publishers of a considerable number of periodicals and newspapers of extremist content had abused that freedom in the pre-coup period. To achieve the goal of precluding such abuse of one's liberties and to wipe away the negative effects of this abuse on the people of Turkey, the boundaries of the free press were scrupulously elaborated upon in the constitution, under which the publishing and distribution of publications could be banned by judges when necessary. Writers, publishers, distributors, and sharers could be held legally responsible and punished for

5 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 2.

6 Ibid.

content they published and shared.[7] As this single speech from the period indicates, the military intervention of 1980 and the subsequent Constitution of 1982 were designed to control, limit, and punish the circulation of ideas.

On September 12, 1980, the MGK, which was comprised of five generals of the Turkish army of the highest rank,[8] seized legislative, executive, and judicial power for the purpose of "protecting the integrity of the country, maintaining national unity and solidarity, preventing a potential civil war and fraternal fight, reestablishing the state authority and presence, and extinguishing the factors that have hindered the functioning of the democratic order."[9] The MGK took action to maintain order immediately after the military coup of 1980, as an omnipotent political and legal authority. In the course of the approximately three years that the military government remained in power, the total years of prison sentences imposed on editors amounted to almost a thousand years,[10] and the junta sentenced journalists to a total of 3,315 years in prison.[11] All the newspapers circulated in Istanbul, the publishing hub of Turkey, were banned for an aggregated amount of three hundred days immediately after the 1980 coup d'état, and the thirteen newspapers with the highest circulation faced

7 "Devlet Başkanı Dün Eskişehir ve Istanbul'da Konuştu: 'Basın Hürdür, Sansür Edilemez,'" *Milliyet*, November 5, 1982, 7.

8 General Kenan Evren, Chief of the General Staff of Turkey, was the chairperson of the MGK, General Nurettin Ersin, Commander of the Turkish Army, General Tahsin Şahinkaya, Commander of the Turkish Air Force, Admiral Nejat Tümer, Commander of the Turkish Naval Forces, and General Sedat Celasun, General Commander of the Gendarmerie in Turkey, were members. MGK Ordinance No. 4, "Milli Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Dört Numaralı Bildirisi," *Resmi Gazete* (September 12, 1980): 8.

9 "Girişilen harekâtın amacı; ülke bütünlüğünü korumak, milli birlik ve beraberliği sağlamak, muhtemel bir iç savaşı ve kardeş kavgasını önlemek, devlet otoritesini ve varlığını yeniden tesis etmek ve demokratik düzenin işlemesine mani olan sebepleri ortadan kaldırmaktır," MGK Ordinance No. 1, "Milli Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Bir Numaralı Bildirisi," *Resmi Gazete* (September 12, 1980): 6.

10 Emin Karaca, *Vaaay Kitabın Başına Gelenler* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2012), 14.

11 Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Darbe ve Muhtıraları Araştırma Komisyonu, "Meclis Araştırması Komisyonu Raporu" (Ankara, 2012), 840.

with three hundred and three indictments.[12] Moreover, between 1980 and 1989, the government shut down approximately fifty publishers and five hundred bookstores,[13] while 937 films were labeled as objectionable and banned.[14] Throughout its rule, the junta burned or recycled the paper from millions of books.[15] Quantitatively, according to a report of the Parliamentary Investigation Commission on Military Coups and Memorandums (TBMM Darbeleri ve Muhtıraları Araştırma Komisyonu), the government destroyed thirty-nine tons of newspapers and periodicals.[16] Forty tons of publications were amassed in warehouses waiting to be obliterated.[17] Besides the overarching ban on publications after the 1980 coup d'état, all political parties and 23,667 associations were closed. Many associations were convicted of engaging in illegal operations by cooperating with political parties, giving speeches in congresses, distributing pamphlets and putting up posters to channel public opinion towards their ideologies.[18] The activities of political organizations, such as the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions (Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, or DİSK), the TİP, and the All Teachers' Association of Unity and Solidarity (Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği, or TÖB-DER) – the channels through which the leftist politicization of the period had flowed – were suspended or terminated following the coup d'état in 1980.[19]

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12 Ibid.

13 Karaca, *Vaaay Kitabın Başına Gelenler*, 14.

14 TBMM Darbe ve Muhtıraları Araştırma Komisyonu, "Meclis Araştırması Komisyonu Raporu," 840.

15 Karaca, *Vaaay Kitabın Başına Gelenler*, 14.

16 TBMM Darbe ve Muhtıraları Araştırma Komisyonu, "Meclis Araştırması Komisyonu Raporu," 841.

17 Arda Uskan, "Nokta'dan," *Nokta* 8, no. 37, "Özel Ek: Hayatın Kopuşunun Onuncu Yılı, 12 Eylül 1980-12 Eylül 1990" (September 16, 1990): 5.

18 TBMM Darbe ve Muhtıraları Araştırma Komisyonu, "Meclis Araştırması Komisyonu Raporu," 840, 886.

19 Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 292; Ersan, *1970'lerde Türkiye Solu*, 111; Çelenk, *Hukuk Açısından TÖB-DER Davası*, 38.

Concordantly, the military junta expressed a determination to centralize and dominate all institutions of education "from elementary schools to universities" under government control and to eradicate "all deviant ideologies infecting these institutions."[20] One of the first steps was to suspend the activities of the TÖB-DER, a left-wing public servant association whose administrators were tried and convicted of spreading communist and separationist propaganda with the intent of establishing class domination in 1981.[21] Another step was the establishment of the Council of Higher Education (Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu, or YÖK), through which all universities were centralized and controlled. Therefore, the coup d'état of 1980 and the consequent Constitution of 1982 not only restricted freedom of press and expression but criminalized the publication and dissemination of ideas through inter-associative communication, publication, public speeches, and governmentally-unsanctioned education. Consequently, the parliamentarian and quotidian politics of the 1960s and 1970s, especially the leftist politicization and the concomitant communication and education booms, came to a sudden halt on September 12, 1980, as the subsections below address.

2.1.1 *"There is no Smoke without Fire": Sociopolitical and Legal Barriers against Communication in the Post-1980 Period*

What happened after the military coup of 1980 was, in the mildest sense, regime-sanctioned censorship of ideas and the hindrance of their dissemination. Not peculiar to Turkey, the censorship of ideas and language can be defined as official suppression of ideas by ruling elites who are "supposedly acting for the common good by preserving stability and/or moral fibre in the nation."[22]

World history is laden with such instances of government censorship, especially in times of political handovers and crises. The Spanish Civil

20 "… sapık ideolojik fikirler üretilerek… ilkokullardan üniversitelere kadar eğitim kuruluşları… saldırı ve baskı altında tutularak," MGK's Ordinance No. 1.

21 Çelenk, *Hukuk Açısından TÖB-DER Davası*, 38.

22 Keith Allan and Kate Burridge, *Forbidden Words: Taboo and the Censoring of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 24.

War, 1936-1939, throughout which paper was reduced to ashes and freedom of expression was bombarded, is but one such example. From its beginning, public and private libraries, bookshops, printing houses, and archives were attacked, and books and periodicals were confiscated or destroyed.[23] This "cultural disaster" that cost tons of books and hundreds of libraries coexisted with a legal and social suppression of the freedom of expression.[24] In 1936, in Navarra, Fascist leaders purged libraries and schools of "all antipatriotic, sectarian, immoral, heretical, and pornographic books, newspapers, and pamphlets which have brought about the state of corruption and misery in the minds of the masses;" and citizens were encouraged to make bonfires of books on their own.[25] Similar purges occurred in many locations in Spain where censorship decrees were promulgated to prevent "the propagation of ideas that may be damaging to the society."[26] Indeed, the goal of protecting society and the state from harmful ideas was a source of legitimacy for the censorship of ideas and destruction of books. It is thus that libricide was justified.

Rebecca Knuth defines libricide as "the killing of a book" that involves an extensive ideological campaign led by the governing regime to annihilate books and libraries.[27] In her book on the political destruction of books and libraries and thus knowledge, Knuth states that modern libricide or "biblioclasm occurs when books and libraries are perceived by a social group as undermining ideological goals, threatening the orthodoxy of revered doctrine, or representing a despised establishment."[28] Like the experience of libricide during the Spanish Civil War, the military coup of 1980 in Turkey established a sociopolitical groundwork for the extensive censorship of ideas and annihilation of books. The military government

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23 Fernando Báez, *A Universal History of the Destruction of Books: From Ancient Sumer to Modern Iraq* (New York: Atlas & Co., 2008), 201-206.

24 Ibid., 201, 205.

25 Ibid., 204-205.

26 Ibid., 205-206.

27 Rebecca Knuth, *Libricide: The Regime-Sponsored Destruction of Books and Libraries in the Twentieth Century* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003), viii.

28 Knuth, *Burning Books and Leveling Libraries: Extremist Violence and Cultural Destruction* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2006), 2.

specifically targeted left-wing ideas and publications, occluding channels of communication that had flourished in the 1960s and 1970s.

As stated above, the military junta of 1980 used its unrestricted political power as early as September 1980 to prosecute journalists, editors, writers, and publishers.[29] Besides banning the publication of newspapers for a total amount of three hundred days,[30] the government decided to close some of them for good. For instance, the junta closed *Demokrat*, *Aydınlık*, and *Hergün* indefinitely on September 12, heralding an extensive censorship operation in the days and years to follow.[31]

With a rapid legal change in the Martial Law No. 1402 which was ratified by September 19 and put into effect on September 21, martial law commanders acquired the authorization to

> control any kind of broadcast, publication, letter, and telegram based on speech, writing, film, and voice, ban or censor the publication, distribution, and stocking of newspapers, periodicals, books, and other publications in the martial zone, confiscate the banned books, periodicals, newspapers, brochures, posters, declarations, banners, records, and tapes, and close down the printing houses and record manufacturers, which publish, record, and distribute banned documents.[32]

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29 TBMM Darbe ve Muhtıraları Araştırma Komisyonu, "Meclis Araştırması Komisyonu Raporu," 840.

30 Ibid.

31 Mehmet Sucu, *12 Eylül Yasakları: Halk Bunu Bilmesin* (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2010), 153.

32 "Söz, yazı, resim, film ve sesle yapılan her türlü yayım, haberleşme, mektup, telgraf vesair mersuleleri kontrol etmek, gazete, dergi, kitap ve diğer yayınların basımını, yayımını, dağıtımını, birden fazla sayıda bulundurulmasını veya taşınmasını veya Sıkıyönetim bölgesine sokulmasını yasaklamak veya sansür koymak; Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığınca basımı, yayımı ve dağıtılması yasaklanan kitap, dergi, gazete, broşür, afiş, bildiri, pankart, plak, , bant gibi bilcümle evrakı, yayın ve haberleşme araçlarını toplatmak, bunları basan matbaaları, plak ve bant yapım yerlerini kapatmak," "1402 Sayılı Sıkıyönetim Kanununun Bazı Hükümlerinin Değiştirilmesine ve Bazı Hükümler Eklenmesine Dair Kanun," *Resmi Gazete* (September 21, 1980): 1-2.

Later, the law was amended to require that the publication of new newspapers and periodicals obtain the permission of martial law commanders.[33] Moreover, commanders had the authority to hold publishers, editors, and writers of prohibited written material with criminal content in custody for ninety days before their prosecution, which was reduced to forty-five days in September 1981.[34] The augmented power of local authorities over the press and publication through legislation opened the gates for pervasive censorship in which not only were publishing houses, bookstores, and newspapers closed,[35] but books and periodicals were annihilated.

The MGK, in its legislative and executive session on December 28, 1982, unanimously decided to amend the clauses of Martial Law No. 1402 pertaining to the confiscation of forbidden instruments of publication and communication, such as books, periodicals, newspapers, brochures, posters, handouts, banners, records, and tapes. Senior Colonel İsmet Onur, a member of the National Defense Commission (Milli Savunma Komisyonu), argued that the piling-up of such material on the military bases had generated a problem of space. Therefore, as he explained, the article was amended to entrust martial law commands with authority to destroy collected documents which "were inconvenient for return to their owners and subverted public order."[36]

The military commanders of the MGK accepted the amendment without argument; however, the date on which the law would be effective initiated a discussion. The article was to be effective retroactive to September 21, 1980, when Martial Law was amended after the coup and authorized martial law commanders to collect publication and communication materials within their areas of command. Yet General Necdet

33 MGK Session No. 70, "70inci Birleşim," *Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Tutanak Dergisi* (September 3, 1981): 304.

34 Ibid., 304-305.

35 Karaca, *Vaaay Kitabın Başına Gelenler*, 14.

36 "… sahiplerine iadesi sakıncalı olanların, kamu düzeni açısından sakıncalı bulunanların imhası," The MGK Session no. 124, "124üncü Birleşim," *Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Tutanak Dergisi* (December 28, 1982): 647.

Üruğ, the Secretary-General of the MGK, argued that this would exclude all materials collected before September 12: "Thousands of books," he said, "in very good condition, 5 thousand liras apiece, packed in storage as evidence of crime." Hence, he demanded the article be effective retroactive to December 26, 1978,[37] in order to allow previously prohibited and collected materials to be put into the bonfires, as well.[38] Government-led libricide after the coup of September 12 was thereby legalized. Tons of books, newspapers, periodicals, and other means of public communication were destroyed by the military government by burning or recycling them.[39] The junta annihilated prohibited documents collected not only after the coup but also before 1980. Fire and ashes reached back beyond the jurisdiction of the September 12 junta, retroactively maintaining public order in the minds of coup leaders.

The pretext of maintaining public order, ensuring the common good, and avoiding "misery in the minds of the masses" was legally and socio-politically utilized by the military government in Turkey in the early 1980s to legitimize the censorship of ideas. The junta tended to identify communication through publication with adjectives such as "inconvenient" ("*sakıncalı*"), "harmful" ("*zararlı*"), "anarchistic" ("*anarşik*"), or "deviant" ("*sapık*"). The emphasis was on the protection of the motherland and nation. The Constitution of 1982 held that any writer or publisher responsible for threatening "the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, which tend to incite offence, riot or insurrection, or which refer to classified State secrets, … national security, public order or public morals, and… the fundamental principles of the Republic" or dis-

37 This is the date when the Martial Law was put into force, after the Maraş Massacre. "Adana, Ankara, Bingöl, Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Gaziantep, İstanbul, Kahramanmaraş, Kars, Malatya, Sivas ve Urfa İllerinde Sıkıyönetim İlânı Hakkında, Karar," *Resmi Gazete* (December 26, 1978): 1.

38 "Sadece öyle kitaplar var ki efendim, gayet güzel, ciltli, tanesi 5 bin liralık kitaplar, binlerce kitap," MGK Session No. 124, 649-650.

39 Karaca, Vaaay Kitabın Başına Gelenler, 14.

tributing of any publication that violates these principles should be suspended by a court sentence.[40] Any written material that was "inconvenient" to the premises of the military or "harmful" for the desired foundations of the nation-state deserved annihilation.

This perspective of censorship had been elaborated upon by Kenan Evren in his political propaganda tours before the referendum of 1982. In the aforementioned speech on November 4, where he asked for public support for the new constitution, Evren expressed that the legal restraints on the freedom of press would nullify the negative effects of such freedom on society, the interests of which he held to be superior to those of the press.[41] Therefore, he constructed an antithetical duality between the freedom of press and expression enjoyed by a few and the overall interests and safety of society as a whole. Given this constructed duality, Evren advocated that the motherland and nation needed to be protected from the anarchistic and harmful ideas of the few by utilizing the protective weapon of censorship, thus legitimizing the censorship of ideas and destruction of the written sources that propagate these ideas.

On the other side of the coin, the pretext of precluding a threat to the state, nation, and the public good goes hand in hand with the criminalization of different ideologies and inconvenient ideas. Libricide means the criminalization of the book. The military government made clear that they imputed the pre-1980 political crisis in Turkey to "deviant" ideologies which had "infiltrated into educational institutions from elementary schools to universities, state administration, judicial bodies, internal security organization, worker organizations, political parties, and even the

40 "Devletin iç ve dış güvenliğini, ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bütünlüğünü tehdit eden veya suç işlemeye ya da ayaklanma veya isyana teşvik eder nitelikte olan veya Devlete ait gizli bilgilere ilişkin bulunan… millî güvenliğin, kamu düzeninin, genel ahlâkın korunması… Cumhuriyetin temel ilkelerine," Article 28, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası," Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, accessed June 1, 2017, https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa82.htm.

41 "Devlet Başkanı Dün Eskişehir ve Istanbul'da Konuştu: 'Basın Hürdür, Sansür Edilemez,'" 7, "Devlet Başkanı Org. Kenan Evren'in İstanbul Konuşması (4.11.1982)," Youtube, video uploaded August 21, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9DomiJXHRrY.

most innocent parts of the country."[42] Having obtained unlimited political authority, the military government politically and legally defined the interests of the state and the nation as well as the ideas that were disruptive to them. Coup leaders, from the beginning of their government, aimed their iron fist at every aspect of leftism, from organizations to periodicals, as well as at free speech and communication on the grounds that leftism could grow out of them. Instruments of communication and publication became potential elements of crime that had to be controlled and contained by the state. To cite Evren's speech at length,

> Assume that a separationist organization, a sectarian agitator, or a defender of an anarchistic or ideological cause publishes a declaration for his supporters. He encourages a section of citizens to attack another section of citizens or invites some citizens to rebel against the state. This declaration might be published independently or appear on a newspaper column.
>
> Didn't similar instances occur in the past? Weren't various declarations distributed in the streets? Weren't those who refused to take these declarations beaten until their bones were broken? Didn't they slip their declarations under doors? Didn't they put them up on the walls as posters? Weren't banners with bombs planted on streets and buildings? What should we do now? Assume that a lawful authority receives information that such material is being published in a printing house. Or that the printing is done and the periodical or newspaper that contains the declaration is packed and ready for distribution. Should that authority allow the material to be distributed? Should they allow the material to be obtained by the target audience which would then take action and cause deplorable assaults here and there? Should they

42 "… sapık ideolojik fikirler üretilerek… ilkokullardan üniversitelere kadar eğitim kuruluşları, idare sistemi, yargı organları, iç güvenlik teşkilatı, işçi kuruluşları, siyasi partiler ve nihayet yurdumuzun en masum köşelerindeki yurttaşlarımız dahi saldırı ve baskı altında tutularak," MGK Ordinance No. 1.

say to themselves that they will take care of the situation afterward? Shouldn't they prevent the action from the beginning?

Dear citizens, what would you do as a civil servant or a citizen if you see a man with a gun attacking another and you are in a position to prevent it? The man has pulled his knife and is running towards his victim. Would you wait to see whether he will stab him or not and not intervene because the act has not happened yet? Or would you stop the man and take his knife, if possible?

…

The state cannot be a mere spectator when a revolutionary declaration, a declaration of insurrection, is published for distribution. Would you forgive a state that sits back and watches such a crime? You would not. But in the past, that path was taken. Such declarations were published. No one laid a finger on them. Why? Because the material was not yet distributed. But how can the problem be solved after distribution has taken place, after the letter has reached its destination? Can I locate tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of materials that are in the hands of their addressees and confiscate them one at a time? Is this even possible? Of course, it is not possible.

…

Such offences are frequent in nations like ours, which have become frequent targets for assassins. In such a situation, the government should urgently appeal to the court for permission to confiscate the material at the same time.

…

Dear citizens, you all know that before September 12, there were many newspapers that published the photographs, addresses, and phone numbers of police officers, National Intelligence Organization officers, and even members of the organization preparing for the defense of the motherland. And some of these officers were found and killed at the addresses that were published.

…

> We, as the state, have not limited the rights and freedom of honorable members of the Turkish press who have respected the law, adopted the indivisible integrity of the country and the nation, and have carried the torch of Atatürk's principles and reforms.
>
> …
>
> We limited those members of the press who sought to destroy the country, divide the nation, who acted in parallel with extremists, and aided and abetted people at extreme ends of the ideological spectrum.[43]

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43 "Farzediniz ki bölücü bir örgüt yahut mezhep kışkırtıcısı yahut şu veya bu anarşik veya ideolojik maksadın peşinde koşan bir başka kişi, taraftarlarına bir beyanname yayınlıyor. Bu beyanname ile vatandaşlardan bir kısmını diğer bir kısmının üzerine saldırmaya teşvik ediyor. Yahut bir kısım vatandaşları devlete başkaldırmaya, isyana davet ediyor. Bu beyanname ya müstakilen basılmış veya bir gazetenin sütunlarında yer almıştır.

Sorarım sizlere, geçmişte bunlar olmadı mı? Her gün çeşit çeşit beyannameler sokaklarda dağıtılmadı mı? Hatta beyannameleri almak istemeyenler, bir yeri kırılıncaya kadar dövülmediler mi? Kapıların altlarından evlere atılmadı mı? Afiş olarak duvarlara asılmadı mı? Bombalı pankartlar caddelere, binalara konulmadı mı? Ne yapalım şimdi? Böyle bir beyannamenin herhangi bir matbaada basılmakta olduğunu yetkili makam haber aldı. Yahut baskı bitmiş de beyanname veya onu ihtiva eden dergi yahut gazete dağıtılmak üzere paketlenmiş, istif edilmiş. O makam bıraksın mı, dağıtılsın diye? Yani hitap ettiği kişilerin ellerine geçsin, onları harekete geçirsin veya şurada burada müessif saldırı olaylarına yol açsın. Ben bunun çaresine sonra bakayım mı desin? Bu hal daha başlangıçta önlenmesin mi?

Sevgili vatandaşlarım, bir adamı elinde bir silahla, diğerine karşı saldırıyor görürseniz, siz de bu saldırıyı önleyebilecek bir durumda bulunursanız, kamu görevlisi olarak veya vatandaş olarak ne yapardınız? Adam bıçağını çekmiş, birisinin üzerine doğru koşuyor. "Dur bakalım, tam yanına varınca, bıçağını saplayacak mı, saplamayacak mı, şimdiden bilinmez ki," diye bekler misiniz? Yoksa elinizden geliyorsa atlayıp o adamı durdurup elinden bıçağını alır mısınız?

…

Devlet bir ihtilal beyannamesi, isyan beyannamesi basılırken veya basılmış, bitmiş de dağıtılmayı beklerken, oturup seyirci kalamaz. Eğer böyle yaparsa, sizler, böyle bir suça karşı seyirci kalan devleti affeder misiniz? Affetmezsiniz. Ama geçmişte bunlar yapıldı ve seyirci kalındı. Böyle beyannameler çok basıldı. Kimse elini süremedi. Neden?

Attacks, bombs, guns, knives, and assassinations. Evren not only semantically but also visually links these terms to the declaration and publication of ideas. In his speech, this visual criminalization of ideas and publications was supported with historical examples all of which were before September 12. An analysis of ordinances, council sessions, and speeches suggests that the junta of 1980 defined the pre-1980 era as one of anarchy which flared up because of, among other things, free expression and the politico-legal framework that sustained it. The first ordinance of the MGK portrays pre-coup Turkey as "on the verge of partition and civil war" caused by "reactionary and other deviant ideological ideas."[44] Unlimited diffusion of multifarious ideas was the problem, and military leaders in Turkey suggested that an omnipotent state and restrictive laws to limit

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Çünkü henüz dağıtılmamış da ondan. Peki ama zaten dağıtıldıktan sonra, mesele kalmıyor ki. Mektup adresine varmış oluyor. Ben bunların on binlercesinin, yüz binlercesinin kimin eline geçtiğini teker teker tespit edip onları bulup onlardan mı toplatacağım? Bu mümkün müdür, vatandaşlarım? Elbette mümkün değildir.

…

Bunlar, bizim gibi suikastlara hedef olmuş milletlerin hayatında görülmemiş şeyler değildir. Böyle bir durumda idare olarak, bir yandan süratle mahkemeye başvurup toplatma kararı isterken, öte yandan da o yayını toplatabilmelisiniz.

…

Sevgili vatandaşlarım, 12 Eylül'den evvel birçok gazeteler vardı, isimlerini vermiyorum, bilirsiniz siz onları… Bu gazete ve mecmualar, her gün polisin, emniyet mensuplarının, MİT mensuplarının, hatta vatan savunması için hazırlanan bir teşkilatımızın mensuplarının fotoğraflarını, adreslerini, telefon numaralarını verirdi. Ve bunlardan birkaç tanesi, verilen bu adreslerde bulundu ve öldürüldü.

…

Biz hiçbir zaman kanunlara saygılı, vatanın ve milletin bölünmez bütünlüğünü ilke edinmiş, Atatürk ilke ve inkılâplarına gönülden bağlanmış ve onu saptırmaya çalışmamış, şerefli Türk basınının hak ve hürriyetlerini kısıtlamadık, onlara dokunmadık.

…

Biz… vatanı parçalamak, milleti bölmek için her türlü gayretin içinde bulunmuş, aşırı uçlarla aynı paralelde olmuş, olanlara yataklık etmiş basına kısıtlama getirdik.," "Devlet Başkanı Org. Kenan Evren'in İstanbul Konuşması."

44 "… irticai ve diğer sapık ideolojik fikirler üretilerek… bölünme ve iç harbin eşiğine getirilmişlerdir," MGK Ordinance No. 1.

the dissemination of ideas was the remedy. This was the junta's version of the story: a projection of recent history through the junta's lenses. As the sole legislative, executive, and judicial authority between September 12, 1980, and December 7, 1983,[45] the military regime not only passed laws and executed order but also broadcast an unrivaled version of recent history.

In criminalizing free speech, the military leaders of September 12 targeted channels of communication through which inconvenient ideas flowed and spread, on one hand, and the establishment of a monopoly over the narration and writing of history and memory, on the other. Crushing the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s and the diverse means of communication that burgeoned around it, the junta of 1980 acquired the power to determine the narrative agenda and be the sole author of the recent history of Turkey. Having suppressed various ideas and the instruments by which they were conveyed, the regime established a legal and sociopolitical basis upon which official history – the rulers' version of the past – would arise, unopposed by divergent approaches to history.

In a political environment where the governing body took every measure to control and oppress the instruments of the media, the junta's voice was unmatched. The MGK and martial law commands underneath it not only published and broadcast their version of history and their own sociopolitical agenda but also held the strings to extant agencies of the media. Contemplating on the relation between the media and political rule in his book, *Necessary Illusions*, Noam Chomsky asserts that there is a parallel between the media and power. The media, as an ideological institution in the hands of rulers, "reflect[s] the perspectives and interests of established power." News and perspectives are formulated according

45 After the first general elections that followed the coup, which took place on December 6, 1983, the MGK was renamed the Presidential Council and comprised of four former members of the MGK. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 282.

to the regime's interests and, concordantly, any kind of discussion is unwelcome.[46] The parallel between power and the media upon which Chomsky reflects applies to the rule of September 12 and its relation to the press.

After the coup, the MGK gained full control over the press. Its first step was an exercise in sweeping censorship. The ruling generals prohibited the publication of news regarding operations against political associations, the obituaries of people who had been politically active in these associations, the actions of terrorist groups and student movements, negative opinions about the constitution, the statements of former politicians, and reports of torture.[47] The MGK even banned news concerning the MGK's orders to restrict the press, effectively censoring reports on censorship itself.[48] Mehmet Sucu, in his book on the interdictions of the regime of September 12, reports that the extensiveness of the publication ban compelled newspaper personnel to hang lists of prohibitions on their offices' bulletin boards. These boards functioned as the filters of censorship through which journalists censored their own news reports.[49]

In the period following the coup d'état, it was common for members of the MGK and the commanders of martial law units to meet with journalists and editors to explain the outlines and restrictions on journalism. On one such occasion, Necdet Üruğ, the Secretary-General of the MGK, summoned journalists from mass-circulated newspapers, such as *Tercüman*, *Milliyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Son Havadis*, and *Günaydın*, to dictate the new principles of making news. He advised them that it was forbidden to praise the pre-1980 era and publish any comments that offended the armed forces or criticized the bans, decisions, and conduct of military.[50] Under the rule of the army, the public of Turkey would receive

46 Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* (London: Pluto Press, 1989), 21.

47 Sucu, *12 Eylül Yasakları*, 43, 48.

48 Ibid., 42.

49 Ibid., 43.

50 H. Nedim Şahhüseyinoğlu, *Dünden Bugüne Düşünceye ve Basına Sansür* (Ankara: Ürün Yayınları, 2015), 190-191.

only news that was manipulated by the regime. Similarly, on June 19, 1982, the head of the Intelligence Agency (İstihbarat Daire Başkanı) under martial law, Colonel Yalçın Karakoç, called together the representatives of every newspaper in Ankara to order them not to publish news on the Supreme Military Council (Yüksek Askeri Şura) and the confidential meetings of the Advisory Council (Danışma Meclisi) on the constitution.[51]

At the end of the meeting, Karakoç thanked the representatives for reporting news in accordance with the mandates of martial law without further warning.[52] It was, on Karakoç's part, appreciation for the self-censorship of journalists who were anyway subdued by the ever-present possibility of trial and imprisonment. In a short span, many journalists adapted to the role cut out for them by the junta, either to further their interests by supporting the junta or to avoid the consequences of opposing.[53] In an article about the effects of September 12 on the media and the problem of democratization, Tezcan Durna and Ayşe İnal conduct an in-depth analysis of columns in three significant newspapers – *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet*, and *Tercüman* – published between October-December 1980, the period immediately following the coup, and January-March 1983, a period before the general elections. Based on their research, they suggest that most columnists, by criticizing and disapproving of civilian politicians, thus, legitimizing the military government, took a stance that was favorable in the eyes of the junta.[54] Censorship gave birth to self-censorship.

Government-sanctioned censorship, accompanying penalties, self-censorship, and a resultant mass depoliticization, characterized the post-1980 era in Turkey. The firm military hand and its legislation forced peo-

51 Sucu, *12 Eylül Yasakları*, 94.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid., 44-45.

54 Tezcan Durna and Ayşe İnal, "12 Eylül, Medya ve Demokratikleşme Sorunu," *Mülkiye Dergisi* 34, no. 268 (2010): 127-128.

ple to turn to matches or shovels to burn or bury their books and periodicals. Books buried and found years later as rotten paper[55] and books discreetly burned in stoves heralded a coming period of political apathy in Turkey, in which in fear of incrimination, imprisonment, and torture people generally abstained from political involvement. The 1960s and 1970s in Turkey witnessed a communication boom that both resulted from and resulting in an environment of heightened leftist politicization, which is analyzed in chapters 4 and 5. Military oppression in 1980 pruned the branches of communication that had flourished and spread in the 1960s and 1970s, subduing the corresponding political mobilization.

The depoliticization of the public coincided with the rise of an official history, and the combination of these two processes shaped memories related to the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s into a revisionist public memory in which, as the ordinances and discourse of the MGK claimed, the unbearable anarchy of the previous era was finished and stability was reestablished by the intervention of the army in 1980. Arguably, censoring news and burning books blurred memories. As the bonfires of paper rose, the divergences among memories were attenuated.

Fernando Báez, in his extensive study scrutinizing *A Universal History of the Destruction of Books*, asserts that books "give[…] substance to human memory by objectifying it."[56] Books and periodicals are nutshells of memory affecting personal and group identity. Therefore, in an attempt to restrain identities diverge from the dominant one, rulers undertake the destruction of the means of written communication. The destruction of books by the ruling regime "is an attempt to annihilate a memory considered to be a direct or indirect threat to another memory thought superior."[57] It is not the paper, fabric, or leather but the content of the books

55 Bülent Usta, "Bahçeden Çürük Kitaplar Çıkıyordu," *Milliyet Kitap*, last modified July 2015, http://www.milliyetsanat.com/kitap/roportaj/-bahceden-curuk-kitaplar-cikiyordu-/617.

56 Báez, *A Universal History of the Destruction of Books*, 11.

57 Ibid., 14.

and the possibility that this unwanted content could be disseminated that frightens the "biblioclasts."[58] In Báez's own words,

> books are not destroyed as physical objects but as links to memory, that is, as one of the axes of identity of a person or a community. There is no identity without memory… Over the centuries, we've seen that when a group and nation attempts to subjugate another group or nation, the first thing they do is erase the traces of its memory in order to reconfigure its identity.[59]

As preservers of memory, books and periodicals are the witnesses to a period, the adherents of diverse viewpoints, supporters of the freedom of ideas, and the maintainers of collective identity. Therefore, throughout history, they have been subject to oversight, censure, sanitization, and destruction.[60] For instance, during the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the Serbs "tried to destroy a people 'by obliterating all records, monuments of the past, creative works, and fruits of the heart written down in books or engraved in stone'."[61] Similarly, China eradicated Tibet's libraries to wipe out the Tibetan identity developed in and disseminated from these libraries.[62]

Concordantly, in the case of September 12, political oppression went hand in hand with cultural suppression. The military junta not only annihilated and restricted the instruments of communication by closing down newspapers, arresting journalists, carefully controlling journalism and destroying books but also dominated the narrative of history in the absence of free speech. To put it differently, the regime of 1980, sought to physically oppress dissident political movements by destroying their instruments of communication and sources of identity, on one hand, and on the other, it annihilated their public memory and voice in the political

58 Ibid., 15.
59 Ibid., 12.
60 Knuth, *Libricide*, 71.
61 Ibid., 3.
62 Ibid., 52.

agenda and history. It was not sufficient for the regime to suppress politicization and take unlimited control of the government in the present; the junta also wanted to control the past, as the aforementioned arguments of General Necdet Üruğ indicate. The rule of September 12 blocked the channels of contemporaneous communication by destroying the written products of past communication created since December 1978. The annihilation of books and periodicals, the prohibition of pamphlets, posters, and banners, the painting over of political graffiti, and the suppression of other channels of free speech paved the way for "the process of homogenizing discourse," in which the ruling authority was determined to destroy any element that "support[ed] memory or legitimiz[ed] past identities"[63] to bring about a clean slate and write a new, unopposed history. Therefore, generally speaking, in the eyes of the biblioclasts, burning books is not an atrocity but, on the contrary, a purification. Fire not only destroys but creates. It is a symbol connecting earth to heaven, that was "used to fight demons,"[64] and, in the eyes of the junta in the early 1980s, the demons were the uncontrolled, ideologically aberrant, and widespread instruments of not only communication but also education.

2.1.2 *"From Elementary Schools to Universities": The Centralization of Education in the Post-1980 Period*

The first declaration of Kenan Evren, which was made on the radio and on television on September 12, 1980, at one o'clock, made it clear that the junta of 1980 was determined to take full control of education "from elementary schools to universities."[65] Evren declared that the military government would take extensive measures in the field of education that would encompass every level of schooling and reach the most remote locations of the country. "We will take measures," he clarified later, "to

63 Ibid., 52, 236.

64 George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 41.

65 MGK Ordinance No. 1.

guard our children – the assurance of our future – from outlandish ideologies seeking to turn them into anarchists."[66] To this end, Evren announced that the junta would, under no circumstances, allow teachers to be affiliated with any associations. The government would also substitute foreign ideologies and politically-inconvenient associations with Atatürk's principles as interpreted by the junta.[67]

The post-1980 period in Turkey witnessed the government's resolution to relieve education of the relative autonomy it had enjoyed in previous decades, a subject that is scrutinized in chapter 5. Commanders were dedicated to obliterating every nongovernment area of education or learning and to centralize every aspect of education and schooling. In the process, not only were associations, unions, and student organizations, which offered abundant educational courses of various kinds, closed down but government institutions of education at every level were completely controlled and inspected to preclude any deviations or variations with respect to political stance or curriculum.

Analogous to their approach to free speech, members of the MGK perceived uncontrolled forms of education as anarchistic practices that infested society and required extermination. The notorious Decree No. 52 of the omnipotent MGK, dated June 2, 1981, prohibited members of pre-1980 political parties, labor organizations, and trade associations from issuing verbal or written statements, writing articles, making comments, and organizing discussions – that is, from engaging in any facility of learning or sharing.[68] In addition to the closing of the DİSK, a major hub for worker education, all educational courses offered by political associations or trade unions in the pre-1980 period were made illegal upon the declaration of the decree.

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66 "Yarının teminatı olan evlâtlarımızın Atatürk ilkeleri yerine yabancı ideolojilerle yetişerek sonunda birer anarşist olmasını önleyecek tedbirler alınacak," "Org. Evren, MGK'nın İlkelerini Açıkladı," *Cumhuriyet*, September 13, 1980, 9.

67 Ibid.

68 "Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Kararı, Karar No. 52," *Resmi Gazete* (June 5, 1981): 1-2.

Concerning public schools and universities, the ruling generals disguised their determination to uproot anarchy from institutions of education with watchwords like liberty and independence.[69] By means of an amendment to the Basic Law of National Education (Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunu) in June 1983, any political outlook or ideological indoctrination incongruent with the official one was forbidden in educational establishments; furthermore, engaging in analogous political events and discussions were also prohibited.[70]

As in the fields of communication and publication, the junta of 1980 put the blame for the state of education on the imprudence and inaction of previous governments. Evren, while in Edirne on his propaganda tour for the new constitution, once again unforgivably complained about the pre-1980 state of education, blaming its deficiencies and mistakes on the direction of or neglect by previous politicians.

> We have to openly admit it, to find a remedy and salvage our youth and our country's future and destiny. In the past, they talked about schooling but they were unable to provide it. They talked about education but were unable to provide it. They talked about culture, ideal job opportunities, a happy future, hope, and joy but again were unable to provide them. The youth wanted to play sports but they were unable to provide even a makeshift volleyball field, by stretching a net between two posts.
>
> The youth declared that they desired to spend their free time usefully. They handed them nothing but the books of deviant ideologies. They were unable to hand them even a chessboard by which they could activate their minds by playing games.[71]

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69 "Anarşiye Hiçbir Ad Altında İzin Verilmeyecek," *Cumhuriyet*, September 17, 1980, 7.

70 MGK Session No. 150, "150nci Birleşim," *Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Tutanak Dergisi* (June 16, 1983): 350.

71 "Evet, açıkça itiraf edilmelidir ki çaresi bulunsun ve gençliğimizle birlikte memleketimizin geleceği ve kaderi de kurtarılabilsin. Öğretim denildi, verilemedi. Eğitim denildi, verilemedi. Kültür, ideal iş imkanları, mutlu bir gelecek, ümit ve sevinç denildi,

The operations of the junta made clear that commanders were determined to correct what they believed to be mistakes in the field of education. One of the first acts of the coup after seizing power was to suspend the activities of the DİSK and the TÖB-DER in an attempt to liquidate leftism and its bridges with the working class and the youth. As pointed out above, Evren declared that teachers could no longer be members of any associations, especially of those that had "Der" or "Bir" – acronyms in Turkish for association – in their names.[72] One left-wing public servant association with "Der" in its name, the TÖB-DER, which had 650 branches and approximately 200 thousand members, became an immediate target of the hammer of September 12.[73] The junta regarded the TÖB-DER as an illegal, subversive organization that, in Evren's words, was seeking to "take over the rule of Turkey by abusing the pre-1980 environment of anarchy and desperation in its favor and infiltrating national education," and it brought a lawsuit against the association.[74] The administrators of the association were tried and convicted of making communist and separatist propaganda with the intent of establishing class domination by Military Court No. 3 of the Ankara Martial Command in 1981.[75]

More specifically, the indictment against the TÖB-DER accused the association of deliberate, illegal planning through the mediums of publications, periodicals, bulletins, public statements, and speeches.[76] The court investigated the periodicals and books published by the association and

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bunlar da verilemedi. Spor yapmak istediler, bir arsaya iki direk dikerek arasına bir file gererek, voleybol oynayacak yer olsun temin edilemedi. 'Boş zamanlarımızı faydalı bir şekilde geçirmek istiyoruz,' dediler. Ellerine sapık ideolojilerin kitaplarından başka kitap verilemedi. Zihinlerini geliştirebilmeleri, hiç değilse zihin yorup düşünerek oyun oynayabilecekleri bir satranç tahtası bile verilemedi," "Ordu Kışlaya Dönme Hazırlığını Tamamladı," *Cumhuriyet*, November 4, 1982, 11.

72 "… öğretmenlerimizin der'li, bir'li derneklere üye olarak bölünmelerine müsaade edilmeyecektir," "Org. Evren, MGK'nın İlkelerini Açıkladı," 9.

73 Çelenk, *Hukuk Açısından TÖB-DER Davası*, 16.

74 "12 Eylül öncesinin kargaşa, bölünme ve çaresizlik ortamını kendi ideolojik amaçları için kullanmak isteyen örgüt," "Milli Eğitime sızmak isteyen örgüt," ibid., 25.

75 Ibid., 38, 269.

76 Ibid., 261.

found evidence of crimes, such as provoking the public to join illegal demonstrations, propagandizing on behalf of socialism, engaging in union activities that were banned for civil servants, and advocating for separatism. For the military court, which was politically manipulated by the junta, the TÖB-DER's attempts to communicate with the larger public through publication and education constituted the most important crime. The association was found guilty of publishing declarations and organizing demonstrations jointly with other associations and spreading revolutionary ideas not only to teachers but also to the masses through publications and speeches. Moreover, an investigation of its publications revealed that the members of the TÖB-DER had declared that the working class in Turkey could not obtain a proper education under the existing economic system manipulated by the bourgeoisie; hence, they had organized educational courses for the working class, which was a crime in the eyes of the court.[77] The indictment of the TÖB-DER indicates that the military government of September 12 considered the political organization of teachers and their attempts to establish bonds with the people, especially with the working class, through publications and education, to be crimes. Junta, wearing a judicial mask, again equated publications with bombs, demonstrations with murder, and education with terrorism.

> Illegal leftist organizations, which strove to undermine and subvert the state with its institutions and awe the public with ever-increasing murders, robberies, banners with bombs, posters, graffiti, and unpermitted demonstrations before September 12, 1980, in order to establish a Marxist-Leninist rule, indubitably took advantage of the TÖB-DER's principle of "Education for Revolution" and its activities towards that end to recruit militants.[78]

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77 Ibid., 48-53.

78 "12 Eylül 1980 tarihine kadar gittikçe artan yoğunlukta meydana gelen cinayetler, bombalama, soygun, bombalı pankart, afişleme, yazı yazma, korsan yürüyüşler gibi olaylarla halkı korkutup sindirmeye, karşılarındaki engelleri yok etmeye, devleti tüm kurumlarıyla zayıflatıp çökertmeye ve yerine Marksist-Leninist bir yönetim kurmaya

Ideologies and organizations, publications, and education as the means to spread them were hunted down and prosecuted by the junta after September 12. The MGK, which was determined to expel ideologies, politics, and organizations from national education, substituted these with Kemalism and religion. Kemalism was persistently emphasized in Evren's speeches and press releases, in the MGK's ordinances, and in new legislation as a remedy to leftist, rightist, and reactionary ideas. The junta's understanding of Kemalism differed from that of leftist circles of the 1960s and 1970s. The military regime of September 12 devised a new kind of Kemalism that was directly linked to the state, conservative, and disconnected from ideas of social justice and enhanced citizenship rights.[79] Evren defined ideal teachers as the torchbearers of this version of Kemalism and ideal students as the followers of Kemalist principles.[80]

The Basic Law of National Education, as amended by the MGK, stated that the aim of national education was "raising students as citizens loyal to Atatürk's reforms and principles and Atatürk Nationalism as phrased in the constitution, protective and supportive of Turkish Nation's ethical, humane, moral, and cultural values, appreciative of their family, homeland, and nation, and aware of their duties and responsibilities towards the constitutionally-democratic, secular, and social Republic of Turkey."[81] Correspondingly, Article 10 of the law expanded the role of Kemalism in the curriculum, setting "Atatürk's reforms and principles and Atatürk Nationalism as the foundation of every syllabus to be prepared and every

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kendilerine özgü metodları ile çalışan yasadışı sol örgütler militan ihtiyaçlarını karşılamada kuşkusuz bu yöneticilerin TÖB-DER'in gündemine getirdikleri (Devrim için eğitim) ilkesinden ve bu ilke doğrultusundaki faaliyetlerinden yararlanmışlardır," in ibid., 54.

79 Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 340-341.

80 "Anarşiye Hiçbir Ad Altında İzin Verilmeyecek," 7.

81 "Atatürk inkılap ve ilkelerine ve Anayasada ifadesini bulan Atatürk milliyetçiliğine bağlı; Türk Milletinin millî, ahlakî, insanî, manevî ve kültürel değerlerini benimseyen, koruyan, geliştiren; ailesini, vatanını, milletini seven ve daima yüceltmeye çalışan;… Anayasanın başlangıcındaki temel ilkelere dayanan demokratik, laik ve sosyal bir hukuk devleti olan Türkiye Cumhuriyetine karşı görev ve sorumluluklarını bilen… yurttaşlar olarak yetiştirmek," MGK Session No. 150, 349.

activity to be performed at every level of the educational system."[82] Besides Kemalism, the junta of 1980 increased the role of religion in the educational system, mainly by making class entitled "Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge" ("Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Öğretimi") compulsory in primary, secondary, and high schools.[83] The intent was to dismiss ideology and variety from the educational system and to fill the gap with a newly-defined Kemalism and religion.

The most significant step that the junta took in the direction of centralizing and controlling universities was the establishment of YÖK, under the auspices of a new Law of Higher Education (Yükseköğretim Kanunu) that was published in the *Official Gazette* No. 17,506 dated November 6, 1981. According to the Constitution of 1982, YÖK has the authority to "plan, regulate, administer, and control the education and scientific research" in all institutions of higher education.[84] Evren's speeches and discussions in the meetings of the MGK indicate that the junta deemed universities responsible for political violence and extremism.[85] For instance, on April 14, 1982, Hasan Sağlam, the Minister of Education, made a speech in a session of the MGK that described separatism and anarchy as great sorrows that had proliferated among professors and students.[86] Therefore, YÖK was legislated as a governing institution to establish the limits of higher education and stand as a barrier between universities and unregulated movements and ideologies. In MGK Session No. 77, it was stated that the main aim of YÖK was to move higher education into "a

82 "Eğitim sistemimizin her derece ve türü ile ilgili ders programlarının hazırlanıp uygulanmasında ve her türlü eğitim faaliyetlerinde Atatürk inkılap ve ilkeleri ve Anayasada ifadesini bulmuş olan Atatürk milliyetçiliği temel olarak alınır," ibid.

83 Ibid., 350.

84 "Yükseköğretim kurumlarının öğretimini planlamak, düzenlemek, yönetmek, denetlemek… eğitim-öğretim ve bilimsel araştırma faaliyetlerini yönlendirmek," Article 131, Constitution of 1982.

85 Mete Tunçay, "YÖK," in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi 3*, ed. (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), 681-682.

86 MGK Session No. 101, "101inci Birleşim," *Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Tutanak Dergisi* (April 14, 1982): 511.

new system within the state, which is more authoritarian, disciplined, effective, and respectable."[87] For this, both students and professors had to be brought under control. The main target of the junta was to sever ties between universities and politics. It took several swings of the ax to do so, as these ties had been densely woven throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

First, amendments in Martial Law No. 1402 gave the military government full authority to expel civil servants – in this case, teachers and professors – who engaged in objectionable actions from their public positions and decreed that they not be reinstated even after the end of martial law.[88] In 1988, Fuat Atalay, a member of parliament from the Social Democratic Populist Party (Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti), submitted a parliamentary question to the prime minister requesting the number of public employees who had been discharged or exiled to another city by Martial Law No. 1402. State Minister Abdullah Tenekeci, in his reply, stated that 4,891 public employees were discharged from their duties and 4,509 were reassigned to other posts. 3,406 of the discharged officials were reinstated to their duties after the end of martial law and 1,485 people lost their right to public service permanently.[89] Data gathered by the Parliamentary Investigation Commission indicates that between the dates of September 12, 1980, and December 31, 1985, 286 professors resigned from their universities in the face of rising oppression in the educational system, and the government discharged forty-five professors from their positions. However, the report concluded that due to missing archival documents, data for a number of universities was not available.[90] Thus, different sources offer differing data as to the number of professors and

87 "Bu şekliyle tasarı, yükseköğretimi devlet içinde daha otoriter, disiplinli, etkin ve saygın yeni bir sisteme bağlamaktadır," MGK Session No. 77, "77nci Birleşim," *Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Tutanak Dergisi* (October 26, 1981): 4.

88 "1402 Sayılı Sıkıyönetim Kanununun Bazı Maddelerinin Değiştirilmesine İlişkin Kanun Tasarısı ile Aynı Kanunun 2nci Maddesinin Son Fıkrasının Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun Teklifinin Danışma Meclisince Kabul Olunan Metinleri," 3-6, 9.

89 TBMM Session No. 45, "45inci Birleşim," *Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi* (April 4, 1988): 157-159.

90 TBMM Darbe ve Muhtıraları Araştırma Komisyonu, "Meclis Araştırması Komisyonu Raporu," 851.

teachers discharged. For instance, another source declares that the number of discharged professors was 148.[91] The related report of the Human Rights Association (İnsan Hakları Derneği) lists the number of discharged professors and teachers as 95 and 2,515, respectively, of which 25 and 1,882 were reinstated.[92] While professors constituted a target, teachers suffered most from Law 1402. Besides those discharged, many people from universities and schools resigned or retired from their jobs in the face of office exile or mobbing by authorities.[93] While the data differ, the conclusion is the same: the junta eliminated unwanted professors and teachers from the system of education. Moreover, Haldun Özen, who has thoroughly researched Law 1402, claims that books by some discharged professors were removed from university libraries or even burned in some cases.[94]

At the same time, the military government prohibited remaining professors from being affiliated with political parties. MGK members spared a separate article in the new Law of Higher Education for a ban on politics. Moreover, affiliation with any associations except for those "pursuing public interest" required signed permission from the rector. The Council of Ministers determined the associations that "pursue the public interest," to which professors could be affiliated, "for example, the Red Crescent (Kızılay)."[95] As General Necdet Üruğ, the Secretary-General of

91 Cenk Saraçoğlu, "1980-2002: Tank Paletiyle Neoliberalizm," in *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Siyasal Hayat*, eds. Gökhan Atılgan, Cenk Saraçoğlu, and Ateş Uslu (Istanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2015), 788.

92 Haldun Özen, *Entelektüelin Dramı: 12 Eylül'ün Cadı Kazanı* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2002), 407.

93 Ibid., 29-30.

94 Özen, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Yükseköğretimin ve Üniversitenin 75 Yılı," in *75 Yılda Eğitim*, ed. Fatma Gök (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 277.

95 "Kamu yararına olan dernekler dışında, herhangi bir derneğe üye olma, rektörün yazılı iznine bağlıdır," "Binaenaleyh, kamu yararına olan dernekler ki, mesela, Kızılay," MGK Session No. 79, "79uncu Birleşim," *Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Tutanak Dergisi* (October 30, 1981): 114.

the MGK, straightforwardly stated in the MGK session on October 27, 1981, the goal was to preclude professors from being politicized.[96]

Second, in the MGK's seventy-eighth session, disciplinary regulations for university students were amended. According to the new code and procedures, universities would punish students who violated the freedom of education or disturbed order by organizing boycotts, occupying campuses, participating in anarchistic or ideological events, or assaulting professors' dignity, with a warning, suspension, or discharge.[97] Students, who engaged in serious disciplinary actions such as violating the constitution or the values of the republic for ideological purposes were to be handed over to the public prosecutor (*cumhuriyet savcısı*).[98]

The aforementioned legal steps ended the heightened praxis and broad understanding of education not only in the national educational system but also among leftist political organizations and unions in the 1960s and 1970s. First, the junta removed any variation in the curriculum by means of the legal centralization of all levels of education. Second, a wave of depoliticization wiped out the effect of the universities, which had been one of the main bases of politics along with factories, by prohibiting organizing under the auspices of any political association or engaging in political actions. Third, through a ban on association and discussion by political parties, labor organizations, and trade associations, various places of education outside the official system were suppressed and the link between education and factories was severed. In other words, the legislation of the military government ended the heightened praxis of education, eliminating "the division between head and hand."[99]

96 MGK Session No. 78, "78inci Birleşim," *Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Tutanak Dergisi* (October 27, 1981): 103.

97 Ibid., 94.

98 MGK Session No. 101, 513-514.

99 Ross, *Communal Luxury: The Political Imaginary of the Paris Commune* (London: Verso Books, 2015), e-pub edition, 91.

All military regimes, usually personified by a chief commander, impose antidemocratic decisions on their citizens, rearranging and controlling state institutions and public rights and liabilities.[100] As Murat Belge expresses "12 years after September 12," the regime, like all authoritarian regimes, attempted to create a docile people by dominating the educational system, suppressing ideological mediums, and obstructing the free dissemination of ideas.[101] All these attempts by the junta of 1980 and the subsequent Constitution of 1982 suppressed the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s alone with the accompanying communication boom and annihilated diverse practices of education. Thus, the already-fragile connection among students, workers, and intellectuals – a link that still existed in the 1970s – was severed.

§ 2.2 The Peculiar Case of the Military Memorandum of 1971

The intervention of September 12 was knifelike and comprehensive, though not unprecedented. Although not as effective as its successor, the military memorandum of March 12, 1971, also intervened in Turkey's politics, economy, and society, enervating the dynamics of the 1960s such as leftist politicization, heightened communication, and decentralized education. Nevertheless, the new, extensive means of communication and education that blossomed in the 1960s, along with leftist activism, survived the oppression and existed in the 1970s.

In the period following the military intervention of March 12, the Constitutional Court (Anayasa Mahkemesi) closed down the TİP, charging it with separatism based on a manifesto on the Kurdish question produced during its congress. The National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi) of the Islamist persuasion was also closed for actions contrary to secularism. Parliament was manipulated by the army to legislate extensive amendments to the constitution, limiting personal and political freedom. The associations of the Revolutionary Youth Federation of Turkey (Türkiye

100 Knuth, *Libricide,* 59.

101 Murat Belge, *12 Yıl Sonra 12 Eylül* (Istanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1992), 10.

Devrimci Gençlik Federasyonu, *or Dev-Genç*), the Teachers' Trade Union of Turkey (Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası, or TÖS), the Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Hearths (Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları, or DDKO) of Kurdish socialists, the Grey Wolves (Ülkü Ocakları) of Turkish ultra-nationalists, and the Association for Fighting Communism in Turkey (Türkiye Komünizmle Mücadele Derneği, or TKMD) were immediately closed. Cases were filed against the DİSK, TİP, DDKO, and Dev-Genç. Security forces engaged in operations against the THKP-C, the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu, or THKO), and the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist Leninist (Türkiye Komünist Partisi/Marksist Leninist, or TKP/ML), which resulted in the apprehension of many revolutionaries. Many young militants were killed, including Sinan Cemgil, Kadir Manga, Alparslan Özdoğan, Hüseyin Cevahir, Ulaş Bardakçı, Koray Doğan, Mahir Çayan, Hüdai Arıkan, Cihan Alptekin, Nihat Yılmaz, Ertan Saruhan, Ahmet Atasoy, Sinan Kazım Özüdoğru, Sabahattin Kurt, Ömer Ayna, and Saffet Alp. Some detained militants, like İbrahim Kaypakkaya, died under torture in prisons. In January 1972, the Military Court of Appeals (Askerî Yargıtay) approved the capital punishment sentence for Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin İnan, and Yusuf Aslan, and they were executed on May 6.[102] The military intervention clearly targeted the heightened politicization of the 1960s, specifically that of leftists.

Martial Law No. 1402, which was placed in effect on April 26, 1971 immediately after the military memorandum, provided a legal framework for a plethora of ordinances promulgated by the six martial law command bases (*sıkıyönetim komutanlıkları*) established in the aftermath of intervention: the Martial Command Base of Adana and Hatay, of Ankara, of Diyarbakır and Siirt, of Eskişehir, of Istanbul, Kocaeli, Sakarya, and Zonguldak, and of Izmir.[103] By 1973, when the administration of martial law ended,[104] these command bases had announced a total of 419 ordinances

102 Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 223-239.

103 Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 2, 6.

104 In Sakarya and Zonguldak, the martial law ended on January 26, 1973, "Sıkıyönetim 2 İlde Kalktı, 9 İlde 2 Ay Uzatıldı," *Milliyet*, January 26, 1973, 1; in İzmir and Eskişehir on March

covering a vast geography of subjects ranging from the administrative establishment of command bases and the closing of associations to determining meat prices and alleviating traffic problems. These 419 ordinances established the fundamental rules of martial law by arranging military assignments, setting local and national rules of conduct, restricting basic rights and liberties, and imposing extensive interdictions to suppress everything that constituted a crime against martial law.[105]

Not unlike the coup d'état of 1980, the proclamation of martial law was rationalized by the claim that activities and conduct with anarchistic content and ideological goals had become serious dangers to state order and national integrity; therefore, it was for the benefit of the state and the nation to restrain such activities and conduct.[106] An analysis of the ordinances of martial law command bases issued between 1971 and 1973 demonstrates that, like its successor, the military memorandum of 1971 sought to control, limit, and punish the circulation of ideas and the propagation of politics.

The military memorandum hastened to close down the places of liberated speech of Turkey's political movements, namely political and cultural associations, student unions, and a number of trade unions. For instance, the Command of Diyarbakır and Siirt shut down the Student Union of the Medical Faculty (Tıp Fakültesi Öğrenci Derneği), the Siverek Mutual Aid Society (Sivereklilerin Yardımlaşma Derneği), the Social Democracy Associations of the Medical Faculty (Tıp Fakültesi Sosyal Demokrasi Dernekleri), the TÖS, the Cultural Union of Bakacak Village (Bakacak Köyü Kültür Birliği), and the Trade Union of University Assistants

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26, 1973, "Eskişehir ve İzmir'de Sıkıyönetim Bugün Bitiyor," *Cumhuriyet*, March 26, 1973, 1, 7; in Adana, Hatay, and Kocaeli on May 26, 1973, "Sıkıyönetim; Kocaeli, Adana ve Hatay'dan Kaldırılıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, May 23, 1973, 1, 7; in Siirt on July 26, 1973, "T.B.M.M. Birleşik Toplantısı Kararı: Istanbul, Ankara ve Diyarbakır İllerinde Sıkıyönetim Süresinin Uzatılmasına Dair," *Resmi Gazete* (July 25, 1973): 1; in Diyarbakır on August 26, 1973, "Diyarbakır'da Sıkıyönetim Bu Gece Kalkıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, August 26, 1973, 1; in Ankara and Istanbul on September 26, 1973, "Sıkıyönetim Dün Gece Yarısı Sona Erdi," *Milliyet*, September 26, 1973, 1, 9.

105 Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 6-7, 14, 22-25.

106 Ibid., 10.

(Üniversite Asistanları Sendikası, or ÜNAS), as centers of destructive and separatist content.[107] In a similar vein, the Command of Ankara closed down twenty-two associations, most of which were student unions such as the AÜ Student Union, the AÜ Student Union of the Faculty of Agriculture (AÜ Ziraat Fakültesi Öğrenci Derneği), the Student Union of the Faculty of Political Sciences, the Socialist Idea Club of the Faculty of Political Science (Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Sosyalist Fikir Kulübü), the Student Union of the Faculty of Law (Hukuk Fakültesi Öğrenci Derneği), the Hacettepe University (Hacettepe Üniversitesi, or HÜ) Student Union, the Middle Eastern Technical University (Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, or ODTÜ) Student Union, the ODTÜ Socialist Idea Club, and the Student Union of Gazi Institute of Education (Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü Öğrenci Derneği), blaming them deviating toward dangerous ideological paths.[108] Political gatherings, discussions, and forums that took place in these associations and unions, came to a temporary halt, as the government of March 12 wished.

The closing of places of political union, collaboration, and encounter paralleled the prohibition of political action. The twenty-eighth ordinance of the Martial Law Command of Adana and Hatay forbade all kinds of political action, such as occupations, slowdowns, and demonstrations. Command bases specifically banned and suspended strikes and lockouts in factories. The Ankara Command prohibited all strikes and lockouts in the area, rendering them illegal actions that interrupted and disturbed working life.[109] The Diyarbakır and Siirt Command and the Eskişehir Command prohibited all unauthorized strikes and lockouts, establishing permission from the command as a precondition.[110] In October 1971, an

107 Ordinance No. 4 of the Diyarbakır and Siirt Command, "Sıkıyönetim Bildirileri," *Milliyet*, April 30, 1971, 1, 9.

108 Ordinance No. 12 of the Ankara Command, "Üniversitelerde Forum Yapmak Yasaklandı," *Milliyet*, May 2, 1971, 9.

109 Ordinance No. 16 of the Ankara Command, "Sıkıyönetim Ankara'da Grev ve Lokavtı Yasakladı," *Milliyet*, May 4, 1971, 1.

110 Ordinance No. 47 of the Diyarbakır and Siirt Command, Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 207; Edict No. 22 of the Eskişehir Command, "Eskişehir Sıkıyönetim

ongoing strike by the naval workers of the Federation of Marine Transportation Trade Unions of Turkey (Türkiye Deniz Taşıtmacılığı İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu) was suspended by the Adana and Hatay Command.[111] The Izmir Command intervened in the ongoing strikes of the Trade Union of Municipal Workers (Türkiye Genel Hizmetler İşçileri Sendikası, or Genel-İş) in October 1972 and of baking workers of the Tobacco, Liquor, Food, and Auxiliary Workers Trade Union of Turkey (Türkiye Tütün, Müskirat, Gıda ve Yardımcı İşçileri Sendikası) in November 1972.[112] In addition to political action in factories, the founding of associations and organization of theatre plays, concerts, poetry recitations, and folk dance shows were also banned by a number of command bases unless the command granted permission.[113] This shows that the commands intended to surveil all kinds of gatherings from which political action could sprout. Universities, as centers of political conflux in the 1960s, were particularly a target of the military. In addition to closing down almost all student unions, General Faik Türün, the Martial Law Commander of Istanbul, Kocaeli, Sakarya, and Zonguldak, prohibited the organization of forums, hanging of banners, and graffitiing of the walls of Istanbul University (İstanbul Üniversitesi, or İÜ) and Istanbul Technical University (İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, or İTÜ).[114] Martial law particularly targeted factories and universities that were the cores of politicization in the 1960s.

The prohibition of the dissemination of ideas in books, periodicals, brochures, banners, and graffiti is a prevalent theme among the ordinances. The second ordinance of the Martial Law Command of Istanbul

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Komutanlığının Bildirisi," *Milliyet*, August 3, 1971, 9; Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 268.

111 Bulletin No. 12 of the Adana and Hatay Command, ibid., 58.

112 Ordinances No. (*possibly*, 42) and 44 of the İzmir Command, ibid., 377, 379.

113 Ordinance No. 28 of the Adana and Hatay Command, "Adana'da Gösteri ve Boykot Yasaklandı," *Milliyet*, January 26, 1972, 3.

114 Ordinance No. 9 of the Istanbul, Kocaeli, Sakarya, and Zonguldak Command, "Üniversitelerde Forum Yapmak Yasaklandı," 1.

declares that "all kinds of news and publications, which provoke and instigate the people against laws… injure the disciplinary spirit of the Turkish armed forces by criticizing the Memorandum of March 12, affront the government in the eyes of the public, and spread extreme rightist and leftist ideas aiming to demolish the legal, social and basic order of the state" will be punished.[115] Furthermore, as the fifth ordinance states, those who sell prohibited books and periodicals will also be punished.[116] Similarly, the Command of Diyarbakır and Siirt banned the sale, distribution, and sharing of prohibited books, brochures, periodicals, newspapers, and all kinds of publications.[117] The initial ordinances of the martial law commands introduced the commanders of the regions; the second ones, which comprised the first legal decisions by the martial law commands, generally restrained dissemination of news and publications according to new standards.

These decisions were followed by extensive practices of the prohibition, confiscation, and destruction of books and periodicals. The contention of "disruptive news" led to the closing of many newspapers for a particular period or indefinitely.[118] A confidential compilation of court decisions under the Martial Law Command of Istanbul listed a number of newspapers and periodicals that were closed and books that were to be confiscated and demolished by order of the courts in 1971 and 1972. These

115 "Halkı kanunlara… karşı itaatsizliğe tahrik ve teşvik edici,… devletin bütünlüğü düşünülmeden… 12 Mart Beyannamesini eleştirerek Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin disiplin ruhunu zedeleyici,… hükümeti halk nazarında küçük düşürücü, aşırı sağ ve sol akımları devletin hukuki sosyal ve temel nizamlarını yıkmaya matuf… her tür haber ve yayın," Ordinance No. 2 of the Istanbul, Kocaeli, Sakarya, and Zonguldak Command, "İstanbul'da Sıkıyönetim 3 Bildiri Yayınladı," *Milliyet*, April 28, 1971, 1, 11.

116 Ordinance No. 5 of the Istanbul, Kocaeli, Sakarya, and Zonguldak Command, "Yasak Yayınları Satanlara Ceza Var," *Milliyet*, April 29, 1971, 1, 9.

117 Ordinance No. 4 of the Diyarbakır and Siirt Command.

118 For examples, see Ordinance No. 49 of the Ankara Command, Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 132.

were signed by Martial Law Commander General Faik Türün (see appendix A).[119] For instance, publication of the newspapers *Cumhuriyet*, *Akşam*, *Türkiye*, and *Bizim Anadolu* was suspended for ten days each based on the second ordinance of martial law command discussed above. *Gelecek*, a monthly periodical of literature, was suspended indefinitely for violating the same ordinance. *Halkın Dostları*, with the sub-heading "Monthly Periodical of Revolutionary Arts and Culture" ("*Aylık Devrimci Sanat ve Kültür Dergisi*"); *Ant*, with the sub-heading "Socialist Journal of Theory and Action" ("*Sosyalist Teori ve Eylem Dergisi*"); *Aydınlık: Sosyalist Dergi*; *Aydınlık: Proleter Dergi*; *Bugün*; *İttihad*; *Kültür*; *Ortam*; the erotic magazine *Sex Foto Roman*; and the weekly cinema periodical *Yeni Yıldız* were suspended indefinitely with a resolution to be confiscated. Moreover, court decisions also included a number of books to be confiscated and destroyed, such as *Çayan Davası* by attorney Faik Muzaffer Amaç, *Komünist Manifesto* (*The Communist Manifesto*), *Friedrich Engels*, *Lenin*, *Şehir Gerillası* (*Urban Guerilla*), *Milli Kurtuluş Savaşımız* (*On Revolution*) by Ho Chi Minh,[120] *Halk Savaşının Planları* by Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, and the Kurdish classic *Mem û Zin*. The confidential documents show that the military commands and courts of the early 1970s were occupied with the prosecution of written materials containing inconvenient content.

Similarly, after the coup of 1971, a suit was filed against the Dev-Genç. During the case, police seized many posters of the organization in Trabzon, Adana, Diyarbakır, Kars, and Ankara as evidence. Although almost all the posters are currently missing, the indictment in the Dev-Genç case provides a clue through which the content and scope of these posters can be reached. The indictment includes a detailed catalog of the posters with their descriptions and cities of origin.[121] This case is remarkable in terms of historiography in which the documents of the governed could only be

119 "T.C. Istanbul Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı: Kapatılan Gazete ve Dergiler ile Mahkemelerce Verilen Kitap Müsadere ve İmha Kararları," Faik Türün Papers, IISH, 1971-1972.

120 The document mentions Ho Chi Minh's name wrongly as "Roşimih."

121 Yılmaz Aysan, *'68 Afişleri: ODTÜ Devrimci Afiş Atölyesinin Öyküsü* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2008), 72-75.

reached through government documentation. The coup reframed the history of the political organization, on one hand, and ruptured the organization's history by having had an authoritarian say over its socio-historical process on the other. Therefore, from a history-writing viewpoint, the government documents can provide researchers with a basket of historical information. The archival authority, which was the consequence of the political authority of March 12, has given away a surprising historiographical gap for the researcher, within which a counter-narrative can emerge.

In addition to state archives that are inspected with a cautious eye, the narratives of the ruled are also a historical treasure. Sırrı Öztürk, a worker, publisher, and revolutionary of the period, and Zeki Öztürk, another publisher and revolutionary of the period, narrate that in one instance after the military memorandum of 1971, the government confiscated 12,060 books from the Öncü Publishing House (Öncü Kitabevi Yayınları) and burned them in the yard of the Selimiye Barracks while political prisoners booed from their windows.[122] Imprisoned political figures and destroyed paper gives one the gist of the period. It is evident that the regime of March 12 was determined to eradicate the uncontrolled means of communication of the opposition; however, considering the archival findings in catalogued in chapters 4 and 5, its success is open to question.

As discussed in the same chapters, various segments of the population established relationships through leftist politicization and publication in the 1960s. The commanders of 1971 were aware of this heightened political organization, communication, and extensive social contact, and resolved to annihilate it. A number of ordinances from different military commands addressed the existence of contact between militants and peasants, political extremists and workers, and anarchists and students.

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122 Sırrı Öztürk, *12 Mart 1971'den Portreler II* (Istanbul: Sorun Yayınları, 1993), 174 and Zeki Öztürk, "Yakın Tarihimiz Nasıl Tahrif Ediliyor?" Devrimci Dinamik, last modified May 27, 2009, http://devrimcidinamik.blogspot.com.tr/2009/05/yakn-tarihimiz-2-zeki-ozturk_27.html.

The military condemned published materials not only as spreaders of anarchistic ideas but also as bridges that link the politics of people from different classes. The fifty-third ordinance of the Adana and Hatay Command prohibited the distribution of brochures to workers and students, which disrupted the relationships among employers and employees and between students and university management.[123] The crime was to establish political links and brochures were the medium of the crime. The fifty-eighth ordinance of the same command noted that THKP-C militants were still engaged in political action around the country, especially in villages and factories, trying to penetrate young minds, though the Istanbul Command of Martial Law had already caught many militants from this *illegal* organization.[124] The command also issued an ordinance against extremists engaging in political action and making "negative propaganda" in the villages; the commander urged village headmen to inform authorities about such people.[125]

Attributing the diffusion of inconvenient and anarchistic ideas to "foreign elements" was a common theme in the ordinances. Contrary to the political aim of leftist revolutionaries of the 1960s to bond with the people or "to go to the people" ("*halka gitmek*"), a political perspective and practice that is revisited in following chapters, the military created a sinister outsider character who corrupted the people with books, periodicals, brochures, and ideas and who deceived them with the sole intent of creating chaos. The Ankara Command predicated that "foreign elements infiltrating" universities were disrupting the academic environment through unseemly, illegal actions against which not only security forces

123 Ordinance No. 53 of the Adana and Hatay Command, Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 78.

124 Ordinance No. 57 of the Adana and Hatay Command, ibid., 82.

125 "… menfi propaganda," Ordinance No. 7 of the Adana and Hatay Command, "Ankara'da Bir Yurt, 2 Dernek Kapatıldı," *Milliyet*, May 6, 1971, 9.

but also university administrations had to take action.[126] However, as discussed in chapter 4, politicization both arose from and instigated the free speech environment among the students; thus, politicization sprang from the core of universities. By attributing intrinsic politicization to "foreign elements," the military targeted the ostracization of politicized students and sought to cut their links to the universities.

Commanders also claimed that factories, which, like universities, were the centers of politicization in the 1960s, were also under attack by outside provocateurs. In April 1973, the Ankara Command issued its ninety-sixth ordinance about the recent bread crisis in the city. The disagreement between baking workers and employers was resolved through negotiations between representatives of the worker union and employers' union within the jurisdiction of the command. However, the ordinance noted that there were militants in the city who provoked workers, even though the command had prohibited strikes and lockouts in its sixteenth, sixty-eighth, and eighty-second ordinances. These militants engaged in "negative propaganda" to create chaos. The command asked baking workers not to yield to provocation and slow their work down, thus not to surrender to the militants' intention of "taking the bread out of the people's mouths."[127]

Another target of the commands was severing the link between the cities and the countryside. For instance, the Martial Law Command of Izmir warned the citizens of the Aegean region that a number of anarchist outlaws were traveling the countryside in disguise to "propagate their aberrant ideas." The security forces confiscated many harmful periodicals that were ready for distribution as well as banned Maoist books in the caves around Lake Bafa. Moreover, the command confirmed the existence of students in the region who had come across these harmful publications, read them, and passed them along to friends. Those who aided

126 "Dışarıdan sızacak yabancı unsurlar[...]," Ordinance No. 27 of the Ankara Command, Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 105; "Yöneticiler Sorumlu Olacak," *Milliyet* May 24, 1971, 11.

127 "Halkın... ekmeği ile oynamak," Ordinance No. 96 of the Ankara Command, Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 166-167.

and abetted these militants to escape the law or spread extremist ideas would also be punished.[128] Military authorities were eager to catch political militants and end their relations to society at the same time. Many ordinances urged landlords who had rented their houses to militants to inform the nearest police station about their tenants. The Commands of Ankara,[129] of Diyarbakır and Siirt,[130] of Istanbul, Kocaeli, Sakarya, and Zonguldak,[131] and of Izmir[132] assigned neighborhood headmen, landlords, building superintendents, and doormen with the duty of being on the lookout for suspects and helping security officers catch outlaws. To sum up, the commanders of March 12 were eager to sever political bonds among various segments of the population that were established in the 1960s.

In addition to suppressing political action and limiting the field of publishing, military authorities were determined to wrest control over the field of education. To address the rising crime at universities, an amendment to Article 120 of the constitution limited the autonomy of universities, opened university gates to uninvited security forces, and bound university management to government control.[133] General Semih Sancar, the Martial Law Commander of Ankara, remonstrated against the fact that students, whose intent was to join the ranks serving the country through education, violated the rules of their schools by filling the walls of these hearths of science and knowledge with pictures, banners, and

128 "… sapık fikirlerini etrafa yaymak için," Ordinance No. 35 of the İzmir Command, ibid., 367-368.

129 Ordinance No. 45 of the Ankara Command, ibid., 128.

130 Ordinance No. 53 of the Diyarbakır and Siirt Command, ibid., 211-212.

131 Ordinance No. 8 of the Istanbul, Kocaeli, Sakarya, and Zonguldak Command, "Sıkıyönetim Bildirileri: İstanbul'da 2 Gazete 1 Dergi Süresiz Kapatıldı," *Milliyet*, May 1, 1971, 9.

132 Ordinance No. 20 of the İzmir Command, Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 348.

133 "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasasının Bazı Maddelerinin Değiştirilmesi ve Geçici Maddeler Eklenmesi Hakkında Anayasa Değişikliği," 3.

graffiti.[134] Therefore, the commanders issued ordinances that closed student associations, banned forums, and limited publications in order to alienate students from politics. However, education is a two-sided process. While oppressing politicized students, the government also set out to limit the politicization of teachers.

In addition to extensive bans on political gatherings, the military rendered the trade unions of civil servants that had blossomed in the 1960s illegal in an amendment to the constitution.[135] As indicated in chapter 5, between 1965, when the government legalized unionization for civil servants, and 1971, 658 unions were established for civil servants.[136] After the military memorandum of 1971, Article 46 of the Constitution of 1961 was amended to debar civil servants from unionizing without permission. This was implemented by Law No. 1488, which came into effect on September 20, 1971. While the constitution already forbade civil servants from joining political parties even before 1971, an amendment to Article 119 in 1971 banned them from joining trade unions, as well.[137] One of the hundreds of trade unions that the military closed in 1971 was the TÖS. Separate command bases announced the closing of the TÖS before its legal finalization by the amendment to the constitution. The Siirt Subarea Command shut down the Siirt branch of the TÖS in its second ordinance in early May 1971.[138] Similarly, the Eskişehir Command suspended all activities of the TÖS indefinitely in May 1971 to end the social disquiet caused by its anarchistic actions.[139] The Adana and Hatay Command

134 Ordinance No. 13 of the Ankara Command, "Üniversitelerde Forum Yapmak Yasaklandı," 9.

135 Çelenk, *Hukuk Açısından TÖB-DER Davası*, 23.

136 Serdar Demir, "Türkiye'de Kamu Görevlileri Dernekleri (1971-1980)," *Amme İdaresi Dergisi* 24, no. 1 (March 1991): 58.

137 "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasasının Bazı Maddelerinin Değiştirilmesi ve Geçici Maddeler Eklenmesi Hakkında Anayasa Değişikliği," 2, 3.

138 Ordinance No. 2 of the Siirt Subarea Command, Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 252.

139 Edict No. 7 of the Eskişehir Command, "Eskişehir'de TÖS Kapatıldı," *Milliyet*, May 5, 1971, 11.

closed down the TÖS in May 1971 for engaging in activities that overstepped the limits on its mission.[140] Besides the TÖS, the commands closed down the ÜNAS[141] and the Trade Union of Elementary School Teachers (İlkokul Öğretmenler Sendikası, or İLK-SEN).[142] Therefore, the commanders of 1971 criminalized and punished the unionization of teachers and the acts of unions, which it saw as overstepping the legal definition of teaching. According to the rule of 1971, teaching had to remain in the four walls of the classroom and was restricted to a government curriculum.

Accordingly, the coup commanders were determined to judge and punish unionized teachers. Approximately 3,500 TÖS members were taken into custody after the announcement of the military memorandum of 1971.[143] The executive board of the TÖS was tried by Military Court No. 2 of the Ankara Martial Command on charges of violating Article 141/1 of Turkish Criminal Law (Türk Ceza Kanunu, or TCK).[144] TCK 141/1 stipulated prison sentences of eight to fifteen years for those who founded, coordinated, funded, or guided organizations to establish the domination of one social class over another or to annihilate a social class, effectively criminalizing communism without naming it. It stipulated capital punishment for those who propelled or managed a number or all of such organizations.[145] Thus, it was a thoughtcrime. Moreover, in the indictment, the military prosecutor accused TÖS administrators of building illegal relationships with workers, peasants, students, politicians, and other trade unionists. The TÖS chairperson, Fakir Baykurt, conveys in his memoirs that the biggest crime with which they were charged during the trial was

140 Ordinance No. 10 of the Adana and Hatay Command, Üskül, *Bildirileriyle 12 Mart 1971 Dönemi Sıkıyönetimi*, 46.

141 Ordinance No. 4 of the Diyarbakır and Siirt Command.

142 Edict No. 7 of the Eskişehir Command.

143 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 465.

144 Çelenk, *Hukuk Açısından TÖB-DER Davası*, 178.

145 The article was annulled in 1991. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 305. For more information on the mentioned law article see Cangül Örnek, "Türk Ceza Kanunu'nun 141 ve 142. Maddelerine İlişkin Tartışmalarda Devlet ve Sınıflar," Ankara Üniversitesi *SBF Dergisi* 69, no. 1 (2014): 109-139.

mobilizing union branches to establish "peasant unions" to bond teachers with peasants and socially transform the countryside, even though the initiative actually never started.[146] In addition, defendants from the TÖS were accused of conducting secret meetings with members of the Dev-Genç and other high-school students and organizing conferences, forums, demonstrations, and boycotts through these meetings. Furthermore, the prosecutor claimed that the TÖS and Dev-Genç worked together in Anatolian villages to form unions of workers and peasants, to "indoctrinate them with desired consciousness," and to lead them into a "great massacre." For the prosecutor, mingling with workers and peasants with the intention of raising their consciousness was a "communist strategy." Likewise, the TÖS' relationships with the TİP, DİSK, İLK-SEN, ÜNAS, the Chamber of Electrical Engineers (Elektrik Mühendisleri Odası, or EMO), and the Chamber of Civil Engineers (İnşaat Mühendisleri Odası, or İMO) were regarded as the crime of building a "common front." Besides building relationships, the prosecutor accused the TÖS of converting their branch offices into "nests of education," where students were forced to read leftist publications, distribute leaflets, and hang up posters for "intellectual preparation."[147] The prosecutor, in the indictment for the TÖS trial, defined the TÖS as a "central brain," which started and conducted "activity from the center to the countryside, from the countryside to the center, circulating like the flow of blood in the body."[148] The martial law commanders decided to punish the teachers – to annihilate the "brain" – that were spreading inconvenient thoughts and consciousness to other teachers by unionization, to students by education, and to workers, peasants, activists, and other unionists by interrelation.

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146 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 360.

147 "istediğimiz bilinci vermek suretiyle," "büyük katliam," "komünist taktiği," "müşterek cephe," "eğitim yuvası," Fakir Baykurt, *İfade: TÖS Savunması (Ankara Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı 2 Numaralı Askeri Mahkemesi Önünde Askeri Savcının İddianamesine Karşılık Verilmiş İFADE'nin Tam Metni)* (Ankara: Eğitim-İş Yayınları, 1994), 79, 117-118, 137.

148 "… bir 'merkezi beyin' kurulduğu bunlarla merkezden taşraya, taşradan merkeze doğru kanın vücuttaki deveranı gibi devreden bir faaliyet başlatıldığı," ibid., 118.

Besides legal actions against the TÖS and similar unions, the military was also determined to liquidate nongovernment forms of education. The eighth ordinance of the Izmir Command prohibited educational courses for workers by legal trade unions.[149] The military set out to abolish the educational courses of trade unions and other political organizations, which were centers of encounter between intellectuals, students, and workers.

The military intervention of March 12, 1971, like its successor in 1980, sought to suppress the extensive politicization of the 1960s, targeting communicative and educational praxes in particular. The measures taken by military authorities through the ordinances of martial command bases were harsh; however, they were unable to stop the political awakening of the 1960s. After a temporary slowdown until 1974, when thousands of political prisoners were freed in a general amnesty, the political movement was rejuvenated.[150] A number of political parties and organizations that had been closed or suspended by the military, like the TİP, returned to their political activities. In addition, revolutionaries founded new organizations. Political action became more intense and diverse compared to the 1960s. For instance, while between 1963 and 1971, 4,506 workdays were lost to strikes, 21,812 were lost between 1973 and 1980.[151] Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 4, the communication boom of the 1960s continued with the blossoming of new publications, books, periodicals, brochures, banners, graffiti, and forums. The findings elaborated upon in chapter 5 reveal that the education boom of the 1960s also continued throughout the 1970s. Even as the case against the TÖS was ongoing, teachers from the TÖS founded another teachers' association that would

149 Ordinance No. 8 of the İzmir Command, "33 Kişi İzmir Dışına Çıkarıldı," *Milliyet*, May 5, 1971, 11.

150 The General Pardon Law came into effect on May 15, 1974, and was retroactive to February 7, 1974. Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 257-258.

151 Turan, "Bu Sayıda: Alternatif Tahayyüller, Devingenlik, Popülizm: 1970'ler İçin Bir Çerçeve Denemesi," *Toplum ve Bilim* 127 (2013): 10.

become the TÖB-DER.[152] Moreover, the TÖS members were eventually acquitted in September 1976.[153]

Critical research of archives and eyewitness accounts on the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s, described in chapters 4 and 5, reveals a story of continuation, especially in terms of political activism, heightened communication, and diffused educational praxes. This story, despite the military intervention in 1971, had its obstacles but no dead-ends. In other words, the military memorandum of 1971, despite its political implementations, death sentences, and violent police raids, did not terminate leftist politicization and the accompanying praxes of communication and education of the 1960s, as the coup d'état of 1980 did for the 1970s. However, official history and several testimonies unveil a different story of the period, as analyzed in the next chapter: a story that was abruptly cut in 1971. Ömer Turan, in his introductory article to an issue of the journal of *Toplum ve Bilim*, on the 1970s entitled "Unclosed Brackets" ("Kapanmamış Parantez"), describes a common theme in the social science literature in Turkey that reduces the 1970s to an era of political insolubility, crisis, terror, and chaos, leading to the military intervention of 1980. Defining the 1970s as a dark era, a dark road with an even darker impasse in the end, the literature often jumps from March 12 to September 12. However, Turan asks what the 1970s would present to the researcher, if it were not reduced to terror and chaos. Is it possible to embrace the 1970s as a dynamic period of politicization within which new possibilities emerged?[154] This dissertation's answer to this question is yes. As addressed in the following chapters, the 1970s was a period of heightened leftist politicization that coexisted with a communication boom and rise in different forms of education. It was following the 1960s by enhancing it, taking the political struggle to the next level, and conceiving new possibilities. In terms of politicization, communication, and

152 Birgül Ulutaş, "70'li Yıllarda Bir Direnme Pratiği: TÖB-DER," in *Modernizmin Yansımaları: 70'li Yıllarda Türkiye*, eds. R. Funda Barbaros and Erik Jan Zürcher (Ankara: Efil Yayınevi, 2014), 349.

153 Çelenk, *Hukuk Açısından TÖB-DER Davası*, 178.

154 Turan, "Bu Sayıda: Alternatif Tahayyüller, Devingenlik, Popülizm," 3-4.

education, the 1970s in Turkey was a period of burgeoning utopias, like the 1960s.

Nuri Salman, a revolutionary in the 1970s, narrates in his autobiographical book the excitement and enthusiasm that characterized leftist circles in Turkey after March 12. For him, this dynamism enabled left-wing politics to expand and become popular in the 1970s. Through the movement, the Turkish political left reached different segments of the population and augmented its forms of struggle.[155] This dissertation more thoroughly analyzes the dynamics of historiography and memory that blurred the history of the 1970s, rendered 1971 as a historical break, and made the dynamism that Salman narrates to have been forgotten. Furthermore, the chapter investigates the political and socioeconomic dynamics that made 1980 a terminal historical point and gave it historiographical authority of the past but robbed from 1971 a similar historical status and narrative dominance.

§ 2.3 History through Coup D'états: The Blinding Light of State-Sponsored Historiography

The history of the Turkish Republic has abounded with *natural* fault lines which create historical, political, socioeconomic, and cultural boundaries. The coup d'états of 1960, 1971, and 1980 have acted as historic fractures that have created such boundaries, starting or ending almost any account of the recent history of Turkey. These boundaries dominate almost all historical studies in fields ranging from diplomatic history to the history of art and from economic analyses to cultural studies. Correspondingly, in many cases, historical accounts position the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey between the coups of 1960 and 1980 and almost symmetrically interrupt the narrative in 1971.

Taking these military interventions' programmed objectives of expansive politico-economic transformation into consideration, the privi-

155 Nuri Salman, *Yolculuk Sürer...* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2016), 45-46.

leged position of military coups in Turkish historiography is understandable. However, the inevitable dominance of military interventions in the construction of history generates a common historical narrative based on these ruptures and thus creates a historiographical position that tends to ignore continuities. Therefore, while indubitably acknowledging the dire and tremendous impact of the military coups on the history of Turkey and especially on the course of the leftist social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, a birds-eye-view analysis of the whole period gives the researcher a panoramic lens to detect the continuities of social movements uninterrupted by military interventions. The fourth and fifth chapters of this dissertation address these continuities, while this subchapter focuses on the historiographical impact of the military coups, which acted as temporal milestones that both constitute public memory and rupture the historical narrative of the period in question. Under the guidance of Michel-Rolph Trouillot and his conception of "two sides of historicity," this section questions the building blocks of the recent history of Turkey and the power relations behind them that highlight certain historical moments while silencing others.

Trouillot, in his book *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, remarks that the meaning of the word "history" is ambiguous and double-sided, for it denotes not only the process through which events happen but also the narrative that conveys this process. In other words, the word "history" connotes "what happened," on one hand, and "that which is said to have happened," on the other. Thus, two meanings are embedded in one word, signifying "two sides of historicity."[156]

In analyzing the history of the Haitian Revolution, Trouillot realized that there is often a discrepancy between "what happened" and "what is narrated," keeping the event and its story at bay. However, Trouillot refuses to take sides in this dichotomy or to conduct a truth-test to compare and contrast the event and the story. Instead, he adds a third dimension to his theory of a Janus-faced history by asserting that"[t]he ways in which what happened and that which is said to have happened are and

156 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 2.

are not the same may itself be historical."[157] To put it differently, the convergence or divergence between the process and the narrative might be historically-constructed. Therefore, not only the process and the narrative but also the relation between them is historical.

As is discussed in the following chapters, the clash between archival findings and historical narratives on the period between 1960 and 1980 in Turkey reveals a discrepancy – or a narrative gap – in which some sociohistorical elements are neglected or omitted. If this gap itself is historical, as Trouillot asserts, the researcher should pursue the elements that have framed it and continuously reframe it in the present, because the present creates the historical narrative.

> The past does not exist independently from the present. Indeed, the past is only past because there is a present, just as I can point to something *over there* only because I am *here*. But nothing is inherently over there or here. In that sense, the past has no content. The past – or, more accurately, pastness – is a position. Thus, in no way can we identify the past *as past*.[158]

As Trouillot argues, the present defines the past. History is not a finished, static entity but a dynamic one that is being formed, reformed, and deformed by the present. Similarly, Walter Benjamin states that the past is always "filled with the presence of the now."[159] Therefore, the gap in the historical narrative, the divergence between the event and its story, the forgetting of some historical elements stem from the historical power relations that operate in the present. Power codifies and recodifies history, highlighting some sociohistorical elements and burying the others. Thus, to grasp the use of power, one should detect the divergences and convergences between the past and its narrative. Power is hidden behind the gaps and overlaps, behind the narratives that it has rendered possible and those it has blanketed. In other words, the implementation of power,

157 Ibid., 3.

158 Ibid., 15.

159 Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 261.

while producing historical narratives, constructs and reconstructs "moments of silences," entombing some sociohistorical elements into "effective silencing."[160] Following the "moments of silences" in the archives and testimonies helps the researcher to unearth those historical elements that the exercise of power in the present has rendered unimaginable.

One of the most important signposts in historical narratives on the period between 1960 and 1980 in Turkey has been the military coup of 1980. Through extensive exercise of power, the junta dominated both sides of historicity – that is, historical events and the narrative on them – at the same time. The coup d'état of September 12, which had a drastic impact on the political, economic, and social process of Turkey, produced its own historical narrative by carefully emphasizing, manufacturing, and omitting certain historical occurrences. Moreover, not only for the junta or the government but also for revolutionaries of the period and their followers in subsequent years, the coup has become a historic and historiographical milestone. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the state-sponsored historical narrative reframed by the military intervention of 1980 has regarded the period between 1960 and 1980 as an environment of crisis, terror, and chaos. As analyzed in the next chapter, while revolutionaries then and now object to the historical narrative produced by the military coup, refusing to allow social movements of the 1960s and 1970s to be portrayed as terror, they still put the coup at the center of historiography. Therefore, historiographically speaking, the centrality of September 12 has also been embraced by its adversaries. The history of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey is either perceived through the lens of September 12 or produced in opposition to it.

An analysis of works – analyses and memories – on the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, as is conducted in the next chapter, and the historical narrative produced by the military government reveals common historiographical elements that dominate the post-1980 historical narrative. Most importantly, the government of September 12

160 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 25, 106.

presented the dark 1970s, which were infested by terror and chaos, as justification for its intervention, which has dominated the history-writing and memory after 1980. Although the opposition to the coup has refused to evaluate the political activities of the period as terror, it has regarded the 1970s as a dark period vis-à-vis the brighter 1960s. Correspondingly, the year 1968 emerged as symbolic date for memory and history, eclipsing the 1970s. Whereas a narrative of the dark 1970s was an ideological tool in the hands of the junta to justify the military intervention, it has become a different ideological tool in the hands of the revolutionaries that the junta had oppressed, who emphasize the severity of the military intervention and the struggle against its repercussions. Therefore, the revolutionaries of then and now have given September 12 an irrefutable role in "that which is said to have happened" to criticize and condemn its impact on "what happened."

The invention of March 12, 1971, as a historiographical wall has befittingly contributed to the narrative of the dark 1970s and the antagonism between the 1960s and 1970s. The military memorandum, which historically took place between the 1960s and 1970s, has taken on the task to of separating the two decades historiographically, as well, masking the continuities between them that survived the military intervention. The retrospective reading of the 1970s as merely a gloomy road darkened by March 12, 1971, and marching towards September 12, 1980, has blurred the socio-historical process and rendered some occurrences of the period forgotten. Through the lens of post-1980 historiography, some events and possibilities of the 1970s, as well as the 1960s, have been rendered unimaginable, or "unthinkable."

Pierre Bourdieu instrumentalized the term "unthinkable," to characterize that which cannot be grasped or envisaged because of the nonexistence or deficiency of the current conceptual means or political framework to understand or imagine it.

> In what is unthinkable at a given time, there is not only everything that cannot be thought for lack of the ethical or political dispositions which tend to bring it into consideration, but also everything

> that cannot be thought for lack of instruments of thought such as problematics, concepts, methods and techniques…[161]

Therefore, the "unthinkable" is that which is nonexistent in the current sociopolitical basket of possibilities. In Trouillot's interpretation, "the unthinkable is that which one cannot conceive within the range of possible alternatives, that which perverts all answers because it defies the terms under which the questions were phrased."[162] Thus, the "unthinkable" is unphrasable by current instruments of thought and ungraspable by the present commonsense.

As discussed later in this dissertation, historical elements such as the existence of workers and peasants contributing to the communication and education boom of the 1960s and 1970s, the existence of relations built among various segments of the population, and the political and cultural continuity between the 1960s and 1970s have been largely omitted from the historical narratives. Utilizing Bourdieu's concept makes it plausible to assert that these historical elements have become "unthinkable" under the post-1980 political and socioeconomic framework. A historiography test of gaps and overlaps that knocks "what happened" against "that which is said to have happened" uncovers such elements, such gaps in the historical narrative, which have been historically produced through an exercise of power.

This dissertation backs the assertion that the world of global capitalism has generated an ideological closure, one that advertises its own values and engrafts its own instruments of thinking, while deeming others unimaginable.[163] Contemplating on this ideological closure, David Harvey states that "[n]eoliberalism has… become hegemonic as a mode of discourse and has pervasive effects on ways of thought and political-economic practices to the point where it has become incorporated into the

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161 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 5.

162 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 82.

163 Fredric Jameson, "The Politics of Utopia," *New Left Review* 25 (January-February 2004): 35-36.

commonsense way we interpret, live in, and understand the world."[164] People usually comprehend the world and create narratives within the limits of the contemporary conceptual framework. The globally-dominant system of neoliberalism has acted as a rule-maker that has determined such a framework of thinking, limiting conceptual starting points to understand the world and imprisoning certain historical occurrences to the field of impossibility. In this sense, neoliberalism has generated a "conceptual apparatus" that has, on one hand, attracted people's feelings and dispositions by establishing the neoliberal system as an indispensable precondition for individual freedom. On the other, this conceptual framework has determined the boundaries of common sense and "the possibilities that seem to inhere in the social world we inhabit."[165] With respect to comprehending our surroundings and producing pertinent narratives, "[w]orldview wins over the facts."[166]

The historian Enzo Traverso formulates a comparable analysis in *Left-Wing Melancholia: Marxism, History, and Memory*, remarking that in contemporary neoliberal times the present is diffused into both the past and the future. This scheme of "presentism" subdues the past while closing alternative paths towards the future. With the collapse of real socialism and the temporal distance from catastrophes like world wars, neoliberalism has presented itself as the "insuperable horizon" and confined different social and economic systems into the horrific fringes of the totalitarian or catastrophic. Therefore, as the current socioeconomic model, it has chained the ability to devise abstract dreams and "confined the social imagination into the narrow boundaries of the present." Moreover, along with the changing system of industrial capitalism and the rise of individualism and consumerism, it has replaced the dreams of "collective emancipation" of a previous age with economic incentives. Therefore, while neoliberalism has put itself forth as an invincible system with no desirable alternative, the prospect of revolution as a means to overthrow this

164 David Harvey, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 610 (March 2007): 23.

165 Ibid., 24.

166 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 93.

system has left the "memory landscape."[167] In this respect, the narratives of history and memory on leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey have been shaped by the post-1980 systemic framework of thinking, and the historical elements that are mostly absent from the narratives have been deemed impossible, contrary to common sense, or "unthinkable."

Reflecting on the ideological closure of neoliberalism also answers a question hidden between the lines of this chapter: why did the military coup of 1980 succeeded in establishing a narrative dominance over the past as well as historical dominance, while that of 1971 did not manage to construct a similarly impervious historical and historiographical wall? Needless to say, the coup d'état of September 12 was more far-reaching in the implementation of political oppression, legal amendments, and social containment than the coup of March 12. For instance, parliament was closed by the junta of September 12, while after March 12, the army confined itself to forming a government.[168] Legal amendments by the military-controlled government aside, the army was not engaged in preparing a new constitution after 1971 as would happen after 1980.[169] However, the army also intervened severely in 1971, suppressing especially the leftist politicization of the 1960s, as analyzed in previous pages. Yet politicization continued from the 1960s throughout the 1970s along with a rise in communicative and educational practices.

The military coup of September 12 created a historical rupture and an ensuing narrative framework because it constituted not only a political interruption but an economic break with social and cultural connotations. To clarify, the army in 1980 acted with both a political and economic intent that was backed and marketed by institutions of international capital, such as the International Money Fund and the World Bank. The military intervention was instrumental in clearing the political arena by suspending political mobility and associational rights so that the neoliberal

167 Enzo Traverso, *Left-Wing Melancholia: Marxism, History, and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), xv, 6-9.

168 Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 271, 292.

169 Ibid., 273, 295.

program of January 24, which opened Turkey to a free market economy, could be implemented without any political or legal hurdles. As a result, starting with the military repression of unionized, proletarian struggle, the coup of 1980 heralded the opening of a new global age of neoliberalism in Turkey.[170]

The military intervention in 1971 also had an economic intent. The economic system of import substitution industrialization of the 1960s was based on the protection of domestic industry and promotion of domestic goods and, conversely, on the importation of the technology, capital goods, and intermediate goods that created a shortage of foreign exchange.[171] The devaluation of August 10, 1970, that attempted at solving the chronic balance of payments deficit of the economic system could only be fulfilled under the military suspension of strikes and collective agreements and freezing of wages after March 12.[172] Nevertheless, the stabilization program and the following military memorandum did not alter the economic system but maintained it. The military memorandum of March 12 and the subsequent government did not change the economic dynamics of the 1960s but created a bureaucratic-authoritarian state that governed the continuing economic system of the previous decade.[173] The economic path of the 1960s which continued into the 1970s reached a

170 The economic reform program, which was issued on January 24, 1980, and applied until the end of 1988, was designed to open Turkish economy to the global free market and employed a number of drastic measures such as balancing the flow of money in and out of the country by enhancing the balance of payments, fighting inflation by raising interest rates, increasing the competitiveness of Turkish exported goods in international markets through fixed wages, devaluing the Turkish Lira, and introducing state subsidies. The program favored capital over labor. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 306-307; Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi, 1908-2002* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2004), 147-151.

171 Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 225.

172 Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 128.

173 İsmet Akça, "Bir Darbenin Dinamiği ve Anatomisi: 12 Mart 1971 Muhtırası," *Toplumsal Tarih* 273 (September 2016): 92.

deadlock in 1980. Moreover, the economic crisis of the late 1970s also instigated a social one.[174] In brief, the coup of 1980 and the new economic path initiated a tremendous political, economic, social, and cultural transformation in Turkey that did not occur in 1971. On one hand, everything that was politically and socially inconvenient was suppressed and banned; on the other, the economy was liberalized.

Consequently, in the 1980s, political oppression and prohibitions by the military went hand in hand with a new civilian discourse of "liberating promises" in the fields of economics and culture. Out of this seemingly-contradictory duality emerged a new social era and a new "cultural climate" in Turkey.[175] At the center of this "new age" that was woven with the separate threads of political pressure and economic liberalization was a model of "a new self."[176] This new neoliberal system, which was intensely promoted to the Turkish public in the 1980s as the only viable alternative,[177] has framed a new "conceptual apparatus," governed new desires, and advertised new values. The model of "the new self" exalted new personal values such as individualism, competitiveness, and consumerism.[178] Furthermore, these newly-marketed values denigrated the political mobility of the 1960s and 1970s and the social relations it created as not only unwanted or feared but also unimaginable. In other words, the political reconstruction and neoliberal transition destroyed the previous narrative as it created another one. As Evren described in his speeches after the coup, the army intervened to write a "painful prescription" to remedy the illness of "deviant ideologies" that had metastasized across the country.[179] Under the neoliberal transformation, this prescrip-

174 Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, 226.

175 Nurdan Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak: 1980'lerin Kültürel İklimi* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2001), 13-14.

176 Meltem Ahıska and Zafer Yenal, *Aradığınız Kişiye Şu An Ulaşılamıyor: Türkiye'de Hayat Tarzı Temsilleri, 1980-2005* (Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), 8-9, 43.

177 Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 148.

178 Ahıska and Yenal, *Aradığınız Kişiye Şu An Ulaşılamıyor*, 56.

179 "Acılı reçete," Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak*, 70.

tion went on to codify an official historical narrative that has buried certain historical elements and replaced them with new perspectives and values.

In brief, the ruling power has reframed or created an official historical narrative by dismantling or destroying certain historical elements for political reasons. Thus, this has been a "creative destruction," a term used by Harvey to identify the progress of the neoliberal system. Neoliberalism, while demolishing the establishment and narratives of the previous era that upheld a more equal socioeconomic distribution, has simultaneously reframed its own institutions and narratives upon the debris of previous ones.[180] Similarly, the coup d'état of September 12 destroyed the previous socioeconomic and political framework and built a new system upon the wreck. Yet, as discussed, the destructive aspect of the coup affected not only "what happened" but also "that which is said to have happened." The coup of September 12 also engaged in "creative destruction" in terms of history and public memory. While destroying alternatives that were possible in the 1960s and 1970s and the narratives clustered around them, the intervention of September 12 and its aftermath created a new historical narrative. Furthermore, this historical narrative is destructive in itself, parceling the historical process and concealing continuities. Under this hegemonic discourse, September 12's narrative on leftist political movements of the previous period became naturalized as the only plausible story. Within this discourse, the intervention of March 12 unquestionably stands as an impassable historical barrier between the 1960s and 1970s, blocking the continuity of historical elements. This was a historiographical achievement that the rule of March 12 did not fulfill. Therefore, the coup d'état of 1980 in Turkey engaged in a "creative destruction" imposed on both sides of historicity. On one hand, the coup dismantled the socioeconomic and political system of the 1960s and 1970s and codified a new system. On the other, it sponsored a new historical narrative on the period, omitting certain features from the story and actively creating historical divisions that dissected the story. In this way, the military

180 Harvey, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction," 22-24.

intervention of September 12, 1980, became one of the most significant determinants of recent Turkish history by both rupturing "what happened" and constructing "that which is said to have happened."

In his short essay, "The Destructive Character," Walter Benjamin lists the characteristics of "the destructive character." For him, "[t]he destructive character knows only one watchword: Make room. And only one activity: Clearing away."[181] In order to "make room" for some historical elements, other elements should be "cleared away." In order to render some historical events sonorous, others should be silenced. The coup of September 12 has acted as a "destructive character" in Turkish history, of a creative kind, by sponsoring an official historical narrative through demolishing the mountains of socioeconomic and political accumulation of the 1960s and 1970s "by brute force"[182] to open up for itself a new path to create a new historical narrative to promote its power. On the flip side, the researcher can turn the tables and apply the destructive character's characteristic of making room to create a critical historical narrative against the ideological closure of the existing neoliberal system by carefully problematizing the historical narratives as well as testimonies and archival findings. This dissertation ultimately aims to detect empty spaces between the historical process and the story about that process that have been filled with forgotten, silenced, or "unthinkable" historical moments.

In analyzing narratives of the Haitian Revolution, Trouillot indicates that a successful slave revolution, which was "unthinkable" within the scope of the Western common sense, "has also been silenced by historians."[183] It is again a two-sided process in which present power relations shape both memory – by determining the range of possibilities – and history – dominating the construction of narratives. This chapter discussed how the extensive control of the means of communication and education

181 Benjamin, "The Destructive Character," in *Selected Writings, Volume 2, Part 2, 1931-1934*, eds. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith, trans. Rodney Livingstone and Others (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 541.

182 Ibid., 542.

183 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 95-96.

by the junta of September 12 paralleled the institutionalization of an official history that suppressed diverging narratives. This state-sponsored historiography set the rules of the game by, recalling Bourdieu's words, "tacitly defining the limits of the thinkable and the unthinkable and so contributing to the maintenance of the social order from which it derives its power."[184] The post-1980 official historiography on preceding two decades not only darkened the 1970s, preventing the possibility of narrating a more politically-dynamic decade, but also rendering certain historical elements impossible such as the existence of workers in social movements, the presence of encounters of varied social groups, and the continuity between the 1960s and 1970s in terms of political movements. Correspondingly, as discussed, the dominant narrative has highlighted the year 1968 and depoliticized, to some extent, the contrarian stances it had witnessed. This has been not only an act of forgetting but also of "effective silencing" continuously nourished by the present. The socioeconomic and political design of the present wipes out the memory of yesterdays' possibilities – the possibilities that have become unimaginable in the current framework of thinking. The changing borders of possibilities actively and endlessly codify and recodify individual and "public" memories. Addressing the question of historiography, this chapter introduces "effective silencing" into the picture for political reasons. The communication and education booms of the 1960s and 1970s, worker and peasant involvement in cultural production, and newly-built relationships among students, intellectuals, workers, and peasants in politicized spaces, which mostly vanished from memory, have also been omitted from most historical narratives since the 1980s. These historical elements are not only "unthinkable" but also politically-inconvenient for the official historical narrative in the new, neoliberal era commenced on September 12.

184 Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 108.

§ 2.4 Conclusion

The history of Turkey is arrayed with both historical and historiographical lampposts erected in 1960, 1971, 1980, and later in 1997 and 2016. These lampposts of military intervention act not only as milestones that redefined to varying degrees the political, socioeconomic, and cultural route of Turkey but also as guiding lights, illuminating the historiographical paths to be taken. Writing on recent Turkish history usually necessitates prepositions of *before* or *after*, *until* or *since*, followed by the dates of the coup d'états, like "economic history of Turkey after 1960" or "social movements before 1980." This is normal in the academic discipline of history, for such prepositions – in other words, periodization – lies in its core. Moreover, it is indisputable that the coup d'états of 1960, 1971, and 1980 had extensive and all-encompassing socioeconomic and political programs. Therefore, it is understandable that they have significant roles in the history and historiography of Turkey. However, this dominating effect creates a pit of historical blindness into which researchers can fall. The fact that military coups are perceived as historical and historiographical ruptures obfuscates the continuities, as in the case of the 1960s and 1970s, between eras. After all, lampposts only illuminate a limited area of ground while keeping other parts in the dark.

The military interventions of 1971 and 1980 had detailed programs to control, restrict, and punish the dissemination of ideas. To occlude the channels through which anarchistic and disruptive ideas could flow, rulers in both military coups restricted the freedom of press and expression, on one hand, and criminalized the dissemination of ideas through communication, publication, and education, on the other. The junta of 1980 and the ensuing Constitution of 1982 as well as the junta of 1971 and its extensive constitutional amendments inflicted prison sentences on revolutionaries, students, journalists, and teachers while at the same time legalizing and implementing bans on publications, the destruction of written material, control over education, and the institutionalization of limited freedom of expression. The coup of September 12 choked the communication and education booms of the 1960s and 1970s by centralizing

the educational system and suppressing communication. Although the rule after March 12 took similar measures, it was unable to end the politicization of the 1960s. Therefore, in terms of politicization and explosive communication and education, there was continuity between the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, an analysis of the history and public memory, as conducted in this chapter and the next, reveals that narratives that were codified and recodified after 1980 cut the period into two: brighter 1960s and a darker 1970s. To put it differently, there is a narrative gap between "what happened" in the 1960s and 1970s and "that which is said to have happened," which was reframed in the 1980s. This chapter asserts that this gap involves historical elements (that is, the communication and education booms of the 1960s and 1970s, worker and peasant involvement in the process, established bonds among various segments of society, and continuity between the 1960s and 1970s pertaining to these historical phenomena) that were rendered unimaginable or "unthinkable" by the use of power and domination of the present way of thinking – that is, the neoliberal conceptual framework.

Military interventions have been fundamental historical events that reconstitute the socioeconomic and political design of the country as well as major historiographical milestones that dissect the narratives. Therefore, the coup d'état of 1980 in Turkish history has dominated both of the "two sides of historicity" by constructing and rupturing history at the same time. This has been a "creative destruction." The destruction of the socio-historical process by the military intervention of September 12, 1980, went hand in hand with the creation of a story about that process. The resulting state-sponsored historiography has effectively silenced politically-inconvenient socio-historical elements and deemed them unimaginable. Moreover, political opponents of the coups have also codified historical narratives of the 1960s and 1970s that put the military coups at the center of their historiography in order to stress the harshness of the military interventions. The resulting narratives, while they criticize an official history that distorts the past, still acknowledge the coups as unpassable walls in recent history, contributing to the concealing of continuities

between the 1960s and 1970s. The path that surpasses this narrative inequality passes through a critical historical paradigm that problematizes the existent historical discourse, present power relations, and neoliberal boundaries of thinking that dominate both sides of historicity. The resulting critical narrative is situated on an analysis of archives and testimonies. This narrative uncovers past possibilities that are hidden or forgotten in the historical gaps between "what happened" and "that which is said to have happened." This dissertation now moves on to problematize the public memory of leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s as well as the archives and to look for empty spaces between the two in search of past utopias.

3

Between Archives and Testimonies: Utopia, Memory, and History

The island of Utopia is in the middle two hundred miles broad, and holds almost at the same breadth over a great part of it, but it grows narrower towards both ends. Its figure is not unlike a crescent. Between its horns the sea comes in eleven miles broad, and spreads itself into a great bay, which is environed with land to the compass of about five hundred miles, and is well secured from winds. In this bay there is no great current; the whole coast is, as it were, one continued harbour, which gives all that live in the island great convenience for mutual commerce. But the entry into the bay, occasioned by rocks on the one hand and shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the middle of it there is one single rock which appears above water, and may, therefore, easily be avoided; and on the top of it there is a tower, in which a garrison is kept; the other rocks lie under water, and are very dangerous. The channel is known only to the natives; so that if any stranger should enter into the bay without one of their pilots he would run great danger of shipwreck.[1]

– Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*

Between May 2008 and February 2009, an art exhibition was held in Istanbul and Ankara to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of 1968 in Turkey. "The Fortieth Anniversary of 1968: Archaeological Dig into a Wind of Change" ("1968'in 40. Yılı: Bir Rüzgarın Arkeolojik Kazısı") was contributed to by sixty-eight artists and supported by a committee composed of an artist, a journalist, a writer, and three former *68ers*. The exhibition included paintings and photographs depicting the 1960s, along with a special section dedicated to the memory of Deniz Gezmiş, a prominent student leader of the 1960s and early 1970s in Turkey who was sentenced to death and executed in 1972. In this section, the last letter by Deniz Gezmiş, the judicial rulings about him, and the star of the exhibition, his iconic parka, were on display.[2] In the opening ceremony of the event, one of the contributing artists, Bedri Baykam, defined the aim of the exhibition as to evoke the forgotten atmosphere of the 1960s, while the chair of the 68ers' Union Foundation (68'liler Birliği Vakfı), Sönmez Targan, made the assertive statement that "the real journey of being a 68er starts now."[3]

This statement suggests that events that have been almost universally labeled as 1968 events throughout the world have had a second, fresh start as memories of those events began to dominate the discourse. Following in the footsteps of this assertion, this chapter, on one hand, analyzes the journey of leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey as they have been constructed some twenty years later, in the aftermath of the coup d'état of 1980, in the testimonies of contemporaneous activists and in the work of researchers. On the other hand, the analysis of present via the exploration of public memory is accompanied by an investigation into the past by employing the theoretical concept of utopia.

First, it is asserted that the memory and academic attention centered on the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey originated around the twentieth anniversary of 1968 and accumulated, resurfacing

2 "Gezmiş'in İzleri," *Cumhuriyet*, January 11, 2009, 20.

3 "Asıl 68'lilik şimdi başlıyor," in ibid.

especially on subsequent anniversaries. These works of memory and academic research display certain shared characteristics. First, certain common keywords and key approaches, or "figures of memory,"[4] have become mainstream in testimonies about the period, such as certain political leaders and protest marches. Second, a thorough categorization of the works of memory reveals that the authors of the memoirs and the subjects of the biographies, namely the 68er*s*, tends to have been student activists of the decade. Third, the biographical and autobiographical accounts, journalistic works, and sociological studies on social movements of the 1960s predominantly narrate an account of the decade that ends or shifts at the beginning of the 1970s, drawing a clear line between a supposedly pacifist student movement in the 1960s and the rise of political violence in the 1970s. These narratives thus criminalize the latter by elevating the former. Although the decade witnessed the rise of an influential and extensive worker movement that comprised a significant part of the period's activism, proletarian activists of the period are usually not in the relatively short list of the 68ers of Turkey, which leads to the fourth point: the testimonies of the era highlight student activism and neglect or subordinate the political activism of workers to that of students. All in all, an analysis of public memory covering the 1960s' and 1970s' political movements reveals that while memories are vivid and abundant, "active forgetting"[5] has taken place. The decade's workers as subjects and a relationship between students and workers as a historical possibility has been swept under the carpet of the 1960s and 1970s of Turkey as they are remembered. Thus, this chapter continues the argument from where the previous one left off. Present conditions, power relations, and political concerns frame the narrative and codify what is imaginable and unimaginable. However, the testimonies are not unanimous, nor is public memory static. This chapter searches for the overlaps, agreements, discrepancies, and debates between memories and between state-sponsored history and public memory.

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4 Jan Assman, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," trans. John Czaplicka, *New German Critique* 65 (Spring-Summer 1995): 129.

5 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 3.

In the second section, as a basis for the historical interpretation of the period in the ensuing chapters, a theoretical utilization of the concept of utopia is conducted. It is argued that social change that soared in the period enabled the hope and motive to change the world to elevate, widening the perceived realm of possibility, especially for leftists of the period. Leftist activists, who by definition theoretically and practically engage in the future, as Ernst Bloch suggests,[6] embraced the socially constructed elevation of sociopolitical possibilities. Nevertheless, the exploration of the decade suggests a certain gap between archival findings and testimonies; particular elements of the expanded realms of possibility in the 1960s and 1970s have failed to find a vehicle in the decades-long conduit of memory.

The main target is to collide the historical with the contemporary – the history with memory – by detecting the narrative boundaries of memory, or in other words, by identifying and problematizing the gap between archival findings and testimonies. By including an analysis of the past using utopia as a historiographical tool and an analysis of the present by contrasting historical narratives and testimonies, this dissertation embraces the era not only as a historical subject but also as a subject which has important implications for the present. The 1960s and 1970s are "both the province of history and a powerful memory shaping contemporary discussion."[7] The fact that the 1960s and 1970s are currently widely remembered indicates that a fault line binds the past and the present, which this chapter endeavors to detect.

6 Bloch, *The Principle of Hope, Volume One*, 141.

7 Alexander Bloom, *Long Time Gone: Sixties America Then and Now* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 9.

§ 3.1 The Politics of Remembering and Forgetting the Leftist Movements of the 1960s and 1970s

As discussed in the previous chapter, history is written in the present, with present concerns in mind. Similarly, memory is a picture – a perception of the past framed and sifted by the present.[8] This section traces the footsteps of public memory, concerning leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s from the 1980s to the present. It keeps in mind political conditions of the recent period mentioned in the previous chapter that render certain aspects of the past as memorable and others as forgotten or "unthinkable."

Oral historian Alessandro Portelli points out that in handling testimonies, the researcher should not only pay attention to the discursive features of the memories but also follow the link between personal experiences and social changes to tie biography to history.[9] Keeping this warning in mind, this section analyzes testimonies on leftist movements of the 1960s and 1970s by evaluating individual perspectives along with group identities, past experiences along with present concerns. The abundant, vivid testimonies and narratives on the period indicate that the 1960s and 1970s holds an exceptional position in memory in contemporary times. Moreover, while these testimonies generally proceed along with certain shared trends, they also have divergences and contradictions. Leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey were separated into diverse political organizations and factions; likewise, narratives on these political movements have their ideological and recollective differences. In analyzing the testimonies, this dissertation problematizes memory. As Traverso remarks, there are "official memories" supported by governments and institutions that are stronger and more visible than hidden or forbidden memories, such as the state-sponsored

8 Traverso, *Geçmişi Kullanma Kılavuzu: Tarih, Bellek, Siyaset* (Istanbul: Versus Kitap, 2009), 12.

9 Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 6.

Turkish historical narrative vis-à-vis the Armenian one.[10] Testimonies scrutinized for this dissertation do not conform to the official historical discourse on the 1960s and 1970s, which was codified after the military coup of September 12. Yet they share certain perspectives. Most carry the imprint of the official historical narrative sponsored by and codified after the military coup of 1980, especially with respect to the historical importance of the years 1968 and 1971. Moreover, even though these biographical and autobiographical narratives mostly contend with official history, they still reflect social hierarchies of the past and the present.

In any case, a problematized analysis of memory opens the window for the researcher on a critical historical perspective that unveils past and present power relations lying beneath historical discourses. For this chapter, works of testimony (biographies, autobiographies, and interviews) and academic and journalistic studies on the period are thoroughly examined to elucidate the fault line breaking the present from the past. In the end, this section presents the framed, reframed, and contested aspects of public memory on the 1960s and 1970s since, as Richard Terdiman says, "[e]ven memory has a history."[11]

3.1.1 *The Trends of Remembering the 1960s and 1970s: Keywords and Key Approaches*

Memory is a way to comprehend not only the past but also the present. Through a shared practice of remembering, individuals gather in groups, identify their belonging, and thus create an understanding of their contemporary identities.[12] Correspondingly, the narrative of leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey is, not completely but generally, concentrated around a group of people who were not only political activists of a past period but also grouped together around the contemporary identification of the '68 generation. This subsection traces the route of

10 Ibid, 44.

11 Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and Memory Crisis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 3.

12 Özyürek, "Introduction," 11.

the public memory of what is remembered as 1968 in Turkey by identifying common keywords and approaches in the memories and in sociological literature concerning the 1960s and 1970s.

An inventory of keywords makes it evident that certain key events of the period are commonly shared and remembered in memoirs and studies. These certain historical moments were when leftist political activism surged and affected the overall political atmosphere of the country. Research into recollective narratives reveals that most of these events took place at universities or were conducted by university students. Many books about the decade give a chronological account of university boycotts and occupations during the summer of 1968,[13] the arrival and protest of the American Sixth Fleet at Dolmabahçe,[14] the death and funeral of Vedat Demircioğlu,[15] "the Mustafa Kemal March for a Fully Independent Turkey,"[16] the burning of the car of the American ambassador, Robert Komer, at ODTÜ,[17] the violent attack of Bloody Sunday,[18] the capture and murder of prominent student leaders, such as Sinan Cemgil, Ulaş Bardakçı, and Mahir Çayan, and the execution of Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin İnan, and Yusuf Aslan. To repeat, the emphasized events of the 1960s and 1970s generally amount to a student- or youth-based story of the decades.

Correspondingly, journalist Yüksel Baştunç identifies leftist activists of the period as a generation of student leaders, namely Deniz Gezmiş, Sinan Cemgil, Mahir Çayan, and Ulaş Bardakçı,[19] thereby confining the agency of the past to a limited segment of activists. Onat Kutlar, writer

13 Cem Çobanlı, ed. *Mahir, Deniz, İbo: Anlatılan Senin Hikâyendir* (Istanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları, 2009), 231-234.

14 Aydın Çubukçu, *Bizim '68* (Istanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 1993), 72-78; Feza Kürkçüoğlu, "17 Temmuz 1968 Günü Dolmabahçe İnliyordu: 6. Filo Defol!" in Çobanlı, *Mahir, Deniz, İbo*, 235-240.

15 Kürkçüoğlu, "Bir Sabah Uykusunda Öldürdüler," in Çobanlı, *Mahir, Deniz, İbo*, 241-244.

16 Çubukçu, *Bizim '68*, 84-85.

17 Ibid., 85-88.

18 Şükran Soner, *Bizim 68'liler* (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2009), 123.

19 Yüksel Baştunç, *Şu 68 Kuşağı* (Istanbul: Yılmaz Yayınları, 1992).

and thinker, also designates these student activists, who were sociopolitical frontrunners, as the generation of '68.[20] Similarly, for writer and activist Aydın Çubukçu, the social upheaval of the era was a wave brought forward by the youth movement.[21] Fahri Aral, a student leader in the 1960s, defines the movement of '68 as a youth movement, stating that its reflection as a social movement on Turkey as a whole and its appealing political nature attracted workers and peasants because of the ideological independence and strength of the movement.[22] Oral Çalışlar, journalist and former activist, portrays the '68 generation as young people devoted to a cause, asserting that this generation was luckier than its successors by the virtue of the fact that they were surrounded by an atmosphere of solidarity and respected values.[23]

Therefore, public memory on the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey is substantially dominated by the selective recollection of student activists. Moreover, some student activists of the period are highlighted over others. A considerable number of witnesses and leftist activists of the decade highlights the role of Deniz Gezmiş, a student leader, in starting the political events of the second half of the 1960s. Bozkurt Nuhoğlu, a leftist student of the period and friend of Gezmiş, states that the protest of the Secretary of State's speech at the opening of the AIESEC conference in the Faculty of Science (Fen Fakültesi) of İÜ in March 1968 was the turning point for student politicization and for the rise of Gezmiş as a mass leader.[24] Nuhoğlu adds that "Deniz ignited the spark of the 1968 occupations."[25] A similar point is made by Haşmet Atahan, another student activist of the 1960s and a former chair of the 68ers' Union Foundation: the emergence of Gezmiş as a youth leader after the protest of March 1968 was a milestone in the course of political uprisings in the 1960s.[26]

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20 Çubukçu, *Bizim '68*, 58.

21 Ibid., 274.

22 Fahri Aral, in ibid., 61.

23 Oral Çalışlar, *68: Başkaldırının Yedi Rengi* (Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1989), 137.

24 Çubukçu, *Bizim '68*, 63-64.

25 "'68'in işgalle başlayan ateşini Deniz yaktı," in ibid, 67.

26 Ibid., 65-66.

The authors, who argue that the political leadership and influence of prominent student leaders, especially Deniz Gezmiş, or the origin for the political course of the period, tend to designate a similarly-stated end to the period. One of the artists of the 1968 exhibition in 2008 and the editor of two books on 1968, Bedri Baykam, confines the period of what he calls "the years of 1968s" to the time between the execution of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Finance Minister Hasan Polatkan, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rüştü Zorlu on September 16-17, 1961, and the execution of Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, and Hüseyin İnan in 1972. For him, the execution of the three student activists separated the politicization of the 1960s from that of the 1970s.[27] İhsan Çaralan, a former student activist and journalist, traces the rise of the shift toward armed leftist struggle by observing changes in the ideas and choices of Gezmiş. Gezmiş's arguments with other student activists, the books he read, and his estrangement from the parliamentary politics of the TİP provide Çaralan with an outline of memory by which he gives the 1960s and 1970s a meaning through the life of a reputable student leader.[28] Many student activists of the period believe, in hindsight, that the demonstrations, marches, occupations, and boycotts in which they participated would have not occurred without Gezmiş; however, in Çubukçu's words, "the truth is that if appropriate conditions had not ripened worldwide, Deniz would have not become the student activist he was."[29]

In addition to certain keywords that dominate testimonies on the 1960s and 1970s, there are also certain key approaches frequently encountered in the public memory of the period. Çalışlar's account of a lucky, respected generation that lived in a better world is not anomalous; on the contrary, it is frequently encountered in the literature on the 1960s and 1970s of Turkey. By and large, a sense of nostalgia pervades the memoirs, glorifying the period as an age of solidarity, friendship, and moral values. It is evident that "[w]hat happened between the late fifties and

27 Bedri Baykam, *68'li Yıllar: Eylemciler* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1998), 9-10.

28 Çubukçu, *Bizim '68*, 105-107.

29 "Doğrusu… bütün bunlar için uygun, dünya çapındaki tarihsel koşullar olmasaydı, Deniz olmayacaktı," ibid., 244-245.

the early seventies has been subject to political polemic, nostalgic mythologizing, and downright misrepresentation."[30] In one view, the 1960s in Turkey was a period of "youthful dreams" in which relationships were untainted, people were sincere and unselfish, and student leaders were legendary heroes with a never-ending youth.[31] However, this period is long gone, leaving some of those memory-holders with a sense of nostalgia and a longing for an irretrievable past. According to Peter Fritzsche, nostalgia grows on "a deep rupture in remembered experience," retouching the past by persistently following the irretrievable memories.

> Nostalgia takes the past as its mournful subject, but it holds it at arm's length. Although the virtues of the past are cherished and their passage lamented, there is no doubt that they are no longer retrievable. There is no nostalgia without the sense of irreversibility, which denies the wholeness of the past to the present… In other words, nostalgia constitutes what it cannot possess, and defines itself by the inability to approach its subject, a paradox that is the essence of nostalgia's melancholy… Nostalgia is therefore premised on a fundamental break with the past.[32]

This break with the past by connecting memory to dreams from the past makes it possible "to rob memory of its danger, to smooth the rough edges of memories not so much to fit them into continuous narratives but to offer the possibility of resignation given the distance and irrelevance of the remembered past to present concerns."[33] Memory is a construction of the present that allows one to selectively remember past elements that comply with contemporary needs and interests and, in turn, as argued at

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30 Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958-c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3.

31 "… gençlik rüyası," Çubukçu, *Bizim '68*, 61-62, 244 and "Enver Nalbant," in Baykam, *68'li Yıllar: Eylemciler*, 10.

32 Peter Fritzsche, "How Nostalgia Narrates Modernity," in *The Work of Memory: New Directions in the Study of German Society and Culture*, eds. Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 65.

33 Steven T. Ostovich, "Epilogue: Dangerous Memories," in ibid., 244.

the end of this chapter, to "actively forget" those that diverge from those needs. Therefore, the political and socioeconomic conditions of roughly the last twenty years have rendered student activists of the 1960s and 1970s as remembered, while rendering others almost absent from the history. The public memory on leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s obfuscates this disengagement from the past through nostalgia – keeping the past presently-close but historically-distant.

Nonetheless, the existence of shared memories does not necessitate the existence of a single, unrivaled account of history. Not only in Turkey but in the world, there is no unified, popular belief about what the 1960s and 1970s meant. As Alexander Bloom suggests, "[w]hat is unique about the 1960s is that we are living with a number of competing (and, sometimes, contradictory) popular meanings – not one consensus but several… [that] coexist in the popular imagination."[34] People in contemporary times are divided on the meaning and memories of the 1960s and 1970s.

> For some it is a golden age, for others a time when the old secure framework of morality, authority, and discipline disintegrated. In the eyes of the far left, it is the era when revolution was at hand, only to be betrayed by the feebleness of the faithful and the trickery of the enemy; to radical right, an era of subversion and moral turpitude.[35]

Likewise, in Turkey, the approaches towards the political events of the era are multifarious and controversial. As elaborated above, nearly every biography and autobiography as well as most sociological analyses reflect a deep sympathy for the political upsurge of the 1960s and 1970s; nevertheless, critical accounts are far from nonexistent. In addition, judging 1968 is also a recent popular inclination in which witnesses or analysts of the period present the weaknesses of the movement that damaged its politicization. Given the present political concerns behind these

34 Bloom, *Long Time Gone*, 4.

35 Marwick, *The Sixties*, 3.

approaches, it is safe to assert, borrowing from James F. Farrell, that the "[i]nterpretations of the 1960s are an essential part of the politics of the 1990's"[36] and afterward – in the Turkish case after the military coup of 1980.

Several interpretations mention the incorporation of certain political values of the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s in the system of international capitalism. For instance, in his article that shows the historical and political traces of the movement of 1968 in Turkey, the publisher and writer Tanıl Bora remarks that the neoliberal model has an ability to absorb opponents and has assimilated a counter-cultural vein that arose in the 1960s, as exemplified by the overused image of Che Guevara. This has reduced the political radicalness of the period to consumable objects of fashion, subjects of art to be followed, and attitudes to be advertised for individual satisfaction.[37] In the same vein, Mustafa Yalçıner, a leftist activist of the period, asserts that not only the values but also several agents of 1968 have been integrated into the system. He observes that the political attitude of solidarity has given way to a sense of nostalgia, and some former 68ers have become marketers or advertisers that employ their experiences with leftist propaganda and organization and the commodification of revolutionary slogans.[38]

From a different perspective, Erol Kılınç, who was vice-president of a local branch of the countrywide TKMD in the 1960s,[39] published a book on the political movements of the 1960s in 2008 – that is, the fortieth anniversary of 1968. Reflecting on his present political stance as a rightwing nationalist, he not only denigrated leftists of the period as Soviet stooges

36 James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties: Making Postwar Radicalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 19.

37 Tanıl Bora, "'68: İkinci Eleme," *Birikim* 109, last modified May 1998, https://www.birikimdergisi.com/birikim-yazi/3244/68-ikinci-eleme#.XiLeEBMzbBI.

38 Mustafa Yalçıner, "Aşılan '68 ve 68'liler Vakfı," *Özgürlük Dünyası: Aylık Sosyalist Teori ve Politika Dergisi*, last modified June 1993, https://ozgurlukdunyasi.org/arsiv/411-sayi-056/1761-asilan-68-ve-68liler-vakfi.

39 "Erol Kılınç," Biyografi, accessed May 23, 2014, http://www.biyografi.net/kisiayrinti.asp?kisiid=4454.

but also contemporary leftist youth as pretentious and longing after fabricated legends.[40] For Kılınç, young activists of the period, such as Mahir Çayan, fought for the wrong causes.[41] Rightist ideological discourses on the movements of period echo the hegemonic historical narrative, presenting a dark history of a politically violent 1970s that inevitably led to the military coup. Many accounts praise Western youth for struggling for freedom in 1968, vilify Turkish youth as conspirators who invaded the streets to facilitate conditions for military intervention.[42]

In a different vein, it is not unusual to run across controversial or deceptive memories depicting the 1960s and 1970s of Turkey. A documentary portraying the formation of the Bridge of the Revolutionary Youth (Devrimci Gençlik Köprüsü) over Hakkari's Zap Creek in 1969 by revolutionary university students narrates their efforts to establish a connection with a distant place. For witnesses, the building of the bridge was a heroic act that not only provided an underdeveloped settlement with important infrastructure but also built a significant relationship between the easternmost and westernmost parts of the country. Many dwellers of Hakkari, who were present during the construction of the bridge in 1969, recounted their memories of Deniz Gezmiş, who came to Hakkari with the other students and helped build the bridge with his extraordinary strength and wit.[43] The fact that Gezmiş was in prison during the building of the bridge does not stop them from remembering his presence, or how tall he was. They insist on the reality of their memories and on remembering and "missing those they have never met."[44] Indeed, efforts to reconcile a reasonable interpretation of recent history with contemporary sociopolitical positions creates an inevitable shift in reality.

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40 Erol Kılınç, *İhtilal, İhtiras ve İdeal: 68 Kuşağı Hakkında* (Istanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2008), 13.

41 Kaya Akyıldız and Tanıl Bora, "Siyasal Hafıza ve Ülkücülerin Hatırasında '70'ler," *Toplum ve Bilim* 127 (2013): 221.

42 Ibid., 215-216.

43 Bahriye Kabadayı, dir., *Devrimci Gençlik Köprüsü Belgeseli* (Istanbul: VTR Araştırma Yapım Yönetim, 2007).

44 "… hiç tanımadıklarımızı, ON'ları ölesiye özlüyoruz," Barış İnce, "Kaldır Başını Utangaç Vatanım," in Çobanlı, *Mahir, Deniz, İbo*, 133.

In his study, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, Portelli collects and interprets the oral testimonies of communist activists of the 1940s in Italy after roughly thirty years. The testimonies reveal a general attitude towards an imagined but believed past, what Portelli calls "uchronia." The people interviewed tended to tell imagined stories based on "what would have happened if a certain historical event had not taken place," portraying "an alternative present" rather than their actual experiences.[45] Uchronic narratives reveal personal frustrations and social disappointment with the actual course of history by bridging the "contradiction of reality and desire."[46] Through uchronia, history is discursively negated and possibilities within history are uncovered, since a uchronic account unveils not only "how history went, but [also] how it *could*, or *should* have gone," stressing both historical possibility and actuality.[47] Correspondingly, the imagined story that attributes Deniz Gezmiş a historically erroneous role in the construction of the bridge can be interpreted as a uchronic dream a reflecting present desire to have overcome the social, economic, political, and geographical boundaries of 1969. By employing the privileged weight of Gezmiş in public memory, the dwellers of Hakkari have imagined a possible course of history that coincides with a desired present.

To sum up, such "contentious repertoires"[48] – mythologizing, denigrating, distorting, or using but always selectively remembering the past – reflect the bond between present needs and memory. Charles Tilly calls this bond the "politics of memory," which he defines as political struggles and disputes over a present interpretation of a shared past. For Tilly, people form memories out of the past according to contemporary conditions

45 Portelli, "Uchronic Dreams: Working-Class Memory and Possible Worlds," in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 100.

46 Ibid., 116.

47 Ibid., 100.

48 Charles Tilly, "Afterword: Political Memories in Space and Time," in *Remapping Memory: The Politics of TimeSpace*, ed. Jonathan Boyarin (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 247.

that determine what is "possible, permissible, and desirable."[49] Remembering the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey is encircled by a politics of memory dominated by presentist impulses of a neoliberal age initiated in the 1980s.

3.1.2 *Salient Accounts of the 1960s and 1970s: A Copyright on Remembrance*

Contemporary times have softened if not erased the distinction between history and memory. Aleida Assman, in an essay contemplating shared means of constructing the past, asserts that presently, there is a memory boom in which the intellectual or scientific hierarchy between historians and ordinary people in terms of accounting for the past has shattered.

> We have come to accept that we live in a world that is mediated by texts and images, a recognition that has an impact both on individual remembering and the work of the historian. The historian has lost his monopoly over defining and presenting the past. What is called the 'memory boom' is the immediate effect of this loss of the historian's singular and unrivalled authority.[50]

Therefore, those who remember have started to share in the authority with historians. According to Andreas Huyssen, in the West, such discourses of memory that are shaking the former monopoly over history date to the 1960s when a process of decolonization and the simultaneous appearance of new social movements required alternative perspectives on the past. This led to a "recodification of the past" and later to the proliferation of memory discourses in the 1980s, to which the debates on the Holocaust substantially contributed.[51] Similarly, Jürgen Habermas, in his

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49 Ibid., 247.

50 Aleida Assman, "Re-Framing Memory: Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past," in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, eds. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 39.

51 Andreas Huyssen, "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia," *Public Culture* 12, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 22.

discussion of the "public use of history," investigates the remembrance of the Nazi past in Germany and states that it was only in the 1980s that the German public began to properly remember this past. The underlying factor for this surge of recollection was the opening of "the sluice gates of publishers and mass media," which bridged the gap between academia and the public and at the same time shaped public opinion.[52]

The interpretation of the past is no longer the monopoly of the historian, which is also the case for the presentation of the history of the 1960s and 1970s. The library shelves – not only in Turkey but around the world – are host to countless accounts of the period, most of which have been penned by the witnesses who are not professional history writers. Newspaper columnists contributed to the historical narrative of the era along with contemporary artists in whose stories, paintings, sculptures, or compositions the decade is reflected. In terms of the 1960s and 1970s, history has been constantly challenged by memory.

However, the destruction of the hierarchy of history-writing and the apparent equating of history with memory is deceptive. The memoirs about the sociopolitical activism of the period outnumber academic analyses; nevertheless, the ostensible democratization comes to a halt at this point. To clarify further, a thorough analysis of the biographies and autobiographies of the era reveals that only a privileged community of people had the means to construct the story of these decades. The biographies and autobiographies on the 1960s and 1970s that are scrutinized in this dissertation are mainly composed of former student activists. Activist workers, peasants, and women have generally been left out of the picture. Thus, public memory of the 1960s and 1970s is dominated by stories by and on male student activists.

For instance, Bedri Baykam, in the preface to his book of interviews on the leftist past of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, expresses that most of

52 Jürgen Habermas, "Concerning the Public Use of History," trans. Jeremy Leaman, *New German Critique* 44, "Special Issue on the Historikersteit" (Spring-Summer 1988): 47.

the interviewees were comrades of Gezmiş – thus mostly university students.[53] As another example, all twenty-one interviewees in Nadire Mater's *Sokak Güzeldir* were politically-active university students of the period. Among them were, at the time of the interviews, five lawyers, five representatives of nongovernmental organizations, three journalists, one doctor, one unionist, one engineer, one traveler, one politician, one architect, one academic, and one academic-journalist – a list that clearly reflects current socioeconomic trends.[54] Therefore, the memories of former students who are presently professionals have prevailed over those of workers and peasants who were also a part of the leftist politicization of the period. Moreover, the reasons for this inequality in memory do not stem from government or institutional pressures but from socioeconomic and intellectual ones. In describing the constructivist approach to remembering, Siegfried J. Schmidt suggests that

> the politics of remembering… is intrinsically connected to *power*. Who is entitled to select topics and forms of remembering in the public discourse(s)? Who decides in which way narrations of remembrances rely upon relevant presuppositions in order to shape the past in the present for promising futures?[55]

In every aspect of society, "to create and stabilise memory"[56] requires power, as in the case aforementioned. However, the element of contestation intrinsic to social power also renders memory an arena of controversy and competition among social groups. Correspondingly, "there is no single historical or collective memory, but rather there are as many stories about the past as there are social or political groups vying for

53 Baykam, *68'li Yıllar: Eylemciler*, 10.

54 Nadire Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir: 68'de Ne Oldu?* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2009).

55 Siegfried J. Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance: A Constructivist Approach," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 197.

56 Paolo Jedlowski, "Memory and Sociology: Themes and Issues," *Time & Society* 10, no. 1 (March 2001): 34.

power."[57] Hence, from this point of view, the social construct called memory is generally dominated by groups with greater power.[58] Nevertheless, memory more closely resembles a liquid than solid; it is prone to leaking through or overflowing the floodgates of social power, allowing alternative accounts of memory to survive. Yet in the case of the accumulated recollections on Turkey's 1960s and 1970s, selecting the topics of remembrance has been in the monopoly of the student activists of the past who are intellectual capital holders of the present, while the other historical actors of the period been neglected. Moreover, the story on the 1960s and 1970s involves those who cannot speak in their names. Those forced to live in exile or who were killed in police custody or raids, during political strife, or by capital punishment at the time are clearly unable to influence public memory. The stories revolving around political figures such as Gezmiş and Çayan is transmitted by survivors. They themselves enjoy no testimonial power, despite their strong presence in memories.

Memory is not only a construction reflecting present political concerns but also cement holding a group together by designating their group consciousness or shared identity. In other words, the consolidation of a shared identity is a direct impression of memory on social groups.[59] It is the jointly remembered past, "produce[d], institutionalize[d], guard[ed] and transmit[ted] through the interaction of [group] members," that holds the group together.[60] In this respect, the selectively-remembered past of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey has given left-wing student activists of the period a shared identity nearly thirty years after the era, an umbrella under which they establish solidarity associations, organize commemorations, and resuscitate history by rewriting and re-re-

57 Carolyn P. Boyd, "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617, "The Politics of History in Comparative Perspective" (May 2008): 134-135.

58 J. G. A. Pocock, "The Politics of History: The Subaltern and the Subversive," *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 6, no. 3 (1998): 219.

59 Boyd, "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain," 134-135.

60 Jedlowski, "Memory and Sociology," 33.

membering it. The generation of '68 in Turkey, thus emerged, is connected more than ever through what Habermas calls for another case the "anamnestic power of solidarity."[61] Present political divergences within this collectivity notwithstanding, the generation of '68 has been able to monopolize the historical narratives and public memory of the period because of this solidarity. Furthermore, in Turkey, a generation of 1968 emerged apart from the generation of 1978.

However, the warning of Kristin Ross must be heard: the complex and vibrant history of the mass movement of the 1960s and 1970s should not be reduced to "the individual itineraries of… leaders, spokesmen, or representatives" of the period, which, in turn, reduces history to a number of "personalities."[62] In sum, the recollective construction of the era in Turkey not only focuses almost specifically on student politicization by neglecting the worker movement and the involvement of women but also continually reproduces this inequality by denying workers or women their say on the decade in the present – that is, by denying their subjectivity.

3.1.3 *The Polemic of Periodization: Historiography in the Making*

Many of the biographies, autobiographies, and journalistic and sociological studies on the sociopolitical activism of the 1960s and 1970s start their narrations or analyses by periodizing the decades and establishing historical starting and ending points. Periodization is not merely a tool to subdivide history and make it more understandable but, as Kathleen Davis puts it, "a fundamental political technique – a way to moderate, divide, regulate – always rendering its services *now*."[63] Radical ruptures lie at the core of the recent Turkish history; the foundation of the Turkish Republic has long been perceived as a tremendous break from the Ottoman past. The year 1923 was not only a state-sponsored milestone that determined

61 Habermas, "Concerning the Public Use of History," 44.

62 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 4.

63 Kathleen Davis, *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 5.

historical periodization but also an "administered forgetting" by the state that sought to efface the previous era and institute a new national identity.[64] Just like history and memory, the periodization of history is also a political move, reflecting contemporary needs, interests, and stances. The political move of periodization is an impulse of the present, "a *particular* sovereign claim upon 'the now'."[65] From this perspective, this dissertation thoroughly analyzes the periodization dynamics in testimonies regarding the leftist movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, with their selected starting and ending points, milestones, and important dates, of which the year 1968 stands out and the year 1971 is detested.

3.1.3.1 The Attraction of the Date: 1968 as an Anchor in Memory

A survey of newspapers and an excursion through the website of the 68ers' Union Foundation, which consists of some part of leftist activists who took part in the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s, reveals the various commemorations of the foundation. The commemoration of revolutionary leaders of the '68 generation such as Deniz Gezmiş and Mahir Çayan; the commemoration of mass student protests like those on April 28, 1960, and June 9-10, 1969, as well as of mass worker protests of June 15-16, 1970; commentaries on massacres of student activists such as those at Kızıldere and Nurhak;[66] the attack of Bloody Sunday;[67] and the execution of leftist students such as Gezmiş, İnan, and Aslan[68] constitute but a small selection of such annual commemorations since the establishment of the foundation in 1992. The anniversaries of specific events, the foundation anniversaries of parties and associations, and above all, the commemoration of 1968 itself have overloaded public memory pertaining to the period.

64 Özyürek, "Introduction," 3.

65 Davis, *Periodization and Sovereignty*, 20.

66 "Etkinliklerimiz: Önemli Tarihler," 68'liler Birliği Vakfı, accessed November 11, 2015, http://www.68lilerbirligivakfi.org/index.php/etkinliklerimiz.

67 "Kanlı Pazar'ın 44. Yıldönümü," *Cumhuriyet*, February 16, 2013, 1, 10.

68 "'3 Fidan' için Gösteriler Düzenlendi," *Cumhuriyet*, May 6, 2010, 1, 6.

Patrick H. Hutton emphasizes the constructive power of the present on memory by dividing memory into two interconnected moments of repetition and recollection, both of which engage with the present. "The presence of the past" dominates repetition while recollection embraces the present portrayal of the past. In Hutton's words,

> repetition concerns the presence of the past. It is the moment of memory through which we bear forward images of the past that continue to shape our present efforts to evoke the past. It is the moment of memory with which we consciously reconstruct images of the past in the selective way that suits the need of our present situation.[69]

Furthermore, repetition generated through commemorations consolidates a memory that is contemporarily restructured. According to Paul Connerton, commemorative ceremonies inevitably generate a "concept of habit" that sustains and transforms what is remembered.[70] It is the performative, ritualized reproduction of a past event that recalls the past – the annual or decennial rhythm and repetition that restructures memory in the present.[71] In other words, commemorations engender a common memory through the ritualized repetition of the past.

Among the twenty biographies and autobiographies analyzed in this dissertation, eleven were published within one or two years of the anniversaries of 1968. One of the books was published in 1989, one in 1998, one in 1999, two in 2000, and six in the 2008-2010 period. In the second half of the 2010s, the number of works on the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s increased. A number of publishing houses in Turkey pre-

69 Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover: University Press of England, 1993), xxi.

70 Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 4–5.

71 Anastasia Karakasidou, "Protocol and Pageantry: Celebrating the Nation in Northern Greece," in *After the War was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943-1960*, ed. Mark Mazower (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 232.

pared series of biographies and autobiographies focusing on the memories of leftist activists of the period.[72] Thus, towards 2018, the fiftieth anniversary of the events of 1968, the literature on the public memory of these decades piled up. The anniversaries of 1968 have been times of awakening concerning memory, stimulating the creation of the works of memory. The correlation between these works of memory and their publishing dates demonstrates that the discovery of 1968 as a historical turning point took place in the second half of the 1980s in Turkey. Similarly, the 68ers' Union Foundation was established in 1992, a few years after the first books on the period were published in Turkey. 1968 has long been regarded as a significant milestone in the course of the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey.

1968 is a symbol around the world for political movements of the 1960s and 1970s. It is, indeed, the central year of the surge of the period's political struggles, especially in the western part of the world. However, an analysis of political movements demonstrates that while the year was definitely distinguished by acts of political dissent such as strikes, boycotts, occupations, and demonstrations, 1968 was neither a starting point nor a unique moment of political elevation in Turkey. A student movement emerged in 1960 as a part of the coalition in support of the coup d'état of May 27. Between 1960 and 1963, students gradually gained autonomy from the bureaucratic elites and engaged in social protests within universities. The years between 1964 and 1967 witnessed rising

72 For a number of examples, see Memet Kara, *Ordulu Emin'in "Kurtuluş Tarihi,"* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2015); Füsun Özbilgen, ed. *Devrimciler Ölmez: Sinan Kâzım Özüdoğru Kitabı* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2015); İbrahim Küreken, *"Parçası, Tanığı, Mahkûmu, Sürgünü Oldum,"* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016); Şirin Cemgil, *Sinança: Şirin Cemgil Sinan Cemgil'i Anlatıyor*, ed. Taylan Cemgil (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2016); Faik Muzaffer Amaç, *Merhaba Kör Kadı: Mahir Çayan'ın Avukatının Anıları* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2017); Ahmet Tuncer Sümer, *Adsız Kahramanlar: Gülay Ünüvar (Özdeş) Kitabı* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2018); Mustafa Korkmaz, *Ha Bu Nasul Dev-Genç'tur Uşağum?* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2018); Nuran Alptekin Kepenek, *Bizum Cihan: Cihan Alptekin Kitabı* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2018); İlbay Kahraman, ed. *Cepheden Anılar: Orhan Savaşçı'nın THKP-C Anıları* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2018); and Tuğrul Eryılmaz, *68'li ve Gazeteci*, inter. Asu Maro (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).

student activism that was based on socialism and anti-imperialism.[73] For instance, student politicization against the American Sixth Fleet started to emerge in 1967, along with the foundation of the DİSK as a substantial trigger of the worker movement. It was also an important year in terms of politicization. Moreover, while political dynamism was existent in 1968 in the form of university occupations and boycotts and the protest of the American Sixth Fleet in Dolmabahçe,[74] the upsurge of the leftist mass movement and the most significant acts of protest were actualized in 1969 and 1970. Therefore, historically speaking, 1968 does not come to the fore as a unique temporal milestone, vis-à-vis 1967 and 1969. 1968 was selected as an exclusive year, as a myth borrowed from the West, yet even as a myth, it has bestowed a shared identity on left-wing activists of the period. After all, myths, which selectively recount, overstate, or lessen the past, provide social meaning as well as belonging to a larger group,[75] as "popular myths, give people their identity."[76]

The invention of 1968 as a year to be commemorated proceeded along with the popularization and commodification of the decade. Since the second half of the 1980s, iconic images of the 1960s and 1970s have been excavated from history, making the era a mythical period of resistance and solidarity. In the meantime, prominent student leaders became mythical characters rather than actual political figures. Especially the myth of Gezmiş is strongly connected to the public memory of the period in Turkey. His iconic parka has become the symbol of 1968 in Turkey, as exemplified by the exhibition of "The Fortieth Anniversary of 1968: Archaeological Dig into a Wind of Change," held in 2008 and 2009, in which the parka was displayed. In this regard, Gezmiş's parka can be compared to Alberto Korda's iconic photograph of Che Guevara, which is not only "a vibrant symbol and galvanizing figure for contemporary antisystemic

73 Alper, *Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere*, 182, 203, 212, 285-286.

74 Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir*, 293.

75 Duncan S. A. Bell, "Mythscapes: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity," *British Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 1 (March 2003): 75.

76 Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses*, 7.

movements," but also a commercialized element for mass consumption.[77] In this case, the nostalgia and mythologization hanging over the period have become systemic engines within international capitalism that convert past objects and figures into commodities.

Not only certain objects and persons but also the year 1968 itself has become an objectified and mythologized commodity. Memory progresses by designating certain "figures of memory,"[78] such as Gezmiş's parka or the year 1968, and inventing means of repetition in the form of ritualized commemorations.

3.1.3.2 The Attraction of Official History: 1971 as a Historiographic Milestone

At the core of the historical and recollective narrative of the 1960s and 1970s lies the date of 1968 as a common date of remembrance – a historical milestone shaping the story about the leftist movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. Yet 1968 is not the only historically-accepted turning point in terms of the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. The military coups of 1960, 1971, and 1980 also have exceptional positions in public memory and in written history. This dissertation specifically analyzes the effects of the military coups of 1971 and 1980 on historiography and public memory by focusing on the 1960s and 1970s and afterward. However, it skips the impact of the military intervention of 1960 because a comparative analysis of the 1950s and 1960s is outside the boundaries of the study. Even so, the coup d'état of May 27, 1960, was indeed a historical break eliciting a political, socioeconomic, and cultural transformation in Turkey, one that is acknowledged not only in this dissertation but also in a number of testimonies.

The earliest year with which any of the analyzed works on leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s began was 1960 – that is, the date of the coup d'état of May 27. Several studies and memoirs indicate that the heightened student political consciousness on the eve of the May 27

77 Jeff A. Larson and Omar Lizardo, "Generations, Identities, and the Collective Memory of Che Guevara," *Sociological Forum* 22, no. 4 (December 2007): 426.

78 Assman, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," 129.

military intervention was a turning point for subsequent student activism. According to Müfit Özdeş, a student activist of the 1960s, the student protests that led to May 27 paved the way for organized political activism composed of socially-respected university students after 1960.[79] Correspondingly, O. Saffet Arolat, a journalist in the 1960s, states that the potentialities created by the new Constitution of 1961 issued after May 27 set the ground for the emergence of an independent student movement.[80]

Whereas a considerable number of authors set the starting point of "1968 of Turkey" as 1960 or 1961, namely the dates of the most recent coup d'état and the subsequent constitution, most acknowledge a change in the nature of student activism in the second half of the 1960s, reflecting the formation of student organizations independent of former ones and of official state ideology. For most memoirists and researchers on the period, it is evident that the publication of the socialist periodical *YÖN* starting in 1961 and the foundation and the relative parliamentary success of the socialist TİP (in 1961 and 1965, respectively) were principal milestones in the formation of an independent socialist movement in Turkey.[81] For Çetin Uygur, a leader of a student union in the 1960s, the disengagement of the left from the military and Kemalism took place around 1963 by virtue of the organization of the TİP and subsequent proliferation of socialist thought.[82] Clearly, Uygur places more importance on the disengagement from Kemalism than on the coup d'état of 1960 with respect to the course of student activism.

In addition, many works date the emergence of an independent student movement to 1968, when the first impressive student actions took place. While journalist Şükran Soner states the emergence of an organized student movement in Turkey was capitalized on the eve of the May 27 coup d'état, she argues that the '68 generation emerged during the

79 "Müfit Özdeş," in Feyizoğlu, *Fırtınalı Yılların Gençlik Liderleri Konuşuyor* (Istanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2003), 126-128.

80 O. Saffet Arolat, in ibid., 149-150.

81 Aydınoğlu, *Türkiye Solu (1960-1980)*, 73, 87.

82 Çetin Uygur, in Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir*, 91.

campus occupations of 1968.[83] Correspondingly, Doğu Perinçek, a student leader of the 1960s, defines mass university activism in June 1968 as the departure point for the socialist youth movement in Turkey.[84]

Özdeş expresses that the foundation of the FKF in the universities a few years before 1968 created a qualitative change in student politicization towards ideological independence and intellectual development.[85] Similarly, Çubukçu cites earlier examples of student protests putting the start date of "1968 of Turkey" in the early 1960s when in 1964 at İÜ students placed a black wreath at the entrance of the campus to protest the professors' relations with political rulers, when in 1966 İTÜ students protested Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel, and when in the same year Kurdish youth in Ankara demonstrated against state corruption unveiled after the Varto earthquake.[86] As exemplified, several authors and witnesses of the period designate 1964-1966 as the start of the rising politicization of the 1960s and 1970s. These dates not only symbolize the beginning of political actions that would add up to the heightened politicization of the time but also identify the historical point at which student politicization broke loose from the mainstream political parties and ideologies in the country.

In terms of historicizing the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, establishing an end point is an easier project than defining the starting one. In many testimonies and sociological analyses, witnesses and analysts agree on when 1968 in Turkey ended or deteriorated, namely with the military intervention of 1971. According to Kemal Bingöllü, a student of the Faculty of Law (Hukuk Fakültesi) at İÜ in the 1960s, March 12, 1971, signified a tremendous change in terms of police and government reaction to student activists.[87] Ruhi Koç, the general secretary of the FKF between 1968 and

83 Soner, *Bizim 68'liler*, 14-15, 64.

84 "Doğu Perinçek," in Feyizoğlu, *Fırtınalı Yılların Gençlik Liderleri Konuşuyor*, 12.

85 "Müfit Özdeş," in ibid., 129.

86 Çubukçu, *Bizim '68*, 45-47.

87 Kemal Bingöllü, in Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir*, 37.

1970, ends the period with the issuing of the general amnesty in 1974, after the coup d'état of 1971.[88]

As discussed in the previous chapter, the military intervention of March 12, 1971, is historiographically characterized as a beginning or ending point, which has affected studies on political activism in the 1960s and 1970s. The suggestion that 1971 is a strained rather than an actual boundary does not underestimate the importance of the military intervention for the political and socioeconomic atmosphere of the 1970s. It is clear and undeniable that the military intervention of 1971 disrupted the sociopolitical course of the 1960s by capturing and convicting student activists, on one hand, and oppressing the worker movement, on the other. The pressure placed on political activities, the execution of student leaders Gezmiş, İnan, and Aslan, and the subsequent criminalization of leftist movements and leftists' cultural production created an indisputable wind of change, sweeping away many characteristics of the 1960s. However, to accept March 12 as an inevitable, unrivaled epoch-making point obscures the continuities between the 1960s and 1970s and establishes a moral demarcation, attested to in many studies and testimonies that separates the pacifism of the 1960s from the violence of the 1970s almost overnight.

Accordingly, many witnesses and activists of the period remember the era after March 12, 1971, as a period that deserves to be approached with either reckoning or judgment. For instance, Kazmir Pamir, an activist of the period, criticizes the shift from the innocent activism of the 1960s to the violence of the 1970s.[89] According to Muharrem Kılıç, a former member of the TİP, progressive movements of the 1960s fell into the trap of violence after the military intervention of 1971, obstructed their own intellectual development, and spurned their own legacy. It was the beginning of the end of the movement of progressive youth. On the contrary, Yalçıner, a youth activist of the period, asserts that the arming of leftist movements in the early years of the 1970s was indispensable and a

88 Ruhi Koç, in ibid., 54.

89 "Kazmir Pamir," in Feyizoğlu, *Fırtınalı Yılların Gençlik Liderleri Konuşuyor*, 49, 51.

natural result of the growth of political activism in the face of state oppression and rightist attacks.[90]

However, separating the 1960s from the 1970s by the sharp action of the military pushes the analysts to reshape memories of the earlier decade according to the existence of a military intervention, shrouding the sociopolitical continuities between the decades. For instance, establishing March 12 as a historical fracture obscures the fact that the arming of leftist student organizations started before the military coup,[91] which Gün Zileli calls "the rupture" of the 1969-1970 period.[92] It was not entirely the coup d'état of March 12 that triggered the arming of left-wing activists in Turkey.

In addition, there was continuity not only in terms of political organization but also artistic production[93] and intellectual development in the 1960s and the 1970s, which are wrongly assumed to have retrogressed in the presence of armed struggle. In one rare testimony emphasizing the continuity, Soner remarks that March 12 was not an impasse on the path of 1960s' activists who continued their journey. Although the military intervention of 1971 suppressed the political upheaval of the 1960s and negatively affected the activists both individually and politically, the activists of the 1960s managed to stand up again and influence the political atmosphere of the 1970s. The generation of 1968 was an indispensable precursor for the generation of 1978.[94]

To sum up, a considerable number of studies on the political movements of the 1960s in Turkey hold up 1968 as a climax and end their story in 1971. However, according to Rıza Tura, history-making in Turkey has orphaned the 1970s by inequitably thrusting the 1960s, especially 1968, into the limelight. He argues that the emergence of 1968 as a historical

90 Çubukçu, *Bizim '68*, 97-99.

91 Feyizoğlu, *Sinan: Nurhak Dağları'ndan Sonsuzluğa* (Istanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2000), 249.

92 Gün Zileli, *Yarılma (1954-1972)* (Istanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2000), 283.

93 For further information see Aysan, *Afişe Çıkmak, 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013).

94 Soner, *Bizim 68'liler*, 200-201.

landmark took place in the 1980s, when, what he calls, a postmodern history-writing and culture industry was popularized and commodified, elevating the date by softening its political edges. Similarly, according to Fredric Jameson, while contemplating the possibility of a persistent anti-systemic critique in an age of global capitalism, the ideological closure of neoliberalism has rendered the anti-systemic elements of the 1960s controllable.[95] This dissertation asserts in the previous chapter that the official historical narrative issued after the military coup of 1980 shaped the history and public memory of the 1960s and 1970s by sponsoring a story of terror in the 1970s. In this way, the phenomenon of 1968 in the world and in Turkey has been treated as an innocent and thus praiseworthy student movement quite unlike the backslidden 1970s. The result is a positive mythologizing of 1968, on one hand, and a stigmatization of the 1970s as an era of deviance and radicalization, on the other. This is despite the fact that the year 1968 was not regarded as significant in the history of Turkey's left before the second half of the 1980s.[96] This trend is compatible with the aforementioned issue of highlighting or commercializing 1968 along with its political subjects. As discussed, memories become stronger when the narrative is supported by the government or institutions of political power.[97] Memories are also stronger when they are in harmony with the dominant narrative supported by the conceptual framework of the neoliberal system. While former leftist activists and current 68ers in Turkey distance themselves from the political and historical narratives of the junta of 1980 and the global system of neoliberalism, they remember more clearly when their memories correspond to official narratives being shaped by present political concerns and current boundaries of thinking.

Consequently, accounts of the 1960s and 1970s since the second half of the 1980s, have started to be dominated by the testimonies of people who had the privilege of being 68ers.[98] Hence, the criminalization of the 1970s

95 Jameson, "The Politics of Utopia," 35-36.

96 Rıza Tura, "'68 ile '71 Arasına Sıkışan Zaman: '70'li Yıllar," *Defter* 37 (1999): 36-37.

97 Traverso, *Geçmişi Kullanma Kılavuzu*, 44.

98 Tura, "'68 ile '71 Arasına Sıkışan Zaman," 37.

relative to the 1960s in public memory went hand in hand with the subordination of certain subjects of the period, especially workers, vis-à-vis student activists and intellectuals, who were privileged memory-builders.

However, the proper periodization of historical eras that is more than mere political manipulation can only be conducted by operating "a complex process of conceptualizing categories, which are posited as homogenous and retroactively validated by the designation of a period divide."[99] Commonly accepted temporal breakpoints might become incongruous or cease to be explanatory, when certain conceptual categories are discerned from the archives that present continuities between the 1960s and 1970s, such as the rise of cultural production and communication, as discussed in chapter 4, and the shifting and broadening understanding and practices of education, as addressed in chapter 5.

According to Michel de Certeau, periodization is necessary for history to be intelligible; however, periodization, as well as the writing of history are interpretations, a restructuring that "promotes a selection between what can be *understood* and what must be *forgotten* in order to obtain the representation of a present intelligibility."[100] Having elaborated on what has been remembered, this chapter now explores what has been selectively forgotten in the public memory of left-wing movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

3.1.4 *Forgetting an Era: The 1960s and 1970s through Myopic Lenses*

According to Friedrich Nietzsche, when the past disturbs the present moment by evoking the ghosts and obstructing happiness, forgetting acts as a cure that can guarantee present happiness. People rationalize their relationships with the past by selectively remembering past events and "active[ly] forgetting" what would be painful, confusing, or disturbing for the

99 Davis, *Periodization and Sovereignty*, 3.

100 Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 4.

present self.[101] A "social autobiography" is a process of selection in which certain elements are actively picked or discarded, remembered or forgotten, in order to create a preferred social identity. "That is, [societies as well as individual actors] transform their past in a communicative way that serves the purpose of constructing a desirable or at least tolerable self-consciousness (collective management of identity)."[102] This section argues that the construction of the recollection of the 1960s and 1970s has thrust certain elements of the period aside in an active and continuous process of remembering and forgetting. The progression of remembrance and forgetting parallels the conditions of the present with the provision that "what is discordant or does not 'fit in' with the tenor of the present must be eminently forgettable."[103] Therefore, the general misunderstanding that defines forgetting as the direct opposite of memory should be set aside. For, as Sigmund Freud warned, memory and forgetting are unbreakably linked to each other.[104]

> We must first of all keep in mind the fact that memory is no way the opposite of forgetting… Memory itself is necessarily a selection. Certain characteristics of the event will be retained, while others are immediately or progressively set aside or forgotten.[105]

Concordantly, public memory of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey has followed a similar direction of constructing an active memory in which subjects and topics are selected, reselected, and unselected contemporarily. The aforementioned popular topics and arguments of the period are acknowledged in many testimonies and studies of the decade. However,

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101 Petar Ramadanovic elaborates on Friedrich Nietzsche's concept of "active forgetting" in "From Haunting to Trauma: Nietzsche's Active Forgetting and Blanchot's Writing of the Disaster," *Postmodern Culture* 11, no. 2 (January 2001) doi:10.1353/pmc.2001.0005.

102 Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance," 197.

103 David Gross, *Lost Time: On Remembering and Forgetting in Late Modern Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 141.

104 Sigmund Freud elaborated in Huyssen, "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia," 27.

105 Freud quoted in Todorov Tzvetan, "The Uses and Abuses of Memory," in *What Happens to History: The Renewal of Ethics in Contemporary Thought*, ed. Howard Marchitello (New York: Routledge, 2001), 12.

an in-depth study of primary sources from the era suggests that many elements of the decade have been neglected or forgotten in the present. The gap between the past and the present acts as a vortex, discursively vacuuming selected moments from memory. The discursive gap between history and memory is ceaselessly restructured by present concerns, fogging up the inherent potentialities of the past according to the needs of the present. Steven Knapp indicates that

> the locus of authority is always in the present; we use, for promoting and reinforcing ethical and political dispositions, only those elements of the past that correspond to our sense of what presently compels us.[106]

Problematizing the gap between present and past, between testimonies and archives might help to clear the fog of present concerns over memories and to detect past facts and possibilities that have been subdued or forgotten.

3.1.4.1 The Fog of Memory I: The Forgotten Existence of Activist Workers and Women

A survey of the archives shows that one historical element selected to be forgotten was the significant role of workers as in the political activism of the 1960s and 1970s. Proletarian activists of the period and their political actions are either shrouded by or subordinated to the student movement in the recollective literature. Workers have been denied their subjectivity as political activists, demonstrators, and intellectual contributors to the 1960s and 1970s.

By and large, public memory tends to remove workers from places where they were, forgetting or jettisoning from periods in which they took part. Nevertheless, while the existence of active workers in leftist movement has been blurred or sidelined in memory, it has not been entirely forgotten. As Ertuğrul Kürkçü remembers, the period of the 1960s

106 Steven Knapp, "Collective Memory and the Actual Past," *Representations* 26, "Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory" (Spring 1989): 131.

and 1970s witnessed the emergence of a worker movement that was unprecedented in magnitude.[107]

One of the few exceptions in the inventory of popularly-remembered events depicting the workers is the portrayal of the great worker march of June 15-16, 1970.[108] Several accounts and analyses of the period give this demonstration its due and acknowledge the magnitude of the worker movement.[109] However, in many, the story of workers is still subordinated to that of students. In many memoirs of former students of the period, June 15-16 is perceived as an igniter of change within student movement, a turning point when students became estranged from the army. This trivializes its meaning for the event's actors, namely the workers. Yet as Çubukçu argues, the significance of the period's student movement lied in its efforts to establish a relationship with these other movements; it was this potential relationship that rendered the student movement a threat in the eyes of the government.[110] Public memory has stripped this potential by overemphasizing the presence of leftist students in the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s, eclipsing the political meeting of students and workers in the period.

Apart from workers, the stories of activist and organized women of the 1960s and 1970s are also sidelined in the testimonies on the period. Nevertheless, in the early 2000s and 2010s, a number of biographies, autobiographies, and historical studies were published that were narrated by or that focused on worker and women activists. Ayşe Yazıcıoğlu compiled interviews with leftist women of the period in her book that gives voice to "the women of 68."[111] Nadire Mater's *Sokak Güzeldir* concerns the memories of female activists.[112] Journalist Aysel Sağır takes a snapshot of the history of leftist movements of the 1970s in Turkey through the lenses

107 Kürkçü, in Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir*, 205.

108 Çalışlar, *68: Başkaldırının Yedi Rengi*, 21-24; Kürkçüoğlu, "'Anayasa için El Ele, Onu Tanımayan Hergele!'" in Çobanlı, *Mahir, Deniz, İbo*, 251-256.

109 Zileli, *Yarılma*, 393.

110 Çubukçu, *Bizim '68*, 55.

111 Ayşe Yazıcıoğlu, ed., *68'in Kadınları* (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2010).

112 Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir*.

of incarcerated leftist women of the period.[113] Muazzez Pervan's archival study analyzes a vein of the organized struggle of women in the second half of the 1970s.[114] Moreover, a number of memoirs of left-wing workers and peasant activists of the period have also been published.[115] The next chapter emphasizes the involvement of women and workers in the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey.

The archival study presented in the next chapter suggests that one of the most salient characteristics of the period is a plethora of publications. Every trade union and political organization published a weekly or monthly periodical or press bulletin. Workers, students, activists, and politicians from these unions and organizations wrote for these periodicals and press bulletins. Although most memoirs and present text on the period acknowledge the ample amount of publication in these decades, memories are often diminished with regard to the various contributors to these publications. Many accounts of the 1960s and 1970s disregard the contribution of workers to the decades' political and cultural arguments, a point that is revisited in chapter 4 in detail.

3.1.4.2 The Fog of Memory II: The Forgotten Possibility of Sociopolitical Encounters

The frequently encountered worker, intellectual, student, and peasant collaboration in the 1960s and 1970s has become a blurred memory in the present, while the centrality of the working class is a distant dream. However, Ross's observation applies also to Turkey: "[f]or many militants at that time, the experience of [the 1960s and 1970s] meant not losing sight of the problem of direct communication with the exploited and their history, and the continuing effort to construct new means of comprehension (and thus of struggles) between different groups."[116] The student activists of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey were more than eager to establish

113 Aysel Sağır, *Bizi Güneşe Çıkardılar* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2015).

114 Pervan, *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*.

115 Hikmet Algül, *Şoför İdris: Anılar* (Istanbul: Yar Yayınları, 2004); Hamdi Doğan (Hamdoş), *"Türkiye İşçi Partisi'ne Aşık Oldum"* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014).

116 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 114.

revolutionary relationships with workers and peasants, an eagerness not usually mentioned in their memoirs.

Many scholars argue that the emergence of 1968 as a year of commemoration not only created a distorted history, as Tura argued above, but also urged the emergence of a depoliticized version of the period. As Ross suggests in *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, "[b]y asserting a teleology of the present, the official story erases those memories of past alternatives that sought or envisioned other outcomes than the one that came to past," which contributes not only to "active forgetting" but also to the "depoliticization" of the events.[117] The "active forgetting" of the worker movement of the period and the corresponding foregrounding of the youth movement in constructed memories of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey might be interpreted as an effort to cleave political activism of the era from class politics and to overemphasize the transitory character of the decade's political upsurge, which questionably came to an end in the moment when the activists were no longer young. Therefore, the youthful character of the era is highlighted, the stories of students and universities are narrated, and iconic images are spotlighted in public memory of the 1960s and 1970s. On other hand, historical elements of the period, such as workers' contribution to the explosion in communicative and educational practices and the forging of relationships among workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals have become unimaginable or "unthinkable," a term introduced in the previous chapter.

However, as Jürgen Habermas puts it, "despite everything, history does not stand still."[118] Nor does memory. Memory is in a never-ending flux, an everlasting evolution that is "open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived."[119] Therefore, researchers should keep their eyes open to detect moments of memory that are contemporarily

117 Ibid., 3, 6.

118 Habermas, "Concerning the Public Use of History," 43.

119 Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26, "Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory" (Spring 1989): 8.

deformed, politically manipulated, and selectively resuscitated or buried, by chasing the discursive gaps between the past and the present, or as Trouillot puts it, between "what happened" and "that which is said to have happened."

Richard Terdiman, analyzing the course of memory in the nineteenth century, notes two main maladies: "*too little memory*, and *too much*."[120] The memory formed around the 1960s and 1970s has suffered from both, experiencing both a "commemoration mania"[121] comprised of nostalgic, critical, disparaging, and celebratory accounts of the period in memoirs, television shows, books, newspaper articles, and exhibitions, as well as a selective forgetting, in which certain aspects of the period are actively forgotten.

Such a period of about which there is a clear adherence to memories but the meaning of which is a never-ending disagreement must be analyzed from a vantage point that incorporates both history and memory. David Gross, in *Lost Time: On Remembering and Forgetting in Late Modern Culture*, argues that

> in order to move beyond the mere urge to preserve and on to something like a real critique, the eclipsed truths of the past would have to be counterposed to the untruths of the present in such a way as to give what has been discarded real contestatory power. Should this happen, the remembrance of what once had been (…) might be able to produce, by means of contrasts or comparisons, enough leverage to call many of the givens of the present into question.[122]

This section has utilized the "contestatory power" of memory by detailing the course of selective remembrance and forgetting. The analysis revealed that the existence of an extensive worker movement in the 1960s

120 Terdiman, *Present Past*, 14.

121 Jeremy Varon, Michael S. Foley, and John McMillian, "Time is an Ocean: The Past and Future of the Sixties," *The Sixties* 1, no. 1 (2008): 2.

122 Gross, *Lost Time*, 150.

and 1970s has been largely neglected, and both the past and present subjectivity of the workers has been denied by memoirists. Moreover, both the works of memory and sociological studies on the era have overlooked the fact that there was a political effort to form a connection among students, workers, peasants, and intellectuals which resulted in presently-unimaginable encounters. This potential, which this dissertation traces in the following chapters, made the period unique. The next section introduces the conceptual tool of utopia which is used to excavate the events of the past, ascertain the concerns of the present, and problematize the gap between the two.

§ 3.2 The Historiographical Tool of Utopia: Towards a Critical History of the Leftist Movements of the 1960s and 1970s

> *... we act only under the fascination of the impossible: Which is to say that a society incapable of generating – and of dedicating itself to – a utopia is threatened with sclerosis and collapse.*[123]
>
> – E. M. Cioran, *History and Utopia*

It was the year 1516, when Thomas More demarcated the shadowy boundaries of King Utopus' island, *Utopia*, and invented the concept of "utopia."[124] Since its invention, the concept has retained its semantic haziness and blurry existence. Colloquially, utopia designates a dream that is impossible to realize or a locality, a "nowhere," that is impossible to reach. In More's coinage, "the word means what is nowhere; it is the island which is nowhere, the place which exists in no real place."[125] Generally,

123 E. M. Cioran, *History and Utopia* (London: Quartet Books, 1996), 81.

124 More, *Utopia*.

125 Paul Ricoeur, "Introductory Lecture," in *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*, ed. George H. Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 15.

utopia, as Ruth Levitas suggests, is "the expression of the desire for a better way of being."[126] It is an expression comprising "an element of fantasy, of dreaming or at least of yearning, for a better life and better world."[127] Utopia is about "how we would live and what kind of a world we would live in if we could do just that."[128]

Despite the fog around its meaning and existence, utopia is a concept employed in the social sciences. Rather than conceiving of it as a pleasant daydream or a fanciful game, scholars perceive utopia as a societal project and a rational future plan presented as an alternative to the existing social construct.[129] It should be acknowledged that utopia is not only a literary genre but also a comprehensive perception of the possibilities of social and individual transformation.[130] Utopia is neither an impossible dream, nor "a river with no water."[131] Well beyond the static impossibility of a dream that is without home and out of time, utopia indicates movement and change that is either tangential to or that pierces the course of history. Bryan Turner, writing on Karl Mannheim's understanding of ideology and utopia, suggests that for Mannheim, "Utopia is the will for change; as such, Utopian thought is the major force of historical change."[132] Different from a coercive and inflexible draft for the perfect

126 Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 8.

127 M. I. Finley, "Utopianism Ancient and Modern," in *The Critical Spirit: Essays in Honor of Herbert Marcuse*, eds. Kurt H. Wolff and Barrington Moore, Jr. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 3.

128 Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, 1.

129 Faruk Öztürk, "Cumhuriyet ve Ütopya," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 3: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, eds. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 488.

130 Krishan Kumar, *Modern Zamanlarda Ütopya ve Karşıütopya*, trans. Ali Galip (Istanbul: Kalkedon, 2006), 46.

131 Ricoeur, "Introductory Lecture," 16.

132 Bryan S. Turner, "Preface to the New Edition," in *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, Karl Mannheim, trans. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (London: Routledge, 1991), xlvi.

order, utopia and utopianism "may be better conceptualized as a movement of hope."[133]

However, this "movement" or "will for change" has certain disadvantages as a social science concept. Mannheim, in his influential *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, draws attention to the fact that the concept is prone to individual perceptions and subjective prejudgments. Researchers should watch their steps, as "we are confronted here with the application of a concept involving values and standards."[134]

> The very attempt to determine the meaning of the concept 'utopia' shows to what extent every definition in historical thinking depends necessarily upon one's perspective, i.e. it contains within itself the whole system of thought representing the position of the thinker in question and especially the political evaluations which lie behind this system of thought. The very way in which a concept is defined and the nuance in which it is employed already embody to a certain degree a prejudgment concerning the outcome of the chain of ideas built upon it.[135]

Utopia as a hazy trail has a propensity for theoretical aberrations, historical distortions, and subjective molding. To obviate this theory-distorting propensity, utopia should be perceived as an instrumental concept based on concrete social and historical conditions lest the relationship between utopia and reality be arbitrary or illusory. The concept of utopia, like those of all other human-made concepts, needs to be taken as a tool with which to shape research, not as an end.[136] Concomitantly, this dissertation does not pursue the finding, naming, applauding, or booing of uto-

133 Valérie Fournier, "Utopianism and the Cultivation of Possibilities: Grassroot Movements of Hope," in *Utopia and Organization*, ed. Martin Parker (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 192.

134 Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 176.

135 Ibid., 177.

136 Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, 2.

pias. In this dissertation, utopia is employed as a conceptual tool designed to understand the possibilities, propensities, and conditions of a social and historical context. After all, utopia has its roots in the concrete, in the crises of today.

3.2.1 *The Realm of Possibility: Utopia and Reality*

Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick, in their extensive anthology of literary utopias published in 1952, state that there was a pause in the production of utopias due to decades-long global strife that did not come to a close with the end of the world wars.

> It is true that the past thirty-five years have not provided an ideal climate for speculation about ideal societies. Amid the ruins of protracted world conflict are to be found the remains of that ivory tower from which the future looked bright, and men, while small, from that perspective threw shadows of lengthening stature. Contemporary utopists stand forlornly or angrily in the midst of the devastation, contemplating the wisdom of converting the remnants of that shining tower into an underground shelter. Fear rather than hope is in the atmosphere, or, if not actual fear, at least lack of confidence in the progress of the future. Constructive utopian speculation cannot but be inhibited by the weight of such a prevailing atmosphere, and the paucity of speculative constructions of the ideal social organization in the contemporary period is quite understandable.[137]

Given that this dissertation expands the definition of utopia from a literary genre to the social expansion of possibilities, it is fundamental to theoretically and empirically verify or disprove the assertion that "an ideal climate" or "a prevailing atmosphere," as Negley and Patrick put it, determines the emergence or absence of utopias. Arguing on behalf of this assertion, this section traces the social conditions that make the production

137 Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick, *The Quest for Utopia: An Anthology of Imaginary Societies* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1952), 582.

of utopias possible. Maurice Blanchot asks, why does this possibility that has in any case been enthralled with its impossibility exist?[138] Why do utopias, literary or social, exist in one period and disappear in another? In Fredric Jameson's words, "it is certainly of the greatest interest for us today to understand why Utopias have flourished in one period and dried up in another."[139]

According to Jameson, the social circumstances of utopists, namely the legal, industrial, institutional, quotidian, and psychological constituents of the historical instant, furnishes them with the necessary ingredients of utopia, with "grist for the Utopian mill and substances out of which the Utopian construction can be fashioned."[140] Utopias are not imaginable, unless productive "conditions of possibility" call "these peculiar fantasies" into being,[141] pulling them from the impossibility intrinsic to reality.

In other words, More's pun combining "eutopos" (good place) and "outopos" (no place) has gone beyond its original intent. The perfect, unattainable island has for a long time been placed on real, and thus imperfect, territory. According to M. I. Finley and many other scholars, utopia is a social and cultural construct, "grow[ing] out of the society to which [it is] a response."[142] The hope inherent in utopia "is intrinsically critical of the reality in which it is rooted."[143] Accordingly, Levitas, in her book *The Concept of Utopia*, suggests that

> utopia is a social construct which arises not from a 'natural' impulse subject to social mediation, but as a socially constructed response to an *equally* socially constructed gap between the needs

138 Maurice Blanchot, *The Unavowable Community*, trans. Pierre Joris (Barrytown: Station Hill Press, 1988), 2.

139 Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London: Verso Books, 2005), xiv.

140 Ibid., 14.

141 Ibid., 11.

142 Finley, "Utopianism Ancient and Modern," 6.

143 Zygmunt Bauman, *Socialism: The Active Utopia* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1976), 15.

> and wants generated by a particular society and the satisfactions available to and distributed by it. *All* aspects of the scarcity gap are social constructs, including the propensity to imagine it away by some means or other.[144]

Therefore, utopia is not a static, close-ended entity but a vision, an idea, a dream, or an action that springs from the visionary's, ideologue's, dreamer's, or activist's present society. If one defines utopia as a desire for and belief in a better world, one should acknowledge that the economic, social, political, and cultural environment of the utopists' time provides the ground for utopianism to sprout. The location where the utopist takes to his feet, "takes his *stand*," and possibly takes action "must inevitably be the present."[145]

Congruently, Ernst Bloch, in his sizable study, *The Principle of Hope*, exquisitely traces utopian impulses throughout history, identifying them as "Real-Possible" rather than a socially-disconnected "Empty-Possible." For him, the possibility inherent in utopias is not only a part of the reality out of which they emerge but also an extension that supplements concrete reality with "the future possibilities of being different and better."[146] To put it differently, utopias burgeon from the real ground of society, fertilizing the earth in return with viable possibilities – or, as Bloch calls them, "a Not-Yet-Being of an expectable kind." Thus, the boundaries of reality are widened and completed.[147] Every present has a wisp of a better future in it. "*Concrete utopia stands on the horizon of every reality*."[148] In Paul Ricoeur's words, "the field of the possible" opens "beyond that of the actual; [utopia] is a field, therefore, for alternative ways of living."[149]

Hence, "concrete utopias" are ideally an indispensable part of the reality that gives birth to them. Theodor W. Adorno argues in his incisive

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144 Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, 181–182.

145 Francis Golffing and Barbara Golffing, "An Essay on Utopian Possibility," in *Utopia*, ed. George Kateb (New York: Atherton Press, 1971), 34.

146 Bloch, *The Principle of Hope, Volume One*, 144.

147 Ibid., 144.

148 Ibid., 223.

149 Ricoeur, "Introductory Lecture," 16.

conversation on theory and practice with Max Horkheimer that effective human thought should embrace "the other," the unimaginable, for thought will wither into feebleness in a world, where utopias are unwanted or eluded, leaving the thinking chain of the human minds shackled.[150] Similarly, Zygmunt Bauman expresses that the human world without a constellation of possibilities would remain incomplete, even inviable. To quote Bauman,

> the life-world in which human life activity takes place embraces the class of possibilities. Without them it would certainly be incomplete as a human world; in fact, it would not be a human world any more. It is only reasonable to postulate that this life-world, complete with the class of possibilities, should be taken as the appropriate frame of reference in which to inscribe analytically, to classify and understand human life activity… Utopia in particular, and the category of possibility in general, seem to reflect correctly this description of human modality.[151]

After defining the utopian zone as an enriching suburb that extends the boundaries of the real city or as a "real-possible" bubble within the sea of the social reality, the next task is to theoretically identify the characteristics of the social conditions that generate utopias. The thirty-five-year period before Negley and Patrick published their anthology was barren with respect to literary utopias. On the other hand, the period after almost a decade was imbued with sociopolitical and cultural ones.

Bloch asserts that times of imminent or present change and renewal pave the way for the emergence of social or political projects that push the frontiers of reality,[152] in contrast with times of inaction or destruction, "which have almost lost the feeling for the Novum."[153] Utopias are born when the winds of change blow.

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150 Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Towards a New Manifesto* (London: Verso Books, 2011), 12.

151 Bauman, *Socialism*, 35.

152 Bloch, *The Principle of Hope, Volume One*, 119.

153 Ibid., 288.

> The air of such historical springs is buzzing with plans which are seeking to be realized, and with thoughts in the stage of incubation. Prospective acts are never more frequent or more common than they are here, the anticipatory element in them is never more content-laden, the feeling for what is coming closer never more irresistible. All times of change are thus filled with Not-Yet-Conscious, even overfilled.[154]

Jameson concurs, stating that the possibility for the emergence of a potential possibility called utopia surfaces only through "spatial and social differentiation." The ebullient dynamics of social change dominating "transitional periods" tend to procreate gaps in which utopian thinking is incubated.[155] Adorno and Horkheimer take the concept of social change, abundant with possibilities, a step further and interpret it as a "revolutionary situation." For them, the existence of the prospect of revolution is concomitant with other prospects and potentialities.[156]

Probing further, it is pertinent that the element of future inherent within the idea of change sets the stage for the appearance of utopias as a phantasmal embodiment of future potentialities. Herein, Bloch draws a clear line between Marxism and utopianism, asserting that Marxism as a future-laden ideology is essentially concerned with what is to come rather than what is past, relating the present from the clutches of "Becomeness" and theoretically and practically releasing the future possibilities. Hence, by identifying the defects of the present "Becomeness" and striving to change it for a better present, "Marxism… rescued the rational core of utopia and made it concrete."[157] However, repeating the core argument of this subsection, the prospects of utopia stem from the realities of the present. Or, to invert this statement, the present is loaded "*with the horizon within it*, which is the horizon of the future." Utopian prospects thus envisage a better present just as ardently as a better future, an objective

154 Ibid., 119.

155 Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future*, 15.

156 Adorno and Horkheimer, *Towards a New Manifesto*, 39.

157 Bloch, *The Principle of Hope, Volume One*, 141.

which links them to the ideology of Marxism.[158] Therefore, quoting from the Communist Manifesto, "in bourgeois society, [...], the past dominates the present; in communist society, the present dominates the past."[159]

In discussions with his colleague on the relation between theory and practice concerning political action, Adorno defines the sociopolitical conditions of the times when the discussion was taking place as "worse than ever," and subsides into pessimism by enunciating his view "revolutionary situation" inhibits the prospects of a better world, a better society: "The horror is that for the first time we live in a world in which we can no longer imagine a better one."[160] More than half a century later, Traverso mentions a similar deadlock in the social imagination, what he calls an "eclipse of utopias." It is argued in the previous chapter that the socioeconomic system of neoliberalism has ideologically advertised itself as the only viable system and codified its alternative as catastrophe or totalitarianism. In such a system, in which dreams and actions of solidarity are replaced with those of individualism, consumerism, and competition, the utopias of the twentieth century have melted away.[161] This dissertation asserts that the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, as well as in the world, were times of rapid social change, rising critique of the present, increasing future projections, and heightening revolutionary activism that filled the decades with social possibilities or, in other words, utopias. However, as elaborated upon in previous pages, these utopic moments are mostly invisible given our present lenses manufactured by the ideological closure of neoliberalism.

3.2.2 *Problematizing the Gap between the Archives and Testimonies*

Following from the argument above, utopianism, by nature, has an immanent element of non-congruity with the present situation, namely

158 Ibid., 283.

159 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, trans. Samuel Moore (New York: Pocket Books, 1964), 84.

160 Adorno and Horkheimer, *Towards a New Manifesto*, 39.

161 Traverso, *Left-Wing Melancholia*, 5-9.

through the existing order,[162] as seen in its relation to Marxism. This non-congruity might be captured through "the fact that such a state of mind in experience, in thought, and in practice, is oriented towards objects which do not exist in the actual situation."[163] The foremost feature of utopianism is its "reflexivity" – that is, the ability to reflect the conjectural atmosphere and depict what is present by manifesting what is not present and what is aspired. For Ricoeur, the concept of "nowhere," inherent in utopia, nourishes this feature by creating a distant niche with many possibilities. "Perhaps a fundamental structure of the reflexivity … is the ability to conceive of an empty place from which to look at ourselves."[164] Utopias disprove the claim that history is a finished whole, by pointing to and filling empty spaces in historical time. Against the ideological closure of the existing order,[165] utopias present places of nowhere, in which the keys for present and future transformation are hidden. The critical reflexivity of utopia is inherent in the fact that what it presents is a "no-where" that stems from, reveals the potentialities in, and transforms a "nowhere."[166] According to Zygmunt Bauman,

> utopias relativise the present. One cannot be critical about something that is believed to be an absolute. By exposing the partiality of current reality, by scanning the field of the possible in which the real occupies merely a tiny plot, utopias pave the way for a critical attitude and a critical activity which alone can transform the present predicament of a man. The presence of utopia, the ability to think of alternative solutions to the festering problems of the present, may be seen therefore as a necessary condition of historical change.[167]

162 Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 173.
163 Ibid.
164 Ricoeur, "Introductory Lecture," 15.
165 Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 173.
166 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 100.
167 Bauman, *Socialism*, 13.

Utopias open spaces of possibilities in which criticism finds a fruitful arena. Corresponding to the critical attitude that utopias bring, utopianism not only a detects lacks in present reality but also proposes an alternative project that envisions and moves towards transgressing and transforming the existent order. This element of contextual criticism "brings the important Utopia back from Nowhere to reality."[168] Therefore, the space that utopia occupies in human historical time and geography deserves to be subjected to historical analysis. The work of the historian of utopias is to scrutinize "how, in what specific manner, the realities of a certain present, its modes of thought, belief, and imagination are translated in or by utopias, how utopias participate in the present while endeavoring to go beyond it."[169] All in all, utopia is at once a witness, evidence, and rejoinder to present social reality.

Utopia is an enclave, providing the present – and the past inherent in it – with a possible future. However, the utopian focus is on and in the present, which recalls the analysis of Walter Benjamin that the time of history is always "filled by the presence of the now."[170] Clarifying the fact that utopias are specific to the "now-here" of a certain period, what was viable in the present of the past might not be seen as a "real-possible" in the present of today, which is to say that the past's utopias laden with the reality of the past might today be unrealistic, impossible, "unthinkable" fantasies. To put it differently, "every age allows to arise (in differently located social groups) those ideas and values in which are contained in condensed form the unrealized and the unfulfilled tendencies which represent the needs of each age."[171] All utopias and all waves of utopianism are beings of their period which correlate to the social, historical, political, and economic background of the epoch.

Following this assertion, this dissertation employs utopia as a conceptual tool for historiography that equips researchers with the means

168 Finley, "Utopianism Ancient and Modern," 5.

169 Bronislaw Baczko, *Utopian Lights: The Evolution of the Idea of Social Progress* (New York: Paragon House, 1989), 5.

170 Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," 261.

171 Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 179.

to detect the empty spaces between the past and the present, thus, between the historical process of the 1960s and 1970s and the story about that process. Utopia is a device that operates in discursive gaps, looking for moments of expanded possibility in the past that are regarded as unimaginable in the present. Thus, the historiographical tool of utopia is utilized as a "destructive character" to "make room" within the official historical discourse, which was administered after 1980 through the military and the neoliberal transition and contains most of public memory on the period, and to create a critical historical narrative.

In "Theses on the Philosophy of History," Walter Benjamin advocates a broken history as intervention, "a unique experience with the past."[172] Benjamin breaks down the illusion of continuation, the illusion of smoothly passing time. His historical materialism is a revolutionary stance that pursues a moment of finishing, of a revolt, of a glint within and against the progressive storm of modernity and history.[173] The breaking up of historical time provides the analytical means to criticize and demolish hegemonic narratives. The past is not an arena of objective transference and continuous fluidity but an endless field of destruction-construction-reconstruction, with empty spaces of possibilities and with present concerns in mind. Under Benjamin's guidance, this dissertation engages in a critique of history by identifying certain fault lines dividing the present and the past.

Up until this section, this dissertation has operated mainly in the extended realm of the present, questioning the historiography and public memory that has been framed since the 1980s concerning the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s. The following two chapters turn towards the past to examine the 1960s and 1970s through archival excavation. This subchapter is an interlude between the two, connecting them via the historiographical tool of utopia. By breaking historical time into

172 Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," 262.

173 Michael Löwy, "Introduction: Romanticism, Messianism and Marxism in Walter Benjamin's Philosophy of History," in *Fire Alarm: Reading Walter Benjamin's 'On the Concept of History,'* trans. Chris Turner (London: Verso Books, 2005), 11.

the past and the present, the concept of utopia is employed in this dissertation to problematize the gap between historical process and its story. The intent is not a truth test but a search for and questioning of the empty spaces that are filled with political concerns in the present and utopic moments in the past. The historiographical concept of utopia presents the researcher with a tool to show that some historical moments, which are regarded as impossible or simply forgotten when seen through the lenses of the present, were in the basket of possibilities of past periods. As elaborated above, utopias encapsulate "a will for change." The disappearance of past utopias from present narratives indicates that the possibility or intention of change has disappeared from the contemporary "social imagination" or "conceptual apparatus." Recalling utopias from the past through a problematized excavation of historical process and its narration has the potential to demolish the discursive boundaries of contemporary historical narratives and hopefully broaden the range possibilities in the present. The concept is a tool both for an archeology of past events and for a critique of the present narrative. This allows the researcher to criticize and decipher dominant historical narratives and pursue critical ones. This task requires utmost caution not to fall into the trap of glorifying history or being prejudiced on its behalf. As with testimonies, using archives as a starting point for a critical history should also be problematized.

The following two chapters are a historical reading of the heightened politicization of the 1960s and 1970s, specifically the increasing practices of communication and education. Most of the archival documents in this dissertation have been excavated from the nongovernmental social history institutions the IISH and the TÜSTAV, as well as from newspapers. Yet while archives are significant caches of historical information, they also reflect the inequalities of the past and the present. Meltem Ahıska remarks in her article on the politics of Turkish archives that archives do not present the researcher with a direct path leading to historical truth

but are rather usually "sites of destruction, falsification, and corruption."[174] To use archives critically, one should locate those sites that have been established in the past and present.

The practice of power manipulates the writing of history, renders some historical elements narrate-able, and actively frames "moments of silences." It is a process that actively and effectively operates in the present. Correspondingly, archives acquire meaning in the present political framework. Documents are destroyed, selected, eliminated, and forged and access to them is institutionally controlled with the intent of harnessing the historical truth. In this respect, "archives are not only the concerns of historians who are interested in recovering the past, but also of political rulers who aim to frame the past for present purposes."[175]

Moreover, the past also has political dominance over the archives. The narrated period itself had its own inequalities and silenced moments. The experiencers of events existed in a particular historical juncture before the historians that narrated the event. Therefore, the past has already codified certain "moments of silences," long before historians that arrived at the scene did so in the present time.[176] For instance, as is discussed in chapter 4, while workers, peasants, and women were engaged in the communication and education boom of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, contemporaneous inequalities with respect to class, gender, and geography operated to the extent that the cultural production of these social segments was less than that of their bourgeois, urban, male counterparts. Correspondingly, past inequalities of sociocultural production have combined with present inequalities of historiographical construction to frame uneven historical narratives. Historical studies on the political developments of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey mostly neglect the aforementioned historical elements, and biographical and autobiographical accounts largely focus on urban contexts, male revolutionaries,

174 Meltem Ahıska, "Occidentalism and Registers of Truth: The Politics of Archives in Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 34 (2006): 9.

175 Ibid.

176 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26.

and political organizations. Forgotten elements become neglected historical topics "because historical traces are inherently uneven, sources are not created equal."[177] Therefore, historiographical dominance is backed by an "archival power" that determines which historical events, people, and organizations are worth studying and from which vantage points.[178] If sources are themselves unequal, how can the space that past trends or events occupy in the historical narrative be equal?

The socioeconomic and political conjuncture of the present, the exercise of power that dominates the writing of history, and the inequalities of the past that reverberate into the present render some past elements "unthinkable," imaginable, and unmentionable – and thus silent. These power relations make certain that "moments of silences" are intrinsic to the historical narrative; silences are an indispensable part of history.

> Silences are inherent in history because any single event enters history with some of its constituting parts missing. Something is always left out while something else is recorded… Thus whatever becomes fact does so with its own inborn absences, specific to its production. In other words, the very mechanisms that make any historical recording possible also ensure that historical facts are not created equal…[179]

Nevertheless, this narrative inequality has a cure. It is possible to overcome it through a critical methodology, through devising a "turn toward hitherto neglected sources (e.g., diaries, images, bodies) and [an] emphasis on unused facts (e.g., facts of gender, race, and class, facts of the life cycle, facts of resistance)."[180] The remedy for "archival power" is in the archives. Archives, which are subject to political concerns, may be biased or misleading. Still, most of the archival documents excavated for this dissertation have not been compiled and controlled by the government but

177 Ibid., 47.
178 Ibid., 99, 116.
179 Ibid., 49.
180 Ibid.

by nongovernmental institutions. The IISH, as an institution that embraces the duty of "saving the archives and libraries of persecuted people and organizations," conducted the specific task of "provid[ing] a safe haven for the documents of Turkish parties, trade unions and individuals" in the late 1980s.[181] Documents saved from the destructive force of the coup of September 12 are now open to researchers in Amsterdam. Similarly, the TÜSTAV, as an institution founded by leftist political figures of the United Communist Party of Turkey (Türkiye Birleşik Komünist Partisi), set out in 1992 to find, collect, and compile documents of political parties, such as the TİP and the Communist Party of Turkey (Türkiye Komünist Partisi, or TKP), trade unions, leftist political organizations, and relevant periodicals.[182] The archival documents of critical nongovernmental institutions are not immune from present political concerns or past inequalities but they have the potential to deviate from the hegemonic discursive design. Therefore, while problematizing archival documents on one hand, one must also acknowledge their propensity to lead to a critical historical reading that could defy the official historical narrative, on the other.

In destroying the documents of leftist subjects, the military intervention of 1980 created a rupture in Turkish history not only of a political and socioeconomic kind but also of an archival one. This dissertation hunts after this historical break, deciphering and questioning it. In her analysis of the "cleaning" of archival institutions that coincides with a larger disruption between the past and the present, Ahıska suggests that "history is discontinuous and full of ruptures and holes, as it were."[183] The IISH and the TÜSTAV attempt to fill these holes with archival materials of past revolutionaries. This dissertation excavates neglected memories and historical elements from the archives, thanks to the efforts of the IISH and the TÜSTAV, which allowed its analyses to be based on archival findings

181 "A Detailed History of the IISH," International Institute of Social History, accessed March 4, 2017, https://iisg.amsterdam/en/about/history/detailed-history-iish.

182 "TÜSTAV Hakkında," Türkiye Sosyal Tarih Araştırma Vakfı, accessed March 4, 2017, http://www.tustav.org/tustav-hakkinda/.

183 Ahıska, "Occidentalism and Registers of Truth," 18.

and testimonies. In so doing, it questions these "ruptures and holes" in history by criticizing official historical narratives and problematizing public memory and archives. Given such a critical approach, the documents of political organizations, trade unions, political parties, and revolutionary people (such as periodicals, bulletins, posters, brochures, and records of graffiti and forums, and biographies and autobiographies) pave the way for a new historical paradigm that not only unearths neglected and forgotten historical elements but also makes the power relations behind the framing of history visible.

This subchapter has presented utopia as a theoretical tool for a critique of historiography and memory. Utilizing this tool, the dissertation delves into the recent reception of utopian spaces of the 1960s and 1970s concerning leftist social movements as well as clashes in the findings from archives vis-à-vis testimonies. In other words, the historical analysis of the period's utopianism is accompanied by a contemporary analysis of the reception of leftist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, which challenges the official history of the period. Instrumentally, analyzing the historicity of utopias compels the researcher to handle the lost apprehension of an almost forgotten age or the neglected elements of that age.[184] This dissertation argues that certain social elements, or utopian moments, of the period, such as (1) the elevated possibility of social communication and cultural production, or a "communication boom," (2) the emergence of alternative methods and a broad concept of education, or an "education boom," and (3) unimaginable encounters of different segments of society through the explosion of ideas and profusion of revolutionary practices have been forgotten in the recollective accumulation of the years since the 1980s.

184 Michèle Riot-Sarcey, "Giriş," in *Ütopyalar Sözlüğü*, eds. Michele Riot-Sarcey, Thomas Bouchet, and Antoine Picon (Istanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2003), 6.

§ 3.3 Conclusion

Problematizing the gap between testimonies and archives, this chapter first conducted a critical analysis of public memory surrounding the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey by unpacking shared and discordant narratives in several testimonies. Second, the chapter introduced the historiographically-useful concept of utopia as a tool to excavate the past and criticize the present. Keeping the arguments in the previous chapter in mind, this chapter presented the tool of utopia as a remedy for the "ideological closure" and narrative dominance codified after the coup d'état of September 12, 1980, in Turkey.

The previous chapter argued that the military coup of 1980 was the ultimate end of leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s along with the utopic moments that had emerged with it, such as the explosions in communication and education. However, a narrative is never entirely closed or immobilized, no social order is without exit. The concept of utopia shows that the past was full of retrospectively-unimaginable possibilities; the hegemonic narrative of the present is just one of the historical paths that was possible. Thus, the future may still be open to what is "unthinkable" today. Although ideological hegemony was generated via political oppression and socioeconomic transformation, the dominant narrative and hegemonic order in Turkey has oft been shaken since 1980, as exemplified by the Spring Demonstrations of 1989,[185] the strike and march of mining workers in Zonguldak in 1990-1991,[186] and the long struggle of unionized tobacco workers in 2009-2010.[187] Another major *disturbance in the force*, a tremor in the state-sponsored hegemonic order

185 For more information, see Aziz Çelik, "Bahar Eylemleri, 1989," in *Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, ed. Oya Baydar, 103-104 (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998).

186 For more information, see Mehmet Attila Güler, "Zonguldak Havzasında İşçi Hareketleri ve 1990-1991 Büyük Madenci Grevi," *Çalışma ve Toplum* 60 (2019): 509-530.

187 For more information, see Metin Özuğurlu, "The TEKEL Resistance Movement: Reminiscences on Class Struggle," *Capital & Class* 35, no. 2 (June 2011): 179-187.

since 1980, occurred in 2013. It not only alarmed the present order but evoked memories from the past.

In the last days of May 2013, people from different socioeconomic backgrounds in Turkey filled the streets of the metropolitan Istanbul in protest against a municipal urban transformation project whereby Gezi Park in the center of the city was to be demolished to build a shopping mall as well as against the increasing police violence inflicted upon those who demonstrated against the project. Mass protests ignited by the desire to protect a public park soon turned into an antiauthoritarian and anti-neoliberal uprising and spread to eighty of eighty-one cities in Turkey according to the report of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.[188] Alain Badiou, in his commentary on the 2013 mass protests in Turkey, discusses the uprising's potential to have created a "possibility for a new type of organized politics, a politics that is durable, that merges the force of the people with the sharing of political ideas, and that thereby becomes capable of changing the overall situation of the country in question."[189]

The "possibility" Badiou observed in the Gezi Protests was new and about the future. But for many protestors and observers, the same possibility was also reminiscent of a recent past. Protests in Turkey opened the way for memories of recent history. Not long after the beginning of the insurgence in May 2013, public memory made an appearance as abundant newspaper and periodical articles and social media statements compared the summer of 2013 in Turkey with the 1960s. For instance, the beginning of the protests on May 27, 2013, evoked the fifty-three-year-old memory of another May 27, which resulted in a historical weighing of the recent insurgence with the coup d'état of 1960.[190] Not only the military coup but also the subsequent constitution came to the fore as a moment

188 "Gezi Parkı Olayları Raporu," Türkiye İnsan Hakları Kurumu, last modified October 30, 2014, http://www.tihk.gov.tr/Portals/0/h/54b3df46416dd.pdf, 41.

189 Alain Badiou, "On the Uprising in Turkey and Beyond," last modified June 19, 2013, http://cengizerdem.wordpress.com/2013/06/19/alain-badiou-on-the-uprising-in-turkey-and-beyond/.

190 Altuğ Yalçıntaş, "Nice 27 Mayıslara!" *Bianet*, last modified July 5, 2013, https://m.bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/148233-nice-27-mayislara.

of remembrance in 2013. Protestors, most of whom used Twitter as a means of communication, used the hashtag of #OccupyGeziManifestosu to state their demands from the government. While most of the demands were invented for and related to the future, such as ending the destruction of nature in Turkey, repealing compulsory military service, and ensuring the freedom of expression, one was anchored in the past: "Instead of making a new constitution, the Constitution of 1961 must be modernized."[191]

Moreover, public interpretation of the 2013 protests cut across national boundaries and found another terminus in the 1968 protests in Europe. Numerous social media remarks, along with articles, newspaper columns, and interviews, emphasized similarities between the movements in 2013 and 1968. On the internet, pictures from 2013 and 1968 portraying similar government oppression, police brutality, barricades, use of tear gas, and the role of the press were shared.[192] For Tariq Ali, the character of the movement was closer to Paris and Prague in 1968 than to the more recent Arab Spring.[193] Taner Akçam stated that Gezi Protests signified a belated 1968 for Turkey that carried the possibility of a cultural revolution, the lack of which was, for him, the main shortcoming of the Turkish 1968.[194] On the contrary, for Barış Yıldırım, the 2013 riots were not reminiscent of "the Western 1968," but of the Turkish one. He drew a

191 "Yeni anayasa yerine 1961 Anayasası modernize edilsin," A. Murat Eren, ed., "Protests in Turkey: The Timeline and What People on the Street Want," *Subjektif*, last modified June 4, 2013, http://subjektif.org/2013/06/gezi-parki-protestolari-zaman-cizelgesi-ve-sokagin-istekleri/.

192 For one example, see "Gezi '13 ve Paris '68 Arasındaki 20 Benzerlik," *Demokrat Haber*, last modified November 23, 2013, https://www.demokrathaber.org/tarih/gezi-13-ve-paris-68-arasindaki-20-benzerlik-h25185.html.

193 Zeynep Bilgehan, "Interview with Tariq Ali: Flames of Resistance and Hope in Turkey," *Counterpunch*, last modified June 18, 2013, https://www.counterpunch.org/2013/06/18/flames-of-resistance-and-hope-in-turkey/.

194 Taner Akçam, "Gezi Parkı Olayları, Türkiye'nin 1968'idir," *T24: Bağımsız İnternet Gazetesi*, last modified July 29, 2013, https://t24.com.tr/haber/68in-sonu-ve-gezi-etkileri,235520.

direct link from worker movement of June 15-16, 1970, to the Gezi.[195] The movement and protestors in 2013 were regarded as "romantic," "collectively indignant," and "heterogeneous" as those in 1968.[196]

As Kristin Ross argues, contemplating on the Paris Commune and the 2000s, "there are moments when a particular event or struggle enters vividly into the figurability of the present."[197] Within the scope of this dissertation, it is significant that the summer of 2013 that awakened memories of the 1960s, made the Constitution of 1961 "figurable" in the present, and highlighted 1968 as a pillar of memory. For many protestors and observers, Gezi evoked 1968. The most remarkable similarity between the two is the phenomenon of heightened politicization accompanied by increasing communication.

Since June 2013, many academic, journalistic, and literary remarks have been made on the movement's causes, spontaneity, socioeconomic bases, and *spirit*, among which there is one in common: the movement was communicative. The uprising in the summer of 2013 galvanized an unrestrained desire for speech concretized in the form of discussions,

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195 Barış Yıldırım, *Sanki Devrim: Bir Devrim Gezi'sinden Notlar* (Ankara: Notabene Yayınları, 2014), 78-80.

196 For further comparison of 1968 and 2013 protests, see Engin Sustam, "Müşterekliğin Mikropolitik Dili ve Yeni Özgürlük Alanları," in *Bizim Bir Haziranımız: Haziran Ayaklanması Üzerine Notlar*, eds. Engin Abat, Erdem Bulduruç, and Fırat Korkmaz, 37-68 (Istanbul: Patika Kitap, 2014); Sinan T. Gülhan, "Teşhisin Tedhişinden Çıkış: Gezi Eylemleri Üzerine Sosyolojik Bir Araştırma İçin Öneriler," in *Gezi ve Sosyoloji: Nesneyle Yüzleşmek, Nesneyi Kurmak*, eds. Vefa Saygın Öğütle and Emrah Göker, 17-79 (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2014); Vehbi Bayhan, "Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler ve Gezi Parkı Direnişi," *Birey ve Toplum* 4, no. 7 (Spring 2014): 23-57; Ayşe Hür, "Siyasi ve Kültürel Bir Karnaval: 'Paris Mayıs 1968,'" *Radikal*, last modified June 9, 2013, http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/ayse-hur/siyasi-ve-kulturel-bir-karnaval-paris-mayis-1968-1136873/; Yannis Kronos, "20 Similarities between Gezi Park '13 and Paris '68 Riots," Buzzfeed, last modified November 21, 2013, https://www.buzzfeed.com/ioannis-kronos/20-similarities-between-gezipark13-and-paris68-r-gu4s.

197 Ross, *Communal Luxury*, 15.

graffiti, *tweets*, posters, art pieces, slogans, songs, articles, blogs, websites, videos, books, and a television station.[198] On one hand, these new forms of communication appeared necessary in the face of censorship by the mainstream media. The protesters coined the term "penguin media," a satirical term invented after a popular news channel broadcast a documentary on penguins even as mass protests were taking place in the country.[199] In the face of a "penguin media," protesters devised their own means of free, intensive, and direct communication: *tweets* in lieu of television news, graffiti in lieu of advertisements, art in the streets rather than in private venues. Furthermore, given the slogans, songs, and prolific discussions taking place in the newly-founded neighborhood forums, the Gezi Protests created their own communicative practices apart from and in opposition to the mainstream media. On the other hand, mass political action made the meeting of different segments of the population and a limited liberation of suppressed voices possible. It was not only a sonorous but also a multidirectional experience of communication, which encompassed people from cities and small towns, heterosexuals and LGBTI+, white-collar workers and the unemployed, students and factory workers, those with the means of communication in their hands and those who, until then, were without it.[200] People from different socioeconomic backgrounds came together during and via the protests, and those who had not had a say in mainstream news, art circles, and politics claimed their agency through the sonorous collectivity. Hence, communication exploded in a way reminding most activists and analysts of the 1960s. Suppressed by the state through police intervention, the occupa-

198 For examples see Mehmet Deniz Bölükbaşı, ed., *31 Mayıs 2013: Devrim Taksim'de Göz Kırptı* (Istanbul: Kaldıraç Yayınevi), 2013.

199 Emre Tansu Keten, "Radikal Bir Medya Eleştirisi Olarak Gezi İsyanı," in *Bizim Bir Haziranımız*, eds. Abat, Bulduruç, and Korkmaz, 332.

200 Barış Çoban, "Gezi Komünü Deneyimi: Yaşayan Ütopya ya da Komünist İdea," in ibid., 107-108.

tion of Gezi Park ended at the end of the summer. Demonstrations continued until September 2013.[201] However, the possibilities the Gezi Protests released, have entirely ended, indicating not only a termination of activism but also a fading from memory. Moreover, the social and political practices that were realized during the protests are perceived through present lenses as bygone and unimaginable historical elements that have come to a definite end and cannot resurface in the future. Maybe or maybe not. Still, the emergence of quakes in the dominant system is an indication that the hegemonic socioeconomic and political order is open to change. The future is laden with possibility.

Pondering on utopia, time, and history, Huyssen states that just like utopia, "[h]istory as a narrative of emancipation and liberation always points to some future, the Blochian not-yet."[202] Thus, history, when complemented with the concept of utopia, indicates a "not-yet" in the future as well as a space of possibility in the past and the present. This chapter, first introduced testimonies and analysis on the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey not only to understand the past but to detect present concerns that have shaped its remembrance. Second, the concept of utopia is elaborated upon as a tool for the critique of historiography and a theoretical lens with which to examine the history of the 1960s and 1970s. Ultimately, this dissertation searches for empty spaces that are occupied by utopias and their critical-transformative energy – empty spaces in the historiography in which its criticism will flourish. In other words, by finding the empty spaces and fault lines of the historical time of the period as written with a contemporary voice, this dissertation not only constitutes a historical analysis of the decade but forms a critical approach to the present age.

It is acknowledged that, on one hand, personal narratives play a crucial role in keeping the public memory of the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s alive in a society that has been educated with official ac-

201 "Gezi Parkı Olayları Raporu," 7, 94.

202 Huyssen, "Memories of Utopia," in *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 87.

counts of history. Nevertheless, on the other, the alternative history created through these shared narratives has weaknesses and prejudices. Above all, a selectively collectivized or mythologized account of history "serves to flatten the complexity, the nuance, the performative contradictions of human history; it presents instead a simplistic and often uni-vocal story."[203] The employment of the concept of utopia and a problematized approach towards testimonies helps to uncover present attitudes that shroud the complexity of history and memory and to recreate a multi-vocal story. An archival analysis of the 1960s and 1970s, which is also problematized for its inherent weaknesses and inequalities, allows researchers to detect not only the neglected actors of history – such as workers, peasants, and women – and relationships among different segments of society that are presently unimaginable but also conceptual continuities transcending the politically established milestone of the 1971 coup d'état. This dissertation now proceeds to delve into one line of archival findings that has made this possible – that is, the communication boom of the 1960s and 1970s.

203 Bell, "Mythscapes," 75.

4

The Communication Boom of the 1960s and 1970s: The Utopia of Direct Communication

We had two occupations: Reading and fighting.[1]

– Haydar İlker, *Sokak Güzeldir*

There is an unstoppable desire to speak and write. Even during the days of strife, Taksim has already been decorated with words and images. Now, there is an open platform for free speech in every corner, the burnt police car has become a stage, police barricades a wish tree. Paper, cardboard, cloth for banners, and paint occupy top rows in the requirements list of the plaza. There has hence appeared a new language, plural, complex, and ideologically opponent.[2]

– Ezgi Bakçay, *"Orantısız Hayal Gücü"*

Historian Zafer Toprak, in his "judgment" of 1968 "or Elegy to the '68 Generation," asserts that "Turkish intellectuals and youth never

1 "İki işimiz var, bir okumak bir kavga etmek," Haydar İlker, "Taş yağmuru altında mitingi yapamadık. Yine de bizi Trabzon'dan atamadılar," in Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir*, 101.

2 Ezgi Bakçay, "Orantısız Hayal Gücü," *Express* 136 (June-July 2013): 48.

read as much as they did in [the 1960s]."[3] Toprak's assessment of the 1960s as an "age of enlightenment"[4] in Turkish history is proven right by the plethora of publications produced in the 1960s, from periodicals to officially registered books to illegally distributed brochures. This chapter scrutinizes this abundance of publication in parallel with an increased tendency to read and write, especially in the radical media that started in the 1960s and continued into the 1970s. It was the emergence of a different path of communication with multifarious tools that challenged the hierarchy of the mainstream way of transmitting knowledge and ideas; it opposed and slalomed around the media in power while mimicking its tools of communication. It is asserted that the boom in radical and alternative forms of communication in the world as well as in Turkey was part of a "communicative praxis"[5] that not only shaped but was shaped by the historical and cultural context. Furthermore, this "communicative praxis," which stemmed from revolutionary praxis, was contagious and organizationally decentered to some extent, incorporated different segments of the population, and bent but maintained the socioeconomically drawn boundaries among classes, geographies, and sexes. Although hierarchies were mostly maintained on behalf of traditional writers, book-readers, and discourse-developers, the result was still a wider public sphere of reading, writing, and speaking.

A statistical, birds-eye analysis reveals a countrywide increase in the number of readers throughout the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. According to the statistical data of the TÜİK, the number of public libraries in Turkey increased from 78 in 1950 to 327 in 1970 to 517 in 1980. The rise in the number of library buildings and facilities was accompanied by an increase in the number of people that filled and used them. While there were 808,087

3 "Türk aydını ve gençliği, çağlar boyu bu dönemlerde olduğu kadar hiçbir zaman okumuyor," Zafer Toprak, "1968'i Yargılamak ya da 68 Kuşağına Mersiye," *Cogito* 14 (Spring 1998): 158.

4 "Aydınlanma çağı," ibid., 158.

5 Markus S. Schulz, "Collective Action across Borders: Opportunity Structures, Network Capacities, and Communicative Praxis in the Age of Advanced Globalization," *Sociological Perspectives* 41, no. 3 (1998): 591.

library users in 1950, that number rose to 2,323,384 by 1964, 5,583,918 by 1974, and 8,944,172 by 1980. The rate of change in the number of library users was -1.7% from 1959 to 1960, indicating a slight decrease. But a dramatic increase of 43.4% occurred between 1968 and 1969. The numbers of books in the libraries rose concordantly, which can be interpreted as a concomitant rise in the number of writers and of written materials being published. The number of books in public libraries was 987,207 in 1952, 1,668,639 in 1962, and 4,201,606 in 1977.[6] In the meantime, the number of published books in Turkey increased from 3,080 in 1956 to 5,745 in 1964 to 6,099 in 1966.[7] Concordantly, Kemal Karpat states that while the average number of published books amounted to 2,600 between 1936 and 1950, the number rose to over 4,100 by 1960.[8] Supporting this data, the number of printing houses in Istanbul rose from 399 in 1959 to 556 in 1963-1964.[9] In 1973, the number of printing houses in Turkey was 1651.[10] The year 1962 witnessed the publishing of 1,653 newspapers and periodicals,[11] while 2,256 periodicals and newspapers were being printed in Turkey in 1978.[12]

Although there are no specific statistics on the number of readers during the period, the aforementioned statistical data give the gist of the picture – that is, a significant rise in reading and writing during the 1960s and 1970s. This chapter interprets this rise through a thorough analysis

6 *İstatistik Göstergeler - Statistical Indicators, 1923-2011* (Ankara: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2012), 87.

7 Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (Istanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2000), 227, 236.

8 Kemal Karpat, *Türk Siyasi Tarihi: Siyasal Sistemin Evrimi* (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2011), 145.

9 *Türkiye'de Gazeteler, Dergiler ve Basımevleri* (Ankara: Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığı Arşiv Müdürlüğü, 1964), 17.

10 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın*, 244.

11 Ibid., 15.

12 *Statistical Indicators*, 84-85

of thirty-two periodicals,[13] all leftist in orientation, along with several newspaper reports from *Milliyet*, as well as brochures, bulletins, leaflets, posters of trade unions and student organizations, graffiti, and speeches and debates from the archives of the IISH and the TÜSTAV. The main argument is that there was a parallel between heightened politicization and the quantitative rise in publication, between the flourishing of political organizations and the boom in communication. This was a common theme for leftist organizations in the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, the chapter focuses solely on leftist publications and speeches, disregarding rightist and mainstream ones.

This chapter analyzes the period through written and spoken materials and follows the steps of the communication boom. The analysis pursues historical moments that have been veiled by the fog of official history or simply forgotten, such as the existence of proletarian writers, peasant readers, and female activists, as well as of their relationships with intellectuals and students. This is not a test of the success and failure of events to survive in memory; nor does the dissertation in any way seek to compare past occurrences with current recollections. Eleni Varikas, in an article on 1968, "measure[s] the distance that separates us from [1968], not as a relation of cause and effect, but as a relation of *our* present to the unrealized promises and aspirations it released."[14] Most interpretations of the period have been limited to what it has left behind, which blurs the past in favor of the survived elements. To discover unfulfilled, unaccomplished historical possibilities[15] which were present in the 1960s and 1970s, historical time should be broken up to unveil the possibilities and potentialities inherent in it. Benjamin argues for history as an intervention that breaks the illusion of continuity.[16] The breaking up of historical

13 For many of these periodicals, complete sets of issues were used for this dissertation. However, for some periodicals, only a subset of issues were available, and for a few, only one.

14 Eleni Varikas, "The Utopian Surplus," *Thesis Eleven* 68 (2002): 104.

15 Ibid., 102.

16 Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," 262.

time provides the analytical foundation to criticize and demolish hegemonic narratives and discover the empty spaces of possibility, liberating the history from the restrictive perspective of cause and effect. To unravel the "other memory"[17] of the 1960s and 1970s, history should be handled as "at all times a break, to be interrogated only *here*, only politically."[18] Ultimately, remembering is political. This chapter, as well as the next one, analyze "what happened" in the 1960s and 1970s without focusing on "that which is said to have happened" which is scrutinized in the previous chapter. This dissertation scrutinizes not only both the historical process and narrative but also the relation between them. The relation between the sociohistorical process and the narratives on it is also historical; the gap between the two is filled with political intents. This chapter exhibits one of the contents of the historical gap, an empty space of the 1960s and 1970s, namely the communication boom.

On the route of discovering niches in the past that are pregnant with possibilities, Paul Ricoeur recommends the voyager employ the concept of "nowhere," inherent in utopia, because this concept provides one with a blank canvas on which voyagers can see themselves.[19] By utilizing a concept of utopia that reflects present aspirations and past possibilities, one can take off the blurry "lens of 'success,'" which privileges those which have survived and conceals unfulfilled historical possibilities.[20] Only in this manner can one perceive today's utopia as yesterday's possibility. The utopia is not an impossible nowhere that does not belong to the historical cosmos but a possibility blocked by the power of established societies.[21] The hegemony of the present can disguise once-likely utopias, casting them as unlikely, absurd, or dead. As asserted in previous pages, the present establishment and official historiography render the possibilities of the past as unimaginable and even forgotten. This chapter, thereby, analyzes one of the Blochian moments of expanded possibility in

17 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 129.
18 *Révoltes Logiques* collective cited ibid.
19 Ricoeur, "Introductory Lecture," 15.
20 Varikas, "The Utopian Surplus," 102.
21 Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, namely the desire for a direct, centerless, egalitarian communication as a historical possibility, buried within the gap between the past and the present and manifest in written materials and speeches.

To put it simply, the purpose of this chapter is to analyze the "watershed events"[22] of the 1960s and 1970s, specifically in Turkey, through an analysis of written and spoken words. Thus, the historical time of the decade is fractured,[23] at a point where the profusion of words in the forms of periodicals, brochures, bulletins, leaflets, posters, graffiti, and speeches appeared as a heightened historical phenomenon. Herein, Jameson warns the historian that utilizing "cultural production" as a criterion of periodization involves an analytical trap, which tends to lure the researcher into a diagnostic fallacy, namely a "kind of analogical parallelism in which the poetic production of Wallace Stevens is somehow 'the same' as the political practice of Che Guevara."[24] This chapter does not glorify the communication boom but exposes it as a historical possibility that not only characterized the period but continued from the 1960s to 1970s, breaking the current perception of discontinuity between the two decades. Keeping Jameson's warning in mind, this chapter focuses on a thematic fragment, scrutinizing the explosion of communication in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey as a heightened historical possibility via taking a magnifying glass to problematized archival materials.

22 Immanuel Wallerstein and Sharon Zukin, "1968, Revolution in the World-System: Theses and Queries," *Theory and Society* 18, no. 4 (July 1989): 2.

23 Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," 262.

24 Jameson, "Periodizing the 60s," *Social Text* 9, no. 10, "The 60's without Apology" (Spring-Summer 1984): 179.

§ 4.1 The Possibility of Free Expression in the 1960s and 1970s: The Aspiration to Liberate the Speech

> *May '68 has shown that without project, without conjuration, in the suddenness of a happy meeting, like a feast that breached the admitted and expected social norms, explosive communication could affirm itself (affirm itself beyond the usual forms of affirmation) as the opening that gave permission to everyone, without distinction of class, age, sex or culture, to mix with the first comer as if with an already loved being, precisely because he was the unknown-familiar.*[25]
>
> – Maurice Blanchot, *The Unavowable Community*

In September 1964, at the University of California, Berkeley, the university administration banned political activity on campus and forbade students from advocating for political causes by way of propaganda tables, bulletins and leaflets, and fundraising. Frustrated by the deprivation of their civil and political liberties, students engaged in a spontaneous sit-in on October 1 and publicly discussed the importance of freedom of speech and political action in democratic societies and public universities for almost thirty hours without interruption. One student activist present at the protest later claimed that it was the first time they had witnessed and taken part in a democratic public discussion on the US soil. The consequent Free Speech Movement continued its political activities and discussions during the academic year of 1964-1965 and evolved into a far-reaching student movement.[26] The political activism of the movement marched hand in hand with intellectual life; sit-ins, campus occupations, class boycotts, and protests found their voice in impassioned debates,

25 Blanchot, *The Unavowable Community*, 29-30.

26 Ronald Fraser, *1968: İsyancı Bir Öğrenci Kuşağı*, trans. Kudret Emiroğlu (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2008), 99-101.

news bulletins, brochures, and slogans – in reading, writing, and discussion.[27] The ongoing communication was intense, direct, and multidirectional.

The profusion of speech, as in the case of Berkeley of 1964, did not occur merely within the confines of campuses but also on factory floors. The 1960s witnessed a matching, heightened free speech in factories. For instance, factories in France had a role in the countrywide labor strike tide of the late 1960s. According to Xavier Vigna, as cited by Donald M. Reid, the occupations of factories in France, which were often self-initiated by local factory workers, corresponded with free speech among action committees and direct democracy against authoritarian workplaces. It was a time when a considerable number of workers in France started to discuss and exchange ideas, not only about factories, strikes, working conditions, and manual labor but also about issues commonly thought to be irrelevant to workers, such as art.[28] As one striking worker in a French factory put it, "'the hours and hours of discussion' … [were] 'the soul' of workers' organization."[29]

This increasing tendency observed in Berkeley in the 1960s and in French factories where strikes were taking place in the same decade – to communicate and discuss one's thoughts and to preserve one's right to think and express them – reflect a common trans-geographical feature of the era. "The international capitalism was reproducing its opposition again in international scale,"[30] a situation that corresponded to a considerably internationalized communication boom – "explosive communication,"[31] as Maurice Blanchot puts it. In many localities throughout the world, widespread and well-organized demonstrations by students and

27 Ibid., 102.

28 Xavier Vigna, cited in Donald M. Reid, "Well-Behaved Workers Seldom Make History: Reviewing Insubordination in French Factories during the Long 1968," *South Central Review* 29, no. 1-2 (Spring & Summer 2012): 79.

29 Reid, "Well-Behaved Workers Seldom Make History," 72.

30 Ertuğrul Kürkçü, "Hala Bir '68 Kuşağı' Var mı?" *Cogito* 14 (Spring 1998): 162.

31 Blanchot, *The Unavowable Community*, 29.

workers were accompanied by radical committees in which political, ethical, and artistic discussions took place. Moreover, media counter-institutions such as radio stations and periodicals sought to "break the information monopoly of the establishment."[32]

In *One Dimensional Man*, Herbert Marcuse argues that in advanced industrial societies, commodities of housing, subsistence, and clothing, the news and entertainment industries, and mass media tools bring about certain attitudes and habits and a concomitant artificial consciousness as a side effect. These bind the consumer to the producer and thus to the system as a whole. The popularization and massification of these technical tools banalize the inherent propaganda element and convert indoctrination into lifestyle, thereby resisting systemic change and opposition on the basis of the system's alleged functional superiority.[33] Thereby, a "one-dimensional" pattern of thinking and behavior is created through which ideas that surpass established boundaries of thought and action are either eradicated or assimilated within the system.[34]

The ideas of Marcuse were celebrated among activists, especially youth, throughout the world in the 1960s and 1970s. His books and articles were published and republished throughout the era wherever student movements arose. On one hand, politicized youth affected Marcuse, as materialized in the increasing publication and discussion of his work. As with similar works, his books' "(re)publication occurred often with the student movements rather than before."[35] On the other hand, Marcuse affected politicized youth. Activists reading Marcuse's works or listening to his lectures became convinced that the existing system converted and reduced everything to commodities through the stereotyping

32 Marcuse, "The Movement in a New Era of Repression: An Assessment," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 16 (1971-1972): 12.

33 Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man* (London: Abacus, 1974), 24.

34 Ibid.

35 Ben Mercer, "The Paperback Revolution: Mass-circulation Books and the Cultural Origins of 1968 in Western Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72, no. 4 (October 2011): 627.

mechanisms of consumption and mass media.[36] Marcuse's ideas fueled the activists' opposition to and mistrust of the hegemonic tools of consumption and communication, giving it a theoretical basis on which new strategies of action could be created.

Marcuse proceeded to assert that advanced industrial societies with these economic and technical instruments have the ability and will to limit, if not totally eradicate, qualitative change and systemic opposition.[37] Therefore, new tools of communication and protest have to be developed not only to liberate the discussion, criticism, and communication but also to open the floodgates of systemic change and comprehensive revolution.

Congruently, the works of the *Atelier Populaire* (Popular Workshop) in Paris reflected a concordant mistrust and criticism of the hegemonic media instruments of the ruling elite. During the Paris protests of 1968, a group of faculty members and students of the *École des Beaux-Arts* (School of Fine Arts) occupied the printing studios and began spending their nights producing silk-screen posters with political content which implicated power and its established values. The posters of the *Atelier Populaire*, which was "a factory of revolutionary gesture,"[38] formed a significant part of the Paris uprising in 1968, which conveyed not only the protestors' complaints but also their opposing worldviews and ideas of an alternative future. The students in the *Atelier* endeavored "to reawaken the power of writing on public walls as something *immediate and instrumental*."[39] The posters produced during the night were seen on the streets where demonstrations took place in the morning as well as on the walls of occupied university campuses and factories whose workers were on strike. In the mission statement of the group, it was declared that the posters by the *Atelier Populaire*

36 Fraser, *1968: İsyancı Bir Öğrenci Kuşağı*, 156.

37 Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, 13.

38 Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 347.

39 Adam Gopnik and Kirk Varnedoe cited in Victoria H. F. Scott, "May 1968 and the Question of the Image," *Rutgers Art Review* 24 (2008): 94.

> are weapons in the service of the struggle… an inseparable part of it. Their rightful place is in the centers of conflict, that is to say, in the streets and on the walls of the factories.[40]

Figure 4.1 "Press: Do not Swallow." SOURCE: Scott (2010).

Most of the posters of the group exhibit criticism of power and its tools of governance, specifically tools of communication that they asserted led to false consciousness and normalization. Silk-screen posters depicted the press as a toxic medicine not to be swallowed and radio broadcasting

40 Mark Sinclair, "May 1968: A Graphic Uprising: Q&A with May 68 Curator, Johan Kugelberg," *Creative Review*, last modified April 29, 2008, https://www.creativereview.co.uk/may-1968-a-graphic-uprising/.

nothing but lies (see figures 4.1 and 4.2).[41] According to Johan Kugelberg, the curator of the exhibition "May 68: Street Posters from the Paris Rebellion" organized forty years after the event, "the media belonged to de Gaulle's government – this was the means of communication that the students and the strikers had that they could rest assured was untainted and undoctored."[42] In their questioning of the mass media, the *Atelier* set off on a journey of creating its own free, egalitarian means of communication, just as many students, intellectuals, and workers of the period all over the world strove to do.

Figure 4.2 "Attention: The Radio Lies." SOURCE: Scott (2010).

According to Arthur Marwick, one of the primary characteristics of the 1960s was "the formation of new subcultures and movements, generally

41 From the catalogue of posters in Victoria H. F. Scott, "Silk-Screens and Television Screens: Maoism and the Posters of May and June 1968 in Paris" (PhD Dissertation, Binghamton University-SUNY, 2010), 359, 398.

42 Sinclair, "May 1968: A Graphic Uprising."

critical of, or in opposition to, one or more aspects of established society."[43] Activists of the decade not only distrusted elected parliaments and agents but also disregarded the mainstream media by "behaving in passionate and unruly ways and looking for agency and meaning beyond the confines of the 'system'."[44] Within this framework, the protestors of the 1960s began to use and design alternative forms of communication, to criticize the established, teach the untaught, propagandize the movement, and create a liberated environment for discussion. To oppose the mass media, which was not only biased and censored but also characteristically "anti-mediatory and intransitive" – that is, "fabricat[ing] non-communication" based on its denial of "a reciprocal space of a speech and a response"[45] – the activists of the 1960s contrived new forms of communication that were to be reciprocal, instrumental, and civic. Jean Baudrillard, analyzing the role of the media in the social movements of May 1968, opines that

> the real revolutionary media during May were the walls and their speech, the silk-screen posters and the hand-painted notices, the street where speech began and was exchanged – everything that was an *immediate* inscription, given and returned, spoken and answered, mobile in the same space and time, reciprocal and antagonistic. The street is, in this sense, the alternative and subversive form of the mass media, since it isn't, like the latter, an objectified support for answerless messages, a transmission system at a distance. It is the frayed space of the symbolic exchange of speech – ephemeral, mortal: A speech that is not reflected on the Platonic screen of the media.[46]

43 Marwick, *The Sixties*, 17-19.

44 Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 343-344.

45 Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. Charles Levin. (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1981), 169.

46 Ibid., 176-177.

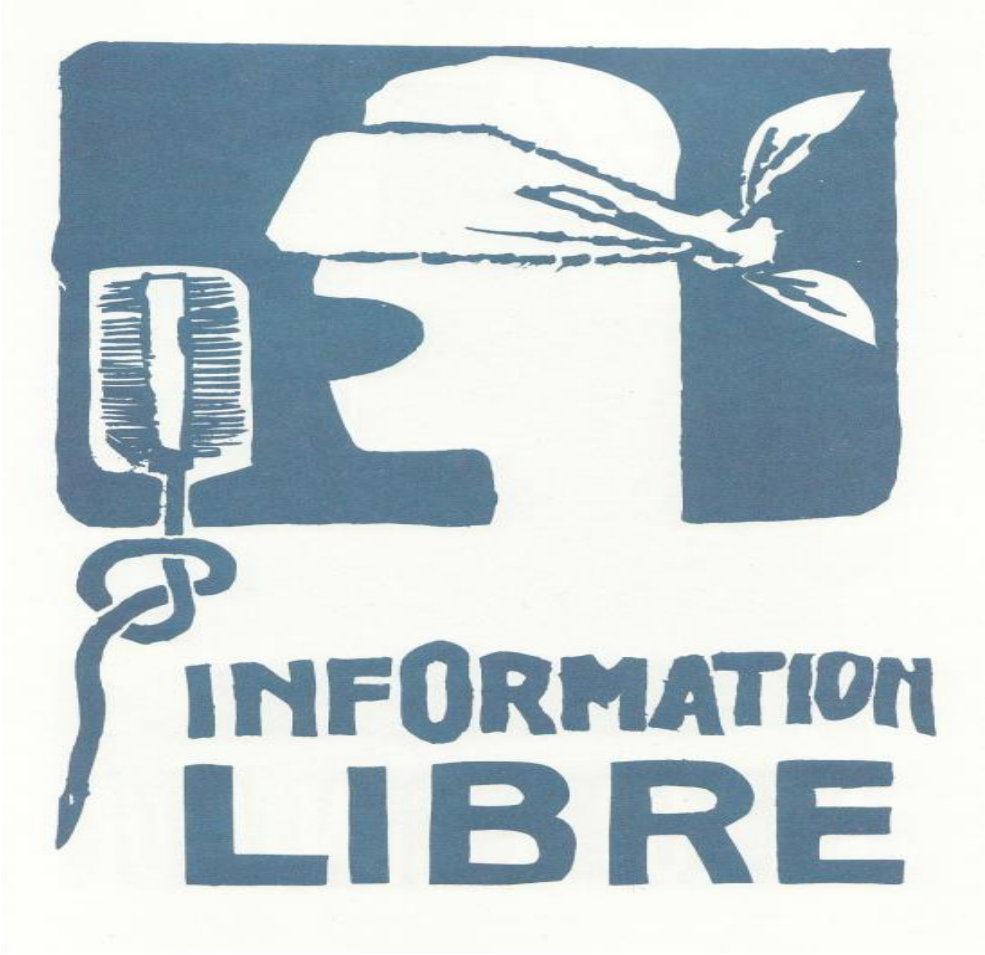

Figure 4.3 "Free Information." SOURCE: Scott (2010).

Therefore, while the mainstream media assured the compulsory silence of the audience, revolutionary forms of communication that sprouted and became widespread in the 1960s, such as graffiti and hand-made brochures, brought communication to people on the ground, turning people once silenced by the media into reporters and enabling mass discussion. As a result, the ruling elite's monopoly on communication instruments and on thinking was being shattered by the new newspapers, journals, bulletins, posters, and discussions of students, intellectuals, and workers whose target was to liberate information and pave the way for systemic

criticism (see figure 4.3).[47] These new communication networks, responsible for the spread of ideas and movements, were first experienced on a mass scale in the 1960s.[48]

The alternative networks of communication in the 1960s and 1970s, though they antagonized the mass media, were partly based on the utilization of the media's own instruments. Like the *Atelier Populaire*'s occupation of the printing studios of a hegemonic institution, the university, the protestors in student and worker movements seized or imitated the instruments of the mass media, such as printing and broadcasting. However, these tools were employed to create an opposing impact. While the mass media used them to suppress alternative possibilities, the protestors of the 1960s utilized these tools to deconstruct hegemonic discourse and convey the possibility of alternatives. In Luisa Passerini's words, "[t]he direct conflict of the [student] movement with the dominant system of communication and with the most important means of mass communication – press and television – did not stop 1968 from making different uses of them 'from the inside,' by deconstructing their dominant logic."[49] As Michel de Certeau states with respect to the events of May 1968 in Paris, protestors created their language by reversing or reordering the normal meaning of symbols.

> Instead of expressing what an entire nation knew, the [new speech] was aimed at opening perspectives that, until then, had been forbidden. It was a way out of a heretofore ineffable malaise and of a "repressed voice."[50]

Therefore, the language formed during the protests and among the protestors not only expressed "what a society *does not state*," but also verbalized "what it tacitly admits to be *impossible*."[51] Terms, concepts, and

47 Scott, "Silk-Screens and Television Screens," 307.

48 Toprak, "1968'i Yargılamak ya da 68 Kuşağına Mersiye:" 159.

49 Luisa Passerini, "'Utopia' and Desire," *Thesis Eleven* 68 (2002): 22.

50 de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech and Other Political Writings*, ed. Luce Giard, trans. Tom Conley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 7-8.

51 Ibid., 8.

modes of action that were normally confined to the realm of the impossible were pulled out of the pit of the utopic and rendered speakable, debatable, and arguably applicable.

Moreover, as discussed above, the newly-created means of radical communication moved beyond the boundaries of common media tools and created new channels of communication: silk-screen posters, graffitied slogans on walls, organized or spontaneous public discussions, demonstrations, propaganda tables, and photocopied bulletins and brochures. These were crafted not only in universities but also in factories. As Geoff Eley remarks, "[s]tudents made universities into sites of euphoric experimentation, dismantling hierarchies, democratizing administrative process, redesigning curricula."[52] In a similar vein, a considerable number of workers of the decade turned factories into sites of elated experimentation with respect to speech, publication, and art, shattering workplace hierarchies, democratizing factory administrations, and reformatting work schedules, at least for the duration of strikes or occupations.

Subsequently, in the 1960s and continuing into the 1970s, university campuses in many parts of the world were heated by long discussions, factory workshops abounded with cultural activities, and streets were adorned with handmade posters suggesting the possibility of a more liberated and less hierarchical communication generated by a wider public sphere of reading, writing, discussion, and movement. Students occupied their campuses and workers their factories; workers organized round tables and intellectuals dived into political discussions on the means to raise proletarian awareness. Within this framework, the glue that held people together in the movement and the hammer that demolished the walls among students, intellectuals, and workers was the "similarity of mental and emotional attitudes, forms of struggle, and collective practices (sit-ins, teach-ins, consciousness-raising groups, marches within the factories, occupations of public and private spaces)" that they

52 Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 347.

shared.[53] What emerged in the 1960s and 1970s also in Turkey was a common – using the word tentatively – *culture* of communication sparked by heightened politicization. This *culture* was created by people "who spoke in their own name."[54] Therefore, in the 1960s and 1970s, the "politicization," shared by different socioeconomic groups, induced and was induced by "[t]he generalized unveiling of public opinion."[55]

In conclusion, the increasing politicization of students, workers, and intellectuals in the 1960s and 1970s in most of the world accelerated political movement and speech in every respect, which in turn triggered a communication boom – a historical possibility currently invisible. What emerged in the 1960s and often continued in the 1970s on campuses, in factories, and on the streets was "a new system, characterized by decentralization, interactivity, the reshuffling of hierarchies and genres and the fragmentation of audiences."[56] Students of the 1960s and 1970s, as exemplified by the participants in the *Atelier Populaire*, founded "popular universities" based on a public conference system that eliminated classical professor-student relationships as well as on study and discussion groups that offered nonhierarchical learning techniques.[57] The workers of the 1960s and 1970s, as exemplified by striking French workers, founded self-managed factories based on egalitarian working relations and participatory democracy, which were temporary but influential experiments. The members of these campus and in factory communities were connected by unorthodox means of affiliation – that is, a political movement. An "outbreak of repressed vital energies," embodied in a multidirectional and egalitarian "communicative praxis," "gave birth to an original form of collective behavior causing social, political, and cultural

53 Passerini, "'Utopia' and Desire," 12.

54 de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech*, 11.

55 Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, trans. Peter Collier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 187.

56 Passerini, "'Utopia' and Desire," 22.

57 Necmi Sönmez, "Duvarların, Sanatın Dili (1968-2008): Güneş Karabuda'nın Objektifinden 1968'lerin Dünyasına Bakış," in *Duvarların Dili: 40. Yılında Paris-Mayıs 68 – Güneş Karabuda Fotoğrafları*, eds. Korkut Erdur and Begüm Kovulmaz (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), 52.

change."[58] With the introduction of the possibility of a liberated, nonhierarchical type of communication, the evolution of a new type of community in the political havens of classrooms and factories started. In the words of Passerini, in her article on utopia and 1968,

> the element of a "reinvented human community" is a central feature of 1968. It is in the field of community and communication that the 'utopian' inspiration of 1968 can be found in its clearest form.[59]

This chapter proceeds to evaluate Turkey's experience of the communication boom in the 1960s and 1970s by delving into the diversifying, proliferating forms of communication on university campuses of Turkey in search for utopian possibilities of free speech that have not evaded the nets of "active forgetting."

4.1.1 *The Possibility of Free Communication in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey: Liberated Speech on University Campuses*

University campuses in Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s, as in many other countries, were among the most prominent centers of politicization of the period. As discussed above, politicization elicited an extensive communication boom that challenged the mainstream media and the classical notion of the right to speak.

As remarked in the previous chapter, in terms of political mobility, one can draw a line between pre-1960 student movements and those of the later 1960s. Yet from a legal point of view, it is safe to assert that the 1960s in Turkey started with the enactment of the Constitution of 1961, which guaranteed the freedom of expression with several legal measures. The twentieth article of the constitution guaranteed the freedom of thought, while articles nineteen to twenty-nine comprehensively assured

58 Gianni Statera, *Death of a Utopia: The Development and Decline of Student Movement in Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), v.

59 Passerini, "'Utopia' and Desire," 22.

the freedom of religion, art and science, the press, publication, communication, congregation, demonstration, and association.[60] Hence, the Constitution of 1961 and its supporting statutes set the legal basis for the freedom of expression in Turkey.

From a statutory point of view, one result of this legal development was a considerable drop in the number of lawsuits against the press. While the annual average of press cases had been as high as sixty between 1950 and 1960, it was reduced to thirty-four from 1961 to 1974.[61] The legal climate of relative freedom created a vibrant publishing environment, although the legal situation cannot be counted as the sole reason for the publication boom.

Parallel with the rest of the world, a communication boom characterized the sociopolitical and intellectual atmosphere of Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s. Every political party, union, association, political organization, and student union had their own periodicals, bulletins, and brochures. Orhan Koloğlu claims that it was periodicals that guided and shaped the radicalism of students and workers in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey.[62] Every discussion, demonstration, occupation, strike, or sit-in was an opportunity to further discuss, criticize, or publish, as was the case for university occupations and boycotts in June 1968. It was a double-sided process in which sociopolitical rights and liberties triggered the communication boom and vice versa. In other words, the freedom of expression and rise in publication was both a cause and result of heightened politicization. Within the political movement, new types of struggle emerged that, in turn, regenerated the political movement. In her book about the Paris Commune of 1871, Kristin Ross identifies the revolutionary clubs and reunions around Paris that generated the idea of a commune before the commune through the heated discussions of citizens

60 Article 20, "1961 Anayasası," Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa61.htm.

61 Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi* (Istanbul: Pozitif Yayınları, 2006), 133. Koloğlu reported that the period from 1975 to 1980 witnessed a tremendous rise in the number of lawsuits, skyrocketing to an annual average of 311. Ibid.

62 Ibid., 140.

from various socioeconomic backgrounds as the "buzzing hives" of the period.[63] The political atmosphere of the last years of the 1860s triggered cooperation and association among the clubs and a proliferation of speech, by which the seeds of the Commune were planted.[64] Borrowing from Ross, political organizations and the forums and publications wherein they seized their right to speech, can be characterized as the "buzzing hives" of Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s.

While student dissent in Turkey did not start in 1968, a point noted in the previous chapter, 1968 still represents an important year for student uprising. In June 1968, students who were demanding their own involvement in university decision-making processes, the betterment of educational facilities, and the liberation of intellectual environments occupied almost all the faculties in Istanbul and Ankara. The complaints that surged at the universities were against a "defective system and obsolete education;" educational reform was demanded.[65] The wave of occupations commenced in Ankara and quickly spreading to Istanbul. At İÜ, the student uprising started with a boycott of exams in the Faculty of Law and led to the occupation of nearly every faculty at the university.[66] The first faculty occupations and boycotts spread to other faculties and colleges. By June 19, 1968, four faculties in Ankara, seventeen faculties and vocational colleges in Istanbul, and all faculties of İTÜ were occupied by students; classes and exams were boycotted in twelve faculties and colleges in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Erzurum, and Eskişehir without an accompanying occupation.[67]

The result was an environment of debate bedecked by a plethora of declarations, leaflets, posters, and books. Trade unions, political organizations, and student associations began to discuss the social and political environment at universities along with the political and academic elite.

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63 Ross, *Communal Luxury*, 36.

64 Ibid., 21, 36.

65 "Bozuk Düzene, Köhne Eğitime Karşı İşgal," *Türk Solu* 31 (June 18, 1968): 1.

66 Toprak, "1968-1969 İstanbul Üniversitesi Boykot ve İşgalleri," *Toplumsal Tarih* 293, "İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük: 50 Yıl Sonra 1968" (May 2018): 73.

67 "Yüksek Öğrenim Kurumlarında Son Durum," *Milliyet*, June 19, 1968, 1.

Leftist political organizations and associations supported university activists by issuing declarations.[68] Union leaders started to issue statements about the boycotts at the universities.[69] The TÖS published a notice stating the necessity of radical change to the educational system which would enable the equality of opportunity in education.[70]

Triggered by their political action, university students engaged in a vivid environment of discussion and production, in which numerous fervent discussions and declarations were accompanied by an increasing publication of periodicals and books. At İÜ, in June 1968, politically active students from various faculties formed an interfaculty occupation committee, which, after heated debate, created a draft of reforms to be submitted to the university senate. They demanded that university regulations be altered to remove the distinction between associate professors and professors, to maintain the autonomy of research assistants, to give students the right to vote in university decision-making process including the election of the president, to organize public conferences to create a lively relationship between the people and the university, to increase the number of grants, dormitories, and book allowances to create equal opportunity, to nationalize private schools, and to abolish antidemocratic disciplinary regulations.[71] The draft was presented to the university senate (*üniversite senatosu*); moreover, the senate agreed to listen to the students who had penned the reforms in faculty commissions.[72]

To make the reform draft known to the public, the occupying students at İÜ published a forty-eight page book opposing existing social conditions at the universities, targeting the university law in effect.[73] In an atmosphere, where reading was becoming more and more popular, it was

68 "Dev Güç Öğrencileri Destekliyor," "Demokratik Devrim Derneği Öğrencileri Desteklemeye Çağırıyor," *Türk Solu* 31 (June 18, 1968): 2.

69 "Boykot Hakkında Sendika Liderleri Ne Diyor?" *Türk Solu* 31 (June 18, 1968): 2-3.

70 "TÖS Düzenin Değişmesini Savunuyor," *Türk Solu* 32 (June 25, 1968): 2.

71 "Istanbul'da Boykotçular Reform Tasarısını Hazırladı," *Milliyet*, June 18, 1968, 1.

72 Toprak, "1968-1969 İstanbul Üniversitesi Boykot ve İşgalleri," 75.

73 "İşgalci Öğrenciler Kitap Yayınladı," *Türk Solu* 32 (June 25, 1968): 2.

expected that students would join the ranks of writers.[74] The book was prepared by the occupation committees of the university based on problems and suggestions declared in all faculties. Educational reforms in the book ranged from school fees to the examination system, from the opening of corridors to students to the salaries of cleaning personnel.[75] After being published, students managed to have the book published serially in the popular newspaper *Milliyet*, which makes clear that the students had achieved an unprecedented opportunity to speak and contribute to public opinion.

Thus, applying de Certeau's words to the Turkish context, they "began to speak. It seemed as if it were for the first time. From everywhere emerged the treasures, either aslumber or tacit, or forever unspoken experiences."[76] Similar to Berkeley in 1964, students of Turkish universities in June 1968 engaged in collective and concurrent sit-ins, occupations, boycotts, and protests that translated into a lively atmosphere of translocal debate, inter-class action, and literary and nonliterary intellectual production. The wave of politicization that was spontaneously created by occupations and boycotts led to nonhierarchical and egalitarian methods of self-governance within student organizations.[77]

The student movement in 1968 in Turkey was productive, generating numerous debates and publications, as aforementioned. In a "poetic declaration" from İÜ's Faculty of Pharmacy (Eczacılık Fakültesi) issued to communicate their determination to continue the boycott, students used verse to declare: "Brothers and sisters, we are university students, children of the commons / From the homeland's four corners / On a path to return to our people, to work only for them / They denied us books and

74 Osman Saffet Arolat, "Böyle Bir Gençlik Büyük Mutluluk! Hep Sokaklardaydık," in Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir*, 63.

75 Ibid., pp. 64-65. The book was published as İstanbul Üniversitesi İşgal Komiteleri Konseyi, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Genel Reform Tasarısı ve Fakültelere Özgü İstekler* (Istanbul: Ülke Matbaası, 1968), cited in Toprak, "1968-1969 İstanbul Üniversitesi Boykot ve İşgalleri," 74.

76 de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech*, 12.

77 Alper, *Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere*, 441.

jobs despite our zeal to work and earn… / No! I am right and powerful, and can see the present to foresee the future / I will claim my rights and wrench them away from Demirel if he continues his unrighteous seizure."[78] The university students of 1968 in Turkey expressed their socio-political views through books, articles, and proclamations, and also turned to other uses of language such as graffiti, slogans, and poetry. The movement went hand in hand with speechmaking and writing; like the movement in the West, the movement of the period in Turkey was both "the cobblestone and the poem."[79] In 1968, "[p]oetry was an everyday affair,"[80] for both Western political activists and their Turkish counterparts.

On June 17, 1968, after occupying of the faculty building, the students of AÜ's Faculty of Law removed almost all the lecterns from the building, "until the lecterns find their true lecturers" (see figure 4.4)[81] All in all, boycotts and occupations as techniques of political activism gave birth to an effusive, dynamic public sphere comprised of discussion, communication, and literary or nonliterary production. These took place not only within political councils and organizations but also outside them. The youth of the universities protested against society's privileged speechmakers and claimed their "capture of speech,"[82] de Certeau's term for the French protests of 1968. By way of refusal and by building barricades of lecterns, they claimed possession of the university like their French counterparts claimed the possession of the streets by building barricades of cobblestones.

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78 "Kardeşlerimiz bizler Üniversite öğrencileri halk çocukları / Her birimiz bir köşesinden geldik vatanın / Gene halkımıza dönmek yalnız ona çalışmak azmiyle geldik / Kitap vermediler, çalışıp kazanalım dedik iş vermediler… / Hayır! Güçlüyüm, haklıyım, görüyorum ben yarını bugünden; / Ben hakkımı istiyorum, vermese de alacağım Demirel'den," "Şiirli Bildiri," *Türk Solu* 32 (June 25, 1968): 2.

79 de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech*, 29.

80 Blanchot, *The Unavowable Community*, 30.

81 "Bu kürsüler hakikî sahiplerini bulana kadar dışarıda tutulacaktır," "Ankara'da Hukukta Kürsüler Dışarıya Çıkarıldı," *Milliyet*, June 18, 1968, 1.

82 de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech*, 12.

Figure 4.4 Lecterns in front of the Faculty of Law of AÜ. SOURCE: *Milliyet* (18 June 1968).

Approximately one month before the "capture" of the lecterns at AÜ, on May 20, 1968, the prominent French philosopher, literary critique, novelist, and playwright Jean-Paul Sartre conducted an interview with student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit.[83] The roles reversed as socially- and intellectually-proven speechmakers made room for newcomers. It was an ephemeral but intense slice of time in which "professors [were] reduced

83 "Jean-Paul Sartre Interviews Daniel Cohn-Bendit," Verso, last modified May 16, 2018, https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3819-jean-paul-sartre-interviews-daniel-cohn-bendit.

to listening to students"[84] and students questioned the monopoly authorities had over speech.

Borrowing de Certeau's words, the students of AÜ in June 1968 "disenchanted a social organization by revealing the fragility in the space where force was supposed to reign, and by making possible a power at the very site where the feeling of powerlessness held sway."[85] The reigning position of professors as lecture-givers was shattered by students who were disenchanted by the heretofore unquestioned intellectual superiority of the university. They liberated the lecterns and claimed their own right to speak, from which new and unexpected "places of speech"[86] sprang.

The result was a productive environment of communication that was determined "to question authority when authority was questionable,"[87] also in Turkey. Between 1968 and 1970, some students at ODTÜ in Ankara decided to defy the dominant media by creating their own. In addition to adopting written and verbal forms of communication such as periodicals, bulletins, and brochures, the students of the Faculty of Architecture (Mimarlık Fakültesi) started to fabricate posters with newly discovered techniques. The posters of ODTÜ Revolutionary Atelier of Posters (ODTÜ Devrimci Afiş Atölyesi) were cooperatively, spontaneously, and mostly anonymously produced.[88] By adopting and transforming poster design as an instrument of communication, the students of ODTÜ expanded their "places of speech" to the walls of the campus and the streets. On one hand, they took their right to speak by creating alternatives to mass media and by challenging the monopoly of professional poster design.[89] On the other, their production went beyond the rules of hegemonic media in terms of both technique and scope.

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84 Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, 183.

85 Ibid., 7.

86 Ibid, 8.

87 Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties*, 170.

88 Aysan, *'68 Afişleri*, 9.

89 Ibid.

Their silk-screen posters were produced to address current political causes with a "sense of urgency" and were hung on the walls throughout the city of Ankara.[90] Therefore, the geography of communication for activist students went beyond campus boundaries and designated demonstration areas, and the students found a new, unmediated, purpose-oriented way of communicating with the city: "the revolution was intertwined with communication."[91] Poster-making as a radical, alternative form of communication was not limited to the city of Ankara. The artists of ODTÜ Revolutionary Atelier organized a Turkey tour, traveling to ten to fifteen cities to share their new techniques expressing and conveying ideas.[92] The technique of poster-making was adopted by activists in many cities of Turkey as a new means of communication, a new form of struggle.

As a result, students who were cast into the social role of listener of lectures began to give their own lectures on the sidewalks and street walls. Voices once sidelined were now shouting collectively, expressing radical ideas that were sometimes deemed socially impossible. Most of the posters contained radical expressions such as "Universities Are Our Battlefields," "We Will Repel the Reactionaries, Servants of Imperialism," "People Will Lead Science," "We Will Demolish American Imperialism, the Comprador Bourgeoisie, the Landowner System," and "We Will Attain Socialism."[93] In a memorial to student activist Taylan Özgür, killed in 1969 by a member of the security forces, the Atelier brought out a tricolored poster with the inscription stating "We Will Take down Imperialism" under Taylan Özgür's portrait (see figure 4.5).[94] This was the language of the radical.

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90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.,14.

93 "Üniversiteler de Mücadele Alanımızdır," "Gericileri Emperyalist Uşaklarını Kovacağız," "Bilimi Halkın Emrine Vereceğiz," "Amerikan Emperyalizmini İşbirlikçi Burjuvaziyi Toprak Ağalığını Yıkacağız," "Sosyalizme Varacağız," ibid., 101-113.

94 Ibid., 120-121.

Figure 4.5 "We Will Take Down Imperialism." SOURCE: Aysan (2008).

In one of the posters of ODTÜ Revolutionary Atelier, above a frequently used image of a young man shouting slogans with his left fist raised, was written "Democratic University," expressing the need for educational reform (see figure 4.6).[95] Concordantly, in another poster, a silk-screened image of a student group at a public demonstration is depicted as shouting the slogan: "We Will Join the University Administration" (see figure

95 Ibid., 90.

4.7).[96] In his interview by Sartre, Cohn-Bendit expressed that the aim of the students was "to pursue successfully a 'parallel education' which will be technical and ideological," and that they had to "launch a university… on a completely new basis, even if it only lasts a few weeks," in which democracy and free speech would prevail.[97] This was the case at ODTÜ.

Figure 4.6 "The Democratic University." SOURCE: Aysan (2008).

96 Ibid., 102.

97 "Jean-Paul Sartre Interviews Daniel Cohn-Bendit."

Figure 4.7 "We Will Join the University Administration." SOURCE: Aysan (2008).

Like their counterparts in Paris in May 1968, students in Turkey struggled in the 1960s to democratize the academy and to found "popular universities" in which inequalities and hierarchies would be toppled and speech would be liberated. The students of the decade employed the term democracy in their political expressions but altered and widened its meaning to transcend socially-sufficient political elections and to incorporate an understanding of egalitarian self-government. Thus, a socially-accepted symbol was being uttered radically. In this regard, activists of the

period in Turkey used the symbols of society but modified and radicalized their meaning through "communicative praxis." Aside from democratizing the university, democratizing speech was a prominent goal that is further elaborated in the next subchapter.

As exemplified, Turkey in the 1960s witnessed an explosion of free speech on university campuses. This explosion, as well as the heightening politicization, faltered in the face of the military intervention of March 12, 1971. The military coup amounted to oppression and imprisonment for many leftist militants and sympathizers, which only came to an end with the general amnesty of 1974 when thousands of leftist prisoners were released.[98] The coup d'état of March 12 was indeed harsh and oppressive. Therefore, as discussed in the previous chapter, many studies and memories pertaining to the 1960s and 1970s perceive the coup of 1971 as a historical break, creating almost a natural fault line, that definitively separates the two decades. However, books, periodicals, brochures, posters, graffiti, and forums tell a different story.

The table below shows the number of books published in Turkey in the 1970s. While the number of published books was 6,099 in 1966, it rose to 6,913 in 1972 (see table 4.1).[99] Although the military intervention of 1971 sought to block communication channels, as indicated in chapter 2, there was a substantial increase in the number of published books after 1971. However, the table shows a sharp decrease in their number in the final years of the decade. The end of the 1970s in Turkey was a period of escalating political and ethnic tensions. Along with a governmental and economic crisis, there was a wave of political strife and murders.[100] Moreover, from 1978 to 1980, massacres targeting Alevis and leftists in Central Anatolia, specifically in Malatya, Sivas, Maraş, and Çorum, took place.[101]

98 Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 257-258.

99 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın*, 236, 244.

100 Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 295-301.

101 For further information on these massacres, see Mehmet Ertan, "Alevism in Politics: Possibilities and Limits of Alevi Identity Politics" (PhD Dissertation, Boğaziçi University, 2016), 141-151.

As violence and oppression increased, the number of books being published decreased. In 1980, the number fell to 4,318.[102] Moreover, a report of the Writers' Trade Union of Turkey (Türkiye Yazarlar Sendikası, or TYS) suggests that the government was eager to ban books in the second half of the 1970s. A decree of the Ministry of National Education, dated October 16, 1975, was sent to all secondary schools in the country listing prohibited books for students. The list included books by writers such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Charles Dickens, Albert Camus, Çetin Altan, Fakir Baykurt, Orhan Kemal, Rıfat Ilgaz, Yaşar Kemal, Mahmut Makal, Sabahattin Ali, Muzaffer İzgü, Aziz Nesin, and Kemal Tahir.[103] Therefore, in terms of publishing, the military intervention of 1971 was not a historical break; the coup of 1980 and the process leading up to it was.

Table 4.1 Number of Published Books in the 1970s.

Year	Number of Books
1970	5854
1971	6541
1972	6913
1973	7479
1974	6883
1975	6645
1976	6320
1977	6830
1978	5033
1979	5071
Total	

SOURCE Kabacalı (2000), 244.

The political action and correlated heightening in communication continued throughout the 1970s among students. Especially boycotts and forums continued to be prominent in the era. For instance, in 1975, the

102 *Statistical Indicators*, 84.

103 "Okullarda Kitap Düşmanlığı," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği Istanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 10 (January 27, 1976), 6.

youth branch of the TKP organized a forum at İTÜ to introduce themselves to new students and address university's problems.[104] That same year, students of the Ortaköy Training Institute (Ortaköy Eğitim Enstitüsü) joined an ongoing wave of boycotts by students of teachers' training colleges protesting a new government policy that obstructed their right to become teachers.[105] In another example, in 1978, students enrolled in distance education in Izmir, Samsun, Bursa, Diyarbakır, and other cities started an open-ended boycott until their demands for language laboratories, the right to additional final exams, internship opportunities, and guaranteed teaching positions after their graduation were fulfilled. They also demanded the reorganization of the outdated, reactionary disciplinary code of the second Nationalist Front government[106] and the dismissal of administrators with antidemocratic attitudes. The boycott was the product of an extensive meeting of twelve institutions of distance education in 1977 in Ankara and a subsequent forum. After the discussions, students from various cities concluded that individual actions could not succeed; success would only be achieved through joint action.[107]

Students of Turkey who exercised their right to speech in the 1960s continued to hold onto it throughout the 1970s. However, the pursuit of free speech became more difficult in the face of increasing rightist violence and government oppression. The forum at İTÜ in 1975 was aborted by the intervention of rightist students.[108] On November 25, 1975, students of the Atatürk Training Institute (Atatürk Eğitim Enstitüsü) started

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104 "Türkiye Gençliğinden Haberler," *İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik* 1 (November 17, 1975), 2.

105 "Eğitim Enstitülerinde ve Öğretmen Liselerinde Boykotlar Genişliyor," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği Istanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 8 (November 28, 1975), 4.

106 The rightwing coalition government comprised of the Justice Party (Adalet Partisi, or AP), National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi, or MSP), and Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, or MHP), which was in power between July and December 1977, Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 275.

107 "Boykottaki Yay-Kur Öğrencileriyle Omuz Omuza," *Genç Öncü* 1 (June 1, 1978): 12-13.

108 "Türkiye Gençliğinden Haberler," *İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik* 1 (November 17, 1975): 2.

a boycott of classes against policies of the first Nationalist Front government[109] which included establishing an on-campus police station.[110] During the boycott, there were several assaults by the rightist students.[111] Nevertheless, the communication boom continued to blossom.

Figure 4.8 ODTÜ-MARX, designed by Mehmet Toker, 1975. SOURCE: Aysan (2013).

In 1974, at ODTÜ, silk-screened posters again started to burgeon. The reappearance of the posters coincided with the organization of an extensive boycott of classes at the university. The ODTÜ Resistance Atelier of Posters (ODTÜ Direniş Afiş Atölyesi) was composed of a posters committee that designed and mass-produced political posters and adorned them

109 The rightwing coalition government of the AP, MSP, MHP, and Republican Reliance Party (*Cumhuriyetçi Güven Partisi*), which was in power between March 1975 and June 1977, Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 274.

110 "Atatürk Eğitim Enstitüsünde Boykot," *İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik* 3 (December 20, 1975): 2.

111 "Eğitim Enstitüleri Faşist Yuvalar Haline Getirilmek İsteniyor," *Sosyalist Gençlik* 12 (November 26, 1975): 6.

with the slogans of the Resistance Committee and the ODTÜ Student Union.[112] One of the first designs of the atelier combined the logo of ODTÜ and a portrait of Karl Marx, which mirrored the political stance of the students (see figure 4.8).[113]

Figure 4.9 "The Democratic University," designed by Selçuk Caner, 1975. SOURCE: Aysan (2013).

112 Aysan, *Afişe Çıkmak*, 222-224.
113 Ibid., 227.

In another poster, a bicolor image of a student group demanding a "Democratic University" was silk-screened (see figure 4.9).[114] The political ideal of the 1960s to democratize first the university and then society continued in the 1970s. Correspondingly, popular slogans echoed counterparts from the previous decade: "Independent Turkey," "University Youth in Solidarity with Working People," "Fighting for an Autonomous and Democratic University," or "Fascism Cannot Break Our Righteous Resistance."[115] By visualizing their political stances and ideals and spreading their slogans on the walls of the cities, students established a communicative connection between their campuses and the streets in the 1970s, as they had done in the 1960s.

To sum up, in this period, students collectively expressed themselves through publication and speech. However, it was not only students, who seized speech in the 1960s and 1970s. In addition to the written and spoken production of workers, peasants, and women that is analyzed in the following sections of this chapter, cultural and ethnic identities were also expressed in the 1960s and 1970s. Turkey had no counterpart to the civil rights movement that had occurred in the United States,[116] nor did cultural discrimination become a commonly-discussed issue. Still, the heightened political atmosphere of the period gave cultural identities, which were mostly unexpressed before then, an opportunity to enter the public sphere through publication. For instance, there had been periodicals before the 1960s that represented Kurdish identity; but periodicals such as *Dicle-Fırat* (1962-1963), *Deng* (1963), *Reya Rast*, *Roja Newe*, and *Yeni Akış* (1966) indicated both a quantitative increase in publication and a consistent increase of the interest in the Kurdish or Eastern question.[117]

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114 Ibid., 231.

115 "Bağımsız Türkiye," "Üniversite Gençliği Sömürücülere Karşı Emekçi Halkın Yanındadır," "Özerk ve Demokratik Üniversite Yolunda İleri," "Faşizm Haklı Direnişimizi Kıramıyacak," ibid., 228-232.

116 For further information on the African-American Civil Rights Movement see William L. Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

117 Cengiz Güneş, *Türkiye'de Kürt Ulusal Hareketi: Direnişin Söylemi*, trans. Eflâ-Barış Yıldırım (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2013), 103.

While Kurdish publications experienced a quantitative rise in the 1960s, Alevi publications were taking their first steps. The unexpressed or repressed religious identity of Alevism gained public visibility first in the pages of the periodical *Cem*. In its first issue, dated July 1966, the editorial board stated that the ultimate goal of the periodical was to give a voice to the Alevi population: "The *Cem* periodical will be remedy for grievances suffered by millions of Alevi Turks, who have been ill-treated, repressed, and denigrated in Turkey of the twentieth century… You will hear your essence, your word in *Cem*; you will see yourself."[118] The periodical included articles on Alevism, its historical background, and the socioeconomic and political problems of Alevis, on one hand, and analyses of current political issues, on the other. After the foundation of the Unity Party of Turkey (Türkiye Birlik Partisi) in September 1966 – the first political party in Turkey to represent the Alevi identity – the periodical reported about the party in detail.[119] As university students seized instruments of communication, Kurds and Alevis captured their voice through periodicals in the highly-politicized Turkey of the 1960s.

This subchapter has manifested that continuously from the 1960s through the 1970s, "a new common language" emerged on the walls, in the newspapers, and during public conferences that was hitherto unknown. Students struggled to create means of self-governance in occupied faculties, making the decade an immense laboratory of democracy.[120] It amounted to not only the liberation of "repressed voice" but also a collective experience of it.

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118 "Cem, yirminci asır Türkiye'sinde üvey evlât gibi kenara atılmış, bir yana itilmiş, türlü iftiralara uğratılmış milyonlarca Alevi Türk'ün derdlerine derman olacaktır… (CEM)de (özünü sözünü) duyacak, (CEM)de kendini göreceksin," *Cem* 1 (July 1966): 1.

119 "Birlik Partisi Gelişiyor," *Cem* 8 (December 15, 1966): 15-19; "Birlik Partisi Hızla Gelişiyor," *Cem* 9 (January 1, 1967): 17-19; "Berkman Konuştu," *Cem* 10 (January 15, 1967): 16-19; "B.P.'sinde Bir Toplantı," *Cem* 11 (February 1, 1967): 17-23,;"B. Partisi Harekete Geçti," *Cem* 12 (February 15, 1967): 18-24; "Birlik Partisi Çalışmaları," *Cem* 13 (March 1, 1967): 17; "Birlik Partisi'nde Fırtına," *Cem* 14 (April 15, 1967): 12-18; "B.P. Teşkilatı Genişliyor," *Cem* 15 (May 15, 1967): 17-19.

120 Aydın Demirer, ed., *Gerçekçi Olun, İmkansızı İsteyin: '68 Fransa* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1987), 10.

Furthermore, again applying de Certeau's words to the Turkish context, new techniques and understandings of communication went beyond those employing them to encompass a wider public as a "symbolic weapon" that was "the converse of a strongly anchored ideological power; it threaten[ed] by demystifying the 'aura' with which that power [was] created."[121] By elucidating the precarious origins of the dominant power's monopoly over decision-making, thinking, and speaking, the "symbolic weapon" of speech affected more people than those who used it. It was now clear that everyone had the right to think, discuss, write, and bring about change regardless of their expertise, experience, or authority. Similar to the act of freeing the lecterns from their exploiters and thereby defying the monopolistic authority of privileged professors, students of the period collectively organized and attended open forums of discussion, challenging the dominant center's theretofore anticompetitive right to speech.

All in all, in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, a "communicative praxis" emerged among student activists that affected the wider public during the period, as "symbolic weapon" challenging the mandate of authorities. Leftist activists of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey highly believed that "[o]ut of revolution would emerge a new revolutionary society and culture."[122] A test of the historical success and the hypothesized causes and effects could suggest this belief was wrong or even impossible through the lenses of a historical narrative that has run "to liquidate… erase, or render obscure the history of" the period in the West,[123] as well as in Turkey since the 1980s. But it is clear that a perhaps ephemeral but socially-influential possibility of liberated, nonhierarchical communication appeared in the period around campuses.

Further research reveals that the newly emergent communicative praxis not only incorporated student activists but also Kurds, Alevis, women, peasants, and workers. In a period of heightened politicization

121 de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech*, 7.

122 Arif Dirlik, "The Third World in 1968," in *1968, The World Transformed*, eds. Carole Fink, Philip Gassert and Detlef Junker. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 305.

123 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 3.

and widening communication, Kurds and Alevis expressed their identities in the 1960s and 1970s by means of periodicals. Besides them, women, workers, and peasants also engaged in practices of reading and writing, as is elaborated below. However, as Jameson puts it, "the conquest of speech" does not necessarily indicate the end of socioeconomic inequality and exploitation. Additionally, "to articulate new demands, in your own voice, is not necessarily to satisfy them, and to speak is not necessarily to achieve Hegelian recognition from the Other,"[124] a phenomenon exemplified by the cases of Kurds, Alevis, women, and workers – the *others* of the period of free speech and political heightening of the 1960s and 1970s.

§ 4.2 Democratizing Speech: The Possibility of Egalitarian Communication

In the 1960s and 1970s, the communication boom in many parts of the world was manifest by a rising eagerness to read and write outside of the mainstream. In May and June 1968, the sale of books in Paris increased by 40%.[125] Correspondingly, "the May uprising fired up the press and written comment proliferated,"[126] which engendered an environment for cheap, mass-circulated written materials. According to Ben Mercer, in his analysis of the "paperback revolution" of 1968 in Western Europe, the politicization of students in the 1960s "transformed reading practices" of the period,[127] reinforcing the analysis made in the previous subchapter. The massification and politicization of universities urged a debate culture and rejected the superiority of professorial lectures at the same time. Because "the professorial lecture and the fetishized book inculcated an ethos of passivity" and a ossification of the social hierarchy between the teacher and the taught, the intellectual and the unsophisticated, students

124 Jameson, "Periodizing the 60s," 184.
125 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 3.
126 Scott, "May 1968 and the Question of the Image," 87.
127 Mercer, "The Paperback Revolution," 614.

sought to shatter these hierarchies and their institutionalized passivity by democratizing and producing knowledge through desacralizing the book and thus the authority of the intellectual.[128] The capture of lecterns went hand in hand with the proliferation of the book.

This was an ephemeral crisis of hierarchies, specifically at universities where privileged positions determined by codes of intellectual competence tumbled. Pierre Bourdieu, in his work, *Homo Academicus*, elaborates on the "crisis" in the French academic world caused by the events in May 1968, and describes the crisis as the emergence of a collective identity based on "common political problematic," which to an extent undermined academic mechanism of status and competence.[129]

> Through its proliferation of specifically political events, demonstrations, assemblies, meetings, etc., where political declarations, motions, petitions, alliances, manifestos, programmes, etc., are elaborated and professed publicly and collectively, the crisis leads to the constitution of a common political problematic, of a space of formal political attitudes, that is attitudes explicitly formulated and overtly associated with socially situated agents and groups, unions, parties, movements, associations, etc.[130]

Therefore, this "politicization" throughout the 1960s urged people "who communed in the 'spirit of May'" to band together under the umbrella of political groups and thinking. This "[brought] together people clearly separated by former criteria," for instance, in Bourdieu's account, "leading academics" with "ordinary professors" and lecturers with students.[131] As explicated by Geoff Eley, the social movements of the 1960s opened and identified new spaces of politics,[132] one of which was the university campus. The opening up of new political fields thus ingenerated new relationships among formerly distanced social groups, which in turn

128 Ibid., 615, 629-630.
129 Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, 187-188.
130 Ibid., 187.
131 Ibid., 188.
132 Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 363-364.

elicited the opening up of new communication fields and new intellectual spaces led by nonintellectuals. In this context, a desire for cultural democratization emerged that was expressed by the student activists of the decade as the utopia of a culturally-egalitarian society in which nobody possessed privileged speech or cultural production and everybody had the right and means to express themselves. University campuses, where the students took possession of the lecterns and "captured the speech," were the environments for these experiments.

Did the cultural democratization project succeeded in incorporating all segments of society and creating "books for all"[133] and speech for all? Much research indicates that outside the political niches of university campuses and occupied factory floors, few changes realized by the cultural democratization project could be encountered.

> Just as the mass university devalued the aura of the professor, the paperback market undermined the intellectual elite… [Yet] if by democratization, advocates of mass culture believed paperbacks opened a path to those who did not read or to workers excluded from high culture, they were wrong. West German surveys indicated that a bare 3% of paperbacks were sold to workers, while French commentators glumly noted that non-readers remained a majority.[134]

However, neither the project of cultural democratization nor the communication boom was an illusion, as exemplified by the statistics on Turkish publishing and library usage. The possibility of various segments of the population such as students and workers coming into contact with each other brought about a shared mentality that was transformed into shared forms of political action and methods of communication. Therefore, although the hierarchies of the system remained intact and unopposed, for the socioeconomically, politically, and intellectually unprivileged, such as

133 Mercer, "The Paperback Revolution," 629.

134 Ibid., 623-624.

women or workers, the period was characterized by increasing politicization and the subsequent formation of new social bonds and communicative networks. This subchapter analyzes examples of the democratization of speech and its failures in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, not only in universities and student organizations but also in the pages of workers' periodicals and in the words of women.

4.2.1 *The Democratization of Communication in Politicized Spaces in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey*

In one of his articles published in the periodical *Türk Solu*, Mehmet M. Mimoğlu[135] asserted that the time when only a lucky minority with the means to learn a foreign language could reach Marxist literature had passed; the new, young generation in Turkey was reading Marxist books recently translated into Turkish.[136] Indeed, like in Paris, the period "witnessed a number of attempts to create small publishers whose books were socialist in content, cost, and mode of production, an ongoing rebuke to the commodification of books."[137] In an atmosphere of "relative freedom" rendered by the Constitution of 1961 and of rising social movements accelerated by international receptiveness, political activists acquired the need to base their movement on an intellectual foundation; hence, the number of translated books rose in the 1960s.[138] Moreover, not only the 1960s but also the 1970s witnessed a general rise in the quantity of written production in every genre, not only in the field of Marxist literature.

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135 According to an interview conducted by Özgün Dinçer, Mihri Belli, one of the leading figures of the leftist politics in Turkey, used the pseudonym Mehmet M. Mimoğlu for his book reviews in the periodical. Özgün Dinçer, "*Türk Solu Dergisi* (1967-70) ve Milli Demokratik Devrim Stratejisi" (M.A. Thesis, Ankara University, 2006), 88-89.

136 Mehmet M. Mimoğlu, "'Fransa'da Sınıf Mücadeleleri, 1848-1850' ya da Okumanın Gereği," *Türk Solu* 1 (November 17, 1967): 7.

137 Mercer, "The Paperback Revolution," 634.

138 Erkal Ünal, "Invited Sojourners: A Survey of the Translations into Turkish of Non-Fiction Left Books between 1960 and 1971" (M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2006), 35-37.

This chapter scrutinizes a number of periodicals, bulletins, declarations, and posters as well as conferences and forums from several localities in Turkey to trace the period's experience of communication and to unravel the limits of possibility that transcended current social memory. The written materials from the 1960s and 1970s that are surveyed range from periodicals published in metropolises of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir to journals issued in the smaller cities of Adana, Bursa, Eskişehir, Malatya, Rize, Tunceli, and Zonguldak, from party bulletins to the declarations of trade unions and student organizations. The diversity of geographies from which these written materials emerged makes it apparent that the privileged monopoly of prominent publishers from developed cities over publishing was contested, even if only temporally. In other words, the centers of literary and nonliterary production became more dispersed to some extent; for a period sometime in the 1960s and 1970s, publication in Turkey became decentralized around the country – or, picking the word carefully, multicentric.

Owing first to the dispersion of writing production, second to the diversification of the forms of the materials produced, and third to the urge to speak in one's own name, the right to produce and the potential of literary and nonliterary materials became dispersed. Regardless of their social boundaries, everybody desired to speak, which was possible in the 1960s and 1970s. Consequently, this subchapter investigates examples of assertedly-nonhierarchical forms of communication, tracing the historical niche in the 1960s and 1970s in which a more egalitarian speechmaking and writing revealed itself as a historical possibility.

The introduction of the semimonthly periodical *Ezilenler*, issued in Tunceli, stated that

> What you hold in your hands, "*Ezilenler*," is not a metropolitan newspaper with a mass circulation of several hundred thousands. This is just a tiny, single-sheet periodical, published semimonthly… The dominant mass media in Turkey aims to deceive, narcotize, and allure people… However, nobody blames them for these crimes… But the authorities will definitely hunt down this little, single-sheet, semimonthly paper… because they are afraid of

> hearing the truth… We, at our best, will try to tell the truth and reveal our people's problems… One day, the oppressed will rise, unite, consolidate, and stop being oppressed. Their voice will squelch the oppressors' like a sublime chorus… This little paper is a calling from us to our brothers and sisters among the ranks of peasants, workers, artisans, youth, and to all the oppressed. This is a call, an utterance from us to our alike.[139]

The publishers of *Ezilenler* placed importance on reaching the masses using their own voice. Concordantly, the weekly *Memet: Emekçi Halkın Sesi*, published in Izmir, was issued as a newspaper in which the proletariat could talk in their own names[140] against the mass media, which kept silent about injustices against the workers in order not to offend politicians and bosses.[141] Similarly, Malatya's semimonthly socialist journal, *Halkın Derdi*, took on the responsibility of covering the problems of the local people of Malatya such as the insufficient number of teachers and doctors, as well as infrastructure problems that were unspoken and disregarded in the mass media.[142] Correspondingly, *Çay-İş'in Sesi*, the periodical of the Trade Union of Black Sea Tea Industry Workers (Karadeniz Çay Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası, or Çay-İş), published in Rize; *İşçi-Çiftçi: Mesudiye Köylülerinin Sesi*, the journal of Mesudiye peasants, published in Istanbul; *İşçinin Sesi: Haftalık Müstakil Siyasi İşçi Gazetesi*, a newspaper

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139 "Şu anda ilk sayısı elinizde olan '*Ezilenler'* tirajı yüz binleri aşan bir büyük kent gazetesi değil. Küçücük, tek yapraklı bir gazete. On beş günde bir çıkacak… Türkiye'de hakim basının halini biliyorsunuz… Halkı uyutmak, afyonlamak, aklını başından almak için ne lâzımsa o… Ama bunun için o gazeteleri, dergileri ayıplamak kimsenin aklına gelmiyor bile... Ama bu küçük, tek yapraklı, on beş günlük gazeteciğin peşine takılacaklar… Çünkü gerçekleri söylemek onları korkutuyor… Biz de elimizden geldiğince doğruları, halkımızın dertlerini söylemek için çıkıyoruz… Ezilenler birleşecek, güçlenecek, ezilmeye bir gün son verecekler. Ezilenlerin sesi, bir ulu koro gibi, ezenlerin sesini bastıracak… Bu gazetecik bizden köylü kardeşlere, işçi kardeşlere, esnaf kardeşlere, genç kardeşlere ve tüm ezilenlere bir seslenmedir. Bizden bize bir sestir," "Çıkarken," *Ezilenler* 1 (December 25, 1968): 1-2.

140 "Başyazı," *Memet: Emekçi Halkın Sesi* 1 (May 1, 1965): 1.

141 "Niçin Susarlar?" *Memet: Emekçi Halkın Sesi* 4 (May 22, 1965): 1.

142 "Şehirden Dertler," *Halkın Derdi* 4 (November 17, 1966): 2.

of workers in Zonguldak; and *Maden İşçisinin Sesi*, the periodical of the Union of Revolutionary Mine Workers Above and Below Ground (Yeraltı ve Yerüstü Devrimci Maden İşçileri Sendikası), published in Ankara – true to their names – were published to give *voice* to workers and peasants who were hitherto unheard and not given a voice by the mass media. Recalling the remarks of Marcuse, these periodicals sought to "break the information monopoly of the establishment,"[143] both socially and spatially. The privileged centers of publication and the unchallenged right of the dominant power to speak were contested by the emergence of alternative and radical forms of written material. People from among the ranks of the ruled, the marginalized, and the oppressed, who became a part of the ongoing politicization of the 1960s and 1970s or were in touch with who were, claimed their own prerogative to speak and "captured" it, defying their lack of representation in the coverage of the mass media and the decisions of governing bodies. Their exercising of speech and their liberation of forms of communication outside the scope of the dominant narrative happened, as de Certeau calls for the French 1968, "at the moment when the basic link between power and representation was coming untied."[144] For the French case as well as the Turkish one, this occurred when politicization arose.

In a letter dated September 17, 1968, to the unionist Kemal Sülker, a number of political activists and unionists expressed their intent to found a Free Cooperative for Press and Solidarity (Özgür Basın ve Yardımlaşma Kooperatifi) for the proletariat. The cooperative would establish publishing facilities to print newspapers, journals, books, brochures, and bulletins that would give voice to the socialist movement.[145] Therefore, in an

143 Marcuse, "The Movement in a New Era of Repression: An Assessment:" 12.

144 de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech*, 34.

145 "Sınırlı Sorumlu Özgür Basın ve Yardımlaşma Kooperatifi Ortaklığı," Kemal Sülker Papers 133, IISH, September 17, 1968.

atmosphere of manipulated communication in which systemic opposition was restricted along with the subjects and objects of the news,[146] the "capture of speech" was not only a desire but also a need.[147]

Severing the link between power and communication also meant that official media tools would no longer act as unrivaled intermediaries linking communities, localities, and opposition groups. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed the formation of a temporary link between the ruling and the ruled, one which was formed based on new means of communication. According to an incident reported by *Kurtuluş: İşçilerin ve Köylülerin Gazetesi*, a newspaper of workers and peasants, the gendarmerie, allegedly commanded by the National Intelligence Organization (Milli İstihbarat Teşkilâtı), distributed thirteen-page brochures to many villagers in Turkey that stated that people in Turkey lived affluently due to the state's policies. The peasants should keep agitating, lying students out of their villages if they wished to continue to live in peace. The article stated that the distribution of such brochures was increasing as the socialist movement in Turkey grew.[148]

On December 20, 1961, a periodical that, for the next seven years, would affect the national political agenda and orientation of several generations started to be published: *YÖN*.[149] From its first issue, *YÖN* had provided – worthy of its name – a *direction* for leftist political discussion and a forum where differing opinions met. It had a circulation of thirty thousand at its peak with a much wider range of intellectual influence.[150] In its first issue, a declaration listing the periodical's principles en route to changing the system, signed by a vast number of intellectuals, was promulgated.[151] According to Ergun Aydınoğlu, the declaration reflected a petit bourgeois radicalism combined with Kemalist revolutionism that

146 Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, 13.

147 de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech*, 28.

148 "İhanet Bildirilerine Karşı Uyanık Olalım," *Kurtuluş: İşçilerin ve Köylülerin Gazetesi* Special Volume (January 1971): 6.

149 Aydınoğlu, *Türkiye Solu (1960-1980)*, 73.

150 Özdemir, *Yön Hareketi*, 54.

151 "Bildiri," *YÖN* 1 (December 20, 1961): 12-13.

nevertheless heralded the advent of leftist opposition and social movements.[152] The declaration had a considerable reaction from various people, organizations, and periodicals, which *YÖN* covered in its pages. In the fourth issue, dated January 10, 1962, four responses were published, one of which was a counter-declaration. The opposing view belonged to the economist Ahmet Hamdi Başar who defended the prominence of private entrepreneurship vis-à-vis *YÖN*'s statism.[153] This echoed what Cohn-Bendit expressed in his famous interview: it was "essential first of all that people should express themselves,"[154] even their views were dissenting.

In the 1960s and 1970s, political cleavages and subsequent dissent were performed on the pages of publications. Rival political groups held their discussions in their respective periodicals. For instance, the clash of ideas of the youth branches of the TİP and TKP were reflected in their periodicals *Genç Öncü* and *İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik*. *İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik*, in its sixty-first issue, severely criticized the political philosophy of the TİP's youth as "petty bourgeois revolutionism."[155] In response, *Genç Öncü* identifies the attitude of the TKP's youth in a demonstration at İTÜ as antidemocratic and opportunistic.[156]

The 1970s in Turkey especially witnessed "the fragmentation of Marxism into small bodies of doctrine that pronounced excommunication upon one another," like Michel Foucault observed for France.[157] Splinter groups had their own periodicals as means of communication and political discussion. When the Dev-Genç fragmented, the group led by Mahir Çayan published the periodical of *Aydınlık: Sosyalist Dergi*, while the

152 Aydınoğlu, *Türkiye Solu (1960-1980)*, 76-77.

153 "Bildiri," *YÖN* 4 (January 10, 1962): 4.

154 "Jean-Paul Sartre Interviews Daniel Cohn-Bendit."

155 "Küçük Burjuva Devrimciliğinin Çöküş Süreci," *İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik* 61 (August 2, 1978): 8-9.

156 "İTÜ Çadır Eyleminden Kimler Neler Öğrenmiş," *Genç Öncü* 4 (September 1978): 11.

157 Michel Foucault, "Between 'Words' and 'Things' during May '68," in *Remarks on Marx: Conversations with Duccio Trombadori*, trans. R. James Goldstein and James Cascaito (New York: Semiotext[e], 1991), 141.

other led by Doğu Perinçek published *Proleter Devrimci Aydınlık*. While they shared a name, its framing reflected the groups' opposing ideas.[158]

Similarly, in 1969, a brochure published in West Germany was mailed to some leftist writers and started to circulate in Turkey. It was a forty-nine-page brochure issued by "Warning Publications" ("Uyarı Yayınları") asserting that every leftist had to support the TİP against the Maoists.[159] Criticizing the brochure's arguments, the socialist periodical *Aydınlık* declared that this illegally-published and distributed brochure expressed fabricated facts and libelous slanders. Reckoning that it had been widely read, *Aydınlık* took up the duty of warning and enlightening the misled people.[160] Thus, brochures and bulletins became a source of communication among differing groups in society, bypassing the intermediary role of the mass media and the government.

Leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey abounded with a plethora of political organizations that mostly split into factions with opinions that usually clashed violently in both intellectual and political arenas. Regardless of the differences and collisions with respect to ideas and practices, the communication boom continued. Instead of a single organization, ideology, or projection for the future, heightened communication of the 1960s and 1970s arose around contradictions in ideology, fervent discussions in forums, and clashes during demonstrations. The ideas excavated and analyzed in this dissertation are not univocal but multifarious. Ideological disagreement lay at the core of the explosion in communication in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey.

It was common for political organizations to issue declarations against the policies of ruling parties and the government, establishing direct communication between the ruler and the ruled. For instance, in 1968, the Revolutionary Club of Art and Culture (Devrimci Kültür Sanat Kulübü) in Izmir published a declaration summoning the public to join the democratic struggle against the political party in power, which had

158 Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 186.

159 "Batı Almanya'da TİP İçin Bir Broşür Çıktı," *Milliyet*, November 18, 1969, 1, 11.

160 "'Milli Demokratik Devrim ve İç Yüzü' Broşürüne Cevap: Proleter Devrimci Hareketimizin Çizgisi Açıktır," *Aydınlık: Sosyalist Dergi* 15 (January 1970): 168-169.

violated the constitution by having some club members arrested illegally.[161] A few days after this declaration, several student organizations in Ankara put forth a declaration in the periodical *Türk Solu* against government policies that included assaults on legal protests and unjustified arrests of journalists, intellectuals, and students. The students declared to act in solidarity with all the people defending national liberty and anti-imperialism.[162]

As exemplified, unmediated and direct communication between the ruled and the ruling and among the oppressed became a possibility in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. With the emergence of direct communication as a possibility, the variety of tools of communication also scaled up: Books, periodicals, and brochures were supplemented by forums, discussions, and graffiti. Thus, communicative tools that accompanied revolutionary practices diversified.

The whole period abounded with open forums and planned or spontaneous discussion sessions, especially at universities among student organizations. These forums acted as organs of self-governance, bringing forward a student democracy on which revolutionary values of nonhierarchical decision-making and free speech were based.[163] As one of the declarations of the FKF stated, "Unity in Movement! Tolerance in Discussion!" was an important slogan of their political movement.[164] For instance, in the second convention of the FKF convened on March 22-24, 1968, two rival groups freely discussed the attitudes of former administrators and the necessity of street demonstrations. Stark criticisms were articulated.[165] Likewise, in an open forum organized by the ODTÜ Student Union, ODTÜ students from several political and intellectual organizations discussed the responsibilities of student organizations.[166]

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161 "İzmir'de Gençliğin Direnişi," *Türk Solu* 17 (March 10, 1968): 2.

162 "Devrimci Örgütler Faşizme Karşı," *Türk Solu* 19 (March 26, 1968): 2.

163 Kürkçü, "Hala Bir '68 Kuşağı' Var mı?" 165.

164 "Eylemde Birlik! Tartışmada Hoşgörü!" "F.K.F.'nin Bildirisi," *Türk Solu* 23 (April 23, 1968): 2.

165 "F.K.F. Kurultayı Yapıldı," *Türk Solu* 20 (April 2, 1968): 2.

166 "Tüm Gençlik Kuruluşları Emperyalizme Karşı," *Türk Solu* 8 (January 9, 1968): 2.

In another open forum organized by the periodical *Türk Solu*, four student activists, including Doğu Perinçek from the FKF, Bilâl Moğol from AÜ Student Union, İskender Odabaşıoğlu from ODTÜ Student Union, and Tevfik Akoğlu from HÜ Student Union discussed the revolutionary roadmap, expressing their converging and diverging thoughts about the youth movement, the coup d'état of 1960, and the social conditions in Turkey. During the discussion, Bilâl Moğol proclaimed that young student activists needed to come together with factory workers and peasants to enlighten them about the imperialistic exploitation and feudal oppression.[167] Broadly speaking, most radical political activists of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey eventually engaged in journeys to visit workers and peasants and directly interact with the oppressed people of the country and enlighten them. This recalls what Ross states for the events in May 1968 in France.

> For many militants at that time, the experience of May meant not losing sight of the problem of direct communication with the exploited and their history, and the continuing effort to construct new means of comprehension (and thus of struggles) between different groups.[168]

For politically-active students and intellectuals of Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s, the problem was not only one of representing workers and peasants through "journalism and historiography"[169] but a mission of establishing direct forms of communication between students and workers and the urban and the rural – a mission which originated in early republican Turkey when "going to the people" ("*halka gitmek*") was the official policy of the state.[170] In the 1960s and 1970s, "going to the people" and organizing them became a common goal in leftist circles. "[I]ts utopian

167 "Ankaralı Gençler Devrimci Çizgiyi Saptıyor," *Türk Solu* 30 (June 11, 1968): 6.

168 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 114.

169 Ibid.

170 For further information on the idea and practice of "going to the people" and the peasantism of the state, see Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycü Söylem* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011).

purpose [… was] that of 'helping the people seize the word,'" as was striven for in French 1968 and its aftermath.[171]

As the reigning centers of communication, decision-making, and idea-production were challenged, the producers as well as the audience became more numerous and diverse. In this framework, the productive and receptive subjects of communication, namely the readers and the writers, increased in number and as Passerini states became "fragmented,"[172] enabling communication to be decentralized, directed-from-below, and interactive. Henceforth, instead of a restricted circle of literature-readers, letters-writers, and speechmakers, the period of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey witnessed the breaking up of this circle and the spread of "communicative praxis."

Temporarily, during the 1960s and 1970s, via an ever-increasing number of open forums, discussions, and printed materials, communication was partly liberated from the manipulative, restrictive centers of governance, and took an opposing route towards egalitarian and interactive communication that was characterized by free speech. On one hand, these little democratic niches of discussion were based on a shared culture of debate and even contradiction, promoting both the individual's right to free speech and the collectivity's tendency to associate. On the other hand, the vertical equalization of various segments of the population was accompanied by a horizontal balance, such that the geographical privileges of communication were ephemerally shattered if eventually maintained.

The result was a temporal experience of cultural democratization in politicized spaces and the emergence of its possibility at the peripheries, such as in factories and villages. In June 1968, at İTÜ, the students of the Faculty of Architecture (Mimarlık Fakültesi) addressed a number of questions to professors in response to questions asked of them in the final exams. They asked the professors their definition of professorship, their reasons for choosing this occupation, which systemic illusions veiled the

171 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 115.

172 Passerini, "'Utopia' and Desire," 22.

inequality they were attempting to diffuse, their object of change, and the choice of action. Bora Gözen, a student activist, remarked in *Türk Solu* that the summer 1968 term at İTÜ would witness a bilateral examination, a process in which professors would also be tested. Moreover, students demanded the answers to their questions in written form.[173] James J. Farrell's comment on the Western context also applies to the Turkish one in the 1960s: "[s]tudents were among the best teachers of the 1960s, not because they knew all the answers, but because they posed some of the most important questions of the decade."[174] From these questions, critical and revolutionary utopias of the 1960s and 1970s emerged – in this case, the utopia of direct, egalitarian communication as an ephemerally-realized historical possibility.

What was experienced in the 1960s and 1970s in most of the world, as well as in Turkey, was a matter of building new relationships, "a new kind of collaboration between intellectuals and non-intellectuals," the student and the professor, which was almost unimaginable beforehand.[175] This new collaboration was not confined merely to campuses but also reached factories and villages. Through the intermediary of leftism, a new bond was formed between the classroom and the factory. It was a period in which students, as intellectuals-to-be, and workers, deemed never-to-be, joined in demonstrations and wrote declarations together. For instance, protesting the Zonguldak Incidents, in which the gendarmerie opened fire on and killed two of the one thousand five hundred striking coal workers in Ereğli when the atmosphere became tense,[176] two student unions from Ankara signed a joint declaration that they had penned together with several trade unions.[177]

In 1975, the Young Vanguard (Genç Öncü), the youth branch of TİP, founded the Workers' Cultural Association (İşçi Kültür Derneği). It was an association for collective art and neighborhood solidarity with

173 Bora Gözen, "İTÜ'de Gençlik Ne İstiyor?" *Türk Solu* 29 (June 4, 1968): 6.

174 Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties*, 137.

175 Foucault, "Between 'Words' and 'Things' during May '68," 142.

176 "Zonguldak Olaylarının Kronolojik Listesi," Kemal Sülker Papers 199, IISH, 1965.

177 "İşçi-Üniversiteli Ortak Bildirisi," *Sosyal Adalet* 13 (April 1965): 48.

branches in Ankara, Istanbul, Adana, Antakya, Izmir, and Bursa. The association sought to disconnect culture and art from imperialism and simultaneously to build a cultural bridge among various segments of society. The central theme was not only to educate working youth but also to incorporate them into the association. Besides the student members of the Young Vanguard, the association had active members from art circles including author Sevgi Soysal, who passed away just a year after the association was founded, playwright Ömer Polat, and caricaturist Nezih Danyal. The Workers' Cultural Association addressed local problems in their neighborhood clubs by organizing sports practices for young residents, offering courses for learning instruments, forming choral groups, performing theater plays, and issuing periodicals. These clubs acted as cultural hubs that connected the campus to the neighborhood, the exhibition hall to the factory floor. In these neighborhood clubs, students, workers, and artists came together.[178]

Beside these moments of interaction in cities, a connection was built between cities and villages, again through the medium of political organizations. The leftist activism of urban organizations and parties extended to towns, villages, and rural areas. All leftist political organizations of the period had the goal of organizing peasants to stimulate a rural revolution. In the second half of the 1960s, members of the TİP and FKF founded peasantist associations in rural areas which organized peasants to address their problems.[179] As the number of leftist organizations increased in the 1970s, these pilot associations gave way to several leftist ones. Many university student associations, the Dev-Genç, and organizations based on armed struggle and guerilla warfare, namely, the THKP-C, the THKO, and the TKP/ML, visited villages and conducted political activities in rural areas. A hundred years earlier, as Karl Marx stated, the Paris Commune of 1871, via its new ways of struggle and communication, established new relationships between urban Paris and the countryside, therefore linking the city, the countryside, and the world.[180] Like the

178 "Kültür Sanat Alanında 'İşçi Kültür' Okul Olacaktır," *Genç Öncü* 2 (July 1978): 36-37.

179 Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 169.

180 Ross, *Communal Luxury*, 188.

Communards of 1871, the revolutionaries of 1960s and 1970s in Turkey tried to establish links between the city and the countryside. These attempts to "go to the people" created moments of contact through which students and peasants, city-dwellers and villagers came together. However, unlike the Commune experience, the political practice of "going to the people" in Turkey was based on a hierarchical relation in which leftist urban activists set off for the villages to ideologically enlighten and politically organize the peasants. Still, attempts at political organization and ideological transition created an atmosphere of interaction and, thus, an encounter between geographically and socioeconomically dissimilar segments of the population. The pursuit to further the political organization via the propaganda through publications, demonstrations, and journeys was the primary element of the communication boom.

In the summer of 1967, in Elmalı district of Antalya, a dispute occurred between local proprietors and landless peasants over the ownership of a recently drained lakebed.[181] In August 1967, members of several student associations from AÜ, ODTÜ, and İTÜ went to Elmalı in support of the peasants.[182] The resistance of Elmalı created a new form of struggle around which various political subjects came together in villages.[183] Students continued to visit Elmalı in solidarity throughout 1968, an act which was reported in the newspapers to be serious concern for authorities.[184] The period witnessed several similar rural resistance movements and land occupations which were supported by leftist youth. In January 1969, when the peasants in the village of Atalan in Torbalı, Izmir, occupied the lands that were unrighteously seized by landowners, students of the FKF from Izmir and Ankara organized a resistance committee together with the peasants.[185] In July 1969, peasants from Söke, overwhelmed by the

181 "'Elmalı'da Bir Ağa İçin Köylüye Baskı Yapılıyor'," *Milliyet*, August 16, 1967, 3.

182 Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 170.

183 Begüm Özden Fırat, "Köylüler, Devrimciler, Toprak, İşgal: Bitmeyen '68'," in *1968: İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük*, ed. Turan, 502.

184 "Elmalı İlçesinde Durum Gerginleşti," *Milliyet*, April 10, 1968, 1, 7.

185 Fırat, "Köylüler, Devrimciler, Toprak, İşgal: Bitmeyen '68'," 507.

hard working conditions under their landowners, started a demonstration to protest the poor quality of the roads of the village in solidarity with revolutionary youth.[186] That summer, the administrative board of the FKF accepted engaging in village organization and rural resistance as "a part of revolutionary struggle." Thus, the relationship between revolutionary youth and peasants was no longer coincidental but a predetermined decision of the revolutionary organization.[187] Again in 1969, students organized a demonstration in the Akhisar district of Manisa in which student activists came together with nearly five thousand peasants to protest the tobacco policy of the government.[188] Tobacco demonstrations were followed by hazelnut demonstrations in 1970 in Giresun, Bulancak, Ordu, and Fatsa. Demonstrations were mainly organized by the TİP; however, the Dev-Genç was also active in the organization – visiting villages and preparing banners.[189] A former Dev-Genç member, Fikret Babuş, recounts his experience of the hazelnut demonstrations.

> In May 1970 (it must have been the last days of May), we, a group of friends, were visiting villages in Giresun and Bulancak for the hazelnut demonstrations. On the day of the Fatsa demonstration, a village headman, Nazım, a member of the demonstration organization committee, was taken into custody in order to sabotage the demonstration. Producers from the village raided the police station where Nazım was kept and occupied the highway connecting Ordu to other cities. Therefore, it was decided that students from

186 "Hak Verilmez Alınır," *İşçi-Köylü: Milli Demokratik Devrim Mücadelesinde Omuz Omuza* 3 (August 8, 1969): 3.

187 "köy çalışmalarına katılmayı ve kırsal kesimlerle ilgilenmeyi devrimci mücadelenin bir parçası," Fırat, "Köylüler, Devrimciler, Toprak, İşgal: Bitmeyen '68'," 515.

188 Ali Karşılayan, "Sinan Kâzım'ı İzmir Eylemlerinde Tanıdım," in Özbilgen, *Devrimciler Ölmez*, 107-108; "Akhisar Tütün Mitinginde Sağcı ve Solcular Çatıştı," *Milliyet*, February 8, 1969, 1, 7.

189 Derviş Aydın Akkoç, *Fırtınalı Denizin Kıyısında: Şansal Dikmen Kitabı* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2014), 134-137.

> outside would depart for Trabzon. We went to Trabzon and stayed at the apartment of a teacher from the TÖS.[190]

Later that summer, hazelnut producers in Trabzon also decided to demonstrate against the government's policy on hazelnuts.[191] These demonstrations attracted and brought together political activists from the cities, students, peasants, and local civil servants, such as teachers. All leftist political organizations and parties of the 1960s and 1970s targeted rural resistance. "We should organize the peasant youth" was written in the pages of *İleri Yurtsever Gençlik* in 1975.

> Peasant youth are oppressed by the capitalist order and the tyranny of landowners. They do not know it, because no one has made them conscious of it. Thus, they have been unable to organize, unionize. It is the duty of their proletarian and student brothers with class consciousness to deliver consciousness to the peasants.[192]

Despite these late remarks on the political unconsciousness of the peasants, interaction between cities and the villages in the politicized atmosphere of the era had already caused a rise of political consciousness in rural areas as early as 1970. In 1970, in Çorlu, peasants occupied farmland; in Lüleburgaz, the peasants of Oklağlı changed the name of the village to

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190 "1970 Yılı Mayıs ayında (Mayıs'ın sonları olsa gerek), bir grup arkadaşla fındık mitingi için Giresun ve Bulancak'ta köyleri geziyorduk. Fatsa mitingi yapılcağı gün, miting düzenleme komitesi üyesi Muhtar Nazım gözaltına alınarak miting sabote edildi. Köyden gelen üreticiler Nazım'ın nezarette tutulduğu karakolu basmış, Ordu'yu diğer illere bağlayan karayolunu tutmuşlardı. Bunu üzerine dışarıdan gelen öğrencilerin Trabzon'a gitmelerine karar verilmişti. Biz Trabzon'a gidip TÖS'lü bir öğretmenin evinde yattık," Özbilgen, *Devrimciler Ölmez*, 92.

191 "Giresun, Ordu, Bulancak, Fatsa'da Fındık Üreticisi İkinci Defa Miting Yapıyor; Trabzon'da da Direniş Başlıyor," *Milliyet*, July 8, 1970, 4.

192 "Köylü gençleri her açıdan kasıp kavuran, bu geri kalmış kapitalist düzendir, ağalar saltanatıdır. Ama onlar bunu bilmezler. Çünkü kendilerine bilinç götürülmemiştir. Bunun için örgütlenmeyi, sendikalaşmayı başaramamışlardır… Onlara bilinç götürmek de sınıf bilinçli işçi, öğrenci kardeşlerine düşüyor," "Köylü Gençleri Örgütlemeliyiz," *İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik* 2 (December 1, 1975): 5.

"Landless Village" ("Topraksız Köy") to protest the unjust land ownership system; landless peasants from Polatlı headed towards Ankara on their tractors in protest; hazelnut producers from Ünye and Maçka joined a chain of protests and organized demonstrations;[193] landless peasants in Tire organized a mass land demonstration; and hazelnut demonstrations spread to the villages of Vakfıkebir, Trabzon.[194]

The Paris Commune of 1871, which was envisioned by the "buzzing hives" of revolutionary clubs before the event, entailed a new network of relationships among Communards from various socioeconomic and geographical backgrounds. Politicization in the Commune paved the way for new relationships, intersections, encounters, and collaborations that "took the form of journals, theoretical elaborations, debates, and shared meals."[195] The political event coexisted with the communication boom, and both opened the door for hitherto unimagined relationships, overcoming supposedly ossified "hierarchies and divisions."[196] Jumping forward to the twentieth century, to the 1960s and 1970s, in Turkey, a direct communication link was formed between universities, villages, and factories in which conventionally acknowledged divisions between the hammer, the sickle, and the pen were relatively eased. In this regard, Michel de Certeau states that

> the students *can* sit in professors' chairs, that a common language *can* assail the division between intellectuals and manual laborers, or that a collective initiative *can* respond to the representatives of an omnipotent system – thus is modified the tacitly "received" code that separates the possible from the impossible, the licit from the illicit. The *exemplary action* "opens a breach," not because of its own efficacity, but because it displaces a law that was all the more powerful in that it had not been brought to mind; it unveils

193 "Köylüler Traktörlerle Ankara'ya Yürüyecek," *Milliyet*, June 5, 1970, 4.

194 "Topraksız Köylü Bugün Miting Yapıyor," *Milliyet*, June 7, 1970, 4.

195 Ross, *Communal Luxury*, 201.

196 Ibid., 112.

> what was latent and makes it contestable. It is decisive, contagious, and dangerous because it touches this obscure zone that every system takes for granted and that it cannot justify… The exemplary action changes nothing; it creates *possibilities* relative to *impossibilities* that had until then been admitted but not clarified. I see a new and important sociocultural phenomenon in the impact of the expression that demonstrates a disarticulation between what is *said* and what is *unsaid*, that deprives a social practice of its tacit foundations, that ultimately refers, I believe, to a displacement of "values" on which an architecture of powers and exchanges had been constructed and that was still assumed to be a solid base. From this point of view, symbolic action also opens a breach in our conception of society.[197]

To conclude, the period of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey witnessed the emergence of a "communicative praxis" that accompanied revolutionary praxis, which reflected the defiance of theretofore silent segments of the population against their lack of representation in the journalism of the mass media and historiography of governing bodies. This oppositional praxis amounted to speech that had been unsaid, deemed impossible, or inconvenient being verbalized in periodical pages and in open forums. Therefore, in some political spaces, power's unrivaled right to write and speak was shattered, making this right available to a wider public that included workers and peasants, as well. The direct communication of geographically remote and socioeconomically disparate people and the feeling of togetherness was fostered by the fact that "everyone [tastes] the right of equality within fraternity, thanks to the freedom of speech which produced great exaltation."[198] However, "fraternity" mostly excluded a certain segment of the population.

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197 de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech*, 8-9.

198 Passerini, "'Utopia' and Desire," 23.

4.2.2 *Women and the Movement in the 1960s and 1970s*

A few months after the 1960s ended, in August 1970, a group of women in Paris organized a protest "at the Arc de Triomphe's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, bearing a wreath dedicated to one more unknown than the soldier: His wife."[199] The 1960s witnessed the reemergence of women's political activity in pursuit of equal rights and liberation in the West by women who were tired of being unknown, unseen, and unheard. The reappearance of the women's movement in Western parts of the world followed from the revolutionary atmosphere of events in May 1968 as a reaction to the eagerness of dominant political groups to change society without changing the power relations between sexes.[200] Besides the impact of politicization on the reemergence of the women's movement, the decade was revolutionary in terms of everyday life. Daily customs and practices were transformed, in turn evoking a change and a desire for a change in gender relations.[201] For instance, in Argentina,

> women, especially those of the middle class…, apparently achieved an autonomy unthinkable a generation before; they went out alone, returned late, enjoyed greater sexual freedom, used contraceptives, and more effectively controlled the number of children they bore. Many of them worked, controlled their own expenditures, and even, in some cases, lived alone.[202]

Also, as a result of the relative liberation of daily life in the 1960s, Argentina, along with many countries, especially in North America and Europe, witnessed a reappearance of feminism that questioned and problematized daily life.[203] Women in the context of social movements of the decade demonstrated in the streets with male counterparts, on one hand;

199 Dorothy Kaufmann-McCall, "Politics of Difference: The Women's Movement in France from May 1968 to Mitterrand," *Signs* 9, no. 2 (Winter 1983): 282-283.

200 Ibid.

201 Maria del Carmen Feijoo, "Women in Argentina during the 1960s," *Latin American Perspectives* 23, no. 1, "Women in Latin America 2" (Winter 1996): 7.

202 Ibid.

203 Ibid.

and demanded their place in society as subjects, bringing political subjectivity to personal space, on the other.[204]

However, the case in Turkey did not fully conform to this picture. Until the second half of the 1970s, there was no influential women's organization or movement in Turkey, even though women were involved in the movement. Furthermore, decision making bodies within leftist political organizations were predominated by men, just as occupation committees.[205] In Mater's book of interviews, Jülide Aral denotes that among the period's social movements, they were not aware of the gender question; moreover, it would have been considered a bourgeois attitude to bring it forward.[206] According to Büşra Ersanlı, they confusedly adopted the traditional roles of womanhood, trying to be supportive of men.[207] Women tried in the THKP-C case in the beginning of the 1970s abstained from wearing miniskirts, fancy or ostentatious clothes, and even trousers during the trials. Kadriye Deniz Özen, one of the indictees, recounts that revolutionary women who wore trousers to the courthouse were warned by female comrades and even had their trousers torn. So, it was not only the men in these political organizations but also the women themselves who imposed control over female activists, defining the rules and boundaries of the revolutionary attitude.[208] Women revolutionaries paid utmost attention to the values of society.[209] Most revolutionary women adopted a genderless dressing style in order not to damage the political struggle and be judged by the society.[210] Thus, a somber skirt symbolized compliance with traditional roles in support of revolutionary ones. Furthermore, some issues brought forward in the West were open to questioning and opposition. For instance, several leftists in Turkey objected to birth

204 Passerini, "'Utopia' and Desire," 13.

205 Zeynep Beşpınar, "68'li Kadınlar ve Ataerkiyle Pazarlık Deneyimleri," in *1968: İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük*, ed. Turan, 480.

206 Jülide Aral, "Biz İlişkilerimizi Cinsiyetsiz Yaşadık," in Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir*, 116.

207 Büşra Ersanlı in Yazıcıoğlu, *68'in Kadınları*, 41.

208 Kadriye Deniz Özen in Sağır, *Bizi Güneşe Çıkardılar*, 83.

209 Selma Veyisoğlu in ibid., 116-117.

210 Zeynep Beşpınar, "68'li Kadınlar ve Ataerkiyle Pazarlık Deneyimleri," 468.

control, condemning it as "a manipulation of outside powers on future generations that targeted to limit Turkey's production and defense."[211] Birth control, which was perceived as liberating by women in the West, was detested by many Turkish leftists as "one of the most terrifying and effective weapons of New Imperialism."[212] The issues discovered and discussed by the Western feminists in the 1960s, such as sexual liberation, feminist theories, patriarchy, birth control, and the right to abortion, were unknown to most female activists of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey.[213] Indeed, a number of issues, such as birth control and sexual liberation, were denounced.

Yet there was a fervent environment of political activity in universities which corresponded to those of Europe and the United States, in which political demonstrations and open forums were accompanied by film screenings, exhibitions, book clubs, and conferences, which politically active women attended.[214] Although the appearance of a women's movement in the period in Turkey was belated, the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s enabled women to take to the streets and take part in the new fields of politics and communication. Politically active women of the period worked to prepare periodicals and brochures, spent nights on campus to fabricate silk-screened posters, distributed the organizations' and unions' brochures, joined campus occupations, and took part in the proletarian organization of factories.[215] On July 23, 1968, journalist and writer Suat Derviş, writing for the periodical *Türk Solu* for which she was an occasional contributor, called for the mothers of the university

211 "… düzen ekonomik gerekçelerle gelecek kuşakları da Türkiye'nin üretim ve savunma gücünü sınırlayacak bir şekilde ve dışarıdan yönetilen *Doğum Kontrolü* yolu ile planlamaya başvurmaktadır," "Devrimci Eğitim Şûrası," *EGE TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası İzmir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* 6 (October 8, 1968): 3.

212 "… Yeni Sömürgeciliğin en korkunç ve etkin silâhlarından biri," Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 168.

213 A. İnci Beşpınar, Fatma Arda Sayman, Hatice Yaşar, Işıl Özgentürk, and Müfide Pekin in Yazıcıoğlu, *68'in Kadınları*, 21, 65, 101, 125, and 150; İlkay Alptekin Demir in Sağır, *Bizi Güneşe Çıkardılar*, 75.

214 İnci Beşpınar in Yazıcıoğlu, *68'in Kadınları*, 17-18.

215 Ferai Tunç in ibid., 77; Özen in Sağır, *Bizi Güneşe Çıkardılar*, 80.

students to defend their children against state authorities and take part in the political demonstrations in an effort to expand the struggle.[216] However, women in the demonstrations and political organizations were far fewer than men, and most of the politically active women were urban and educated.[217]

Moreover, according to female political activists of the period, the general attitude of males towards the women in the 1960s and 1970s was far from egalitarian and democratic.[218] Periodicals of the decade in Turkey mostly characterized women not as gendered beings with gender-specific social rights but as a passive part of society. The prominent writer and publisher, Muzaffer Erdost, in the article "Islam, Capitalism, and Women," elaborates on the status of women under Islam and capitalism, offering socialism as the key to the emancipation of women while disregarding the need for an independent women's movement. In his article, women are categorized as proletarian and bourgeois, shaped by the systems of Islam and capitalism.[219] Quite differently, in the periodical *YÖN*, a series of articles named "Love on Earth" ("Yeryüzünde Aşk") was published in 1962 which was adapted from the studies of a social anthropology professor at Leeds University. Articles were published on sexuality,[220] lovemaking,[221] and marriage,[222] analyzing the sociological origins of sexuality and gender and raising the question of equality. In addition to this series, occasional articles in *YÖN* focused on the status of women and the relations of gender, though they were rarely written by women themselves.

Whereas some articles about foreign female historical figures, such as Elizabeth Blackwell, *the first female doctor*,[223] or Nadezhda Krupskaya,

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216 Suat Derviş, "Analara Çağrı," *Türk Solu* 36 (July 23, 1968): 5.

217 Işıl Gürsoy Uyar in Yazıcıoğlu, *68'in Kadınları*, 135.

218 İnci Beşpınar in ibid., 19.

219 Muzaffer Erdost, "Müslümanlık, Kapitalizm ve Kadın," *Türk Solu* 27 (May 21, 1968): 6.

220 "Yeryüzünde Aşk: Cinsiyet Konusunda Sosyolojik Araştırma," *YÖN* 6 (January 24, 1962): 19-20.

221 "Yeryüzünde Aşk: Sevişme," *YÖN* 10 (February 21, 1962): 18.

222 "Yeryüzünde Aşk: Evlilik," *YÖN* 11 (February 28, 1962): 18.

223 "İlk Kadın Doktor: Elizabeth Blackwell," *Sosyal Adalet* 19, no. 6 (September 1964): 32-33.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's wife,[224] could be encountered, the appearance of women from Turkey was rare. The representation of women in the periodicals was discriminatory. For instance, an article about the life of Lenin's "partner and comrade" Krupskaya was published in the periodical *Proleter Devrimci Aydınlık*. After listing her writings on female workers, equal social rights, the education of young workers, her career on the editorial boards of a number of periodicals, and her duties in the party, the writer states that "Krupskaya's priceless service was dictating Lenin's life and work" and writing his first biography, emphasizing the status of a woman as a man's companion.[225]

Leftist women in Turkey began to form their own political associations, usually in umbrella organizations or parties, in the 1970s.[226] Two of these, the Women's Association of Ankara (Ankara Kadınlar Derneği, or AKD) and the Revolutionary Women's Association of Adana (Adana Devrimci Kadınlar Derneği), merged in 1978 to organize women into a class struggle within the Revolutionary Path (Devrimci Yol, or DEV-YOL) movement.[227] In 1979, the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi, or TSİP) initiated the foundation of the Democratic Women's Union (Demokratik Kadın Birliği).[228]

On June 3, 1975, a number of female members of the TKP established a women's organization called the Progressivist Women's Association (İlerici Kadınlar Derneği, or İKD), which had thirty-three branch offices,

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224 G. Obiçkin, "Lenin'in Arkadaşı ve Kavga Yoldaşı: Karısı Krupskaya," *Proleter Devrimci Aydınlık* 4, no. 18 (April 1970): 464-466.

225 "Krupskaya'nın asıl paha biçilmez hizmeti, Lenin'in hayatına ve uğraşına ışık tutmasındaydı," ibid.

226 One early effort was the Progressive Women's Association of Turkey (Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği), founded by Bakiye Beria Onger in 1965, which was Kemalist in orientation. The association strove for feminist targets such as political power for women, equal wages, and daycare centers. The association was closed in 1970. Beria Onger was also one of the founders and leader of the Progressivist Women's Association. Birsen Talay Keşoğlu, "1970'lerin En Kitlesel Kadın Örgütü: İlerici Kadınlar Derneği," *Kültür ve Siyasette Feminist Yaklaşımlar* 12 (October 2010): 64-66.

227 Ibid., 68.

228 Ibid., 69.

thirty-five representational agencies, and nearly fifteen thousand members by the time it was closed by the martial command in 1979[229] (for a map of branch offices and representational agencies by March 1979, see figure 4.10).[230]

Figure 4.10 "News from the Progressivist Women's Association: The İKD will Rise in Every City, Every Village!" SOURCE: *Kadınların Sesi* 44 (March 1979).

As expressed in its first declaration, which explained the necessity of establishing a women's political organization, the association was to struggle for women's rights and against inequality in society. It demanded

229 Pervan, *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*, xii and 5.

230 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneği'nden Haberler: Her İlde Her Köyde İKD Yükselecek!" *Kadınların Sesi* 44 (March 1979): 16.

equality of opportunity for women in education and employment, the removal of legal clauses that insulted women, and the acceptance of motherhood as a social function. The declaration also invited all women to the ranks of the organized political opposition, not only against an inegalitarian society but also against imperialism and fascism.[231] In a brochure prepared for the May 1 demonstration in 1976, the association encouraged male workers to attend the May 1 demonstrations with their wives, sisters, and children, and summoned homemakers to attend with their husbands, fathers, brothers, and children. Certain specific demands are listed, such as equal pay for equal work, daycare centers in every workplace, playgrounds in every neighborhood, an end to unemployment, social housing, security of life for children, and socioeconomic equality.[232] While only a few years earlier the demands of politically active women differed little from those of their male fellows, in 1975 the İKD expressed demands specifically articulated to emancipate women.

Figure 4.11 The İKD procession at the "No to Antidemocratic Laws of Oppression" Demonstration in Bursa, February 17, 1979. SOURCE: *Kadınların Sesi* 44 (March 1979).

231 "Neden Kadınlar Örgütü," Pervan, *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*, 20-21.

232 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneği Haber Ajansı," Kemal Sülker Papers 501, IISH, April 29, 1976.

Figure 4.12 "Mothers Give Birth, Fascists Take Life," from the "Ending Mothers' Grief over the Loss of a Child" Demonstration in Istanbul, February 26, 1977. SOURCE: *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği Istanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 21 (September 1977).

Moreover, during the second half of the 1970s, the members of the association not marched as a group in mass demonstrations (for an example, see figure 4.11)[233] but they organized their own protests, meetings, and education sessions. Between February 1976 and March 1979, the İKD, with female activists from several political organizations such as trade unions, teachers' associations, and the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, or CHP), organized a series of mass demonstrations in Ankara, Istanbul, Trabzon, Izmir, and Balıkesir to "end mothers' grief over the loss of a child," which protested political murders and aggravated violence in the streets.[234] During the campaign, in addition to mass demonstrations, the İKD put posters reading "Fascism's Gift to Mothers: Grief over the Loss of a Child" up on the street walls and distributed brochures

233 "17 Şubat Bursa Mitingi," *Kadınların Sesi* 44 (March 1979): 5.

234 Gözde Orhan, "From Motherhood to Activism: A History of Women in Transformation" (M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2008), 49; "Faşizm Anaların Siperini Aşamayacaktır," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği Istanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 17-18 (February-March 1977): 3.

in city centers.[235] In the second half of the 1970s, women started to occupy the streets of the cities as activists, workers, teachers, and mothers protesting against capitalistic exploitation, gender inequality, and political violence (see figures 4.12 and 4.13)[236]

Figure 4.13 "End Grief over the Loss of a Child," from the "Ending Mothers' Grief over the Loss of a Child" Demonstration in Istanbul, February 26, 1977. SOURCE: *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği Istanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 21 (September 1977).

The İKD published the periodical *Kadınların Sesi* that, as its name signified, gave a *voice* to women. The periodical was issued monthly from 1975 to 1980 and specifically projected women's problems through a socialist

235 "Faşizmin Analara Hediyesi: Evlat Acısı," Pervan, *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*, 70.

236 "Faşizm Anaların Siperini Aşamayacaktır," "Kadın Öğretmenler, Eşitlik, İlerleme ve Barış için Verilen Savaşıma Katılalım!" *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği Istanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 21 (September 1977): 5.

lens, combining socialist goals with feminist ones, as exemplified in a cartoon depicting two women on strike (see figure 4.14).[237]

Figure 4.14 "We will not Go Back to Work Unless Working Conditions are Reformed: Women Should be Provided with Equal Wages and Better Working Conditions." SOURCE: *Kadınların Sesi* 2 (September 1975).

Correspondingly, the periodical attempted to build a bridge among intellectuals, workers, city-dwellers, and villagers. All its issues included interviews with and letters from proletarian women highlighting their poor working conditions[238] or their experiences as trade union members

237 *Kadınların Sesi* 2 (September 1975): 2.

238 "Çalışan Kadınlar ve Sendikal Çalışma," *Kadınların Sesi* 2 (September 1975): 2.

and representatives.[239] In the pages of the periodical, one could encounter stories and analyses from female peasants who were tobacco workers,[240] beet harvesters,[241] bazaar hamals,[242] and carpet weavers.[243] Nevertheless, most writers were still educated and from urban backgrounds. In addition to the activities of the periodical, the association itself acted as a social bridge among various segments of society. By July 1976, 30% of the members of the Istanbul branch of the İKD were industrial workers, 22% were students, 20% were civil servants, 10% were teachers, 10% were homemakers, and 8% were self-employed women. The İKD branches in Ankara, Izmir, Bursa, Zonguldak, and Antakya were composed of teachers (25%), students (25%), homemakers (17%), self-employed women (14%), civil servants (13%), and industrial workers (6%).[244] The İKD was able to organize women from various backgrounds in these cities not only on account of its mass demonstrations, periodicals, and posters but also its educational seminars and reading-writing courses which took place in association buildings, trade union buildings, and factories, which is further analyzed in chapter 4. However, there were no peasants among the members.[245]

In an attempt to meet various segments of society, the İKD joined forces with other political organizations and trade unions. As exemplified above, the association co-organized demonstrations with other democratic associations. Moreover, the members of the women's organization went to impoverished neighborhoods to organize locals through forums, courses and seminars, which is the subject of the next chapter. In summer 1979, members from the İKD in Sakarya visited the village of Karapürçek

239 "Sendikal Mücadelede Kadın İşçi Temsilcileri," *Kadınların Sesi* 6 (January 1976): 2.

240 "Tütün Kıran Eller Oy Kullanmasını da Bilir," *Kadınların Sesi* 21 (April 1977): 3.

241 "İşte Öyle Zor… Sadece Ekmek Yiyiz. Şişiriyiz Karnımızı Ekmeklen…" *Kadınların Sesi* 26 (September 1977): 2.

242 "Bir de Hamal Kadınlarımızı Dinleyelim: 'Zor İş Hamallık Ablam! İnsan Muamelesi Görmeyiz Hiç," *Kadınların Sesi* 27 (October 1977): 3.

243 "Demirci'ye Bağlı 18 Köyde Yol İçin Direniş Yapıldı: 'Kadınlar Olmasaydı Halimiz Dumandı," *Kadınların Sesi* 56 (March 1980): 11.

244 Pervan, *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*, 60-61.

245 Ibid., 61-63.

and organized a forum about the problems of peasant women.[246] Furthermore, the İKD members visited factories and striking workers. For instance, the İKD's Fatih branch in Istanbul organized a sale in the local market of Eyüp to raise finances for the strikers of the Trade Union of Mining Workers of Turkey (Türkiye Maden İşçileri Sendikası, or Maden-İş).[247] In the same year, the members of the Çaycuma branch of the İKD raised two thousand five hundred Turkish Liras from sales in Kocaeli and Izmir and shared their earnings with Maden-İş workers.[248] Meanwhile the Çorum branch organized an exhibition in solidarity with the strikers,[249] and the women of the Balıkesir branch prepared a hundred kilograms of jam for them.[250] In Ankara, the striking female workers of the Trade Union of Press Industry Workers of Turkey (Türkiye Basın Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası, or Basın-İş) received support from the İKD.[251] Progressivist women from Kayseri visited the workers of the Trade Union of Tire, Rubber, and Plastics Industry Workers of Turkey (Türkiye Lastik, Kauçuk ve Plastik Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası, or Lastik-İş) who were on strike alongside their wives to show support for their struggle.[252] In September 1978, women and children visited the workers of the Genel-İş who went on strike in the Municipality of Kocaeli (see figure 4.15).[253] On the thirty-second day of the strike in the Kavel Cable Factory, İKD members from the neighborhoods of İstinye and Hisarüstü in Istanbul visited the workers and prepared them marinated meatballs and ayran.[254] In Balıkesir, the İKD acted in solidarity with striking workers of the Bilcanlı Tile-Brick

246 "İlerici Kadın Hareketinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 48 (July 1979): 11.
247 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 26 (September 1977): 8.
248 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 27 (October 1977): 8.
249 "Çorum'da Maden-İş'le Dayanışma," *Kadınların Sesi* 29 (December 1977): 8.
250 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 30 (January 1978): 8.
251 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 28 (November 1977): 8.
252 "Kayseri'de Ar Lastik Grevcileriyle İlerici Kadınların Dayanışması," *Kadınların Sesi* 35 (June 1978): 8.
253 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 38 (September 1978): 8.
254 "Kadınlar Kavel Grevcileriyle Dayanışmada," *Kadınların Sesi* 44 (March 1979): 17.

Factory, cooking them lunch and taking care of their families.[255] In summer 1980, a few months before the coup d'état of September 12, women from the İKD collaborated with the striking workers of the glass industry in Mersin, the textile industry in Sefaköy, the metallurgy industry in Istanbul, and a bolt-making factory in Denizli. On July 5, 1980, the İKD brought provisions collected from the people of Balıkesir to mining and textile workers who were on strike.[256] In a nutshell, the İKD created a political space in which women from various segments of society could encounter one another.

Figure 4.15 "We Support your Strike." SOURCE: *Kadınların Sesi* 38 (September 1978).

Besides *Kadınların Sesi*, several periodicals in the second half of the 1970s started to emphasize feminist issues. The first issue of *İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik* reported on the Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Women in October 1975 and listed women's demands in detail: constitutional gender equality, the removal of social obstacles before women, the

255 "Balıkesir'de Grevci İşçilerle Dayanışma," *Kadınların Sesi* 53 (December 1979): 19.
256 "İlerici Kadın Hareketinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 61 (August 1980): 20-21.

right to education, equal wages, and equality in family.[257] Similarly, in the second half of the 1970s, several issues of the bulletin of a mass teachers' association addressed the problems of female teachers: not only the lack of daycare centers for children but also gender inequality in domestic work. While men had leisure time to rest, read, and improve themselves, women were left uneducated, overwhelmed by housework, and trapped in the roles of wife and mother.[258] Moreover, capitalist society exploited women as cheap labor. The only way to overcome the labor exploitation that was concomitant with gender inequality was organized struggle.[259]

Many women activists of the period do not recall any female political leaders, theorists, or even speechmakers from the 1960s in Turkey, emphasizing that women did not generally have a role in the political organizations' decision-making processes.[260] Women existed in the political space but were not as visible as the men. Critical of the "freedom of speech" that surfaced in May 1968 in the West, Bourdieu questions its impartiality and exposes the elements of hierarchy, control, violence, and cruelty hidden within it.

> Ideally we should *evoke* the typical style of the discourse of May, a populist dramatization of "popular" speech, whose negligent syntax and lax expression mask a formidable rhetorical violence, a soft, relaxed violence, but enveloping and penetrating, especially noticeable in the techniques of interpellation and interruption, of questioning and warning, which allow intervention in and control over the discussion, in the "knockout" phrases, which blast aside all analytical subtleties, in the obsessional repetition, destined to encourage interruption and questioning, etc. We forget in fact that *freedom of speech*, which was so much discussed during and after

257 "Dünya Demokratik Kadınlar Federasyonu Kongresi Toplandı," *İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik* 1 (November 17, 1975): 3.

258 "Kadın Öğretmenlerin Sorunları," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği Istanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 10 (January 27, 1976): 5.

259 "Toplumda Kadın," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği Istanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 11 (March 4, 1976): 5.

260 Hülya Karadeniz and Uyar, in Yazıcıoğlu, *68'in Kadınları*, 109 and 136.

> May 1968, is always freedom from the speech of others, or rather control of their silence, as was so cruelly demonstrated in those meetings between students and "workers" where the spokesmen of the former orchestrated the speech and silence of the latter."[261]

Bourdieu's pessimistic analysis of the discursive inequalities of the events of May 1968 opens an arena of discussion with respect to the Turkish case: was the liberated speech of the 1960s and 1970s secretly based on a "rhetorical violence" that contained women in a narrative space of "resigned silence"? As speechmakers or writers for periodicals, revolutionary women of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey were indeed not as visible as men. Therefore, in a way, the utopian moment of direct and egalitarian communication was not as valid for women as for men. However, two points should be emphasized to understand the complexity of the circumstances. First, although the overrepresentation of males overshadowed the agency of women in the political heightening of the 1960s and early 1970s, women were still a part of the politicized public sphere. Female members of the organizations and female participants in the demonstrations shared a common belief in social transformation through political action, like their male comrades. Second, the second half of the 1970s witnessed an awakening for a women's movement manifest in feminist political organizations and publications that symbolized the emergence of an extended space for the speech of female revolutionaries. Yet women from factories and villages, who could not enjoy the privileges of intellectual and political capital, were still less visible within the revolutionary and "communicative praxis." While the heightened political atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s provided women with an organizational and ideological foundation on which a discrete women's movement could be built, patriarchal and class hierarchies were barely rattled. The following subsection further scrutinizes the communication boom in the 1960s and 1970s and ponders the question of equality: was any hand entitled to hold a pen in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey?

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261 Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, 192.

4.2.3 *The Words of the Workers: Hammer, Sickle, and Pen*

> *He who wields a tool should be able to write a book, write it with passion and talent…*[262]
>
> – Henri Bellenger, *Le Vengeur*

> *It is too bad that we have to go on strike to educate ourselves.*[263]
>
> – A worker of Rhodiaceta chemical factory, *"Well-Behaved Workers Seldom Make History"*

> *The fight of my class is my own fight; I carry it wherever I go. For me, this was an art.*[264]
>
> – İdris Algül, *Şoför İdris*

In February 1967, the workers of the Rhodiaceta chemical factory in France went on strike, which would continue until March 1967, against poor working conditions and recently announced layoffs. In the end, a settlement was reached between management and workers' union, which did not address most of the workers' demands except for a limited wage increase. Donald M. Reid, in his article on the topic, narrates that during the strike, the workers of Rhodiaceta occupied the restaurant and, more importantly, the library of the factory, which according to company rules was only open for a half an hour a day, making it nearly impossible for the workers to visit during a normal work shift. Throughout the strike, the library remained open twenty-four hours a day pursuant to

262 Henri Bellenger, in *Le Vengeur* 10 (8 April 1871): 1-2 cited in Ross, *Communal Luxury*, 97.

263 A worker in the Rhodiaceta chemical factory in Besançon, France, cited in Reid, "Well-Behaved Workers Seldom Make History," 71.

264 "Sınıfımın kavgası, benim kavgamdır; benim şahsımda taşınıyor, nereye gidersem oraya. Bu benim için bir sanattı," in Algül, *Şoför İdris*, 109-110.

workers' demands, hosting not only readers but also theater players, musicians, and film directors. The workers organized cultural activities in the occupied restaurant and library that were attended by other workers, neighbors, and students.[265] Workers who could not find time to read and engage in cultural activities because of long, "dehumanizing" work hours found an oasis of culture in their occupied factory and collective action. It was not only a labor strike for better and more equitable working arrangements but also a "cultural battle," epitomized by endless debates among the workers on collective action, heated discussions after film screenings, polemical reading groups, and an effort to make a film about themselves.[266] The resultant film, *Classe de Lutte*, was an attempt by workers to take hold of the pen and the camera to tell their own stories, in other words "to challenge the norms about who speaks for whom."[267] This met with the Communist Party's disapproval as it regarded "cinema as the concern of filmmakers," which, in the party's opinion, categorically could not include workers.[268] Despite the Communist Party's displeasure in changing social roles, cultural activities and debates were a genuine legacy of the February-March 1967 strike in the Rhodiaceta factory, which was made concrete in the film of the workers by the workers. Hence, it can be asserted that the 1960s – or the events of May 1968 in French history – paved the way for the demolishing of the wall between the proletarian hands and art, eased by the collective action of workers and increased communication among various segments of society. All in all, "for workers to film was to cross a taboo in line with the May maxim that it… was forbidden to forbid,"[269] forbidden to limit workers to the confines of the factory or their hands and minds to manual labor.

Focusing on almost a century earlier, the philosopher Jacques Rancière, in his book *The Nights of Labor: The Worker's Dream in Nineteenth-Century France*, depicts the nights of a number of working class

265 Reid, "Well-Behaved Workers Seldom Make History," 69-71.

266 Ibid., 71.

267 A Rhodiaceta factory worker in the film group, cited in ibid., 73.

268 Ibid., 74.

269 Henri Traforetti, a Rhodiaceta factory worker in the film group, cited in ibid, 73.

men and women and their after-work practices, which differed from what common sense would predict. These manual labors from the nineteenth-century France, which was shaken by the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, engaged in reading and writing activities after the work, entering an intellectual sphere into which they had not been given any right to step. Illuminating "the history of those nights snatched from the normal round of work and repose,"[270] Rancière introduces a genealogy of the working class, in order to destroy "the unjustifiable and inescapable frontier separating those whom the deity destines for thinking from those whom he destines for shoemaking."[271] While he acknowledges that the writings, poems, and paintings of these worker-intellectuals did not represent the overall mentality of the working class of the period, he argues that these works still undermined "the ancestral hierarchy subordinating those dedicated to manual labor to those who have been given the privilege of thinking."[272]

The 1960s, in most of the world, was a period when "workers were also claiming for their agency,"[273] a difficult task in social orders where the "proportion of sons of farm workers, industrial workers and office workers [was] smaller in the population of the 'powerful,' whereas the proportion of sons of primary teachers, craftsmen and tradesmen and above all the sons of businessmen is much greater."[274] Following Rancière, this chapter traces the niche in the 1960s and 1970s in which differences between intellectuals and nonintellectuals became blurred and the segregation between students and workers abated. In the 1960s and 1970s, the revolutionary political arena in Turkey witnessed the blossoming of worker and peasant readers and writers who wrote columns in already existing periodicals or published their own.

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270 Jacques Rancière, *The Nights of Labor: The Worker's Dream in Nineteenth-Century France*, trans. John Drury (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), viii.

271 Ibid., 22.

272 Ibid., viii.

273 Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 347.

274 Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, 78.

In the 1960s, leftist political movements throughout the world were characterized by a "similarity of mental and emotional attitudes, forms of struggle, and collective practices (sit-ins, teach-ins, consciousness-raising groups, marches within the factories, occupations of public and private spaces)," shared by students, workers, peasants, and intellectuals.[275] The *Atelier Populaire*, elaborated upon above, stated that "'Bourgeois culture,' […] 'separates and isolates artists from other workers by according them a privileged status. We have decided to transform what we are in society'."[276] A shared, transformed culture would make direct links and collaborations easier. Although from different segments of the population with dissimilar objects of struggle, they "had in common… that desire to rebel, ideas about how to do it, a sense of alienation from the established order, and a profound distaste for authoritarianism in any form."[277] Congruently, in the case of Turkey, students, intellectuals, peasants, and workers with different issues pursued analogous forms of struggle, used a similar language, and comprised the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

Long before the student movements of the 1960s blossomed in Turkey, workers collectively engaged in trade unionism,[278] organized boycott campaigns and public meetings,[279] and had voice in periodicals and newspapers.[280] On the last day of 1961, nearly two hundred thousand

275 Passerini, "'Utopia' and Desire," 12.

276 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 17.

277 Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York: Random House, 2005), xvii.

278 "Gece Postası Yazı İşleri Müdürlüğü'ne Yeni Bir Sendika Kurulması Hakkında İstanbul İçki ve Meşrubat Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası Başkanı Necmi Aksoylu'nun Mektubu," Kemal Sülker Collection, Box no. 19, Envelope no. 1010, The Social History Research Foundation of Turkey (*Türkiye Sosyal Tarih Araştırma Vakfı* or TÜSTAV), August 8, 1955.

279 "T.C. İstanbul Örfi İdare Komutanlığı'nın İstanbul Sendikalar Birliği'ne Mısır Liman ve Yakıt İşçileri Sendikası'nın Türk Gemilerine Karşı Aldığı Boykot Kararına Karşı Düzenleyeceği Açık Hava Mitingine İzin Verilmemesi Hakkında Yazı," Kemal Sülker Collection, Box no. 32, Envelope no. 1673, TÜSTAV, October 11, 1961.

280 "İstanbul Müstakil İşçi Sendikaları Birliği'nin Grev, Jurnaller Konusuna ve 09.03.1956 tarihli Gece Postası Gazetesinde Yayınlanmış Yazıya Cevabı," Kemal Sülker Collection, Box no. 26, Envelope no. 1366, TÜSTAV, March 12, 1956.

workers gathered in Saraçhane demanding legislation of their right to association.[281] Opposite the dais was a huge banner depicting a worker in his work overalls shouting: "We, too, Have Something to Say!"[282] The Saraçhane Demonstration foretold a period in which workers would strive to speak their own words (see figure 4.16).[283]

Figure 4.16 "Words" of Workers from the Saraçhane Demonstration, December 31, 1961. SOURCE: Emek ve Adalet Platformu.

The worker movement in Turkey continued in the following years of the 1960s and 1970s, which witnessed an intense political mobility of organized workers. The number of organized workers in the DİSK gives insight into this mass mobility. In 1967, the year that the DİSK was founded, the number of members that paid union dues was estimated to be 17,500,

281 "İşçiler Büyük Mitinglerini Olgunluk İçinde Yaptılar," *Milliyet*, January 1, 1962, 1.

282 "Bizim de sözümüz var," Mehmet Ali Aybar, *Türkiye İşçi Partisi Tarihi*, ed. Kıvanç Koçak (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 153.

283 Alp Çıracı, "İşçiler, Esnaflar ve Karıncalar," Emek ve Adalet Platformu, last modified March 1, 2012, http://www.emekveadalet.org/faaliyetler/isciler-esnaflar-ve-karincalar-3/.

which rose to an estimated 523,700 members by September 1980.[284] In 1964, Singer factory workers initiated a long-term strike.[285] That same year witnessed the strikes of the workers of the government printing office in Ankara as well as bakery workers in Kayseri.[286] Additionally, while not workers in the traditional sense, many bank employees who were members of the Trade Union of Banking Workers of Turkey (Türkiye Banka İşçileri Sendikası) were on strike by the end of 1964.[287] In 1965, railroad workers in Eskişehir demanded their rights to unionize and strike by means of law.[288] Similarly, in 1966, the press workers of the newspaper *Demokrat İzmir* went on strike over disagreement on their collective agreement along with the bookbinders in Apa Ofset.[289] The political dynamism of workers was so high in the period that Kemal Sülker, a unionist, politician, and writer, called 1966 the "year of resistance for the proletariat."[290] In June 1968, printing workers organized under the umbrella of the Basın-İş had been striking for 112 days for their social rights,[291] which is to say that the very workers who produced the means of communication were on strike. In summer 1969, which was also heated by youth protests, workers in an iron-casting factory in Istanbul not only went on strike but occupied the factory for six days in their struggle for higher wages and further associational rights.[292] In September 1970, the

284 Koç and Koç, *DİSK Tarihi*, 89, 636.

285 "Singer Grevi," *Sosyal Adalet* 19, no. 1 (April 1964): 7.

286 "Kimin Malını Kime Satıyorsunuz," and "Grevcilerin Bildirisi Kayseri'de Heyecan Yarattı," *Gündem: Basın İşçilerinin Gazetesi* 153 (July 31, 1964): 1.

287 "Haberler," *Bank-İş: Türkiye Banka İşçileri Sendikası – Bank-İş'in Yayın Organıdır* 5 (December 15, 1964): 2.

288 "Muhterem Mensuplarımız," *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçileri Sendikası Haber Bülteni* 38 (April 28, 1965): 1.

289 "Grev Devam Ediyor: Türk Basın Tarihindeki İlk Greve İşyerindeki Bütün Kol İşçileri Katıldı," and "Apa Ofsette Grev," *Basın-İş: Türkiye Basın Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası Yayın Organı* 6 (November 15, 1966): 1.

290 Kemal Sülker, "1966 İşçi Sınıfı İçin Direnme Yılı Oldu," *Ant* 2 (January 10, 1967): 8-9.

291 "Basın-İş Grevi," *Türk Solu* 32 (June 25, 1968): 3.

292 "İşçiler, Köylüler, Gençler, Aydınlar, Bütün Yurtseverler! Demir Dökümün Yiğit İşçilerini Destekleyin," *İşçi-Köylü: Milli Demokratik Devrim Mücadelesinde Omuz Omuza* 3 (August 8, 1969): 1, 4.

workers of the Ankara Theater of Art victoriously ended their six-month-old strike.[293] On September 8, 1971, unionized chemistry workers in a pharmaceutical plant went on a strike, which would still be in progress in December, demanding higher wages and protesting the factory administration's unlawful hiring of substitute workers during the strike.[294] During the 1960s and 1970s, workers published press bulletins,[295] organized festivals,[296] and contributed to periodicals by writing articles and letters.[297] While their student counterparts occupied campuses, workers occupied factories; while students organized forums, workers were entering into legal and political discussions.[298]

The working class utilized the political techniques of sit-ins, factory occupations, and boycotts, long before university students discovered them. Students' rediscovery of the proletariat's way of striking, occupying, and boycotting created a snowball effect, in turn galvanizing the radical pioneering political movements of workers. The atmosphere of refusal and communicative-collective action affected their discoverers and re-discoverers alike. For instance, during the university occupations and boycotts of 1968, workers in the oil refinery of İpraş went on strike and boycotted the refectory until their social rights were acknowledged.[299] In

293 "6 Ay Süren Grev Mücadeleleriyle Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu İşçileri Patronu Dize Getirdi," *İşçi-Köylü: Milli Demokratik Devrim Mücadelesinde Omuz Omuza* 23 (October 1, 1970): 1.

294 "Grev," "Patronlar Grev Kırarken Yakalandılar," and "Hepimiz Grevdeyiz," *Kimya-İş: Türkiye Kimya Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası Yayın Organı* 17 (December 6, 1971): 1-3.

295 "Türkiye Sağlık İşçileri Sendikası Basın Bülteni ('Türkiye Kızılay Derneği Merkez Yöneticileri Kanunları Tanıtıyor' başlıklı Kızılay Merkez Yöneticilerini Protesto Açıklaması)," Kemal Sülker Collection, Box no. 1, Envelope no. 38, TÜSTAV, March 9, 1966.

296 "'Devrimci Lastik İşçileri 20. Yıl Şenlikleri'ne Herkesi Çağırır, 5 Nisan 1969 Cumartesi Saat 18.00, Spor ve Sergi Sarayı'nda' Afişinin Fotokopisi," İnci İşbulur Collection, Box no. 1, Envelope no. 48, TÜSTAV, 1969.

297 "Kırka'dan Ortak Mektup Yollayan İşçi Arkadaşlara Cevabımızdır," *Maden İşçisinin Sesi* (November-December 1975): 3.

298 "Türkiye Karayolları İşçileri Sendikası'nın Sendikalar Kanunu Tasarısı Üzerine Görüşleri," Kemal Sülker Collection, Box no. 18, Envelope no. 992, TÜSTAV, March 14, 1963 and "İstanbul Tekstil, Örme ve Giyim Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası 3 No'lu Bülteni," Kemal Sülker Collection, Box no. 26, Envelope no. 1359, TÜSTAV, May 14, 1962.

299 "450 İşçi Yemek Boykotuna Başladı," *Türk Solu* 32 (June 25, 1968): 3.

summer 1968, made fervent by the university occupation movements, 1,700 workers of the Derby Tire Factory, affiliated with the Lastik-İş, occupied the factory facilities, in protest of working conditions. Soon afterwards, students who occupied faculties started to visit workers who occupied factories, shouting the slogan of "Workers and Students in Solidarity!"[300] The occupation was successful, resulting in a collective agreement that met the workers' demands (see figure 4.17).[301]

İŞBAŞI ● Bir kaç gündür işçilerin işgalinde bulunan Derby Lâstik Fabrikasında işçi - işveren anlaşması sağlanmış ve dünden itibâren işbaşı yapılmıştır. Yapılan ön anlaşmaya göre toplu sözleşmeyi işveren Lâstik-İş Sendikası ile imzalayacaktır. İşveren hiç bir işçiyi işinden çıkartmamayı da kabul etmiştir. (Foto: Yeni İstanbul)

Figure 4.17 "Back to Work: Workers in the Derby Tire Factory, which has been occupied for a few days, have started to work again after reaching an agreement with employers. According to the agreement, employers will sign a collective labor contract with the Lastik-İş Union. Employers have also agreed not to dismiss any workers." SOURCE: *Yeni İstanbul* (4 July 1968).

300 "Bu da İşçilerden: İŞGAL İŞGAL İŞGAL – İşçi-Gençlik El Ele," *Türk Solu* 34 (July 9, 1968): 1.

301 "'İŞBAŞI,' *Yeni İstanbul*," Kemal Sülker Papers 132, IISH, July 4, 1968.

Around a shared political culture of action, classes ephemerally mingled in newly created spaces of politics. In Turkey of the 1960s and 1970s, revolutionary activists had an increased chance of encountering different people bound together by a dream of collective emancipation; a dream that was temporary and unfulfilled but nevertheless experienced as a possibility.

However, most intellectuals of the decade continued to evaluate workers and peasants as illiterate masses to be educated. As Mehmet Ali Aybar, the party leader of the TİP, expressed in a speech at the opening of the party's Eyüp branch, some political activists wrongly despised the leadership of the proletariat by claiming that most workers were illiterate and thus unqualified to solve socioeconomic problems.[302] In another example, in a letter dated October 1968, from the theater players of the *Halk Oyuncuları* to the DİSK, it was clearly stated that the greatest aim of the theater group was to raise the awareness of the proletariat.[303] In a similar vein, Adil Aşçıoğlu argued in an article published in *YÖN* that the proletariat in Turkey was indifferent to their own socioeconomic problems. It suffered from the lack of class consciousness, which could be overcome by scientific scrutiny of trade unions and workers.[304] Additionally, in an article by Kemal Sülker entitled "The Goal Embedded in the Education of the Workers," some technical problems of intellectual inequality were listed.

> Workers generally have lower education. Their level of education is lower than other students enrolled in advanced classes. Even though the applied curriculum is flawless, the format of lectures

302 "Vatan Gazetesi'nin 1.10.1962 Günlü Nüshasında Yayınlanan 'Aybar 'Faşizm Tehlikesi Var'' Başlıklı Haber," Nebil Varuy Collection, Box no. 7, Envelope no. 465, TÜSTAV, October 1, 1962.

303 "Çeşitli Tiyatrolarla Yazışmalar," DİSK Central Archive, Box no. 538, Envelope no. 2940, TÜSTAV, 1967-1970.

304 Adil Aşçıoğlu, "İşçi Sınıfımızın İlgisizliği," *YÖN* 214 (May 5, 1967): 13.

> is ill-suited for the level of the workers. For this reason, the workers lose their self-esteem, sink into an inferiority complex, and usually leave the lectures without having made any progress.[305]

In an interview about art and cinema, the DİSK leader Kemal Türkler remarked that it was impossible for workers to engage in artistic activities given the system of exploitation and unearned income in which the proletariat was obliged to think about nothing but breadwinning.[306] Sülker's comment above congruently blames insufficient socioeconomic conditions for workers' underdeveloped intellectual skills.

Yet while most leftist intellectuals and politicians of the period were making unhesitating judgments about workers' lack of class consciousness and need of education, workers were writing miscellaneous articles and poems for periodicals and brochures throughout the 1960s and 1970s, evoking Rancière's remarks about going "beyond wages, work hours, and the countless little grievances of the wage-earners."[307] Similar to "the capture of speech" in the French 1968 that "gave everyone access to every one of these debates that assailed both professional barriers and those of social milieus,"[308] this widespread yet momentary explosion in communication in Turkey rendered once-silent objects of journalism, history-writing, and education as speechmaking subjects. This was characterized not only by the taking of speech but also, as the Istanbul Trade Union of Journalists (İstanbul Gazeteciler Sendikası) expressed in one declaration, by the emergence of "cooperation and solidarity between workers of the

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305 "İşçiler umumiyetle daha az tahsil görmüşlerdir. Onların tahsil derecesi, olgun eğitim sınıfına dahil olanlardan daha aşağıdır. Her ne kadar bu sınıflarda tatbik edilen program mükemmelse de derslerin izah şekli işçi seviyesine uygun değildir. Bu yüzden çok kısa zamanda işçi kendine olan güvenini kaybeder, aşağılık duygusuna kapılır ve ekseriyetle de çalışmalarını yarıda bırakır ve hiçbir netice elde edilemez," Kemal Sülker, "İşçilerin Eğitimindeki Gaye," Kemal Sülker Collection, Box no. 10, Envelope no. 578, TÜSTAV, no date.

306 "DİSK Genel Başkanı Kemal Türkler'e Sanat ve Sinemaya İlişkin Görüşlerini Sorduk," *Yeni Türk Sineması: Sinema Emekçilerinin Gazetesi* 2 (July 1976): 12.

307 Rancière, *The Nights of Labor*, ix.

308 de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech*, 13.

mind and the body."[309] A cartoon that was published in the first issue of the periodical *İşçi-Köylü* clearly reflects the workers' and peasants' approach towards producing their own means of communication. A worker with a wrench and a peasant with a two-pronged hayfork shout out their weariness with the mainstream media in the face of a supposed politician, boss, and Muslim religious man. In the other hand of the worker swings a newspaper that has been published by the workers and peasants themselves (see figure 4.18).[310]

Figure 4.18 "Worker and Peasant: Enough with your deceptions! We will read our own papers!" SOURCE: *İşçi-Köylü: Milli Demokratik Devrim Mücadelesinde Omuz Omuza* 1 (8 July 1969).

309 "… fikir ve beden işçilerinin işbirliği ve dayanışma ruhu içinde bulunduklarını," "İstanbul Gazeteciler Sendikası'nın Gazetelere Gönderdiği 'Gazeteciler Bayramı' ile İlgili Yazı," Kemal Sülker Collection, Box no. 11, Envelope no. 616, TÜSTAV, January 9, 1962.

310 "İşçi ve Köylü," *İşçi-Köylü: Milli Demokratik Devrim Mücadelesinde Omuz Omuza* 1 (July 8, 1969): 1.

Correspondingly, in the 1960s and 1970s, workers and peasants, like students and intellectuals, were producing their own means of communication. For instance, among the pages of *Kurtuluş: İşçilerin Köylülerin Gazetesi*, which had the subheading "Newspaper of Workers and Peasants," several are spared for proletarian and peasant writers. Interspersed in the news pertaining to student, worker, and peasant movements, *Kurtuluş* included columns by worker-writers and poems by peasant-poets. In the August 1970 issue, workers from several factories voiced their attitude towards layoffs as well as the difficulties of working and campaigning under prohibitory laws.[311] On the correspondence page was a letter sent by İhsan Çevik who represented 200 farm workers from Çukurova who expressed their determination to overcome their landowners, banish American imperialism, and establish an egalitarian system.[312] Similarly, in a letter to Kemal Sülker dated January 27, 1975, a worker in Germany requested that his article about the rival Confederation of Trade Unions of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, or TÜRK-İŞ) be published in the DİSK's monthly periodical of politics and culture.[313]

To cite another example, the writers for the bimonthly periodical *Proleter* were all from the ranks of workers and peasants. In the second issue, there were articles by a minibus driver, Yalkın Özerden, who named his minibus "the Proletarian," workers Erol Öcal and Ali Kaya, bookseller M. Şükrü Yıldızoğlu, *saz* virtuoso Hasan Sarıaslan, construction worker Abbas Topçu, and farmer Kadir Usluer in which they expressed their problems, discussed their worldviews, and wrote literary works.[314] Likewise, the ninth issue of the periodical was prepared and issued by workers and farmers, whose hands were accustomed not only to hammers and sickles but also to pen and paper. As the plasterer Mehmet Tuncer from Malatya

311 "İşçiler Ne Diyorlar?" *Kurtuluş: İşçilerin Köylülerin Gazetesi* 4 (August 1970): 4.

312 "10 Lira Gündelikle Irgatlık Yapıyoruz," *Kurtuluş: İşçilerin Köylülerin Gazetesi* 2 (June 1970): 2.

313 "Almanya'da Yaşayan Bir İşçiden Mektup," Kemal Sülker Papers 135, IISH, January 27, 1975.

314 *Proleter* 2 (December 15, 1967).

wrote, farmers and workers of Turkey would henceforth see, hear, and speak, for they were the true makers and teachers of history.[315]

Figure 4.19 "Peasants graffitiing the walls." Source: İşçi-Köylü: Milli Demokratik Devrim Mücadelesinde Omuz Omuza 1 (8 July 1969).

In 1969, landless, impoverished peasants from the Kayadibi village of Yozgat, with the support of nearby peasants and young militants from the cities, started a democratic peasant movement for the expropriation of

315 *Sıvacı* Mehmet Tuncer, *Proleter* 9 (May 10, 1969): 4.

their landowners' for even redistribution.[316] During their protests, the peasants employed a means of communication predominantly used by young activists in the cities, namely painting slogans on walls (see figure 4.19).[317]

Moreover, an analysis of archival materials and periodicals reveals that workers were aware of their socioeconomic problems and had attained class consciousness. The periodical *Çalışanlar*, on July 16, 1962, published a letter from textile workers enumerating their financial difficulties.[318] In the periodical *Ekmek*, plumbing worker İkram Taş defined socialism as the only way for the liberation for the working class.[319] In *Sendika*, published by the Karabük branch of the Maden-İş, there were articles on minimum wage and the new labor law[320] that clarified the legal statuses of workers in Turkey. Again, in *Sendika*, an editorial dated December 22, 1967, remarked that workers should gain class consciousness and share it with their comrades in order to stop exploitation by the bourgeoisie.[321] Similarly, in the periodical of the union of elementary school teachers, the worker-poet Ayhan Keçeli criticized the "order of slavery" that forced people like miners and immigrant workers into poverty, and he urged these people to overthrow the system.[322] Several letters in the correspondence section of *İşçi-Köylü*, where letters from workers and peasants were published, mentioned socialist struggle and political organization in factories and villages. For instance, in the letter of a tobacco producer from the village of Selendi in Akhisar, the author expressed the determination to contribute to the democratic and socialist struggle through strengthening the union of tobacco producers and

316 "Kayadibi Köylüsü Ağaları Yenecek," *İşçi-Köylü: Milli Demokratik Devrim Mücadelesinde Omuz Omuza* 1 (July 8, 1969): 4.

317 "Köylüler Duvarlara Yazı Yazarken," ibid.

318 "Dokuma İşçileri Geçim Zorluğundan Şikâyetçi," *Çalışanlar* 9 (July 16, 1962): 1, 4.

319 "Tek Kurtuluşumuz Sosyalizmdir," *Ekmek* 3 (July 5, 1969): 2.

320 Ender Etki, "Asgari Ücret: Türk-İş İşçi Aleyhindeki Bir Tasarının Kanunlaşmasına Yardım Etti" and Yalçın Hız, "İşçi Bayramı," *Sendika* 20 (August 5, 1967): 1, 4.

321 M. Nuri Ayvalı, "Sınıf Bilincine Varmak Zorundayız," *Sendika* 27 (December 22, 1967): 1, 3.

322 Ayhan Keçeli, "Kurtuluş," *İlkin Sesi: İlkokul Öğretmeninin Sesidir* 36 (June 1970), 4.

organizing tobacco demonstrations.[323] A letter from sixty landless peasants from Karaçulluk village, after describing the ordeal of working for a landowner, requested copies of the periodical which they believed would awaken the peasants politically.[324]

However, like the worker-poets that Rancière excavated from history, who "spen[t] their lives in anonymity, out of which emerge[d] an occasional name: A worker-poet or a strike leader, the organizer of an ephemeral association or the editor of a journal that quickly disappeared,"[325] most of the workers in Turkey were anonymous. Nevertheless, some influential people of letters also emanated from among workers and peasants in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, one of whom was İbrahim Yıldız, a worker in the iron and steel plant in Karabük. During the 1960s, Yıldız, along with two other Karabük workers, published his poems and articles in a local worker newspaper called *Sendika*.[326] Besides his progressive poems, Yıldız also wrote articles on art, politics, unions, worker problems, and the association of workers and intellectuals.[327] The periodical *Sendika* was in fact issued by only three writer-poets who used several pseudonyms: Mithat Yaban wrote under the names Altan Esin, Ender Etki, and Yalçın Hız; Ömer Taşdemir used the pseudonyms Faruk Seymenli, Olcay Tuna, and Selim Seda; and İbrahim Yıldız himself was also Vahit Irgat, Sadık Özçoban, İbrahim Osman, Osman Çiftçi, and Yıldız Osmanoğlu in the pages of *Sendika*.[328]

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323 "Devrimcilere Köyden Mektup," *İşçi-Köylü: Milli Demokratik Devrim Mücadelesinde Omuz Omuza* 1 (July 8, 1969): 3.

324 "Muhtar Gazeteyi Köylüden Sakladı," *İşçi-Köylü: Milli Demokratik Devrim Mücadelesinde Omuz Omuza* 3 (August 8, 1969): 3.

325 Rancière, *The Nights of Labor*, viii.

326 Emine Sevinç Öksüzoğlu, "Bir Usta Kalem İbrahim Yıldız ve 'İşçi Şair Olursa:' İbrahim Yıldız (1928-1994)." *Edebiyat Defteri*, last modified February 16, 2008, http://www.edebiyatdefteri.com/yazioku.asp?id=33829.

327 Güngör Gençay, "İşçi Şairlerden İki Ses," *Evrensel*, last modified April 10, 2008, https://www.evrensel.net/haber/226409/isci-sairlerden-iki-ses.

328 Mithat Yaban, "Dostum İbrahim Yıldız," last modified March 29, 2011, http://www.mithatyaban.com/yazilarim/dostum-ibrahim-yildiz.html-0.

The periodical included complex political arguments and highly intellectual art reviews along with many poems, which strongly indicated that the division between people of letters and people of hammers was diminished. In the twentieth issue, on the second anniversary of the periodical, the editorial recounts that

> in the first year of this periodical, we attempted to form a connection between workers, artists, and intellectuals, by publishing poems, drawings, short stories, essays, reviews, and articles about the proletariat. We have preserved this connection by posting 500 issues to professors, artists, writers, publishers, libraries, and student organizations, 215 to trade unions, 250 to engineers, doctors, teachers, employers, government attorneys, judges, and lawyers, and 200 to parliamentarians. 2000 issues have been delivered in Karabük, and 1000 additional issues have been sent to the branches of our trade union. In this way, the periodical has reached its 4000 readers in various villages and cities.[329]

Therefore, *Sendika* not only diminished the boundaries between industrial and intellectual production but also created a connection among various segments of society within the shared scope of liberating the proletariat. If the 1960s in Turkey served as "an age of Enlightenment" marked by an explosion in the number of published books, pamphlets, translations, and artistic productions,[330] İbrahim Yıldız and his cowriters

329 "Bir yıllık yayın sırasında, çalışanlarla, sanatçılar ve düşün adamları arasındaki bağ kurma amacı sağlanarak, çalışanlarla ilgili, toplumcu şiir, desen, öykü, deneme, inceleme ve makaleler yayınlanmıştır. Bu bağ; öğretim üyesi, sanatçı, yazar, yayıncılar, bazı kütüphaneler ve gençlik kuruluşları olmak üzere 500, Türkiye'de kurulu sendikalardan genel merkez ve şubeler olmak üzere 215, mühendis, doktor, öğretmen, işveren, savcı, yargıç ve avukat olmak üzere 250 ve parlâmenterlerden 200 olmak üzere toplam olarak bine yakın SENDİKA göndermekle devam etmektedir. 2000 adedi Karabük'te dağıtılmakta, bin adedi de sendikamızın diğer şubelerine gönderilmek üzere genel merkezimize gönderilmektedir. Böylece pek çok köy ve kentindeki dört bin okuyucusuna ulaşması sağlanmaktadır," "Başyazı: İki Yaşına Girerken," *Sendika* 20 (August 5, 1967): 1.

330 Toprak, "1968'i Yargılamak ya da 68 Kuşağına Mersiye:" 158.

were definite contributors who spent their leisure times at night for intellectual production. "Leaving the field open, for once, to the thinking of those not 'destined' to think,"[331] the 1960s and then the 1970s witnessed the pushing of boundaries between the muscle and the brain. Recalling discussions in the Paris Commune of 1871 on being "complete" people that "produce not only with their hands but with the intelligence,"[332] the writer-workers of the period in Turkey united hand labor and intellectual labor. Furthermore, this occurred in a period when bonds between social segments deemed mutually exclusive were being established, when speech production and circulation were being decentralized, and when the emergence of egalitarian communication widened the limits of the public sphere in which, borrowing from Passerini, "the utopia of a direct communication with anybody suddenly became true."[333]

İbrahim Yıldız, under the pseudonym Yıldız Osmanoğlu, wrote book reviews for one of *Sendika*'s columns called "Useful Publications" ("Yararlı Yayınlar"). In reviewing Jack London's *The Iron Heel*, Yıldız argues that because the book reveals the real intentions of the exploitive class, it would help oppressed classes gain class consciousness.[334] On the next page, Yıldız mentions *The Iron Heel* again and reemphasizes the need for the exploited to read the book along the path of breaking their chains.[335] It was the ultimate aim of *Sendika* to link the exploited class of workers and peasants with literature and intellectual discussion. For *Sendika*'s worker-poets, reading was a means of class liberation. Therefore, when they took a step further and started writing, they took the means of their liberation into their own hands. Recalling Rancière again, the poetry, political articles, and literary reviews by workers signified collapse of the walls of hierarchy and demarcation that separated those with hammers in their hands from those with pens. If this is a world, as Ross asserts, that is "divided between those who can and those who cannot

331 Rancière, *The Nights of Labor*, xii.

332 Ross, *Communal Luxury*, 98.

333 Passerini, "'Utopia' and Desire," 23.

334 Yıldız Osmanoğlu, "Yararlı Yayınlar," *Sendika* 14 (March 10, 1967): 2.

335 İbrahim Yıldız, "Harfler ve İnsanlar," *Sendika* 14 (March 10, 1967): 3.

afford the luxury of playing with words and images,"[336] the publishers of *Sendika* punctured a hole in that wall through which words and verse flowed. What made this transgression possible was the highly-politicized atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s. Workers of the period engaged in politics and organized via trade unions. Pertinent political activities and routines, which connected them to different segments of society and different lines of thinking, helped them to recognize and struggle with social divisions. Politicization made social hierarchies visible and vulnerable; politicization opened a gap of possibility in which reading and writing became, treading lightly in using the term, a "communal luxury."[337] As stated, the publisher of *Sendika* was the Karabük branch of the Maden-İş.

To sum up, the encounter of intellectuals or students with workers, or the possibility of it, was the true legacy of the 1960s and 1970s. It was a moment of "concrete utopia," harvesting an array of ideas and practices to push the horizon and go beyond the existing social order by striving to demolish its settled boundaries. However, the truth, as publicly proclaimed by the hegemonic narrative that has been sponsored since the 1980s in Turkey, hides this legacy and removes workers from the picture, leaving students of the decade as the only witnesses and activists. Accordingly, Ross suggests for May '68 in the West that

> the principal idea of May was the union of intellectual contestation with workers' struggle. Another way of saying this is that the political subjectivity that emerged in May was a *relational* one, built around a polemics of equality: A day-to-day experience of identifications, aspirations, encounters and missed encounters, meetings, deceptions, and disappointments… When the union of intellectual contestation with workers struggle, when that idea slips away or is forgotten, what remains of '68 cannot be much more than the prefiguration of an "emancipatory" counterculture, a metaphysics of desire and liberation, the rehearsal for a world

336 Ross, *Communal Luxury*, 112.

337 Ibid.

> made up of "desiring machines" and "autonomous individuals" rooted to the irreducible ground of personal experience.[338]

As remarked in chapter 3, the public memory of the leftist politicization of the period in Turkey has mostly focused on students, universities, and young revolutionary icons, neglecting or undervaluing the proletariat. This act of "active forgetting" depoliticizes the period by confounding political roles and iconic parkas and disremembering proletarian activities. Moreover, this perspective has created a wall between the 1960s and 1970s so thick that the two decades have become separate in memory. However, this subchapter illustrates the continuity between the two decades in terms of proletarian activities of communication.

This subchapter has ultimately broken historical time by searching for the existence of political and communicative practices involving workers in the empty spaces between the historical narrative and archival findings. This has the potential to question presentist impulses, thus weakening the hegemonic historical narrative and shared recollective practices that have obscured once-possible moments of egalitarian communication. By indicating the possibility of a nonhierarchical revolutionary and "communicative praxis," in which proletarians produced letters and speech, this chapter breaks the immobility and incontestability of the historical narrative of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. Breaking the historical illusion of cause and effect, this dissertation ultimately traces the unrealized or vanished historical possibilities embedded in the 1960s and 1970s. Only then can one discover the empty spaces of history belonging to the people of the period: by fighting presentist beliefs that have locked a moment in history into a cage of oblivion.

§ 4.3 Conclusion

In his book, *The Unavowable Community*, Maurice Blanchot ponders the event (or non-event) of May 1968 in France. The aim of the protestors was not to overthrow the government or the system to replace it with another.

338 Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, 11-12.

The aim was to allow a possibility to arise: "the possibility… of a *being-together* that gave back all the right to equality in fraternity through a freedom of speech that elated everyone." Everybody spoke with each other, to the public, on the walls, and these acts of speech got ahead of what was said.[339] This chapter traced these acts of speaking and "being-together" – an explosion in communication – in the Turkish case.

This chapter has analyzed the abundance of publications and profusion of speech in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, specifically in leftist circles. Thorough research in the dusty archives of periodicals, brochures, bulletins, leaflets, posters, and reports of speeches and debates has unearthed a distinctive "communicative praxis" that paralleled revolutionary practices. The heightened politicization of the 1960s and 1970s paved the way for a boom in communication that manifested itself as a quantitative rise in publications and speech. Every political organization of the period was motivated to communicate with the wider public and thus produced its own publications.

The distinctiveness of this praxis originates from several facts. First, the new praxes of communication that blossomed on highly-politicized university campuses and in factories in Turkey amounted to a "capture of speech," which not only challenged the authorities' monopoly on knowledge and speech but also created its own means of communication such as public forums and graffiti. During campus occupations and boycotts, students claimed their right to speak, as did workers during factory occupations. Moreover, besides students and workers, Kurds and Alevis also partook in the "communicative praxis," publishing their own periodicals to express ethnic and cultural identities. Therefore, within the politicized atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s which was partly enabled by constitutional liberties, liberated and egalitarian communication emerged as a possibility.

Second, the boom in communication was both geographically and socioeconomically widespread. Research on the period's periodicals shows

339 Blanchot, *The Unavowable Community*, 30-31.

that communication through publications in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey was pursued not only in large cities but also in small towns and villages. Furthermore, not only intellectuals and students but also workers and peasants were part of the "communicative praxis," unleashing the possibility of a more egalitarian type of communication. The existence of workers and peasants as readers and writers in the 1960s and 1970s diminished the divisions between people of letters and hammers, between intellectuals and the proletariat. In addition to workers and peasants, women were also a part of the communication boom, especially in the second half of the 1970s. Therefore, the political atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s provided workers, peasants, and women with their own means of communication. Yet while class and gender inequalities became visible and were resisted, they were hardly shattered.

Third, heightened politicization and a correlated boom in communication paved the way for building new relationships among intellectuals and nonintellectuals, students and workers, and urban militants and peasants. The channels of leftism and the new praxis of communication in the 1960s and 1970s bound university campuses, factory floors, and villages together, rendering unimaginable relationships possible. Moreover, the archival analysis has shown that these new relationships and the communication boom that engendered them proceeded continuously from the 1960s throughout the 1970s, contradicting the current notion of a discontinuity between the two decades.

This chapter ultimately sheds light on the period of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey by scrutinizing the communication boom. Delving into archival documents has uncovered historical moments, such as the presence of worker-poets, the relationships among workers and intellectuals, and the continuous communication boom that lasted through the 1970s, which have ceased to be a part of memory. In other words, the dust in the archives has helped remove the fog of memory. As this chapter underscores, the distinctiveness of the era of the 1960s and 1970s originates from the fact that the unprecedent experience of a "communicative praxis" that affected a wide public was based on rebellion against authority and a revolutionary energy to change the world. The communication

boom of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey created a utopic moment that encapsulated a niche of presently-inconceivable possibility. Although obliviated, it is ready to be rediscovered. While abstaining from mythologizing the communication boom, this chapter has sought to rediscover the historical possibility it created in the 1960s and 1970s, which has since been caught in the nets of "active forgetting." This dissertation continues with an analysis of the related historical moment of the education boom in the 1960s and 1970s.

5

The Education Boom of the 1960s and 1970s: The Utopia of Revolutionary Education

In the environment of partial freedom after the Constitution of 1961 that I call "the age of enlightenment," students read ceaselessly; as they read, they discovered the backwardness, the depravity of the country, the degeneracy of the university; they came to understand the world. When reading What is Socialism*, we asked Tarık Zafer Tunaya, "Professor, why have you never mentioned these." He answered wittily, "We will learn together."*[1]

– Bozkurt Nuhoğlu, *Sokak Güzeldir*

1 "1961 Anayasasıyla gelen, benim 'aydınlanma çağı' dediğim kısmi özgürlük ortamında öğrenciler sürekli okudu, okudukça ülkenin geri kalmışlığını, çarpıklığını, üniversitenin yozluğunu gördüler, dünyayı fark ettiler. *Sosyalizm Nedir* kitabını okurken, Tarık Zafer Tunaya'ya, 'Hocam, siz bunlardan neden hiç bahsetmediniz' diye sorunca, espriyle 'Hep beraber öğreneceğiz' demişti," Bozkurt Nuhoğlu, in Nadire Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir*, 22.

... looking from today, 68 was a good "school period;" this is how I define it.[2]

– Çetin Uygur, *Sokak Güzeldir*

The Cambridge Dictionary of English defines education as "the process of teaching and learning in a school or college, or the knowledge that you get from this."[3] Similarly, the Oxford English Dictionary highlights the place as well as the systematic process: "the process of receiving or giving systematic instruction, especially at a school or university."[4] Therefore, education is usually defined as a procedure that signifies a formal reception of knowledge, generally in schools, which is to say in government-monitored institutions. However, a study of the archival materials from the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey reveals that especially leftist circles defined the concept of education more broadly in their periodicals, bulletins, union meetings, and political forums.

While this chapter focuses specifically on educational practices that were outside of government control, official statistics also reveal a story of an explosion in general education in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. At the beginning of the 1960-1961 school year, there were 55 faculties and colleges in Turkey; by 1977-1978, the total number of higher education institutions increased to 361. While 65,297 students were enrolled in Turkish institutions of higher education in 1960-1961, that number rose to 108,632 in 1966-1967, and to 346,476 in 1977-1978. The number of faculties and colleges decreased to 321 in 1980-1981, and the number of students

2 "... bugünden bakınca 68 iyi bir 'okul dönemi;' ben öyle tanımlıyorum," Çetin Uygur, in ibid., 92.

3 "Education," Cambridge Dictionary, accessed September 11, 2018, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/education.

4 "Education," in *Oxford Dictionary of English*, Second Edition, eds. Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 554.

dropped to 237,369 that year,[5] a decline that can be explained by escalating political violence and the economic crisis of the late 1970s. The education boom of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as heightened leftist politicization, progressed along with this rise in general education.

This chapter delves into the archives to trace the understanding of education employed in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey by unionized teachers in schools and by leftist organizations outside of schools. The in-depth scrutiny of periodicals of the TÖS, TÖB-DER, and İKD, reportage from *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* newspapers, and an analysis of findings from the IISH unearth a rising trust and engagement in education – which is to say, an education boom – that paralleled the period's explosion in communication. The chapter starts with the unionization and association experiences of the TÖS between 1965 and 1971 and the TÖB-DER[6] between 1971 and 1980. Emphasizing the continuity from the TÖS to the TÖB-DER, the chapter analyzes how teachers' organizations in the 1960s and 1970s developed a more democratic understanding of education as a step of enlightenment en route to revolution. Moreover, they attempted to implement their new ideas in public schools. Teachers' associations and other leftist political organizations agreed that the scope of education surpassed the walls of public classrooms; therefore, the period witnessed a rise in nongovernmental means and places of education in union offices, political meetings, and neighborhoods. Through these new educational praxes, hitherto disparate social groups established new sociopolitical

5 *Statistical Indicators*, 72-73.

6 The association was first founded with the name the Teachers' Unity of Turkey (Türkiye Öğretmenler Birliği, or TÖB) on September 3, 1971. When the Ministry of Internal Affairs discommended the word "unity" in the name, the association changed its name to the Teachers' Association of Unity and Solidarity of Turkey (Türkiye Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği, or TÖBDER) on November 23, 1971. When the Law of Associations was amended to oblige cabinet approval of "Turkey" in associations' names, the association, for the last time, changed its name to the All Teachers' Association of Unity and Solidarity (Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği, or TÖB-DER) during its second extraordinary general meeting. This dissertation uses the TÖB-DER to refer to all three: TÖB, TÖBDER, and TÖB-DER. Ulutaş, "70'li Yıllarda Bir Direnme Pratiği: TÖB-DER," 349; Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 34-36, 143.

bonds. Unionized teachers and leftist groups in the 1960s and 1970s aspired to realize a new concept of education in which everyone in society would have a share.

In leftist circles of the period, educational inequality stemming from class inequality was a heated topic of discussion. The theoretical aspirations of a more democratic education that emerged in public classrooms and union meeting rooms aimed to destroy the barrier between manual and mental labor. While the educational practices of these unionized teachers and leftist political organizations did not totally succeed, they did create small niches in the government educational system and in non-government places of education within which a more democratic understanding of education became a social possibility. In this respect, unionized teachers and leftist organizations of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey struggled to transform class-biased practices of education into indispensable, shared practices for all of society.

Similar to the multifarious political ideas presented in the previous chapter, the ideas that have been excavated from the archives for this chapter are diverse and occasionally contentious, even within the same organization. As with the communication boom, ideological differences and clashes were part of the education boom of the 1960s and 1970s. The utopia of revolutionary education that surfaced in the period flourished with a diversity of ideas and a profusion of future projections that together extended the realm of practice.

Briefly, the heightened politicization of the 1960s and 1970s opened the path for an effusion in education that became manifest in the rise in the number of unionized teachers and in educational activities by leftist organizations. Every leftist political organization of the period discussed their views on education in their publications and speeches, and they conducted their own educational activities. Therefore, mirroring the communication boom discussed in the previous chapter, a distinctive educational praxis emerged around leftist circles in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. This chapter moves forward with the experiences of teachers' political organizations in the 1960s and 1970s.

§ 5.1 The Utopia of Revolution through Education: The Cases of the TÖS and the TÖB-DER

Civil servants in Turkey gained their effective right to unionize in June 1965 with the enactment of Law No. 624 on the Unions of Civil Servants on June 8 and its promulgation in the *Official Gazette* on June 17. Before the enactment of the law, the Constitution of 1961 already mentioned this right for both workers and civil servants. Article 46 of the constitution stated that employees and employers had the right to establish, become a member of, and leave trade unions without prior permission. However, the constitution left the regulation of the related right for civil servants to a separate law.[7] Law No. 624 subsequently regulated the limits and liberties of unionization for civil servants, setting the rules for the establishment, membership, and activities of their trade unions, while forbidding political activities, strikes, and demonstrations.[8] Enjoying this new limited liberty, civil servants of various government institutions established 658 unions between 1965 and 1971.[9] Among these, the TÖS, which was founded on July 8, 1965, stood out given its widespread branch offices and a high number of members.[10] Following the TÖS, teachers also founded the İLK-SEN on July 11, 1965.[11]

Before the establishment of the TÖS, teachers in Turkey already had experience with professional organization. Local associations of approximately eight thousand teachers had organized under the umbrella of the Union of Teachers' Mutual Aid Associations (Öğretmen Yardımlaşma

7 Article 46, "1961 Anayasası."

8 "Devlet Personeli Sendikaları Kanunu," *Resmi Gazete* (June 17, 1965), 1-3. in November 1969, the Constitutional Court declared the article unconstitutional and ruled against the prohibition of demonstrations by civil servants. Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 50.

9 Demir, "Türkiye'de Kamu Görevlileri Dernekleri," 58.

10 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 74.

11 "İLK-SEN (Türkiye İlkokul Öğretmenleri Sendikası)," in *Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, ed. Oya Baydar (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 30.

Dernekleri Birliği, or ÖYDB) in 1948, which was renamed the National Union of Teachers' Associations of Turkey (Türkiye Öğretmen Dernekleri Milli Birliği, or TÖDMB) in 1950, and again renamed the National Federation of Teachers' Associations of Turkey (Türkiye Öğretmen Dernekleri Milli Federasyonu, or TÖDMF) in 1954.[12] By 1966, the federation was composed of 462 associations and seventy-two thousand members.[13] In addition, in 1949, graduates of the Village Institutes[14] started to establish associations of village teachers, which were conglomerated into the Federation of Village Teachers' Associations of Turkey (Türkiye Köy Öğretmen Dernekleri Federasyonu, or TKÖDF) on September 14, 1958.[15] The TÖS inherited the organizational structures and members of the TÖDMF and the TÖKDF; moreover, in 1969, the TÖDMF disbanded and transferred its properties to the TÖS.[16]

Building itself on this material and organizational legacy, the TÖS became an influential trade union that succeeded in organizing thousands of teachers in the second half of the 1960s. Table 5.1 shows the approximate number of TÖS members and branches between 1966 and 1971 compared to the total number of teachers in Turkey.[17] The union had almost

12 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 55.

13 Ibid., 67.

14 For further information on the Village Institutes, see İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, *Canlandırılacak Köy* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019).

15 Niyazi Altunya, "Köy Öğretmen Dernekleri," in *Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, 295.

16 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 54, 66.

17 The bylaws of the TÖS specify that those who work in the field of education and training in official institutions of education and in universities can become members of the TÖS. Fakir Baykurt also confirms that the TÖS had university professors among its members; however, their number cannot be determined. The total number of university professors in 1970/71 was 9,031, around 5% of the total number of teachers. Moreover, there were unions for university assistants, namely the ÜNAS, and professors, namely the Union of University Professors (*Üniversite Öğretim Üyeleri Sendikası*), whose numbers are also uncertain. Therefore, the percentages with respect to TÖS membership in this chapter are approximations and disregard that there were members from universities. Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 82; Baykurt, *İfade*, 141; *Statistical Indicators*, 73; Feyzullah Ertuğrul, *TÖS Tarihinden Esintiler I* (Ankara: Eğitim-Sen Yayınları, 2017), 205.

twenty-one thousand members in 1966, which rose to seventy-two thousand members by 1971. While approximately 17% of teachers in Turkey were members in 1966, the percentage increased to 37% by 1969 and 40% by 1971. Moreover, the presence of unregistered members who did not want to or could not pay membership fee signifies that stated membership numbers were lower than actual numbers.[18] Furthermore, the TÖS was able to open branches in sixty-six out of sixty-seven cities, excluding only Bitlis.[19] With the advantage of being able to organize teachers in public schools all over Turkey, the TÖS increased the number of its branches from 252 to 535 in only six years. With its high numbers and wide geographical distribution, the TÖS was an effective teachers' union in the late 1960s (see table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Number of TÖS Members.[20]

Academic Year	Number of Union Branches	Number of Unionized Teachers	Total Number of Teachers
1965/66	252	21,000	121,287
1968/69	500	60,000	158,940
1970/71	535	72,000	180,197

SOURCE Koç (2015), 99; Ertuğrul (1998), 277; *Statistical Indicators* (2012), 64-71.

In addition to the TÖS, the İLK-SEN was also able to organize elementary school teachers. Feyzullah Ertuğrul, a chairperson of the TÖS, claimed that the number of İLK-SEN members was approximately 30 thousand in 1969.[21] Having organized more than half of the teachers in Turkey, the

18 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 99.

19 Ibid., 98.

20 The numbers of union branches and members in 1966 and 1969 are from the months of July. While Koç states that there were 72,000 unionized teachers in the TÖS by August 1970, Ertuğrul provides the same number for September 1971. Ibid., 99; Ertuğrul, "TÖS (Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası)," in *Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3, ed. Oya Baydar (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 277. The total number of teachers in Turkey includes elementary, secondary, and high schools, as well as vocational school teachers. *Statistical Indicators*, 64-71.

21 Ertuğrul, "Genel Öğretmen Boykotu ve Öğrettikleri," *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi* 20, no. 188-189 (February-March 1996): 31.

leftist teacher unions of the TÖS and İLK-SEN had a considerable influence over the approach towards education.

As explored in chapter 2, the military intervention of 1971 targeted many political organizations, including the unions of civil servants. After an amendment to the constitution and promulgation of a related law, the government prohibited civil servants from founding or joining trade unions.[22] With these legal changes, hundreds of legitimate civil servant unions became illegal. Military law commands established after the military memorandum of 1971 closed the TÖS and İLK-SEN along with many other trade unions. Moreover, the military was adamant about punishing unionized teachers. The executive board of the TÖS was tried in military courts in a case mentioned in the previous chapter.

During the TÖS trial, in September 1971, former unionized teachers of the TÖS and İLK-SEN who were determined to sustain and further the organization of teachers established an association called the TÖB.[23] The association, which would evolve into the TÖB-DER, was a direct continuation of the TÖS and İLK-SEN unions in terms of membership and organizational form. Moreover, the TÖS transferred its properties to the TÖB in October 1971.[24]

With its inherited experience, the TÖB-DER soon became an extensive teachers' association. Soon after it was established, in early November 1971, the association reached 140 branches. It had 160 branches by the end of that month and 240 by the end of the year.[25] As table 5.2 exhibits, by the end of academic year 1971/1972, the number of branches was 280.[26] The association maintained this pace of organization in the following years. The number of its branches rose to 430, 506, 520, 560, and 576 in March, September, October, and December 1974 and April 1975, respectively.[27] By

22 "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasasının Bazı Maddelerinin Değiştirilmesi ve Geçici Maddeler Eklenmesi Hakkında Anayasa Değişikliği," *Resmi Gazete* (September 22, 1971), 2, 3.

23 Ulutaş, "70'li Yıllarda Bir Direnme Pratiği: TÖB-DER," 349.

24 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 28, 35.

25 Ibid., 39-40, 44.

26 Ibid., 72.

27 Ibid., 172, 192, 194, 198, 210, 212, 233, 263.

the time the association is desisted, the total number of branches was approximately 650. Given the lack of archival materials, it is difficult to specify the exact numbers of members; nevertheless, according to estimates, the association had approximately 30 thousand members by April 1972, 100 thousand members by September 1974, and 160 thousand to 200 thousand members by 1979 (see table 5.2).[28]

Table 5.2 Number of TÖB-DER Members.[29]

Academic Year	Number of Branches	Number of Organized Teachers	Total Number of Teachers
1971/72	280	30,000	192,078
1974/75	576	100,000	230,200
1979/80	650-670	160-200,000	294,584

SOURCE Çelenk (1990), 16; Altunya (1998b), 273; Aydın (2016), 502; Statistical Indicators (2012), 65-71.

As the numbers show, like the TÖS, the TÖB-DER was a widespread, influential teachers' organization. The two subchapters below analyze the periodicals and bulletins of the TÖS and the TÖB-DER, as well as relevant memoirs to trace back the associations' understandings of education.

5.1.1 *The TÖS and the Teacher's Duty of "Awakening the People"*

In his opening speech at the first extraordinary general meeting of the TÖS, on August 22, 1967, the chairperson, Feyzullah Ertuğrul, defined the

28 Ibid., 192; Altunya, "TÖB-DER (Tüm Eğitim Öğretim Emekçileri Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği)," in *Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3, 273; Çelenk, *Hukuk Açısından TÖB-DER Davası*, 16.

29 The numbers of union branches in 1972 and 1975 are from June and April, respectively. While Halit Çelenk and Altunya state that the number of TÖB-DER branches was 650 by the time its activities desisted, Gültekin Gazioğlu, the former chairperson of the association, stated that the number was 670. Çelenk, *Hukuk Açısından TÖB-DER Davası*, 16; Altunya, "TÖB-DER," 273; Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 502. The total number of teachers in Turkey includes elementary, secondary, and high schools, as well as vocational school teachers. *Statistical Indicators*, 65-71.

TÖS "a place pulsing with the free thought of teachers."[30] The expansion in the frontiers of thinking coincided with an expansion in the frontiers of teaching. Unionized teachers of the period were determined to carry education beyond the classrooms. This subchapter analyzes in detail how the members of the TÖS broadened the concept of education by augmenting unionized teachers' tools for political protest, expanding the idea of revolutionism in teaching, and consequently building bridges among various segments of society. As one of the most influential and widespread political organizations in Turkey between 1965 and 1971, the TÖS was an influential actor in the education boom, in which the shackles binding education to classrooms were broken and a revolutionary, multidirectional, egalitarian idea and practice of education surfaced as a possibility.

5.1.1.1 Educating the People: "Education for Revolution"

On February 15, 1969, teachers from the TÖS and the TÖDMF organized the Great Education March (Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü) to protest the corrupt system of education and the economic and political pressure put on teachers, as well as, more generally, social inequality and poverty.[31] During the march, chairperson of the TÖS, Fakir Baykurt, gave a speech emphasizing all these points of and defined the duties of teachers in such an unequal system.

> Our primary duty is to awaken our people, bring forth in them a revolutionary attitude toward life. We are the teachers in such an underdeveloped country. We cannot provide an education in the way that teachers in imperialist countries do. The education we give should meet the needs of our impoverished people. Instead of useless, detached information, we should teach our children awakening, eye-opening, consciousness-raising information and create an attitude of change and improvement… We will awaken

30 "Öğretmenin özgür düşüncesinin nabzının attığı yer," Ertuğrul, *TÖS Tarihinden Esintiler I*, 85.

31 "On Binlerin Katıldığı Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü Yapıldı," *TÖS İstanbul Şubesi Haber Bülteni* 5 (March 25, 1969): 1.

> our people! Never looking down on them, never forgetting that we come from among them, inside them, right beside them, from deep down and quiet, with patience, our hair growing white, our teeth rotting out, we will complete our historic duty! In the future, history will judge not the President or the Prime Minister but us.[32]

Baykurt's passionate speech reflected the general attitude of the TÖS towards the concept of education and the occupation of teaching. A thorough search of the periodicals and bulletins of the TÖS and subsequent memoirs reveals a distinct approach to education that was intertwined with a distinctive worldview: revolutionism.

In the TÖS's documents, revolutionism is a commonly used concept and regarded as an indispensable part of both trade unionism and teaching. Rüştü Bozkurt, one of the board members of the TÖS, argues in an article in the Eskişehir branch's periodical that the primary aim of trade unions, including the TÖS, is to change the system for the better and to create humane conditions for all people to live in – an opinion which equates trade unionism and revolutionism.[33] Therefore, as both unionists and educators, teachers of the TÖS had a double revolutionary responsi-

32 "Bize düşen başlıca görev halkımızın uyandırılmasıdır. Insanımızın hayata karşı devrimci tavırlı hale getirilmesidir. Biz geri bırakılmış böyle bir ülkenin öğretmenleriyiz. Biz emperyalist ülkelerin öğretmenleri gibi eğitim yapamayız. Biz kendi yoksul halkımızın ihtiyacına göre eğitim yapmak zorundayız. Çocuklarımızın hiç işine yaramayacak, kokmaz bulaşmaz bilgiler yerine, göz açan, uyandıran, bilinçlendiren bilgileri öğretmek, değişmenin, yenileşmenin tavrını yaratmak zorundayız… Halkımızı uyandıracağız! Halkımızı asla küçük görmeden, ondan geldiğimizi unutmadan, onun içinde, onun dizinin dibinde, derinlerden ve sessizlerden, sabırla, saçımızı ak ederek, dişimizi yok ederek tarihsel görevimizi tekmil edeceğiz! Yarın tarih Cumhurbaşkanını, Başbakanı değil, önce bizi sorguya çekecek," "Fakir Baykurt'un 'B. Eğitim Yürüyüşü Konuşmasından' Parçalar," *TÖS İstanbul Şubesi Haber Bülteni* 5 (March 25, 1969): 3.

33 Rüştü Bozkurt, "Sendikal Görev Anlayışı," *Bilinç: TÖS Eskişehir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* 2 (June 1967): 2.

bility. As Baykurt states, all teachers must necessarily maintain a revolutionary attitude.[34] As revolutionary intellectuals, they should bear the responsibility of educating an exploited people on the path to liberation.[35] Moreover, education, like art, should provide children and the uneducated masses with a revolutionary stance.[36] Teachers, who had the responsibility to be revolutionaries, also had the responsibility to transform people into revolutionaries. Therefore, given such a revolutionary mission, the duty of the teachers was to "awaken the people."[37] Like leftist students and intellectuals of the period, who ideologized workers and peasants as ignorant and strove to bring consciousness to them, unionized teachers of the 1960s and 1970s interpreted education as a movement to raise social awareness. They undertook the responsibility of "awakening people" in and out of the classroom. The teachers of the TÖS embraced this duty and devised the idea of "education for revolution" ("*devrim için eğitim*") to fulfill it.[38]

Between September 4 and 8, 1968, the TÖS convened the Council of Revolutionary Education (Devrimci Eğitim Şurası, or DEŞ) in Ankara. The fact that the Ministry of National Education had failed to convene a mandatory triennial Council of National Education for six years gave the TÖS justification to gather one under a different name.[39] The council took place in the conference hall of the Faculty of Political Science of AÜ (AÜ Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi) and started and ended with speeches by Chairperson Baykurt.[40] During the meetings, teachers of the TÖS and other experts and intellectuals formed committees and gave presentations addressing various subjects such as the effects of imperialism and economic

34 Baykurt, *İfade*, 62.

35 "Devrimcilik Edebiyatla Olmuyor," *TÖS İstanbul Şubesi Haber Bülteni* 3 (December 15, 1968): 3.

36 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı* (Istanbul: Papirüs Yayınları, 1999), 281.

37 Ibid.

38 "Devrimci Eğitim Şûrası," *EGE TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası İzmir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* 6 (October 8, 1968): 3.

39 Ahmet Doğan, *Dün Eğitim Vardı. Ya Bugün? 1968 Devrimci Eğitim Şûrası, 1969 Öğretmen Boykotu* (Istanbul: Bilim ve Gelecek Kitaplığı, 2010), 16.

40 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 126.

underdevelopment on education, the institutions of education that Turkish society demanded, public education, the legacy of the Village Institutes, planning, funding, and management of educational revolution, and the necessary level of education and livelihood for teachers to fulfill educational revolution.[41] In the DEŞ, teachers discussed and accepted the notion of "education for revolution" as an overriding principle.

The members of the TÖS presented "education for revolution" as a remedy not only for the educational system but also for Turkey's socioeconomic problems. The poet Can Yücel stated in his speech that the purpose of education was to liberate the people.[42] At the end of the council, the participants published a declaration covering the problems and solutions submitted in the presentations. Among the subjects in final declaration of the DEŞ were "education for revolution" and the notion that educational revolution coexisted with raising the political awareness of the people who would subsequently take part in governing the country.[43] The declaration clarified the link between education and revolution as follows:

> The foremost aim of revolutionary education is to help people raise their political awareness, because educating the masses for revolution and raising their awareness is the only means through which a revolutionary government might accede to power. Ensuring that workers and peasants influence political life and government in a conscious way and establish a system that will serve their interests is a duty education should fulfill. In this respect, the

41 "Devrimci Eğitim Şurası Çalışmalarına Başladı," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 14 (September 5, 1968): 3.

42 Doğan, *Dün Eğitim Vardı*, 40-41.

43 "Devrimci Eğitim Şûrası Bildirisi," *TÖS İstanbul Şubesi Haber Bülteni* 2 (October 15, 1968): 3.

> related efforts of the organizations of workers, teachers, and instructors should be regarded not only as political actions in a limited sense but also as priority public service.[44]

The members of the TÖS described teachers as "doctors of social structure," who bore the responsibility to heal social afflictions. This was the reason they convened the council of education. Nevertheless, they were aware that developing and expressing these opinions in the council was only a first step; their main duty was to relay these opinions to workers, peasants, tradesmen, and civil servants and to provide a suitable environment for their implementation.[45]

The unionized teachers' coincidental ideas of revolutionary education and a political "awakening of the people" were not limited to presentations at the DEŞ. The teachers developed these ideas in articles in union periodicals, in discussions, and in classrooms. For them, it was the duty of teachers to "awaken" not only their students but also their people. Teachers had to warn the people about the problems of the country and educate them about their constitutional rights, which in turn would raise weight of the people's voice in politics and government.[46] In a press conference on September 6, 1967, a year before the DEŞ, Baykurt stated that political independence and economic development required a "movement of culture and consciousness;" the economic organization of the

44 "Devrimci eğitimin ilk amacı halkın siyasal bilinçlenmesine yardımcı olmaktır. Çünkü devrimci bir yönetimin iktidara gelmesi ancak kütlelerin devrim için eğitilmesi ve bilinçlenmesi ile mümkün olacaktır. İşçi ve köylülerin siyasal hayata ve yönetime bilinçli bir şekilde ağırlıklarını koymalarını ve kendi çıkarlarına yönelen bir düzen kurmalarını sağlamak eğitim yerine getirmek zorunda olduğu bir görevdir. Bu bakımdan işçi, öğretmen ve öğretici örgütlerinin bu yöndeki çabalarını dar anlamda politik bir eylem değil, önceliği olan bir kamu görevi saymak gerekir," "Devrimci Eğitim Şûrası," *EGE TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası İzmir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* 6 (October 8, 1968): 3.

45 "… sosyal yapının hekimi[…]," "Devrimci Eğitim Şûrası Çalışmalarını Bitirdi," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 15 (September 20, 1968): 3.

46 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 281.

masses, which was indispensable for national independence, was possible if the people were politically conscious.[47] In the same vein, the name of the Eskişehir branch's periodical was *Bilinç*, which literally means "consciousness."[48]

In a report delivered to the union by Gülten Kazgan, Haydar Kazgan, Vedat Günyol, Mehmet Başaran, Pakize Türkoğlu, and Rafet Özkan, revolutionary education was described as a system of education that fostered vanguard generations that felt the responsibility to correct society's economic dependency and cultural degeneration in favor of a rationalist system of modern civilization and social happiness. The committee listed the aims of revolutionary education as to raise the social and economic awareness of the people to a point that they would change the inequitable system for the benefit of the masses, to foster the people who are creative in science and art, and to educate students as good citizens who will benefit both society and humanity.[49] This description made it clear that the concept of revolutionary education encompassed the duty of nurturing the socioeconomic, political, cultural, and scientific awareness of the people as a path towards revolution. As a unionized teacher from Yalova expressed it, "[n]o revolution will come to fruition without education."[50] This approach towards the meaning of teaching and the duty of the teachers meant that the TÖS expanded the scope of the notion of education.

Despite political differences and their reluctance to merge,[51] the İLK-SEN shared this worldview with the TÖS. In an article published in the

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47 "… bir kültür ve bilinç hareketi[…]," "Genel Başkan Fakir Baykurt'un Basın Toplantısı," *Bilinç: TÖS Eskişehir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* 3 (September 1967): 3.

48 *Bilinç: TÖS Eskişehir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* (Eskişehir, 1967).

49 "Devrimci Eğitimin Amaçları, İlkeleri, Yönetimi (Şuraya Sunulan Rapor)," EGE TÖS: *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası İzmir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* 11 (September 10, 1969): 3.

50 "Eğitimsiz hiç ama hiçbir devrim gerçekleşemez," Abdurrahman Gezer, "Eğitimci Devrim," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 18 (November 5, 1968): 2.

51 For further information see Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 323-346; for examples on disagreements between the TÖS and the İLK-SEN see İsmail Başbuğ, "İLKSEN Gerçeği, TÖS ve MÖS Fiyaskosu," *İlkin Sesi: İlkokul Öğretmeninin Sesidir* 22 (February 1969): 1, 3; Hüseyin Coşkun, "İLK-SEN Korkusu," *İlkin Sesi: İlkokul Öğretmeninin Sesidir* 22 (February 1969): 3, Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 151-154, 330-331.

union's periodical in April 1969, the intellectual stance of the İLK-SEN is described as revolutionism. The article emphasizes the necessity of education in relieving people of submission and fatalism and elevating the potential for socioeconomic and cultural revolution in society.[52] In his opening speech to the second general meeting of the union, Chairperson Kenan Keleş stated that teachers' foremost duty was fostering progressive, revolutionary students. Through egalitarian education by revolutionary teachers, the country would become economically developed, modern, and independent.[53] The union's subsequent chairperson, İsmail Başbuğ, also described the İLK-SEN as a "revolutionary and activist union" that would continue to struggle until Turkey achieved economic independence and until education served the people.[54]

This agreement in their stances led to a confluence of action, and the TÖS and the İLK-SEN combined forces in the Great Education March on February 15, 1969, and in the four-day-boycott on December 15-18, 1969. Through this march and boycott, they expanded teachers' field of action, expanding civil servants' political and legal boundaries.

The Article 14/i of Law No. 624 prohibited the unions and associations of civil servants from organizing political marches. Nevertheless, the administrators of the TÖS based their legal justification for the march on Article 28 of the constitution, which gave every citizen the right to assemble and demonstrate, as well as on Law No. 171 on meetings and demonstrations.[55] Consequently, more than thirty-five thousand people gathered for the Great Education March which took place in Ankara's

52 Hüseyin Demir, "İLK-SEN Devrimci Kuruluşların Yanındadır," *İlkin Sesi: İlkokul Öğretmeninin Sesidir* 23-24 (April 1969): 4.

53 "İLKSEN Genel Bşk. K. Keleş'in 2. Genel Kurul Açış Konuşması," *İlkin Sesi: İlkokul Öğretmeninin Sesidir* 17 (September 1, 1968): 1-4.

54 "İLKSEN'in Şubat Seferi Başarıyla Gerçekleşti," *İlkin Sesi: İlkokul Öğretmeninin Sesidir* 43 (March 15, 1971): 4.

55 "Devlet Personeli Sendikaları Kanunu," 3; "Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü Yapıldı," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 25 (February 20, 1969): 1, 4.

Tandoğan Square.[56] Despite legal obstacles, thousands of teachers from around the country convened in Ankara (see figure 5.1).[57]


Devlet

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YALANCI: Doğruyu bilir tersini söyler.
S.G.

BÜYÜK EĞİTİM YÜRÜYÜŞÜ
15 ŞUBAT 1969, ANKARA

Foto Nuri

Onbinler Yürüdü

Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşünde resimde görülen öğretmenler Türkiye'nin dört bir yanından gelip Tandoğan meydanını doldurdu. Genel Başkan Fakir Baykurt kalabalığı coşturan konuşmasını yaparken görülüyor.

Figure 5.1 "Tens of Thousands Marched – Great Education March, February 15, 1969, Ankara: Teachers in the photograph came from all over the country and filled the Tandoğan Square. In the photo, chairperson Fakir Baykurt is seen delivering his speech and exhilarating the crowd." SOURCE: *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 25 (February 20, 1969).

The ideas and demands uttered in the slogans and speeches during the march were congruent with the unionized leftist teachers' notion of education discussed so far. Baykurt, in the speech mentioned at the beginning of this subchapter, continued to evaluate teachers' duties and put forward a broad definition of teaching. He stated that teachers were going beyond the understanding of education that was limited to textbooks, curricula, and the ministry's circulars to embrace an expanded notion of

56 "Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü 35 Bini Aşkın Öğretmenin İştirakı ile Yapıldı," *EGE TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası İzmir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* 9 (March 15, 1969): 1.

57 "On Binler Yürüdü – Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü 15 Şubat 1969, Ankara: Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşünde resimde görülen öğretmenler Türkiye'nin dört bir yanından gelip Tandoğan Meydanını doldurdu. Genel Başkan Fakir Baykurt kalabalığı coşturan konuşmasını yaparken görülüyor," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 25 (February 20, 1969): 1.

teaching. In order to deal with society's problems and concern themselves with the country's issues, the teachers of Turkey were seeking to "awaken the people" and to foster productive, conscious, and revolutionary students.[58] As the teachers of the TÖS argued, a teacher's duty could not be confined to teaching the alphabet; the utmost duty was to raise people's awareness about the country's backwardness.[59] The teachers of the İLK-SEN also embraced the duty of "awakening" Turkish society in the face of the country's grievous circumstances.[60] Congruent with the political stance of other leftist movements of the period, one slogan of the Great Education March was: "Fully Independent Turkey, Public-Oriented Education."[61] The marching teachers were determined: "We, as revolutionary Turkish teachers, will struggle together with all our strength to save our country from backwardness!"[62]

To put it briefly, the unionized teachers of the period widened the notion of teaching to include the political issues of coping with the problems of society and country. To this end, they devised the notion of revolutionary education, which involved "awakening the people" to strive for a better society. Unionized teachers of the 1960s and 1970s perceived themselves not only as teachers but also as students who first had to mature themselves in order to raise the people's political awareness about socioeconomic backwardness. In parallel, Baykurt addressed the members of the TÖS as students. They needed to read and follow all kinds of media outlets with the purpose of familiarizing themselves with society's problems and ideological clashes; then they had to fulfill their duty of nurturing the people's sociopolitical awareness through the instruments of

58 "Fakir Baykurt'un Yürüyüş Konuşması," *EGE TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası İzmir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* 9 (March 15, 1969): 1, 4.

59 "On Binlerin Katıldığı Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü Yapıldı."

60 "On Binlerce Öğretmenin Katılmasıyla Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü Yapıldı: Halkı Aydınlatan Devrimci Öğretmen Halk Düşmanı Olarak Gösterilmektedir," *İlkin Sesi: İlkokul Öğretmeninin Sesidir* 22 (February 1969): 1.

61 "Tam Bağımsız Türkiye, Halka Dönük Eğitim," "Eğitim Mitinginde Kullanılacak Sloganlar," *TÖS İstanbul Şubesi Haber Bülteni* 4 (February 5, 1969): 3.

62 "Devrimci Türk öğretmenleri olarak ulusumuzu geri kalmışlıktan kurtarmak için var gücümüzle çalışacağız!" "On Binlerin Katıldığı Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü Yapıldı."

seminars and forums.[63] Therefore, "awakening the people" required adequate knowledge, a proper ideological stance, and a social bridge among the teachers and the people. In order to increase the people's sociopolitical consciousness, teachers had to connect with them, be among them, be one of them.

5.1.1.2 Beyond the Classroom: Encounters with the People

During the DEŞ, the tenth committee on the "Planning of Turkish Education" ("Türk Eğitiminin Planlanması") prepared and presented a paper that was named the "Planning Method of the Education Revolution" ("Eğitim Devriminde Plânlama Yöntemi"), which put forward elaborate suggestions for a future revolutionary government. The third article of the study proposed the establishment of educational boards on planning, research, coordination, publishing, and communication, as well as public studies to inform a prospective education policy. Although the committee members suggested the TÖS be the central organization for these boards, they emphasized that the TÖS had to collaborate with revolutionary labor unions, student organizations, and people's committees.[64] In other words, for the TÖS, national education and its planning could only be realized through association with different segments of society. Correspondingly, in addition to the teachers of the TÖS, members from institutions and organizations such as AÜ, ODTÜ, FKF, İTÜ Student Union, DİSK, Trade Union of Office Workers (Büro İşçileri Sendikası), the Federation of Railroad Workers Trade Union (Demiryolları İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu), the Genel-İş, the ÜNAS, the Trade Union of University and School Janitors (Üniversite ve Okul Hademeleri Sendikası), the Turkish Language Institution (Türk Dil Kurumu, or TDK), and the Chamber of Architects (Mimarlar Odası) also attended and supported the DEŞ.[65]

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63 "Yeni Ders Yılına Girerken: Uyarmak Görevindir," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 14 (September 5, 1968): 2.

64 Doğan, *Dün Eğitim Vardı*, 82, 89.

65 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 117.

As research into TÖS publications and memoirs reveals, unionized teachers placed considerable emphasis on relationships with people outside of classrooms, and they succeeded in forming such relationships to an extent. Like organized students endeavoring to establish bonds with workers and peasants, the organized teachers of the 1960s and 1970s tried to forge sociopolitical links with workers, peasants, and youth. They perceived "going to the people" and "awakening" them as a duty. The fact that they were civil servants working all over the country from the largest cities to the remotest villages was an advantage in fulfilling this duty. In other words, besides their ideology, their occupation provided them with an arena in which to encounter the people.

Towards the end of the 1960s, unionized teachers in smaller cities and districts, such as Silifke, Anamur, Tarsus, Mersin, Erzurum, and Kars, took the lead and organized local boycotts against local oppression and assaults.[66] The teachers' unions of the period took note of the local pressure and channeled it into a more organized movement that made broader demands. In the end of 1969, the TÖS and İLK-SEN decided to organize an extensive boycott for the betterment of society and the education system to protest low wages, the high cost of living, dismissals, and office exiles, as well as organized assaults on teachers and the lack of civil servants' right to strike.[67] The four-day-boycott, which took place on December 15-18, was in effect a general strike; 109 thousand of the 170 thousand teachers working all around Turkey at that time participated in the boycott.[68] Baykurt, in an article published in the periodical of the union's Istanbul branch, stated that the teachers of the period could not convey their grievances to authorities through declarations or marches, so they had

66 Ibid., 239.

67 "Kamu Oyuna ve Öğretmenlere!" *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 44 (December 15, 1969): 1, 4.

68 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 236. Of the teachers who joined the boycott, 2,118 were suspended, 11 were expelled, 590 were reassigned to other cities, 6,600 were reassigned within their own cities, 65 were reassigned to ministerial duty, 50,300 were prosecuted (the charges of 19,250 were dismissed), 3,900 were demoted, and the salaries of 45,520 were reduced. Ibid., 259.

decided to utilize the boycott as a new method of claiming their rights. Moreover, they would resort to political actions beyond the boycott if the government continued to ignore teachers' demands.[69] Tahsin Çayır, the chairperson of the TÖS's Istanbul branch, further suggested that teachers would continue their political protest until the socioeconomic security of teachers and the nationalization of education were guaranteed.[70] The boycott not only expanded the extent of teachers' political action by reclaiming the legally-denied right to strike but also created the sociopolitical groundwork for teachers to get in contact with different segments of society.

Students with whom the boycotting teachers shared a classroom supported the boycott. A cartoon from the TÖS periodical depicts a student and a teacher both propagandizing the boycott on a blackboard (see figure 5.2).[71] The caricature came true when on the second day of the boycott, students of Sümer High School (Sümer Lisesi) in Kayseri organized a demonstration of support in front of the TÖS branch building. They later marched to Kayseri High School (Kayseri Lisesi) where the strike had been broken by some teachers, and convinced its students to leave their classrooms.[72]

In addition to the unionized teachers' own students, organized students from universities and leftist youth also declared their support for the teachers' boycott. The Dev-Genç and student unions of ODTÜ, AÜ, and HÜ announced a joint declaration in favor of the boycott. They protested the domination of American imperialism, government oppression, and the high cost of living, and they defended teachers' right to enlighten the

69 Baykurt, "Bıçak Kemiğe Dayanınca," *TÖS İstanbul Şubesi Haber Bülteni* 11-12 (November-December 1969): 1-2.

70 Tahsin Çayır, "Gaflet," *TÖS İstanbul Şubesi Haber Bülteni* 13-14 (January-February 1970): 1, 4.

71 "Bozuk Eğitim Düzenine Boykot," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 44 (December 15, 1969): 1.

72 "Boykot Raporlarının Sonuçları: Kayseri'de Boykot Nasıl Geçti?" *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 46 (January 15, 1970): 3.

people about the country's dependency and poverty. The declaration ended with the praising of solidarity between students and teachers.[73]

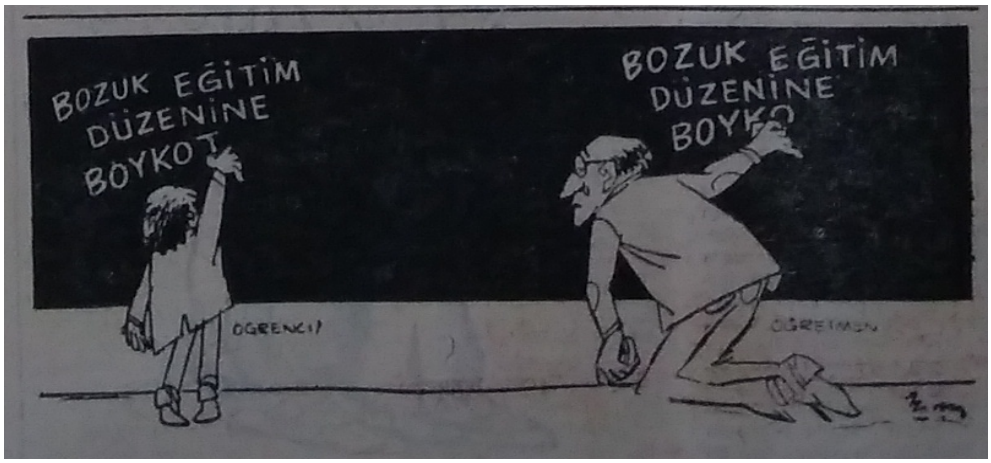

Figure 5.2 "Boycott the Corrupt Education System." Source: TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır 44 (December 15, 1969).

In addition to students, several organizations declared their support of the boycotting teachers: the Professors' Board of the Faculty of Political Science (Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Profesörler Kurulu), AÜ and İÜ Trade Unions of University Professors, the ÜNAS of AÜ, and the Confederation of Civil Servant Trade Unions of Turkey (Türkiye Kamu Personeli Sendikaları Konfederasyonu).[74] Aside from the associations of university personnel and civil servants, who had an occupational or legal affinity with teachers, other organizations also supported the boycott. For instance, the Turkish Law Foundation (Türk Hukuk Kurumu, or THK) expressed its support.[75] The Trade Union of Municipal Cleaning Workers (Belediye Temizlik İşçileri Sendikası), under the umbrella organization of

73 "Gençliğin Duyurusu: Öğretmenler Boykotunu Destekliyoruz," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 44 (December 15, 1969): 1, 4.

74 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 255.

75 Ibid.

the Genel-İş, sent a group of its members to the headquarters of the TÖS to wish them success during the boycott.[76]

In contrast with the support that teachers received from several organizations, the government deemed the boycott illegal, threatened teachers via the government television channel, and imposed a broadcast ban on the radio after news of the upcoming boycott was broadcasted.[77] Government officials struggled to keep the public unaware of the boycott and to keep teachers from communicating but they did not succeed. Although the government was determined to cut off communication among union branches, the teachers had collaborators. The General Directorate of Post, Telegraph, and Telephone (Posta Telefon Telgraf Genel Müdürlüğü, or PTT) workers, despite the broadcast ban and state intimidation, separated their postal duty from broadcasting service and conveyed telegraphs between the TÖS headquarters and its 535 union branches around the country.[78] Similarly, the workers of the Turkish Republic State Railways (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Demiryolları) allowed teachers the use of the telephone switchboards of Haydarpaşa and Ankara Train Stations.[79] Thus, the unionized teachers stayed in contact with the help of communication and transportation workers.

The DEŞ and the boycott were particular instances that drew teachers and different groups of society together; however, they were not unique. The teachers of the TÖS regarded "going to the people" as their foremost duty. The unionized teachers of the period contemplated how to form and reinforce these bonds and "awaken" the people in the context of education. In his article published in the TÖS periodical, Ahmet Cenan, a member of the general executive board, emphasized teachers' duty to find ways to enlighten the people. Teachers, as representatives of the people, had the responsibility to increase their knowledge, gain more experience, and discuss among themselves to determine the best ways to reach and

76 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 336.

77 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 252-253; Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 335.

78 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 335-336.

79 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 255.

enlighten the people.[80] Periodical articles and memoirs make it apparent that for members of the TÖS, identifying means to "go to the people" was one of the most significant discussion topics. Their widespread occupation was beneficial, and teachers lived and worked among the people whom they wanted to enlighten and be a part. As Baykurt underscored, teachers were already living among the people with whom they desired to form bonds.[81] While, as discussed earlier, the idea and political practice of "going to the people" was inherently hierarchical, the geographical diffusion of the occupation and the socioeconomic background of the teachers helped blur the hierarchies and ease social encounters.

İ. Safa Güner, the vice-chairperson of the TÖS, put forward a number of practical steps for teachers to reach the people. He suggested that TÖS members target a specific group of citizens, befriend them, listen to their problems, and share their knowledge and skills. Teachers would visit villages, connect with peasants, and offer them guidance in the cities. For Güner, only in this way would the people understand and support the goals of the unionized teachers.[82] Under the leadership of Baykurt, the TÖS members decided to struggle to open new branches and contact more people in different parts of Turkey. In regional meetings, unionized teachers not only discussed the specific problems of their occupation but also society's problems. Members were urged to come to these meetings together with a peasant or a worker.[83]

Moreover, the TÖS attempted to instrumentalize the union's local clubhouses as centers of direct contact with the people. These gathering places had to be accessible to everyone, not only to teachers. The first task was to modify the atmosphere and function of the clubhouses from places for idle card games to corners for education where teachers would meet with locals, listen to their problems, and enlighten them. If they

80 Ahmet Cenan, "TÖS ve Halk," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 1 (February 20, 1968): 2.

81 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 107.

82 İ. Safa Güner, "Öğretmene Mektup: Halka İnmek," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 8 (June 5, 1968): 1.

83 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 110.

were unable to attract people to these places, teachers went to local coffeehouses or visited people in their own homes to better build close relationships with them.[84]

Apart from instrumentalizing local clubhouses and coffeehouses as places for meeting and education, the teachers of the TÖS attempted to use art as a means of "going to the people" and "awakening" them. Encouraged by the rising of number of union branches all around the country, the union decided to constitute a theater group of professional players to travel across Turkey. The THEATER-TÖS (TİYATRO-TÖS), founded in 1966, was the union's "cultural service," not only for teachers but for society at large.[85]

That year, the theater group went on a sixty-seven-day tour of Anatolia, bypassing metropolitan areas but visiting smaller cities and towns with the aim of enlightening the people. The group intended to introduce the art of theater to people of Turkey living outside big cities, most of whom had never seen a theater play.[86] Before the tour, director Sermet Çağan prepared a questionnaire and sent it to the union's 270 branches asking teachers whether their cities or districts were socially amenable to theater plays. Some of the replies were disappointing. Teacher Mehmet Ali Sadak of Burdur's Yeşilova district was pessimistic about the initiative. "There are no places in the district that can be used as a theater stage," he wrote; "there are no hotels, no electricity. Local people are indifferent to such activities. The initiative would bring no satisfactory revenues." Çağan was not discouraged. On the contrary, the members of the THEATER-TÖS were encouraged to further pursue their mission in the face of physical and social impracticalities. Learning that Yeşilova was the town portrayed in Reşat Nuri Güntekin's novel *Green Night* (*Yeşil Gece*),[87] which narrated the town's social corruption, cultural barrenness, and religious conservatism from the times of the Turkish War of Independence

84 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 113; Baykurt, "Büyük Bir Eğitim Uygulaması," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 45 (January 1, 1970): 1, 3.

85 "TÖS'ün halka, öğretmenlere kültür hizmeti," Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 77.

86 "Tiyatro-TÖS, 25 Kuruşa da Oyun Gösterdi," *Cumhuriyet*, January 28, 1967, 5.

87 Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Yeşil Gece* (Istanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevleri, 1959).

to the foundation of the Republic, increased their determination to raise the people's consciousness and "awaken" them – to "enlighten the *Green Night*." The union's aim was to bring social and political consciousness to local people in small Turkish towns – people who had long remained ignorant and benighted. Correspondingly, besides theater plays, lectures on art and politics were also delivered to the people. Moreover, in order to build a bridge with them, the theater actors established social connections with locals during rehearsals.[88]

The theater group staged Çağan's *The Foot and Leg Factory* (*Ayak Bacak Fabrikası*) seventy-two times and Ergin Kolbek's *Wordless Play* (*Sözsüz Oyun*) twenty-seven times in twenty-three cities, twenty-five districts, and two villages (see figure 5.3).[89] The theater group decided to go on a second tour in 1967 (see figure 5.4).[90] New relationships among artists from large cities and provincial people emerged from these initiatives. The 1969 working report of the TÖS specified theater as one of the most effective means of building a connection with the people.[91]

Besides artistic initiatives and contacting locals in their places of work, the members of the TÖS traveled across Turkey with the purpose of spreading the ideas and aims of their union. They not only met with teachers from the TÖS and organized new members under the umbrella of new union branches but also had contact with local people in coffeehouses, on public transportation, in conference rooms, and in village houses. Teachers found opportunities to enlighten the people about the country's sociopolitical problems and explain their union's goals through these instances of contact.

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88 "İlçemizde temsil verecek müsait yer yoktur. Otel, elektrik yoktur. Halk böyle şeylere karşı ilgisizdir. Tatmin edici bir gelir de sağlanamaz" and "*Yeşil Gece*'ye ışık götürülecekti," "Tiyatromuzda Yeni Bir Adım," *Milliyet*, October 8, 1966, 6.

89 "Anadolulu İlk Defa Bu Yıl Gerçek Tiyatroyu Gördü," Selmi Andak, "Desteklenmesi Gereken Tiyatro: 'TÖS,'" *Cumhuriyet*, February 28, 1967, 6.

90 "Tiyatro TÖS İkinci Turnesine Başlıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, May 12, 1967, 6.

91 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 119.

Anadolulu ilk defa bu yıl gerçek Tiyatroyu gördü

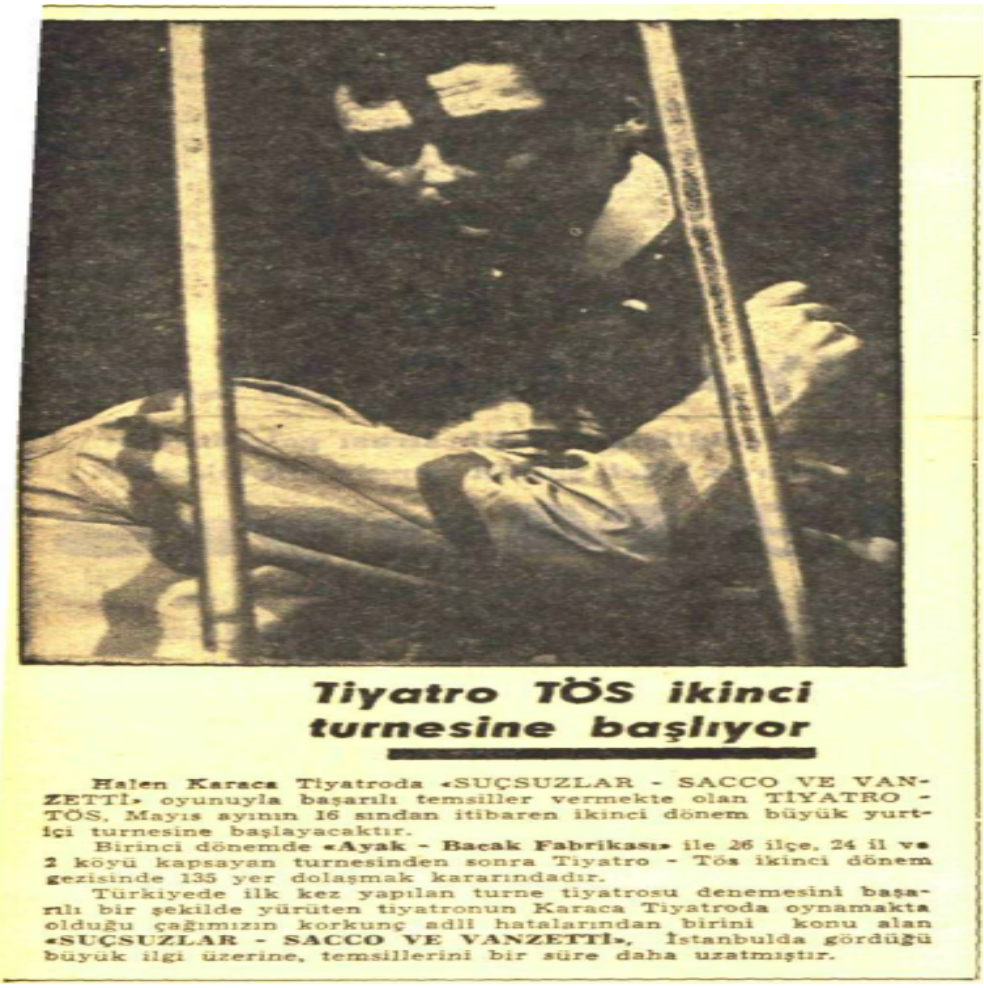
«TİYATRO TÖS» oyuncuları Anadolu'nun her köşesinde, her türlü iklim şartlarına göğüs gererek bir geceliğine kurdukları dekorlarla «Ayak Bacak Fabrikası» nı resimde görüldüğü gibi oynadılar.

Figure 5.3 "Anatolian People Witnessed Real Theater for the First Time This Year: The players of the 'THEATER-TÖS' staged '*The Foot and Leg Factory*' in every corner of Anatolia, facing up to all kinds of climatic conditions, on stages set up overnight as shown in the picture." SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (February 28, 1967).

Baykurt, as the chairperson, traveled most. When school was in session, he gave speeches every weekend in different parts of the country. In summers came longer trips. In one trip to the Aegean region, he visited several cities and districts including Bursa, Balıkesir, Havran, Edremit, Burhaniye, Ayvalık, Manisa, Menemen, Izmir, Aydın, Söke, Kuşadası, Yatağan, Milas, Bodrum, Muğla, Marmaris, Ula, Köyceğiz, Ortaca, Bezkese, Dalaman, and Fethiye. In other cases, Talip Apaydın, one of the founders of the union, visited Thrace, while Mahmut Makal, a TÖS member and writer, traveled to Eastern Anatolia.[92] These trips linked teachers with

92 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 64-66.

teachers and teachers with people all over the country. Baykurt asserted that "going to the people" revealed the connection between teachers' problems and people's problems. Similar problems affected teachers and other people in both the eastern and western parts of Turkey. As teachers tried to reach the people, people became aware of this resemblance; this formed a sociopolitical bridge among the unionized teachers and the people.[93]



Tiyatro TÖS ikinci turnesine başlıyor

Halen Karaca Tiyatroda «SUÇSUZLAR - SACCO VE VANZETTİ» oyunuyla başarılı temsiller vermekte olan TİYATRO - TÖS, Mayıs ayının 16 sından itibaren ikinci dönem büyük yurtiçi turnesine başlayacaktır.

Birinci dönemde «Ayak - Bacak Fabrikası» ile 26 ilçe, 24 il ve 2 köyü kapsayan turnesinden sonra Tiyatro - Tös ikinci dönem gezisinde 135 yer dolaşmak kararındadır.

Türkiyede ilk kez yapılan turne tiyatrosu denemesini başarılı bir şekilde yürüten tiyatronun Karaca Tiyatroda oynamakta olduğu çağımızın korkunç adli hatalarından birini konu alan «SUÇSUZLAR - SACCO VE VANZETTİ», İstanbulda gördüğü büyük ilgi üzerine, temsillerini bir süre daha uzatmıştır.

Figure 5.4 "Theater TÖS Goes on Its Second Tour." SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (May 12, 1967).

93 Ibid., 111.

In brief, the teachers of the TÖS attempted to "go to the people," to form connections with them, and to enlighten them using a number of methods such as mingling with them in coffeehouses, local clubhouses, and regional meetings, bringing them the enlightening art of theater, and traveling across the country to spread their ideas. While they managed to establish bonds with youth and peasants to some extent, they were not very successful in forming new relationships with workers.

Teaching, by definition, requires a relationship with students. Furthermore, unionized teachers of the 1960s and 1970s managed to carry these relationships beyond the classroom. A historical survey of periodicals and memoirs shows that relationships among teachers and students tended to increase during times of political mobility, as exemplified by increased relationships during the boycott aforementioned. Another example of the connection between teachers and youth surfaced during the Great Education March, when student organizations supported the marching teachers in their declarations.[94] The teachers of the TÖS were proud of the political morality of youth whom they had educated from a young age. They pushed students towards values like liberty, equality, and justice. Accordingly, they supported the political struggles of leftist students. When students of AÜ, İÜ, and Erzurum University launched a boycott in the summer of 1968, a political method they applied before their teachers, the members of the TÖS sided with them by writing supportive articles and participating in demonstrations and forums.[95] On November 7, 1967, students of İTÜ, Istanbul Technical School (İstanbul Teknik Okulu), and Yıldız Technical School (Yıldız Teknik Okulu) started a boycott demanding the nationalization of private colleges; approximately three hundred students among them began a march from Istanbul to Ankara.[96] The TÖS, a union opposed to private schools, supported the

94 "Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü Yapıldı," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 25 (February 20, 1969): 4.

95 İ. Safa Güner, "Üniversite Gençliği ve TÖS: Gençlik Bozuk Düzene Karşı," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 9 (June 20, 1968): 1, 4.

96 "Öğrencilerin Boykot ve Ankara Yürüyüşü Başladı," *Cumhuriyet*, November 8, 1967, 1, 7.

students.[97] Baykurt, in his memoirs, narrates the political, intellectual, and ideological interaction between students and teachers. For instance, as the chairperson of the TÖS, he joined the march for two days, marching with the university students from Bolu to Kızılcahamam. It was a political moment that drew students and teachers closer politically and ideologically – a moment when roles changed and teachers learned from students. Baykurt remembers how the ideas of the students, especially of Harun Karadeniz, affected and excited the members of the TÖS and raised teachers' determination to organize the DEŞ.[98] The relationships among youth and teachers continued in the following years when they gathered together for political events, demonstrations, and forums, as exemplified during the DEŞ and the teachers' boycott.

Teachers and youth also acted in solidarity when under political assault. For instance, when the second general meeting of the TÖS in Kayseri was interrupted by reactionaries on July 8, 1969,[99] many students expressed their solidarity with the teachers. Yusuf Küpeli from the Dev-Genç visited the TÖS expressing comradeship.[100] A number of students penned supportive articles condemning the assault. Recep Biricik, a student from Lüleburgaz, wrote a piece in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper questioning false allegations against teachers and the lack of police response during the assault. He sided with the teachers and supported their revolutionary struggle. Similarly, Aynur Güven from İÜ's Faculty of Law identified the assault as an attack on the teachers' constitutional rights,

97 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 200.

98 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 122.

99 Around nine o'clock on the evening of July 7, sticks of dynamite exploded simultaneously in front of two mosques, a religious school, and a nationalist association in Kayseri. A group of fundamentalists accused the teachers of the TÖS, who had convened their general meeting in the city on the same day, of the bombings. The next day, fundamentalists assaulted the teachers, injured a number of them, and tried to burn down the cinema where the meeting was taking place. Assailants later attacked the Kayseri branch of the TÖS, two bookstores, the TİP Office, and two nightclubs. Teachers had to leave the city under military escort. "Dün Geceki Patlamalardan Sonra İrtica Kayseri'de de Ayaklandı," *Cumhuriyet*, July 9, 1969, 1, 7.

100 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 297.

revolutionary ideas, attempts to "go to the people," and on Atatürk's principles. She voiced her support for the teachers' struggle and her belief in a bright future.[101]

Teachers and youth also came together around the idea of "going to the people." Like teachers who attempted to carry their ideas beyond the classroom, leftist youth towards the end of the 1960s decided to move their struggle beyond the campus and city walls with the aim of establishing contact with workers and peasants and raising their political consciousness. As mentioned in the previous chapter, they visited villages to organize peasants into a rural revolutionary struggle. Indeed, teachers and youth had a shared sense of duty to form bonds with the people and increase their political awareness. This duty brought them together not only ideologically but also physically. Baykurt narrates in his memoirs that the branch offices of the TÖS in small cities and districts acted as rest stops between the city and the village for young leftist militants. They stopped in at the TÖS branches where they found ideological companionship and a warm stove before moving along to the villages.[102]

Besides students and youth, the teachers of the TÖS attempted to form bonds with workers and peasants. They managed to establish unprecedented relationships with peasants to an extent, as evaluated in the following examples. However, forming sociopolitical relationships with workers was harder for teachers. Nevertheless, as Baykurt states, unionized teachers of the 1960s and 1970s shared the same anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist political attitude as the organized proletariat. The TÖS specifically aimed to function in solidarity with the working class.[103] Teachers and workers came together in a number of demonstrations. Some trade unions expressed their support for teachers during their political actions, such as the boycott aforementioned. Occasionally, individual workers also supported the TÖS. For instance, a worker named Yaşar Kaynar and his friends, who were working in West Germany, sent a letter to the TÖS declaring their solidarity with the boycotting teachers. The

101 "Tartışma: Gericiliğin Kimliği," *Cumhuriyet*, July 21, 1969, 2.

102 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 393.

103 Ibid., 73.

TÖS members attached importance to this letter and published it on the front page of their newspaper celebrating new bonds between the teachers and the workers (see figure 5.5).[104] Yet the research shows no signs of persistent sociopolitical relationships among teachers and workers. Building a bridge among the classroom and the factory proved difficult.

2 Subat 1970

PAZAR 1 SUBAT 1970

TÖS

TÜRKİYE ÖĞRETMENLER SENDİKASI YAYIN ORGANI

YIL : 3
SAYI : 47
15 Günde Bir Çıkar
Fiyatı : 25 Kuruş

Protestocu Öğretmen

Emekçi - aydın işbirliği yolunda öğretmen hareketi olumlu sonuçlar vermeye başladı

Türk İşçileri Bizi Destekliyor

Kıbrıs öğretmenleri de hak savaşı uğrunda direndi

Millî Kurtuluş Savaşlarıyla ve Vietnam Halkıyla Dayanışma Derneği Kuruldu

Bursa Eğitim Enstitüsü Öğrencileri destekleniyor

Recep Se... Işığa Kavu...

başyazı

DURUM

Öğretmenler bütün yurtta 15-18 Aralık 1969

104 "Emekçi-Aydın İşbirliği Yolunda Öğretmen Hareketi Olumlu Sonuçlar Vermeye Başladı: Türk İşçileri Bizi Destekliyor," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 47 (February 1, 1970): 1.

Figure 5.5 "The Teachers' Movement Aiming for Laborer-Intellectual Collaboration Has Begun to Bear Fruit: Turkish Workers are Supporting Us." Source: TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır 47 (February 1, 1970).

Nevertheless, members of the TÖS pondered how to form bonds with the working class. One idea was to establish a "Worker and Peasant University" ("*İşçi ve Köylü Üniversitesi*") which, in the declaration of the DEŞ, was defined as an institution to educate workers and peasants according to the principles of revolutionary education.[105] The idea was first suggested by the Federation of Road, Building, and Construction Workers' Trade Unions (Yapı, Yol, İnşaat İşçileri Sendikaları Federasyonu), and later supported by the members of the TÖS who offered intellectual support for the project.[106] The executive board of the union decided to support the project to establish a university that would provide impoverished children of workers and peasants with a higher education that they had been denied up to that point. The union sought assistance from other trade unions, the Social Insurance Administration (Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu, or SSK), and the government for this project that was to employ revolutionary professors. They thought that such a university would enlighten the people, establish equal opportunity, and render national education egalitarian.[107] Enlightened workers and peasants would receive the knowledge and means to struggle to overcome their socioeconomic and political problems.[108] The idea was discussed among teachers. Osman N. Koçtürk, an honorary board member of the TÖS, asserted that such a university would fulfill the constitutional right to equality in education, whereas for Ahmet Cenan, a member of the central executive board of the union, argued that a private university funded by trade unions would not create equality.[109]

A number of trade unions such as the Genel-İş, the Trade Union of Gas, Electricity, and Water Workers (Gaz, Elektrik ve Su İşçileri Sendikası),

105 "Devrimci Eğitim Şûrası Bildirisi," *TÖS İstanbul Şubesi Haber Bülteni* 2 (October 15, 1968): 3.

106 Osman N. Koçtürk, "İşçi ve Köylü Üniversitesi," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 11 (July 20, 1968): 3.

107 "Halk Çocuklarını Karanlıktan Kurtarmak İçin: İşçi ve Köylü Üniversitesine Doğru," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 11 (July 20, 1968): 1, 4.

108 Koçtürk, "İşçi ve Köylü Üniversitesi."

109 Ahmet Cenan, "İşçi ve Köylü Üniversitesi Üzerine," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 16 (October 5, 1968): 2.

and the Federation of War Industry and Subsidiary Sectors Workers' Trade Unions of Turkey (Türkiye Harb Sanayii ve Yardımcı İşkolları İşçileri Sendikaları Federasyonu) offered their support for the university.[110] Yet when the project was offered to the TÜRK-İŞ, the Ministry of Labor, and the SSK, they ignored it.[111] As a result, the idea of the "Worker and Peasant University" was not put into practice. Nonetheless, thinking and discussing the project familiarized teachers with the problems of the proletariat. They discussed tangible methods of educating and enlightening the people. The steps they took to actualize the project created bridges between unionized teachers and trade unions. However, in the end, teachers and workers could not establish permanent relationships.

It was easier for the unionized teachers of the 1960s and 1970s to create bonds with peasants. The TÖS branches were widespread around the country. Moreover, teachers from the TÖS also worked in districts and villages where there were no union branches and established relationships with the parents of their students, with their neighbors, and with their landlords. Furthermore, a substantial number of teachers were born and raised in the villages that they wished to transform, including Fakir Baykurt himself.[112] This characteristic of their occupation enabled unionized teachers to mix easily with local people. In a nutshell, teachers, specifically unionized teachers of the TÖS, permeated the country. As discussed above, coffeehouses, village houses, and regional meetings served as places of contact where teachers and peasants came together. Regional meetings of the union were attended by multitudes of teachers along with locals. Many village teachers brought village headmen or even imams with them to the union's regional meetings.[113] Therefore, local people became cognizant of the problems, worldviews, and political stances of leftist teachers through these established relationships, and

110 Koçtürk, "İşçi Üniversitesi: Gelişme ve Çelişme Üzerine," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 17 (October 20, 1968): 2, 4.

111 Koçtürk, "Devrimci Eğitim Şûrası ve İşçi Üniversitesi," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 15 (September 20, 1968): 2.

112 Baykurt, *Özüm Çocuktur* (Istanbul: Papirüs Yayınları, 1998).

113 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 119.

vice versa. Baykurt recalls that in one visit to Malatya, some ten people stopped their minibus in the middle of the road demanding to speak with the TÖS chairperson. They had listened to Baykurt during the TÖS regional meeting in the Malatya cinema and they wanted to hear him again in their village coffeehouse. Baykurt was pleased not only about the peasants' support and regard for the teachers who were struggling to serve and enlighten the people but also about their political consciousness. They presented him with an envelope of money that they had collected for teachers who were suspended or fired after the boycott. Baykurt spent the night conversing with the enlightened peasants of Çığlık Village and left in a brightened mood.[114]

Similar to leftist youth of the 1960s and 1970s, unionized teachers of the period reflected on the strategies of a rural movement and attempted to enlighten peasants to help them struggle to overcome their own socioeconomic problems. Teachers of the TÖS tried to penetrate villages socially and politically, visited villages where they did not work, and supported the political actions of the peasants. For instance, when landless peasants' demanded land in Söke, a telegram from Ferhat Aslantaş, the chairperson of the Izmir branch of the TÖS, declared support for all legal actions of Turkish peasants in their fight to acquire lands.[115] Similarly, on May 31, 1970, when nearly five thousand peasants from villages of Ergani blocked the highway from Elazığ to Diyarbakır with banners and ears of wheat in their hands to proclaim their problems and demand pesticides from the government, the Ergani branch of the TÖS actively supported the peasant demonstration. Teachers and peasants met in the local TÖS clubhouse and made preparations for the demonstration together. They marched together. Teachers listened to the peasants' speeches in front of the Atatürk monument. The chairperson of the TÖS Ergani branch also gave a speech declaring teachers' support for the peasants' righteous struggle. Teachers also had banners in their hands that read "The TÖS Sides with the People," "Teachers and Peasants Hand in Hand," and "We

114 Baykurt, *Bir TÖS Vardı*, 395-398.

115 "Söke'ye Çekilen Tel," *EGE TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası İzmir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* 10 (April 15, 1969): 1.

will Solve Our Problems Together." In turn, the peasants chanted pro-TÖS slogans and ended the march in front of the TÖS clubhouse. The Ergani demonstration clearly showed that unionized teachers in the region had succeeded in establishing relationships with the peasants and had perhaps motivated them to take political action. In turn, they gained support from the peasants of Ergani (see figure 5.6).[116]

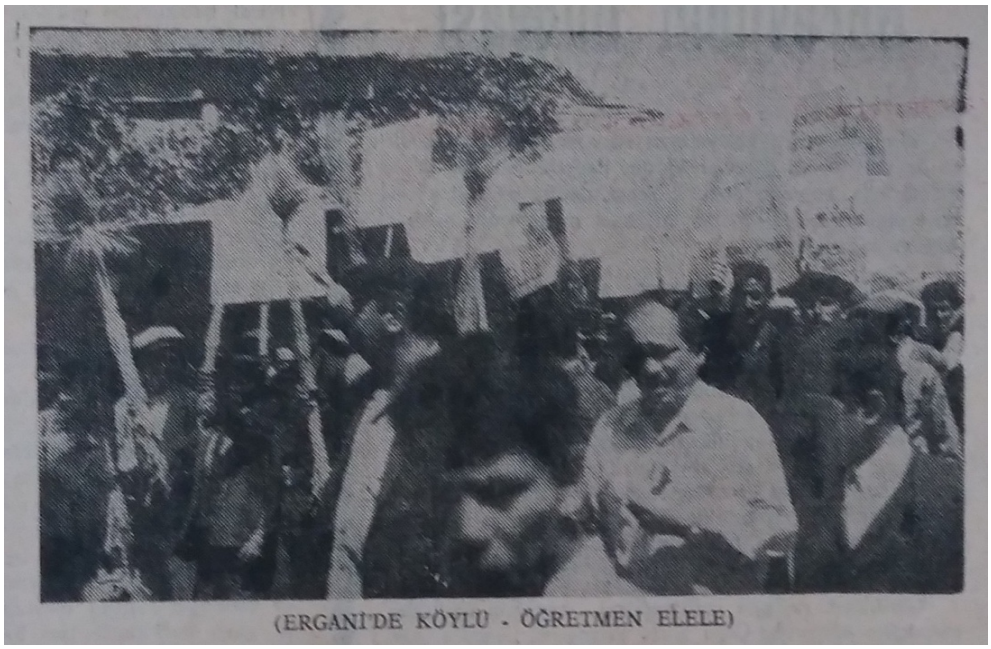


Figure 5.6 "Peasants-Teachers Hand in Hand in Ergani." SOURCE: *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 56 (June 15, 1970).

Unionized teachers' efforts to "go to the people" – with the double aim of enlightening them and gaining their support – bore fruit not only in Ergani but also in other regions. For example, the suspension of Hasan Basri Aydın, a secondary school teacher and the TÖS chairperson of the Çayırlı branch in Erzincan, incited the reactions of peasants of the region. Forty-five village headmen from Çayırlı penned a joint declaration announcing

116 "TÖS Halkın Yanındadır! Öğretmen Köylü El Ele!... Sorunlarımıza Beraberce Çözüm Yolu Bulacağız!" "5000 Köylü, Öğretmenlerle El Ele Kol Kola Yürüdüler," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 56 (June 15,1970): 1, 4.

their support for Aydın, in particular, and the TÖS, in general. They declared that they would fight against the persecution of the idealist, Kemalist teachers that enlightened their children. They sided with teachers who sided with the peasants.[117]

Baykurt's speech in the second general meeting of the TÖS in Kayseri again reflected the fact that political activists of the period claimed responsibility for educating the people. Moreover, the speech makes it clear that regardless of the initial intent, this course of education was a two-sided process in which teachers were also taught. Baykurt narrates that in a visit to the village of Atalan, he saw graffiti on the wall of a house: "There is a Land Struggle in this Village." The owner of the house was one of the non-classroom students of the unionized teachers. Baykurt further asserted that when this yet-unfinished education was complete, the enlightened people would lead the way for revolution.[118] Furthermore, by means of the direct link between teachers and peasants – that is, the teacher and the taught – alternative tools of communication such as graffiti spread, rendering an already unmediated communication radicalized.

Apart from supportive relationships in times of crisis or political mobility, teachers of the TÖS managed to affect everyday life in villages. In his memoirs, Ahmet Doğan narrates that during his service as a teacher in the village of Dorumlar in Çine, Aydın, in 1972-1973 school year, he and his students organized art exhibitions, music recitals, and theater plays for the peasants nearly every month. Peasants also contributed to student plays with their own performances. Moreover, he organized a theater group of young peasants that performed not only in their own village but also in neighboring villages.[119] Similarly, when he was appointed in 1966 to the underdeveloped district of Kurtalan, Siirt, Basri Aydın eagerly embraced the duty of "awakening" and enlightening the people of the re-

117 "Halkla Beraber: Köylü-Öğretmen El Ele," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 22 (January 5, 1969): 3.

118 "Bu Köyde Toprak Mücadelesi Var," Baykurt, "Öğretmen Bugün Ne Yapmalı?" *Aydınlık: Sosyalist Dergi* 10 (August 1969): 313.

119 Doğan, *Dün Eğitim Vardı*, 68.

gion. He organized theater plays and poetry recitals that were well-received by the people but not by the governor.[120] As the example of the THEATER-TÖS demonstrate, the teachers of the TÖS perceived art as an enlightening way to build bridges with the people, enter their everyday lives, and raise their sociopolitical consciousness.

The TÖS also considered establishing "peasant unions" ("*köylü birlikleri*") and "village cooperatives" ("*köy kooperatifleri*") to transform the socioeconomic composition of the countryside, form bonds between teachers and peasants, and provide security for teachers in the villages. Although, they did not take any steps towards actualizing this project, even thinking about institutionalizing relationships among teachers and peasants disturbed the government, as analyzed in chapter 2.[121]

In brief, the ideas of "going to the people" and raising their political awareness lay at the heart of the TÖS' worldview. With a political enthusiasm reminiscent of that of leftist students of the period and with a mission to enlighten the people, unionized teachers of the 1960s and 1970s attempted to build bridges with youth, workers, and peasants. Political mobility, boycotts, and demonstrations carried the relationships among teachers and students beyond the classroom and connected teachers with leftist youth. While their occupation made connecting with youth easier, forming sociopolitical bonds with workers was a challenge. Although members of the TÖS considered ways to connect with the proletariat and took concrete steps in that direction with the "Worker and Peasant University" project, teachers were unable to form enduring connections with workers. While the TÖS was unable to institutionalize relationships with peasants through "peasant unions" or "village cooperatives," it managed to form strong sociopolitical bonds with peasants owing to teachers' geographically widespread occupation.

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120 H. Basri Aydın, "[...] Neymişim Ben," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 4 (April 5, 1968): 3.

121 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 360.

In a press conference on September 6, 1967, Baykurt stated that the scope of teachers' duties went beyond the classrooms.[122] This coincided with the opinion of one teacher in the union, Ahmet Doğan, who ardently expresses in his memoirs of the political experience of the TÖS that

> teaching is not confined to four walls – that is to say, to the classroom. It is not confined to the school. It is not confined to the village to which we have been appointed, to the district to which that village is administratively bound, to the city to which the district is bound, and not even confined to Turkey.[123]

Correspondingly, for the second DEŞ, which was to take place in February 1971 but was canceled because of the political turmoil that was followed by the military memorandum of 1971,[124] unionized teachers had planned to further discuss the concept of "education for revolution" as a two-sided process: education for revolution in schools and education for revolution among the people. The members of the TÖS thought that teachers had the duty to move their practices outside of schools and educate the people about the socioeconomic conditions of Turkey and their constitutional rights – especially their right to association. The concept of education in the prospective agenda was broad. Unionized teachers intended to solidify their relationships with the people through a bidirectional practice of education, which is to say that the teachers who educated the people had to be open to learning from them at the same time.[125] Education, for them, was no longer a unidirectional, hierarchical practice confined to government-controlled classrooms. Unionized teachers of the period were determined to carry the practice of education beyond the

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122 "Genel Başkan Fakir Baykurt'un Basın Toplantısı," *Bilinç: TÖS Eskişehir Şubesi Yayın Organıdır* 3 (September 1967): 3.

123 "Öğretmenlik dört duvar arası ile yani sınıfla sınırlı değil. Okulla da sınırlı değil. Atandığımız köyle, köyün bağlı olduğu ilçeyle, ilçenin bağlı olduğu ille ve hatta Türkiye'yle bile sınırlı değil," Doğan, *Dün Eğitim Vardı*, 15.

124 Koç, *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Tarihi*, 118.

125 "Okullarda devrim için eğitim" and "Halk içinde devrim için eğitim," "İkinci Devrimci Eğitim Şûrasının (DEŞ) Amaçları ve Gündemi," *TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası Yayın Organıdır* 67 (December 1, 1970): 2.

schools. The result was a broadened understanding of education, or an education boom, in which the organized teachers of the 1960s and 1970s first expanded the legal and political limits of being a teacher and brought teachers outside of schools by organizing the Great Education March and the boycott. Second, they adopted the concept of "education for revolution" that combined the prospect of revolution with the duty of "awakening the people." And lastly, they struggled to create sociopolitical links with youth, workers, and peasants and managed to establish close relationships with the latter. The ultimate aim of the leftist teachers was to enhance the socioeconomic circumstances of Turkey through revolutionary education. The TÖS was a tool that worked effectively throughout Turkey until the military memorandum of 1971. And even the coup of 1971 was not a permanent halt but a pause. Leftist teachers, although with fewer legal rights, continued to organize after the coup until the next coup d'état in 1980.

5.1.2 *The TÖB-DER and the Principle of "Democratic Education"*

Established after the military memorandum of 1971, the TÖB-DER was a continuation of the TÖS in organizational and ideological terms; however, it had few of the organizational rights of its predecessor. After 1971, teachers, along with all civil servants, lost their right to unionize.[126] Although they had fewer associational rights, suffered more assaults, were under government pressure, dealt with inner schisms, and faced economic difficulties, the teachers of the TÖB-DER continued to strive for a more democratic society and system of education during the 1970s, just as the teachers of the TÖS before them. They, too, perceived education as a necessary step to "awaken the people." They embraced the same duty of enlightening the people and sought to establish sociopolitical bonds with them. In other words, the TÖB-DER had a similar agenda to that of the TÖS but operated under more dire economic, social, and political circumstances.

126 Yıldırım Koç, *Geçmişten Günümüze Kamu Çalışanlarının Sendikalaşması* (Ankara: TÜRK-İŞ Eğitim Yayınları No. 69, 2001), 5.

The military intervention of 1971 had a disruptive effect on the social movements and political organizations of the 1960s that it targeted.[127] The teachers' organization suffered its share, and the TÖS was closed. After then, the 1970s witnessed spiraling violence against and oppression of leftist organizations and associations, one of which was the TÖB-DER. While there was a continuity from the 1960s throughout the 1970s in terms of politicization and its byproducts of communication and education, there was also discontinuity within continuity – the politicization of the 1970s still differed from that of the 1960s. The main difference was the rising of political violence in the 1970s in the form of not only leftwing armament but also rightwing assaults.[128]

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127 Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 229.

128 The rise of political violence in the 1970s in Turkey stemmed from several reasons. The economic downfall of the 1970s paralleled social and political crises. Correspondingly, the late 1970s witnessed the downfall of the political-economic model of the 1960s and, thus, a deadlock in the policymaking process. The geographical inequalities inherent in the economic system, the rising social crisis in small cities, and social conflicts in large cities that were caused by mass internal migration and irregular urbanization paved the way for the rise of radical politics and political violence. Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, 226, 254, 265, 282. At the end of the 1970s, large cities of Turkey that were no longer able to embrace new migrants provided arenas for sociopolitical and violent confrontations. For a more detailed analysis of the relationship between urbanization and political violence, see Ruşen Keleş and Artun Ünsal, *Kent ve Siyasal Şiddet* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1982). Şerif Mardin also emphasizes internal migration and irregular urbanization among the reasons for the rise of political violence in Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s. Şerif Mardin, "Youth and Violence in Turkey," *Archives Européennes e Sociologie* 19, no. 2 (1978): 243-245. Moreover, the rise of political violence in the period was not peculiar to Turkey but was a global phenomenon, as exemplified by the armament of socialist, ethnic, separatist political organizations such as the Basque nationalist, separatist organization of Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), the Irish Republican Army (IRA), and Marxist-Leninist guerilla group of Italian Red Brigades (Brigatte Rosse). Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 2009), 299, 441. Leftist militants in Turkey followed global developments, were influenced by guerilla movements in the world, and took part in the liberation movement of Palestine. For more information on the involvement of Turkish revolutionaries in the Palestine liberation movement, see Oktay Duman, *Devrimcilerin Filistin Günlüğü, 1968-1975* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2015). Furthermore,

The TÖB-DER's periodicals are abundant with reports of rightwing militant assaults on its members. A section of the bulletin and journals of the TÖB-DER were reserved for reports of these assaults, listing every attack carried out on leftist teachers. For instance, according to the bulletin dated November 1, 1972, rightwing militants wounded two teachers with knives and screwdrivers in Kaman; two high school teachers were beaten by twenty people in Boğazlıyan; and two teachers were attacked in Osmaniye and two more in Elazığ.[129] In the second half of the 1970s, assaults on the TÖB-DER gradually increased, as the overall political atmosphere became more tense. The meetings and demonstrations of the association were attacked. In February 1975, the TÖB-DER organized closed-door meetings in sixty-three cities protesting the "high cost of living and fascist oppression," eight of which were attacked, namely those in Adıyaman, Afyon, Amasya, Bingöl, Kahramanmaraş, Malatya, Muş, and Tokat.[130] Thousands of organized people in these cities, with stones and batons in hand and chanting "Down with Communism," attacked not only teachers of the TÖB-DER but also CHP buildings, bookstores, and shops belonging to leftists.[131] The ninety-ninth issue of *TÖB-DER* reports that in June 1975, after attacks in Turgutlu, Erdemli, and Sivas where three teachers were murdered,[132] an attack occurred in Adapazarı leaving three teachers wounded and one dead.[133] Later in the same year, rightwing

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in the late 1960s and 1970s, not only leftwing but also rightwing violence was rising in the international context that was manifest in increasing militarism and terror, as exemplified by the so-called Gladio in Italy. Tim Wilson, "Rightist Violence: An Historical Perspective," International Center for Counter-Terrorism (2020), accessed May 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/resrep23578: 16-17.

129 "Kaman'da Meydanı Boş Bulan Faşist Taslakları İki Öğretmeni Bıçak ve Tornavida ile Yaraladı," "Boğazlıyan'da İki Lise Öğretmeni Çarşı Ortasında Yirmi Kişinin Saldırısına Uğradı," "Osmaniye'de İki Öğretmen Dövüldü," and "Elazığ'da İki Öğretmen Dövüldü," *TÖB-DER* 36 (November 1, 1972) quoted in Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 89.

130 "Hayat Pahalılığı ve Faşizan Baskıları Protesto Toplantıları," "Yasal Toplantılarımız Saldırıya Uğradı: Soygun Cephesi Kan Döktü," *TÖB-DER* 92 (March 1, 1975): 1.

131 "TÖB-DER Toplantıları, CHP Binaları ve Sol Eğilimli Kişiler Saldırıya Uğradı: 8 İlde Olaylar Çıktı; 1 Ölü, 35 Yaralı Var," *Milliyet*, February 16, 1975, 1, 10.

132 "Ölenler Döğüşerek Öldüler," *TÖB-DER* 99 (June 15, 1975): 4.

133 "Halkımıza," *TÖB-DER* 99 (June 15, 1975): 5.

gangs opened fire on the building of the association's Istanbul branch.[134] The number of attacks rose constantly starting in 1975. An annual report published in the periodical of the Istanbul branch exhibits the grave picture. In the 1975-1976 school year, seven teachers were murdered and two hundred were wounded. The workplaces and residences of one thousand teachers were attacked.[135] In January 1977, the armed attack on the Istanbul branch was repeated.[136] On May 2, 1977, the head office of the TÖB-DER in Ankara was bombed. Officials barely escaped.[137] A press statement by the association released in November 1978 remarks that in the previous three months, eleven TÖB-DER members had been killed, twenty had been wounded, and twenty-one branch buildings had been bombed.[138] According to the newspapers, between 1975 and September 1980, 175 members of the TÖB-DER were killed for political reasons.[139] Therefore, the TÖB-DER dedicated a great deal of its energy and time to the struggle against political violence and oppression.

Besides violence, TÖB-DER members were faced ministerial investigations, suspensions, and office exile. In the association's periodicals and bulletins, reports on government oppression and harassment by the school administrators were listed along with the reports on assaults. The number of suspensions faced by members since the beginning of the association was illustrated in a table in the bulletin No. 15, reprinted below, which gives an account of the TÖB-DER's social assistance. In its first four months, the association financially assisted twenty-seven suspended members and 134 imprisoned members (see table 5.3). Another table in the bulletin reveals that 156 TÖB-DER members were imprisoned in the

134 "Şubemiz Saldırıya Uğradı," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 8 (November 28, 1975): 5.

135 "Bir Ders Yılı Daha Bitti," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 13 (June 5, 1976): 1.

136 "Şubemiz Kurşunlandı," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 16 (January 21, 1977): 11.

137 "Bugün Dünden Daha Kararlı, Daha Güçlüyüz," *TÖB-DER* 143 (May 25, 1977): 12.

138 "TÖB-DER Saldırılara Boyun Eğmeyecektir," *TÖB-DER* 166 (November 30, 1978): 3.

139 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 506.

first months of the association, forty-two of whom were still in prison.[140] These numbers gradually increased throughout the 1970s.

Table 5.3 Social Assistance of the TÖB-DER Conducted in October-December 1971.

Type of Assistance	Number of Recipients	Amount of Payment in Liras
Subsidy for Imprisonment	134	165,695.05
Subsidy for Suspension	27	47,012.20
Monetary Aid Because of Death	2	3,000
Monetary Aid Because of Disaster	2	10,000
Various Aid	5	2,950

SOURCE *TÖB-DER* 15 (February 1, 1972): 3.

During the 1970s, several members of the TÖB-DER were investigated, suspended from duty, or exiled to other cities for charges such as being revolutionary,[141] spreading communist propaganda,[142] provoking strife between leftist and rightist groups,[143] signing political petitions,[144] possessing prohibited books,[145] reading and distributing leftist publications (including the TÖB-DER's own periodicals),[146] exhibiting leftist articles

140 "TÖB-DER'in Üç Aylık Yaşantısı," *TÖB-DER* 15 (February 1, 1972): 3.

141 "Öğretmen Okullarında Göçebelik," *TÖB-DER* 16 (February 7, 1972): 1.

142 "Komünizm Propagandası Yapmakla Suçlanan Bulanık Şube Başkanı ve Arkadaşları Beraat Etti," *TÖB-DER* 36 (November 1, 1972) quoted in Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 89; ibid., 98; "Kıyım Dosyalarını Açıklıyoruz," *TÖB-DER* 57 (September 15, 1973): 11.

143 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 99.

144 "Kıyım Dosyalarını Açıklıyoruz," *TÖB-DER* 50 (June 1, 1973): 15.

145 "Konya-Ereğli Savcılığı, Yasak Kitap Bulundurma Konusunda Soruşturma Açtığı Öğretmen Salim Harput Hakkında Takipsizlik Kararı Verdi," *TÖB-DER* 8 (December 13, 1971) quoted in Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*; ibid., 99, 154, 158.

146 Ibid., 152; "Gültepe İlkokulu'nda Garip Bir Tahkikat," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 11 (March 4, 1976): 3; "Kıyım Hoş Geldi Sefa Geldi," *TÖB-DER* 68 (March 1, 1974): 9.

on school bulletin boards,[147] opposing American scholarships,[148] spreading leftist propaganda in their wedding invitations,[149] or selling Village Institutes badges.[150] Political persecution by the government affected thousands of TÖB-DER members in the 1970s.

In addition to political violence and investigations, the TÖB-DER dealt with inner schisms reflecting a trend of breaking into splinter groups that was common among leftist organizations of the period. As early as 1973, factions with conflicting political positions began to appear within the association.[151] Towards the end of the 1970s, the splinter groups increased in number. In the fourth ordinary general meeting of the TÖB-DER, which took place between August 21 and 24, 1978, fourteen groups competed in the elections and sought to take control of the administration.[152] During the meeting, political competition among groups turned

147 "Öğretmenler Gerici Uygulamalara Karşı Kenetleniyor," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 10 (January 27, 1976): 3.

148 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 162.

149 "Düğün Davetiyelerinde Sol Propaganda Yaptıkları İddiasıyla Alaşehir Lisesi Öğretmenlerinden Nevin Şeker ve Derya Gölgelioğlu Hakkında Soruşturma Açıldı," *TÖB-DER* 34 (October 1, 1972) quoted in Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 85.

150 "Saldırı, Baskı ve Kıyımlar Sürüyor," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 14 (November 6, 1976): 11.

151 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 141-142.

152 The fourteen groups, which were all supporters of different political organizations of the period, were as follows: the pro-TSİP group of Democratic Centralists (Demokratik Merkeziyetçiler), the pro-DEV-YOL group of Revolutionary Teacher (Devrimci Öğretmen), the pro-TKP Union and Solidarity (Birlik ve Dayanışma), the pro-TİP Union for Democracy (Demokrasi İçin Birlik), the pro-CHP Populist Educators (Halkçı Eğitimciler), the Revolutionary Democratic Union (Devrimci Demokratik Birlik) composed of teachers from the circle of the journal of *Kurtuluş: Sosyalist Dergi*, the Path to Liberty (Özgürlük Yolu) supporting the Socialist Party of Kurdistan (Partiya Sosyalîst a Kurdistan), the Revolutionary Democratic Teachers (Devrimci Demokrat Öğretmenler) supporting the Revolutionary Democratic Culture Association (Devrimci Demokratik Kültür Derneği, or DDKD), the Patriotic Revolutionary Teacher (Yurtsever Devrimci Öğretmen) supporting the THKO's successor movement of the People's Liberation

into verbal disputes and physical confrontation on occasion.[153] The clashes were so tense that two opposing groups who claimed the right to administrate the TÖB-DER emerged after two separate general meetings.[154] Nevertheless, the political conflict caused by the two-headed administration ended in a short time. On November 24, 1978, a lawsuit by one administration opposing the general meeting in which the other was elected was dismissed by the Ankara Fourth Criminal Court of First Instance (Ankara Dördüncü Asliye Hukuk Mahkemesi). Thus, the administration led by Gültekin Gazioğlu was ruled the legal one.[155] Yet as the events during and after the fourth general meeting demonstrated, political clashes within the association occupied the TÖB-DER's agenda, resulting in its effective immobilization.

The TÖB-DER's busy agenda involved not only political oppression and inside competition but also economic difficulties. The substantial rise in oil prices in international markets in 1973, exacerbated by the domestic political crisis and economic incapacity, had harsh consequences for the Turkish economy, which gradually deteriorated towards the end

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(Halkın Kurtuluşu), the Patriotic Teacher (Yurtsever Öğretmen) of the journal of *Aydınlık* and the Workers' Peasants' Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Köylü Partisi), and groups belonging to the political circles of the journals *Rızgari*, *Halkın Yolu*, *Halkın Birliği*, and *Genç Emekçiler*. "TÖB-DER'in Pazartesi Günü Toplanacak olan Genel Kurulu'nda 14 Ayrı Grup Çekişecek," *Cumhuriyet*, August 19, 1978, 5; Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 415-416.

153 "TÖB-DER 9. Olağan Kurulu Olaylı Başladı: TÖB-DER Kongresi'nde İGD ve DEV-GENÇ'liler Çatıştı," *Milliyet*, August 22, 1978, 8; "Polis Öğretmenler Sendikaları (FİSE) Genel Sekreteri'nin Üstünü Arayınca Tartışmalar Çıktı: TÖB-DER Kongresi'nde Başkanlık Divanı Düşürüldü," *Milliyet*, August 24, 1978, 8.

154 "TÖB-DER'de 2 Başkan, 2 Yönetim Ortaya Çıktı," *Milliyet*, August 30, 1978, 8. The Gültekin Gazioğlu administration was supported by splinter groups of the Democratic Centralists, the Revolutionary Teacher, the Path to Liberty, and the Revolutionary Democratic Union, whereas the opposing camp, led by Talip Öztürk, was the candidate for the Union and Solidarity. "Mahkeme Yeni Seçilen TÖB-DER Kongre Başkanlık Divanı İçin İhtiyatî Tedbir Kararı Aldı," *Milliyet*, August 25, 1978, 8; Galip İşen, "TÖB-DER'in 4 Günü: TÖB-DER Genel Kurulu Hem Bitti, Hem Bitmedi" and "Savcılık TÖB-DER Kongresi İçin Soruşturma Açtı," *Milliyet*, August 26, 1978, 8; "TÖB-DER'de Yeni Bir Yönetim Kurulu Seçildi," *Milliyet*, August 29, 1978, 1, 14.

155 "TÖB-DER Kongresi Aleyhine Açılan Dava Reddedildi," *Milliyet*, November 25, 1978, 9.

of the 1970s. The resultant economic crisis that erupted in 1977 was followed by a scarcity of basic goods, black marketeering, and a dramatic increase in prices.[156] Therefore, the 1970s in Turkey witnessed a decrease in the standard of living that also affected teachers who were salaried employees. Yet financial difficulties predated the oil crisis and had occupied the TÖB-DER's agenda since the early 1970s. In December 1971, TÖB-DER members penned a letter addressed to the Minister of National Education identifying financial difficulties as one of the most significant problems of the teachers, underlining the fact that nearly ten thousand teachers had resigned and migrated to Europe to work as blue-collar workers.[157] In its bulletin dated February 21, 1972, the association readdressed the problem of financial difficulties that teachers faced, targeting the budget discussions at the TBMM.[158] Bulletin No. 68 reports that forty more teachers resigned from their occupation because, as one of the resignees put it, of the "ever-increasing cost of living and the reduced value of the teachers in society."[159]

As the waves of the impending economic crisis started to wear away the incomes in Turkish society in the second half of the 1970s, organized teachers decided to take further action against the economic difficulties they faced. Starting in 1975, TÖB-DER members organized a number of demonstrations not only to demand their right to establish trade unions and defy fascism but also to protest unemployment and the high cost of living. In brief, they demanded economic rights along with democratic rights. On February 16, 1975, following closed-door meetings in sixty-three cities, the TÖB-DER organized silent rallies in Istanbul and Izmir demanding improved living conditions, the right to association along

156 Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 129, 140-141.

157 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 42.

158 "Bakanlar ve Öğretmenler," *TÖB-DER* 18 (February 21, 1972): 1; "Yeni Bütçe ve Öğretmen Emeği," ibid., 2.

159 "Sürekli artan hayat pahalılığı ve öğretmenin toplum içindeki değerinin düşürüldüğü bir ortamda," "Öğretmenlikten İstifalar Artıyor," *TÖB-DER* 68 (March 1, 1974): 6.

with the rights to strike and bargain collectively, and end to fascist oppression.[160] The association began preparing for similar demonstrations in fifteen cities on December 6, 1975. These were to be in cooperation with other associations of civil servants such as the All Civil Servants' Association of Unity and Solidarity (Tüm Memurlar Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği Derneği, or TÜM-DER), the Association of All Technical Employees (Tüm Teknik Elemanlar Derneği, or TÜTED), and the Association of All University, Academy, and College Assistants (Tüm Üniversite, Akademi ve Yüksek Okul Asistanları Birliği, or TÜMAS);[161] however, the TÖB-DER decided to cancel these rallies because the Ministry of Internal Affairs deemed them illegal and the CHP and the DİSK ceased to support them.[162] Demonstrations for economic and democratic rights continued later in the 1970s. For example, on February 21, 1976, the Izmir branch of the TÖB-DER organized a protest of the "high cost of living and fascist oppression" with twenty thousand people including members of trade unions, other associations, and peasants.[163] In January and February 1977, the members of the TÖB-DER, TÜM-DER, and TÜTED poured onto streets in Ankara, Bursa, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Giresun, Mersin, and Zonguldak to demand better living conditions, further democratic rights, and a democratized education system.[164] In a nutshell, the members of the TÖB-DER struggled not only against an undemocratic political environment and political oppression but also against economic hardship.

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160 "TÖB-DER Yönetim Kurulu Toplandı," *TÖB-DER* 90 (February 1, 1975): 1.

161 "Önemli Duyuru," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 8 (November 28, 1975): 3; "İstanbul Çapında Ekonomik ve Demokratik Taleplerimizi İçeren Afişleme Yapıldı," ibid., 2; "Hayat Pahalılığını, Kıyımları ve Faşist Baskıları Protesto İçin Miting ve Yürüyüş Yapıyoruz," ibid., 6.

162 "Miting ve Yürüyüşlerin Engellenmesi Kınandı," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 9 (December 31, 1975): 2; "İptal Kararından Önceki ve Sonraki Gelişmeler," ibid., 4.

163 "TÖB-DER İzmir Şubesi Miting ve Yürüyüş Yaptı," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 11 (March 4, 1976): 7.

164 "Maocu Bozguncuların İhaneti: Tekelci Güçlerin Saldırıları Öğretmenlerin Mücadelesini Durduramayacaktır," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 17-18 (February-March 1977): 1.

For TÖB-DER members, struggling for their right to establish a trade union with further associational rights and standing together against political oppression, violence, and economic hardship were essential. This was apparent, when the executive board of the association convened on July 12-14, 1975, and made the following decisions:

> A harsh period of struggle to obtain our economic and democratic rights lies before us. Our first target is to acquire our right to establish a trade union with the rights to strike and make a collective agreement. The dominant powers will not willingly give us our right to a union. During this struggle, many of our friends will be suspended, persecuted, exiled, imprisoned. Thus, it will be an uphill battle. On the other hand, we are opposing a government that conspires to oppress, dominate, and persecute our association and its members at every opportunity. In order to confront this, we must not only stand in unity and solidarity but be strong financially. Taking all of these matters under consideration, our executive board has decided as follows:
>
> "To reject all appeals of help from branches for the purpose of obtaining plots or buildings."
>
> Undoubtedly, local clubhouses are vital for political organization. However, our most important and current problem is our struggle to obtain our economic and democratic rights.[165]

165 "Ekonomik ve demokratik haklarımızı elde etmek için yoğun bir mücadele dönemine giriyoruz. İlk hedefimiz, grevli, toplu sözleşmeli sendika hakkını almaktır. Egemen güçler sendika hakkımızı kolayca vermeyeceklerdir. Bu mücadelede birçok arkadaşımız açığa alınacak, kıyılacak, sürülecek, hapse atılacaktır. Öte yandan örgütümüze ve üyelerimize her fırsatta baskı, tahakküm ve zulüm tezgahlayan bir iktidarla karşı karşıyayız. Bütün bunları göğüsleyebilmek için birlik ve beraberliğin yanı sıra parasal yönden de güçlü olmak zorundayız. Bu durumları dikkate alan Yönetim Kurulumuz şu kararı almıştır: 'Şubelerimizin bu dönemde arsa, bina mülkiyeti edinmek amacıyla yardım istemelerinin reddine.' Kuşkusuz, örgütlenmede lokaller önemli bir unsurdur. Ancak asıl önemli ve güncel olan sorunumuz, ekonomik ve demokratik haklarımızı elde etme mücadelesidir," "Yönetim Kurulumuz Toplandı," *TÖB-DER* 102 (August 1, 1975): 13.

Stuck between economic and political difficulties, the TÖB-DER, as the mass association of leftist teachers in the 1970s, was compelled put economic and political struggles ahead of political organization. While the TÖS tried to develop local clubhouses, the TÖB-DER had to push them to the background. Reports of assaults, investigations, and office exile and the association's resistance and determination in the face of them were widely covered in the periodicals of the TÖB-DER, indicating the large place they occupied on its agenda. Organized teachers of the 1970s not only dealt with harsher economic conditions but also were incapacitated politically and institutionally by inner schisms. In brief, the teachers of the TÖB-DER were confined by the antagonistic political environment of the 1970s and hampered by socioeconomic difficulties. Because of the abundance of problems with which to be dealt, there was less space on the TÖB-DER agenda for theoretical discussions on the methods of education; members lacked the relative safety that TÖS members had enjoyed. As expressed in one issue of the periodical of the Ankara branch, there was no life safety in the schools due to rightwing attacks; thus, the right to education could not be fulfilled.[166] Without political and socioeconomic safety, the TÖB-DER had to operate in a tight corner. Nonetheless, even under these conditions, the TÖB-DER took the torch from the TÖS and other leftist political organizations of the period and carried the political and economic struggle of the 1960s into the 1970s. Organized teachers identified democracy as an urgent need in domestic politics and education, and they struggled for it.

The TÖB-DER not only inherited its assets and political dynamism from the TÖS but also its ideology. Organized teachers of the 1970s continued to advocate for revolutionary education and reformulated it as "democratic education" ("*demokratik eğitim*"). According to the association, the education system in Turkey was neither national nor democratic; thus, it served the needs of neither the country nor society.[167] Therefore, as stated in the third general meeting of the association, the

166 "Faşist Güçlerin Saldırıları Bizi Yıldıramaz," *TÖB-DER Ankara Şubesi Yayın Organı* 2 (April 2, 1978): 3.

167 "Ulusal ve Demokratik Eğitim İstiyoruz," *TÖB-DER* 81 (September 15, 1974): 1.

TÖB-DER was determined to struggle not only for the democratization of society but also for the democratization of the education.[168] For them, "democratic education" was consistent with social reality and social needs. It would effectively bring about equal opportunity by providing free education and lodging and student loans for students from worker or peasant families, and its curricula and regulations would be democratically composed by teachers, students, and parents together.[169] They demanded from the government that they be democratically represented within the Ministry of National Education in order to constitute a democratic, scientific education system that would satisfy society's political and economic needs.[170] Like the teachers of the TÖS, the teachers of the TÖB-DER embraced the responsibility of raising the consciousness of students and giving them a revolutionary attitude, of "awakening the people" about the country's problems, and of struggling alongside the people of Turkey towards a more democratic country.[171] In brief, organized leftist teachers of the 1970s, who were under the pressures of political oppression and violence, yearned for a more democratic society, demanded the democratization of education, and regarded themselves as responsible for the struggle.

In 1976, the TÖB-DER prepared a detailed, two-year program that involved several tasks ranging from furthering its political organization to building solidarity with the international teachers' movement. One task was to organize a Congress of Democratic Education (Demokratik Eğitim Kurultayı, or DEK) for the purpose of discussing the theories and methods of democratizing education. For the TÖB-DER, the democratic and revolutionary teachers' movement had the responsibility to organize such a forum,[172] in which associated teachers would discuss the shortcomings of the existing educational system along with the problems of

168 "III. Olağan Genel Kurul Kararları," *TÖB-DER* 125-126 (August, 1-15 1976): 3.

169 "Yönetim Kurulumuz Toplandı," *TÖB-DER* 102 (August 1, 1975): 15.

170 "Acil Taleplerimiz," *TÖB-DER* 99 (June 15, 1975): 10.

171 "Çakır'ın Seminer Açış Konuşması," *TÖB-DER* 105 (September 15, 1975): 12.

172 *TÖB-DER Çalışma Programı, 1976-1978* (Istanbul: Oren Basımevi, 1976), 9, 49.

the teachers, and bring forward scientific solutions towards democratic education.[173]

Figure 5.7 Pictures from the DEK. SOURCE: *TÖB-DER* 157 (March 1, 1978).

The DEK convened between February 4-11, 1978, in Ankara (see figure 5.7).[174] During the congress, associated teachers and other representatives discussed many topics such as the history and methods of teachers' political organization, the personal rights and occupational problems of

173 "Demokratik Eğitim Kurultayı," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 16 (January 21, 1977): 6-7.

174 *TÖB-DER* 157 (March 1, 1978).

teachers, laws on education, the education of teachers, education systems in capitalist, socialist, underdeveloped, and colonial countries, problems of the educational system in Turkey at all levels, art and education, health and nutrition in schools, children's literature, and non-formal education.[175] As Gazioğlu put it in his opening speech, the overall target of the DEK was to scientifically criticize the existing educational system of Turkey in every respect and to specify the characteristics of a democratic system of education.[176]

The participants of the DEK discussed in detail the political and socioeconomic conditions that were hampering the development of a democratic education system. Gazioğlu's speech touched on the government oppression and political violence suffered by members of the TÖB-DER. According to him, the suspensions and office exile of nearly ten thousand affiliate teachers, assaults of its members, and the bombings of its offices were signs of hostility towards education and science.[177] In his presentation during the DEK, Rasim Aktaş from the TÖB-DER stated that teachers' rights to association and to form a trade union were necessary to have a say in the planning of a democratic educational system.[178] For TÖB-DER attorney, Halit Çelenk, and member of the executive board, Hamdi Konur, the anti-democratic law of education in Turkey was an obstacle to an independent, progressive, national education system.[179] In other words, as stated in the final declaration of the DEK, the teachers of the TÖB-DER believed that a democratic education system was only possible in a democratic society. Therefore, democratic education had prerequisites such as unionized teachers with the right to strike and to be members of political parties, the inclusion of the TÖB-DER in the educational decision

175 *Demokratik Eğitim Kurultayı* (Ankara: TÖB-DER Yayınları, 1978), 10-11.

176 "Genel Başkan Gültekin Gazioğlu'nun Demokratik Eğitim Kurultayını Açış Konuşması," ibid., 24.

177 Ibid., 22.

178 Rasim Aktaş, "Niçin Sendika Hakkı İstiyoruz?" ibid., 149.

179 Halit Çelenk and Hamdi Konur, "Eğitim Yasaları ve İşleyişi," ibid., 359-364.

process, an end to government oppression of teachers, education in students' mother tongues, and removal of antidemocratic laws.[180] The discussants who attended the DEK agreed that a democratic society and education system also required equal opportunity for the people. Therefore, the teachers of the TÖB-DER undertook the responsibility of making education widespread, especially for workers and peasants, and forcing the government to cover their educational costs.[181] Briefly, for participants of the DEK, only an egalitarian education system nested within a democratic society and programmed democratically by teachers, students, parents, and the government together would serve the needs of society. To make this possible was the responsibility of democratic organizations and of the TÖB-DER, above all.

The teachers of the TÖB-DER had shouldered the responsibility of democratizing the education system for the benefit of the people of Turkey even before the DEK. This sentiment of a responsibility to the people and an eagerness to connect with them, which the teachers of the TÖB-DER inherited from their predecessors in the TÖS, continued during the 1970s; however, in the face of political and economic crises, democratic rights and the quality of living deteriorated. The emphasis shifted to mutual support rather than unilateral responsibility. The TÖB-DER, from the beginning of its formation, was eager to find solidarity with the people. Indeed, the periodicals of the association include several articles that discuss the duty of teachers towards society and their wish to win the support of society.

In March 1972, on the 124th anniversary of the opening of the first teacher training school in Turkey, associated teachers had the opportunity to assess the people's level of education. While they principally blamed the government for illiteracy rate of 45% and low schooling attendance, they also acknowledged their part in it. "We, as teachers, know the degree of our responsibility in this failure, and embrace our duty bearing this sentiment of responsibility," they wrote in their declaration.

180 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 402-403.

181 Cumhur Aytolun, "Gençliğin Eğitim Sorunları," in *Demokratik Eğitim Kurultayı*, 586-587.

They added that they needed the support of the people to overcome the obstacles that prevented them from fulfilling their responsibility to achieve a democratic, egalitarian education system.[182] Similarly, as the chairperson of the association, Haydar Orhan, stated in his speech to the first ordinary general meeting of the TÖB-DER on July 4-5, 1972, the associated teachers felt the responsibility to act in solidarity with the people and were willing to receive their support in return.[183] After the second extraordinary general meeting, the TÖB-DER again set a target to integrate with society and collaborate with the people.[184] The chairperson, Ali Bozkurt, expressed in an article for the bulletin of the association that the foremost duty of the teachers of the TÖB-DER was to integrate with the people by being hardworking, revolutionary, and anti-imperialist, having class-consciousness, following Atatürk's principles and science, respecting religious beliefs, mother tongues, and political stances, and acknowledging the economic difficulties that families suffer. Bozkurt stated that the problems of the teachers were interconnected with the problems of society in general, and the solutions lay in the same place. Moreover, teachers needed the support of the people and their students to endure political oppression.[185] These examples suggest that in a strained political atmosphere with diminished democratic rights, teachers of the TÖB-DER sought the support of the people of Turkey and looked for partners in struggle.

The profusion of participants in the DEK not only demonstrates the active, divided political atmosphere of the late 1970s but also that the TÖB-DER was not alone in its political struggle. Within the congress were representatives from the DİSK, the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği, or

182 "Biz öğretmenler olarak bu başarısızlıktan kendimize düşen sorumluluk ölçüsünü biliyor ve görevimize bu duygularla sarılıyoruz," "Öğretmenliğin 124. Yılı," *TÖB-DER* 22 (March 20, 1972): 2.

183 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 78.

184 "Derneğimiz ve Örgüt Anlayışımız," *TÖB-DER* 43 (February 15, 1973): 1.

185 Ali Bozkurt," TÖB-DER'li Öğretmene Düşen Görevler," *TÖB-DER* 57 (September 15, 1973): 12.

TMMOB), the Association of Cooperatives for Village Development and Agriculture (Köy Kalkınma ve Tarımsal Amaçlı Kooperatifler Birliği, or KÖY-KOOP), the People's Houses (Halkevleri), TYS, TÜM-DER, the Association of All Health Employees (Tüm Sağlık Personeli Derneği, or TÜS-DER), the Association of All Professors (Tüm Öğretim Üyeleri Derneği, or TÜMÖD), TÜMAS, TÜTED, the Federation of Associations of Revolutionary Youth (Devrimci Gençlik Dernekleri Federasyonu), the Union of Socialist Youth (Sosyalist Gençler Birliği), the Revolutionary People's Culture Association (Devrimci Halk Kültür Derneği, or DHKD), the Progressivist Youth's Association (İlerici Gençler Derneği, or İGD), the Association of Revolutionary High School Students (Devrimci Liseliler Derneği), the Union of Bar Associations of Turkey (Türkiye Barolar Birliği), Union of Chambers of Doctors (Tabipler Odası Birliği), TDK, the Turkish History Institution (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*), the Contemporary Lawyers' Association (Çağdaş Hukukçular Derneği, or ÇHD), the Police Association (Polis Derneği), the Association of All Agricultural Bank Employees (Tüm Ziraat Bankası Personeli Derneği), the Association of Revolutionary Municipalities (Devrimci Belediyeler Derneği), the Peasant Association (Köylü Derneği), the Headmen's Association (Muhtarlar Derneği), İKD, the Association of All Economists (Tüm İktisatçılar Birliği, or TİB), the Association of Agriculturists (Ziraatçılar Derneği), THK, the Ankara Sinematek Association (Ankara Sinematek Derneği), the Association Against High Cost of Living – Unemployment (Pahalılıkla – İşsizlikle Mücadele Derneği, or PİM), the Association of Labor Inspectors (İş Müfettişleri Derneği), the Association of Unity and Solidarity of All Civil Servants in Energy Sector (Enerji İşkolu Memurları Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği), the Association of Auditors of Court of Accounts (Sayıştay Denetçileri Derneği), the Workers' Cultural Association, and the Turkish Philosophy Institution (Türk Felsefe Kurumu).[186] Moreover, the general secretary of the World Federation of Teachers Unions, the chairpersons of the TSİP, the Patriotic Party (Vatan Partisi), and the Socialist Revolution Party (Sosyalist Devrim Partisi), the director of the education department of

186 *Demokratik Eğitim Kurultayı*, 8-9.

the DİSK, and the chairperson of the People's Houses gave speeches in the first day of the congress after Gazioğlu's opening speech.[187] The TÖB-DER remained affiliated with most of these associations and political organizations and acted in unison with them throughout the 1970s.

The program for 1976-1978 identified building relationships with other segments of society as a significant target of the TÖB-DER. The program brochure stated that the teacher's association intended to join forces with other democratic organizations. The TÖB-DER was willing to collaborate with the working class and their representative trade union, namely the DİSK, with youth and youth political organizations, with democratic occupational organizations, with women's political organizations, with university professors and their progressive organizations, and with progressive associations of tradespeople and artisans. The TÖB-DER thought that such collaboration with other democratic associations and organizations would strengthen its economic and democratic struggle.[188]

As the partnership in the DEK exemplified, the TÖB-DER entered into a "collaboration of forces" ("*güç birliği*") with certain political organizations and associations in the second half of the 1970s. As aforementioned, the TÖB-DER co-organized several demonstrations for democratic and economic rights to protest the "high cost of living and fascist oppression" along with several other political organizations in 1975. In 1976, the teachers' association decided to collaborate with other democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist organizations, including the TÜS-DER, TÜM-DER, TÜTED, TMMOB, TÜMÖD, ÇHD, İKD, İGD, the People's Houses, TİB, the Ankara Chamber of Commerce (Ankara Ticaret Odası), the Ankara Bar Association (Ankara Barosu), and AKD in opposition to State Security Courts (Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemeleri).[189] In 1977, democratic mass political organizations, including those of civil servants, technical workers, women, and youth who were looking for the support of the working class furthered their collaboration by specifying a common program of action

187 Ibid., 25, 28, 33, 38, 44, 48.

188 *TÖB-DER Çalışma Programı, 1976-1978*, 56-58.

189 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 322.

and principles. They decided to combine the struggle for democracy with a struggle against economic difficulties.[190]

Figure 5.8 "Our People Do Not Want to Experience Other 12 Marches." SOURCE: *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 17-18 (February-March 1977).

In another instance, in February 1977, the TÖB-DER, TÜTED, TÜS-DER, İKD, İGD, the Education and Culture Association of Cypriots in Istanbul

190 "Demokratik Kitle Örgütleri Eylem Birliği Çalışmaları," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 16 (January 21, 1977): 8.

(İstanbul Kıbrıslılar Öğrenim ve Kültür Derneği), and the Istanbul City Coordination Committee of the People's Houses announced the week of March 12-19 as a week of anti-fascist solidarity against fascism. Denouncing the repercussions of the military memorandum of March 12, 1971, the political organizations collectively put up posters in Istanbul streets, condemned the March 12 coup and the ensuing political oppression and murders, and expressed their struggle for democracy (see figure 5.8).[191]

In April 1977, the TÖB-DER along with a number of other political organizations – namely, TÜM-DER, TÜM-AS, TÜS-DER, İGD, the Association of Populist Revolutionary Youth (Halkçı Devrimci Gençlik Derneği), the Istanbul Culture Association of Higher Education (İstanbul Yüksek Öğrenim Kültür Derneği), the Union of Young Socialists (Genç Sosyalistler Birliği), and PİM – started a joint campaign against NATO, the Central Treaty Organization, bilateral agreements, and international military bases as well as the first Nationalist Front government which they characterized as imperialism's collaborator in Turkey.[192] The collaboration became broader after a few months with the formation of the second Nationalist Front government, the TÜRK-İŞ's call for general strike, and the DİSK's call for coordinated action. In Istanbul, for instance, the TÖB-DER collaborated with political organizations, such as the Istanbul branches of the TÜM-DER, TÜTED, TÜMÖD, TÜMAS, TÜS-DER, the Solidarity Association of All PTT Employees (Tüm PTT Çalışanları Dayanışma Derneği), DDKD, and DHKD, the Istanbul Chamber of Doctors, the Istanbul City Coordination Committees of the TMMOB and the People's Houses, the Istanbul regional representative branch of the DEV-GENÇ, the Edirne regional representative branch of the KÖY-KOOP, İGD, İKD, PİM, the Education and Youth Federation of Cypriots (Kıbrıslılar Öğrenim ve Gençlik Federasyonu, or KÖGEF), the Union of Young Workers (Genç

191 "12-19 Mart Faşizmle Mücadele ve Anti-Faşist Dayanışma Haftası," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 17-18 (February-March 1977): 4.

192 "Basın Bildirisi," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 12 (April 22, 1976): 5.

İşçiler Birliği), the Association of Apprentices (Çıraklar Derneği), the Association of the Union of Artists (Sanatçılar Birliği Derneği), the Association of Visual Artists (Görsel Sanatçılar Derneği, or GSD), and the Association of Caricaturists (Karikatürcüler Derneği).[193]

The political network and collaboration became active especially in times of political mobilization or crisis. On July 16, 1977, at half-past three o'clock in the morning, a highly explosive bomb was detonated at the Istanbul branch office of the TÖB-DER. There were no casualties but the damage interrupted the works of the association in Istanbul. Partners in political struggle did not leave the TÖB-DER alone in its hour of need. Members of the İGD and workers from the DİSK worked on the reconstruction side by side with TÖB-DER members. TÜTED members carried out all technical repairs for free. The Revolutionary Union of Bank, Office, Stock Exchange, and Insurance Workers of Turkey (Türkiye Devrimci Banka, Büro, Borsa ve Sigorta İşçileri Sendikası, or Bank-Sen) provided construction materials along with monetary assistance of 5,000 Turkish Liras. The Chamber of Mechanical Engineers (Makine Mühendisleri Odası) undertook the building's steel framing worthy of nearly fifteen thousand Turkish Liras. Monetary assistance from the Istanbul branches of the EMO, the Chamber of Architects (Mimarlar Odası), the İMO, and the Cooperative Housing Society of Teachers (Öğretmenler Yapı Kooperatifi) subsidized the reconstruction. The Istanbul branch of the Chamber of Chemical Engineers (Kimya Mühendisleri Odası) took charge of painting the building. Moreover, the İKD, KÖGEF, and the Istanbul City Coordination Committee of the People's Houses also supported the reconstruction.[194] As this makes clear, the TÖB-DER was part of a wide political network. In the 1970s, increasing government oppression, political violence, the struggle for associational rights, and the economic difficulties of the period pulled leftist political organizations together and created a "collaboration of forces." The TÖB-DER acted within a political web that was

193 "24 Demokratik Kuruluş Eylem Birliği Kararı Aldı," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 21 (September 1977): 3.

194 "Yel Ekenler Fırtına Biçecekler," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 21 (September 1977): 2.

constituted of the associations of civil servants, professionals such as engineers, architects, bankers, technicians, and doctors, and urban youth. Still, the associated teachers of the 1970s managed to form relationships with workers to an extent.

In bonding and collaborating with the working class, the intermediary role of the DİSK, the largest leftist umbrella organization of workers, was essential. The teachers of the TÖB-DER were willing to bond with the proletariat and hoped for the support of their powerful political organization. They followed the political stances and actions of the DİSK and strove to build a political connection with the confederation. Although it supported the teachers' political position, demonstrations, and the DEK, the DİSK was not so willing to connect workers and civil servants.[195] For instance, although the member organizations visited the DİSK many times suggesting a political alliance, the confederation did not become part of "the anti-fascist collaboration of forces" in 1977.[196] In his speech to the sixth general meeting of the DİSK, Gazioğlu expressed the TÖB-DER's disappointment for the DİSK's absence; leftist teachers had hoped to see the DİSK be a part of their political conglomeration.[197]

Nevertheless, the TÖB-DER's meetings with the DİSK yielded results, and the teachers' association became an honorary member of the DİSK in July 1978. They decided that the TÖB-DER would become an active

195 Research by Canan Koç and Yıldırım Koç suggests that while the DİSK had supported civil servants' right to unionize since 1975, it was opposed to certain leftist political groups such as the Dev-Yol, *Kurtuluş*, the People's Liberation, and *Aydınlık*, accusing them of acting against the interests of the working class. Moreover, the DİSK Central Executive Board, which was dominated by the TKP from 1975 until the end of September 1977, supported the organization of another collaboration to oppose the second Nationalist Front government, namely, the "National Democratic Front" ("*Ulusal Demokratik Cephe*"). Koç and Koç, *DİSK Tarihi*, 229, 371-372, 376-377, 402-404, 500. The DİSK's reluctance to bond with the TÖB-DER before 1978 might be the result of TKP influence, its intent of organizing a separate collaboration, and attitudes toward political groups organized under the banner of the TÖB-DER.

196 "Anti-Faşist Güçbirliği Çalışmaları ve Cephe Sorunu," *TÖB-DER* 148-149 (August 15-September 1, 1977):3 quoted in Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 364-365.

197 "DİSK 6. Kongresi Yapıldı: Yaşasın İşçilerin Birliği," *TÖB-DER* 155 (January 10, 1978) quoted in ibid., 399-400.

member of the confederation after the legal obstacles preventing civil servants from establishing trade unions were lifted.[198] The TÖB-DER announced this alliance on the cover of its bulletin No. 162, putting the TÖB-DER logo inside of DİSK's logo (see figure 5.9)[199]

Figure 5.9 "Long Live the Union of All Employees." SOURCE: *TÖB-DER* 162 (August 2, 1978).

198 "TÖB-DER Merkezi, İstanbul Şubesi'nin Çalışmasını Durdurdu: DİSK Yürütme Kurulu, TÖB-DER', 'DİSK Onur Üyeliği'ne Kabul Etti," *Milliyet*, July 8, 1978, 9.

199 *TÖB-DER* 162 (August 2, 1978) quoted in Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 413.

The collaboration intensified in August 1979 when the DİSK and ten other political organizations – the TÖB-DER, TMMOB, TÜTED, TÜM-DER, TÜS-DER, the Turkish Medical Association (Türk Tabipleri Birliği), the Public Houses, KÖY-KOOP, and ÇHD – founded a "democratic platform" ("*demokratik platform*") to struggle together against fascism, imperialism, and economic crisis.[200]

The TÖB-DER supported the political actions of workers in the 1970s even before it became an honorary member of the DİSK. When nearly forty thousand workers of Maden-İş went on strike demanding a reduction in their weekly working hours, better severance packages, longer paid annual leave, and higher retirement bonuses, the TÖB-DER, along with many other political organizations, supported them. The associated teachers asserted that their own struggle followed the path to liberation opened up by the struggle of the working class. Combining their fight for democratic and economic rights with that of the workers, the teachers of the TÖB-DER regularly visited the striking mining workers, provided them with financial assistance, organized exhibitions of solidarity in its branches, called for a campaign to provide meals to the strikers, and participated in demonstrations defending their political cause (see figure 5.10).[201]

The TÖB-DER, as an association for civil servants, was determined to join Labor Day demonstrations led by the DİSK. On May 1, 1977, with a decision issued by the association's headquarters, the associated teachers joined over half a million demonstrators in the Taksim Square.[202] During the demonstration, unidentified culprits opened fire on the crowd, killing thirty-six people,[203] among whom were six members of the TÖB-

200 "DİSK ve 10 Demokratik Kitle Örgütü Eylem Birliği Kararı Aldı," *Cumhuriyet*, August 13, 1979, 7.

201 "Maden-İş'li Grevcilerle Dayanışma Bayrağını Okullarda Yükseltiyoruz," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 21 (September 1977): 10.

202 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 347.

203 Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 280-281.

DER: Kenan Çatak, Ahmet Gözükara, Mustafa Elmas, Bayram Çıtak, Hikmet Özkürkçü, and Ömer Narman.[204] The massacre of May 1, 1977, was the epitome of the political intimidation of the working class and its supporters.[205]

Figure 5.10 "We are with You in Your Strike." SOURCE: *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 21 (September 1977).

On July 24, 1977, the TÖB-DER, TÜS-DER, TÜTED, İGD, İKD, KÖGEF, GSD, and the Istanbul City Coordination Committee of the Public Houses organized a night of solidarity with concerts and theater performances to benefit the striking mining workers.[206] Similarly, on March 20, 1978, along with other political associations and student organizations, the TÖB-DER actively supported the DİSK's work stoppage to protest the murder of six

204 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 347.

205 Aydın and Taşkın, *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, 280.

206 "Maden-İş Grevcileriyle Dayanışma Gecesi Yapıldı," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 21 (September 1977): 10.

students in Istanbul. Members boycotted classes and participated in the demonstrations.[207]

On the other hand, the atmosphere of political and economic crisis of the 1970s, which compelled the TÖB-DER to seek political backing and collaborations, took up teachers' time and befuddled their attempts to bond with other segments of society. Moreover, dealing with inner schisms led associated teachers to spend most of their energy trying to establish "democratic centralism" ("*demokratik merkeziyetçilik*") within their association, by which the minority was required to abide by the decisions of the majority keeping the rights to criticism and discussion.[208] The TÖB-DER, which merged with the Association of Elementary School Teachers (İlkokul Öğretmenleri Derneği) on March 9, 1975,[209] a task in which the TÖS and İLK-SEN did not succeed, labored to maintain its internal unity. Despite the time-consuming toil obliged by the political and economic crises of the period, members of the TÖB-DER, like their predecessors in the TÖS, strove to converge with the people, work in their interest, care about their problems, and integrate with them. Occasionally, this tactic of being teachers for the people bore fruit, and the TÖB-DER members received support from the people.

Like the teachers of the TÖS, the associated teachers of the 1970s perceived art as an instrumental way to connect with the people and guide them on a democratic, revolutionary route. Therefore, several TÖB-DER branches formed theater groups and utilized theater as a tool to reach the people, especially outside large cities. For instance, the theater group of the Ankara branch organized an Anatolian tour during which they would get in touch with both the people of Anatolia and the teachers of other TÖB-DER branches.[210] Similarly, on May 3, 1975, the teachers of the İnebolu branch performed a play that awakened the interest of the local

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207 "Faşizmin Karanlığına, Zulmüne ve Saldırılarına Karşı Direndik, Direneceğiz," *TÖB-DER Ankara Şubesi Yayın Organı* 2 (April 2, 1978): 1.

208 *TÖB-DER Çalışma Programı, 1976-1978*, 9-10.

209 "İLK-DER TÖB-DER'e Katıldı," *TÖB-DER* 94 (April 1, 1975): 6 quoted in Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 234.

210 "Ankara Şubemiz Tiyatro Kolu Kurdu," *TÖB-DER* 99 (June 15, 1975): 10.

people.[211] A month later, the Muş branch staged a play that was critical of the ingrained system of exploitation in the countryside. The local people of Muş and Varto watched the play with great interest.[212] In 1976, a ministerial investigation was initiated into the teachers of the Akarçay branch after they staged a play together with peasants.[213] In brief, art in the hands of leftist teachers created relationships between teachers and people of the countryside on or around the theater stage.

Besides art, the teachers of the TÖB-DER built connections with society by addressing their problems. The associated teachers of the 1970s were aware that teachers in underdeveloped countries came from low- and middle-class families; thus, the problems of the teachers were interconnected with those of the masses. The general secretary of the association, Binali Seferoğlu, stated that

> teachers do not constitute a separate class, yet they originate from oppressed classes and segments. Therefore, they belong to the oppressed classes and segments… However, how do we approach them, converge with them, and get along with them?... As I see it, the first step passes through the route of the children of the oppressed classes and segments. We should teach their children nature, society, and the laws to change and interpret them, help them find the contradictions, compel them to adopt a revolutionary attitude.[214]

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211 The teachers performed Necati Cumalı's *Ezik Otlar*. "Ezik Otlar Oynandı," *TÖB-DER* 101 (July 15, 1975): 4.

212 The teachers performed Cevat Fehmi Başkut's play *Buzlar Çözülmeden*. "Muş Haberleri," *TÖB-DER* 102 (August 1, 1975): 4.

213 The teachers and peasants performed *Pir Sultan Abdal*, Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 321.

214 "Öğretmenlik bir sınıf değildir. Ancak köken olarak ezilen sınıf ve tabakalardan gelmiştir. Bu nedenle yeri ezilen sınıf ve tabakaların yanıdır… Nasıl yaklaşalım, nasıl sokulalım yanına ve nasıl anlaşalım onunla?… Kanımca ilk adım, bu konuda ezilen sınıf ve tabakaların çocukları aracılığıyla atılmalı. Onların çocuklarına doğayı, toplumu, bunların değişme, yorumlama kanunlarını anlatmalıyız, çelişkiyi buldurmalıyız, devrimci bir tavır kazanmalarını sağlamalıyız," Binali Seferoğlu, "Özlük Hakları," *TÖB-DER* 99 (June 15, 1975): 15.

After they took the initial step to be revolutionary teachers to their students from the oppressed classes, the members of the TÖB-DER took several more steps to construct a bridge among teachers and the people. In order to become teachers for the people, they knew that they had to not only protect school children from the effects of degenerate, racist ideologies but also to be revolutionaries among the people and provide them with a revolutionary, anti-fascist consciousness.[215] Moreover, as the draft program for 1974-1976 stated, it was teachers' duty to fight shoulder to shoulder with the ignorant and neglected people of Turkey in a common struggle for democracy and independence.[216] Therefore, it was not a unilateral relation in which teachers "awakened the people" but a reciprocal connection based on shared political and economic problems and a common struggle to solve them.

The teachers of the TÖB-DER working in villages continued the political customs of the members of the TÖS. They were considerate with respect to peasants' problems and critical of the social inequality that that had taken hold in the countryside. As expressed in an article published in the association's bulletin, "[p]rogressive, democratic, and patriotic people and associations should bring consciousness to peasants and all indigent people and organize them."[217] For instance, in 1972, five members of the TÖB-DER who had volunteered to be assigned to Hakkari, one of the easternmost and poorest cities in Turkey, felt obliged to advise peasants about forced labor and the illegal taxes levied by their landowners. Their struggle alongside peasants came to an end when they were exiled to separate villages around the country after ministerial investigators accused them of spreading communist propaganda.[218] Similarly, in 1976, five teachers in the Karapınar branch were investigated for visiting villages,

215 Hasan Yiğit, "Öğretmen Halk İlişkileri," *TÖB-DER* 105 (September 15, 1975): 39-41.

216 "II. Genel Kurula Sunulan Çalışma Programı Taslağı (1974-1976)," *TÖB-DER* 78 (August 1, 1974): 14-15 quoted in Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 189-190.

217 "İlerici, demokratik ve yurtsever kişi ve kuruluşlar, köylüyü ve tüm yoksul halkı bilinçlendirmeli ve örgütlemelidir," Azimet Köylüoğlu, "Köylerimiz," *TÖB-DER* 99 (June 15, 1975): 24.

218 Aydın, *TÖB-DER Tarihi*, 98.

spreading leftist propaganda to peasants, and handing out books with leftist content.[219]

Additionally, the associated teachers of the 1970s bonded with their students around the common ground of oppression and deprivation in schools. On one occasion, tired of assaults by rightwing students and tired of rightwing propaganda being ignored by the school principal, the students of Bakırköy Evening High School of Commerce (Bakırköy Akşam Ticaret Lisesi) called on teachers of the TÖB-DER to deal with their problem. In response, the executive board of the association visited the school, a gesture that brought together leftist students and leftist teachers in school but outside of the classroom context.[220] Similarly, associated teachers in Alibeyköy, Istanbul, struggled against problems faced by both teachers and students at Alibeyköy High School (Alibeyköy Lisesi). The unkempt, unheated, and understaffed school made courses difficult and education unproductive. Protesting the poor conditions of the school, TÖB-DER members printed a declaration targeting parents and handed it out on the streets of Alibeyköy looking for support from the people of the neighborhood.[221]

The TÖB-DER members' call for support and united struggle did not always remain unanswered. On occasion, the people they wanted to reach and with whom they wanted to reacted to the investigations, office exile, and political assaults that associated teachers suffered. These instances were widely covered in the association's periodicals and usually made headlines. For instance, the periodical of the Istanbul branch explained that the printed declaration of TÖB-DER members and their concern for students' problems in Alibeyköy was productive: after one TÖB-DER member was expelled from the school by the principal, parents of

219 "Karapınar'da Öğretmenlere TÖB-DER Üyesi Misiniz? Soruşturması," *TÖB-DER* 123 (July 1, 1976): 2.

220 "Bir Grup Lise Öğrencisinin İsteği ve Tavrımız," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 16 (January 21, 1977): 9.

221 "Alibeyköy'de Öğretmen-Halk Bütünleşmesi, *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 10 (January 27, 1976): 3.

the students collected 560 signatures protesting the anti-democratic oppression of teachers and students and handed over the petition to the governor's office. Moreover, they penned a declaration of support for associated teachers and distributed it in Alibeyköy.[222] Similarly, as reported in TÖB-DER bulletin No. 51, following the office exile of a secondary school principal in Mersin in 1973, parents collected approximately one thousand five hundred signatures in protest.[223] When a teacher from the TÖB-DER was murdered in summer 1975 in Şavşat, thousands of local people, most of whom were peasants that came to the district center on trucks, joined the TÖB-DER's protest; nearly two thousand five hundred teachers and seven thousand locals attended the demonstration.[224] The headline of TÖB-DER bulletin No. 106 reported that during an attack on the Oltu branch, local people saved the teachers of the TÖB-DER from the assailants and harbored them in their houses on the night of the attack.[225] As the examples show, although the political and economic crises of the 1970s fettered leftist teachers, consuming most of their time with anti-fascist struggle, the fight against economic hardship, and the search for unity in and outside of the association, they continued the TÖS' goal to become the teachers of the people. The TÖB-DER stayed connected with the people and received their support until its activities were suspended after the coup d'état of 1980.

The teachers of the TÖB-DER defined education as "a person's excelling themself."[226] Exceeding the classical duties and boundaries of teaching as the members of the TÖS did before them, the teachers of the TÖB-DER strove to go beyond the classroom, to carry education outside of schools, to become teachers for the people, and to take action to enlighten the people. At the same time, they sought the support of the people, of

222 "Alibeyköy'de Halk Öğretmenine Sahip Çıkıyor," *TÖB-DER Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Aylık Yayın Organı* 11 (March 4, 1976): 2.

223 "Halk Öğretmen Kıyımına Karşı Çıkıyor," *TÖB-DER* 51 (June 15, 1973): 1.

224 "Şavşat Mitingi Raporudur," *TÖB-DER* 102 (August 1, 1975): 9.

225 "Halk Öğretmenlere Sahip Çıktı," *TÖB-DER* 106 (October 1, 1975): 1.

226 "… insanın kendisini aşması," "TÖB-DER, 1971-1972 Çalışma Raporu," *TÖB-DER* 30 (July 15, 1972): 7 quoted in Ulutaş, "70'li Yıllarda Bir Direnme Pratiği: TÖB-DER," 350.

other associations, and of unions to weather the political and economic storm of the 1970s. The storm inhibited them and kept them from their duties and ideals during the 1970s. In the end, it hit them hard in the form of the military coup in 1980; however, in the 1970s, they did not relinquish their goal of transforming education into a liberating, revolutionary practice that could be enjoyed equally by everyone.

§ 5.2 Beyond State Education: A Snapshot of the Educational Programs of Political Organizations and Trade Unions of the 1960s and 1970s

The declaration of the *YÖN*, mentioned in chapter 4, asserted that the question of education in Turkey, along with many problems such as the lack of social justice and democracy, could only be solved through rapid economic development – which is to say, a rise in production. The intellectuals that contributed to the declaration argued that

> no matter how much effort is made, with a low level of production, it is a mere dream to elicit a rise in the cultural level of the masses. Unemployment, starvation, nakedness, cold, and poverty prevent the masses from pursuing education; the instinct of living outweighs the curiosity to learn.[227]

This chapter does not imply that the period witnessed a substantial "rise in the cultural level of the masses;" however, despite economic underdevelopment and ever-present class inequality, small niches were created in and beyond state schools, where egalitarian and democratic practices of education surfaced as a possibility in the hands of organized teachers and non-teachers. Fighting against educational inequality, the TÖS and

227 "Ne kadar çok gayret sarf edilirse edilsin, düşük bir istihsal seviyesiyle, kütlelerin kültür seviyesinde esaslı bir yükselme sağlamak hayaldir. İşsizlik, açlık, çıplaklık, soğuk ve sefalet, kütlelerin eğitime yönelmesini engelleyecek, yaşama içgüdüsü, öğrenme merakından daha ağır basacaktır," "Bildiri," *YÖN* 1 (December 20, 1961): 12.

the TÖB-DER strove to put a liberating, revolutionary system of education within everybody's reach. But it was not only organized leftist teachers who struggled for an egalitarian practice of education in the 1960s and 1970s. Believing that democratic education would raise the consciousness of the people and guide them towards a revolutionary future, other leftist political organizations and trade unions of the period also tackled educational inequality. Moreover, union members and political militants assumed the role of teachers and attempted to turn union meeting rooms, organizations' local clubhouses, neighborhood meeting places, and journal columns into classrooms. These experiences, which stepped beyond the conventional role of state education, were intended to provide equal access to education and art, as well as to subsequently bring about a rise in consciousness. In other words, nongovernment teachers and students of the period tried to turn education into a common, shared practice in society that would bypass class inequality. In the 1960s and 1970s, many leftist organizations and trade unions in Turkey organized educational courses for their members and the local people. This subchapter is a snapshot of these nongovernment educational practices of the period and analyzes a number of examples from the educational programs of the TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, and İKD.

In his book, *Eğitim Üretim İçindir*, which identifies the deficits of the Turkish education system and puts forward suggestions for a development program, Harun Karadeniz, a prominent student activist, argues that education is for production. He describes a link that connects education to development: education is necessary for development, knowledge is necessary for production, and education is necessary for knowledge. The aim of education must be to raise people who produce and who know for whom and to what purpose they produce. A world without exploitation is only possible through education.[228]

Like the leftist teachers of the 1960s and 1970s, members of leftist groups and writers for leftist journals perceived education as a necessary path towards enlightenment, democracy, and revolution. For them, the

228 Harun Karadeniz, *Eğitim Üretim İçindir* (Istanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1975), 75, 78, 83.

only track by which the working class and peasants of Turkey would gain consciousness and subsequently attain liberation passed through the channel of education. They attributed a liberating mission to education and sought ways to bring it to the masses. As an investigation of periodicals of the period exhibits, a number of people in leftist circles pointed to the responsibility of the state or government to provide equal opportunity in terms of education. For instance, in his article that promoted equal opportunity in education, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, a writer and academic, remarked that in order for the people to awaken, the state must develop a populist education system; the enlightenment of Turkey would only be possible if the state "sowed and germinated seeds of new science, art, and technique on the largest human field of Turkey."[229]

Nevertheless, most leftist political organizations of the period were not content with leaving the responsibility solely to the state. The access to education and to its emancipating effects must be common; the responsibility to turn education into an accessible and emancipatory experience must also be common. This attitude of responsibility was interwoven with a struggle for equality. The members of leftist trade unions, political organizations, and associations of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey struggled to create educational practices outside of the sphere of the government. These were contributed to and enjoyed by everyone irrespective of class inequalities. Leftist activists strove to communize education by putting it within everybody's grasp, in factories, neighborhoods, and newspaper columns. Those without diplomas but with knowledge and political consciousness even became teachers in some instances.

As the previous chapter indicates, leftist students and intellectuals of the period discussed feverishly about raising the class-consciousness of the workers and peasants and took action to actualize it. Adopting the role of the government and the teacher, leftist students of the period acknowledged their responsibility for providing an equal system of education. In an article addressed to fellow students, members of the FKF

229 "… Türkiye'nin en büyük insan tarlasına… yeni bilim, sanat ve tekniğin tohumlarını götürmek, tutturmak zorundadır," Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, "Eğitimde Eşit Şans: Halk Çocuklarının Okutulması," *YÖN* 7 (January 31, 1962): 16.

expressed their struggle to provide an equal opportunity in the educational system, which needed to be redesigned in light of the country's needs and to open higher education to the children of workers and peasants.[230] As university students, they also assumed the responsibility of "awakening" the working class to prepare them for a people's government.[231] In another instance, mentioned in chapter 4, the members of the Young Vanguard of the TİP were determined to ensure that the Workers' Cultural Association "serve[d] as a school" in the cultural field for workers.[232] As these two brief examples indicate, to raise the political and economic awareness of the masses, students of the period assumed the role of teachers.

In attempts to "awaken" workers and peasants and communize education, columns in periodicals were repurposed as classrooms. For instance, the section called "People's Classroom" ("*Halk Dersanesi*"), on the fourth page of the periodical *Kurtuluş: İşçilerin Köylülerin Gazetesi*, instructed workers, peasants, and the youth about certain political concepts. In the second issue, the periodical enlightens its readers about the laws that apply to political demonstrations, because workers, peasants, and the youth needed to know how to struggle for their rights through political action in the streets.[233] The fifth issue lectures readers about the meaning of imperialism and ways to fight it so as to create an independent and democratic Turkey.[234] The meaning of parliament and reactionary parliamentarism was the subject of the next class in the sixth issue. The printed teacher put forward people's democracy as an alternative to

230 "Yeni Öğrenim Yılı Başlıyor," *FKF Mektubu* 1 (November 4, 1968): 1.

231 "Yarınlar İçin Gençliğin Görevi," ibid., 1-2.

232 "Belirlediğimiz yeni perspektif içinde çeşitli sanat dallarında İşçi Kültür Derneğinin OKUL görevi görmesi var," "Kültür Sanat Alanında 'İşçi Kültür' Okul Olacaktır," *Genç Öncü* 2 (July 1978): 37.

233 "Halk Dersanesi: Miting Nedir, Nasıl Yapılır?" *Kurtuluş: İşçilerin Köylülerin Gazetesi* 2 (June 1970): 4.

234 "Halk Dersanesi: Emperyalizm Nedir? Emperyalizme Karşı Nasıl Mücadele Edilir?" *Kurtuluş: İşçilerin Köylülerin Gazetesi* 5 (October 1970): 4.

parliamentarism.[235] Throughout the pages of *Kurtuluş*, the idea of a classroom transcended the conventional form of a classroom within four concrete walls and under government supervision. For leftist political militants and intellectuals of the 1960s and 1970s, education was an everyday affair, interwoven with daily struggle. Those active in political struggle needed to learn swiftly and pass their knowledge along to the masses freely. The previous chapter illustrates that leftist students and intellectuals were captivated by learning, reading leftist classics, following and publishing journals, and discussing theoretical and practical paths to revolution. Within their revolutionary struggle, students adopted the role of teachers. They equipped themselves with leftist theories to organize the masses into ranks for a revolutionary struggle.[236] Leftist political organizations and associations set forth to educate their members. Trade unions acted as schools for workers. They also attempted to develop educational practices for the masses who did not have access to theories, books, or schools.

Trade unions were among the leading schools of the period. Besides serving as confederations of several unions and organizing thousands of workers under their umbrellas, the DİSK and the TÜRK-İŞ also sought to educate members not only about trade unionism and worker organization but also in various other fields. Every trade union in these confederations offered educational courses to their members. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed a plethora of trade union seminars for workers, of which four are listed below.

The first example, in 1964, is when the Çay-İş of the TÜRK-İŞ decided to organize seminars for training unionists on subjects such as the historical and economic role of trade unions, relationships among employers and employees, and the functioning of union organization.[237] In another example, the representatives of the Trade Union of Leather,

235 "Halk Dersanesi: Parlâmento Nedir? Gerici Parlâmentarizm Ne Demektir?" *Kurtuluş: İşçilerin Köylülerin Gazetesi* 6 (November 1970): 4.

236 "Aydınlık, Halkımızın Millî-Demokratik Devrim Mücadelesinin Parçasıdır," *Aydınlık: Sosyalist Dergi* 7 (May 1969): 3.

237 "Sendikacı Yetiştirme Seminerleri Açıyoruz," *Çay-İş'in Sesi* 2 (September 21, 1964): 2-3.

Tanning, Shoe-Making, and Leathercraft Accessories Workers of Turkey (Türkiye Deri, Debbağ, Kundura ve Saraciye Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası, or Deri-İş), which was affiliated with the TÜRK-İŞ, sent a letter to the educational director of the Maden-İş, Kemal Sülker, to thank him for his contributions to the educational program of their union and to ask for his further participation in another seminar. This workplace seminar of the Deri-İş took place between November 9-11, 1964, in the Kazlıçeşme branch of the union. In addition to Sülker's presentation on unemployment in Turkey and the world and on solutions for full employment, trade unionists from the Deri-İş instructed union members about the duties of union representatives, the history and defects of Turkish trade unionism, and workers' health and occupational safety. The education director of the Lastik-İş, İbrahim Güzelce, who was also a typesetting worker,[238] gave a presentation on the collective agreement, strike, and lockout law; lastly, the education directorate of the TÜRK-İŞ organized two lectures on the duties of higher committees in the unions along with their organizational activities and instructive films.[239] In 1965, TÜRK-İŞ representatives in Izmir organized seminars for more than a hundred workers working in the energy, textile, and food industries.[240] The Maden-İş seminar, which took place between March 22-27, 1971, covered a wide range of subjects, such as the history of the working class, socialism, imperialism, fascism and struggle against it, dialectical materialism, land reform, industrialization, revolutionary unionism, and the legal basis of trade unions, collective agreements, strikes, and lockouts.[241] In these seminars, instructors included not only professors and specialists but also unionized workers. Roles were redefined and hierarchies decompartmentalized. Workers in

238 "DİSK Genel Sekreteri Güzelce Öldü," *Çark Başak* 5 (April 16, 1976): 10.

239 "Türkiye Deri-İş Sendikası İş Yeri Seminerleri Programı," Kemal Sülker Papers 133, IISH, November 4, 1964.

240 "TÜRK_İŞ Seminer Düzenledi," *Bank-İş: Türkiye Banka İşçileri Sendikası – Bank-İş'in Yayın Organıdır* 11 (March 15, 1965): 17.

241 "Türkiye Maden-İş Sendikası Eğitim Dairesi B Tipi Seminer Programı," Kemal Sülker Papers 197, IISH, March 22-27, 1971.

the unions had the opportunity to become students and teachers in these nongovernment educational practices.

Reflecting the importance attached to learning and teaching, trade union confederations of the period had education departments that organized and institutionalized general training for workers. When the DİSK was founded in 1967, members of the confederation simultaneously established the DİSK Center of Scientific Research (DİSK Bilimsel Araştırma Merkezi). The mission of the center was to conduct research, issue publications, and organize scientific conferences, seminars, and courses about the socioeconomic conditions of Turkey and the revolutionary struggle of the working class. The ultimate aim was to raise the political consciousness of workers and establish proletarian rule.[242] The establishment of the center reflected the emphasis that the DİSK put upon research and education.

Besides the Center of Scientific Research, the DİSK set out to found a Revolutionary Workers' School (Devrimci İşçi Okulu). Via seminars in the school, the confederation hoped to educate volunteers from among workers about the ideology of socialism in the light of science, and to give them practical knowledge to aid them in their daily lives as workers and citizens. As an educational program of the school explains, the courses took place three days a week and lasted four months. The lectures fell under three main headings: law and the state, socialism, and trade unions. The student-workers of the DİSK would learn about the concepts of society, state, law, liberty, equality, socialism, capitalism, historical materialism, and unionism, as well as the Turkish state system, Turkish history, the history of social struggles, national liberation movements, and the history of trade unionism.[243] Yet the archives do not offer further information about the operation of the school.

The period also witnessed the collaboration of trade unions with intellectuals and students to organize educational seminars. For instance, in September 1967, the DİSK, the İTÜ Student Union, the İTÜ Technical

242 "Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu Bilimsel Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği," Kemal Sülker Papers 518, IISH, 1967.

243 "DİSK Devrimci İşçi Okulu Eğitim Programı," Kemal Sülker Papers 513, IISH, 1973-1975.

School Student Union, the Istanbul Higher Technical School Student Union (İstanbul Yüksek Teknik Okulu Talebe Birliği), the ODTÜ Student Union, and a number of professors decided to found the Center of Scientific Research of Worker and Student Organizations of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi ve Gençlik Örgütleri Bilimsel Araştırmalar Merkezi). In its announcing letter, signed by Professor Sencer Divitçioğlu, the DİSK representative Kemal Sülker, and the student representative Taner Çakıroğlu, the center stated its aim to investigate and analyze the conditions of Turkey through the lens of socialist theory and inform the public about the resulting data (for a list of the founding members, see appendix B).[244] Leftist students, intellectuals, and unionists of the period were determined that education and knowledge be enjoyed by all of the public in Turkey in common.

In addition to trade unions, most leftist organizations and associations of the period organized educational seminars for their members, workers, peasants, and local people. One of the leftist associations of the 1970s that emphasized educating its members and the masses was the İKD. For the sake of brevity, this subchapter does not address the educational activities of other organizations and associations and focuses instead solely on the educational practices of the İKD. Eventually, the educational activities of this women's association reflected the general attitude of the leftist organizations of its period.

The founders of the İKD perceived education as an indispensable step for the progressivist women to attain consciousness and to strengthen their organized struggle.[245] Therefore, as soon as it was established in 1975, the association constituted an education and research committee consisting of members from its executive board and other volunteer members.[246] İKD members gave seminars and educational courses both in and outside of the offices of the association. In-association seminars began in September 1975.[247] Starting in November 1975, the association

244 "Türkiye İşçi ve Gençlik Örgütleri Bilimsel Araştırmalar Merkezi Çağrı Mektubu," Kemal Sülker Papers 518, IISH, September 27, 1967.

245 Pervan, *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*, 284.

246 Ibid., 280.

247 Ibid., 63.

regularized them and began to organize seminars in its offices every Saturday after three o'clock utilizing slide projectors. After the first two seminars on unemployment and the high cost of living, the seminars continued with several subjects concerning women.[248] For instance, in January 1976, the association educated its members and their acquaintances on the subjects of unemployment and the high cost of living, the housing problem, daycare problem, and the notion that "women are inferior creatures."[249] On February 17, 1979, the İskenderun branch instructed approximately a hundred of its members about the problems of teenage girls.[250]

In January 1976, the seminars of the İKD moved beyond the association's office-classrooms. Members started to give seminars to female workers in trade union buildings. That same month, women from the İKD organized two seminars in the offices of the trade union of communication workers that was affiliated with the DİSK. These seminars elaborated on the subjects of the housing problem and women, fascism, wars, and the struggle for peace.[251] Similarly, the Şişli branch of the association in Istanbul co-organized seminars with the Bank-Sen that nearly forty women attended.[252] The İKD also published instructive brochures for women together with trade unions. For instance, in 1976, the İKD and the DİSK collectively published "The Handbook of the Working Woman as a Mother and a Worker."[253]

The İKD collaborated not only with trade unions but also with other associations and political organizations with educational purposes. On February 19, 1977, the Kartal branch in Istanbul co-organized a seminar with the women's branch of the TÖB-DER on the subject of daycare for

248 "Eğitim Çalışmaları: Slaydlı Eğitim Sohbetleri Başladı," *Kadınların Sesi* 4 (November 1975): 4.

249 "… kadınlar aşağı yaratıklar mıdır," "Eğitim Çalışmalarımız," *Kadınların Sesi* 7 (February 1976): 4.

250 "Yıldırımtepe Mahallesinde Örgütlenme Çalışmaları Yaygınlaşıyor," *Kadınların Sesi* 45 (April 1979): 16.

251 "Eğitim Çalışmalarımız," *Kadınların Sesi* 7 (February 1976): 4.

252 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 22 (May 1977): 6.

253 "Ana ve Emekçi Olarak İşçi Kadınının El Kitabı," "Kitap ve Broşür Yayınına Başladık," *Kadınların Sesi* 12 (July 1976): 6.

working mothers. They decided to fight together for mandatory daycare in every workplace and neighborhood.[254] Similarly, on August 13, 1978, in Balıkesir, the İKD and the İGD organized a conference on fascism in Turkey and the world and the struggle against it. Seven hundred people attended the conference.[255] A seminar on women and children in Turkey took place in the İKD's Mersin branch on June 3, 1979, to which members of the ÇHD, TÜS-DER, and the Adana Chamber of Doctors (Adana Tabipler Odası) also contributed.[256]

Apart from seminars with slide projectors, the educational activities of the İKD were also presented in more artistic ways. Women came together for photography exhibitions, film screenings, concerts, and poetry recitals that handled the gender problem. On November 8, 1975, photography, film, music, and poetry performances of the İKD took place in the Dostlar Theater Building (Dostlar Tiyatrosu). Nearly six thousand female workers attended the show, which addressed the exploitation of women in class-based societies and organized, conscious women's struggle.[257] Similarly, in January 1976, women from the İKD and the TÖB-DER performed poems and folk songs and projected educational slides explaining and analyzing the gender problem.[258] On October 29, 1978, in Sinop, İKD members and female workers from the SÖKSA Factory organized a seminar on daycare that was followed by a short play on daycare performed by workers.[259]

The educational deprivation of women in Turkey led the İKD members to further focus on mass education. They struggled to put education within reach of deprived women. In September 1975, the İKD announced

254 "Derneğimizden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 21 (April 1977): 4

255 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 38 (September 1978): 8.

256 "İlerici Kadın Hareketinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 48 (July 1979): 11.

257 "Derneğimiz, Kadın Sorununu Bütün Boyutlarıyla Ele Alan Bir Gösteri Düzenledi," *Kadınların Sesi* 5 (December 1975): 4.

258 "Eğitim Çalışmalarımız," *Kadınların Sesi* 7 (February 1976): 4.

259 "Sinop'ta İlerici Kadınlar İşçi Kadınlarla El Ele," *Kadınların Sesi* 41 (December 1978): 11.

that the association would begin giving free reading and writing courses to adult women.[260]


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HAKLIYIZ GÜÇL

OKUMA-YAZMA KURSU

Derneğimiz ücretsiz okuma-yazma kurslarına ÇELİKTEPE'de başladı. Yetkili öğretmenlerin yönettiği kursa şimdilik 18 emekçi karısı katılıyor. Kurs boyunca, ders gören kadınların çocuklarına da dernek lokalinde «geçici kreş» uygulanıyor. Hikâye, şarkı ve oyunlarla çocukların zamanları da değerlendiriliyor.

Figure 5.11 "Reading-Writing Courses: Our association started free reading-writing courses in ÇELİKTEPE. For now, the courses, which are led by certified teachers, are being attended by 18 workers' wives. During the courses, the children of the women in attendance are taken care of in a 'temporary daycare' in the association's clubhouse. Thus, children also have a valuable time with stories, songs, and plays." SOURCE: *Kadınların Sesi* 3 (October 1975).

260 "Duyuru," *Kadınların Sesi* 2 (September 1975): 4.

The courses started off in the Çeliktepe neighborhood of Istanbul. As reported in the association's periodical, *Kadınların Sesi*, there were eighteen "workers' wives" in the course, whose children were taken care of in the İKD's "temporary daycare" during the lessons (see figure 5.11).[261]

In due course, the İKD expanded the number of reading and writing courses, in which local women showed great interest. In Istanbul, the Şişli branch of the association opened courses in several working class neighborhoods such as Kağıthane, Ortaköy,[262] Rumeli Hisarüstü,[263] Hasköy,[264] Pınar,[265] Kuştepe,[266] the Telsizler neighborhood in Gültepe, and Mecidiyeköy.[267] The Fatih branch organized courses in Zeytinburnu, Gazi-osmanpaşa, Eyüp, and Sağmalcılar.[268] Similarly, the Ankara branch opened a local clubhouse in the working class neighborhood of Öveçler, where reading and writing courses were offered.[269] Courses were also given in places such as the squatter settlement of Çamdibi in Izmir, Zonguldak's Çaycuma district (see figure 5.12),[270] Ordu,[271] Kocaeli,[272] Balıkesir, the Küçükçekmece neighborhood in Antakya,[273] the Hürriyet neighborhood in Bursa,[274] Edirne,[275] İskenderun,[276] and Yeşilada Village in Samandağ.[277] Moreover, the members of the İKD also organized

261 "Okuma Yazma Kursu," *Kadınların Sesi* 3 (October 1975): 4.
262 "Şubelerimizden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 19 (February 1977): 6.
263 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 23 (June 1977): 6.
264 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 25 (August 1977): 8.
265 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 26 (September 1977): 8.
266 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 28 (November 1977): 8.
267 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 29 (December 1977): 8.
268 "Şubelerimizden," *Kadınların Sesi* 20 (March 1977): 6.
269 "Şubelerimizden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 19 (February 1977): 6.
270 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 22 (May 1977): 6.
271 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 23 (June 1977): 6.
272 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 28 (November 1977): 8.
273 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 30 (January 1978): 8.
274 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 31 (February 1978): 8.
275 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 35 (June 1978): 8.
276 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 37 (August 1978): 8.
277 "Okuma-Yazma Öğrenmenin Yaşı Yoktur," *Kadınların Sesi* 54 (January 1980): 18.

courses in collaboration with trade unions and taught reading and writing in union offices in addition to those in the association's own offices and clubhouses. For example, the Şişli branch offered courses in the Bank-Sen offices.[278] Furthermore, as stated in the work report prepared for the first ordinary general meeting, the İKD organized courses for working women in workplaces such as the one in the factory of İdaş.[279] The wide expansion of its reading and writing courses was a significant stepping stone for the İKD by which it could bond with more women from different segments of society and further its organization.

Figure 5.12 "FROM THE İKD'S ÇAYCUMA BRANCH: The reading and writing courses initiated by the Çaycuma branch are successfully continuing with 20 people. Steps have been taken to issue reading-writing certificates at the end of the courses." SOURCE: *Kadınların Sesi* 22 (May 1977).

278 "İlerici Kadınlar Derneğinden Haberler," *Kadınların Sesi* 22 (May 1977): 6.

279 Pervan, *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*, 63.

These practices of education by leftist organizations, associations, and trade unions beyond state institutions created a decompartmentalization that blurred the distinction between the educated and uneducated. Those who held pens and those who held hammers converged for educational purposes outside of conventional classrooms. Students and workers had the opportunity to become teachers. Those deprived of education had the opportunity to enjoy educational practices. Moreover, these unconventional schools produced unimaginable encounters. As elaborated above, the Workers' Cultural Association enabled the meeting of leftist youth with workers and local people from the neighborhood around shared practices of education and art. Students, unionists, and professors allied in the Center of Scientific Research of Worker and Student Organizations of Turkey. Workers received lectures from professors. The İKD organized educational courses and seminars for working women and housewives, which created an otherwise unimaginable meeting of the educated and uneducated women in the setting of the classroom. These classrooms sprouted in unconventional places and convened people from different socioeconomic backgrounds.

To conclude, in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, several practices of non-government education, in the form of seminars, courses, brochures, and articles in the hands of leftist associations, organizations, and trade unions emerged, in which a worker from a trade union or a young leftist militant could become a teacher, masses who were deprived of schooling and books could attain knowledge, and the educated and uneducated could meet. Struggling to overcome educational inequality and to democratize access to knowledge, the leftist subjects of the period transformed clubhouses, union offices, workplaces, and newspaper columns into classrooms. While these educational practices that went beyond conventional schools could not destroy the class inequality inherent in education and society, they reached many workers and women. Therefore, the period witnessed a utopic moment, in which the reach of education was expanded and education as an equally-shared practice was possible. Reading this historical emergence through the historiographical lens of utopia enables the researcher not only to uncover a past possibility but

also to detect how present concerns have confined this past occurrence into an alcove of impossibility. Testimonies that have appeared since the 1980s on the leftist politicization of the 1960s and 1970s tend to neglect the rise in educational practices that fell outside of government control. This chapter has offered a new conceptual lens, backed by a critical reading of the archives and memoirs, to overcome this lack. In brief, critical scrutiny of archival documents has revealed that an education boom surfaced as a historical moment in the 1960s and 1970s.

§ 5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the understanding and practices of education by unionized leftist teachers in schools and by leftist organizations, associations, and trade unions outside of schools in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey with the help of archival materials and contemporaneous periodicals. These findings uncovered an education boom in the period that occurred simultaneously with the explosion in communication. The explosion in education was characterized by an ascending belief in the enhancing, revolutionary role of education and the emergence of nongovernment educational practices.

Leftist teachers' organizations of the period strove to implement a more democratic type of education in public schools that would raise the consciousness of the masses to drive a revolutionary future and to contribute to the socioeconomic enhancement of the country. Between 1965 and 1971, the unionized teachers of the TÖS fought to expand the understanding and practice of education and teaching. To this end, they first theorized a concept of revolutionary education and carried it out in public schools. They perceived education as an indispensable step towards revolution and assumed the responsibility of "awakening the people" – that is, raising the masses' sociopolitical consciousness. Besides their struggle for an "education for revolution," the unionized teachers of the period also pushed the limits of their associational and political rights. They stepped out of their classrooms and hit the streets with political acts such as the Great Education March and the boycott. Moreover, the

members of the TÖS struggled to form bonds with youth, workers, and peasants, and succeeded in fostering socially and politically close relationships especially with peasants. One on hand, they strove to move beyond the limits of public education by creating a revolutionary concept of education and applying it in schools; on the other, they tried to undermine the conventional roles and place of teaching through political acts and social approachments.

The educational and political journey of leftist teachers continued in the TÖB-DER between 1971 and 1980. The associated teachers in the 1970s, like their unionized predecessors, also struggled to transcend the conventional boundaries of teaching. They extended their field of responsibility to include raising the consciousness of the people to bring about a revolution. They carried education and teachers' political action outside of schools and, importantly, struggled for "democratic education." While the socioeconomic and political crisis of the period compelled them take a few steps back from trying to bond with other segments of society, it allowed them collaborate with other democratic organizations of the period. Nevertheless, like the teachers of the TÖS, the teachers of the TÖB-DER pursued a liberating, revolutionary, and egalitarian system of education.

The 1960s and 1970s also witnessed an explosion in nongovernment practices of education by trade unions, leftist organizations, and other associations that believed in the revolutionary role of democratic education. The subchapter analyzed the educational practices of the TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, and İKD. In the period, trade union offices, association clubhouses, workplaces, and journal columns were turned into classrooms. Unionized workers and young leftist militants assumed the role of teachers. Those without access to schooling or information, such as workers and women, had the opportunity to receive an education. Furthermore, these new educational practices created new sociopolitical bonds among people by creating meeting grounds for the educated and uneducated in newly-transformed classrooms.

The teachers' organizations and other leftist organizations in the 1960s and 1970s had a common goal of exchanging a unidirectional, hierarchical practice of education that was confined to public schools for a revolutionary, democratic, and egalitarian one that moved beyond the walls of the public classroom. As such, they strove to overcome class inequality by putting education and the political consciousness it created within everybody's grasp, especially within the reach of those who had been deprived of it. They attempted to make education an indispensable part of society that would undermine the barrier between the hand and the mind. The result was an education boom characterized by a rise in educational practices and an expansion in the understanding of education. This widening in the perception of education and profusion of educational practices is hidden between testimonies and archives, in the gap between historical process and its narration.

6

Conclusion

This dissertation set off from the island of Mahir Çayan, visited that of Thomas More, took a trip down memory lane, and stopped on the small isles of alternative forms of communication and education that sprouted and proliferated around leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. The journey was interrupted but not stopped by the military memorandum of March 12, 1971, and finally blocked by the coup d'état of September 12, 1980. Ultimately, the dissertation analyzed communication and education booms that were unearthed in the archives, employed the concept of utopia to reframe them along with the historical pedestal on which they stood, and utilized the tools of public memory and historiography interlaced with military coups to decipher the remembrance and forgetting of this explosion of ideas and practices and the retrospectively-unimaginable possibilities they created.

Chapter 1 presented a brief introduction to the dissertation laying out the theoretical approach, the archival sources, the subjects to be visited, and the outline. It clarified why the dissertation refrains from calling the leftist movements of the period "the Turkish 1968." Furthermore, it clarified that the ideological and organizational diversity of the leftist movements did not occlude the channels of politicization and communication; on the contrary, it contributed to the rising politicization and environment of discussion.

Starting from the end of the period, chapter 2 investigated the effects of the coup d'états of March 12, 1971, and September 12, 1980, on both history and historiography. The chapter followed a bifurcated path, tracing Michel-Rolph Trouillot's notion of "two sides of historicity." First, an in-depth examination of MGK minutes, martial law ordinances after the coup of 1971, promulgations in the *Official Gazette*, and news reports by *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* were used to determine the devastating effects of the military interventions on the communication and education booms of the 1960s and 1970s. This is "what happened." Second, the chapter pursued the effects of the military coups on how the history of the period has been written and remembered – that is, on "that which is said to have happened." It was asserted that what lies under the convergence and divergence of the "sociohistorical process" and the "story about that process," is the exercise of power.

First, the military coup of September 12 was analyzed with respect to its determination to suppress leftist political movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the ideas they proliferated, and the practices of communication and education. As an omnipotent political and legal authority, the MGK decreed several legal changes against the dissemination of inconvenient ideas and publications, as well as social encounters produced by the heightened politicization. In addition to censorship, prohibitions, and legal penalties to block channels of communication, the military junta also took measures to control and dominate education at every level "from elementary schools to universities," suppressing the broad understanding and augmented practices of education that surfaced in the 1960s and 1970s. These suppressive actions were supported and justified by the legal criminalization and the narrative imposed on the 1970s, which was deemed an era of anarchy, violence, and darkness in which state order, national integrity, and inner peace were disrupted.

Moving back a decade in time, the political and legal actions of the military intervention of March 12 against the heightened politicization of the 1960s was also inspected. Like its successor in 1980, the rule of 1971 was resolved to suppress the explosion of communication and education

through martial law ordinances and legal amendments. However, the actions taken to oppress political movements, to close down political organizations, associations, and trade unions as political hubs of collaboration and encounter, to control, restrict, and punish the diffusion of ideas through books, journals, brochures, posters, and graffiti, to repress the newly-formed political links between peasants, workers, students, and intellectuals, and to depoliticize and contain education were insufficient to extinguish the political heightening of the 1960s. As the following two chapters demonstrated, there was a thread of continuity from the 1960s through the 1970s in terms of politicization, effusive communication, profuse praxes of education, and the possibility for social encounter and political collaboration.

The last section of the chapter took the journey to the subject of historiography that links this chapter to the discussions of testimonies held in chapter 3. The section analyzed the impact of the military coups on historiography and memory pertaining to the 1960s and 1970s. As devastating fractures that created fault lines of Turkish history, the military interventions not only imposed political, socioeconomic, and cultural changes on society but also dominated written and remembered history. Combined with a broader socioeconomic and political transition to neoliberalism, the coup d'état of 1980, which was the intervention with the most drastic and extensive consequences, sponsored a historical narrative of the 1960s and 1970s by underscoring, fabricating, and excluding certain historical elements, insomuch that a number of historical possibilities of the era have been rendered unimaginable or "unthinkable" in the present. Therefore, while the extensive exercise of power by the junta created a historical break that ruptured the course of events, on one hand, it constructed the narrative of those events, on the other. This "creative destruction" by the coup of September 12 reframed the history of the 1960s and 1970s by presenting a story of a dark 1970s ravaged by anarchy and violence. The military memorandum of 1971 thereby assumed not only a historical but also a historiographical role acting as an impassable wall between the decades, separating the brighter 1960s from the

darker 1970s. It thus disguised continuities throughout the period. However, as revealed in the third and fourth chapters, there was a continuity between the two in terms of a myriad of communicative and educational practices, the military memorandum's determination to annihilate them notwithstanding. Therefore, while recognizing the substantial historical impact of the military coups, this dissertation challenges a state-sponsored history-writing that cloaks historical continuities or seeks to make certain historical elements be forgotten by means of erecting historiographical mileposts.

Chapter 3 took a binary path. A critical scrutiny of testimonies on the period in the first section focused on the years from the late 1980s to the present when interest in and the accumulated recollections of the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s built up. The analysis of biographical, autobiographical, journalistic, and academic works that tend to surface in the decennial anniversaries of 1968 revealed a number of shared characteristics pertinent to the remembrance and forgetting of the political movements of the decades.

First, public memory on the period employs common keywords and key approaches with respect to the remembrance of the political movements. The trending topics include certain political figures and events which are generally centered upon universities, student activists, and youth. These selective recollections confine the political agency of the 1960s and 1970s to a limited number of political activists of the period and ignore others. Moreover, biographies and autobiographies that narrate the memories of leftist activists of the period are filled with nostalgia that creates a rupture between history and memory. By glorifying the decades as a bygone period of solidarity, friendship, and "youthful dreams," these narratives have tamed and smoothed the memory according to the present agenda. In other words, as a key approach to remembering and forgetting the period and a key element of the politics of memory, nostalgia plays an essential role in the selective remembrance of the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

Second, not only the "figures of memory" but also its authors are generally former student activists of the period that regrouped in the 1980s

and are referred to as the 68ers or the '68 generation. The workers, peasants, and activist women who were a part of the heightening politicization of the 1960s and 1970s have mostly refrained from or been prevented from picking up the pen and directing the construction and reconstruction of the historical narrative of the period.

Third, recollective works on the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s apply common elements and dates of periodization that highlight specific temporal milestones, such as 1968 and 1971. Many accounts praise the year 1968 and denigrate 1971. In their recollection, the military memorandum of 1971 stands between the 1960s and the 1970s as a temporal wall separating the pacifist student movements of the 1960s from the political violence of the 1970s – the '68 generation from the '78 generation. It conceals the continuities between the two decades. Furthermore, the glorification of 1968 and vilification of the 1970s renders the anti-systemic character of the 1960s governable in the present, reducing past politicization into commodities such as Che Guevara's photograph image or Deniz Gezmiş's parka.

The section continued with fourth point, namely the "active forgetting" of the 1960s and 1970s. Recollective works on the period's political movements tend to ignore or sideline specific past elements through a practice of shared remembrance by which the past is continuously framed and reframed according to present concerns and conditions. One element that is diminished in memory is the existence of activist workers, peasants, and women in the movement, and only in the early 2000s and 2010s did a number of published works set out to fill this gap. Additionally, encounters among various segments of society (workers, intellectuals, students, and peasants) that were enabled by heightened politicization are also neglected in public memory, as is the continuity from the 1960s to the 1970s in terms of political movements and the explosion of ideas. These elements, which are the utopian moments of the 1960s and 1970s, were addressed in the subsequent two chapters.

The second section of chapter 3 dissected the theoretical concept of utopia. This dissertation does not evaluate utopia as an island of impos-

sibility or an improbable dream but rather recodifies it as a "social construct," as described by Ruth Levitas. Departing from the idea that utopias and utopian thinking are products of the sociohistorical process from which they burgeoned, the chapter visited several theories and concluded that periods of social change with heightened political movements facilitate hope, in the Blochian sense, and are characterized by prospect of revolution and the motivation to change the same sociohistorical process that created them. Therefore, social change elevates future projections, stretches the limits of social reality, and fills time with an expanded basket of possibilities pertaining to the betterment of this reality. Furthermore, the socially-constructed rise of possibilities is received, employed, and reproduced – especially by leftist political movements – as future projections and alterations to the social system that are intrinsic to leftism. In brief, the concept of utopia was presented as a theoretical tool, first to explain and interpret the past realms of expanded possibility in the fields of communication and education that characterized leftist movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, and second to discover the gaps between the past and the present.

Consequently, chapter 3 theorized that there is a gap between what happened and what is remembered, between archival findings and testimonies. The target of the chapter was not to compare and contrast or apply a test of reality but to analyze this gap as a current political construct by colliding the past with the present, using testimonies and archival findings as the tools with which to understand them. While the empty spaces between what happened and what is remembered point to exercises of the "politics of memory" in the present, they lead the way to utopian moments of expanded possibility in the past. The chapter did not confine its ultimate target to displaying memoirs and introducing the basic features of how the period is remembered but expanded it to include the politics of the present by which public memory and historiography is codified and recodified.

Chapter 4 analyzed one of these moments of expanded possibility, namely the communication boom of the 1960s and 1970s. The chapter was based on digging into and interpreting several periodicals of the period

as well as newspaper reports by *Milliyet* and archival materials from the IISH and the TÜSTAV. Through these sources, the proliferation of communication and cultural production in the period in the form of journals, brochures, leaflets, bulletins, posters, graffiti, speeches, forums, and discussions was traced, centering on those of leftist political movements. These decades witnessed significant quantitative increases in reading, writing, and communication which were accelerated by the heightened politicization of the era. Every leftist political organization of the period engaged in the dissemination of written and spoken materials by which their ideas were circulated and they communicated with the public.

Most importantly, the archival research revealed that this "communicative praxis," which emerged as a new historical possibility in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, was direct, egalitarian, and centerless. The desire for free speech developed in highly-politicized university campuses and was partly facilitated by new constitutional liberties. By drawing comparisons between the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley and similar communicative practices in campuses of Turkey and between the *Atelier Populaire* in the *École des Beaux Arts* and ODTÜ Revolutionary Atelier of Posters, this chapter traced historical niches of liberated communication that defied conventional hierarchies. In this period, politicized university students not only questioned the hegemonic practices of communication but also challenged them by devising their own tools of communication like journals, propaganda tables, forums, photocopied bulletins, and silk-screen posters. Against the monopolies of the mass media and professors over knowledge and speech, students demanded their own right to speak.

Second, the desire for free speech intrinsically led to a desire for the democratization of communication. Correspondingly, in the 1960s and 1970s, the centers of publication were dispersed; small cities and rural districts also witnessed the emergence of radical, alternative forms of media, spatially contesting dominant and privileged hubs of communication. Moreover, not only university students but also workers and peasants, as well as women, Kurds, and Alevis contributed to the communication boom. Women, who had already been a part of the heightened

politics of the period, published their own journals and organized their own seminars in the second half of the 1970s. Unionized workers, who published journals and engaged in political discussions, were also a part of the cultural production, going beyond the boundaries of manual labor and "capturing" their own voice. This was a social decompartmentalization in the sense that the hierarchy that separated those with hammers in their hands from those who had the privilege to read and write was shattered. In this way, the possibility of a democratized, egalitarian type of communication was elevated in politicized spaces in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey.

Third, leftist politicization, with its mediums of organization, propensity for propaganda and movement, and idea of "going to the people," sparked this new "communicative praxis" which was radical and egalitarian. It set the stage for new relationships among different segments of society, namely intellectuals, students, workers, and peasants who had remained separate. The heightened politicization and resultant explosion in communication connected campuses, factories, and villages, making "unthinkable" encounters possible.

Lastly, the archival research revealed that the communication boom and its outcomes was continuous from the 1960s throughout the 1970s. Politicized university students, unionized workers, and organized women who seized their right to speak in the 1960s continued to speak, discuss, and publish in the 1970s. Intellectuals and non-intellectuals, students and workers, teachers and peasants who had established relationships in the 1960s continued to meet in the 1970s.

However, these historical moments of expanded possibilities – such as the existence of worker-writers, the encounter of artists and peasants, and the uninterrupted communication boom in the 1960s and 1970s – have been diminished in the historical narrative pertaining to the decades. The present lenses perceive these moments as unimaginable or inconceivable. In sum, chapter 4 avoided the falls of glorification and rediscovered an effusive communication – a utopian moment that has been neglected, sidelined, and forgotten – which is documented in the archives.

In chapter 5, the dissertation continued with an analysis of another historical moment of expanded possibility, which was the education boom of the 1960s and 1970s. With the help of periodicals of the TÖS, TÖB-DER, and İKD, newspaper reports in *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*, and the archival materials of the IISH, the chapter analyzed a broadened understanding and the manifold practices of education by unionized teachers and leftist organizations in schools and outside the classrooms. Excavation of archival sources unearthed a faith in the revolutionary role of education as a means for the betterment of society, as well as a coordinated rise in nongovernment educational practices by leftist teachers and organizations. The result was the emergence of revolutionary, multidirectional, and egalitarian ideas and practices of education as a possibility.

The chapter embarked by tracking the educational ideas and practices of the unionized teachers of the TÖS between 1965 and 1971 and the teachers of the TÖB-DER between 1971 and 1980. Members of both organizations struggled to execute a more democratic type of education in public schools, carry educational practices outside of classrooms, and raise the consciousness of the masses through education. First, the TÖS, a union that succeeded in organizing almost 40% of the teachers in Turkey, devised the idea of "education for revolution" and implemented it in public schools. Unionized teachers of the period incorporated the idea of revolutionism into teaching and correspondingly shouldered the responsibility of "awakening the people" – that is, raising their political consciousness and paving the way for a revolution. Moreover, teachers of the TÖS went beyond the legally-defined confines of associational and political rights of teachers as civil servants and carried their ideas on education outside the classrooms in the Great Education March and the four-day-boycott. The İLK-SEN, a union of elementary school teachers, shared the TÖS's broad view of education and joined it in these political acts. In addition to the theoretical and practical expansion of education outside the conventional curricula and into the streets, unionized teachers also strove to broaden their reach by building bridges with youth, workers, and peasants. Prompted by their ideology of "going to the people" and "awakening" them, which was made easier by the geographical

spread of their occupation, the teachers of the TÖS encountered different segments of society and managed to form close bonds, especially with peasants. In a nutshell, the TÖS pushed the limits of public education theoretically, politically, and socially; they were not only revolutionary teachers but also "doctors of social structure."

As its successor, the TÖB-DER grabbed the torch and continued the TÖS's struggle to go beyond the conventional limits of education. Embracing the responsibility to raise the people's consciousness en route to revolution, associated teachers of the 1970s fought to democratize the educational system in and outside public classrooms. They, too, politicized teaching by shouting their ideas on education and demanding their rights in the streets. Furthermore, despite the setbacks of diminished rights to associate, economic crisis, inner schisms, and political pressure, which impeded their ability to meet with various segments of society, they entered into collaborations with other democratic organizations of the period, including trade unions.

This chapter moved on to explore the plethora of nongovernment practices of education by trade unions, leftist organizations, and associations – specifically those of the DİSK, TÜRK-İŞ, and İKD. In the 1960s and 1970s, all trade unions and most leftist political organizations conducted their own educational programs wherein political activists or unionized workers adopted the teaching role. Workplaces, trade union offices, association clubhouses, and journal columns were converted into classrooms where workers and women, who were deprived of information and learning, could attain an education. Moreover, as attested by the examples of the Workers' Cultural Association, the Center of Scientific Research of Worker and Student Organizations of Turkey, and the reading-writing courses of the İKD, these new practices of education enabled opportunities for educated and uneducated people to encounter one another. Relying on the revolutionary role of education, these political organizations struggled to overcome educational inequality and democratize education.

Chapter 5, in sum, explored the explosion in education in the 1960s and 1970s which was an expansion not only in the meaning but also in the

practices of education. The TÖS, İLK-SEN, and TÖB-DER, as well as other leftist organizations, struggled for a revolutionary, democratic, and egalitarian form of education that would provide everyone the opportunity to become students and benefit from concomitant political consciousness in an attempt to undermine class inequality. In this way, both the meaning and forms of education exploded, spreading their utopian energy, which, just as with the communication boom, is neglected in public memory.

An analysis of the history and historiography of the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey revealed a gap between "what happened" and "that which is said to have happened" spawned by the power relations that operate in the past and present. The official, sponsored historiography in the post-1980 era has rendered a number of utopic moments in the 1960s and 1970s as forgotten or unimaginable. Such moments include the communication and education booms centered around leftist political movements of the period, the contribution of women and workers to these movements and explosions, the possibility of encounter among various social groups, an interpretation of the 1970s as politically dynamic, and the continuity between the 1960s and 1970s in terms of these expanded historical possibilities. This dissertation excavated from the archives the discovery of a communication and education boom experienced in the 1960s and 1970s by students, intellectuals, workers, peasants, men, and women who had come together politically and formed hitherto unexperienced bonds. What the period witnessed was, borrowing the phrase of Blanchot, "the possibility of a being-together" – a sociopolitical encounter around the realm of elevated ideas and practices of communication and education despite ideological disagreements and clashes. What the present has rendered unimaginable, and what remains a gap between events and their stories, is awaiting discovery in the archives. This dissertation suggests that what lies between an event and its story is utopias. The sociopolitical circumstances of the 1960s and 1970s that expanded the boundaries of the possible were replaced by a new system first introduced by the junta of September 12. This new, neoliberal, and authoritarian system, with its

creatively "destructive character," actively and effectively framed and re-framed new narratives that narrowed the boundaries of the possible. Utopias are not imaginable, unless they are inherent in the conditions of the period. An archival study backed by historiographical analysis has discovered the expanded boundaries of the past and unveiled past alternatives. What is unimaginable today might have been a possibility – a plausible alternative – in the past.

Appendix A Court Decisions by the Martial Law Command of Istanbul on the Confiscation and Destruction of Closed Newspapers and Periodicals, Faik Türün Papers, IISH, 1971-1972.

GİZLİ

T. C.
İSTANBUL
SIKIYONETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
KAPATILAN GAZETE VE DERGİLER
İLE MAHKEMELERCE VERİLEN KİTAP
MÜSADERE VE İMHA KARARLARI

GİZLİ

İ Ç İ N D E K İ L E R

2

G İ Z L İ

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

D. MÜŞ. : 1972/174 14/ 12 / 1972
ONU : "Türkiye" gazetesi

- K A R A R -

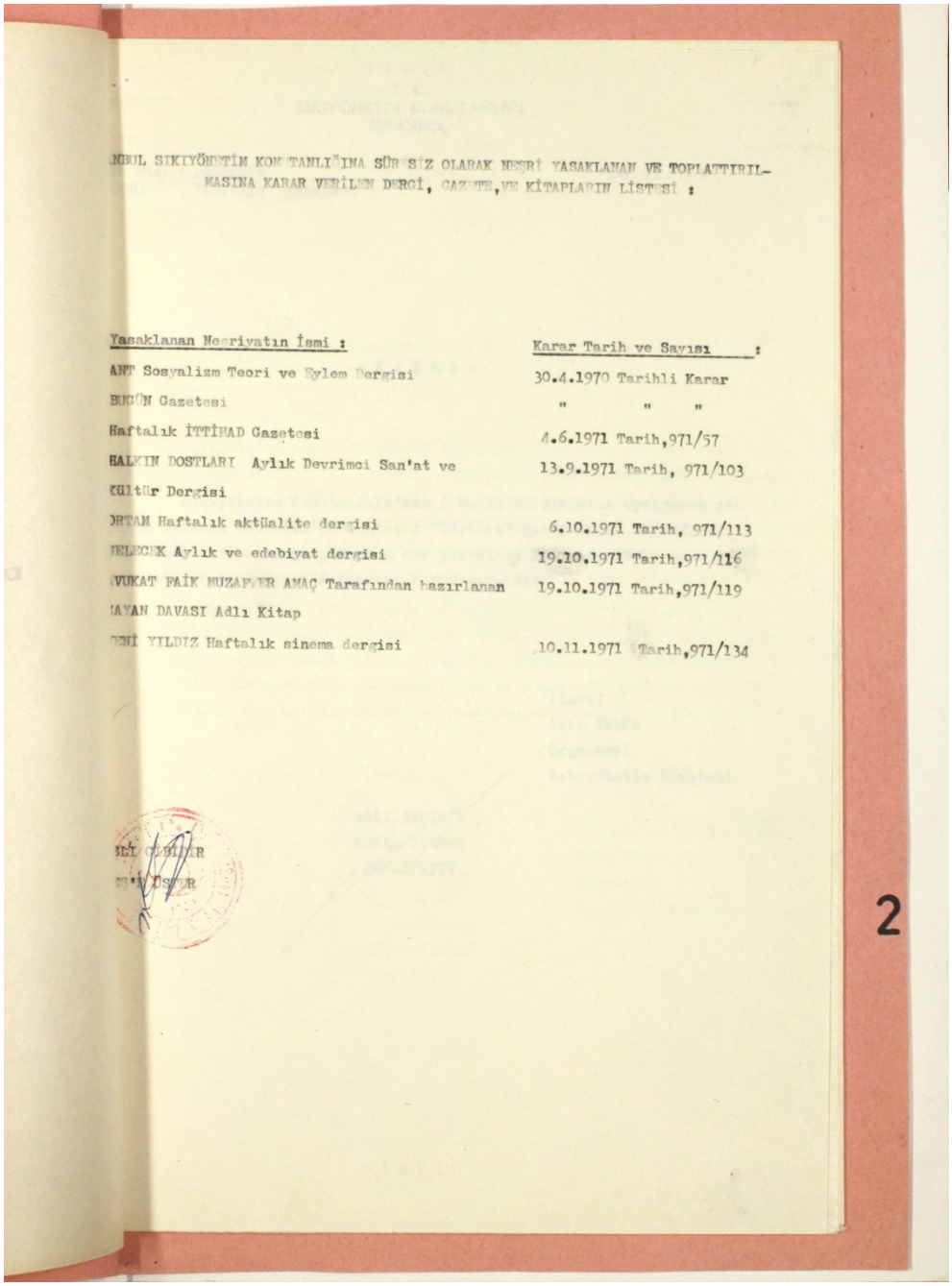
Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın 2 No.lu bildirisine uymıyarak yayında bulunan İstanbul'da münteşir "Türkiye" gazetesinin 16/12/1972 tarihinden itibaren on gün süre ile yayımının 1402 sayılı kanunun 3/c maddesi gereğince yasaklanmasına karar verildi.

(İmza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZUHAL YILMAZ
26/12/1972

2

G İ Z L İ



NBUL SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞINA SÜRESİZ OLARAK NEŞRİ YASAKLANAN VE TOPLATTIRIL-
MASINA KARAR VERİLEN DERGİ, GAZETE, VE KİTAPLARIN LİSTESİ :

Yasaklanan Neşriyatın İsmi :	Karar Tarih ve Sayısı :
ANT Sosyalizm Teori ve Eylem Dergisi	30.4.1970 Tarihli Karar
BUGÜN Gazetesi	" " "
Haftalık İTTİHAD Gazetesi	4.6.1971 Tarih,971/57
HALKIN DOSTLARI Aylık Devrimci San'at ve Kültür Dergisi	13.9.1971 Tarih, 971/103
ORTAM Haftalık aktüalite dergisi	6.10.1971 Tarih, 971/113
GELECEK Aylık ve edebiyat dergisi	19.10.1971 Tarih,971/116
AVUKAT FAİK MUZAFFER AMAÇ Tarafından hazırlanan SAYAN DAVASI Adlı Kitap	19.10.1971 Tarih,971/119
YENİ YILDIZ Haftalık sinema dergisi	10.11.1971 Tarih,971/134

BÜL GÜLLER
ÖSTÜNER

2

G İ Z L İ

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

D. MÜŞ. : 1972/174 14/ 12 / 1972
ONU : "Türkiye" gazetesi

- K A R A R -

Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın 2 No.lu bildirisine uymıyarak yayında bulunan İstanbul'da münteşir "Türkiye" gazetesinin 16/12/1972 tarihinden itibaren on gün süre ile yayımının 1402 sayılı kanunun 3/c maddesi gereğince yasaklanmasına karar verildi.

(İmza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZUHAL YILMAZ
26/12/1972

2

G İ Z L İ

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

D. MÜŞ. : 1971/134 / /1971
ONU :

K A R A R

İstanbul'da münteşir Yeni YILDIZ Haftalık Sinema Dergisi adı altında ilk defa yayına geçen derginin 1 nci sayısı T.C.K.nun 426 ncı maddesini ihlâl edecek şekilde halkın edep ve terbiye hislerini rencide edecek mahiyette yayında bulunduğundan adıgeçen derginin 1402 sayılı kanunun 3 ncü maddesinin (c) fıkrası gereğince yayınının süresiz olarak durdurulmasına karar verildi.

(İmza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

Aslı Gibidir
ZUHAL YILMAZ
26/12/1972

2

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

D. MÜŞ. : 1971/125 / / 1971
ONU :

K A R A R

İstanbul'da münteşir "Bizim Anadolu" gazetesi 23 EKİM 1971 tarihli nüshasının ikinci sahifesinde "Genç Beyin Genç Hain" başlıklı yazı ile İstanbul Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın 2 No.lu bildirisine aykırı yayında bulunduğundan bu gazetenin 1402 sayılı kanunun 3/c maddesi gereğince 25 EKİN 1971 tarihinden itibaren 10 gün süre ile basım ve yayımının yasaklanmasına karar verildi.

(İmza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
1 nci Ordu ve Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZUHAL YILMAZ
25/12/1972

2

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

). MÜŞ. : 1971/116 19 / 10 / 1971
ONU :

K A R A R

İstanbul'da münteşir GELECEK Aylık ve Edebiyat Dergisi'nin 1 Ekim 1971 gün ve 6 ncı sayısında Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın 2 Numaralı bildirisine aykırı olarak yayında bulunduğu tesbit edildiğinden, sözü edilen işbu derginin 1402 sayılı kanunun 3 ncü maddesi gereğince İstanbul veya Türkiye'nin herhangi bir yerinde aynı nam altında yayınının süresiz olarak yasaklanmasına karar verildi.

(imza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZÜHAL YILMAZ
25/12/1972

2

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

D. MÜŞ. : 1971/113
ONU :

6/ 10 /1971

K A R A R

İstanbul'da münteşir Ortam Haftalık Siyasal Aktüalite Dergisi'nin devamlı olarak İstanbul Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın 2 Numaralı bildirisini ihlâl edici mahiyette yayında bulunduğu anlaşılmakla 1402 sayılı kanunun 3 ncü maddesi gereğince basım ve yayımının süresiz olarak yasaklanmasına karar verildi.

(İmza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZÜHAL YILMAZ
25/12/1972

2

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

D. MÜŞ. : 1971/111
ONU :

2 / 10 / 1971

- K A R A R -

İstanbul'da münteşir (Sex Foto Roman) isimli 27 Eylül 1971 tarihli ve 1 sayılı dergi müstehcen görüldüğünden 1402 sayılı Sıkıyönetim Kanununun 3 ncü maddesi gereğince adıgeçen derginin İstanbul veya Türkiye'nin herhangi bir yerinde yayınının süresiz olarak yasaklanmasına ve 1 nci sayısının toplattırılmasına karar verildi.

(imza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
1 nci Ordu ve Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZÜHAL YILMAZ
25/12/1972

2

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

). MÜŞ. : 1971/103 13/ 9 /1971
)NU : Halkın dostları adındaki
derginin kapatılması

- K A R A R -

İstanbul'da münteşir HALKIN DOSTLARI Aylık Devrimci Sanat ve Kültür Dergisi adındaki derginin Eylül 1971 tarih ve 18 nci sayısında, İstanbul Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın 2 numaralı bildirisine aykırı ve devletin askerî ve emniyet kuvvetlerini alenen tahkir ve tezyif edici mahiyette yayında bulunduğu tesbit edildiğinden sözü edilen 18 nci sayının 1402 sayılı Sıkıyönetim Kanununun 3 ncü maddesinin (c) bendi gereğince TOPLATTIRILMASINA ve derginin İstanbul veya Türkiye'nin herhangi bir yerinde aynı nam altında yayınının süresiz olarak yasaklanmasına karar verilmiştir.

(İmza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
1 nci Ordu ve Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZÜHAL YILMAZ
25/12/1972

2

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

D. MÜŞ. : 1971/81
ONU :

/ /1971

K A R A R

Adapazarı'nda münteşir günlük ANADOLU gazetesinin 8 Temmuz 1971 gün ve 4631 sayılı nüshasında Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın 2 No.lu bildirisine aykırı mahiyette yayında bulunduğundan 1402 sayılı kanunun 3/c maddesi gereğince 26 Temmuz 1971 tarihinden itibaren 7 gün müddetle yayımının yasaklanmasına karar verildi.

(imza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
1 nci Ordu ve Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZÜHAL YILMAZ
25/12/1972

2

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

D. MÜŞ. : 1971/57
ONU :

4 / 6 / 1971

K A R A R

31 Mayıs 1971 gün ve 185 sayılı nüshasında adlî makamlarca yasaklanmış neşriyattan iktibaslar yaparak ve lâiklik ilkelerine aykırı tutumu ile Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın 2 ve 5 numaralı bildirilerini ihlâl edici mahiyette yayında bulunan İstanbul'da münteşir İTTİHAD Haftalık Siyasî Dergisi'nin 1402 sayılı kanunun 3 ncü maddesi gereğince basın ve yayımının süresiz olarak yasaklanmasına karar verildi.

(İmza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
1 nci Ordu ve Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

2

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZÜHAL YILMAZ
25/12/1972

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

D. MÜŞ. : 1971/11
ONU :

30 / 4 / 1971

- K A R A R -

Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığının basınla ilgili 2 numaralı bildirisine rağmen lâiklik ilkelerine aykırı yayında ısrar eden İstanbul'da münteşir (BUGÜN) ve (SABAH) gazeteleri ile T.C.K.nun 142,158,159,312 nci maddelerinde yazılı suçları Mayıs 1971 tarih ve 13 sayılı dergisinde açıkça ihlâl ve yayınlayan (ANT-SOSYALİST TEORİ VE EYLEM DERGİSİ)'nin 1 Mayıs 1971 Cumartesi gününden itibaren Türkiye'de yayımlarını 3832 sayılı kanunun 3 ncü maddesi gereğince süresiz olarak yasakladım.

(İmza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
1 nci Ordu ve Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZÜHAL YILMAZ
25/12/1972

2

T. C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
İSTANBUL

D. MÜŞ. : 1971/7
ONU :

28 / 4 / 1972

K A R A R

Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı'nın 2 No.lu bildirisine uymayarak yayında bulunan CUMHURİYET ve AKŞAM gazetelerinin 29 Nisan 1971 tarihinden itibaren 10 gün süre ile Türkiye'de yayımını 3832 sayılı kanunun 3 ncü maddesi gereğince yasakladım.

(imza)
Faik TÜRÜN
Orgeneral
1 nci Ordu ve Sıkıyönetim Komutanı

ASLI GİBİDİR
ZUHAL YILMAZ
25/12/1972

2

MAHKEMECE MÜSADERE VE İMHA OLUNAN KİTAPLAR

T.C.
SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI
NOLU ASKERİ MAHKEMESİ

SELİMİYE-İSTANBUL
21.12.1972

KAYIT NO : 1972/2507
ESAS NO : 1972/
KARAR NO : 1972/201

K A R A R

Türk Milleti adına yargılama yapıp hüküm vermeye yetkili Sıkıyönetim K.lı-
Nolu As.Mahkemesi, 353 sayılı Kanunun 2 maddesi uyarınca :

BAŞKAN : Hâkim Kd.Bnb. Günay GENCEN (956-6)
ÜYE : Top.Bnb.Hayri BAYAM (955-54)
ÜYE : Hâkim Kd.Yzb.Gültekin TURAN (462) den
teşekkil mahkeme heyeti, tutanakta Emel Kuyucu hazır oldukları halde Sıkıyöne-
in K.lığı As.Savcılığının 14.11.1972 gün ve 1972/440 sayılı yazıları ile, ekli
listedeki kitapların müsadere ve imhası talep edildiğinden, işbu talep hakkında
ir karar vermek üzere 21.12.1972 günü saat 10.30 da mahsus salonda toplanıldı.

Sıkıyönetim K.lığı As.Savcılığının 14.11.1972 gün ve 1972/440 sayılı
ısı okundu ve mahiyeti anlaşıldı.

Soruşturma dosyasında bulunan yasaklanmış kitaplar ve yasaklayan mahkemele-
ait liste tetkik edildi.Genel Kurmay Başkanlığının 13.10.1972 gün ve B.İS.T.
93-3-10-97 S-N.R sayılı yazısı okundu.Mahiyeti anlaşıldı.

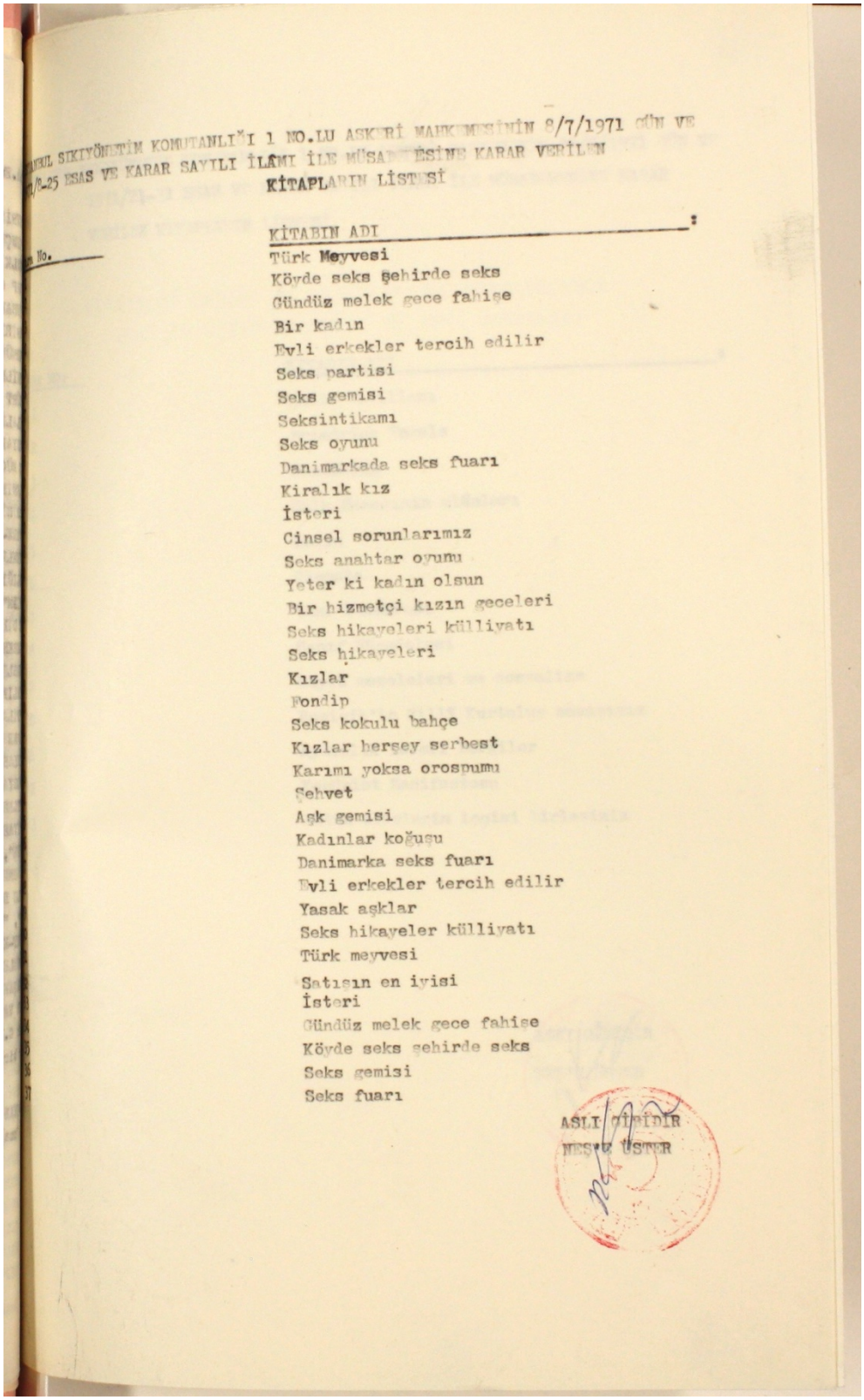
İzmir Sıkıyönetim K.lığı Adli Müşavirliğince hazırlanmış T.C.K.nun 141,
2, 311 ve 312 ve 163. maddelerine aykırı görülerek, çeşitli mahkemelerce zapt, mü-
dere ve toplatıtırılmasına karar verilen kitapların listesi tetkik edildi. Mahiyeti
laşıldı.

1.Ordu ve Sıkıyönetim K.lığının aynı mahiyetteki listesi tetkik edildi.
hiyeti anlaşıldı.

NEZİ DÜŞÜNÜLDÜ : İstanbul Sıkıyönetim K.lığı As.Savcılığın 14.11.1972 gün ve
972/440 sayılı yazısı ve ekli listelerde belirtildiği üzere,

Haklarında yapılan soruşturma neticesi koğuşturmaya yer olmadığı kararı
erilen Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, Orhan Önalan, Enver Aytekin, Hayriye Kutmen,Y.Özgül,
.Keskin,Gülseren Akder,Ayhan Önen,H.İbrahim Cerlet, İbrahim Aktaş,Şükrü Sütlüoğlu,
at Turan,Mehmet Ataberli,'ye ait ve keza Fırtına-l tatbikatı sırasında ele geçip
hipleri belli olmayan, muhtevaları itibarile T.C.K.nun 141,311 ve 312 .maddele-
ini ihlâl etmeleri nedeniyle muhtelif mahkemelerce muhtelif tarihlerde yasaklanıp
oplatıttırılmalarına karar verilen, "ANARŞİ YOK BÜYÜK DERLEMİŞ", "AYDINLIK PRO-
ETER DERGİ","AYDINLIK SOSYALİST DERGİ", "ANT DERGİSİ, "AZGELİŞMİŞ ÜLKELERDE SOS-
ALİZM","ASKERİ YAZILAR", "AİLENİN ÖZEL MÜLKİYETİN DEVLETİN KÖKENİ", "ANTİ-DUHRİNG",
"ANARŞİZM NEDİR?", "ALMAN İDEOLOJİSİ", "BİLİMSEL SOSYALİZMİN DOĞUŞU", "BİR ADIM
ERİ İKİ ADIM GERİ", "BAŞKAN MAONUN SÖZLERİ", "BİR DEVRİMİNCİNİ OTOBİYOGRAFİSİ",
"ÇİN İNKİLABININ TEORİK MESELELERİ", "ÇİN DEVRİMİ", "ÇİNDE SOSYALİZMİN KURULUŞU,"
"DEVRİM STRATEJİSİ", "DEVRİMDE DEVRİM", "DİYALEKTİK VE TARİHİ MATERYALİZM",
"DEMOKRATİK HALK DEVRİMİ", "DÜNYA KAPİTALİZMİNİN BUGÜNKÜ BUHRANI", "DOĞUDA ULUSAL
KURTULUŞ HAREKETLERİ", "DİN ÜZERİNE", "DİNLE YENİ-HE", "DEVLET", "DEVRİMCİ EĞİTİM
ŞURASI", DEVRİM İÇİN ÇALIŞMAYANA KOMÜNİST DENMEZ", "EKONOMİ-POLİTİK", "EMPERYA-
LİZMLE MÜCADELE", "FELSEFENİN BAŞLANGIÇ İLKELERİ", "EKONOMİ POLİTİKİN ELEŞTİRİSİNE
KATKI", "FELSEFENİN SEFALETİ", "FEODALİZMDEN KAPİTALİZME GEÇİŞ", "EVRİMLERİ VE

(İmza) (İmza) (İmza) (İmza)



...NBUL SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI 1 NO.LU ASKERİ MAHKEMESİNİN 8/7/1971 GÜN VE
...2/0-25 ESAS VE KARAR SAYILI İLÂMI İLE MÜSA...ESİNE KARAR VERİLEN
KİTAPLARIN LİSTESİ

...n No. KİTABIN ADI:

Türk Meyvesi
Köyde seks şehirde seks
Gündüz melek gece fahişe
Bir kadın
Evli erkekler tercih edilir
Seks partisi
Seks gemisi
Seksintikamı
Seks oyunu
Danimarkada seks fuarı
Kiralık kız
İsteri
Cinsel sorunlarımız
Seks anahtar oyunu
Yeter ki kadın olsun
Bir hizmetçi kızın geceleri
Seks hikayeleri külliyatı
Seks hikayeleri
Kızlar
Fondip
Seks kokulu bahçe
Kızlar herşey serbest
Karımı yoksa orospumu
Şehvet
Aşk gemisi
Kadınlar koğuşu
Danimarka seks fuarı
Evli erkekler tercih edilir
Yasak aşklar
Seks hikayeler külliyatı
Türk meyvesi
Satısın en iyisi
İsteri
Gündüz melek gece fahişe
Köyde seks şehirde seks
Seks gemisi
Seks fuarı

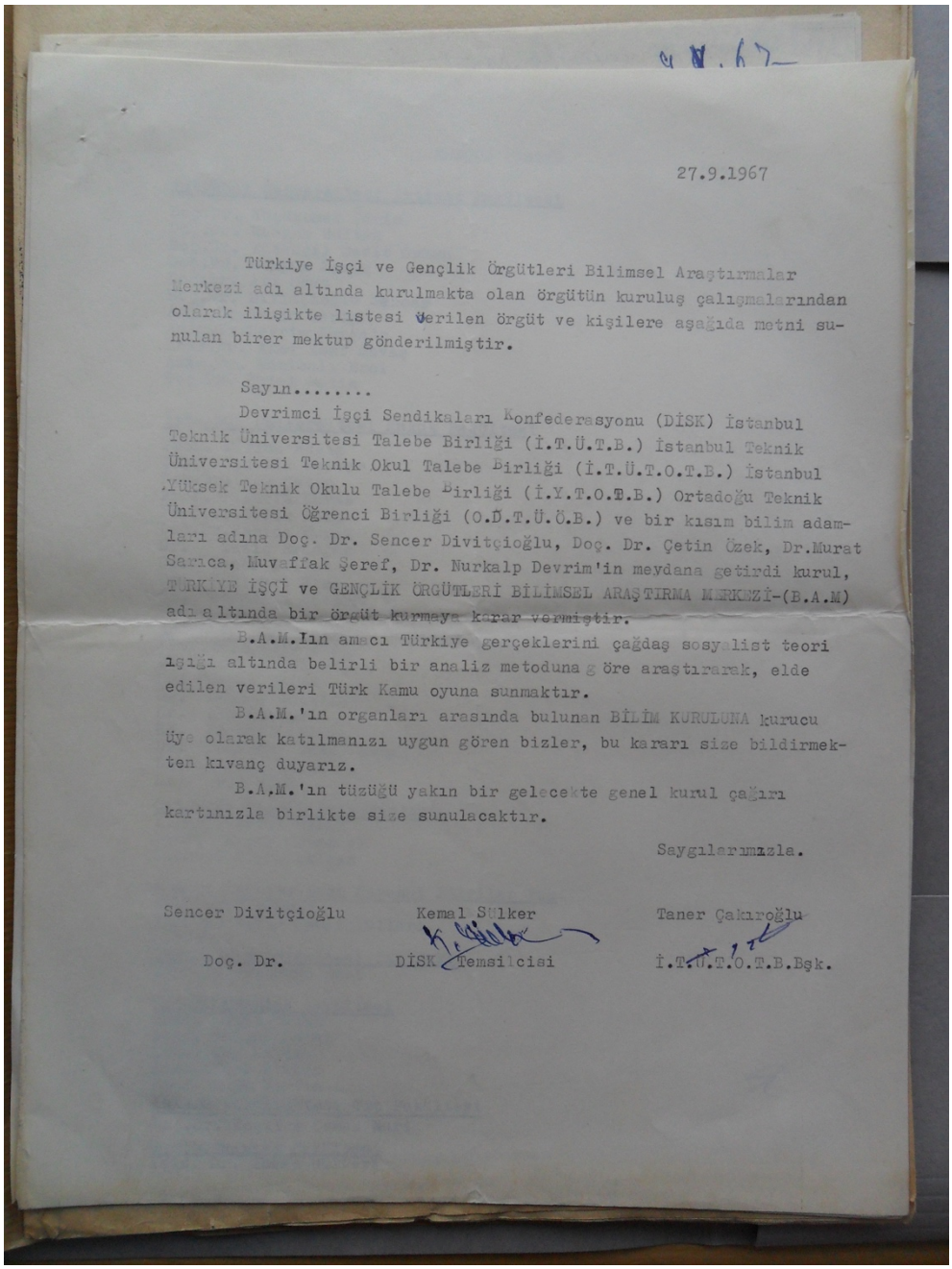
ASLI GİBİDİR
NESİM ÜSTER

İSTANBUL SIKIYÖNETİM KOMUTANLIĞI 1 NO.LU ASKERİ MAHKEMESİNİN 29/7/1971 GÜN VE 1971/21-31 ESAS VE KARAR SAYILI İLÂMI İLE MÜSADERESİNE KARAR VERİLEN KİTAPLARIN LİSTESİ

SIRA NO:	KİTABIN ADI
1	Şehir Gerillası
2	Friedrich Engels
3	Mem-U-Zin
4	Halk Savaşının plânları
5	Lenin
6	Çimento
7	Yeni Demokrasi
8	Sınıf Mücadelesi
9	Köylü meseleleri ve sosyalizm
10	Rosmih'in Millî Kurtuluş savaşımız
11	Aydınlık isimli Dergiler
12	Komünist Manifestosu
13	Bütün ülkelerin işçisi birleşiniz

ASLI GİBİDİR
NES'E ÜSTER

Appendix B Letter of Invitation and List of Founding Members of the Center of Scientific Research of Worker and Student Organizations of Turkey, Kemal Sülker Papers 518, IISH, September 27, 1967.



27.9.1967

Türkiye İşçi ve Gençlik Örgütleri Bilimsel Araştırmalar Merkezi adı altında kurulmakta olan örgütün kuruluş çalışmalarından olarak ilişikte listesi verilen örgüt ve kişilere aşağıda metni sunulan birer mektup gönderilmiştir.

Sayın.....

Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (DİSK) İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Talebe Birliği (İ.T.Ü.T.B.) İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Teknik Okul Talebe Birliği (İ.T.Ü.T.O.T.B.) İstanbul Yüksek Teknik Okulu Talebe Birliği (İ.Y.T.O.T.B.) Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Öğrenci Birliği (O.D.T.Ü.Ö.B.) ve bir kısım bilim adamları adına Doç. Dr. Sencer Divitçioğlu, Doç. Dr. Çetin Özek, Dr.Murat Sarıca, Muvaffak Şeref, Dr. Nurkalp Devrim'in meydana getirdi kurul, TÜRKİYE İŞÇİ ve GENÇLİK ÖRGÜTLERİ BİLİMSEL ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ-(B.A.M) adı altında bir örgüt kurmaya karar vermiştir.

B.A.M.ın amacı Türkiye gerçeklerini çağdaş sosyalist teorinin ışığı altında belirli bir analiz metoduna göre araştırarak, elde edilen verileri Türk Kamu oyuna sunmaktır.

B.A.M.'ın organları arasında bulunan BİLİM KURULUNA kurucu üye olarak katılmanızı uygun gören bizler, bu kararı size bildirmekten kıvanç duyarız.

B.A.M.'ın tüzüğü yakın bir gelecekte genel kurul çağırı kartınızla birlikte size sunulacaktır.

Saygılarımızla.

Sencer Divitçioğlu — Doç. Dr.

Kemal Sülker — DİSK Temsilcisi

Taner Çakıroğlu — İ.T.Ü.T.O.T.B.Bşk.

KURUCU ÜYELER

İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi

Doç.Dr. Küçükömer İdris
Doç.Dr. Kazgan Gülten
Doç.Dr. Tütengil Cavit Orhan
Doç.Dr. Görgün Sevim
Doç.Dr. Arı Oğuz
Doç.Dr. Divitçioğlu Sencer
Asis.Dr.Teziç Merih
Asis.Dr.Devrim Nurkalp
Asis.Dr. Akat Asaf Savaş
Asis.Dr. Manisalı Erol
Doç.Dr. Kutal Metin

İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi

Prof. Sarıca Ragıp
Doç. Tanelli Server
Doç.Dr.Özek Çetin
Prof.Dr.Lütfü Duran
Prof.Dr.Celik Edip
Doç.Dr.Sarıca Murat
Dr. Teziç Erdoğan
Dr. Tanör Bülent
Dr. Eşkiyurt Erol
Dr. Ademoğlu Kevork
Prof.Dr. Tarik Zafer Tunaya

İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi

Prof.Dr. Ürgan Mina
Prof.Dr. Çambel Halet
Dr. Çapan Cevat
Dr. Şencer Muzaffer
Dr. Sencer Oya
Dr. Börekçi Cetin
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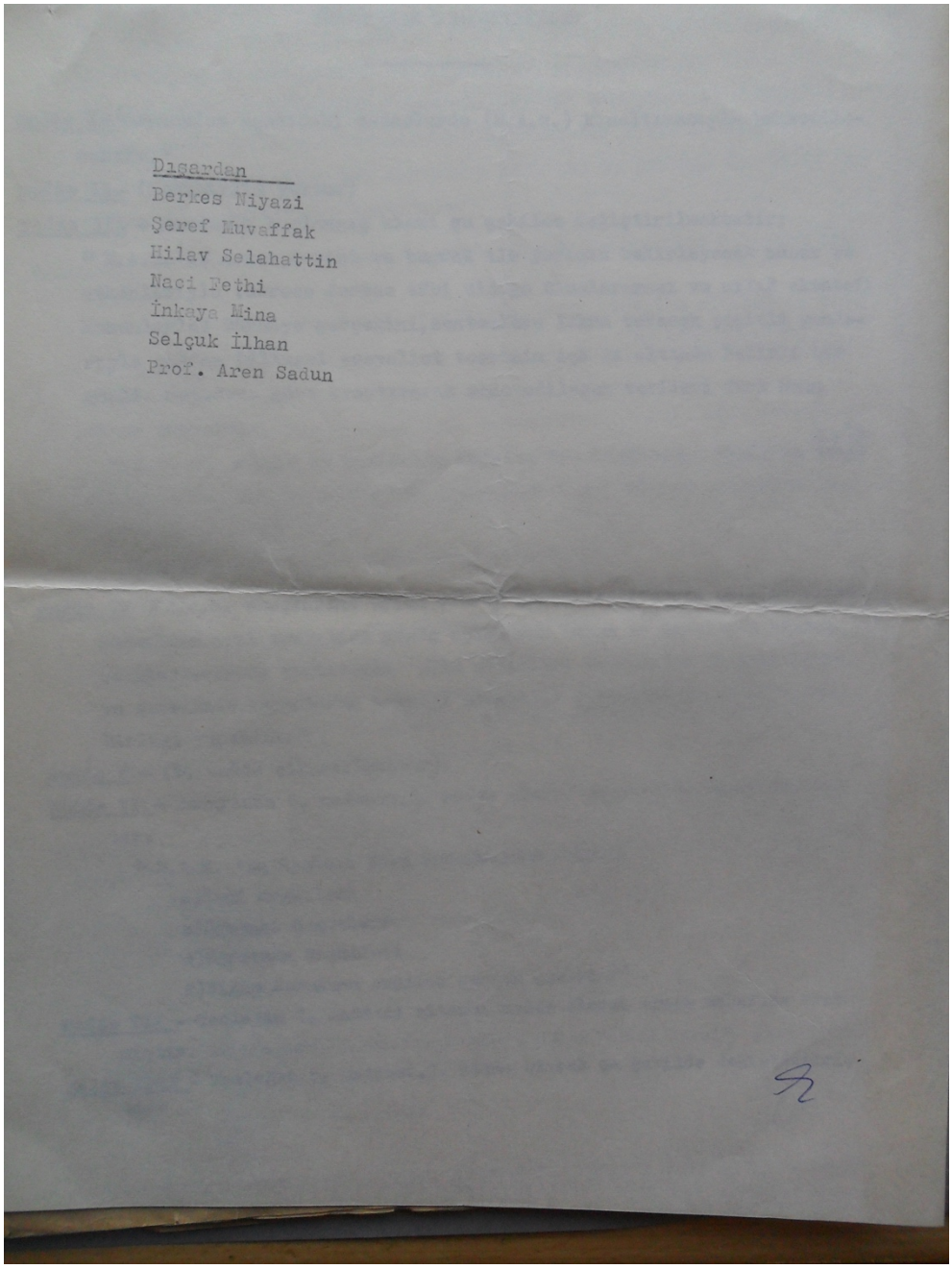

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