IDEOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS IN SOME COUNTRIES THAT INSPIRED THE LEFT-WING TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS IN TURKEY DURING THE COLD WAR

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Abstract

Following the Second World War, the world became bipolar, and a cold war began between the USA and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The whole world was affected by the fierce competition, which was directed by two centers with different rival ideologies and included activities to expand their spheres of influence. Especially in the countries that participated in the Western Bloc, the establishment and strengthening of many organizations were supported by the Warsaw Pact in order to increase the sympathy of the people for socialism and to influence the country administrations, and it was tried to gain effectiveness by causing chaos in these countries. Therefore, in different countries, many simultaneous marginal movements with similar activities emerged. Likewise, similar movements were observed in different socialist countries, despite being very few. In these movements in foreign countries, which created a model for the organizational structures and activities in Turkey, the left-wing organizations in these foreign countries were taken as models especially in the first establishment, intellectual development, determination of the movement style and organization schemes of the first marginal left-wing organizations that emerged in Turkey after the 1960s.

Keywords: Republic of Turkey, cold war, terör, left organizations.

SOĞUK SAVAŞ DÖNEMİNDE TÜRKİYE'DEKİ SOL TERÖR ÖRGÜTLERİNE İLHAM VEREN BAZI ÜLKELERDEKİ İDEOLOJİK HAREKETLER

Özet

İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası dünya iki kutuplu bir hale gelmiş, ABD ve Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği arasında soğuk savaş başlamıştır. Birbirinden farklı rakip ideolojilere sahip iki merkez tarafından yönlendirilen ve etki alanını genişletme faaliyetleri içeren sert rekabette tüm dünya etkilenmiştir. Özellikle batı blokunda yer alan ülkelerde halk nezdinde sosyalizm sempatisini arttırmak suretiyle ülke yönetimlerini etkilemek için Varşova Paktı'na bir çok örgütün kurulması ve güçlenmesi desteklenmiş, ülkelerin içinde kaos çıkartarak etkinlik kazanılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu nedenle farklı ülkelerde, faaliyetleri benzer olan eşzamanlı birçok marjinal hareket ortaya çıkar. Aynı şekilde sayıca çok az da olsa farklı sosyalist ülkelerde de benzer hareketler görülür. Türkiye'deki örgüt yapılarına ve faaliyetlerine model oluşturan yabancı ülkelerdeki bu hareketler özellikle Türkiye'de 1960'lar sonrası ortaya çıkan ilk marjinal sol örgütlerin ilk kuruluş, düşünsel gelişim, hareket tarzının belirlenmesi ve örgütlenme şemalarında bu dış ülkelerdeki sol örgütler model alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, soğuk savaş, terör, sol örgütler.

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INTRODUCTION

The *bipolar world order*, which is also of particular concern to Turkey, emerged following the Second World War (Bulut, 2008). The Second World War, which was concluded in 1945, played an active role in the political order and social structure of the world. After the war, the USA and the USSR emerged as two superpowers (Sönmezoğlu, 2009). Even if it had been to prevent conflicts that might arise after this date and to provide international solidarity, the United Nations organization was established in a way that reflected the world balance at that time (Oran, 2009).

In this period, the superpowers, which were aware that even the slightest close conflict among themselves would start a nuclear war (Hobsbawm, 2011), chose an indirect competition such as the wars of Korea, Vietnam and Afghanistan. To increase their impacts in other regions, they entered into a fierce ideological population struggle with each other (Arrighi et al, 1995; Hobsbawm, 2011). In this international polarization, ideological marginal opposition movements all over the world had the opportunity to emerge more easily and expanded depending on the national conjuncture. Following the Second World War, Turkey also became the target of these ideological movements due to its position and the bloc it was a party to, and some groups within the country wanted to adapt the same revolution paths to Turkey by following these revolutionary movements, especially in some capitalist countries abroad.

Students who began to organize among themselves, particularly around the end of the 1960s, were quickly marginalized and began to organize among themselves in order to bring about a leftist revolution in the country. With the participation of various components, these organizations, created or directed by leaders such as Mahir Cayan, Deniz Gezmiş, Sinan Cemgil, Dursun Karatas, and Abdullah Öcalan, eventually transformed into armed organizations. The first establishments of these leftist organizations are; People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) and the People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey (THKP-C). The phases, dissolution, and action practices of these organizations also serve as a model for subsequent organizations. Terrorist organizations such as The Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), The Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP-ML), Revolutionary People's Liberation Part-Front (DHKP-C) and The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (MLKP), which will be established later as a result of these organizations' experiences, continue their unlawful actions to this day.

The marginal left organizations previously founded in Europe served as inspiration for the founding of these organizations and the establishment of their ideological lines. During the Vietnam War, the Cold War's second heated conflict, Turkey's left-wing, which sympathized with indigenous communist resistance fighters, began using the protest forms used by corresponding leftist organizations in Europe against the war in 1966. The university occupation events of 1968 marked the first collective public appearance of the Leftist organizations that had begun to organize in Turkey. France was taken as an example in this case. The left movement in Turkey, which adopted the methods used in the violence that began at the Sorbonne University in France and spread around the world, including blocking classes, erecting barricades, boycotting schools, and vandalism, as well as the hanging of banners and style of operation, went into action following the same pattern. It is also more obvious in this case that leftist organizations follow each other.

I. Oppositional Movements in Some Capitalist Countries

After the Second World War, young individuals had social status, personality crises and youth problems especially for students living in wealthy capitalist countries in addition to financial problems such as education reform, cheap books, adequate scholarships, having a say in education and finding a job after graduation (Adasal, 1969). Student movements that emerged in the 1960s (Duverger, 1977; Türkyılmaz, 1997) started with the civil right-based "Free Speech" movement at Berkeley University in 1964 primarily in the USA rather than the third world universities dealing with economic and structural problems (Burgess & Hofstter, 1971; Picon 1971). In the 1950s, young individuals were greatly disturbed by the changes brought by the capitalist order, and they began to oppose the order on the grounds that their rights to freedom were restricted by racial discrimination, their living spaces were getting narrower and they did not have the right to speak in universities (Bulut, 1994).

I.1 USA

Following the Second World War, the USA had a strong position in the world politics by increasing its power even more. Within the period coinciding with the 30-35-year period following the war and named as the "*Golden Age of Capitalism*", the USA had the biggest share in the world economy (Boratav, 1999). Student movements experienced in the USA differ from the events in other Western countries² with less impact of Marxism (Morin, 1998). Therefore, the reason for the movements taking place in the US universities results from the students' search for democratic and civil rights rather than their economic problems (Sandıkçioğlu, 1969). The first social movement within the university in the USA started with the "civil rights"³ protest emerging in the 1960s (Göğüş, 1969).

The most important oppositional movement rising after the Second World War in the USA is the "Civil Rights" movement, which covered the rights and equality demands and was initiated by the African-Americans against racist oppression and inequality (Akalın, 1995). The "go-in" and "sit-in" actions⁴, which started in the predominantly black universities of the south and were organized by the SNCC (Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) that defended the principle of civil disobedience, became a source of inspiration to all other university organizations (Bulut, 1994; Picon, 1971). Many bloody conflicts erupted due to the reactionary racist white movements developing against the struggle for the rights of African-Americans and whose levels

² Thanks to the Internal Security Act enacted in 1950 and Communist Control Act enacted in 1954 especially under the leadership of politician Joseph R. McCarthy in the United States, approximately 26,000 artists, writers and thinkers thought to be involved in communist activities were investigated by the FBI in order to fight against all kinds of associations and movements. (Encyclopedia of Socialism and Social Struggles [STMA], 1988; Türkyılmaz, 1997; Akalın, 1995).

³ The struggle for civil rights began in 1954, after a decision of the US Supreme Court regarding the racial discrimination (Picon, 1971).

⁴ In the go-in protest, a few black people wanted to discuss the attitude shown to them by entering into the workplaces that only sold to white people, while a sit-in protest was held by entering the establishments serving only white people. Upon the spread of the protests rapidly in all American states, in 1965, African-Americans were granted many rights, especially the right to vote and stand for election. (STMA, 1988)

increased gradually since 1960 (Akalin, 1995). Physical violence entered the university campus for the first time with these movements which were also called the Black Power and were supported by a large black population (Arendt, 1996).

SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), which was the first student union emerging as the first collective organized force among students in the USA, was founded in 1960 at the University of Michigan and targeted to struggle with the anti-communist McCarthyist thought (Akalin, 1995). SDS, whose first founders were moderate socialists (Sandıkçioğlu, 1969) and which mainly focused on being against the Moscow Communism, fascism and autocracy (Encyclopedia of Socialism and Social Struggles [STMA], 1988), hosted many Leninist, Maoist, Fidelist and Anarchist groups and gathered under a single roof with the slogan "New Left" (Giritli, 1970). In 1963, SDS put forward the "free university" project (Gürses & Gürses, 1997), which aimed to establish a democratic society in which everyone actively participated and advocated starting this from their own lives first. According to them, the official curriculum that pacified students should be terminated, and students should educate themselves (STMA, 1988; Akalin, 1995; Sandıkçioğlu, 1969).

Another reason for the student movements is the discontent created by the US foreign policy (Türkyılmaz, 1997). Especially the anti-militarist reaction against the Vietnam War caused big events in all universities. The student movements, which started with the demands for the right to speak in civil rights and administrative structure as well as reform in education, changed shape and gained a political character with the actual start of the Vietnam War since 1964 (Ural, 1976). Students primarily focused on the issues of suppression of the war and enrollment of young individuals in the armed services (Gürses & Gürses, 1997). Free speech and anti-Vietnam action began with the "Free Speech" movement that started at Berkeley University in 1964 (VanDeburg, 1992; Timur, 2000; Sandıkçioğlu, 1969). In 1967, a large group consisting of nearly 50 thousand SDS and anti-war individuals surrounded the US Department of Defense (Pentagon) to protest the war (STMA, 1988; Akalin, 1995). The killing of Martin Luther King in 1968 and⁵ shortly after the killing of presidential candidate Robert Kennedy, who advocated the withdrawal of the US troops from Vietnam, not only increased the tension in universities but also caused the protests to become massive and spread to the whole country (Mater, 2009; Akalin, 1995).

The most violent and intense protest movement in universities happened at Columbia University (Rudd, 1998; Gürses & Gürses, 1997). 3,500 students and 1,000 faculty members did not attend the classes and boycotted the classes to protest the Vietnam War (Mater, 2009). On April 23, 1968, students at the same university imprisoned the president of the university in his office for 24 hours (Gürses & Gürses, 1997). In the conflict emerging when President Kirk called the police to the university due to the protests, 720 students were arrested, and 148 students were injured (Sandıkçioğlu, 1969).

⁵ Martin Luther King, the unforgettable leader of African-Americans in America, is known for his peaceful struggle, civil disobedience and large-scale protest actions that he started in the early 1960s to abolish black and white discrimination in the country. M. L. King, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his struggles, became a victim of violence on November 4, 1968 and died as a result of an assassination. After the assassination, a rebellion broke out in nearly 130 US cities, 39 people were killed, and 20 thousand people were arrested. (Mater, 2009; STMA, 1988).

Student movements, which started with the concepts of *sit-in* and *direct action* at Berkeley and Columbia Universities in the USA, slowed down in 1971 when President Richard Nixon announced that the US troops would withdraw from Vietnam. The student organizations that were active in the events broke up within themselves after a short time, and their effectiveness decreased (STMA, 1988; Akalın, 1995).

1.2. France

As of the 1960s, small-scale meetings, where student problems were generally discussed, were conducted in various universities in France (Ural, 1976). However, the movements and massification process that unsettled all universities in the real sense took place in 1968. The events in universities started as of January 1968 and exhibited a continuous increase until April (Gürses & Gürses, 1997). As of May, resistance and actual occupations came to a head with the support of the other social classes particularly the working class, who thought that they did not get the necessary share from the rapid growth experienced after the Second World War and were disturbed by the rate of wage increase (İnsel, 1988; Kızık, 2008; Mater, 2009). In France, which was at the center of the 1968 events and pioneered its spread to the world, one of the factors triggering these events was the protest attempts of the American youth against the Vietnam War (Akalın, 1995).

The first occupation in France started with the release of six students arrested for participating in the march against the Vietnam War (Cohn-Bendit, 1987) and the occupation of the rectorate building of Nanterre University on March 22 to regulate the education system and ended with the occupation of the entire university on March 29 (Saka, 1974; STMA, 1988; Wykes, 2010; Reynolds, 2008; Ali, 2008). In France, students were spilling out into the streets collectively for the first time. In the first months of 1968, students of the University of Nanterre were then making political demands in addition to education (Adıvar, 1975). Youth actions, which were initiated with the objectives of reform in education, lifting of the bans and improvement of the economic conditions, spread rapidly. Although the French Communist Party took a preventive position in university events (Cohn-Bendit, 1969; Hourcade, 1971), many left-wing political student organizations were in a leading position in the events (Saka, 1974).

The university was closed on May 2 after the right-wingers burned a room belonging to a student organization at Sorbonne University. In response, on May 3, students occupied the university. Due to the occupation, the police surrounded the Quartier Latin and the university on May 6 (Fraser, 2008; Türkyılmaz, 1997). The conflicts reached their peak with the “Night of the Barricades” on May 10-11 (Gilcher-Holtey, 2008; Akyüz, 1969; Kolukisa, 1968). Due to the severity of the measures taken by the government, a very crowded group consisting of nearly 1 million workers, students and teachers organized a protest march on May 13 (Wilson, 1969; Akalın, 1995). Events at Sorbonne spread to other universities (Gürses & Gürses, 1997).

In Paris, there were also anti-revolutionary marches, the number of which exceeded one million, as a reaction against the events that started in universities in March and became more and more widespread with the strike waves (Mater, 2009). It can be stated that President De Gaulle's taking action in the face of the social polarizations experienced at the end of May constituted the

most important turning point in the termination of the events (Hobsbawm, 2002). With his 4-minute radio speech, he announced that the parliament was dissolved, and elections would be held (STMA, 1988; Akalın, 1995). After the statement of De Gaulle, the events decreased rapidly in June (Türkyılmaz, 1997). After the election process, normalization in university and community life began as a result of the education reform implemented by the newly elected government and positive regulations in business life.

Occupation actions observed in the French universities were not only a part of the youth actions but also a form of action frequently applied by the working class and other social classes. All these methods, anti-imperialism, socialist thought, ideological thoughts and movements spread outside France and also inspired youth movements in other countries (Bulut, 1994).

1.3. Germany

In Europe, one of the countries with the least social mobility and opposition after the Second World War was West Germany. The first reaction to the internal politics of university students in Germany (San, 1969) emerged with respect to the "*The Spiegel Affair*"⁶ in 1962. Pressures and arrests on the journal caused intense discussions in the German Federal Parliament, and the public started demonstrations to protest the event. Two weeks later, the magazine apologized, and the defense minister had to resign.

It can be stated that the collective student events in West Germany began prominently in 1966 (Türkyılmaz, 1997). In this period, the protests against the United States' intervention in Vietnam reflected on Germany as well as the whole of Europe (Eickhoff, 1971). The West Free University of Berlin was at the center of the Vietnam War protests that started in 1966 (Akalın, 1995; Türkyılmaz, 1997). The protests then spread to the universities in Munich, Bonn, Frankfurt, Hanover and other cities. At the center of the protests was the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) (Akçam, 1998; Merritt, 1969; Kızık, 2008). The events, which initially developed as a reaction against the Vietnam War, eventually turned into internal problems concerning Germany.

On June 2, 1967, the visit of Iran's Shah Reza Pahlavi and his wife Farah Diba to Germany caused new protests (Mater, 2009; Türkyılmaz, 1997). The murder of the Danish Free University Student Benno Ohnesorg by a plainclothes policeman during the march organized with Iranian opposition students to protest the Shah, whom they believed to support the US's Vietnam policy, escalated the tensions (Habermas, 1992).

We can list the demonstrations organized in German universities in 1968 as follows; student protests against the Springer group, which reached the peak with the assassination of Rudi Dutschke (1940–1979), one of the most active student leaders of the time, on April 11, 1968, Labor Day protests on May 1, 1968, events emerging due to the conference of Prof. H. Marcuse

⁶ In October 1962, an article published in Der Spiegel, one of the biggest weekly magazines of Germany, which revealed the serious weaknesses of Germany's defense power with evidence, put the government into action. A few days after the article was published, the magazine was raided by the police upon the order of the Attorney General. The police conducting a search in the newspaper for a long time confiscated the files and closed the magazine. After the raid, the chief editor of the magazine remained in custody for 103 days with the approval of the Prime Minister Konrad Adenauer and Defense Minister Franz-Josef Strauss. After it was learned by the public, people poured into the streets to protest the incident. Two weeks after these events, the Defense Minister Franz Joseph Strauss could not stand the pressure and had to resign. Melih Aşık, "*The Spiegel Affair*", **Milliyet Newspaper**, (19.02.2011).

at the Free University of Berlin. Events occurring due to the 2nd negotiation of the state of emergency laws on May 15, 1968, the occupations of the Japanese and Chinese Linguistics departments during the East Asia Seminar in May-June 1968. Occupation of the Germanistic Seminar between May 27-31, 1968, the occupation of the Rectorate building of the Free Berlin University on July 10, 1968. Events that erupted to oppose the reorganization of the Otto-Suhr Institute's status, the appointment of new professors to vacant chairs in the Faculties of Philosophy, Economics and Social Sciences, and the refusal of students to pay their ASTA (The General Students' Committee) dues (Kalpsüz, 1969; Pekasil, 2007).

After a while, the student movements in Germany slowed down as in other European countries. Some of the student organizations decreased in time, marginalized and moved away from the main mass (Akalin, 1995). When we look at the student movements in Germany in general, change of the social order and dissatisfaction with the foreign policy was the general scope, and reform demands regarding the university system were in the background (Pekasil, 2007).

1.4. Italy

The first action in Italian universities started in the Turin Faculty of Architecture in 1957 to protest the examination system (Ural, 1976). The reasons that initiated the first student events in Italy were based on the following problems rather than a reaction against the political regime (Konanç, 1969):

- Despite the increase in the number of students studying at universities, inadequate physical conditions,
- Activities of professors outside the university, problems of the permanent assistants,
- Universities' demands for democratization and autonomy,
- Organizational problems regarding lessons and examination hours,
- Attitudes of the political parties towards university and Gui Reform bill.

Movements gained a revolutionary character in 1967-1968 with the effect of the events in the world (Mater, 2009). With the strike that started in the Olivetti factory in Turin in 1967, students also supported the employees' movements that spread throughout the country (Fraser, 2008; Konanç, 1969). Student organizations did not receive the same support from other sections of society when it came to their demands. These strikes, which ended in 1967, were replaced by student radicalism (STMA, 1988).

In 1968, in the shadow of the Vietnam War and Prague events, students occupied the Universities of Milan, Turin, Pisa and Padova with the effect of the rising "New Left" thought (STMA, 1988; Akalin, 1995). While labor unions were less negative about the student movements than the ones in the United States and Germany, they still abstained (Duvarger, 1977). Student protests reached a peak in faculty occupations and street demonstrations at the University of Rome (Kurlansky, 2008). The anti-imperialist protests, which intensified again in 1969 upon the news that US President Nixon would visit Rome, ended with the cancellation of the visit (STMA, 1988; Akalin, 1995). Student movements in Italy continued in the 1970s, unlike other European movements, due to unemployment and social problems. In 1977, the University of Rome, the

world's largest university in terms of population, was closed twice due to the escalated events (Gürses & Gürses, 1997).

During the 1968 student movements in Italy, groups from the extreme left and right wings came face to face. Although they met during the rebellion, there was no consensus among these groups. Some student organizations only aimed at university reform, while others aimed at the revolution that would change the political system (Pekasil, 2007). According to the democracy idea put forward by the students, all kinds of leadership and representative hierarchy were rejected, but this idea did not allow the movement to be well organized (Konanç, 1969).

Student movements were seen as justified reactions of the younger generation against the adults whose words and actions did not match. Students wanted to motivate the adults who had a say in the society they lived in, saw the non-functional aspects but did not have enough energy to fix them and create a new society in line with their own beliefs by keeping adults away if necessary.

1.5. Japan

Despite being an island country in the Far East, Japan was also affected by the student movements that emerged in the 1960s. The demonstrations directed by Zengakuren⁷ (the National Federation of Student Unions) in Tokyo during this period were directed at the mutual trust agreement signed in 1960 between Japan and the United States (Moratti 2009; Steinhoff, 1999; Ural 1976). The most important target of the student events in Japan is US imperialism. The main reason for the protests since 1965 is the Vietnam War (Nakamura, 2002; Kılıç, 2008).

Student events in 1968 were especially concentrated in Tokyo. The year-long boycotts at Tokyo University and its faculties were aimed at improving the quality of education at the university. The students were divided into two groups as right and left, and conflicts were taking place between them (Erdentuğ, 1969). The most violent conflict between the student groups, which were divided into two groups as right and left, occurred during the occupation of Keio University in Tokyo in September 1968 (Gürses & Gürses, 1997).

In Japan, the student movements targeting the democratization of universities did not have a political purpose although there were some minor groups under the influence of political parties in the country (Shimbori, 1963; Erdentuğ, 1969). The starting point of the student actions in this country was to criticize the society and change it in the course of time (Gürses & Gürses, 1997). The groups and activity areas that were effective in the university events in Japan are as follows (Erdentuğ, 1969);

- Student group supporting the Japanese Communist Party
- Anti-Japanese Communist Party student group (between the two groups at Hosei University)
- Zengakuren – Radical student group (occupation of Keio University)

⁷ Student movements in Japan were led by the left-oriented Zengakuren, which is a strong, organized and disciplined student organization. Students participating in these movements took the form of systematic urban guerrilla by using helmets, batons, shields, Molotov cocktails, etc. Later, all students of the Western countries tried to imitate these methods of struggle, but in practice, no student group was able to accomplish this. (Demirer & Lavabre et al., 1998; Shimbori, 1964).

- Military school students (Faculties of Medicine and Commerce events)
- Right-oriented student group (events at Nihon University)

The protests in Japan, which reached their peak in 1968, ended in 1970 when all or most of the student requests were accepted (Türkyılmaz, 1997; Demirer & Lavabre et al. 1998).

Student rebellions, which began to threaten the existing order in the 1960s, emerged unexpectedly in a wide geography from Berlin to Paris, from London to Tokyo, from San Francisco to Rome (Arrighi et al. 1995; Alpay, 1988). Due to these movements, many countries started to question their systems again. Until then, such a rebellion threatening both the capitalist system and the socialist order by their own societies had not been observed on earth. Since the social mobility all over the world, which continued between the 1960s and 1970s, intensified in 1968, this year is generally referred to when these events are discussed (Özman & Yıldırım, 2008). The events that emerged globally in 1968 affected not only that year but also the following years. Following May 68, student protests all over the world brought along violence as a result of massification (Ehrenreich & Ehrenreich, 1987).

II. Opposition Movements in Some Socialist Countries

During the Second World War, the socialist segment in the countries under German and Italian occupation united with other groups and stood together against the occupation forces. In the occupied European countries, especially France and Italy, communist groups engaged in armed resistance movements that provided them with great prestige (STMA, 1988). However, the post-war years brought about major changes in the international system. The political fates of the countries relieved of the occupations were determined by the superpower balance and population area competition between the two great winners of the war, the USA and the Soviet Union, rather than the internal dynamics.

With the end of the Second World War, as an alternative to the *Democratic West*, the *Socialist Bloc* emerged (Kızık, 2008). Communist regimes established in the Socialist Bloc took the place of the civil society elements. In the countries in this bloc, the parliamentary regime and civil society elements disappeared one by one, leaving their place to the communist parties that were integrated with the state (Çaha, 1999).

The social movements that started in the 1960s were effective not only in capitalist countries but also in other socialist countries, especially the Eastern European countries. The social mobility seen in these countries emerged as a rebellion against the bureaucracy, socialism practices and political administrations in their own countries. These oppositions, which criticized socialism and leftist thought in the intellectual and ideological fields, formed the basis for the left to question itself in a sense and to search for a new leftover time. On the other hand, criticisms regarding the deep-rooted understanding of socialism led to the introduction of various concepts such as "*socialism with a human face*". This process, which started with the criticism of Stalinism, caused the socialist parties in the socialist and capitalist countries to question their main principles over time (Ataay, 2008). However, social movements that questioned the system in the Socialist

countries having state systems organized with a rigid ideological organization were suppressed in a short time in the countries except for Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Youth movements, which emerged in the 1960s with an uncertain direction, started to become distinct in their target thought as of the mid-1970s. The thought that the state system, which was tried to be maintained in countries governed by socialism, had a very low capacity to provide for the needs of its citizens started to be expressed openly (Kaynar, 2005).

The most distinctive characteristic of university student protests in socialist countries is that these were caused by the discomfort felt from the applied political and economic system rather than the structural problems of the universities (Ural, 1976). The new left views, which opposed the existing communist and socialist parties and their understanding of Marxism, prioritized new ideas of freedom by stating that official interpretations of Marxism were authoritarian. One of the main criticisms of this leftist view was that the working class adapted to the system in today's world. Therefore, the new actors of the social opposition needed to be students. However, apart from Czechoslovakia and Poland, the student movements, which could not achieve unity within themselves, gradually moved away from the political arena following the loss of social excitement. In this way, the oppositional student movements, which were nominated instead of the working class, could not have a permanent effect in terms of social struggle (Ataay, 2008).

II.1. Czechoslovakia

The wind of freedom brought along by the "68 Movement", which affected the whole world, was also felt in Czechoslovakia which was included in the Soviet Bloc (Ataay, 2008). The emergence of the student movements here as of 1964 started against the political power under the governance of Antonin Novotny, who followed a Stalinist path, rather than against the university system and administration (Kavan, 2008; STMA, 1988; Ural, 1976). Alexander Dubček, who became the first secretary of the Communist Party on January 5, 1968, implemented a reform project that included free competition in trade, abolishment of censorship and liberation (Williams, 2007; Cashman, 2008).

The new government program, which Dubcek called the "Socialism with a Human Face", was welcomed by the public, especially the intellectuals and students, despite the prevention attempts of the Stalinist wing of the Communist Party (Kavan, 2008; Ataay, 2008). However, this Prague-centered liberation movement drew the attention of the Soviet Union when it came to questioning the socialist system. Having concerns about the spread of this formation called "*Prague Spring*" and evaluating the conducted reforms as a "*counterrevolution*", the Soviet Union intervened in Czechoslovakia with 4,600 tanks and 165,000 soldiers belonging to the five states of the Warsaw Pact (STMA, 1988; Kurlansky, 2008; Mater, 2009; Fraser, 2008). According to the statement of the Soviets, this intervention was made because the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was captured by the counter-revolutionaries. However, this statement could not prevent the event from having a great impact all over the world (Ataay, 2008; Saka, 1974).

The military action of the Warsaw Pact countries against democratic socialism intensified the student movements. In November 1968, boycotts and occupations became widespread among

students. The Students' Union decided to conduct a three-day boycott on November, 17 (Akalin, 1995). The students, who were supported by the majority of the university faculty members and the working class, published a ten-item wish list, which was adopted by various trade unions and most of which included issues related to freedoms and public participation in power (Kışlalı, 1974). Moreover, the Czechoslovak resistance became stronger when philosophy student Jan Palach burned himself by pouring gasoline on him on January 16, 1969, in Prague, to protest the occupation (Akalin, 1995; Saka, 1974).

Despite the cleaning and prosecution movement that started after the Prague Spring, the opposition tried to attract the attention of the society with the reports that they prepared within the framework of human rights towards the end of the 1970s with the support of the students through the committees they formed against these injustices (Çaha, 1999). The Prague Spring was suppressed by the Warsaw Pact forces; however, not only the libertarian movements in Socialist countries increased due to the reaction created by this occupation, but also the dominant Soviet influence on Eastern Europe was shaken due to the contradictory situation that Marxism ran into (STMA, 1988; Akalin, 1995).

II.2. Poland

In Poland, the decrease in the standards of living and increase in difficulties led to the onset of discontent of the public regarding the system. Complaints related to the living conditions led to various protests. Student protests started against the anti-democratic implementations of the regime (Ural, 1976). Since the 1960s, students started to organize thanks to the "Discussion Clubs" (Akalin, 1995). Student events in Poland reached their peak in 1968. The protests began with the banning of the play called *Dziady* (Death Rite).⁸ Student demonstrations supported by the intelligentsia against the banning of the play in Warsaw in March 1968 were severely suppressed (Kurlansky, 2008). The emerging disturbances spread rapidly to all universities. Upon the large number of Jewish students being among the arrested ones, the government saw Zionism as responsible for these disturbances and launched anti-Semitic campaigns (Akalin, 1995). Upon the reactions, many Polish Jews had to leave the country (Kızık, 2008). The protests of the students decreased after a while, and many people were purged from the party due to the events. In the 1970s, student protests were replaced by labor unrests (Akalin, 1995).

The protests that started in Poland in 1968 shook the existing political system, and government changes played a major role in expanding freedoms in the short term and creating the infrastructure for the collapse of the communist system in the long term (Bulut, 1994). The strong position of trade unions in Poland enabled the country to be in a good position in terms of freedom at the end of this process. However, this process was different in the countries in the Socialist Bloc than the so-called Democratic West. While the demands for freedom were suppressed by using force in the name of socialism in the countries of the Socialist Bloc, these demands were made in the name of socialism in many Western and third world countries. The 1968 protests

⁸ The play called "Dizady" written by the 19th century poets Adam Mickiewicz for the 1981 riot against the Russians attracted a lot of attention after it was reinterpreted with a political subtext, although it was staged many times before. The play was banned on the grounds that it embittered anti-Soviet and ultranationalist sentiments. (Jones, 2008; Godzich, 2009; Mater, 2009; Kışlalı, 1974).

caused the Soviet influence to diminish in the Socialist countries in Eastern Europe (Akalın, 1995).

The basic characteristic of student rebellions around the world is that they emerged as revolts against the ruling bureaucracy everywhere. While student protests in the countries of the Eastern Bloc brought forward the demands for freedom of thought and speech, students in the West undervalued these as inappropriate demands (Arendt, 1996). Worker and student protests in Poland in the winter of 1970-1971 witnessed bloody suppression activities. After these events, the authorities had to take steps backward and undo the price increases in basic goods, which was one of the main reasons for the protests and give some rights in terms of freedoms. These events proved that, even in socialist regimes, the problem of class conflict could not be solved and was still on the national agenda.

CONCLUSION

As a result of the Second World War, new world order was formed. The atmosphere of solidarity and cooperation between the victorious states during the war soon replaced by an ideological competition. The cold war began as a result of the polarization between the NATO, which was founded by the Capitalist countries led by the USA and liberal Western European states, and the Warsaw Pact member states, which was established under the leadership of the Soviet Union, and the Communist states led by the People's Republic of China, and its effects directly or indirectly were felt in the majority of the world. These states did not hesitate to use all kinds of propaganda materials to increase their effectiveness against the countries they considered as rivals or their allies and to disincite the people against the current regime. Particularly, the Soviet Union supported all kinds of activities to establish, support and mobilize leftist organizations legally or illegally in order to spread its ideology in rival countries and increase the number of its sympathizers there. The minimum benefit expected from these activities was to cause civil disturbance in the internal public opinion of those countries with their demands for more democratic rights, occupy them only with their own internal affairs and weaken the unity of power formed against them by disturbing their foreign policy activities.

Similarly in the USA, the opposition movements that started as university-centered with the demands for equality and more democracy under the leadership of university students, evolved into protests against the country's foreign policy also with the influence of the Vietnam War and occupied the country's agenda for a long time. Events that firstly started in France due to small-scale problems, low wage increase or the inability to spread the welfare level to the general public, spread throughout the country in a short time with the intervention of the French Communist Party and many political left organizations. In France, the country had to call elections when individuals with left- and right-wing views started to conflict. The events that started in Germany with the objective of supporting the Vietnam War protests in the USA, just like in France, turned into protests against the internal politics with the interventions of leftist organizations. Socialist supporters in Turkey, who had just recently begun organizing, were encouraged by the demonstrations in Germany and began organizing anti-Vietnam War protests in the United States. Political oppositional movements that started with the demands for educational reform in Italy

gain a revolutionary character in a short time. Similar to the university boycott incidents that began in France and Italy under the pretext of student problems and reached its climax in 1968 in the organization of Leftist organizations, the same demands were soon made in Turkey. The manner of action and demands in France served as an inspiration for newly formed leftist organizations in Turkey. This incident demonstrates that leftist organizations' efforts in other countries are followed in Turkey, and the same manner of action is attempted here as well.

The process, which first started with simple student boycotts, evolved into strikes, factory occupations and an armed struggle. In Japan, in the days when the cold war started, the biggest goal of the left movement was to end the US imperialism in the country. While these events were being experienced in the capitalist western countries, demands for the removal of restrictions, freedom and more democracy emerged in some eastern bloc countries. However, these were suppressed in a short time by the strong intervention of the Soviet Union. Turkey joined NATO in 1952 due to the Soviet Union threat. Therefore, it was a country that greatly felt the effects of the cold war. Especially the leftist organizations, which wanted to use the increasing revolutionary wave and anti-NATOism in the country, wanted to attract public sympathy by carrying out various actions within the country. Initially, these organizations took the political movements taking place in Europe as an example and tried to implement them within the country by following the methods they followed.

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