

WHO'S WHO IN POLITICS IN TURKEY

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Table of Contents

i	Foreword
1	Abdi İpekçi
3	Abdülkadir Aksu
6	Abdullah Çatlı
8	Abdullah Gül
11	Abdullah Öcalan
14	Abdüllatif Şener
16	Adnan Menderes
19	Ahmet Altan
21	Ahmet Davutoğlu
24	Ahmet Necdet Sezer
26	Ahmet Şık
28	Ahmet Taner Kışlalı
30	Ahmet Türk
32	Akın Birdal
34	Alaattin Çakıcı
36	Ali Babacan
38	Alparslan Türkeş
41	Arzu Çerkezoğlu
43	Aydın Doğan
45	Ayşe Nur Bahçekapılı
47	Aziz Nesin
49	Bahriye Üçok
51	Bedrettin Dalan
53	Behice Boran
55	Berat Albayrak
57	Berfo Ana (Berfo Kırbayır)
59	Besim Tibuk
60	Beşir Atalay
62	Bülent Arınç
64	Bülent Ecevit
66	Can Dündar
68	Can Paker
69	Canan Arın
71	Cavit Çağlar
73	Cem Boyner
74	Cem Uzan
77	Cemil Çiçek
79	Cengiz Çandar
81	Çevik Bir

83	Deniz Baykal	182	Murat Karayalçın
86	Deniz Gezmiş	184	Musa Anter
89	Devlet Bahçeli	186	Mustafa Kemal Atatürk
91	Doğan Güreş	189	Mustafa Timisi
93	Doğu Perinçek	191	Mümtaz Soysal
95	Duygu Asena	194	Nazım Hikmet Ran
97	Erdal İnönü	196	Nazlı Ilıcak
100	Eren Keskin	198	Necip Fazıl Kısakürek
102	Ertuğrul Kürkçü	200	Necmettin Erbakan
104	Etyen Mahçupyan	203	Nevzat Yalçıntaş
106	Fethullah Gülen	205	Numan Kurtulmuş
109	Figen Yüksekdağ	207	Orhan Doğan
111	Fikri Sönmez	209	Osman Kavala
113	Filiz Kerestecioğlu	211	Oya Baydar
115	Gültan Kışanak	213	Pervin Buldan
117	Hakan Fidan	215	Pınar Selek
119	Hatip Dicle	217	Rahşan Ecevit
121	Hikmet Çetin	219	Rauf Raif Denктаş
123	Hikmet Sami Türk	221	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan
125	Hrant Dink	224	Said Nursi
128	Hüda Kaya	226	Sakıp Sabancı
130	Hülya Gülbahar	228	Sedat Bucak
132	Hüsamettin Cindoruk	230	Sedat Peker
134	İbrahim Kalın	232	Selahattin Demirtaş
136	İhsan Doğramacı	235	Seyit Rıza
138	İlhan Selçuk	237	Sezai Karakoç
140	İlker Başbuğ	239	Sezgin Tanrıku
142	İsmail Beşikçi	241	Süleyman Demirel
144	İsmail Cem	244	Süleyman Hasan Soylu
146	İsmail Kahraman	247	Şebnem Korur Fincancı
148	İsmet İnönü	250	Şeyh Said
151	Kemal Derviş	252	Şirin Tekeli
153	Kemal Gürüz	254	Tahir Elçi
155	Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu	256	Tansu Penbe Çiller
157	Kenan Evren	259	Temel Karamollaoğlu
160	Konca Kuriş	261	Tuncay Özkan
162	Leyla Zana	263	Turgut Özal
164	Mehmet Kadir Ağıar	266	Türkân Saylan
166	Mehmet Ali Aybar	268	Uğur Mumcu
168	Mehmet Eymür	271	Veli Küçük
170	Melih Gökçek	274	Vural Savaş
172	Meral Akşener	277	Yaşar Büyükanıt
174	Merve Kavakçı	279	Yaşar Kemal
176	Mesut Yılmaz	282	Yekta Güngör Özden
178	Metin Göktepe	285	Yiğit Bulut
180	Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu		

FOREWORD

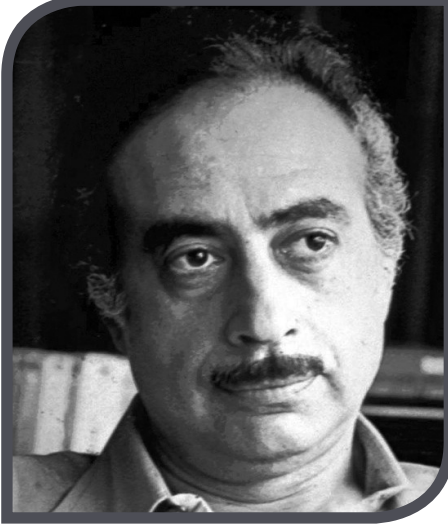
The political scene in Turkey is quite intense and complex in terms of the events that have occurred and the people who have been involved, and as such Turkey is unique among other countries. Naturally, understanding contemporary politics requires a comprehensive knowledge of the actions of political figures from the recent and distant past. As a means of filling that gap in the literature on Turkey, this book offers an easy-to-read, compact, informative, and analytical collection of biographies prepared by experts that offsets the bias inherent to much that is said in social media. In recent times, that need has become even more pressing as regards international public opinion as well as scholars and researchers who are concerned with monitoring politics in Turkey.

This book consists of 130 brief biographies about people who have shaped contemporary politics in Turkey and influenced how Turkish politics have unfolded in recent times. The biographic portrayals of each individual are based not just on facts but analytical explorations of the general context of the periods in question as well as the relationships that existed between particular incidents and persons. Surely, it is no easy task to choose who to write about for a country with such a dynamic and intense political environment. In our selection of the people in this book, we chose those who have had a major influence on and marked the political scene in Turkey. Also, we were careful about including people from civil society and not limiting the scope of the work to parliamentary politics. It is a well-known fact that politics in Turkey are overwhelmingly patriarchal in nature, so we sought to offer up a balanced distribution in terms of gender. Another criterion in our selection was the representation of different political movements regardless of their impact on today's politics. We included some figures who are not part of legal political activities but have been very influential in the political scene and the shaping of the Turkish political agenda.

In the course of their research, the authors involved in the creation of this book delved into the archives of magazines and newspapers while also examining memoirs, institutional histories and analyses of the politics of Turkey. However, since our main aim was to prepare a general guide for readers interested in better understanding the developments that have occurred in the politics of Turkey, we did not break up the text with footnotes or bibliographies, as might be done in a more academic work.

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İsmet Akça and Barış Alp Özden



Abdi İpekçi

Journalist, writer.

Born in Istanbul in 1929, İpekçi graduated from Galatasaray High School in 1948 and continued his education at Istanbul University's Faculty of Law for a period of time.

Between 1943 and 1948, his writings and cartoons were published in the sports magazines *Kırmızı Beyaz* and *Şut*. İpekçi began his career as a professional journalist in 1949 when he started writing for the newspaper *Yeni Sabah*. He also worked as a sports reporter, page designer and editor for a variety of newspapers including *Yeni İstanbul* and *İstanbul Ekspres*. In 1954, he started working for the newspaper *Milliyet*. When *Milliyet* was acquired by Ali Naci Karacan in 1935, it was renamed *Tan*. In 1945, as Turkey's relations with the United States of America were improving in terms of foreign policy, *Tan* was advocating for the advancement of relations with the Soviet Union. Ultimately, *Tan* was shut down in 1945 after being pilloried with anti-communist slogans, an event which came to be known as the "Tan Incident." Afterwards, when the newspaper continued being published as *Milliyet*, Abdi İpekçi first worked as the editor and then the editor in chief, and in 1959 he became an editorial writer.

Thanks to the presence of İpekçi, *Milliyet* became one of the most politically influential newspapers in Turkey. In the 1940s, the newspaper had been close to the Democrat Party but in the 1960s *Milliyet* started moving closer to the Republican People's Party (CHP) and published columns penned by Bülent Ecevit. In the 1970s, the newspaper took on a social democrat per-

spective. Through his position at *Milliyet*, Abdi İpekçi sought to establish an approach to journalism and media principles that held to universal standards. He highlighted the importance of reporting and carried out his duties as a journalist in light of people's right to information. In his writing, he advocated rationalist and reconciliatory policies.

During his career, İpekçi was the president of the Journalists' Union of Turkey (1959) and secretary of the Honorary Press Council (*Basın Şeref Divanı*) (1960). From 1961 to 1970, he hosted open discussion sessions at TRT (the Turkish Radio and Television Association), and he later became a member of the executive board of the International Press Institute (1964). In 1968, he gave lectures at Istanbul University's Faculty of Economics at the Institute of Journalism, and in 1972 he became the president of the Turkish Press Institute.

Prior to the military coup of 1980, he made calls for democracy as a means of fighting the escalating violence in the country, and he continued defending rights and freedoms, insisting on impartiality. İpekçi was shot and killed by Mehmet Ali Ağca on February 1, 1979 while he was driving his car. Oral Çelik, one of the figures behind the assassination, stayed in prison for only three months, and the arrest warrant for Mehmet Şener, who had also been involved, expired in 1999. After he escaped from prison with the help of accomplices, Ağca attempted to assassinate Pope Jean Paul II in 1981 and he served a sentence of nineteen years of imprisonment in Italy. In 2000, he was moved to a prison in Turkey and released in 2010. Although the reasons behind his assassination of İpekçi still remain unclear, it was reported that İpekçi had been working on a news story at that time which concerned a criminal organization in which government figures were involved.



Abdülkadir Aksu

Politician, bureaucrat.

Aksu was born in Diyarbakır in 1944. His father was known have been close to Said-i Nursi. He completed high school in Diyarbakır and graduated from the Faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara University in 1968. He also received training at the Public Language School. Among Aksu's classmates at university were figures that were influential on the Turkish political scene and in that period, upon the initiative of Aydın Yalçın they founded the Free Thought Club in opposition to the Socialist Thought Club. The club's president was Hasan Celal Güzel, the secretary general was Murat Karayalçın, Melih Gökçek was the vice president, Mehmet Keçeciler was the head of the editorial board and the members of the executive board included Veysel Atasoy, Atilla Koç and Abdülkadir Aksu. Of the seven people who served on the executive board, six became ministers and two of them became political party chairpersons. When Aksu was in Ankara, he founded the Diyarbakır Association in an effort to bring together the people of Diyarbakır.

In the year he graduated, he worked in civil administration, and until 1987, when he became actively involved in state politics, he held a wide range of positions, including: district governor of Kınık in the province of İzmir; district governor of Sarıkaya in the province of Yozgat; chief of police of Malatya; deputy governor and chief of police in Kahramanmaraş; governor and mayor of Rize; and, governor of Merkez and Gaziantep. During his term as the governor of Gaziantep, in 1985 he was given the award of "Bureaucrat of the Year."

In the general elections of 1987, he was elected as a member of parliament for Diyarbakır as a candidate of the Motherland Party (ANAP), which had been founded by Turgut Özal, and he was also the group deputy chairman of the party. Between 1989 and 1991, he was the minister of internal affairs. He became a prominent advocate of the “Politics of Four Inclinations,” which had originally been presented by Turgut Özal as a means of reconciling democrat leftist, liberal, conservative and nationalist right-wing politics. In 1995, he was re-elected as an MP for ANAP representing the province of Diyarbakır and served as the group deputy chairman, ultimately going on to become the state minister for the Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP). In 1996, he left ANAP and joined the Welfare Party (RP). He worked for the party as a member of the general administrative board and as a deputy chairperson. When the RP was shut down by the Constitutional Court, he joined the Virtue Party (FP) and was elected as an MP representing Istanbul. After the FP was also shut down, he became a founding member of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and served as an MP representing Istanbul. Once again he was appointed as the minister of internal affairs, a position he held from 2002 to 2007, and thus he held the post for one of the longest periods of time in the history of the Republic of Turkey.

Aksu has been influential in the last 25 years of politics in Turkey. However, both the periods when he served as a bureaucrat and when he was the minister of internal affairs were dark times. When in 1977 and 1978 Aksu was the deputy governor and when he was the deputy chief of police in Kahramanmaraş until September 1980, the Massacre of Maraş was carried out, which resulted in the killing of 111 people. During both of his terms as minister, numerous unsolved murders and disappearances occurred. When he was serving his first term as the minister of internal affairs, in 1989 incidents took place in Cizre which involved soldiers force-feeding villagers with feces, for which Turkey was indicted by the ECHR. In 1991, Vedat Aydın, the head of the Diyarbakır branch of the HEP (People’s Labor Party), was murdered, and the people attending his funeral were fired upon. Other unsolved murders and assassinations from the time include that of Muammer Aksoy, who was the chairperson of the Atatürkist Thought Association, theologian Bahriye Üçok, journalist Çetin Emeç, writer Turan Dursun and major general Memduh Ün-lütürk. During Aksu’s second term as the minister of internal affairs, a number of other events occurred, including: the attacks in Istanbul on HSBC and a synagogue; the killing of Necip Hablemitoğlu, a historian and academician who had been preparing a book about the organization of the Gülen Movement; İhsan Güven, who provided documents containing evidence against the Gülen Movement for the State Security Courts (DGMs), was murdered; priest Andreo Santoro was killed; and, in 2007 Hrant Dink was assassinated.

In the period of time following 2008, when Erdoğan took up the “one nation, one flag and one homeland” discourse, Dengir Mir Mehmet Fırat, who represented the Kurdish people and held to a reconciliatory approach, resigned from his post as the AKP’s deputy chief and Abdülkadir Aksu was assigned in his place as a statesperson who wielded influence over conservative Kurds. This change has been interpreted as a sign of the AKP’s shifting policies regarding the Kurdish political movement.

In the preliminary draft report prepared by the Commission for the Investigation of the Attempted Coup in 2016, Aksu was cited as being among the politicians that acted on Gülen’s instructions.

Abdullah Çatlı

Ultra-nationalist militant, spy
for Turkish National Intelligence,
prominent figure of criminal
organization



Çatlı was born in Nevşehir in 1959. In 1977, he became the leader of the Grey Wolves (*Ülkü Ocakları*) for the province of Ankara. On May 25, 1978, he became the deputy chair of the Young Idealists Association (*Ülkücü Gençlik Derneği*), which was led by Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu.

In the chain of events that led up to the military coup of 1980, his name was associated with murders that occurred in the early days of that environment of violence. As the perpetrator of the murder of Bedrettin Cömert, a lecturer at Hacettepe University, on July 11, 1978, he was detained twice in August but released on both occasions. Bedrettin Cömert was an academician as well as the president of the Association of Academic Staff, and as the head of Investigatory Commission for student conflicts at Hacettepe University, he received death threats because of his activities. Also in 1978, it was alleged that Çatlı had planned the killing of seven students from the Turkish Labor Party (TİP) in an event that became known as the “Bahçelievler Massacre”; however, Çatlı was nowhere to be found even though he had ultimately been convicted. In the meantime, he had been living in Istanbul with a fake identity under the name Hasan Kurtoglu. It was also alleged that he had helped Mehmet Ali Ağca, who had assassinated *Milliyet*’s editor in chief Abdi İpekçi, escape from prison and hide out.

After the military coup of 1980, he went abroad with a fake passport provided by the Nevşehir Police Headquarters under the name Mehmet Saral and stayed in Bulgaria, Vienna and Switzerland. Eventually, he was caught in Switzerland but released. Throughout the time he was in Europe, he was associat-

ed with a number of murders and attacks. It was alleged that he organized the assassination attempt carried out by Mehmet Ali Ağca on Pope Jean Paul II in 1981. Another allegation was that he participated in the World Anti-Communists Union in the US in 1982 together with the Italian counter-guerilla Stafane Deele Chiaie. In the official documents of the Turkish National Intelligence Service (MİT), it was reported that in 1983 Çatlı took part in five different acts against ASALA, the Armenian nationalist organization that had carried out armed attacks against Turkish civilians and diplomats in various countries; but after he was caught in France holding drugs in 1984, his ties with MİT were severed. In 1985, he stood as a witness at the trial for the attempted assassination of the Pope. He said that Oral Çelik had had no connection with the attempt and that Ağca was a Bulgarian spy. He was held at Bostadel Prison in Switzerland in 1990 for possession of drugs, but ultimately he escaped.

Abdullah Çatlı was alleged to have been behind many murders and lived under a number of different identities throughout his life. He returned to Turkey in 1993 and died in the traffic accident of 1996 which became known as Susurluk Accident. This accident was one of the biggest scandals of Turkish political history. In the car alongside Çatlı were his girlfriend Gonca Us, Sedat Bucak, an MP from the True Path Party (DYP) and a member of the Bucak Kurdish clan, and the former deputy chief of police of Istanbul, Hüseyin Kocadağ. Sedat Bucak was the only survivor of the accident. This incident exposed the existing state-politics-mafia connections and confirmed that Abdullah Çatlı was in fact a counter-guerilla working on behalf of the state. Abdullah Çatlı was buried in Nevşehir at a well-attended funeral on November 5, 1996.

After the accident, people demanded that the state-politics-mafia connections be revealed. They carried out civil acts of disobedience such as “A Minute of Darkness for Perpetual Light,” and these actions targeted the ruling coalition of the DYP and Welfare Party (RP). The attempts of the Investigation Commissions to cover up the accident provoked strong reactions. After years had passed, during the Ergenekon Trial in 2008 it was claimed that Necmettin Erbakan, Tansu Çiller and the army prevented Veli Küçük, who had been the brigadier general at the time, from standing as a witness in the hearings about the Susurluk Incident.

Every year, a graveside commemoration is held for Çatlı and it is attended by members of his family and the Idealist Movement. On the 20th anniversary of his death, he was honored at a series of conferences, during one of which Haluk Kırcı, a suspect in the case of the Bahçelievler Massacre, spoke about the importance of following in Çatlı’s footsteps.

Abdullah Gül

Politician, economist,
academician.



Gül was born in Kayseri in 1950. He graduated from Istanbul University's Faculty of Economics in 1971. During his university years, he joined the National Turkish Students Union (MTİB). The MTİB was founded in 1916 and shut down after the 1980 Coup. The years from 1965 to 1980, a period of time when Abdullah Gül was also a member, correspond with the development of the Union's nationalist and conservative identity and its work targeting communism. During this period, many of the founders of the AKP came together, and since its establishment the party has been dominating politics in Turkey. In those years, Gül also worked for the Söğüt Idea Club in Kayseri, an organization which follows the doctrines of Necip Fazıl. After completing his studies at Istanbul University, Gül went on to study in Exeter and London for two years and received his doctorate degree in 1983.

Between 1980 and 1983, he was involved in the establishment of Sakarya University's Industrial Engineering Department and gave lectures on economics. From 1983 to 1991, he worked as an advisor at the Islamic Development Bank, which had been founded by the Islamic Cooperation Organization.

In 1991, when he became an associate professor in international economics, he was elected as an MP for Kayseri representing the Welfare Party (RP). He became the deputy president of the RP for foreign affairs. In 1996 and 1997, he served as a state minister and government spokesperson for the RP-True Path Party coalition government. After the RP was shut down, he re-entered parliament in 1999 as a member of the Virtue Party (FP), which had been established to replace the RP. In the meantime, Gül was one of the

suspects in a case which became known as the “Lost Trillion Case” but he was not put on trial because he held parliamentary immunity. The Lost Trillion Case was launched because the RP had not returned the treasury aid it had received after the party was shut down by means of false claims of expenditures, and ultimately the case resulted in Necmettin Erbakan and 68 other administrators from the party being imprisoned.

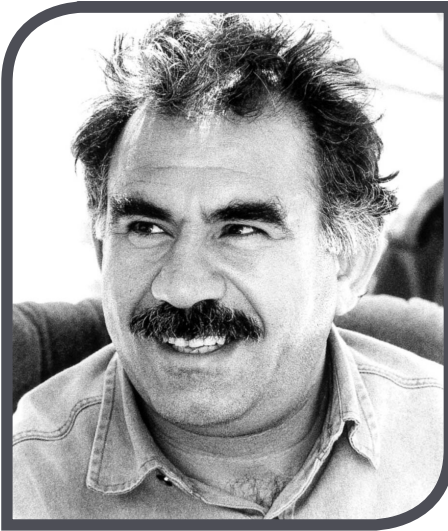
Gül was the face of the “innovative wing” of the FP. When the party held a vote to elect a new party president, he lost by a small margin to Recai Kutan, the candidate of the traditionalist wing. He went on, however, to become one of the founders of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2001 along with other “innovative” members of the FP. In the AKP, he served as the deputy president for political and legal affairs and he was a member of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. From 1992 to 2001, he served as a member of the European Council Parliamentary Assembly and worked for the council’s cultural, legislation, political and economic development committees. In 2001, he was awarded for his work with a “Pro-merito” medal and a permanent title as an “Honorary Member.”

He became president of AKP, which had been able to secure power without a coalition government in the general elections of 2002, and he served as prime minister of the country’s 58th government. Four months after he was able to once again take part in politics after being subjected to a ban, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan became the prime minister of the 59th government, whereupon in 2003 Gül was appointed as the minister of foreign affairs and deputy prime minister. After Prime Minister Erdoğan declared the candidacy of Gül for the presidency, heated debates erupted because of the fact that Gül was originally from the national vision movement and also the administrative staff of the Welfare and Virtue Parties, which had previously been shut down because they had violated the principle of laicism. During the first round of voting in parliament for the presidency on the 27th of April in 2007, there weren’t enough votes to declare a victory (367 MPs have to vote in favor of a candidate), and the CHP appealed to the Constitutional Court. On the same evening, the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) published a declaration known as the “e-memorandum” on its website, emphasizing that the TSK takes a firm stance in the debates on laicism and is an ultimate advocate of laicism. The political crisis that ensued after the CHP’s appeal was resolved with early elections. On August 28, 2017, thanks to the votes cast by the AKP and MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) Gül was elected by the new parliament as the eleventh president of Turkey, a post he held until 2014.

During his term as president, Gül pardoned Erbakan, thus ending his sentence of house detention which was the result of the Lost Trillion Case, while his own proceedings came to a close through a decision of non-prosecution

issued by the Office of the Chief Public Prosecutor. As president, he approved almost all of the drafts proposed by the TBMM (the Grand National Assembly of Turkey). However, the Gezi Protests, Twitter bans and the corruption investigations of 17-25 December indicated that there was strife between him and Erdoğan. Gül was the last president elected by the TBMM and he was replaced by Erdoğan, who was elected by a popular vote. After 2014, he refrained from being actively involved in politics, opting to become a member of the advisory board of the Islamic Development Bank.

Gül criticized the motion for “legal immunity for civilians who intervene to prevent coup attempts and terrorist acts related to such attempts” that had been introduced by a statutory decree that was ultimately passed after the 15 July Coup Attempt, and he was therefore targeted by supporters of the AKP. Prior to the presidential elections of 2018, debates arose as to whether he would run against Erdoğan as a joint candidate supported by other parties, but after Erdoğan clearly stated his opposition to Gül’s candidacy, he declared he would not run during a speech in which he emphasized that a strong democracy, the principle of the separation of powers, and rights and freedoms should be maintained in a manner that held to universal standards.



Abdullah Öcalan

Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê
(PKK) Kurdistan Workers' Party
founding leader.

Known by his popular acronym “Apo,” Abdullah Öcalan was born in Şanlıurfa in 1949. He received a degree from the Land Registry and Cadastre Vocational High School in Ankara and in 1969 he started working as a land registry civil servant in Diyarbakır. In 1971, he was appointed to Istanbul, whereupon he registered at the Faculty of Law at Istanbul University and then he transferred to Ankara University’s Faculty of Political Sciences.

While studying at university, he became involved with the Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Society, which was an organization that socialist Kurds (DDKO) established to further the aims of their national cause. In the early 1970s, he became involved with the People’s Liberation Party-Front of Turkey (THKP/C), one of the founders of which was Mahir Çayan. One of the aims of the organization was to engage in urban guerilla warfare. Öcalan was detained in 1972 for protesting the killing of Çayan and distributing the periodical *Şafak*, which was being published by Doğu Perinçek. For seven months he was held in Mamak Prison. In 1975, along with figures including Cemil Bayık, Duran Kalkan, Kemal Pir and Mazlum Doğan, he founded the Ankara Democratic Higher Education Association. The members of the association, which became known as the Followers of Apo, carried out discussions which led up to the activities that would prompt the founding of the PKK.

The Kurdistan Revolutionists Organization, which included Öcalan, who had declared the manifesto of the Path to the Kurdistan Revolution in the village of Fis in the district of Lice in Diyarbakır on November 27, 1978, was

later renamed the PKK. From its inception, the PKK was dedicated to a professionalized armed struggle with the pretext of national liberation. After the coup of the 12th of September in 1980, many PKK leaders and supporters were killed, and so the organization retreated to Syria. The widespread torture in Diyarbakır Prison after the coup and the numerous suicides of the organization's members increased participation in the PKK in a reactionary manner, and members in prison also empowered the PKK through a myth of resurrection. In 1984, Öcalan ordered the members of the organization, whom he had prepared for guerilla warfare, to start engaging in armed conflict. The conflicts continued increasingly throughout the 1980s. In the 1990s, the clashes went on, but there were also periods of ceasefires. The ceasefire of 1993, which had been requested by President Turgut Özal, came to an end in May when 33 soldiers were killed in Bingöl.

In 1998, Öcalan left Syria as the result of pressure from Turkey. He travelled to Russia, Italy, and then to Kenya. He was forced out of the Greek Embassy in Kenya with the support of the United States and subsequently he was apprehended by Kenyan security forces. On February 15, 1999, he was handed over to the Turkish authorities. At the end of his trial, during which time he was imprisoned on İmralı Island, he was convicted by the State Security Court on June 29, 1999 of being the leader of a terrorist organization that sought to dismantle the state and he received the death penalty for the crime of treason. The penalty was approved on November 25, 1999. However, within the framework of EU Adjustment Laws, that decision was repealed and the sentence was converted to aggravated life imprisonment without the chance of parole.

Throughout his imprisonment, Öcalan maintained his influence over the PKK and continued being seen as a figure “beyond discussions, an eternal leader” by his supporters. Through the books he wrote in prison, he gave direction to the Kurdish movement both in theory and practice. Starting in 2000, Öcalan began questioning the notion of establishing a Kurdish nation-state, and in its place he suggested a system of democratic confederalism. He asserted that such a structure is flexible, multi-cultural, pluralistic and reconciliatory, and hence a powerful alternative to the concept of nation-states. In the meantime, he asserted that he was inspired by anarchist thinker Murray Bookchin's ecologist theories, which were based on autonomy, as well as the feminist struggle. The PKK was also transformed in parallel with Öcalan's theoretical shifts. In 2005, the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) was founded as an umbrella organization of organizations and parties that gathered around the principle of democratic confederalism. With the KCK Treaty, which had been approved in the same year, “the ideal of a democratic-ecologic-gender-equal

society” was put into place. However, in the meantime aspirations for an independent Kurdistan remained influential as a struggle for existence and the PKK maintained its armed presence. In 2013, as a result of negotiations between the government and Öcalan, a Solution Process was initiated after Abdullah Öcalan made a call for disarmament, but in 2015 those efforts disintegrated and the PKK continued engaging in armed conflict. Because the PKK has continued to carry out attacks against civilians from time to time, Öcalan has also been criticized internationally.

Abdullah Öcalan is still incarcerated in İmralı Prison.

Abdüllatif Şener

Politician, academician.



Born in Sivas in 1954, Abdüllatif Şener attended primary, secondary and high school in his birth town. In 1977, he graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences. He received his doctorate degree from Gazi University's Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences in Bolu, where he also worked as deputy dean. He was a lecturer at Hacettepe University's Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences in the Department of Public Finance, and he worked for the Ministry of Finance as a revenues inspector.

In 1991, Abdüllatif Şener was elected as the MP for Sivas as a member of the Welfare Party (RP), which had adopted the “national vision” as its political doctrine. He held office as the minister of finance of the 54th government, which was a coalition of the Welfare Party and the True Path Party (DYP) under the leadership of Necmettin Erbakan. In 1998, when the RP was shut down by the Constitutional Court for acting against the principles of laicism, he joined the Virtue Party (FP), which shared the same political outlook. The FP had been founded in 1998 by İsmail Alptekin as a counter-measure to the potential shutting down of the RP and the party held its first ordinary congress one year later. However, in 2001 the FP was also shut down by the Constitutional Court based on similar grounds. The first ordinary congress of the FP was marked by debates between the traditionalist and innovative wings within the party. The candidate of the traditionalist wing, Recai Kutan, was elected as president of the party by a narrow margin, barely winning against Abdullah Gül, the candidate of the party's innovative wing. When the FP was shut down, the two factions separated and the Felicity Party (SP) was founded

under the leadership of Recai Kutan and the Justice and Development Party (AKP) was established under the leadership of Abdullah Gül. Abdüllatif Şener was a supporter of the innovative wing and was one of the founders of the AKP.

When the AKP took part in elections in 2002, it entered parliament with the highest amount of votes, and Abdüllatif Şener served in both the 58th government led by Abdullah Gül and the 59th government led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, which was made possible by the fact that the ban preventing him from being involved in politics had been lifted. During those terms he held the post of state minister and deputy prime minister. Before the elections of 2007, he resigned from the AKP and declared that he was going to establish a new party. Although he did not explain the reasons for his resignation at the time, years later he said that he had resigned because of the issues of privatization and corruption.

On May 25, 2009, he founded the Turkey Party with the motto “Come Turkey, for honest politics.” Şener closed the Turkey Party on August 27, 2012. Afterwards, he openly criticized the AKP, especially as regards the Gezi Protests and the 17-25 December Corruption Operations.

Abdüllatif Şener has been the Konya MP of the CHP since June 24, 2018.

Adnan Menderes

Politician, lawyer, prime minister.



Born in Aydın in 1899, Adnan Menderes was the son of a family that belonged to the agrarian elite. He graduated from the Izmir American College. In 1920 he joined the War of Independence, and in 1923 he was honorably discharged, whereupon he received an Independence War Medal.

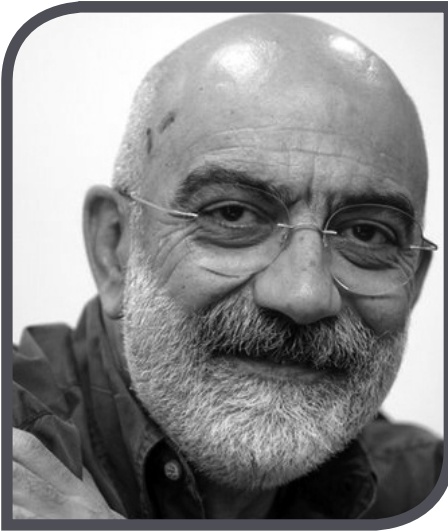
Adnan Menderes began his active political life with the Free Republican Party (SCF), for which he served as the province chair for Aydın. The SCF had been founded as part of an attempt to transition to a multi-party system in 1930 under the leadership of Ali Fethi Okyar and with the approval of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The party was loyal to the principles of republicanism, laicism and nationalism but opposed the principle of statism, adopting instead a perspective of economic liberalism. Because the SCF, which had been founded as a mechanism of political balance, quickly began to receive widespread support and became the focus of opposition against the Republican People's Party (CHP), the party was abolished in the same year it was founded. Subsequently Menderes joined the CHP and entered parliament in 1931 as the CHP's MP for Aydın. During that time, he studied at Ankara University's Faculty of Law and graduated in 1935. He entered parliament again after the following three elections.

In 1945, Menderes openly expressed his opposition to the "Law on the Provision of Lands for Farmers," which had been proposed by the government led by Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu. After this bout of dissidence, in 1945, Menderes, along with Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan and Fuad Köprülü,

proposed a draft to be discussed in parliament for a transition to multi-party politics, the holding of free elections, the autonomy of universities, a direct voting system and the liberation of executive power from the monopoly of the CHP. Following this opposition within the party, which became known as the Memorandum of the Four, the four men were dismissed from the CHP and they founded the Democrat Party in 1946.

In the elections of 1946, Menderes was elected MP for Kütahya, and he entered parliament in 1950 as president of the DP and served as prime minister for ten years. During this period, he implemented profound modifications in Turkish politics and the economy. Turkey joined the Korean War alongside the United Nations Command in 1950 and thus Turkey's position in the Cold War was established. In the meantime, the DP suppressed anti-war opposition and shut down the Turkish Peacelovers Association, among the founders of which were Behice Boran and Nazım Hikmet, who was exiled. Involvement in the Korean War facilitated the entry of Turkey into NATO as a member in 1952. Liberal shifts were made in the economy, the Law for Encouraging Foreign Investments was enacted, and permission was granted for foreigners to search and drill for petroleum for the first time. Between the years 1950 and 1954, economic growth accelerated as a result of the Marshall Plan. By 1955, however, foreign debt has risen so much that Turkey could not pay it off. The highest rate of devaluation in the history of the Republic of Turkey occurred, and Turkey declared a moratorium and signed its first stand-by agreement with the IMF. Since the economic challenges facing the country could not be overcome, in the late 1950s Menderes began to develop closer ties with the Soviet Union. In 1955, the United Kingdom's decision to withdraw from Cyprus marked the initiation of tensions between the Greeks and Turks living on the island. In this period, Menderes obtained reserves from the discretionary fund and played a role in the establishment of the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMK) to counter the EOKA, which was seeking the annexation of Cyprus to Greece. As negotiations over Cyprus continued, on the night of the 6th of September in 1955 attacks against non-Muslim minorities were carried out, which became known as the 6-7 September Events (Istanbul Pogrom). In 1960, upon the establishment of an Investigation Commission for the suppression of the opposition and the media and the expulsion of CHP President İsmet İnönü from parliament, university students launched general protests in the spring. On the 28th of April, around 40 students were injured in Istanbul and Turan Emeksiz, a student from the Faculty of Forestry, was killed by police gunfire in Istanbul. That day came to be known as "Bloody Thursday."

These incidents laid the groundwork for the military coup of May 27, 1960. Via a radio statement made by Alparslan Türkeş, the citizens of Turkey were informed that the National Union Committee had seized control of the government. Menderes was detained in Kütahya and taken to Yassıada. He was put on trial by the Supreme Court of Justice, which had been established by the junta, and his trial lasted nine months and twenty-seven days. The accusations levied against him included embezzlement from the discretionary fund, not taking action to prevent the 6-7 September Events, using the state radio for his own political interests, and violating the Foreign Exchange Law and the constitution. At the end of the trial, he was sentenced to death and executed on İmralı Island on the 17th of September in 1961. On September 17, 1990, a law was passed which officially restored his reputation as a respected political figure.



Ahmet Altan

Writer, journalist, founding editor in chief of the newspaper *Taraf*.

Ahmet Hüsrev Altan was born in Ankara on March 2, 1950. He is the son of Çetin Altan, a writer and journalist who was an MP for the Turkish Workers' Party, and also the brother of Mehmet Altan, who is a journalist, writer and academician. He first attended Robert College and later graduated from Ankara College. After starting university at Middle East Technical University (ODTÜ), he transferred to and graduated from Istanbul University's Faculty of Economics.

As both a writer and a journalist, he has occasionally sparked public discussions which have led to awards as well as legal proceedings. In 1982, he wrote his first novel *Dört Mevsim Sonbahar* (*The Four Seasons of Autumn*). For this novel and many of his other novels and articles, he has won many awards. He was put on trial for his novel *Sudaki İz* (*Trace on the Water*) (1985). The novel was pulled off the shelves after its third edition was published and by the end of the trial, it was decided that the book was obscene; the book was later republished with certain scenes removed. He started his work in journalism with columns in the magazine *Nokta* and went on to write for the newspapers *Hürriyet*, *Güneş*, *Milliyet* and *Yeni Yüzyıl*. Throughout his career, he has written columns and appeared on television shows, making statements which have led him to be accused of insulting Turkishness as well as the president and government, inciting people to animosity and enmity, as well as other crimes, and he has been found guilty in some cases.

Altan was the founding editor in chief of the liberal newspaper *Taraf*, which started publication on November 15, 2007 with the motto “Thinking Means Taking a Side,” and he wrote a column titled “Hourglass.” In the beginning, *Taraf* garnered attention when it published documents and allegations suggesting that the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) had been negligent in the face of terrorist attacks, and manipulative news pieces about the TSK penned by the newspaper’s reporter Mehmet Baransu were particularly provocative. The newspaper also dominated the political agenda by publishing information and documents that were used as evidence for the Ergenekon Investigation in 2008. *Taraf* also published the diplomatic documents about Turkey leaked by WikiLeaks in 2011. Altan resigned from *Taraf* in 2012 and resumed his work in journalism in 2015 through the website Haberdar.com, which was founded by Said Sefa. However, both *Taraf* and Haberdar.com were shut down via Statutory Decrees issued after the Coup Attempt of 15 July 2016.

Following the 15 July 2016 coup attempt, Ahmet Altan and his brother Mehmet Altan were detained on the basis of the accusation that “they made statements with subliminal messages referring to the coup” during a television show in which they had appeared on July 14. The accusations were levied against them within the scope of an investigation into the media presence of the Fethullah Terrorist Organization/Parallel State Structure (FETÖ/PDY). On February 16, 2018 it was ruled that they were to be sentenced to life in prison for attempting to topple the constitutional order. Mehmet Altan was released on June 27, 2018 in accordance with a resolution issued by the Constitutional Court, whereas Ahmet Altan’s detention continues.



Ahmet Davutoğlu

Politician, academician.

Ahmet Davutoğlu was born in Konya in 1959. His father was a merchant. After graduating from the Istanbul Boys' High School, in 1984 he graduated from the Department of Political Sciences and Economics at Boğaziçi University's Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences. He received a master's degree from Boğaziçi University's Public Administration Department and a doctorate from the Political Sciences and International Relations Department.

In 1990, he began working for the Malaysian International Islamic University. He established the university's Political Sciences Department and became an assistant professor in 1993. Between 1995 and 1999, he gave lectures at Marmara University's International Relations Department, and from 1998 to 2002 he taught at the Armed Forces Academy and War College. In those years, he wrote columns for the newspaper *Yeni Şafak*. After becoming a professor in 1999, he worked at Beykent University until 2004 and published a book titled *Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position* (2001). The book examines the position of Turkey after the Cold War and proposes the development of relations with nearby regions in light of the political and cultural heritage and potential strengths of Turkey based on its history and geographical location.

His political life began with his friendship with Abdullah Gül, which can be traced back to the 1980s. After Abdullah Gül assembled the 58th government in 2002 as prime minister, Davutoğlu took office as the principal consultant for the Prime Ministry. He was granted the title of ambassador upon Gül's suggestion and the approval of President Ahmet Necdet Sezer. After Gül

passed the Prime Ministry to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2003 and became the Minister of Foreign Affairs, during the terms of the 59th and 60th governments Davutoğlu carried on with the same duties. In 2007, *The Economist* described Davutoğlu's moves on Cyprus and Iraq as the "power behind the curtain." In 2009, through an assignment outside parliament he became the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 2011, he was elected as an MP for the AKP and remained in office until August 2014.

In the meantime, Davutoğlu implemented the foreign policies that he had theorized about in his book. According to Davutoğlu, the main paradox in Turkey was that the country had been undergoing a problem of adaptation because of the efforts of political elites to achieve a domain of civilization, although he argued that the country had already been a political center for another domain of civilization. He sought to construct Turkey as the political center for the nearby regions that the Ottoman Empire had once ruled over (such as the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus). He nudged Turkey towards an enhancement of relations with Muslim countries and encouraged the opening of embassies in a broader geography that stretched from Latin America to Africa. It was thought that Davutoğlu's policies were geared towards severing ties with the West and altering the axis of power, and his policies were defined as neo-Ottomanist and Pan-Islamist. In 2011, the magazine *Foreign Policy* ranked Davutoğlu along with Erdoğan among in its "Top 100 Global Thinkers" list.

In 2014, after Erdoğan became president Davutoğlu was appointed as the chairperson of the AKP and prime minister. After the elections on the 7th of June in 2015, a coalition government could not be assembled, and he cobbled together the temporary 63rd government which was to hold power until the next elections, and in November 2015, he led the 64th government. During his time as prime minister, he had disagreements with Erdoğan about the "Transparency Package" that he had announced in January of 2015, Supreme Court trials about the ministers that were named in the 17-25 December Corruption Investigation, the detention of Academicians for Peace, the parliamentary candidacy of Hakan Fidan, the undersecretary of the National Intelligence Organization (MİT), and assembling a coalition. On the 29th of April in 2016, he was taken down a notch when the powers of the party president were transferred to the central administrative board of the party. In May, Davutoğlu's disagreements with Erdoğan were listed on a website called the "Pelican Brief" in which it was suggested that he had betrayed Erdoğan.

On May 4, 2016, during a meeting between Erdoğan and Davutoğlu it was decided that Davutoğlu would organize an assembly for the AKP and not run as a candidate for the party's leadership. On the next day, Davutoğlu resigned

and called for the AKP's 2nd Extraordinary Congress. For the first time in the history of the Republic, without the prompting of a military coup, motion of censure or election loss, a prime minister resigned as the chair of a party and also relinquished his post as prime minister. This event has been referred to as "the Palace Coup."

Davutoğlu did not apply to be a parliamentary candidate for the elections of the 24th of June in 2018.

Ahmet Necdet Sezer

Judge, Constitutional Court
president, 10th president of the
Republic of Turkey.



Sezer was born in Afyon in 1941. In 1958, he graduated from Afyon High School and in 1962 he graduated from the Ankara Faculty of Law. In the same year, he started working as a judge. During his time as the judge of the Dicle Civil Court of First Instance, he enacted reconciliatory measures for the region regarding the Incident of the 55 or the Sivas Camp, which had involved the expulsion of Kurdish tribal leaders. He secured the return of the houses and lands of the Ensarioğlu tribe, one of the 55 tribes that had been exiled to western Turkey after the military coup of May 27, 1960 because they were close to the Democrat Party (DP), and their properties had been seized by their opponents. By making such a decision at a time when the civil administration had only recently been reinstated and the Ensarioğlu tribe was marginalized in the region, he prevented potential conflicts.

In 1978, he received a master's degree in civil law at the Ankara Faculty of Law. In 1983, he became a member of the Supreme Court. In 1988, he was appointed as a full member of the Constitutional Court by President Kenan Evren, which made him the youngest person to have ever held the post. In 1998, Sezer was voted in by the court's members to be the president of the Constitutional Court.

Upon being nominated by Bülent Ecevit, Sezer was elected by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) as the 10th president of Turkey on May 5, 2000. In his first speech at the TBMM, he highlighted that the reputability of parliament would be maintained, laicism would not be compromised, freedom of belief and labor would be protected, democratic principles would not be

abandoned, and the existing police state of rule would be lifted. During his term as president, he pardoned those left-wing political prisoners who had gone on hunger strike because many of them were suffering from Wernicke Korsakoff Syndrome, which is brought on by long-term lack of nutrition and results in memory loss. During his presidency, he used the right to veto more often than any president had done before him. In June of 2000, he rejected the Statutory Decree among the 28th of February resolutions which required the dismissal of anyone from public services who had been found to be involved in reactionary activities, despite resistance from parliament. In addition, he rejected a proposed decree for the privatization of three state-owned banks and for that reason he was accused of jeopardizing the economy by a range of figures and parties, including Bülent Ecevit, who was the prime minister from the Motherland Party (ANAP), the Democratic Left Party (DSP) and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), who were part of the coalition government ruling at the time. On the 19th of February in 2001, he tossed a booklet of the Constitution at Bülent Ecevit during a National Security Board meeting, and he was accused of bringing on an economic crisis by doing so. That day was later dubbed Black Wednesday. However, Sezer later explained that he had thrown the booklet because of Ecevit's insistence on shutting down the Virtue Party (FP). In 2002, although in the first round he vetoed a constitutional amendment to remove the political ban on Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, he avoided a referendum by approving the amendment in the second round. In 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power, and during his remaining years as president Ahmet Necdet Sezer refused to attend receptions organized by women wearing headscarves and he also did not invite women in such apparel to Çankaya Mansion.

By adhering to his dedication to the rules and law, Ahmet Necdet Sezer trimmed the presidential budget to a large extent. In 2007, when he left his post as president, which he had taken over from Süleyman Demirel on May 16, 2000, Abdullah Gül was voted in as his successor.

Ahmet Şık

Journalist, lecturer, Peoples'
Democratic Party (HDP)
parliamentarian.



Şık was born in Adana in 1970. He is the nephew of Ahmet Albay, who was murdered in 1980 and was among the lawyers looking into the Maraş Massacre. Şık attended primary and secondary school in Adana and went to high school in Antalya. He started his university education in 1989 in the Department of Journalism at Istanbul University's Faculty of Communication and graduated in 1994.

He started working as a journalist in his early years at university as an intern reporter for the newspaper *Milliyet*. Between 1991 and 2007 he worked as a correspondent for the newspapers *Cumhuriyet*, *Evrinsel*, *Yeni Yüzyıl*, *Radikal*, and *Birgün* and the magazine *Nokta*, and he also worked as a photojournalist for the Reuters news agency. In 2005, when he was working for the newspaper *Radikal*, as a result of his trade unionist activities and a lawsuit he had filed against the Doğan Group for the reinstatement of rights, he was dismissed on the pretext of poor performance. Afterwards he worked for the magazine *Aktüel*, but they also dismissed him because of the lawsuit he had filed. Later he started giving lectures on journalism at Istanbul Bilgi University, where he taught for seven years. In the meantime, Şık continued with his trade unionist activities and working in journalism.

As a result of an interview he published in the magazine *Nokta* after Hrant Dink's assassination titled "The Military Should Withdraw from Internal Security" and the publication of an interview he did with Münevver Köz, a survivor of the Return to Life Operations at Bayrampaşa Prison's women's

ward, which was titled “That Day in Bayrampaşa,” he was accused of and put on trial for insulting Turkishness and the Republic of Turkey.

He carried out in-depth analyses of the Ergenekon investigations in a book he wrote in collaboration with Ertuğrul Mavioglu which was titled *Kırk Katır Kırk Satır (Ergenekon’da Kim Kimdir/Ergenekon’u Anlama Kılavuzu)* [*Between a Rock and a Hard Place (Who is Who in Ergenekon?/A Guide to Understanding Ergenekon)*] (2010). Because of the book, he was put on trial on the grounds that he had violated the confidentiality of the investigations. He was acquitted on the 13th of May in 2011. On March 3, 2011, he had been detained on the allegation that he was a member of the Ergenekon Terrorist Organization, and he was arrested on March 6 along with the journalist Nedim Şener within the scope of the OdaTV Case investigation. This series of events was punctuated by Ahmet Şık’s exclamation, “Touch it and get burnt” when he was taken away by the police. In 2011, Şık had planned on publishing a book titled *The Imam’s Army*, in which he examined the Gülen Community’s presence in the state security bureaucracy and judicial system and its role in the Ergenekon investigations; the book was later published with 125 signatories with title “*Book 000 – Touch It and Get Burnt*.” On March 12, 2012, he was released along with Nedim Şener. In 2014, the ECHR convicted Turkey of violating Ahmet Şık and Nedim Şener’s rights of freedom and security, as well as freedom of expression, and Turkey was required to pay a fine. In his later book *Ambush: The New Owners of the State* (2012), Şık described how an illusion of democratization had been created through the Ergenekon investigation and, in fact, after the coup of the 12th of September, when the state organization was under threat of infiltration and domination by the Gülen Community and how the Ergenekon Investigation, in which he was also included, proceeded.

In his book *We Walked in Parallel on This Path* (2014) he described how the relationship between the AKP and Gülen Community soured, ultimately resulting in a conflict. Ahmet Şık was arrested on December 30, 2016 on the premise that he was engaging in propaganda for the PKK/KCK and FETÖ/PDY organizations through the columns and tweets he wrote. In his statement, he said, “What is being investigated here is my profession, that is to say, journalism... I have succeeded in becoming the vilest figure of all times because of my activities as a journalist.” In a proceeding known as the *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper Case, he was released on March 9, 2018 but on the 25th of April, he was found guilty of knowingly and willfully assisting a terrorist organization, although not of being a member.

Throughout his career as a journalist, Ahmet Şık has received numerous national and international awards for journalism. Until he decided to run as a candidate for parliament, he wrote for the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. On June 24, 2018 he entered parliament as an MP from the HDP for Istanbul.

Ahmet Taner Kışlalı

Academician, writer, journalist,
politician, member of parliament,
minister of culture.



Born in Tokat in 1939, Kışlalı is the brother of journalist and publisher Mehmet Ali Kışlalı. He attended primary and secondary school in Kilis and afterwards he graduated from the Kabataş Boys' High School in Istanbul. He later graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences. In 1962 and 1963, he worked as the editor in chief of the newspaper *Yeni Gün*, for which he had written as a sports correspondent during his university years.

In 1967, he was granted a scholarship to study in Paris for his doctorate. He worked on constitutional law and political science and wrote his doctoral thesis, which was titled "Political Powers in Modern Turkey." Meanwhile, he worked as a teaching assistant at Hacettepe University between 1968 and 1972. He became an assistant professor in 1972.

Between 1971 and 1977, he wrote for the magazine *Yankı*, which was owned by his brother Mehmet Ali Kışlalı and held to a Kemalist perspective. During that time, he became acquainted with Bülent Ecevit. Upon Ecevit's invitation, he entered parliament in 1977 as the Izmir MP of the CHP, and in 1978 and 1979 he served as the Minister of Culture of the 42nd government under the leadership of Bülent Ecevit. During his term as the Minister of Culture, he began publishing the magazine *Ulusal Kültür*.

After the military coup of 12 September 1980, when Turgut Özal assembled a new government he began lecturing at Ankara University's Faculty of Communication. In 1988, he became a professor in the field of political sociology. Aside from his academic life, he also was the deputy president of the Atatürkist Thought Association. He also cooperated with the Association for

Supporting Contemporary Life.

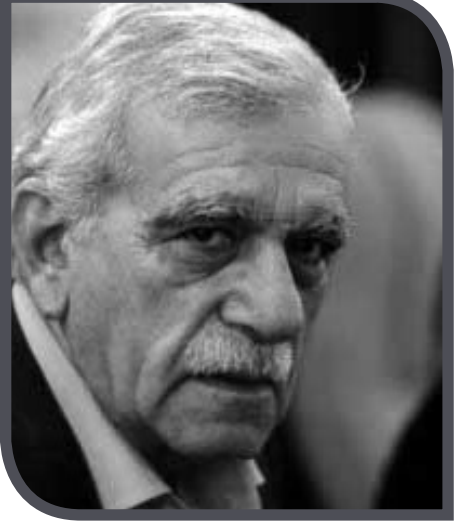
In 1991, he began writing a column titled “This Week at a Glance” for the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, in which he analyzed the national agenda from a Kemalist perspective. An article he wrote on May 12, 1999 about people protesting the headscarf ban in Malatya was criticized on the grounds that it exceeded the boundaries of courtesy. On May 13, 1999, the newspaper *Akit* published a photograph of Kışlalı with an X across it and the caption “He Compared People to Dogs.” Four days before his death, in a column dated October 17, 1999 bearing the title “Who Makes Use of God?” he argued that the followers of Said-i Nursi and especially the Gülen Community posed a threat to the foundations of the Republic.

On October 21, 1999, the day he sent an article titled “I Condemn” to *Cumhuriyet*, Kışlalı was killed by a bomb that had been placed in his car, which was parked in front of his house in Ankara. The perpetrators could not be found.

After his death, in 1999 he was granted the Sertel Democracy Award, which is given annually to institutions and people who defend the perpetuation of a democratic, independent and secular constitutional state. The Sertel Journalism Foundation gives the award in honor of Zekeriya Sertel, one of the founders of *Cumhuriyet*.

Ahmet Türk

Politician, member of parliament,
Mardin Metropolitan mayor.



Ahmet Türk, who was born in Mardin in 1942, is from the Kanco tribe. He became actively involved in politics after the murder of his brother Abdürrahim Türk, who was a member of parliament as a representative of the Justice Party (AP), the successor of the Democrat Party (DP), which had been shut down. During his first term as a member of parliament, he represented the Democratic Party, which had been founded by a group that left the AP, but Türk resigned from the party and continued his political life working with the CHP and he became a member of parliament in 1974 representing the CHP. After the coup of 1980, he was held in Diyarbakır Prison for three years and subjected to torture.

He continued his political career with the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP), which had been founded after the CHP was shut down following the 12th of September coup. However, because he attended the Kurdish National Identity and Human Rights Conference held in Paris after the Halabja Massacre, he was expelled from the SHP in 1988. In 1990, together with the other expelled MPs, he founded the People's Labor Party (HEP), which was dedicated to the political struggle for Kurdish identity. Until it was shut down in 1993, many administrators of the HEP were killed in unsolved murders.

In 1991, the HEP overcame the electoral threshold of 10 percent, thereby getting into parliament with 21 MPs that had been nominated from the lists of the SHP. However, when Leyla Zana swore her oath to parliament in Kurdish and after the Newroz incidents of 1992, upon the insistence of Erdal İnönü the MPs of the HEP resigned from the SHP. After the HEP was shut down

by the Constitutional Court, those MPs opted to join the Democracy Party (DEP), which had been established under the leadership of Leyla Zana in 1993, and Ahmet Türk became an MP for the DEP. However, the DEP was shut down in 1994 and the MPs from the party were stripped of their legal immunity, whereupon they were imprisoned, including Ahmet Türk. In the meantime, the People's Democracy Party (HADEP) was founded, and one after the other the Democratic People's Party (DEHAP), the DTP, the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), the People's Democratic Party (HDP) and the Democratic Regions Party (DBP) were founded. Although those parties were short-lived as the result of rulings by the Constitutional Court, all of them represent part of a longer process, the Democratic Society Movement, which became a party under the DTP.

Türk became the co-president of the DTP with Aysel Tuğluk in 2005, and in that way a party co-presidency system was implemented for the first time. In the following years, during his presidency of the DTP Türk entered parliament in 2007 as an independent MP for Mardin as one of the Candidates of a Thousand Hopes. However, when the DTP was shut down in 2009, his status as an MP, along with that of Aysel Tuğluk, was canceled. In the general elections of 2011, Türk entered parliament as a candidate supported by the Labor, Democracy and Freedom Block.

Türk is a cornerstone of the Kurdish political movement and he was involved in the processes of negotiation for the provision of social peace in Turkey. He was the one who delivered the message from President Özal about a democratic solution to Abdullah Öcalan in Bekaa Valley and Öcalan declared an indefinite ceasefire in April of 1993. However, the initiative came to end with the death of Özal and the killing of 33 soldiers in Bingöl. In 2013, at the beginning of the period of negotiations known as the Solution Process, he met with Öcalan at İmralı Prison with Ayla Akat Ata. Türk was physically attacked twice, and he responded as follows: "This is not the way of reason. Problems are solved by dialogue."

In 2009, Ahmet Türk received a sentence of imprisonment after standing on trial as a result of operations against the KCK, which had been introduced in the media as "the urban wing of the PKK." There was an outcry due to the large-scale arrests of Kurdish politicians at the time.

In 2014, Türk was elected as the Mardin Metropolitan co-mayor for the HDP. In January of 2016, he was indicted for being a member of and spreading propaganda for a terrorist organization. In November 2016, he was deposed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On November 24, he was arrested but he was later released in 2017 because of health complications on the condition that he would be subject to strict judicial controls.

Akın Birdal

Human rights advocate,
politician, member of parliament.



Akın Birdal was born in Niğde in 1948. After completing his primary and secondary education in Niğde, he graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Agriculture in 1970. As a student, he was the president of the Niğde Youth Association and participated in the Faculty of Agriculture's Student Community. In 1973, he received his master's degree from Gazi University's Faculty of Business Administration and in the meantime he was involved in the Agricultural Engineers Union, the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) and the Central Executive Board of the Chamber of Agriculture. In 1977, he became the president of the Niğde Union of KÖY-KOOP, which was an economic and democratic organization dedicated to helping the impoverished rural segments of society. Afterwards, he was on the central executive board of KÖY-KOOP and became the head of the Education, Organization, Media, Publications and Public Relations Department.

Between 1977 and 1980, he was a member of the Central Executive Board of the Halkevleri (People's Houses, or Community Centers). In those years, he worked as a lecturer at Gazi University's Institute of Cooperatives. After the coup of 1980, he was imprisoned for one year along with the other executives of KÖY-KOOP.

Until 1992, Akın Birdal was the secretary general of the Human Rights Association (İHD), which had been founded in 1986 in Ankara, and he also was the chairperson of the same association between 1992 and 1999. In 1998, he was attacked by two gunmen at the headquarters of the İHD in Ankara, and of the thirteen shots fired at him, he was hit by six and gravely wounded,

but he survived. The proceedings of the case indicated that the attack was planned by the Turkish Revenge Brigade (TİT) and carried out by Mahmut Yıldırım, who had the code name Yeşil, and Cengiz Ersever, who had the code name Fırat, and Semih Tufan Gülaltay was the organizer of the attempted assassination. The TİT is an illegal organization that has planned assassinations targeting leftist intellectuals and politicians in Cyprus and Turkey, but it is not known who exactly is behind the group. Mahmut Yıldırım, whose is cited with the organization as being behind many unsolved murders, is a counter-guerilla. His whereabouts, if he is still alive, are unknown. However, the population registry would suggest that he is still living. Although Gülaltay received a prison sentence of nineteen years, he was released four and a half years later and founded the Turkist National Union Party. Years later, he was detained within the scope of the Ergenekon Investigations in 2008.

Akın Birdal was indicted for the speeches he made in Mersin and Ankara in 1995 and 1996 on the 1st of September, World Peace Day, and he was imprisoned in 1999 and 2000. Those sentences resulted in Birdal's resignation from the İHD, as the Ministry of Internal Affairs issued warnings to the organization.

Birdal's active involvement in politics took the form of his candidacy as an independent MP for Mersin in the elections of 1995; however, the 10 percent electoral threshold held him back. In the general elections of 2002, the Supreme Electoral Council (YSK) vetoed the candidacy of Birdal for the reason that he had been sentenced for the crime of "inciting people to animosity and enmity." Birdal was the founding member of the United Socialist Party (BSP), which had been established in 1994 as the result of endeavors to create unity in the socialist movement, and he was also the founding member of the Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP), founded as the successor of the BSP in 1996. In 2002, he left the ÖDP and set up the Socialist Democracy Party (SDP) and became its chairperson. When he became the deputy president of the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), he resigned as chairperson of the party and continued with his post at the FIDH until 2007.

In the elections of 2007, Birdal was a candidate MP for Diyarbakır as one of the Candidates of a Thousand Hopes. After the election, Birdal entered parliament and joined the DTP like other independent candidates. In the local elections of 2009, he was the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality candidate of the DTP but he was not elected.

Birdal has written numerous articles and books about cooperatives and human rights.

Alaattin Çakıcı

Head of a criminal organization.



Born in Trabzon in 1953, Çakıcı moved with his family to the neighborhood of Gültepe in Istanbul because of a feud that had taken place in his hometown.

He was involved in the nationalist movement along with his family and was associated with the Grey Wolves. Prior to the military coup of 1980, his cousin Necati Çakıcı was killed during clashes between rightist and leftist factions. In 1979, Çakıcı was shot but survived. In 1980, his father Ali Çakıcı, who had been running a tea house, was killed during an attack. After 1980, Çakıcı was held responsible for numerous murders that occurred in the course of events that led to the coup and he was held in military prison. In 1982, he was released due to a lack of evidence. Subsequently, Çakıcı began collecting gambling debts and he started racketeering businesspeople who were getting tax reductions through fictitious exports. As a result of his dealings, he gained notoriety as the Grey Wolf mafia.

The main source of power for Alaattin Çakıcı was his ties with the National Intelligence Organization (MİT). When Süleyman Seba was elected as president of the Beşiktaş Sports Club in 1984, Çakıcı provided security services for him. In 1986, when Hıram Abas was assigned to the post of deputy under-secretary of MİT and established the Security Department, the carrying out of counter-guerilla activities through this department strengthened relations between Çakıcı and MİT. It was alleged that the MİT used him to counter the efforts of ASALA, which launched armed attacks against Turkish civilians and diplomats in various countries. During his trial in 2005, Çakıcı stated that his organization had worked together with Yavuz Ataç, who was the head of

MIT's Department for Overseas Operations, Korkut Eken, who was the deputy head of the Security Department, and Mehmet Eymür, who was the head of the Counter-Terrorism Department. Kenan Evren, the seventh president, did not deny that cooperation had been ongoing between Alaattin Çakıcı and MIT; on the contrary, he stated that such cooperation should very well be established if it was in the interests of the state.

Çakıcı became quite well known in 1997 and 1998. In 1997, while taking part in a television show on Flash TV, he condemned Tansu Çiller, the prime minister of the REFAHYOL government (the Welfare Party-True Path Party Coalition) on the basis of issues pertaining to her private life. After the REFAHYOL government was annulled as the result of a memorandum issued on February, 28 1997, Mesut Yılmaz assembled the 55th government and became prime minister. Çakıcı was at the top of the national agenda due to corruption claims regarding the privatization tender for the Turkish Trade Bank (Turkbank) in 1998. The tender was awarded to the businessperson Korkmaz Yiğit; however, Fikri Sağlar, an MP from the Republican People's Party (CHP) and state minister at the time, publicly disclosed with tape recordings that Çakıcı and Yiğit had intimidated the other businesspersons who had been bidding for the tender via threats, blackmail and assassination attempts. As a consequence of this scandal, Eyüp Aşık, a minister from the ANAP (Motherland Party) was forced to resign from his post and quit as a parliamentarian. The ANASOL-D government (the Motherland Party-Democratic Left Party-Democratic Turkey Party Coalition) led by Mesut Yılmaz, from which the CHP withdrew support, was dissolved. In 2000, Çakıcı confessed in a statement made to the Parliamentary Investigation Commission that he had been prompted by Mesut Yılmaz, the leader of the ANAP, Eyüp Aşık, a minister, and Ömer Göktaş, the owner of Flash TV, in levying accusations against Tansu Çiller in order to bring down the REFAHYOL government. Mesut Yılmaz was the first and only prime minister in the history of the Republic to have been tried at a Supreme Criminal Tribunal for allegations of corruption.

Although he was charged with numerous crimes, Çakıcı was found guilty of very few of them. As of 2004, he has been in prison. The crimes for which he was sentenced include having his ex-wife Uğur Kılıç killed in 1995 and organizing an armed attack on the Karagömrük Sports Club in 2000, in which 15 people were wounded. During his time in prison, he received another sentence in 2017 for insulting President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. In 2018, he sent a death threat to the journalists of the newspaper *Karar* in response to the news stories they ran about him. Prior to the elections of the 24th of June in 2018 when candidates were making campaign promises, Devlet Bahçeli, the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), which is part of the Public Alliance (*Cumhur İttifakı*), requested that Çakıcı be pardoned on the grounds that he had provided services to the state during his lifetime. Çakıcı currently remains in prison.

Ali Babacan

Businessperson, economist,
politician.



Born in Ankara in 1967, Babacan graduated from TED Ankara College and Middle East Technical University's Industrial Engineering Department at the top of his class. In 1990, he received a master's degree in business administration at Northwestern University's Kellogg School of Management while studying on a Fulbright scholarship. The focus of his studies was on marketing, organization and international business administration.

From 1992 to 1994, he worked at a US-based company that provided consultancy services to top managers in the finance sector. After returning to Turkey, he worked for his family's businesses in the textile industry until 2002. In 1994 and 1995, he was a consultant for Melih Gökçek, the mayor of Ankara.

Abdullah Gül convinced him to take up politics and in 2002 he became one of the founding members of the AKP as a member of the executive board of the party. After the elections of 2002, he entered parliament as an MP for Ankara. In 2002, at the age of 35 he was appointed minister of state for economic affairs, thus becoming the youngest member of the cabinet in the history of the republic. He held that post until the elections of 2007, when he took a seat in parliament once again, and he was appointed as the minister of foreign affairs for the 60th government. From 2005 to 2009, he was also the chief negotiator for Turkey's EU membership negotiations. In 2009, Ahmet Davutoğlu became the minister of foreign affairs and Babacan remained in office until 2015 as the deputy prime minister for economic affairs.

Throughout his term as minister of state for economic affairs, Babacan maintained the policies of Kemal Derviş, who had returned to Turkey upon

the invitation of Bülent Ecevit after the economic crisis of 2001 and been appointed to the ministry of economics. Babacan implemented the IMF reforms that Derviş had recommended as a means of overcoming the crisis. He was a loyal follower of the neoliberal compliance program, which demanded tight discipline of the budget and a flexible labor market. His dedication to the macroeconomic policies set out by international finance institutions at a time when the government was displaying “populist” tendencies made Babacan a symbolic figure that “gave confidence to the markets” of the Turkish economy. Between the years 2003 and 2010, Ali Babacan was the sole representative of Turkey at international meetings concerning economics including the World Economic Forum and Bilderberg Meetings.

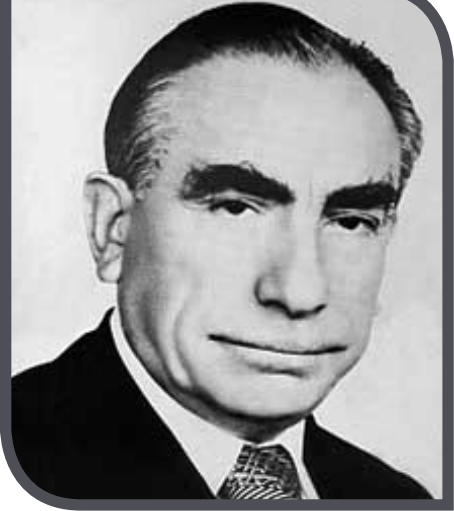
Another crisis that Babacan faced was the global crisis of 2008. The crisis, which Prime Minister Erdoğan said would “hardly touch us,” hit Turkey hard in 2009. The economy shrank 4.7% and unemployment and poverty rates spiked. The tensions between Babacan and Erdoğan became more tangible after the crisis. During this time, Babacan proposed a new stand-by deal with the IMF, but Erdoğan rejected the idea of fiscal belt-tightening.

In 2011 Babacan stated that in the first election promises made by the AKP in 2002, they had vowed to tackle the informal economy and implement tax reforms to eliminate tax inequalities but those objectives were never achieved. Still, during Babacan’s term in office, 6 zeros were slashed from the Turkish Lira and in 2013 Turkey finished paying off its debt to the IMF.

Babacan did not apply for parliamentary candidacy in the general elections of 2018.

Alparslan Türkeş

Military officer, politician, founder
of the Nationalist Movement Party
(MHP).



Türkeş was born in Cyprus in 1917 as Ali Arslan (perhaps originally as Hüseyin Feyzullah). In 1936, he graduated from Kuleli Military High School. In 1938, he graduated from the Military Academy, and he became a lieutenant in 1939. In 1944, when he was a first lieutenant, he was tried in the Racism-Turanism Case with Nihal Atsız and Nejdet Sançar. The Racism-Turanism Case was filed after Nihal Atsız, a literature teacher who wrote books on Turkism-Turanism, penned an open letter to the prime minister of the time, Şükrü Saraçoğlu, who was from the Republican People's Party (CHP). The letter, which was published in the magazine *Orhun*, where Atsız was the editor in chief, stated that some intellectuals, including Sabahattin Ali, were involved in Marxist activities and that the minister of national education, Hasan Ali Yücel, was protecting these figures. As a result, anti-communist and Turkist protests broke out. Sabahattin Ali filed a defamation case against Atsız which started on April 26, 1944. On the second day of the hearing, which was May 3, students who were not allowed into the courtroom organized protests in Ankara and hundreds of them were detained. The 3rd of May, which came to be known as the day of the Ankara Demonstration, was proclaimed the Day of Turkism. Türkeş, who not only participated in the protests but was a suspect in the case, was found guilty and imprisoned. In 1947, he was acquitted.

Alparslan Türkeş went to the USA in 1947 and studied at the Infantry School and the Army Staff College. Upon his return to Turkey in 1955, he was granted the title of major. By 1957, he was back in the USA, where he became a member of the Turkish delegate to NATO, which gave him the

opportunity to study about international economics. In 1959, he was sent to the Atomic and Nuclear Academy in Germany, and he was promoted to the rank of colonel.

Upon the invitation of Talat Aydemir, Türkeş joined the National Union Committee (MBK) in 1960. The committee, which consisted of 37 people, launched the military coup of May 27, 1960, and Türkeş read the notice proclaiming the coup on the radio. After the coup, he was appointed as the under-secretary of the prime ministry. However, disputes within the MBK resulted in the expulsion of fourteen military officers in 1960, known as the incident of “Fourteens,” and those officers, including Türkeş, were exiled. Türkeş opted to work as a consultant for the Turkish Embassy in India. During that time, he stated in an open letter to the MBK that the execution of Adnan Menderes and his associates had been unlawful.

After returning to Turkey in 1963, Türkeş founded the Peace and Escalation Association. Soon after, he reported to the government that Talat Aydemir had attempted to launch a coup but he was arrested and remained incarcerated for four months in Mamak Military Prison. Ultimately, however, he was acquitted. In 1965, he joined the Republican Villagers’ National Party and became the president and then the Ankara MP of the party. That was when people started referring to him as “*Başbuğ*” (Chieftain). In 1969, the Republican Villagers’ National Party was renamed the Nationalist Movement Party and its emblem was changed to three crescent moons, and thus the MHP was founded under the leadership of Türkeş. It was around this time that the Grey Wolves and the Great Ideal Association came into being. In the elections of 1969 and 1973, he entered parliament as an MP for Adana and between 1975 and 1977 he served as deputy prime minister and state minister while continuing to work as the president of the MHP in the coalition governments of the Nationalist Front led by Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel.

In the period leading up to the military coup of 1980, Türkeş defended Turkish communalism and Turkish nationalism in opposition to communism and rallied young people under the banner of the Grey Wolves around the Nine Lights Doctrine. The Nine Lights Doctrine was based on the principles of nationalism, idealism, morality, scientism, communalism, provincialism, liberalism and personalism, progressivism and populism, and industrialism and technology, all of which Türkeş regarded as being necessary for the Turkish state. The student conflicts in which the Idealist Movement was involved continued until the military coup. After the coup, Türkeş was arrested alongside other party presidents on the grounds that they had contributed to the environment of violence. He remained in prison until 1985, where he faced the death sentence, but in the end he was acquitted. In 1987, the political ban on Türkeş was lifted and he became the president of the Nationalist Task

Party (MÇP). In 1991, in alliance with the National Visionist Welfare Party (RP) and the nationalist conservative Reformist Democracy Party (IDP), he entered parliament as an MP for Yozgat. In 1992, new regulations concerning the parties that had been shut down following the military coup of 1980 made it possible for the MÇP to be renamed the MHP.

Türkeş was unable to win a seat in parliament in 1995. In 1997, he died of a heart attack.



Arzu Çerkezoğlu

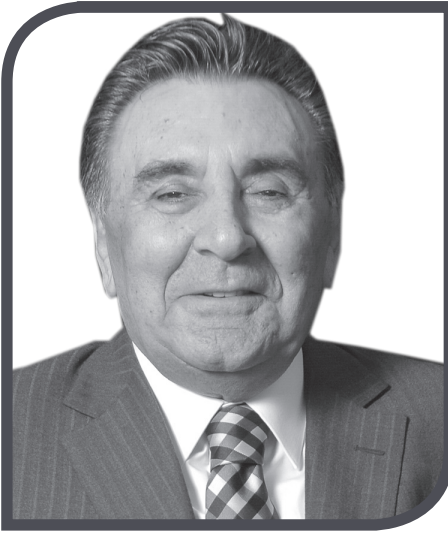
Trade unionist, doctor, first female president of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DİSK).

Born in Artvin in 1969, Çerkezoğlu graduated from Istanbul University's Faculty of Medicine as a doctor of pathology. Her student life was shaped by the developments that were occurring in the 1990s, the first half of which was marked by the resurrection of the student movement for the first time following the military coup of September 12, 1980. The students triggered public opposition by making demands for the abolishment of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), which had been founded after the coup, and calling for free education. In this period of time, Çerkezoğlu was the executive of a student association, and in 1990 she was the founding secretary general of the Istanbul Student Associations Federation (İÖDF). After becoming a doctor of medicine, she played an active role in the trade unionist causes of health care workers. For three consecutive terms she was the regional chair of the Health Workers' Trade Union and the Health and Social Service Workers' Union (SES). In those years, there was increasing public opposition to the outcomes of the 1980 coup in parallel with the student movement, and a union rights crisis emerged as a result of the increasing impact of neoliberal policies.

Çerkezoğlu became the first female president of a trade union in Turkey by becoming the president of the Revolutionist Health Workers' Union (Dev Sağlık-İş) from 2007 onwards. Dev Sağlık-İş has fought to help workers acquire rights through unionism and backed the struggle for the rights of workers employed at public health institutions as subcontracted laborers, temporary workers or contracted workers. Through its legal efforts, the Union pressured the Ministry of Labor to pass legislature in favor of workers employed at uni-

versity hospitals. In 2013, Çerkezoğlu became the first female secretary general of DİSK since its founding on February 13, 1967. The former president of DİSK, Kani Beko, became a parliamentary candidate as a member of the Republican People's Party (CHP) for Izmir and resigned from the presidency of the Union on the 29th of May in 2018, whereupon Çerkezoğlu was elected as the president of the Union.

In Turkey, women are rarely represented in trade unions and there are few women on their executive boards. Some trade unions have established women's commissions and incorporated related structures into their internal legislation to various degrees. DİSK and the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (TÜRK-İŞ), as well as some trade unions that are part of the confederation, have active women's commissions, committees and/or departments. Nevertheless, there are some trade unions that still do not have women's units or departments that deal with women's studies. Within that framework, Çerkezoğlu has made strides forward on behalf of women involved in the trade unionist struggle, and, currently, as the first female president of a confederation, she has adopted a stance that is critical of the existing internal regulations of her own trade union, put into place a women's quota and striven for the equal representation of women in trade union administrations and in other processes of unionization.



Aydın Doğan

Businessperson, media boss,
honorary president of Doğan
Holding.

Doğan was born in Gümüşhane in 1936. His father, İrfan Doğan, was the mayor of Kelkit and a district head of the CHP. Doğan attended high school in Erzincan and graduated from the Istanbul Economics and Trading Sciences Academy, which was later renamed Marmara University.

He began his professional life in 1959 by enrolling at the Mecidiyeköy Tax Office and establishing his first company, which was involved in the automotive industry, in 1961. In the early years of his business, he was engaged in the sale and purchase of tires, bikes, radios, commercial vehicles, and engineering and construction vehicles. In addition to being involved in trade, he also operated storage facilities for grain and pharmaceuticals. Later, Doğan Holding expanded into the fields of energy, industry, automotive trading, financial services, media and tourism. Doğan became a member of the council and executive board of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce in 1974 and later a member of the executive board of the Turkish Union of Chambers and Exchange Commodities.

Doğan further expanded his enterprises into the media sector in 1979 by acquiring the newspaper *Milliyet*, which was seen as a breaking point in the history of Turkish media. Prior to 1980, the media was largely controlled by families with a background in journalism while journalism itself slipped into the control of capital groups that lacked a background in the field. Doğan Media became a media mogul by acquiring many other newspapers in the years to follow. Aside from running newspapers, the company established news portals, magazines, television and radio channels, digital platforms, production companies, online advertising and e-marketing venues, and printing and

distribution operations, as well as Doğan Yayın Holding, which established the Doğan News Agency (DHA) in 1999. In 2014, Doğan merged the publishing group with Doğan Holding. Between 1986 and 1996, Doğan was the president of the Turkish Newspaper Owners Trade Union. In 1998, he was the first person from Turkey to be elected as a member of the executive board of the International Publishers Association. In 1999, he was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal of the Republic of Turkey.

Starting in the 1990s, Doğan's increasing control over the media afforded him significant political clout. In 2017, the American magazine *Variety* included Aydın Doğan in its list of the 500 most influential people in the world.

Doğan maintained a strong presence and grew in the media sector from 1979 until the AKP came to power. The latest step in that period of growth was the acquisition of the newspaper *Vatan* in 2007, purchased on the condition that it would ultimately be sold to a firm that was not part of the holding group. Doğan's clout began to dwindle during the rule of the AKP, however, particularly after two major investigations were launched into his operations and the company was forced to pay extremely high fines for supposedly unpaid taxes. In 2009, Doğan's company sold its shares of a television company and was subsequently heavily fined on the pretext of tax evasion, a move that journalist associations interpreted as suppression of the media. At the time when the tax fines were imposed, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made calls for a boycott of the newspapers owned by the group because of the critiques that had been voiced through them. In 2011, the newspapers *Milliyet* and *Vatan* were sold to Demirören Group and Karacan Group, but in 2012 Demirören Group became the sole owner of both newspapers.

The year 2015 marked a peak in the tensions between Erdoğan and Doğan, and the number of investigations and lawsuits increased. Erdoğan criticized a caption in the newspaper *Hürriyet* which read, "The World Is Shocked! Death Sentence for the President who Won 52% of Votes." He also recalled the times when he was banned from politics, especially when Doğan Media wrote, "He cannot even be the head of a neighborhood." Afterwards in the newspapers *Hürriyet* and *Posta*, a letter was published with the headline "We Are Calling out to the Esteemed President," asking, "What do you want from us?" Doğan Media Group was accused of carrying out propaganda for a terrorist organization because of the news reports published by its newspapers, and in a case known as the POAŞ case, it was alleged that Doğan had been engaged in smuggling between 2001 and 2007 as the executive of Petrol Ofisi, which he had acquired in 2000 in partnership with İş Bank.

Doğan Group, which had once been able to reach out to 85% of people following the news in Turkey (through newspapers, radio and television), sold all of its media outlets to Demirören Holding, and it also sold D&R, which is the largest book and music chain store in Turkey, to Turkuvaş Group in 2018.



Ayşe Nur Bahçekapılı

Politician, member of parliament,
lawyer.

Ayşe Nur Bahçekapılı was born in the district of Maçka in Trabzon on November 26, 1954. After graduating from Istanbul University's Faculty of Law, she worked as a lawyer for a period of time. Between 1988 and 1992, she was a member of the executive board and the secretary general of the Istanbul Bar Association as part of the Contemporary Lawyers Group, which held to a leftist perspective, during which time Turgut Kazan was the president. Between 1997 and 2005, Bahçekapılı was a member of the executive board of the Union of Turkish Bar Associations; in those years, Eralp Özgen and Özdemir Özok had served as presidents of the Union.

Along with her professional career, Bahçekapılı was also involved in the Istanbul women's branch of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP). She was the Istanbul representative for the Social Democratic Movement Platform's Workshops for Women, Education and Law. The SHP was founded by Erdal İnönü after the Republican People's Party (CHP) was shut down following the coup of 1980 through a merger with the Social Democracy Party and the Populist Party on the 3rd of November in 1985, and the party remained active until merging with the CHP on February 18, 1995, after the CHP had been reestablished in 1992.

Bahçekapılı continued her political career with the AKP and she was an MP for Istanbul from July 22, 2007 until 2018 as a member of the AKP. While she was an MP, she served as the president of Turkish-Cuban Inter-Parliamentary Friendship Group. Between 2009 and 2013, she served as the group

deputy chair of the AKP and she was also the deputy chair of the TBMM (Turkish Grand National Assembly) for the 24th period (July 2013) until the 27th period (June 2018).

Until Bahçekapılı was expelled in 2015, she was a member of the Contemporary Lawyers Association (ÇHD), which consists of the Contemporary Lawyers Group. However, as a result of her attitude and stance during her term as the group deputy chair of the AKP, especially during the talks concerning the Internal Security Draft in parliament, she was expelled on the grounds that she was in open violation of the core principles, tradition and background of the association by being party to anti-democratic regulations and practices that restrict basic rights and freedoms. Founded in 1974, the ÇHD was shut down with Decree Law numbered 677 which was passed on November 22, 2016 in the period following the 15 July 2016 Military Coup Attempt.

Ayşe Nur Bahçekapılı was not nominated as a parliamentary candidate for the elections of June 24, 2018.



Aziz Nesin

Writer, journalist, intellectual,
activist.

Aziz Nesin was born in Istanbul in 1915. In 1935, he graduated from Kuleli Military High School and in 1937 he graduated from the Military Academy. After enlisting in the army, he moved up through the ranks and held various positions.

In 1945, he resigned from the military and began his career as a writer, eventually becoming one of the most prominent authors in the history of Turkish literature. As a writer and proofreader at the newspaper *Karagöz*, he was able to get some of his columns published in the newspaper *Tan*, which was the most popular opposition newspaper in the single-party period. The building of the leftist-oriented *Tan*, for which Zekeriya Sertel worked as the editor in chief, was burnt down by an anti-communist group on December 4, 1945.

In the following year, Nesin started publishing the weekly humor magazine *Marko Paşa* together with Sabahattin Ali, and Rıfat Ilgaz and Mustafa Mim Uykusuz also penned articles for the magazine. *Marko Paşa*, which had socialist leanings, was important for the opposition as a means of critiquing the single-party government. In 1947, Nesin was exiled to Bursa and held in detention for a period of time. That marked the beginning of a series of detentions and trials that would continue throughout his life. In 1948, Nesin published the book *Azizname*, as a result of which a lawsuit was filed against him. Nesin was held in prison for four months but ultimately, he was acquitted. A year later, charges of slander were brought against him by a number of

prominent public figures, including: Elizabeth, the Princess of England; Rıza Pehlevi, the Shah of Iran; and Faruk, the King of Egypt. Consequently, Nesin was put on trial yet again, and this time he was given a sentence of six months of imprisonment.

As a result of allegations that the pogrom of 6-7 September 1955, which had targeted non-Muslims, had been provoked by leftist intellectuals, Aziz Nesin was among those who were arrested. Later, he worked as a writer for the newspapers *Tanin* and *Yeni Gazete* and also published magazines and ran a publishing business. In the meantime, he continued his career as a writer of short stories, plays and novels. Some of the major themes in Nesin's literary works include social and economic inequalities and injustice, and he used satire in his criticisms of politics and the state administration. His literary works were recognized domestically and abroad, and he was the recipient of numerous national and international awards. In 1972, he founded the Nesin Foundation, his monumental legacy, which offers support and services for orphaned children.

As an uncompromising dissenter, Nesin kept up his political efforts into the 1980s. His passport, which he had been able to obtain only at the age of 50, was seized in 1983, preventing him from travelling abroad. In 1984, he spearheaded an initiative called the "Petition of Intellectuals," which was one of the most influential acts of opposition against the military-run government that was instated after the coup of 12 September. Because of the text, which criticized the military order and called for the fulfillment of democratic principles, he faced a life sentence along with the other intellectuals who had signed the petition. In the end, however, he was acquitted. In 1989, Nesin was among those who organized the assembly of the Congress of Democracy and he became one of the presidents of the Democracy Monitoring Committee.

Aziz Nesin was targeted in the Sivas Massacre that took place on July 2, 1993, one of the darkest incidents in the history of Turkey. Aziz Nesin survived the incident, in which 37 intellectuals were killed.

Aziz Nesin left behind a legacy of important works including the novels *Yaşar Ne Yaşar Ne Yaşamaz*, *Zübük*, and *Hayri the Barber Surnâme*, and he remains one of the most popular political humorists in Turkey. He passed away as the result of an illness on July 5, 1995.



Bahriye Üçok

Academician, politician, writer,
women's rights activist.

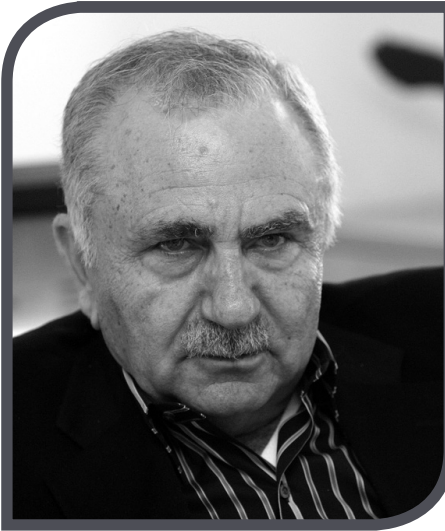
Üçok was born in Trabzon in 1919. After graduating from the Kandilli High School for Girls, she went on to study at Ankara University's Faculty of Language, History and Geography in the Department of Medieval and Turco-Islamic History. She also graduated from the State Conservatory's Opera Department, where she had also been studying. After obtaining her university degree, she worked as a high school teacher for eleven years.

Üçok decided to continue with her academic career and in 1953 she became the first female member of Ankara University's Faculty of Theology. In her academic work, she focused on Islam and women's rights. After completing her dissertation, which was titled "Female Rulers in Islamic States," she became an assistant professor in 1964. In her work, she sought to construct an interpretation of Islam based on tolerance, modernity and moderateness. From the very start, she was criticized as an academician and ultra-religious groups sent her open threats.

In 1971, the president of the period, Cevdet Sunay, offered her a quota-based position on the Republican Senate, and she served as a member of the supreme council for five years. In 1977, she became a member of the CHP. In 1983, she became a founding member of the Atatürkist and central-leftist Populist Party (HP), which was founded under the restrictions imposed by the military government of the time. In the general elections of 1984, she was elected as an MP for Ordu representing the Populist Party. Üçok continued her active political life with the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP), which

she joined in 1986, and she also served on the party's council. Üçok was also one of the founders of the Atatürkist Thought Association. Throughout her academic and political life, she specifically focused on laicism and women's rights by holding to a central-leftist and Atatürkist perspective.

In 1988, she attended a TRT forum at which she stated that in Islam, the headscarf is not a necessity. She went on to say that the headscarf stands in violation of the principles set forth by Atatürk as well as laicism, and as a result of her claims, she started receiving threats. Üçok wrote a number of books including *Those Who Left Islam*, *The First False Prophets in Islamic History*, *Islamic History: Umayyads-Abbasids*, *Turkish Regents and Female Rulers in Islamic States* and *Turkey Immersed in the Spiral of Sharia*. She was killed in a politically-motivated bomb attack at her house in 1990.



Bedrettin Dalan

Politician, administrator of a foundation, mayor of Istanbul from 1984 to 1989, founder and president of the Democrat Center Party.

Dalan was born in Bayburt in 1941. He graduated from Istanbul Technical University's Electrical Engineering Department. After working at TCDD (Turkish State Railways) for a period of time, he went on to work in the private sector.

Dalan got started in politics in 1983 with the Motherland Party (ANAP), of which he was a founding member. In 1984, he ran as a candidate in the local elections for the ANAP, as a result of which he was elected the mayor of Istanbul. During his term as mayor, radical changes took place in the city. Seeking to transform Istanbul into a leading financial and trade center in the global economy, Dalan undertook work to recreate the infrastructure and appearance of the city. Some of the more notable projects he undertook include the opening of Tarlabaşı Boulevard, the construction of various coastal roads, the opening of new railroad lines and the transformation of the area surrounding the Golden Horn. However, he received a great deal of criticism for his efforts. He was critiqued for destroying the historical texture of the city, brushing aside legal processes and excluding the urban poor. In the local elections of 1989 he lost out to Nurettin Süzen, the candidate of the SHP, who received a great deal of support from the urban poor.

Upon leaving the ANAP, Bedrettin Dalan founded the Democrat Center Party (DMP) in 1990 and he also became the party's president. The central right DMP, which combined liberalism with a neo-nationalist approach, joined the True Path Party (DYP) led by Süleyman Demirel shortly afterwards. In

the elections of 1991, Dalan was elected as an MP for the DYP. In the local elections of 1994, Dalan was nominated by the DYP as a candidate mayor for the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality but once again failed to garner enough votes to win. In 1995, Dalan resigned from the DYP and returned to the ANAP.

Bedrettin Dalan avoided active politics for a long period of time but once again came to the agenda in 2010 through the Ergenekon Investigations. After staying abroad for a number of years, Dalan returned to Turkey in 2015.

Bedrettin Dalan is no longer actively involved in the political scene. Nevertheless, he was one of the symbolic political figures of the neoliberal transformation that Turkey underwent, especially in the 1980s. Dalan was a political spokesperson for neoliberal concepts such as privatization and entrepreneurship. He was also known for the neo-nationalist approach he adopted later on in his political life.

In addition to his political activities, Dalan founded the Istanbul Education and Culture Foundation (İSTEK Foundation) in 1985. He is still the president of the İSTEK Foundation, which operates numerous primary and secondary level institutions of education as well as Yeditepe University.



Behice Boran

Politician, scientist, second president of the First Turkish Labor Party (TİP), president of the Second Turkish Labor Party.

Boran was born in Bursa on May 1, 1910. After graduating from the Arnavutköy American Girls' College in 1931, Boran studied at Istanbul University and worked as a teacher for a short period of time. After being granted a scholarship to Michigan University, she moved to the United States and received her doctorate degree in sociology. Upon returning to Turkey, she began working at Ankara University's Faculty of Language, History and Geography in the Sociology Department, where she became an associate professor.

Holding to a Marxist ideology, Boran started publishing the magazine *Yurt ve Dünya* in 1941 with a group of friends including Pertev Naili Boratav, Niyazi Berkes and Adnan Cemgil. In 1942, she published the magazine *Adımlar* with Muzaffer Şerif Başoğlu. Although neither of these magazines ran articles that were directly political, they both examined current incidents from a leftist perspective, and as a result they were short-lived because the single-party administration frowned upon such views. An article she wrote titled "Görüşler" resulted in the launching of an investigation and she was suspended from her job at the university. Because of a declaration made by the Turkish Peace-lovers Association, of which she was the founder and president, criticizing the involvement of Turkey in the Korean War, she was sentenced to fifteen months of imprisonment and expelled from her position at the university.

Throughout her political life, Boran defended her stance of parliamentarism. In her worldview, democracy allowed for class-based political organization. In 1961, she contributed intellectually to the founding of the Turkish

Labor Party, but she did not include her name among the founders for fear of the consequences of doing so. In 1962, she became a member of the TİP. On a number of points she disagreed with the president of the TİP, Mehmet Ali Aybar, who nonetheless also argued that a socialist revolution could be achieved by means of democracy. In opposition to Aybar's opinion that a local socialist model specific to Turkey should be developed, Boran defended a more orthodox approach to scientific socialism that was closer to the Soviet model, as did Sadun Aren.

In 1970, she was elected as the president of the TİP, thereby replacing Aybar. After the military coup of March 12, 1971, the TİP was shut down and Boran was arrested. The Military Court sentenced her to fifteen years of imprisonment, but Boran was released two years later, whereupon she founded the TİP for the second time and became the president of the party. In 1979, Boran organized a protest with her associates against the ban on 1 May (Labor Day) protests and curfews, and she was handed a jail sentence yet again.

After the military coup of September 12, 1980, she was held under house arrest for a period of time, and she spent the rest of her life in exile abroad. Her significance for the leftist movement in Turkey as a theoretician and politician never dwindled, however. Boran passed away on October 10, 1987.



Berat Albayrak

Businessperson, politician, minister of energy and natural resources for the 64th and 65th governments, minister of the treasury and finance for the 66th government.

Albayrak was born in Istanbul in 1978. After graduating from Istanbul University's Department of Business Administration (for which courses are given in English), he received a master's degree from Pace University in New York. He went on to complete his doctorate degree at Marmara University in the field of energy.

Albayrak's family is prominent among religious-conservative circles. His father, journalist-writer Sadık Albayrak, is a long-time acquaintance of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. They have known each other since the latter was giving mosque sermons prior to 1980. The close relations between Sadık Albayrak, who was tried on several cases after the military coup of September 12 and was imprisoned, and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan are thus steeped in a long, shared past. After Berat Albayrak married Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's daughter Esra Erdoğan in 2004, a family union came into being. For that reason, the business and political life of Berat Albayrak, who worked in the private sector between 1996 and 2001, has become a point of critique. A short while after his return from the USA, Albayrak took over the position held by his brother Serhat Albayrak and became the CEO of Çalık Holding, which is claimed to have close ties with the AKP. It has been alleged that the companies operated by the holding company have been granted state tenders without going through the process of bidding, which has stirred debates, and there has been speculation that clientelism has taken root in the economy, a situation in which politics and the economy are intertwined through personal relations and interests. After the group of companies he was running acquired Sabah newspaper, which

was seized by the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund (TMSF) in 2008, he began writing as a columnist for the newspaper. In 2013, Albayrak stopped working for those companies but continued his work as a columnist writing for *Sabah* newspaper. In the meantime, he gave lectures at Marmara University on banking and finance.

Albayrak became active in politics in 2015 when he was elected as an MP in the general elections of June 7, 2015. In the early general elections of November 2015, he won a seat in parliament once again. In the same year, he was appointed to the Central Decision and Executive Board (MKYK) of the AKP. There were allegations that he and Ali Babacan, who had played a key role in the AKP's economic policies, had a falling out. In 2015 and 2016, he served as the minister of energy and natural resources for the 64th government and he held the same position in the 65th government from 2016 to 2018. The fact that he is the son-in-law of the 12th president of the Republic of Turkey has been the main criticism of Albayrak throughout his political career. Backstage reports indicating that he has come into conflict with Süleyman Soylu, the minister of internal affairs, have been interpreted as a sign of hushed disputes within the AKP.

Berat Albayrak was appointed the minister of the treasury and finance in 2018. Albayrak is said to be one of the few efficient and effective figures in the AKP administration, which has become increasingly centralized.



Berfo Ana (Berfo Kırbayır)

Saturday Mother, symbol of the struggle of the relatives of people who vanished as the result of disappearances.

Mother Berfo was born in the Göle district of Ardahan in 1907. She had six children, three of whom were girls. Of those children, her son Cemil Kırbayır was taken from his home in the village of Okçu in the Göle district of Ardahan on September 13, 1980, the day following the military coup. From there he was sent to the Kars military prison. He was interrogated at the Dede Korkut Education Institute, which was used for such interrogations. When Mother Berfo asked about Cemil Karabayır's whereabouts, she was told by state officials that he had escaped, but in fact he had died during the interrogation.

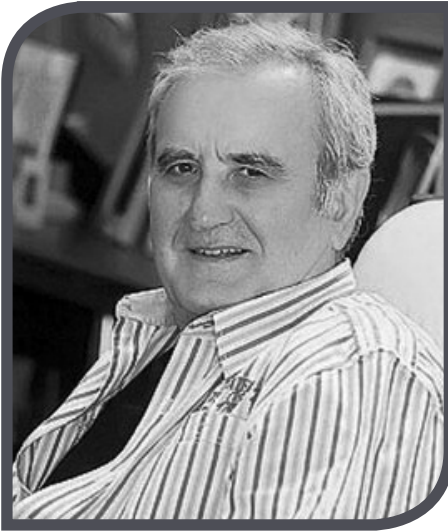
In the period following the military coup of September 12, severe violations of human rights took place in Turkey. Disappearances and unsolved murders brought people together, as for years they held onto the hope that they would one day find their loved ones. Mother Berfo was one of the Saturday Mothers and a symbol for those who demanded their rights and an explanation for what had happened to all of the people who disappeared. Since 1995, they have held sit-in protests in front of Galatasaray High School in Istanbul every Saturday.

In April 2011, the TBMM's Human Rights Commission discovered that Mother Berfo's son Cemil Kırbayır had been killed while being tortured. Zafer Üskül, an MP for the AKP, made the official declaration concerning his death. Until the day she died, Mother Berfo searched for the remains of her son.

On February 5, 2011, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan met with the Saturday Mothers. One of the attendees was Mother Berfo, and the prime

minister promised her that her son's remains would be found. Although Erdoğan stated that the government was determined to bring to light all of those unsolved murders and the Human Rights Commission of TBMM launched an inquiry, the prosecutor's office in Kars did not file an investigation. Afterwards, on October 27, 2011, Mother Berfo and Mikail Kırbayır, the younger brother of Cemil Kırbayır, applied to the European Court of Human Rights.

Director Veysi Atay made a documentary film titled *Resistance of 33 Years: Mother Berfo* which immortalized Mother Berfo's dedication to her struggle. Mother Berfo, however, did not live long enough to find her son's remains. As a result of stomach cancer, she passed away on February 21, 2013.



Besim Tibuk

Politician, businessperson,
founder and first president of the
Liberal Democrat Party (LDP).

Born in Rize in 1945, Tibuk went to high school in the USA on an AFP scholarship. He graduated from the Diplomacy (International Relations) Department of Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences.

Tibuk began his professional life by working at the State Planning Organization between 1964 and 1967 and afterwards he became involved in tourism. In 1974, he founded the company Net Turizm, which later grew into Net Holding.

He began his political career by becoming the Istanbul chair of the Democrat Party (DP), which was founded in the early 1990s. On July 26, 1994, he founded the Liberal Democrat Party (LDP). He became the first president of the LDP, which defended the principles of economic and political liberalism. Tibuk's outlook, which shaped the program of the LDP, included the encouragement of free entrepreneurship, the full operation of market mechanisms and an economy liberated from state interference. Among those policies of his that received negative responses were large-scale tax reductions and exemptions and the transfer of health care, education, transportation, social security and urban services to the private sector. Tibuk argued that the separation of powers is key to achieving true transparency and justice, and he placed special emphasis on firmly adopting political liberalism as a means of ensuring personal rights and freedoms, which sets him apart from other right-wing parties and politicians in Turkey. Tibuk harshly criticized leftist policies and held anti-unionist views, but he was not as rigid when it came to social and economic rights.

Tibuk is an extreme representative of the process of neoliberalism that Turkey underwent in the 1980s. In the end, he left his party and abandoned active political life after the failure of the LDP in the general elections.

Beşir Atalay

Politician, academician, state minister for the 58th and 59th governments, minister of internal affairs for the 60th government and deputy prime minister for the 61st government.



Atalay was born in Kırıkkale in 1947. After completing his university education at Ankara University's Faculty of Law, in 1972 he began working as an assistant professor in the Department of Sociology at Erzurum University's Business Administration Faculty. Four years later, he completed his doctorate degree, whereupon he worked for a period of time at Michigan University. After returning to Turkey, Atalay held various positions working for the state including the Prime Ministry, the State Planning Organization and the Social Planning Department.

In 1992, Atalay returned to academics, first at Marmara University and then he became the founding president of Kırıkkale University. In the turbulent period surrounding the post-modern coup of February 28, 1997, he was dismissed by the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), which at that time was chaired by Kemal Gürüz, on the allegation that "he was involved in reactionary activities." After his suspension, he established a research company in 1998 and worked as its coordinator.

In 2002, he got involved in politics by joining the AKP, and he was elected as an MP for Ankara in the general elections of 2002. He served as state minister in the 58th and 59th governments. In those days, there was talk that he would be appointed to the position of minister of national education, but President Ahmet Necdet Sezer did not approve the appointment.

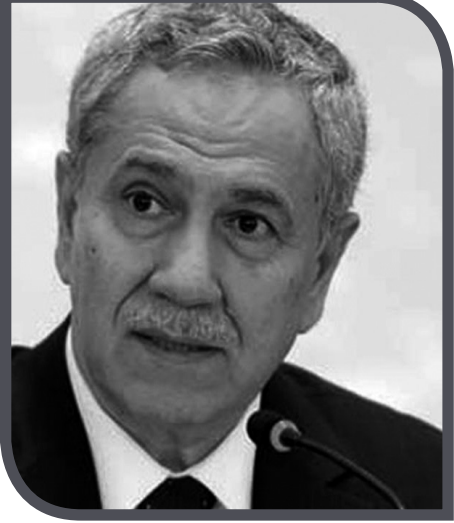
In the general elections of 2007, he was elected as an MP for Ankara once again. Between 2007 and 2011, he served as the minister of internal affairs for the 60th government, and from 2011 to 2014 he was the deputy prime minister for the 61st government.

He became a focal figure in the debates surrounding the Solution Process, which was initiated by the government in 2009 as a means of addressing the Kurdish issue. Atalay played key roles, including the coordination and public declaration of the Solution Process. He was targeted by various groups for criticism because of the developments which ensued, including the holding of the Kurdish Workshop and the Habur Incident, in which 34 PKK members returned to Turkey and were released after interrogation, which caused an uproar among some segments of society.

Because the party has a rule which restricts parliamentarians to three consecutive terms of office, he did not run in the general elections of June 7, 2015. However, he entered parliament once again as an MP for Van in the general elections of November 1, 2015. In addition to his responsibilities in the TBMM, he was also the deputy president of the AKP and the party spokesperson. Atalay did not run as a candidate in the general elections of 2018 and he is currently not actively involved in politics.

Bülent Arınç

Politician, lawyer, leader of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) in the 22nd term, deputy prime minister for the 61st and 62nd governments, founding member and deputy president of the AKP..



Born in Bursa in 1948, Arınç graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Law. After graduating, he worked for a long period of time as a self-employed lawyer. Arınç was close to religious-conservative rightist circles and has been involved in politics since his youth. During his university years, he founded a right-wing association called the Nationalist Alliance. Arınç was involved in many political cases as a lawyer and he officially began his political career as the president of the youth branch of the National Salvation Party (MSP) in Manisa. Afterwards, he served as the province chair of the MSP in Manisa. He became an influential figure in the National Vision movement, which primarily adopted a national development approach based on religious-conservative values. After his party was shut down following the military coup of September 12, 1980, he joined the Virtue Party (RP), which had been founded by MSP leader Necmettin Erbakan once again holding to the perspective of the National Vision. Arınç was on the central executive board of the RP and was elected as an MP for Manisa in the general elections of December 24, 1995. Shortly after the RP was shut down in 1998 through a resolution passed by the Constitutional Court, Bülent Arınç joined the Virtue Party (FP), which had been recently founded and held to the same political perspective. By 2000, he was part of the "innovative" wing that had emerged within the FP. Although it was expected that he would run against Recai Kutan to be president of the FP, he instead opted to support Abdullah Gül's candidacy.

After the FP was shut down in 2001, he continued to work with the party's reformist "innovative" members. In 2001, he helped found the Justice and Development Party (AKP) with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül and Abdüllatif Şener. Also holding to traditional and religious conservative values, the AKP differed, however, in some ways from the tenets laid out by the National Vision, especially as regards policies concerning the economy. In contrast to the national (and central) development and industrialization arguments of the National Vision, the AKP placed emphasis on market relations and targeted integration into global markets. Describing himself as a "conservative democrat," Arınç was elected as an MP for the third time in the general elections of 2002 and afterwards he was elected as the leader of the TBMM, a position he held until 2007. In 2009, he was appointed as the deputy prime minister for the 60th government. He was elected as an MP for the fifth time during the general elections of 2011, and he continued serving as the deputy prime minister in the 61st and 62nd governments.

The position that Arınç held in the AKP, had, in his own words, a "specific gravity" and provided a sense of balance among the dissenting opinions that existed within the party. Particularly known for the political polemics into which he entered regarding the Ergenekon and Balyoz cases, which had a major impact on the times, Arınç also provoked reactions, especially among women's organizations, with his conservative remarks. Nevertheless, during the vote on a parliamentary resolution to send troops to Iraq on March 1, his dissenting opinions stirred debates within the AKP, as did his relatively moderate stance during the Gezi Protests. Because of the AKP's rule which limits parliamentarians to three terms, he did not run as a candidate for the general elections of 2015. Although he has refrained from engaging in active politics since then, he has occasionally critiqued the administrative approaches and policies of his party and the government.

Bülent Ecevit

Politician, journalist, poet, third president of the Republican People's Party (CHP), founder and president of the Democratic Left Party (DSP), prime minister of the Republic of Turkey for five terms.



Bülent Ecevit was born in 1925. His father was an academician and politician and his mother was a painter. After completing high school at Robert College, he did not pursue a university education. His began getting interested in politics when he was working at the newspaper *Ulus*, a publication that was run by the CHP.

He became a member of the CHP in 1954 and was elected as an MP in 1957. Between 1961 and 1965, Ecevit was the minister of labor in the coalition governments led by İnönü. He garnered attention for his contributions to the enactment of the Trade Unions Law and the Strike, Lockout and Collective Bargaining Laws. On October 18, 1966, he was elected as the secretary general of the CHP and thus became the second most important person in the party. In the general assembly held on May 14, 1972, he became the third leader of the party by being elected as its president.

Ecevit adopted and developed the “left of the middle” vision introduced in 1965 by İsmet İnönü, transforming it into a “Democratic Left” outlook and turning it into the official ideology of the CHP. In doing so, he became the leader and intellectual guiding force of the central left in Turkey. The perspective of the Democratic Left, which was transformed into a program by Ecevit with the assistance of Turan Güneş and other intellectuals, did not originate from Marxism, and its components shared some principles with Western social democracy. The doctrines of the Democratic Left, which assumed the existence of classes but rejected class-based politics, were based on the notion that the majority of the population, consisting of workers, villagers, civil servants, tradespeople and small-scale manufacturers, was oppressed

by “dominating powers.” Ecevit held to a revisionist view of Atatürkism and gave weight to the principle of “populism.” Arguing that the “superstructure revolutions” which had been carried out until his time had to be complemented with “infrastructure revolutions,” Ecevit prescribed the provision of social justice and equality through a series of reforms within the structure of a mixed economy. Criticizing the military proclamation of March 12, 1971, Ecevit distanced the CHP from military and civilian bureaucratic elitism.

This left-wing populism, which was empowered with local elements, came together with the so-called plain, candid and charismatic leadership of Ecevit, and in that way the CHP truly became popular for the first time in its history. In the elections of 1973, the CHP took the lead by getting 33.3% of votes. Foreign policy accented by a nationalist tone marked the coalition government’s eight-month rule with the MSP, especially in light of the government’s allowance for opium poppy production despite pressure from the USA and the Cyprus Peace Operation in 1974. In the general elections of 1977, the CHP received the highest percentage of votes in its history, getting 41.4% of the votes cast.

After the military coup of September 12, 1980, the military courts put Ecevit on trial several times for his statements and the articles he wrote, and he was more or less held as a political prisoner. During the years in which he was banned from engaging in politics, he indirectly contributed to the establishment of the Democratic Left Party. Ecevit was elected as the president of the party when a referendum in 1987 lifted that ban. Remaining critical of the SODEP and SHP, which had been inspired by European forms of social democracy, Ecevit repeatedly rejected calls for the unification of the centrist left. He saw the SHP and CHP, which had been reestablished by that point, as having a rigid understanding of laicism, being too close to the Kurdish political movement and being splintered by factionist groups. By constructing the DSP as a party that was centered on his own charismatic persona, Ecevit targeted the votes of religious and traditional groups, which he considered to be intrinsically inclined to leftism from a perspective of “laicism respectful of faiths.” Compared to the pre-1980 CHP, the DSP had a more nationalist and statist approach. In 1997, Ecevit became the deputy prime minister in a coalition government with the Motherland Party (ANAP) and in 1999 he became the prime minister of the minority government assembled by the DSP. His party led in the elections of 1999 with a vote of 21.7% and he cobbled together a DSP-MHP-ANAP coalition government as prime minister. Of the most notable actions he took in his final term as prime minister were the appointment of Kemal Derviş, the deputy chairperson of the World Bank, to lead the economy after the crisis of 2001 and in the following year the implementation of numerous structural reforms and the enactment of adjustment laws targeting full membership in the EU.

Ecevit, who wrote numerous books of poetry and texts on politics, succumbed to an illness and passed away on November 5, 2006.

Can Dündar

Journalist, writer, producer and director of documentary and narrative films.



Dündar was born in Ankara in 1961, where he completed his primary and secondary education, as well as part of his high school education. In 1982, after graduating from the Media Academy of Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences, he studied at the London School of Journalism in England, from which he graduated in 1986. In 1988, he completed his master's degree at Middle East Technical University's Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration; his thesis was titled "Media and Democracy: A Comparative Analysis of the Media Portrayal of the Belgrane and Kocatepe Incidents." In 1996, he completed his PhD in the same department with a dissertation titled "A Critical Approach Towards the Television Representation of Acts of Terrorism in Light of Liberal Theory."

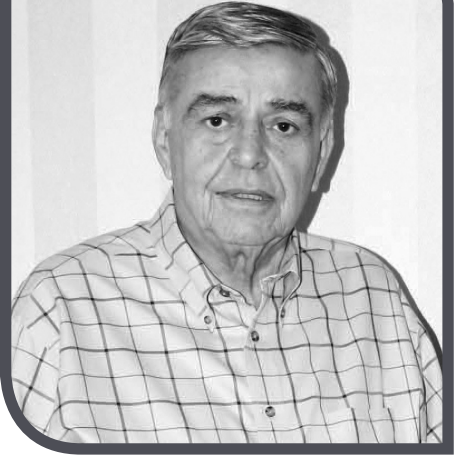
In 1979, he started getting involved in journalism, writing for publications such as *Yankı*, *Hürriyet*, *Haftaya Bakış*, *Nokta*, *Söz*, *Tempo*, *Aktüel*, *Yeni Yüzyıl*, *Sabah*, *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. In 1988, Can Dündar took up broadcasting, which expanded into documentary filmmaking after he worked with Mehmet Ali Birand on the television show "32nd Day" between 1989 and 1995. His documentary films take up the issue of critical political ruptures in the recent history of Turkey, and they include *Demirkırat* (1991), *12 Mart* (1994) and *Sarı Zeybek* (1993), in which he narrates the last three hundred days of Atatürk's life. While having a tremendous popular impact when they were released, his films have also stirred up heated debates. In the following years, Dündar made other documentaries as a producer and/or director about both

recent political history and political persona. These works include *Yükselen Deniz* (1998), *İsmet Paşa* (1999), *Halef* (2001), *Karaoğlan: Bir Ecevit Belgeseli* (2004), *Mustafa* (2008) and *Delikanlım İyi Bak Yıldızlara* (2012), as well as documentaries about popular culture, including *Zaten Tiyatro Dediğin Nedir ki* (1999), *Bahçedeki Fener* (2002), *Garip: Neşet Ertaş* (2005) and *Yüzyılın Aşkları* (2006). Some of those documentaries were also published as books.

Dündar released two documentaries in 2014, one of which was about the Gezi Protests (*Gözdagi-Threat*) and the other was about the 17-25 December corruption allegations (*17 Aralık: Erdoğan'ın En Uzun Günü*). Both films elicited strong reactions from the government and they were, in a way, the harbinger of a rupture in Dündar's life. After the Gezi Protests, Dündar was forced to leave his job at the newspaper *Milliyet*. And when he was the editor in chief at the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, he reported that trucks allegedly taking humanitarian aid to Syria were in fact owned by MİT (the Turkish Intelligence Agency) and were actually transporting military hardware. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan responded harshly. He told the press, "Whoever reported on this issue is going to pay heavily for it. I will not let him get away with it." Erdoğan sent a request to the public prosecutor's office and initiated legal proceedings. As a result, Dündar was arrested along with Erdem Gül, the Ankara correspondent of *Cumhuriyet*, in November of 2015. A lawsuit was filed against Erdem Gül and Can Dündar for "obtaining confidential information belonging to the state for the purpose of political or military espionage, attempting to topple or prevent the operations entirely or partially of the government of the Republic of Turkey by force and violence, and aiding an armed terrorist organization willfully and deliberately, without being a member." Dündar was later released with Gül after they applied to the Constitutional Court on the grounds that their rights had been violated during pre-trial detention and the court ruled in their favor. Dündar was acquitted of some of the charges during the trial that continued after his release; however, he received a sentence of five years of imprisonment for "obtaining and disclosing confidential documents belonging to the state." After a gunman attempted to assassinate Dündar in May 2016 in front of the Çağlayan Courthouse during the trial, he went to Germany in January 2017 out of concern for his safety. At the same time, Dündar resigned from his position as the editor in chief of *Cumhuriyet*. He still voices his opinions through the website *Özgürüz*, which he established after relocating to Germany. In recent times, Dündar has been granted numerous awards for journalism, especially in light of the political and judicial pressure to which he has been subjected. The most significant of these awards include the Metin Göktepe Journalism Award (2016), the Swedish National Press Club Freedom of Speech Award (2016), the European Centre for Press and Media Freedom's Prize for the Freedom and Future of the Media (2016), and the Committee to Protect Journalists International Press Freedom Award (2016).

Can Paker

Businessperson, one of the founders of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) and the president of the same foundation between 1997 and 2015, one of the founders of the Center for Public Policy and Democracy Studies (PODEM), which was founded in 2015, and a member of its executive board.



Can Paker was born in 1942. He spent part of his childhood in Eskişehir, and after graduating from Robert College in Istanbul in 1962, he started studying engineering at Berlin Technical University, where he received his bachelor degree and his MSc in 1968. He completed his PhD at Yıldız Technical University in 1973. In 1971, Paker started working as a top executive at Türk Henkel, and from 1984 to 2004 he was the CEO of that firm. After retiring from the company in 2004, he started a business called B.O.Y. Consulting, where he worked as a manager. Paker continues to serve as a member of the executive boards for Sabancı Holding and Akbank. Paker's executive duties at other institutions in the fields of business and civil society are as follows: membership on Sabancı University's board of trustees; membership on Dede-mani Holding's executive board; membership on the Golden Horn Ventures' executive board; membership on TÜSİAD's executive board; membership on TÜSİAD's honorary council; membership on the Istanbul Culture and Arts Foundation's executive board; membership on Robert College's board of trustees; founding member and president of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV); member and president of the Open Society Institute Turkey Advisory Council; and, founding member and president of the Center for Public Policy and Democracy Studies (PODEM).



Canan Arın

Lawyer, women's rights advocate and activist, founder of the Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation and the Association for Supporting Women Candidates (KA.DER), founding member of the Istanbul Bar Association Women's Rights Implementation Center.

Arın was born in Ankara in 1942. After graduating from Istanbul University's Faculty of Law, she studied constitutional law at the London School of Economics and Political Science. In 1976, she returned to Turkey and began working as a lawyer. She has said that in the early 1980s after meeting Şirin Tekeli upon her invitation, she started taking an active role in the women's movement in Turkey. Arın describes her transformation in the following terms: "I belong to a generation that grew up with the illusion that women and men in Turkey are equal. I have always thought that we are equal. But after a careful analysis of the facts on the ground, I saw that this is not the case at all. Although the constitution requires that everyone be equal before the law without gender distinctions, Turkey's civil family law was the first to violate the equality provision set forth in the constitution. Secondly, the penal code is also in such violation, meaning that the laws actually go against the constitution." It is in such terms that she describes the relationship between her identity as a lawyer and how she began taking up the struggle against gender inequality.

Arın was among the founding members of the Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation in 1990, the Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates in 1997 and the Istanbul Bar Association Women's Rights Implementation Center in 1998. Although the Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation was founded for the purpose of carrying out activities to prevent violence against women and provide legal, psychological and residential support (shelters) for women that are subjected to male violence, the opening of a women's

shelter was delayed because of financial limitations. In the meantime, Arın travelled to Sweden to learn more about how to open and run a shelter. After Arın and other activists had put much effort into the project, the first women's shelter was opened in 1995.

According to the information provided by Arın, the Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation offers services not only to women but also to children who are subjected to violence. In the past 25 years, solidarity has been established with approximately 35,000 women and children, and 379 women and 453 children have been offered shelter support. In the year 2014 alone, the foundation received applications for shelter from 832 women and children; in the same year, shelter support was provided to 29 women and 31 children, and around 2,043 interviews were held with women who were victims of violence.

As a result of the knowledge she acquired through her efforts, Arın worked with the European Council's Expert Group on Gender Equality and Violence against Women between 1994 and 1997. She was also part of the official delegation at the +5 New York meeting that was held in 2000 as a follow-up to the World Conference on Women organized by the United Nations in Beijing in 1995, which she also attended. Additionally, in 2005 she was in the group that presented a shadow report on behalf of non-governmental organizations during a meeting at the United Nations as regards the Women's Platform of the Turkish Penal Code.

Arın has written numerous articles about the issue of violence against women and she is one of the co-authors of the book *A Tale of Warm Homes: Domestic Violence and Harassment*. As a result of her activism in battling violence against women, Arın has often been under threat of being put on trial and she has drawn the ire of the political establishment.



Cavit Çağlar

Businessperson, politician,
former state minister, MP in the
18th, 19th and 20th periods, owner
of a media outlet, president of the
Bursa Sports Club.

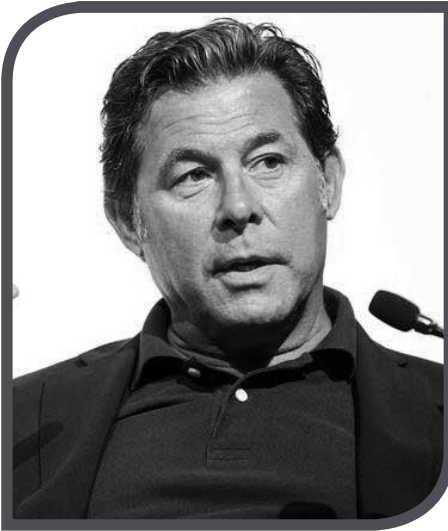
Çağlar was born in Komotini, Greece in 1944. His family migrated to Turkey in 1946 and settled in the district of Akhisar in Manisa province. After his father's death in 1961 and upon graduating from high school, he moved to Istanbul with his family and began working as a clerk in Mahmutpaşa. In 1967, he started a silk business called Uygün İpek in Bursa with the capital he inherited from his father and he took out a loan from Yapı Kredi Bank to cover the remaining costs of his new business. His business started prospering between 1977 and 1980, and as Çağlar himself has quipped, "You could say that I got rich through inflation." The textile company Nergis Tekstil, which he founded in 1979, was the first link in the chain of businesses owned by Nergis Holding, which had 30 companies and employed 16,000 people by the end of the 1980s.

Çağlar first got involved in politics when he joined the youth branch of the Justice Party in 1968. However, his real rise in politics came years later when he was introduced to Süleyman Demirel by İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil, a former minister of foreign affairs, at the time when Demirel was banned from politics. After the ban was lifted, Demirel entered parliament as an MP for Isparta and as the head of the True Path Party (DYP) in the general elections of 1987. Çağlar, who at that time was publicly known as Demirel's financier, stood by Demirel as an MP for Bursa and as one of his closest political associates.

At a time when he was facing economic challenges because his companies were in debt and most of his firms had been mortgaged and were under threat of seizure by several banks including Ziraat Bank, Çağlar became the state

minister of the treasury and part of Ziraat Bank's administration in the coalition government of the DYP and SHP after the elections of October 1991. Adnan Kahveci, a member of the Motherland Party (ANAP) and a prominent politician of the time, described Çağlar's position in the ministry as "lending liver to the cat," and in fact it was alleged that Çağlar managed to reduce his debt to Ziraat Bank to a significant extent. Although Rüşti Kazım Yücelen, the secretary general of the ANAP, filed a criminal complaint about these allegations in June 1993, nothing resulted because purportedly the file containing the complaint had been misplaced. As the allegations continued against him even after he'd completed his term as minister, Çağlar was on the one hand involved in practically libelous polemics targeting Mesut Yılmaz, the president of ANAP at the time, while on the other hand he continued doing business by acquiring banks including Interbank and Etibank. In the same period, he also acquired shares of NTV and all of the shares of Bursa-based Olay Media in an attempt to become a media mogul.

By the end of the 1990s, Çağlar's rise in politics and business began to take a turn for the worse. In 1993, when Tansu Çiller became the president of the DYP, Çağlar's influence over the party began to wane and he also lost clout because the presidency of Süleyman Demirel, his greatest supporter, ended in the early 2000s and Demirel withdrew from politics. During the economic crisis, the effects of which began to be felt in 1999, Çağlar sold his shares in Etibank and NTV and he was also impacted by the seizure of Interbank by the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund (TMSF). The 2000s were a period marked by economic collapse, corruption investigations and trials for Çağlar. He fled abroad after the Istanbul Public Prosecutor's Office of the State Security Court issued an arrest warrant for him in January 2000, but after Interpol issued a red notice for his arrest, he was apprehended in April 2001 in the USA and extradited to Turkey. Although most of the cases against him had been dropped because of the statute of limitations, in November of 2006 he was given a sentence of three years, one month and fifteen days of imprisonment and a pecuniary fine of 20,830 Turkish lira for "aggravated fraud."



Cem Boyner

Businessperson, politician from the early to mid-1990s, chairperson of Boyner Holding and owner of Boyner chain stores, vice-president and later president of the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD) between 1989 and 1999

Boyner was born in Istanbul in 1955. He graduated from Robert College and went on to study at Boğaziçi University's Department of Business Administration, from which he graduated in 1978. In the same year, he began working at Altınyıldız, a business run by his family. Between 1992 and 1994, he was the chairperson of the executive committee of Boyner Holding and in 1996 he became the managing director of the same firm. In 2010, when his father Osman Boyner became the honorary president, he took over as chairperson.

Boyner started getting actively involved in politics in the early 1990s. Between 1992 and 1994, he was the president of the New Democracy Movement (YDH), which he had founded. The YDH advocated liberal values such as an open society, pluralism, free markets, and personal and political freedom, and its establishment was backed by a group of businesspeople, writers and academicians led by Boyner, including Asaf Savaş Akat, Cengiz Çandar, Can Paker, Kemal Anadol and Etyen Mahçupyan. The YDH received a remarkable amount of support from the media but nationalist circles balked at its approach to the Kurdish Issue. After it was established as a political party and shortly after the party's failure in the general elections of 1995 (in which it received just 0.48% of the vote), in April of 1996 Boyner declared that he believed the YDH had fulfilled its mission and he announced his resignation. A year later, the YDH itself disbanded and Boyner joined the Peace Party in November of 1996. Afterwards, Cem Boyner steered clear of taking an active role in politics.

Cem Uzan

Businessperson, politician,
former president of the Youth
Party.



Uzan was born in Adapazarı in 1960. After graduating from the German High School, he studied business administration at Pepperdine University in the US. Upon his return to Turkey, he began working for the family business owned by his father, Kemal Uzan, which had been in operation since the 1950s and had been established as Uzan Holding in 1956. The holding company was involved in construction, finance, energy and the media.

Starting in the late 1980s, the Uzan family started expanding the scope of its areas of operation to such an extent that four separate holding companies were established including Rumeli in 1988, Prime in 1992, Standart in 1995 and Simetri in 2000. In the early 2000s, the family expanded even further and started doing business in the fields of telecommunications, iron and steel, the automotive industry and sports, overseeing hundreds of companies. In the meantime, Uzan was appointed as the vice president of the Uzan Group, while his father Kemal Uzan was the president of the board of directors.

Cem Uzan's public fame extended beyond his position in the Uzan Group when he established the first private television channel in Turkey in 1989 through a partnership with Ahmet Özal, the son of Turgut Özal, the eighth president of Turkey. At a time when, according to the Constitution of 1982, radio and television broadcasting in Turkey was under the monopoly of the government-run TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) and hence private radio and television channels could not be established, Star 1 started broadcasting in Turkey from overseas. In this way, Cem Uzan and his family became controversial through their political ties in addition to their business activities.

However, such controversy did not prevent the growth of the Uzan family's economic clout and, to the contrary, the new media outlets that were acquired or established contributed significantly to Uzan's popularity. In the same period of time, the Uzan family acquired the Kepez and Çukurova electric companies, which several other prominent actors in Turkey had been considering for purchase, as well as Telsim, one of the largest national mobile communication companies. At the same time, Uzan sought to further increase his popularity through the establishment of the 4th largest football team in Istanbul by acquiring Istanbul Sports Club as well as the Adana Sports Club in 1992 and by transferring famed football players through his position as president of the clubs.

By the year 2002, the Uzan family had become one of the largest economic actors in Turkey, and Cem Uzan, as the most popular public figure in his family, started signaling his entrance into politics by touring Turkey and delivering nationalist-populist speeches about political matters as part of Uzan Holding's 46th anniversary celebrations. In the meantime, Motorola and Nokia, which were among the larger of the international companies that Uzan Group had partnerships with in Turkey, were engaged in a legal dispute with the group. Nonetheless, Cem Uzan founded the Youth Party in July 2002 and officially entered politics. However, elections were to be held in November so 2002 so it was impossible for the Youth Party to fulfill the legal requirements to run by that time, so Cem Uzan used a familiar tactic in Turkish politics and joined the Rebirth Party (YDP), which had been founded by Hasan Celal Güzel in 1992. Afterwards, he was appointed the president of the party, which was renamed the Youth Party through a board decision. Uzan set to work on his electoral campaign as the leader of the Young Party in August of 2002 and all of his speeches were broadcast live via the media outlets owned by his family. In this way, he made surprising strides forward in the elections, which he entered with promises of offering low-rate mortgages for people who weren't homeowners, eliminating the Value Added Tax (VAT) and slashing the price of the diesel fuel used by farmers to 1 lira. Although he was unable to pass the election threshold, he managed to get a significant 7.2% of votes.

However, Cem Uzan was eliminated from politics, just as the Uzan Group was eliminated from the country's economic environment, after the Justice and Development Party, which Uzan had been criticizing before and after the elections, came to power as the ruling party. Likewise, processes of investigation and liquidation, which got started in June 2003 through the termination of the concession agreements of the Uzan Group for the Çukurova and Kepez electric companies as well as the seizure of İmar Bank and Adabank, which had been owned by the family, by the Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (BDDK) in the following month. The Uzan Group was further

rocked in 2004 when 219 of its companies were transferred to the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund. Consequently, these companies were sold and Cem Uzan, against whom criminal proceedings had been launched (the other top executive family members of the holding company were subjected to similar proceedings), fled to France in October of 2009. Years later in May and June of 2018, several media outlets reported that most of the legal cases against him had been dismissed and he was to become, or already had become, the leader of the Youth Party once again.



Cemil Çiçek

Politician, lawyer, leader of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, minister of justice, minister for family affairs, mayor of Yozgat.

Cemil Çiçek was born in Yozgat in November of 1946. He graduated from Yozgat İmam Hatip High School and in 1965 he enrolled in the Faculty of Law at Istanbul University. Upon completing his studies in 1971, he worked as a self-employed lawyer in Yozgat for a period of time. He was among the founders of the Motherland Party (ANAP), which was founded on May 20, 1983 under the leadership of Turgut Özal via a petition of establishment submitted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, although his position as a founder was vetoed by the National Security Council.

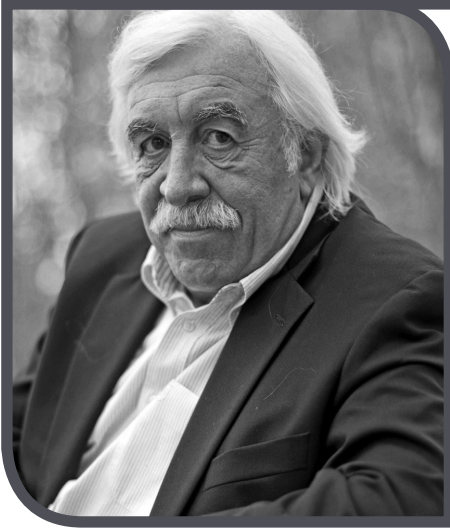
As a result, Çiçek could not run in the general elections of 1983; however, he ran in the following year's local elections as a municipal candidate for Yozgat from the same party and became the city's mayor in March 1984. After the elections of November 1987, he became the state minister for family affairs for the 46th government, which was known as the second cabinet of Özal, and he held the same position for the 47th government led by Yıldırım Akbulut. During his term in office, he stirred public debates with his conservative/nationalist approach and statements. In an interview with the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* in November 1990, he defined flirting as prostitution, and women's organizations raised an outcry as well as other non-governmental organizations and a segment of the opposition.

Çiçek's membership in the Motherland Party came to an end when he opposed a law known as the "8-year education bill," which resulted in the closing down of secondary education at Imam Hatip (religious) schools as part of the 28th of February post-modern coup. The law was drafted and taken to par-

liament by the coalition government led by ANAP president Mesut Yılmaz, and Çiçek refused to support its enactment even though the party had passed a group resolution. This led the party's disciplinary committee to carry out an investigation and Çiçek was unequivocally dismissed from the party in August 1997.

About a year after his dismissal from the Motherland Party, Çiçek joined the Virtue Party and was elected as an MP in the general elections of 1999. His next step was to join the Justice and Development Party. In the general elections of November 2002, he was elected as an MP for the AKP and he served as the minister of justice for the 58th and 59th governments, a state minister and deputy prime minister for the 60th government and the leader of the Turkish Grand National Assembly for the 24th period.

Çiçek garnered attention through his actions and statements, which adhered to a conservative/nationalist perspective, throughout his term as the minister of justice and in the other positions he held as well. During his term as minister of justice he awarded Ali Suat Ertosun, the general director of prisons and detention houses at the time of the "Return to Life Operation" in which 32 people were killed, with an Order of Merit Medal in 2004. In 2005, he further established himself as a controversial figure in Turkish political history by describing a proposal to hold a conference at Boğaziçi University about the Armenian Issue as "a stab in the back of the Turkish nation."



Cengiz Çandar

Journalist, writer, politician,
consultant for Prime Minister and
President Turgut Özal.

Çandar was born in Ankara in 1948. After attending primary school in Ankara, Çandar went to the Kayseri-Talas American Secondary School and then graduated from the Tarsus American College. In 1966, he started studying in the Foreign Relations Department at Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences Diplomacy and graduated in 1970. He then went on to work as an assistant in the International Relations Department at Middle East Technical University's (METU) Faculty of Administrative Sciences, although his employment there was short-lived because of the environment of the times and his political activities. He was tried and sentenced to imprisonment because of his work as the editor in chief of the magazine *Proleter Devrimci Aydınlik*, which was being published by a group that had broken away from the "Aydınlık" movement in which he had been involved since his university years and which had split into factions in 1970. During the events surrounding March 12, when his sentence was pronounced, he went abroad. In July of 1971 Çandar travelled to Palestine and underwent training in the camps run by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and he stayed in Damascus and Beirut. In April of 1973, he went to Europe through Italy and took refuge in Holland, where he stayed for a period of time. After a general amnesty was announced, he returned to Turkey in October 1974. In 1975, Çandar spent four months carrying out his military service in Çanakkale. In the following year, Çandar began working in the field of journalism as a foreign news editor and foreign policy commenter for the newspaper *Vatan*. He went on to work for

the Turkish News Agency and he also wrote for the newspapers *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Güneş*, *Sabah*, *Yeni Şafak*, and *Referans*, and he started working for *Radikal* in 2008. After it was publicly announced that *Radikal* was going to be closed down in March 2016, Çandar announced in a farewell letter in April 2016 that it was not just his work for the newspaper that was coming to an end but also his active professional life of 40 years. In an interview published in *Milliyet* in November 2012, he said that he did not see the journalist as “a sort of chronicler” and defined his work as “missionary journalism,” stating that in order to contribute to his case, he had “made journalism into an instrument.” Çandar strongly supported the ruling Justice and Development Party from its inception until 2011, but in his letter of farewell, he also noted that the closing down of *Radikal* and his decision to leave journalism had been caused by the rise of civil authoritarianism in the country.

In addition to working as a journalist, Çandar was the private advisor of Turgut Özal, Turkey’s eighth president, from 1991 until 1993, when Özal passed away. He also was part of the New Democracy Movement, which was established as a party in December 1994 under the leadership of Cem Boyner. Çandar was awarded the Abdi İpekçi Peace and Friendship Prize in 1987, and he wrote numerous books, the last of which was *Mesopotamia Express: A Journey of History* (2012). His other books include *Descent from the Mountain: How Can the PKK Lay Down its Arms?* *The Removal of Violence from the Kurdish Question*, *We Started Honestly*, *The Middle East Dilemma*, *My Cities*, *Rendezvous with History: The PLO Under the Beirut Ring of Fire*, *Iran from Yesterday to Tomorrow*, *The Seven Colors of the Sun* and *Resisting Palestine*.



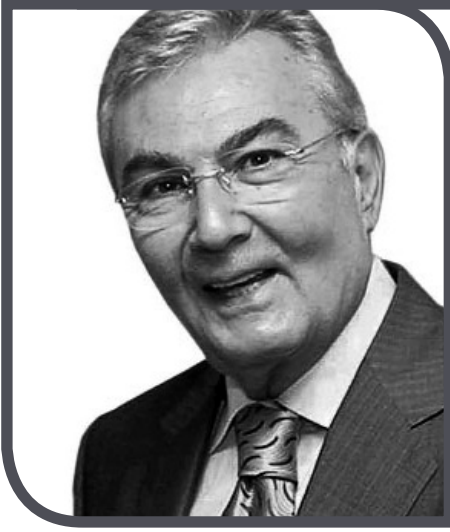
Çevik Bir

Former member of the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK), general of the First Army Command, leading figure in the 28th of February post-modern coup.

Bir was born in Izmir in 1939. In 1954 he graduated from Kuleli Military High School and in 1958 from the Military School. In 1970, he completed his studies at the Military Academy and in 1973 he received training at the NATO Defense College. Bir was a planning officer at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe in Mons, Belgium from 1973 to 1976. When he returned to Turkey, he worked as the general staff's chief of cabinet, chief adjutant of the national security council's president, chief adjutant of the president and the presidential guard regiment commander. From 1983 until 1985, he was the head of the Logistics and Infrastructure Department at the NATO Europe Allied Command Headquarters as a brigadier general, and he was assigned to the 4th Armored Brigade Command in Turkey from 1985 to 1987. In the last year of this position, Bir was promoted to the rank of major general and then to lieutenant general in 1991. From that point until 1993, Bir was the chief of the operations division of the general staff, and in 1993 and 1994 he was the commander of the United Nations Peace Corps in Somalia and the head of the Inspection and Evaluation Division of Land Forces.

Bir was given a new post following his promotion to the rank of full general with the Army Council, which assembled a year after his promotion as the chief of the operations division of the general staff in August 1994. The position he held was deputy chief of staff, which lasted from 1995 to 1998. In August 1999, Bir retired as the general of the 1st Army. He was a leading figure in national politics during the period of the 28th of February, which was initiated with a National Security Council meeting on February 28, 1997,

as he was the deputy chief of general staff at the time. The claim was made that Bir played a significant role in the actions of the TSK, which was a powerful actor in the process that resulted in the resignation of the coalition government, popularly known as the Refah-Yol government, which was led by Necmettin Erbakan and Tansu Çiller. Bir was alleged to have explained the role of the army in that series of events as “making balance adjustments on democracy,” a remark that went down in the country’s political history. Despite such allegations, years later in September 2013 during the “February 28 Case,” which was initiated with the indictment of “conspiring to topple and bring down the government of the Republic of Turkey by force,” Çevik Bir defended himself by saying that he had not made such a remark. During the investigation which constituted the groundwork for the filing of the case, Bir was detained and then arrested in April 2012, as were several other TSK top commanders who were in office at the time. After approximately 20 months of imprisonment, he was released. In the final hearing of the case, which was held in April 2018, he was given a life sentence along with the other 20 defendants. In the explanation for the ruling, which was pronounced in July of 2018, it was emphasized that the court was convinced that the unit known as the Western Working Group, operating under the command of Çevik Bir and İsmail Hakkı Karadayı, who was then the chief of general staff, was involved in activities aiming to bring down the government, and the defendants had knowledge of and participated in such criminal activities. However, as with the other defendants who had been given life sentences, Bir was not arrested because of his age and medical condition.



Deniz Baykal

Academician and politician, president of the Republican People's Party, deputy prime minister, minister of finance, minister of energy and natural resources, and minister of foreign affairs.

Deniz Baykal was born in Antalya in 1938. He completed primary school in 1949, secondary school at Atatürk Secondary School in 1952 and high school at Antalya High School in 1955. He started getting interested in politics during his undergraduate studies at Ankara University's Faculty of Law. During his years as a student at the faculty, from which he graduated in 1959, he joined a student movement that was opposed to the rule of the Democrat Party.

Baykal's active involvement in politics, however, came later because of his academic career. After completing his PhD in 1963 at Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences, where he began working as an assistant in 1960, he went to the USA where he stayed for two years for his post-doctoral studies. After completing his post-doc studies at UC Berkeley and Columbia University with a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship, he returned to Turkey and started working as a lecturer at the Faculty of Political sciences, becoming an associate professor in 1968.

Deniz Baykal's real relationship with politics came into being through his fame as a social democrat during his years as a lecturer and after he drew the attention of the administrators of the Republican People's Party (CHP) through his analysis of the reasons for the CHP's defeat in the elections of 1965 which he carried out in preparation for the study he penned for his associate professorship titled "Political Inclusion (A Behavioral Analysis)." Bülent Ecevit, the secretary general of the CHP at the time, met with Baykal after reading one of his studies and introduced him to İsmet İnönü, who was the president of the CHP. Shortly after, Baykal became a member of the CHP.

Baykal became popular in the party and in political circles after the military announcement of the 12th of March. At the time, Baykal was doing his military service, and Bülent Ecevit, who was the president of the CHP, nominated him as a candidate MP for Antalya for the general elections of 1973, also known as the 15th period. He won the election and entered the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) at the age of 35. That marked the beginning of Baykal's political career, which continued throughout his life, except for when he was banned from politics after the 12 September Coup and when the CHP under his leadership was unable to pass the election threshold following the general elections of 1999. In fact, Baykal served as an MP in the 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th and, lastly, the 27th legislative period after the general elections of June 2018. Assuming that Baykal will complete this period as well, he will have spent almost 40 years of his political career as a member of parliament along with the other government positions he has held.

In 1974, a year after he was elected to parliament, Deniz Baykal served as the minister of finance for the 37th government of the Republic assembled by Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit through the coalition of the CHP-MSP (National Salvation Party). Next Baykal was appointed as the minister of energy and natural resources for the 42nd government, which was assembled once again under the leadership of Ecevit in January 1978. Baykal had to wait 16 years for the third cabinet position in his political life; in October 1995, he was appointed minister of foreign affairs for the 52nd government of the Republic assembled under the leadership of Tansu Çiller as a coalition of the DYP (True Path Party) and the CHP, and at the same time he was the deputy prime minister as the president of the CHP.

Deniz Baykal reached the peak of his political career after the enactment of a law allowing for the reestablishment of political parties that had been shut down following the military coup of September 12. In September 1992, he was elected as the president of the CHP, and he took the initiative to reestablish the party. Prior to the reestablishment of the CHP, during the post-12 September period Baykal took over as general secretary for the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) led by Erdal İnönü in June 1988 and he remained in that position until his resignation in September 1990. After his resignation, which came about as the result of a dispute between Erdal İnönü and Baykal as well as his team, Baykal failed to secure the presidency of the SHP in all three of its general assemblies, and he left the SHP in 1992, whereupon he became the president of CHP, as mentioned above. After İnönü withdrew from the leadership of the SHP in September 1993, the SHP, which was now led by Murat Karayalçın, was dissolved and its members joined the CHP in February 1995 for a transition period of 6 months, at which time he left the presidency of the CHP to Hikmet Çetin. Baykal became the party's president again in

September 1995 and he held that position until May 2010, except for a brief period between April 1999 and September 2000 when he left the presidency after the party failed to pass the election threshold in the general elections of 1999. His leadership of the CHP came to an end as the result of an incident that publicly became known as the “tape conspiracy,” which took place in May 2010. Throughout his leadership, Baykal had been criticized for pushing the CHP towards the right and condemning it to the position of being an opposition party. Also, he was critiqued for driving out his opponents and trying to rule over the party single-handedly.

Deniz Gezmiş

Student leader, revolutionary and socialist leader of the generation of 1968, one of the founders of the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO).



Gezmiş was born in Ankara in 1947. He was the second of three children and his father, Cemil Gezmiş, was a primary school supervisor, and his mother, Mukaddes Gezmiş, was a primary school teacher. Gezmiş went to primary school and attended a few years of secondary school in Sivas, where his mother and father had been posted. He graduated from Haydarpaşa High School in Istanbul. Gezmiş became familiar with leftist theories and politics during his high school years. He joined the Turkish Labor Party in 1965, but he struggled in the party as one of the younger members who had adopted the tenets of the National Democratic Revolution (MDD). He became an influential figure in the spread of the ideas of the MDD, especially among younger students.

The first of Gezmiş's many experiences of detention as a student occurred on August 31, 1966. Between July 27th and August 31st in 1966, the cleaning workers of Çorum marched barefoot in protest from Çorum to Istanbul, passing through Ankara along the way, on what came to be known as the "Death Walk." When the march ended in Taksim, Gezmiş and three friends of his joined the protest to support the workers and to demonstrate against the management of the Türk-İş trade union. They were detained for "acting as instigators," but they were released shortly afterwards. In July 1966, shortly before this incident, Gezmiş had enrolled in Istanbul University's Faculty of Law. During his university years, he was detained and arrested at numerous protests, including the incidents at the National Turkish Students' Union in 1967, the Cyprus Demonstration in November 1967, the protest against state minister Seyfi Öztürk in November 1968, and the protests against the arriv-

al of the 6th American Fleet in Turkey. Gezmiş became a popular figure in these protests as a result of his effectiveness as a leader and he was one of the students who headed the June 1968 occupation of Istanbul University, at which students demanded that they have a say in the educational system and administration of the university. Gezmiş was in the delegation of students that participated in the talks in Baltalimanı with the Istanbul University senate on behalf of the “Occupation Council” and he played a significant role in ensuring that the students’ demands were met to a considerable extent and that the occupation ended successfully. He was also among the leaders of similar occupations at many other universities, one of which took place in May 1969 when students’ demands were being ignored.

Gezmiş founded several organizations with his classmates such as the Revolutionary Lawyers Organization and the Union of Revolutionary Students (DÖB), one of the organizations that arranged the 6th Fleet Protests in January 1968. Under the guidance of Gezmiş, the DÖB, the National Youth Organization of Turkey (TMGT), the Ankara University Students’ Union (AÜTB) and the Middle East Technical University Student’s Union (ODTÜÖB) organized a Mustafa Kemal March from Samsun to Ankara in November 1968.

In 1969, Deniz Gezmiş’s political life took a turn when he left the student movement and started taking part in illegal activities. Gezmiş had been wounded in the clashes that occurred during the occupation of Istanbul University in May 1969 when the police raided the campus. Because there was an arrest warrant out for him, he fled the hospital when he was being treated and travelled to Palestine the following month. He remained there until September 1969, training at the camps of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and when he returned to Turkey, he continued hiding out because of the arrest warrant. In the meantime, he was expelled from the university, and he met with journalists in his hideouts so he could share his messages publicly. Gezmiş was apprehended on September 23, 1969 only to be released on the 25th of November, but he was arrested once again in December 1969 as the result of another indictment issued by the police and he remained in prison until September 1970. The indictment was based on the allegation that a sniper rifle had been found when the police searched Yıldız Technical University after the killing of Battal Mehetoglu by right-wing students at the school.

When he was released from prison, Gezmiş was called up for his military service but he refused to enlist. Given the circumstances of the anti-democratic climate in the country as it headed towards the coup of March 12, a significant number of factions of leftists increasingly began considering armed struggle as an option because the left was facing an increasing amount of violence. Gezmiş, who had grown more distant from student activism, founded the People’s Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) with Sinan Cemgil and Hüseyin İnan.

Their first action was to rob the Emek branch of İş Bank in Ankara on January 11, 1971. State security forces announced that a reward would be given to anyone who assisted in the capture of Gezmiş and Yusuf Aslan, who had taken part in the robbery. On the 4th of March in 1971, the THKO struck again, this time abducting four US soldiers in Balgat. Although the soldiers were released on March 9, a persistent search led to the apprehension of Gezmiş and Yusuf Aslan on March 16, 1971.

Four months after he was caught, Gezmiş and his comrades Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnân were put on trial starting on July 16, 1971. They were charged with “attempting by force to alter, change or abolish the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey wholly or partially” and the request was made that they face capital punishment. On October 9, 1971, Gezmiş, İnân and Aslan were found guilty and they were executed on May 6, 1972. The capture and trial of Gezmiş, as well as the events surrounding his execution, went down in Turkish political history as an example of the violent politics of the right wing’s suppression of the left, which transgressed the boundaries of the law through the regime of the 12th of March and partly reflected a hysteria for vengeance. In fact, after his capture, Deniz Gezmiş was brought to the office of Haldun Menteşoğlu, the minister of internal affairs, where attempts were made to humiliate him before the press. Also, despite the fact that nobody was harmed in any of the acts of protest he organized, he was prosecuted according to article 141/1 of the Penal Code, which called for capital punishment. When the proposal concerning capital punishment was submitted for the approval of the TBMM, the case was prioritized upon the demands of rightist political leaders, particularly Süleyman Demirel. During the vote, rightists used the slogan “3 from us and 3 from you,” a reference to the idea that they were finally avenging the executions carried out after the military coup of the 27th of May. This chain of events is still debated as those incidents shedding light on the character of the regime.



Devlet Bahçeli

Academician, politician, president of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) from 1997 until the present day except for a short period between November 2002 and October 2003.

Bahçeli was born in Osmaniye in 1948. After completing his primary school education in Osmaniye, he attended secondary school at the Adana Private Çukurova College as a boarding student. After graduating from the Etiler Private Ata College in Istanbul for his high school education, he enrolled in the Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences in 1967 and graduated in 1971. Bahçeli entered academia in 1972 by becoming an assistant in the Economics Department of the same academy from which he graduated. In 1982, he completed his PhD at the academy, which in the meantime had been transformed into Gazi University's Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, and Bahçeli worked as a lecturer in the university's Economic Policy Department until 1987.

Bahçeli first became interested in politics during his university studies. As an undergraduate student, he was the founder and administrator of the Grey Wolves organization in Ankara. Between 1970 and 1971, he worked as the secretary general of the Turkish National Students' Federation, and in the 1970s he founded the Idealist Financiers and Economists Association. In the same period, he was one of the founders of the University, Academy and College Assistants Association (ÜNAY), and he also served as the president of the association.

Bahçeli started becoming popular as a politician in 1987 when Alparslan Türkeş invited him to join the Nationalist Movement Party (the MHP, which had previously been the Nationalist Task Party, or the MÇP). Bahçeli resigned

from the university, and after holding the posts of secretary general, deputy president, member of the central executive and enactment committee, and chief advisor to the party president, he was elected as the president of the MHP after the party held an extraordinary assembly in July of 1997 following the death of Türkeş.

The MHP took part in the general elections of 1999 under the leadership of Bahçeli and, as a result of the political atmosphere of the period, the MHP received nearly 18% of the vote, the highest in the party's history, and for the first time in years the party was the second largest in parliament, after the Democratic Left Party (DSP). Bahçeli entered parliament as an MP for Osmaniye and he went on to be elected for five more terms. After the elections, he served as the deputy prime minister and state minister in the 57th government assembled by the coalition of the Democratic Left Party (DSP) and the Motherland Party (ANAP).

In the general elections of November 2002, which were held in the midst of an economic and political crisis, the MHP was unable to pass the election threshold and Bahçeli resigned in a gesture of taking responsibility for the party's failure to get into parliament. However, he was voted in as the president of the party once again after the MHP held an assembly in October 2003. In subsequent party assemblies, Bahçeli easily won the elections for the party presidency and his leadership was widely accepted within the party until November 2015. After November 2015, when the MHP barely passed the election threshold with 11.9% of the vote, calls were made for Bahçeli to resign, the first such demand in a long time. Under the leadership of Meral Akşener, the opposition within the party pressed Bahçeli to step down but he refused, and he also rejected demands for an electoral assembly. With the backing of a court order, however, the opposition held an assembly, and legal steps were taken on both sides. Ultimately, Bahçeli opted to support President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's goal of changing the government to a presidential system, and he became increasingly involved in his alliance with Erdoğan, which worked to his benefit. Akşener and her associates left the MHP and founded a new party. When the MHP managed to maintain its voting base during the general elections of June 24, 2018, which came as a surprise, Bahçeli's leadership of the MHP was consolidated.



Doğan Güreş

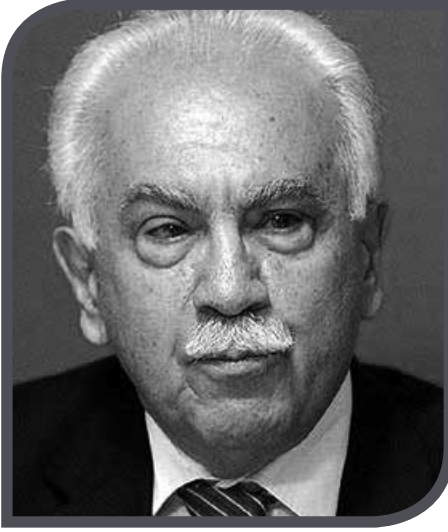
Military officer, politician, 21st chief of general staff of the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK), MP for Kilis during the 20th and 21st periods as a member of the True Path Party (DYP).

Güreş was born in Adana in 1926. In 1945 he graduated from the Kuleli Military High School, completed his studies at the Turkish Military Academy in 1947 and graduated from the School of Transportation in 1949. Güreş held various posts in the Turkish Land Forces Command until 1963, and in 1965 he graduated from the Army Staff College as a general staff officer. Afterwards, he took office as the commander of the 28th division and he later served as the headquarters officer for the Land Forces Logistics Command, chief of staff officer in the 51st division and chief officer of the General Staff Operations Department for Planning and Principles.

Güreş was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in 1973. As such, he served as the chief of the Land Forces Assignment Office, the deputy chief of logistics for NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) in Mons, Belgium, and commander of the Armored Brigades School and Training Brigade. In 1977, he was promoted to major general. Güreş's next promotion came in 1981 when he became a lieutenant general, whereupon he took office as the chief of staff and commander of the 3rd Corps. In 1985, Güreş was promoted to full general and served as the War College commander, commander of the 1st Army and commander of the Land Forces. When Necip Torumtay, the chief of general staff, challenged the policies of President Turgut Özal regarding Turkey's potential involvement in the Gulf War and ultimately resigned on December 3, 1990, Güreş was appointed as his replacement the following day.

Güreş was a prominent figure at a time when civil politics were being undermined, the Kurdish Question was treated as a security issue and the government (under the prime ministry of Tansu Çiller) was largely controlled by the state's security forces. In an interview years later with journalist Fikret Bila, Güreş stated that even without proclaiming martial law in the (south-eastern) region of the country, military officers had the means to do anything they wanted and implemented de facto martial law. He went on to say that the circumstances warranted such action and that the governors of the time met all of their demands.

In August of 1994, Güreş became involved in politics through the True Path Party, which was under the leadership of Tansu Çiller, with whom he said he worked well. While he was the chief of general staff, he made a comment about his collaboration with Çiller which went down in history: "She gives the orders and I promptly comply." Güreş served in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey for the 20th and 21st periods as an MP for Kilis. Güreş passed away on October 14, 2014 at the Gülhane Military Medical Academy in Ankara, where he was being treated.



Doğu Perinçek

Politician, president of the Patriot Party.

Perinçek was born in Gaziantep in 1942. He attended Ankara Sarar Primary School and Atatürk High School, as well as Bahçelievler Pilot High School. In 1964 he graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Law and became an assistant for the public law program in the same faculty. In 1968, he received his PhD upon completion of his dissertation titled "The Internal Order of Political Parties and the Regime: Their Termination in Turkey," which was later published as a book.

When he was an undergraduate student, between 1962 and 1963 Perinçek worked in Germany and learned German. As an active figure in the student movement, he was elected as the president of the Idea Clubs Federation (FKF) at a federation assembly held on March 23rd and 24th in 1968. However, his presidency was short-lived because of his pro-MDD stance in the conflict between the National Democratic Revolution (MDD) and Socialist Revolution (SD) factions, which led to his dismissal in July 1968. By the end of the same year, he had joined the followers of the magazine *Aydınlık*, which was first officially published in November 1968 by its founders Münir Aktolga and Vahap Erdoğan, who held to a political perspective steeped in the ideas of the MDD and Maoism, a position that Perinçek also adopted. However, in January of 1970 Perinçek and his followers left that group and played a role in the publication of the magazine *Proleter Devrimci Aydınlık* (PDA), which published articles along similar ideological and political lines.

In May 1969, Perinçek founded and became the president of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey, which was soon banned by the government. The party, which was backed by the aforementioned circle of people, came under government attack and as a result Perinçek and his follow-

ers were arrested as part of the Memorandum of March 12. Perinçek was put on trial and given a prison sentence of twenty years.

After spending more than two years in prison, Perinçek was released as a result of the Amnesty Law which was promulgated in 1974. In January of 1978 he founded the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey yet again, but this time the party was allowed to operate, and he served as the party's president. In March of 1978 he became the editor in chief of the newspaper *Aydınlık*, which he published on a daily basis.

Perinçek was arrested after the military coup of September 12 in 1980. After being put on trial, he was sentenced to eight years of imprisonment. He was released, however, in March 1985, and in January 1987 he founded the weekly magazine *2000'e Doğru*, for which he worked as an editorial writer and editor in chief. In 1991 when Article 141 of the Turkish Criminal Code was abolished, Perinçek was finally able to take part in politics. He became the president of the Socialist Party, which had been founded in 1988 and was led by a temporary president, as was common in the Turkish political scene. However, when the Socialist Party was banned on the grounds that it was engaging in separatism, he became the leader of the Workers' Party, which had been founded in July 1992 as the successor of the previous party.

Perinçek's political-ideological position in leftist politics in Turkey has always been controversial and he has been accused of following a nationalist rather than a leftist path. In the second half of the 1990s, Perinçek began to highlight Atatürkism and Republican revolutions in his discourses. In the 2000s, Perinçek started drawing public attention with his opinions and statements, especially when he claimed that there was no Armenian Genocide in 1915. He was sentenced to prison and fined for "denying the Armenian Genocide" when he reiterated his claims in Switzerland. However, the European Court of Human Rights ruled that Perinçek's statement was permissible per the terms of freedom of expression and that Perinçek's right to freedom of expression had been violated.

In March 2008, Perinçek was detained within the scope of the Ergenekon Investigation and indicted for being a member of the "Ergenekon organization." At the end of the trial, he was given a sentence of 117 years of imprisonment. However, during the process of appeals he was released in March 2014 after the enactment of a law that nullified the Special Courts.

After he was released, Perinçek stated that he supported the surveillance tactics employed by the ruling regime under President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, especially regarding the Kurdish Issue and a number of other matters, saying that they were necessary for the defense of the motherland. In June of 2015, he renamed his party the Patriot Party. After the parliamentary system of governance was dropped in favor of a presidential system through a vote, Doğu Perinçek decided to run as a presidential candidate in June of 2018. However, he was unable to collect the 100,000 signatures he needed to submit as a pre-condition for taking part in the elections.



Duygu Asena

Journalist, writer, prominent figure in discussions about feminism, women's identity and women's rights in Turkey.

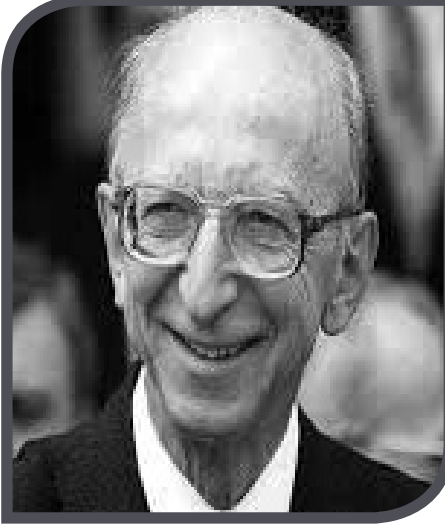
Asena was born in Istanbul in 1946. After graduating from Kadıköy Girls' High School, she went on to study in the Department of Pedagogy at Istanbul University's Faculty of Literature. She worked for two years at the Haseki Hospital Children's Clinic and the Istanbul University Children's Home.

Asena took up journalism in 1972 by working for the newspaper *Hürriyet*. She started her career in journalism as a correspondent and columnist for the newspaper supplement *Kelebek*, and she went on to work for opposition newspapers and magazines. For a period of time, Asena worked as a copywriter, and she later became the editorial director of the magazine *Kadınca*, which focused on the topics of women and women's rights. She worked as the editorial director of the magazine from its first issue, which was released in December 1978, until the publication of its final issue in March 1992. The following quote from Asena dramatically summarizes not only the standpoint and path of the magazine but also her own life: "Unfortunately in our country, there is a mindset that regards women as creatures that do nothing but read romances and the gossip pages of newspapers. People with such a mindset find it strange that our magazine does not contain romance stories, gossip columns or news about the jet set. (...) I wonder why, despite the hundreds and thousands of women's success stories, they still say: 'They wouldn't read serious interviews. They just read romances.' Nevertheless, many women, contrary to the delusion that they are powerless, uninterested and 'just women,'

can actually prove themselves by succeeding everywhere—in their homes, at work, and with or without children. In response, we say...that women read everything, just like men... They read it all, the romance stories, the gossip columns, the interviews and serious articles in newspapers... And we say... it is about time... The times are changing. Today is not like the old days, and today's way of thinking is not like the old way. It has been proven that women and men are intellectually equal... Soon, just as they say in a high tone of voice 'like a man,' they will also say, powerfully and in capital letters, 'like a woman.'”

Indeed, *Kadınca* reported about issues that might have been considered taboo at the time, including women's sexuality, harassment, and so on. The magazine presented a wide range of articles in support of women's struggle to exist while remaining rooted in their own sense of identity and questioned why women could not go out at night, and it included the success stories of divorced women. In that way, *Kadınca* had a major impact. As the editorial director of *Kadınca*, Asena played a significant role in discussions about feminism and helping it become more mainstream, as well as opening up a space for discourses on women's identity and women's rights. The novels that she wrote were influential in a similar manner. Her first book, *Woman Has No Name*, which was published in 1987 and reprinted numerous times, was quite influential. The novel was granted a number of awards and it has been translated into many languages. Atıf Yılmaz made a film adaptation of the novel, which Şirin Tekeli described as a “manifesto of feminism in Turkey.”

The Prime Ministry Board for the Protection of Minors from Sexually Explicit Materials banned *Woman Has No Name* for a period of time during preparations for its 40th edition on the grounds that it was “harmful.” After a countersuit was filed, the ban was lifted. Asena's second book, a sequel to the first, was published in 1989 with the title *Actually, There is Also No Love*. Asena went on to write many other novels, including *Heroes Are Always Men*, *Nothing is Changed*, *There was Love in the Mirror*, *Actually You Are Free*, *Love Doesn't Say I'm Leaving* and *Torn in Pieces*, and in the meantime she continued writing for newspapers and magazines. Aside from her writing, Asena also took part in numerous conferences and women's protests and provoked debates through her interviews and statements. She passed away in July 2006.



Erdal İnönü

Scientist, politician, founder of the Social Democracy Party (SODEP), founder and president of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) which was formed through a merger with the former and the Populist Party (HP), deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

Erdal İnönü was born in Ankara in 1926. He was the son of İsmet İnönü, the second president and one of the founders of the Republic of Turkey. After attending primary school in Ankara, he graduated from Gazi High School in 1943. In 1947, he graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Science, Physics and Mathematics and afterwards he went to the USA, where he completed his MSc and PhD at the California Institute of Technology. He stayed in the USA for a period of time working on research, and he returned to Turkey in 1952, whereupon he started teaching mechanics at the General Physics Institute of the Faculty of Science, where he worked as an assistant. He became an associate professor in 1955. Between 1957 and 1960, he continued his studies in the USA and he carried out research at various universities and research institutes within the scope of the Atomic Energy Project. After returning to Turkey, he worked as a physics professor at Middle East Technical University from 1964 to 1974, where he served as the president of the Theoretical Physics Department and the dean of the Faculty of Science and Letters. In 1970, he was appointed as the president of the university but he resigned in March of 1971 as a result of the incidents that occurred following a period of police surveillance on the university campus. Between 1974 and 1982 he worked at Boğaziçi University as a lecturer and in 1982 he was the founding director of the Basic Sciences Research Institute, which was established as part of the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Tur-

key (TÜBİTAK). In addition to his administrative work in academics, İnönü also held posts outside the country as a member of the UNESCO Steering Committee and NATO Science Committee. In March 1974, he received the TÜBİTAK Science Award for his work and in 2004 he was granted the Wigner Medal, which is one of the most prestigious global awards in science, for his contributions to the science of physics.

Following the military coup of September 12 in 1980, Erdal İnönü went into politics despite the fact that he was rather unwilling to do so. After leaving academia in May 1983, he founded SODEP and served as its president. Although his founding membership was vetoed by the National Security Council, he continued working to resuscitate the social democratic left, as it was quite disorganized after the coup. Partly as a result of these efforts, in December 1983 he became the president of SODEP once again and oversaw the merger of his party with the Populist Party. In June 1986, he took over the presidency of the Social Democrat Populist Party, which was established as a result of collaboration with Aydın Güven Gürkan, who made great contributions to the alliance.

Under the leadership of İnönü, the SHP received almost 25% of the vote in the general elections of November 1987, coming in second after the Motherland Party. In the local elections of March 1989, the SHP became the leading party by getting 28% of the vote, followed by the True Path Party (DYP) and the Motherland Party (ANAP), thereby demonstrating that it could very well be voted in as the ruling party in the next general elections. However, due to organizational problems and factionist politics, especially those led by Deniz Baykal, the party rapidly began losing power, and in the general elections held in October 1991, the SHP was voted in as the third largest party after the DYP and ANAP. In the same period, İnönü was repeatedly elected president of the party, even though he had been challenged by the former secretary general Deniz Baykal, but the party continued to weaken. İnönü laid the groundwork for a coalition between the DYP and SHP after the eight-year reign of the ANAP government came to an end in the general elections of 1991, and he made his party a partner in the 49th government, in which he served as the state minister and deputy prime minister. In that election, İnönü also supported eighteen candidates from the People's Labor Party, which represented Kurdish politics, so they could get seats in the TBMM as candidates on the list of the SHP.

In June 1993, while the coalition between his party and the DYP was ongoing despite a shift in circumstances, İnönü declared his intention to resign as chair of the SHP and he stated that he would not run as a candidate in the

SHP congress that was to be held in September 1993. Ultimately, at the congress he submitted his resignation. Although he took office in the coalition government as the minister of foreign affairs, from March 1995 to October 1995 he partially withdrew from active politics, and after completing his term as minister, he withdrew completely. İnönü was an MP for İzmir during the 17th, 18th and 19th periods and he was appointed the honorary president of the CHP during the merger of the SHP and CHP. However, he resigned from the CHP in 2001 in reaction to a number of decisions made by Deniz Baykal, the president of the party. İnönü was a popular political figure thanks to his humble nature, kindness, democratic stance and humor, and also for the way he distanced himself from political ambitions. He passed away in 2007.

Eren Keskin

Lawyer, human and women's rights advocate, head of the Istanbul branch of the Human Rights Association (İHD), co-president of the İHD since November 2016.



Eren Keskin was born in Bursa in 1959. After graduating from Istanbul University's Faculty of Law, she started working as the head of the Istanbul branch of the Human Rights Association. In addition to taking on legal cases concerning human rights and women's rights as a lawyer, she was also actively involved in protests regarding such rights.

Keskin was imprisoned in Bayrampaşa Prison for two and a half years after she was put on trial by the State Security Court (DGM) for using the word "Kurdistan" in an article published in the newspaper *Özgür Gündem*, which was shut down in March 1995. She said that during her years of imprisonment, whenever she spoke to a woman with whom she had a client-lawyer relationship and women in the prison with whom she established an equal relationship, she discovered that without exception all of them had been harassed and some of them had been raped as well. When she got out of prison in 1997, she established the Office of Legal Aid for Inmate Victims of Sexual Harassment and Rape. According to a report issued by the office in November 2017, 82% of the women who had applied to the office between 1997 and 2017 had been subjected to harassment and 18% of them had been raped. Since 1997, 46 of the 180 cases that have been filed through the office ended up being heard at the ECHR. 229 women, corresponding to around 40% of the applicants, were unwilling to initiate legal proceedings, while 14 women gave up on their legal struggles because of the pressure to which they were subjected.

After a speech she made in 2002 in Cologne, Germany, Keskin was put

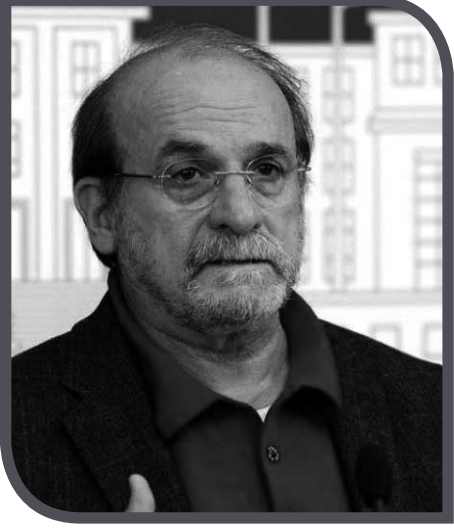
on trial in 2006 for making statements about the sexual torture carried out by government security units. She was charged with “insulting the non-material personality of the Turkish Armed Forces” and given a sentence of ten months of imprisonment. She was also targeted by certain media outlets which made harsh accusations and even threatened her. On a radio show he was hosting, journalist Fatih Altaylı said that he would harass Keskin if he saw her, as he made the claim that she was engaging in slander. When Keskin filed a complaint, the Press Council condemned Altaylı’s statement, but the accusations and threats continued. In the month of July in the same year, despite a resolution passed by the Istanbul Bar Association, the Turkish Union of Bar Associations defrocked Keskin because she had been sentenced for committing a crime, and the Legal Affairs Office of the Ministry of Justice approved of this move in September 2002.

In an act of solidarity, Keskin symbolically took over as editor in chief of the newspaper *Özgür Gündem* from 2013 to 2016. Consequently, more than a hundred charges were filed against her on the basis of the stories and comments published by the newspaper. By June 2018, 143 cases had been brought against her, and several lawsuits that were brought to completion resulted in a sentence of twelve and a half years of imprisonment; in addition, there are several pending trials in which the prosecutors have demanded life imprisonment. Because of the cases filed against Keskin, in October 2018 the Worldwide Movement for Human Rights (FIDH) and the World Organization against Torture (OMCT) co-established an observatory platform and released a “Call for Urgent Action.” Additionally, messages of solidarity have been sent by numerous human rights associations, non-governmental organizations and collective organizations, including the İHD, for which she is serving as co-president.

Keskin has received a number of awards including the Aachen Peace Prize in 2004, the Theodor Haecker Political Courage and Honesty Prize in 2005, and the International Hrant Dink Award in 2017.

Ertuğrul Kürkçü

Revolutionary and socialist student from the generation of 1968, president of the Revolutionary Youth Federation of Turkey (DEV-GENÇ), politician, co-president of the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP), honorary president of the HDP, İzmir MP for the HDP in the 25th and 26th periods.



Ertuğrul Kürkçü was born in Bursa in 1948. After attending İzmit High School, he studied in the Faculty of Architecture at Middle East Technical University (METU). In 1970, he was the president of the Revolutionary Youth Federation of Turkey (DEV-GENÇ). On March 30, 1972 he survived a military operation that became known as the “Kızıldere Incident” in which some members of the People’s Liberation Party-Front of Turkey (THKP-C), of which he had been a member, and the People’s Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) abducted three British army officers and held them hostage in an attempt to prevent the execution of Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan. Although he was caught, tried and given the death penalty, as a result of the general amnesty law enacted in 1974 his sentence was converted to 30 years of imprisonment. After remaining in prison for fourteen years, he was released in 1986 after an amendment was made to the law on the implementation of sentences. While he was in prison, he translated Karl Marx’s biography into Turkish, and after his release he worked as an editorial director for the publication of the *Encyclopedia of Socialism and Social Struggles* (*Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*). Kürkçü also worked as the editor in chief for the periodicals *Sosyalist Emek*, *Ekmek ve Özgürlük* and *Siyasi Gazete*, and he was among the founders of *Bianet.org*, one of the first online news portals in Turkey.

In the 1990s, Kürkçü was involved in the establishment of the Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP) and he became a member of the party’s council and central executive board. After the ÖDP was dissolved, he took part in the

organization of the Socialist Future Party Movement (SGPH), for which he served as a co-spokesperson, and he has worked with other socialist organizations as well as the Socialist Re-foundation Party (SYKP), which he helped establish in 2013.

In the elections of June 2011, Kürkçü was nominated as an independent parliamentary candidate for Mersin by the Labor, Democracy and Freedom Block, which was drawn together by the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) and a number of other socialist movements and parties; he won the election, thereby securing a seat in the TBMM. Afterwards, Kürkçü joined the HDP along with other MPs from the BDP, and he continued serving as an MP for Izmir as a representative of the HDP following the general elections in June and November of 2015. While an MP, Kürkçü joined the Human Rights Commission and sub-committees dealing with the issues of prisons, violations of life caused by violence and the Uludere Massacre, and he also became a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

In the extraordinary assembly of the HDP held in October 2013, Kürkçü was elected as co-president of the HDP together with Sebahat Tuncel and he remained as co-president with Tuncel until Selahattin Demirtaş and Figen Yüksekdağ were elected as co-presidents at an extraordinary party assembly held in June 2014. In the assembly, Kürkçü was chosen as the honorary president of the party and thus he is a permanent member of the HDP party council and executive board. In July 2014, he was appointed as the co-spokesperson of the Peoples' Democratic Congress.

Ertuğrul Kürkçü did not run in the general elections of June 2018. He is the author of the books *İsyanın İzinde* and *Pratiğin Akli Teorinin Heyecanı*, and the co-author of numerous compilations.

Etyen Mahçupyan

Journalist, writer, chief advisor
to former Prime Minister Ahmet
Davutoğlu.



Mahçupyan was born in Istanbul in 1950. He studied at Robert College, graduating in 1968, and in 1972 he graduated from Boğaziçi University's Faculty of Chemistry. He later completed two master's degrees, the first of which was in business administration, which he completed in 1974, and he completed his second MA in 1977 at Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences in the Department of Economics with a focus on international economics. From 1977 to 1980, when he was working as an assistant in the Department of Economics, he published a number of articles in the magazine *Demokrasi İçin Toplumcu Düşün*.

From 1980 to 1996, Mahçupyan worked for various companies as a top executive and he also started his own companies. In 1996, he decided to shift away from business and he became involved in the New Democracy Movement, which, under the guidance of Cem Boyner, resulted in the founding of a party with a liberal outlook. In 1997, he started working as a columnist for the newspaper *Radikal*, and in May 2000 he was hired by the newspaper *Zaman*, where he continued to work for a number of years. After the assassination of Hrant Dink, who was the editor in chief of the newspaper *Agos*, he stopped writing for *Zaman* for a period of time and served as the editor in chief of *Agos*. In 2010, however, he left *Agos* and went back to writing for *Zaman*. As a result of a course of events in which Fethullah Gülen and his organization were involved in open conflict with Prime Minister Erdoğan and his government through judicial means, including the corruption investigations of De-

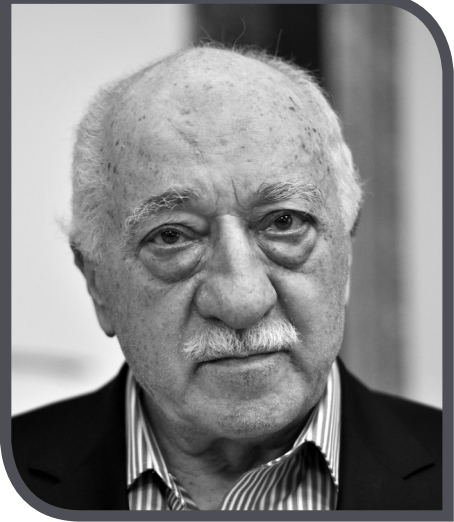
cember 17-25 in 2013, and after Erdoğan's ruling party emerged triumphant in the local elections of March 2014, Mahçupyan criticized Gülen and resigned from the newspaper *Zaman*, which had been under Gülen's control.

Mahçupyan initially supported the political perspective of both the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and its precedent, the Virtue Party, claiming that democracy can only be realized by the conservative majority and the parties that represent it. Thus, Etyen Mahçupyan reiterated his support for the government during various political and social incidents, including the Gezi Protests. In April 2013, Mahçupyan served on the "Delegation of Wise People" as part of the Solution Process, which had been drawn up as a means of solving the Kurdish Issue. In October 2014, he was appointed as a chief advisor by Ahmet Davutoğlu, who had become prime minister after Erdoğan was elected president. He continued to serve as a chief advisor until his resignation in March 2015. After Ahmet Davutoğlu came into conflict with President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and resigned as president of the AKP and the prime ministry upon Erdoğan's request, Mahçupyan began writing for the newspaper *Karar*, which is thought to be close to Davutoğlu, after it was established in March 2016. Through the newspaper, Mahçupyan started criticizing Erdoğan and the AKP. In a column published on June 22, 2018, two days before the general elections of June 2018, he declared that he had given up hope on Erdoğan and his party, and he stated that he was going to vote for Muharrem İnce, the CHP's candidate for the presidency, and the Felicity Party for the parliamentary election.

In addition to his columns and articles, Mahçupyan has written many books, the most prominent of which are *Türkiye'yi Anlamak*, *Yönetemeyen Cumhuriyet*, *İkinci Tanzimat ile Zihniyet Yapıları* and *Değişim/Batı'dan Doğu'ya, Düünden Bugüne*.

Fethullah Gülen

Imam, preacher, leader of the “Service Movement” or “Gülen Movement” which is related to the “Nurcu” movement and amassed a great deal of power in the areas of the state, the economy, politics, education and culture.



Fethullah Gülen was born in Erzurum in 1942. At one point in his life, because he was too old to be hired as a civil servant, he requested a court order, so he could officially be a year younger. Reports compiled by the TBMM commission established for the investigation of the attempted coup of July 2016 indicate that his real name in the register is Fetullah but he later spelled his name with an “h” in the middle to add the meaning of “god’s conquest” to make him appear more convincing as a religious leader. In 1945, he began studying the Quran. He did not complete primary school because his father, who was an imam, had been assigned to a new post in another place. Later, he finished primary school in Erzurum through a distance learning program. As a child, he received a religious education, and before and after doing his military service he worked as an imam in Edirne. In the early 1960s, he went to live with his family in Erzurum, where he became one of the founders of a branch of the Anti-Communist Association. The fact that he was one of the founders of this association, which the opposition and leftist circles accused of receiving support from overseas via intelligence agencies, was tagged in the aforementioned commission’s report as “the first contact Gülen established with foreign connections” and the association was defined as a “project that was developed abroad.” In 1965, he worked as an Islamic preacher in Kırıkale and from 1966 to 1971 he worked as a preacher in Izmir. He was arrested during the series of events which transpired around the 12th of March and he was imprisoned for seven months. In February 1972, he was appointed as a preacher in Edremit and in the meantime he was also preaching in Manisa; lat-

er, he was reassigned to Izmir-Bornova. Between 1975 and 1976, he travelled to various cities in Anatolia, organizing conferences about Darwinism, the Golden Generation and social justice, in addition to other religious topics. His popularity now firmly established, in September 1977 Gülen gave a sermon to a group of people at Sultan Ahmed Mosque, including prominent politicians of the time such as Süleyman Demirel and İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil. In the same year, he travelled to Germany, where he gave more talks. In February 1979, the magazine *Sızıntı* published some of his more prominent articles.

After the military coup of 1980, Gülen was on the wanted list of the martial law administration, he was a fugitive for long time, he left Izmir and he resigned as a preacher in 1981. In the second half of the 1980s, his popularity spread across the country as he gave speeches at mosques in the larger cities. In addition, its influence spread to the world through the schools that Gülen community opened in post-Soviet countries and other regions of the world. This capacity and power has been also explained by the support of the U.S.A. in the context of the strategy of Moderate Islam developed in the post-Cold War era. Bolstered by the fact that the Nurculuk movement, of which he had been a part, was of great importance for right-wing politicians, he developed strong connections in the world of politics, particularly in the 1990s, in parallel with his popularity and increasing influence over his own community of followers. Although the spokespersons of the community and the politicians who were on good terms with the community denied that there was cause for alarm, some people were concerned that members of the community were taking on positions at state organizations, especially in the judiciary system, civil service and security establishment in compliance with orders given by Gülen. When the military intervened in politics through the National Security Council Decisions on the February 28th 1997, Gülen made critical statements about Erbakan, the leader of the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) and the prime minister of the period, and supported the interventionist bloc. Yet, in the process, Gülen himself became a target of the interventionists, and investigations were opened about him. In one of his speeches, he called on his supporters to infiltrate the state, so they could take control of it by usurping constitutional authority; they were ordered to work with the opposition until they became the embodiment of “power itself.” Because of the speech, an indictment was launched, and in 1999 Gülen fled to the USA on the pretext of health issues.

In the 2000s, the community led by Gülen, which claimed to be a “Service Movement,” acquired a large amount of economic clout and political power through its organization within the state, hundreds of educational institutions in and outside Turkey, and investments in the media, finance and industrial sectors. For Gülen, who had travelled to the USA for the aforementioned reasons after the 28th of February, the 2000’s marked a period of time in

which he was described as a reputable religious persona. Under his guidance, the organization acquired greater influence over the country's politics in those years. The Gülenist organization consolidated its power, especially through the Ergenekon Investigation and Balyoz Case in which Gülenist followers in the police and judicial system were key figures, became a powerful force in the judiciary after the referendum of 2010. Prior to the referendum, Gülen was recorded as saying that "the dead should be raised from their graves, so they can vote in favor of the constitutional amendments," and that was taken as confirmation that the organization had established an implicit alliance with the government. However, the alliance openly broke down as a result of the 17-25 December investigations, which were initiated by Gülenist followers against the government. Afterwards, the AKP government started chipping away at the Gülen organization's economic and political power and it is widely believed that is why the organization attempted a coup in July of 2016. As a result of accusations that he had planned the attempted coup and that he is the leader of the "Fethullahist Terrorist Organization/Parallel State Structure (FETÖ/PDY)," lawsuits were filed, a red notice was declared for Fethullah Gülen, and the USA was asked to extradite him back to Turkey.



Figen Yüksekdağ

Socialist politician, journalist.

Yüksekdağ was born in Adana on December 19, 1971. She was one of ten children in a nationalist and conservative family of farmers. She went to primary and secondary school in Adana. In her youth, Yüksekdağ became actively involved in politics and political struggles. While she was in high school, she was influenced by socialist movements, and she was among the founders of the youth organizations of the time, including the High School Students' Union, the High School Proletarian Women's Union and the Democratic High School Students' Union. In those times, she joined the followers of the periodical *İşçinin Yolu*. When she was eighteen years old, she was detained during the Labor Day protests in Adana, and during her detainment, which lasted a month, she was tortured.

After she had a falling out with her family because of her political activities, she moved to Istanbul, where she joined the followers of the periodical *Özgür Gençlik*. In subsequent years, she worked as a writer and editor for the magazine *Sosyalist Kadın*. In 1998, she was included on the editorial board of the newspaper *Atılım*. When Sedat Şenoğlu, with whom she worked for *Atılım*, was arrested, they got married while he was in prison. Yüksekdağ is also among the founders of the University Student Association.

Yüksekdağ started her active political life with the Socialist Platform of the Oppressed, which was founded in 2002. During the general parliamentary elections of the 22nd period held on November 3, 2002, she ran as an independent MP for Adana after the platform nominated her. In 2004, she started

working as the platform's main spokesperson, a position she held until she was arrested on September 21, 2006. She was arrested once again in 2009 and imprisoned for six months.

On October 15, 2011, when the Peoples' Democratic Congress (HDK) was established, Yüksekdağ was among its founding members. She was the president of the Socialist Party of the Oppressed, which had been founded on January 29, 2010 as part of the HDK. The goal of the HDK was to "offer up a new politics as an alternative to the existing political system in Turkey through the collaboration of labor and the forces of democracy, minorities, the oppressed and the marginalized."

At the 2nd Ordinary Assembly of the HDP held on June 22, 2014, Yüksekdağ was elected as co-president of the party with Selahattin Demirtaş. Between June 22, 2014 and March 9, 2017, she served as co-president of the Peoples' Democratic Party. She was elected as an MP for the province of Van in the general parliamentary elections held on the 7th of June in 2015 for the 25th period and in the general parliamentary elections held on the 1st of November in the same year for the 26th period.

Within the scope of a terrorism investigation launched by the Diyarbakır Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, Yüksekdağ was detained on November 4, 2016 at her home in Ankara and she was arrested on the same day upon the orders of the 2nd Criminal Court of Peace, whereupon she was sent to the Kocaeli F-Type Prison. On February 21, 2017, her status as an MP was annulled based on the stipulations in the second paragraph of the eighth article of the Constitution concerning MPs being charged with crimes. On March 9, 2017, her party membership was also nullified by the Supreme Court of Appeals Prosecutor's Office based on a provision in the law on political parties which states that "individuals convicted of terrorist acts cannot be members of political parties."

Yüksekdağ is currently incarcerated in the Kocaeli F-Type Prison. She was convicted of engaging in propaganda for a terrorist organization and solicitation for such organizations, as well as insulting the government of the Republic of Turkey, the state of Turkey, the state's judicial bodies, and the military and police. In addition, she was convicted of disrupting the unity and territorial integrity of the state and endorsing crime and criminals.



Fikri Sönmez

Socialist politician, mayor.

Also known as Tailor Fikri, Sönmez was born in the district of Fatsa in Ordu in 1938 to an impoverished family. Due to financial difficulties, he began working at an early age as a tailor's apprentice after completing his primary school education. Afterwards he continued earning a living by working as a tailor.

Sönmez was influenced by the political socialization that occurred in the 1960s. He became a member of the Turkish Labor Party, which was founded in 1961, and he worked actively for the party. During the 1960s, he became involved in socialist youth movements and he was engaged in activities throughout the Black Sea region. He also joined the protests against the 6th Fleet alongside Dev-Genç. In the 1970s, he adopted the views of Mahir Çayan at a time when fractional differences of opinion started splitting the revolutionary left and he supported the THKP-C (People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey). He was accused of helping Mahir Çayan and his associates travel to the Black Sea region after they escaped from the Maltepe Military Prison. In 1972, he was tried in a case against the THKP-C. After serving two years in prison, he was released through the general amnesty of 1974. As a member of Devrimci Yol, Sönmez continued his political activities in the Black Sea region and he played a role in the organization of gatherings held with the motto "put an end to the exploitation of hazelnut farmers" in Giresun and Ordu in 1978 and 1979. Those gatherings were one of the turning points that prompted Sönmez to run for mayor.

In 1979, during the elections held after the death of Nazmiye Komitoğlu,

who had been Fatsa's mayor, Sönmez ran as an independent candidate for Devrimci Yol and received more votes than the other parties that had taken part in the elections (the CHP, AP and MSP), thereby becoming the mayor of Fatsa on the 14th of October.

Shortly after the election, Fatsa was divided into eleven sections, and people's committees, the members of which were chosen by a vote, were established for each section. Thus, an administrative model based on the direct participation of the people was guaranteed. During Sönmez's mayoral term, Fatsa was overseen through collective self-government. That experience was critical in terms of how it demonstrated that a social and political system based on solidarity can operate as an alternative to central, unitary, authoritarian governments.

The government closely monitored developments in Fatsa and the practice of self-government which had quickly become popular among locals, and right-wing media outlets and politicians were critical of what was happening in Fatsa. After the Çorum Massacre, in which tens of citizens were killed, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel ominously stated, "Set Çorum aside and look at Fatsa... If you let it go on, a hundred Fatsa's will appear." Those comments signaled an impending operation against the town.

Reşat Akkaya was appointed as the governor of Ordu and soon after, on the 11th of July in 1980, a military operation called Operation Target was carried out in Fatsa. The operation was coordinated by junta leader Kenan Evren, who would become president after the coup. The army laid siege to the district, along with the police and fascist militia members. Tanks rolled in, a raid from the sea was carried out and a curfew was declared. On the same day, thousands of people were detained and put on trial. Sönmez was arrested as well. He was tortured and locked up in prison, where he died of a heart attack five years later on May 4, 1985.



Filiz Kerestecioğlu

Pioneering activist from the feminist movement, MP representing the Peoples' Democratic Party for Istanbul in the 25th and 26th periods and MP for Ankara in the 27th period.

Kerestecioğlu was born in Ankara on January 31, 1961. Kerestecioğlu graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Law in 1984. In 1991 and 1992, she worked at the Switzerland office of the magazine *Nokta*. She was involved in the collective that published the periodical *Feminist*, which was published in 1987, and the periodical *Pazartesi* in 1995. She was a founding volunteer for the Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation, which was established in 1990. In addition, she was one of the founding members of the Istanbul Bar Association's Women's Rights Center, which was established in 1999, and she also worked as the secretary of the bar association's Foreign Affairs Commission.

Kerestecioğlu's articles were published in numerous books and magazines. She also worked on the production of the documentary *Kadınlar Vardır* (*Women Exist*, 1995), which provided a historical account of the struggle for women's rights from the Ottoman era to the late twentieth century. Between 2004 and 2012, she was the editor in chief of the magazine *Güncel Hukuk*.

Kerestecioğlu was part of the organizing committee for the "March for Solidarity against Domestic Violence" in Istanbul, which was the first large-scale legal women's protest after the military coup of September 12th. The event was planned by women and independent feminists who were also preparing to establish the Women's Association against Discrimination and publish the magazines *Feminist* and *Kaktüs*. A gathering was held in Yoğurtçu Park in Kadıköy to the accompaniment of slogans such as "We don't want a paradise that leads to violence," "There is no justification for violence" and

“Violence runs in the family.” The protest, which took place on May 17, 1987, was the first of its kind in the sense that only women organized and participated in the event. Kerestecioğlu composed the song “Kadınlar Vardır” as a reflection of the political atmosphere of the campaign and protest, and the song was included on the album “Songs for Güldünya,” which was released in 2008.

Kerestecioğlu is a member of the board of trustees and board of directors of the Şirin-Ahmet Tekeli Foundation for the Support of Women Lawyers, which was founded in 2012. Because she is critical of bar associations for keeping a distance from politics and because she sees the struggle for rights as a way of doing politics, Kerestecioğlu ran in the presidential election of the Istanbul Bar Association as a representative of an alliance of the Contemporary Lawyers’ Group, the Participatory Lawyers’ Group and the Libertarian Law Platform on October 14 in 2012.

By combining her experience in practical law with social struggles, especially with the struggle for women’s rights, Kerestecioğlu has been actively involved in the feminist movement. She has played an active role in the struggle against harassment, rape and violence targeting women, and she was part of the rise of the women’s movement in the late 1980s. She has continued to be active through her involvement in campaigns carried out via large-scale democratic organizations and the work of her party in parliament. She has raised a wide variety of social and political issues, including the Kurdish Issue, children’s rights, access to justice, the rights of the disabled, and the rights violations experienced by members of the LGBTI community.



Gültan Kışanak

Politician, journalist, women's
rights activist.

A distinctive figure in recent Kurdish politics, Kışanak was born in Elazığ on June 15th in 1961. She was raised in an intensely political environment as a member of a family that had migrated from Dersim to Elazığ. During her high school years, she took an interest in Kurdish politics and the social problems facing Turkey, and she ended up joining several youth movements. She lived in Elazığ until she started her studies in the Turkish Language Department of Dicle University's Faculty of Education in 1978. When she was in Diyarbakır, she experienced first-hand the problems Kurdish people face, and she took part in the political activities organized by associations.

In the second year of her undergraduate studies when she was just 19 years old (before the Military Coup of September 12th), she was arrested on charges of being a member of the PKK. Between 1980 and 1982, she was locked up in Diyarbakır Prison, which was one of the junta's torture centers, and she was subjected to brutal torture while there.

After her release from prison, she took the university exam once again and was accepted into Ege University's Faculty of Communication, where she studied in the Journalism and Public Relations Department. After graduating, she got involved in journalism as an intern at the Izmir office of the newspaper *Güneş*. Afterwards, she worked in the Kurdish press for newspapers such as *Halk Gerçeği* and *Yeni Ülke*. In the early 1990s, she and a group of her friends founded the newspaper *Toplumsal Direniş*. However, the newspaper was in print only for a year because of legal obstacles and political pressure.

Kışanak was part of the collective that published the newspaper *Özgür Gündem* and she worked as the Adana correspondent for the newspaper. Afterwards, she moved to Istanbul and became the newspaper's editor in chief. After *Özgür Gündem* was closed down in 1994, she started working as a publications coordinator for the newspaper *Özgür Ülke*.

Kışanak joined the women's movement in 1997 and upon returning to Diyarbakır she continued working as a journalist focusing on women's rights and the social and economic freedom of women. She also worked with various women's organizations as a women's rights activist.

For Kışanak, who had gotten involved in politics at an early age and integrated journalism into her activism for women's rights, a new period had begun. In the general parliamentary elections of the 22nd of July in 2007 for the 23rd period, she ran as one of the Candidates of a Thousand Hopes, which was a means of overcoming the anti-democratic 10% election threshold. She had been nominated as an independent candidate with the support of the Democratic Society Party (DTP) and she got enough votes to get a seat in parliament. During her term as an MP, she contributed to efforts to secure a ceasefire, resolve the Kurdish Issue and establish lasting peace.

In 2009, she was elected as the co-president of the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), which was established after the DTP was shut down, alongside Selahattin Demirtaş, a position she held from the 4th of September in 2011 until the 30th of April in 2014. In the general parliamentary elections of June 12, 2011 for the 24th period, she ran as an independent candidate supported by the BDP and entered parliament for the second time as an MP for Siirt.

In the local elections of March 30, 2014, the BDP nominated Kışanak as a candidate for mayor of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. She won the election with 55% of the vote, becoming the first female mayor of the city. She held that post between the 31st of March in 2014 and the 30th of October in 2016. Kışanak was detained within the scope of an investigation launched against her under the allegation that she was a member of the PKK/KCK. The investigation started on October 25, 2016 and she was arrested on the 30th of October together with Fırat Anlı, who was the co-mayor and a municipal council member for the DBP. She is currently incarcerated in the Kocaeli F-Type Prison.



Hakan Fidan

Head of the National Security
Organization (MİT)

Fidan, who was quickly promoted to the head of MİT from the rank of communications sergeant in the army, was born in Ankara in 1968. He was a prominent figure in the Solution Process and he also was the head of the National Security Organization at the time of the attempted coup of the 15th of July.

He studied at the Communications School of the Land Forces and the Language School of the Land Forces. From 1986 until he graduated in 2001, he was a communications and intelligence sergeant for the Turkish Armed Forces. The TSK appointed him to the NATO Rapid Deployable Corps Intelligence and Operations Headquarters in Germany, where he worked for three years. While he was there, he completed a bachelor's degree at the University of Maryland University College Europe in the field of administrative and political sciences. In 2000, he was elected as a member of the executive board of OYAK, which oversees the pension fund of the TSK.

After completing his fifteen-year compulsory service, he resigned from the TSK. After returning to Turkey, he completed his master's degree in 1999 and went on to pursue a doctorate degree in Bilkent University's International Relations Department, which he completed in 2006.

Between 2001 and 2003, he worked at the Australian Embassy in Ankara as a senior advisor for politics and economics. Between 2003 and 2007, he was the head of the Prime Ministry Turkish Cooperation and Development Administration (TİKA). Fidan's rapid rise in the state bureaucracy came about to a large extent because of TİKA, which was operating in cooperation with the

departments of foreign affairs and intelligence. During this period of time, he worked closely with Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül (minister of foreign affairs) and Ahmet Davutoğlu (prime ministry chief advisor for foreign politics). He worked effectively throughout this period, especially when Turkey started opening up to the Middle East and Africa.

On November 14, 2007 he was appointed as the deputy undersecretary for the prime ministry department of foreign politics and international security. He was also appointed as a member of the board of directors of the International Atomic Energy Agency in 2008. Later, he became a member of the board of trustees of International Ahmet Yesevi University, a position he held until he resigned in February 2011. He was also a member of the advisory board of the United Nations Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform and a member of the board of directors of the Yunus Emre Foundation.

On April 15, 2009, Fidan was appointed as the deputy undersecretary of MİT. When Emre Taner, the undersecretary of MİT retired, Fidan took over the position, and he was sworn in on the 27th of May in 2010. In this way, Fidan became the youngest person in the history of Turkey to have been appointed as the undersecretary of MİT; he was 42 years old at the time. After Sönmez Köksal, Fidan was the second “civilian” appointed to the agency, which is generally staffed by high-ranking military personnel.

In September, Fidan’s name became well-known after tapes of the peace negotiations in Oslo between the heads of the PKK and MİT officers were leaked. Heated public debates ensued, and the incident became known as the Crisis of February 7. A horizontal power struggle within the state, including the involvement of Fidan, had been brought to light.

On February 7, 2012, Sadrettin Sarıkaya, a chief public prosecutor, questioned Fidan, along with Emre Taner, Afet Güneş and two other MİT officers, as suspects within the scope of a KCK investigation. In response, Erdoğan enacted Law 6278, which required that consent be obtained from the Prime Ministry for criminal investigations of MİT officers and certain other public officers. As prime minister, Erdoğan stated, “I am the one who sent them to İmralı and to Oslo... Why should that be a problem? He is my operative. An operative of the Republic of Turkey. He is an operative working for Turkey’s future.”

Fidan resigned on February 10, 2015 so he could run as a candidate for the Justice and Development Party in the general elections for the 25th period. However, President Erdoğan clearly expressed his opposition to Fidan’s candidacy. In a written statement released on March 9, Fidan declared that he had withdrawn his application for candidacy “as he deemed it to be necessary” and he was reappointed as the undersecretary of MİT on March 10.



Hatip Dicle

Politician.

A leading figure in Kurdish politics, Dicle was born in Diyarbakır in 1954. He grew up in a family steeped in Islamic values. He attended Ziya Gökalp High School, which is in Diyarbakır. Although he could have enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine at a university in Diyarbakır, he opted to study in the Civil Engineering Department at Istanbul Technical University.

During his years as an undergraduate student, he worked as he studied, and he became interested in revolutionary student movements. In the 1970s, he developed ties with the DKDD (Revolutionary Culture and Friendship Association), a political center that drew in Kurdish students. After graduating in 1979, he went back to Diyarbakır. At the end of the 1980s, he joined the Fatah in Palestine with the Şivancılar group, stirred by the ideal of engaging in armed resistance against the system put into place following the coup of the 12th of September. During the six months he stayed in Palestine, he received military training.

Afterwards, Dicle remained dedicated to the Kurdish struggle. In 1990, he was appointed as a branch president of the Human Rights Association. The 1990s were a tumultuous time for Dicle, as he spent much of that decade in prison. In 1991 he was elected as an MP for Diyarbakır from the list of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) within the scope of an electoral alliance between the SHP and the People's Labor Party (HEP).

During the swearing-in ceremony held at the TBMM on November 6, 1991, Leyla Zana said, "I make this oath for the fellowship of the Turkish and Kurdish people." Before that, Dicle had said, "My friends and I are making

this oath under pressure of the constitution.” The oaths of the Kurdish MPs from the HEP were met with fierce protests in parliament. On December 12, 1993, Dicle was elected as president of the DEP (21st of June 1991 to the 16th of June 1994), which was established because the HEP (7th of June 1990 to the 14th July 1993) was under threat of being shut down.

In those times, a nationalist-statist and authoritarian legal order and political atmosphere dominated. Upon a request made by the Ankara State Security Court Public Prosecutor’s Office, on March 2, 1994 the TBMM annulled the parliamentary immunity of Leyla Zana, Selim Sadak, Orhan Doğan and Hatip Dicle. They were forcibly removed from the parliament grounds in a police car at the exit of the General Assembly of Parliament. First they were detained, and later they were arrested. Dicle was imprisoned for 10 years.

After his release, Dicle recommenced his political activities. He became involved in the establishment of the Democratic Society Party (DTP), which held to the ideological perspective of its predecessors (the HEP, DEP, HA-DEP and DEHAP). However, because he had been officially banned from politics, his party membership was cancelled by the Constitutional Court. Dicle was elected as an independent MP for Diyarbakır with the support of the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) in the general elections of June 12, 2011. However, his parliamentary status was annulled by the Supreme Committee of Elections on the grounds that he had been charged with a crime and sentenced to imprisonment. However, Dicle continued to be active in politics. He served as the co-president and spokesperson of the Democratic Society Congress, the founding of which he had organized. However, within the scope of KCK operations, he was detained and arrested on December 24, 2009. As a result of objections to the ruling, he was released from Diyarbakır Prison on June 29, 2014.



Hikmet Çetin

Politician, diplomat, minister.

Çetin was born in the district of Lice in Diyarbakır province in 1937. He attended primary school in Lice and high school in Ankara at Atatürk High School, and then he went on to study in the Economics and Finance Department at Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences. As an undergraduate student, he joined the Republican People's Party (CHP). Between 1957 and 1960, he worked for the CHP as the general secretary of the party's youth branch.

After completing his university education, in 1960 he started working in the state bureaucracy as an assistant specialist at the State Planning Organization (DPT). In 1964 and 1965 he undertook post-graduate studies in the USA in the field of development economics and focused on planning in his thesis. Afterwards, he worked as a senior specialist on preparations for Turkey's first and second five-year development plans. In 1971, he was appointed as the head of the DPT's Economic Planning Office. His career at the DPT lasted from 1960 until 1977, when he became a member of parliament for Istanbul as a representative of the CHP. Between October 1978 and November 1979, he served as a state minister and deputy prime minister for the Ecevit government.

Following the military coup of the 12th of September, many political parties, including the CHP, of which he was a member, were shut down. In the interim elections held on September 28, 1986, he ran as a candidate for the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP), but he didn't receive enough votes to

be elected. In 1987, he was appointed as the president of the SHP's Istanbul branch. In the general elections of November 29, 1987, he entered parliament as an MP for Diyarbakır as a representative of the SHP. During this term, he served as the parliamentary group deputy chairperson and general secretary of the party.

In the general elections of November 20, 1991, he entered parliament as an MP for Gaziantep. After the election, he was appointed as the minister of foreign affairs for the first and second coalition governments assembled by the True Path Party and the SHP, a position he held from November 21, 1991 to July 27, 1994, when he resigned. Later, when the CHP and SHP merged at a party assembly in February 1995, he was elected as the president of the CHP, and he held that position until September.

In the general elections of the 24th of December in 1995, he was once again elected as an MP for Gaziantep. In this term, on October 16, 1997 he was elected as the president of the TBMM and he held that position until the elections of April 18, 1999.

For a period of time following the elections, he worked for President Süleyman Demirel as a foreign relations advisor. Between November 19, 2003 and August 24, 2006, he worked with NATO as an Afghanistan Senior Civilian Representative.

When he was actively involved in politics, he took part in the Change for Turkey Movement led by Mustafa Sarıgül, but later he returned to the CHP.



Hikmet Sami Türk

Politician, lawyer, academician,
minister.

Born in Trabzon in 1935, Türk graduated from the Istanbul Kabataş Boys' High School in 1954. In 1958, he completed his studies at Istanbul University's Faculty of Law, and in 1964 he received his doctorate degree from the University of Cologne's Faculty of Law. After returning to Turkey in 1967, he started working at Ankara University's Faculty of Law, where he remained as a lecturer until 1995.

Türk's political career began when he was elected as an MP for Trabzon in the elections of December 24, 1995 as a representative of the Democratic Left Party (DSP). He was elected once again as an MP for Trabzon in the elections of April 18, 1999.

He held the post of state minister for human rights in the ANAP and DSP coalition government from June 30, 1997 until the elections of April 18, 1999.

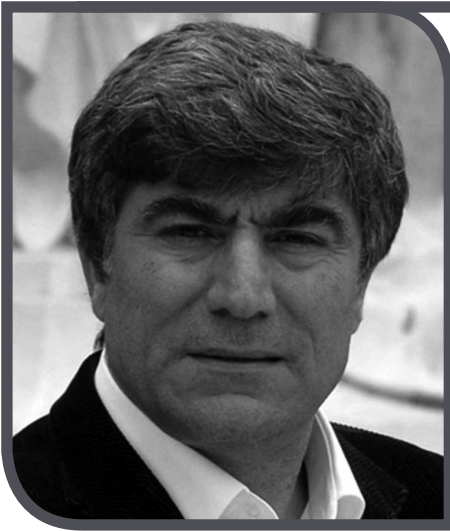
In the 56th government of the Republic of Turkey, also known as the 4th Ecevit government (January 11, 1999 to 28th May 28, 1999), he was the minister of national defense, and in the 57th government, known as the 5th Ecevit government (May 28, 1999 to November 18, 2002) he served as the minister of justice.

Türk's name became ingrained in public memory in Turkey as a result of an operation called Return to Life, which was carried out when he was the minister of justice. The Return to Life Operation targeted political prisoners who were protesting the F-type cell system, which separates inmates from one another, and practices of solitary confinement that started on October

20. Within the scope of Return to Life, 10,000 security officers took part in simultaneous operations in twenty prisons on December 19, 2000. During the course of the operations, 30 political prisoners were killed and hundreds were injured. Two soldiers also lost their lives when they were accidentally shot by gendarmerie forces. In Türk's words, "the gentle hands of the state" had been involved in a massacre under the pretext of a so-called "Return to Life."

Türk stated that the "prisoners who were killed by the soldiers had been engaged in combat with them" and he claimed that some of the deaths occurred because of clashes between prisoners. However, the reports of forensic experts revealed that Türk was lying when he said that the inmates of Bayrampaşa Prison "were firing Kalashnikovs." According to the report, there had been no gunfire in the wards, but tear gas had been used far in excess of the legal amount.

He was unable to enter parliament after the elections of November 3, 2002, as his party, the DSP, did not pass the election threshold. Türk held the position of deputy president of the DSP until he resigned on March 1, 2018.



Hrant Dink

Journalist, writer, activist.

Dink was born in Malatya on September 15, 1954. His father was from Malatya and his mother was from Sivas. When Dink was five years old, his family moved to Istanbul. Soon after, his mother and father got divorced, whereupon he fled home with his siblings, and they were enrolled at the children's boarding school in Gedikpaşa run by the Armenian Protestant Church. He attended the church's primary school and spent the summers at the school's summer camp in Tuzla. At the orphanage, he met Rakel Yağbasan, whose family had escaped the deportations of 1915 and remained in hiding on Cudi Mountain for twenty-five years; as a result, they could only speak Kurdish. The couple got married in 1975.

During his high school years, Dink became interested in socialist politics. Initially, he had been studying at the Surp Haç Tibrevank Armenian High School in Üsküdar but when he was expelled because of his political activities, he was transferred to Şişli High School. Afterwards, he studied zoology at Istanbul University's Faculty of Science. At the same time, he was also studying in the philosophy department but at one point he dropped out of the program. In the environment of violence and suppression that pervaded following the Memorandum of March 12, he became involved in revolutionary leftist politics. In this period, he officially changed his name via court order to Fırat so that people wouldn't associate his political activities with his Armenian identity, as he wanted to avoid bringing harm to the Armenian community.

Dink and his wife Rakel took over the administration of the Tuzla Armenian Children's Camp, which provided housing for impoverished Armenian orphans and where they had stayed as children. At one point, however, the state seized the property on the grounds that "Armenian militia were being trained there." After the state took over the camp, Hrant Dink was detained three times and he was arrested as well.

In the 1990s, Dink started getting involved in journalism and writing. He wrote for the newspaper *Marmara*, which was published in Armenian, under the pseudonym "Çutak" (meaning "violin" in Armenian). He penned articles about books that were being published in Turkey about the history of the Armenians. On April 5, 1996, he founded the weekly newspaper *Agos*, which was published in Turkish and Armenian, and he served as the newspaper's editorial director and editor in chief. In the meantime, Dink also wrote columns for newspapers with a leftist-democratic outlook.

Throughout this period, he became a target of persecution and he was put on trial for the columns and news stories he wrote. Also, the chain of events that led up to his assassination had its roots in those years. In 2002, he gave a speech in Urfa in which he said, "I am not a Turk but Turkey is my country and I am Armenian." Soon after, a lawsuit was filed against him for "insulting Turkishness" but in the end he was acquitted in 2006. Then on February 6, 2004 he published an article under his name in *Agos* which made the claim that Sabiha Gökçen, Atatürk's foster child, was of Armenian descent and had been adopted from an orphanage.

When the news story was quoted on the front page of the newspaper *Hürriyet* two weeks later, the general secretariat of the General Staff issued a strong statement on February 22, 2004. Immediately afterwards, Dink was summoned to the governor's office in Istanbul. At deputy governor Erol Güngör's office, Dink was given a "warning" by two people whose identities are still unknown and who introduced themselves as acquaintances of the deputy governor.

A series of articles about Armenian identity that Dink published in *Agos* led to a new round of indictments, and Dink was put on trial on the basis of the notorious Article 301 of the Turkish Criminal Code ("defaming and deriding Turkishness in publications"). During the trial hearings, Dink and his lawyers were attacked and threatened both inside and outside the courthouse. The presence of Kemal Kerişsiz and Veli Küçük in the corridors of the courthouse attracted particular attention. The insults and open threats that were voiced during the course of the trial were taken up in the media as well, and protests were held in front of the newspaper's office. Although a legal specialist stated that the articles did not contain anything that was criminal in

nature, the court handed down a sentence of six months of imprisonment on October 7, 2005. The Supreme Court ratified the decision in July 2006. The last six months of Dink's life were marked by uneasiness. His last two columns, which were titled "The Pigeon-like Disquiet of My Spirit" and "Why was I Targeted?" reveal the unease Dink was feeling.

As an Armenian who was a citizen of Turkey and as a public-minded intellectual who addressed the problems of the society in which he lived, Dink tried to offer solutions to those issues and he struggled for the democratization of Turkey. In the end, however, Dink was murdered in front of the offices of *Agos* on Halaskargazi Avenue in Şişli on January 19, 2007; he was gunned down by three shots fired at point-blank range. The primary suspect was 19-year-old Ogün Samast. Hrant Dink thus became the 62nd journalist to have been assassinated in Turkey since 1909. Within hours after Dink was murdered, a march from Taksim to *Agos* quickly transformed into a mass protest. Tens of thousands of people gathered in front of *Agos*, chanting "We are all Hrant" and "We are all Armenians" in solidarity with the newspaper and the Armenian community.

The secrecy behind the brazen murder of Dink, as well as its execution and aftermath, represent a concise summary of the dark history Turkey's deep state. No further light has been shed on the case of his assassination, even though eleven years have passed.

Hüda Kaya

Writer, activist, politician.



Kaya was born in Istanbul in 1960. She had become a member of the Idealist Movement before the coup of September 12 in 1980. Her parents got divorced when she was young, and Kaya says that she “had a mindset that was limited to the Turkish world.” In various interviews she has mentioned that after she started reading the Quran in her youth, her life changed completely, and she adopted an Islamist outlook on life.

At one point she married a Turkish citizen of Iraqi origin. During the course of her marriage, which lasted nine years, she had three daughters and a son, but she decided that divorce was her only option. When her husband refused to comply with the divorce and threatened to abduct their children, she fled with her children and took refuge at a friend’s house in Malatya. Her marriage was finally dissolved in 1988 after a long court case in which she sued her husband for divorce.

After February 28, 1998, when she took part in protests in Malatya against the headscarf ban at an İmam Hatip High School (İHL), she was detained, and then she was arrested for of an article she had written which was titled “A National Night of Excitement and the Headscarf.” Her son Muhammed Cihad was also detained in Malatya on the following day; he was only thirteen years old at the time. A lawsuit was filed against her at the State Security Court based on Article 312 of the Turkish Criminal Code. Kaya received a sentence of twenty months of imprisonment, which she served.

After she was released, she resumed her political struggle. Her three daughters, who were studying at the Malatya İHL, were detained when an anti-terrorist unit raided the school in 1999. Kaya was tried on the basis of Article 146 of the Turkish Criminal Code along with her three daughters, and the prosecutor requested capital punishment. They were sentenced and incarcerated. Kaya was imprisoned four times between 1998 and 2003, and she served a total of three years in the prisons of Ağrı and Malatya.

In interviews, Kaya has noted that when she got out of prison, she was shunned by Islamists. She was forced to settle in Istanbul but could not overcome her financial difficulties. After one of her daughters was fined after being put on trial, she considered leaving the country and, in the end, she went to Pakistan. However, after staying there for a year, she returned to Istanbul.

In 2011, together with her son Muhammed Cihad, who had been detained and arrested in an operation against the PKK but had been released, she went to Qandil to meet the heads of the PKK, and in a series of articles she wrote about her impressions of the people who joined the organization. Her interactions with Kurdish militants and the leftist women with whom she was imprisoned in Malatya allowed her to observe the dimensions of the Kurdish Issue outside the bounds of the dominant discourse. Kaya's encounters in Qandil left her with a similar impression.

Kaya is the founder and former president of the Kardelen Education, Culture and Cooperation Association and she is also a member and Turkish delegate of the International Muslim Women's Union (IMWU). In addition, she is a member of the Democratic Islam Congress Council. Kaya worked for the central executive committee of the HDP for two terms and she was an MP for Istanbul representing the HDP for the 25th, 26th and 27th periods.

Hülya Gülbahar

Lawyer, women's rights activist.



Gülbahar was born in Izmir in 1960. She attended Izmir 50. Yıl High School, and in 1983 she graduated from Dokuz Eylül University's Faculty of Law. Gülbahar is a women's rights activist and she has remained at the forefront of the struggle against psychological and physical violence against women.

Gülbahar has been involved in the women's movement since 1978. She is a member of the board of directors of the Women's Library and Information Center Foundation. From 1994 to 2004, she was a volunteer lawyer for the Mor Çatı Foundation. She is also one of the founders of the Women's Media Watch Group (MEDİZ) and from 2007 to 2010 she was the president of the Association for the Support and Training of Women Candidates (KA-DER). At the same time, she is actively involved with the Equality Watch Women's Group.

Gülbahar has been a political spokeswoman for the women's movement in the media in line with the cases that she has been following. She is also among the founders of women's platforms working for the mainstreaming of an approach based on equality in legal regulations, especially as regards the civil code and the criminal code, in place of the predominant masculine and militarist discourses and gender apartheid practices.

Gülbahar has argued that there is a direct correlation between violence targeting women and the murders of women with the network of relations and discourses that objectify and render women passive in traditional roles of

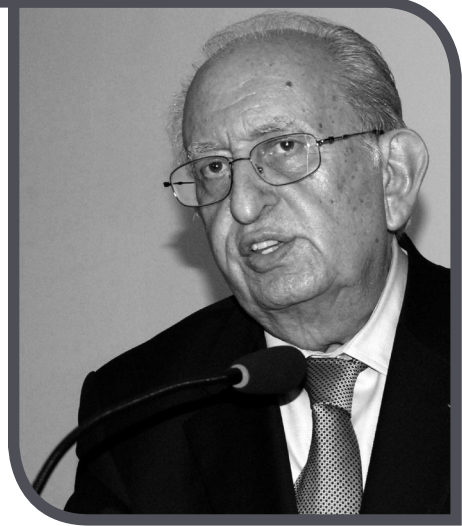
serving and obeying. She describes the entirety of practices that have become systematic in targeting women as “femicide.” In that entirety, she also includes media discourses that encourage violence, the destructive and impoverishing impacts of neoliberal economy politics and the rise of conservative morals and political programs.

She is also critical of state policies that seek only to prevent domestic violence while ignoring the violence that is directed against all women. Gülbahar argues that neoliberalism goes hand in hand with Islamist political agendas in directing society in such a way that family becomes the core unit for relations of production. Gülbahar has also been critical of the confinement of the struggle for women’s rights, which requires equal citizenship in the constitution and laws, within the boundaries of legal activism, and in interviews she has emphasized that a more comprehensive struggle is needed.

Gülbahar was one of the lawyers who stated that she was willing to volunteer for the defense of the more than 200,000 academicians who have been targeted by the government because they called for an end to the clashes in the eastern and southeastern regions of Turkey as they rallied around the motto, “We shall not be a party to this crime.”

Hüsamettin Cindoruk

Politician, lawyer.



Cindoruk was born in Izmir in 1933. He attended primary and secondary school in Ankara, and he graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Law in 1954.

Later in his life, Cindoruk became a popular figure among central rightists, but he started getting involved in politics through the activities of the youth branch of the Democrat Party (DP). In 1958, Cindoruk left the DP and became one of the founders of the Freedom Party. After the military coup of May 27, 1960, he defended some of the heads of the DP during the Yassıada Trials in which they were being tried. He was incarcerated in the Balmumcu Military Prison for two and a half months on the grounds that he had insulted the Supreme Court of Justice during the trials.

After the transition to a civilian political regime after the coup, he continued his political activities by working with the Justice Party and the Democratic Party.

His political life was interrupted once again with the re-transition to a military regime after the coup of the 12th of September in 1980. The Great Turkey Party, which he had helped found in 1983, was shut down after fifteen days via a communique issued by the National Security Council. Per the terms of the communique, Cindoruk was held in the Zincirbozan Garrison for four months.

On May 14, 1985, he was elected as the president of the True Path Party (DYP). Afterwards, he handed over the presidency to Süleyman Demirel, who had been banned from politics but the ban was lifted with the referendum

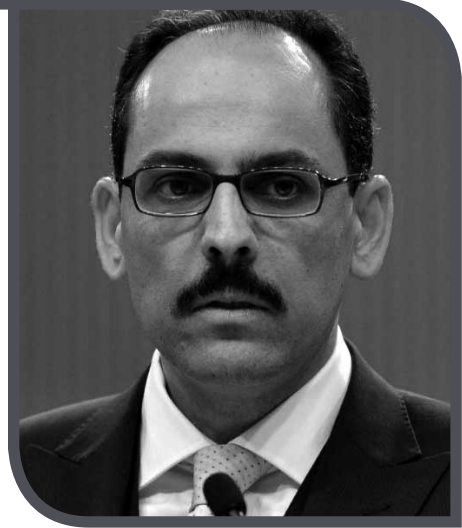
of September 6, 1987. In the by-elections of 1986, he was elected as an MP for Samsun for the 17th period and in the general elections of 1991 he was elected as an MP for Eskişehir for the 19th period. He held the position of leader of the Turkish Grand National Assembly from November 16, 1991 to October 1, 1995. Upon the death of Turgut Özal, Turkey's eighth president, on April 17, 1993, he took over and held the presidential post by proxy until May 16, 1993.

When Süleyman Demirel was elected by the TBMM as the 9th president of Turkey on May 6, 1993, he did not run as a candidate for the presidency of the DYP at the party assembly held on June 13, 1993, and Tansu Çiller ended up being voted in as president of the party. Cindoruk founded the Democrat Turkey Party (DTP) with a group of parliamentary members who had resigned from the DYP on January 7, 1997 in response to the actions of Refahiyol government, and he became the first president of the party. After the events surrounding the 28th of February, the DTP became one of the coalition partners of the 55th government that was assembled in July 1997 under the leadership of Mesut Yılmaz alongside the Motherland Party and the Democratic Left Party. In the elections of the 17th of April in 1999, the party was unable to pass the election threshold as it only received 0.58% of the vote, whereupon Cindoruk resigned as president of the party.

On May 16, 2009 he was elected as president of the Democrat Party. In the days that followed, he was one of the guiding architects of the merger between the Democrat Party and the Motherland Party which took place on October 31, 2009. In January of 2011, he maintained an active role in politics by continuing to serve as president of the party.

İbrahim Kalın

Presidential spokesperson,
deputy secretary, ambassador,
bureaucrat.



Kalın, whose family is originally from Erzurum, was born in 1971. In 1992, he graduated from Istanbul University's Department of History. He went on to attend the Malaysian Islamic University, where he completed his MA in Islamic thought and philosophy. In those days, Ahmet Davutoğlu was a lecturer at the same university. In 1996, he went to the USA, where he studied at George Washington University for his doctorate degree in comparative humanities and philosophy. After completing his PhD, he taught Islamic thought at the College of the Holy Cross, Georgetown University and Bilkent University. In addition to penning columns for the newspaper *Sabah*, he has published articles and books in his field of expertise and translated works as well.

Between 2005 and 2009, he served as the founding president of the SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research, which has functioned as a semi-official think tank generating "the knowledge that the AKP needs." In 2011, he was appointed as a member of Ahmet Yesevi University's board of trustees.

His quick rise in the state bureaucracy began when Ahmet Davutoğlu was appointed as minister of foreign affairs on May 1, 2009 by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who was prime minister at the time. After Davutoğlu's appointment, Kalın replaced him as chief advisor to the prime minister for foreign affairs, a position that he held until 2012. He also became the first coordinator of the Prime Ministry Public Diplomacy Coordination Office, which was founded on January 30, 2010.

Kalın made a memorable comment about the notion of “valuable solitude” in a tweet he posted in August 2013 in response to harsh criticisms of the AKP’s Middle East policies.

After Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was elected as Turkey’s twelfth president on August 10, 2014, Kalın was appointed as the president’s deputy general secretary. Most recently, on December 11, 2014, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan appointed him presidential spokesperson.

İhsan Doğramacı

Doctor of medicine, bureaucrat,
former president of YÖK (the
Council of Higher Education).



Doğramacı was born in Erbil, which had once been an Ottoman province, on April 3, 1915. His family, which was influential in the region, was of Turkmen origin. Doğramacızade Ali Pasha, Doğramacı's father, had once served as mayor of Erbil. Doğramacı completed primary school in Erbil and secondary school at an educational institution run by the American University in Beirut. After studying at the Faculty of Medicine in Baghdad for three years, he continued his education at Istanbul University's Faculty of Medicine, where he graduated as a medical doctor in 1938.

From 1963 to 1965, he served as president of Ankara University and from 1965 to 1967 he was the head of Middle East Technical University's board of trustees. From 1967 to 1975, he was served as the president of Hacettepe University, and he also held several positions at the World Health Organization and UNICEF.

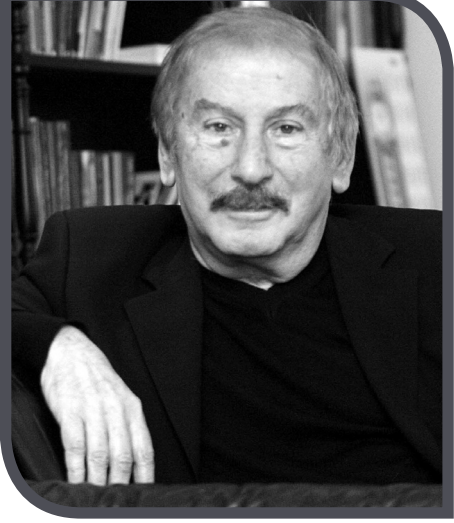
The junta government asked Doğramacı to serve as a consultant in the drafting of a new law that would radically alter the system of higher education in Turkey. He proposed the establishment of a higher education board (the Council of Higher Education, or YÖK) which would be overseen by the president. Between December 10, 1981 and July 10, 1992, Doğramacı served as president of the Council of Higher Education, which had been established on November 6, 1981 by the Martial Law Command which took power following the coup of September 12. In 1983, he supported the amendment of Martial Law 1402, which resulted in the unlawful discharge of more than 70 acade-

micians. He was the intellectual architect behind an institutional mechanism designed for use by the military regime in the standardization and centralization of universities, as a result of which free and critical thinking were stifled and universities were more or less transformed into military outposts. The pervasive negative impacts that YÖK had on universities and free thinking are still tangible.

After the enactment of the Constitution of 1982, which made it possible for foundations to establish non-profit institutions of higher education, Dođramacı founded Bilkent University on October 20, 1984 with the backing of the Dođramacı Foundation for Education, the İhsan Dođramacı Health Foundation and the İhsan Dođramacı Science and Research Foundation. Bilkent University was the first private (foundation) university in Turkey. Dođramacı was appointed as president of the executive board of Bilkent Holding, which also included the companies overseen by the Tepe Group. He was also president of Bilkent University's board of trustees from 1985 until his death on February 15, 2010.

İlhan Selçuk

Journalist.



An influential figure in Kemalist and neo-nationalist circles as an intellectual and moral authority, Selçuk was born in Aydın on March 11, 1925. Because his father was a military officer and his family had to relocate frequently, Selçuk attended primary, secondary and high school in various cities. He completed his degree in law at Istanbul University's Faculty of Law in 1950. After graduating, for a brief period of time he worked as a self-employed lawyer. He often stopped by the offices of Babıali to visit his elder brother Turhan Selçuk, who was working there, and that was a major factor that steered Selçuk towards getting involved in publications and journalism.

In the 1940s, Selçuk worked as a cartoonist for the magazines *Aydede* and *Akbaba*. Together with his brother Turhan Selçuk, he published the humor magazines *41 Buçuk* (1952, 15 issues) and *Dolmuş* (1956-1958, 139 issues), and he also worked with Aziz Nesin and Turhan Selçuk in publishing the humor magazine *Karikatür* (1958). He also ran a printing business for a period of time.

Because of his political views, Selçuk supported the military coup of May 27, 1960, and he was a soldier when the coup was launched. While doing his military service, he wrote anonymously for the periodical *Ulus*. Upon completion of his military service, he started working as a journalist for the newspaper *Akşam* in 1961. Afterwards, he worked for the dailies *Tanin* and *Vatan*. In 1962, he was involved in the publication of the magazine *Yön* alongside Doğan Avcıoğlu, Mümtaz Soysal and several other major figures.

In the same year, he was invited by Nadir Nadi to write for the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. He penned columns six days a week as part of a series called “Pencere.” Additionally, he worked as an editorial writer, president of the editorial board and president of the Cumhuriyet Foundation.

Following the Memorandum of March 12 (1971), Selçuk was detained on the allegation that he had been involved in the attempted coup of March 9, and he was included among the groups centered around the newspaper *Devrim* that advocated for a National Democratic Revolution via a military intervention that was to be brought about by convincing neo-nationalist officers in the army to take action. He discussed the brutal torture to which he was subjected at Ziverbey Mansion in his book *Ziverbey Köşkü*, which was released in 1987. Using acrostics, Selçuk included encrypted information about the torture he endured in the text of his defense statement. The first letter of every second to last word in each sentence spelled, in descending order, “I am being tortured.”

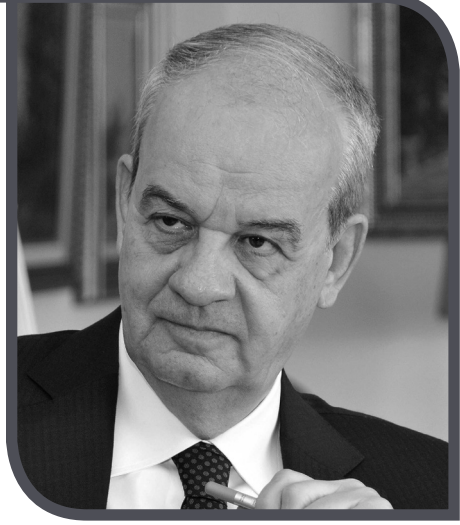
With the exception of two brief interludes, he wrote for *Cumhuriyet* from April 8, 1962 until August 15, 2009. In the aftermath of the Memorandum of March 12, he stopped writing for the newspaper for a period of time, and he briefly resigned from the newspaper in 1991 when disputes erupted concerning the editorial policies of the newspaper after Nadir Nadi passed away. Selçuk resumed working for the newspaper in 1992.

On March 21, 2008 at 4:30 a.m., he was detained within the scope of the Ergenekon Investigation, the indictment of which had yet to be written, on the grounds that he “intentionally carried out duties for the organization with the aim of furthering its aims without being a member.” He was released two days later pending trial.

Selçuk was among the founding members of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, which was established in 1999. Selçuk passed away in Istanbul on June 21, 2010.

İlker Başbuğ

General of the Army, 26th chief
of general staff of the Turkish
Armed Forces.



Born in Afyonkarahisar in 1954, Başbuğ attended primary and secondary school in Afyon, and he completed his high school education at Kuleli Military High School. In 1960, he enrolled at the Turkish Military Academy and graduated in 1962. In 1963, he graduated from the School of Infantry, and between 1963 and 1971 he served in several units of the Land Forces Command.

In 1973, Başbuğ graduated from the Army War College and became a staff officer. Afterwards, he held the posts of headquarters officer at the Planning and Special Operations Department of the General Staff, lecturer at the Army War College, intelligence planning officer at NATO's headquarters in Brussels, head of the Defense Research Branch of Planning and Principles Headquarters of the Land Forces Command, and commander of the 51st Infantry Division and 247th Infantry Regiment.

Başbuğ was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in 1989 and held several posts at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe in Mons. In 1993, Başbuğ was appointed major general and during this period he also served as deputy of the Gendarmerie Public Order Command and head of the National Military Delegation in Belgium. In 1997, he was promoted to lieutenant general and became the 2nd Corps commander and the chief deputy secretary of the National Security Council.

In 2002, he was promoted to the rank of full general. In 2002 and 2003, he served as the chief of staff for the Land Forces Command, from 2003 to 2005 he was the deputy chief of general staff and in 2005 and 2006 he was

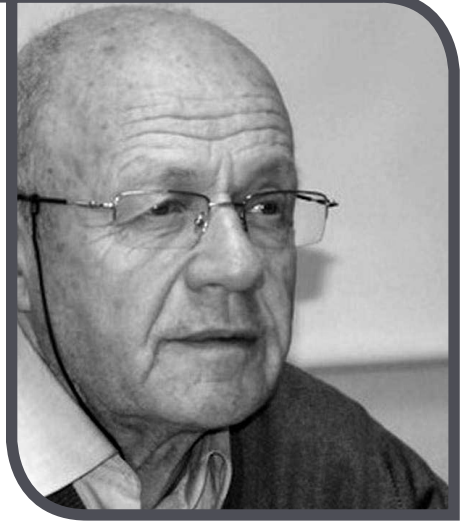
the commander of the First Army. Afterwards in 2006 he was appointed as commander of the Land Forces. In 2008, Başbuğ became the chief of general staff of the Turkish Armed forces through a resolution passed by the Supreme Military Council. Subsequently he retired on August 30, 2010 because he had reached the age limit for the position.

On January 5, 2012, within the scope of the “Internet Memorandum” investigation he sent a statement to the public prosecutor’s office and he was detained. After his trial, he was arrested for “leading an armed terrorist organization and attempting to topple the government.” Başbuğ made the following remark in front of the courthouse: “The 26th chief of general staff of the Republic of Turkey has just been arrested on charges of setting up and leading a terrorist organization. Judgment on the matter is up to the honorable people of Turkey.”

As part of the Ergenekon Investigation, he was given a life sentence upon being found guilty in his trial, which was finalized on August 5, 2013. A few months later, however, on March 7, 2014, he was released as the result of a ruling issued by the Constitutional Court which stated that his rights and freedoms had been violated.

İsmail Beşikçi

Sociologist and writer.



Later in life nicknamed “the blonde master,” Beşikçi was born in the district of İskilip in Çorum on January 7, 1939. He attended primary, secondary and high school in Çorum. In 1958, Beşikçi was accepted into Ankara University’s Faculty of Political Sciences (SBF) as a top-tier applicant with a scholarship from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He graduated with a degree in the field of administration in 1962. He started an internship in Elazığ in 1961 which marked a turning point in his life, as it was there that he was first introduced to the Kurdish element of Turkey’s population. In those days, the official ideology and state discourses, which denied the existence of the Kurdish people and language, became further entrenched following the military coup of May 27. In this way, he saw first-hand the chasm between official discourses about Kurds and the facts on the ground.

After graduating from university, he was appointed as a public servant in Çorum in 1962 as part of his mandatory state service, and he did his military service between 1962 and 1964. As part of his military service, he served in Bitlis, where he encountered the nomadic Kurdish tribe known as the Alikan, which would later be the subject of his dissertation. In 1964, he started working as an assistant in Erzurum Atatürk University’s Department of Sociology. He finished his PhD dissertation in 1965.

The 1960s were marked by the rise of leftist politics and the Workers’ Party of Turkey (TİP) came to the fore as a political issue of debate. Throughout this period, the TİP held open-air meetings in the cities of eastern Turkey which came to be known as the Eastern Meetings. As a sociologist, Beşikçi followed them closely. What made the meetings different was that aside from focusing on economic and social issues, ethnicity was also emphasized. He

published his impressions of these meetings in an article titled “Sheikhism and the Landowner System in the East” in the magazine *Forum*. In 1968, while Beşikçi was working as an assistant at Atatürk University, Orhan Türkdoğan, an associate professor from the same department, reported him to the authorities as a proponent of Marxism and Kurdistanism. That denunciation was significant because it triggered a chain of events which resulted in him getting fired from the university and being put on trial. In 1969, Beşikçi was not allowed to teach courses. In 1970, he was fired by the office of the university’s president, but the Council of State ruled for a stay of execution against the university’s ruling as the case was still pending. Beşikçi then applied for a position at Ankara University’s Faculty of Political Sciences and passed the exam. However, emboldened by the fascist atmosphere that prevailed following the events surrounding March 12, the Council of State ultimately approved Atatürk University’s case.

Beşikçi, who had been arrested after March 12, was put on trial, and the case was finalized in August 1972. He was given a sentence of thirteen years and seven days of imprisonment, and he was incarcerated for three years and twenty-seven days. After being released in 1974, he applied once again for the position of assistant at the Faculty of Political Sciences but the jury, which had previously accepted his application, refused him on the pretext that he was not qualified for the job. After the time he spent in prison between 1971 and 1974, Beşikçi’s stance changed dramatically and he began seeing the Kurdish Issue in more radical terms. He set about exposing the truth of the official state ideology regarding the Kurdish Issue and the policies that had been implemented in the Republican era of Turkey.

Prior to being arrested once again in the early 1990s, Beşikçi had been involved in work that focused on the cultural institutionalization of the Kurdish people. He took part in the founding and development of the Mesopotamia Cultural Center (1991) and the Istanbul Kurdish Institute (1992). He also wrote for a number pro-Kurdish media outlets. In 1999, after Abdullah Öcalan was extradited to Turkey, he became critical of the PKK for the revisions it had made to its political program and strategic orientation.

Renowned for his critical analyses of the Kurdish Issue, state policies regarding the Kurdish people and the structure of Kurdish society, Beşikçi has written almost forty books on the subject, thirty-two of which have been banned. Beşikçi is critical of both the policies of denial inherent to the official ideology as well as the mindset of academicians who are unable to transcend the parameters of the official ideology and remain silent in the face of the problem. As a result of his writings, he has been sentenced to more than a hundred years of imprisonment and spent a total of seventeen years and two months of his life in prison. Beşikçi has continued to work on these issues in spite of the fact that he has been subjected to suppressive tactics and prison sentences, as well as bans that have prevented him from holding academic positions.

İsmail Cem

Politician, journalist, bureaucrat,
minister.



Cem was born in Istanbul on February 15, 1940 into a wealthy family from Thessaloniki. After completing primary school, he attended Robert College and then went to the USA via the American Field Service exchange program on a scholarship. After studying in the USA for a year (1956-1957), he returned to Turkey, completing his high school studies at Robert College in 1959. He went on to study at Lausanne University's Faculty of Law, for which he had qualified by passing a government exam.

He graduated from Lausanne University in 1962 and again returned to Turkey. Through the assistance of his cousin Abdi İpekçi, Cem started his career as a journalist by working for the newspaper *Milliyet* in 1963. In 1964, he left *Milliyet* and started writing for *Cumhuriyet*. After completing his military service, he resumed his position at *Milliyet*, where he continued to work until 1970. In those days, the political, cultural and intellectual environment in Turkey was rejuvenated, and the problems of the country were the subject of heated public debates. Cem wrote about such issues in his columns and he wrote several books about them as well. Between 1971 and 1974, he was the head of the Istanbul branch of the Journalists' Union of Turkey, which has connections to the union Türk-İş.

When the coalition government of the Republican People's Party and National Salvation Party was in power, he accepted Bülent Ecevit's offer to become the general director of TRT (the state-run broadcasting organization) and he held that position between February 15, 1974 and May 17, 1975. Under his youthful administration, TRT made a number of significant achievements.

When the Ecevit-Erbakan coalition disintegrated in 1974, Cem increasingly became the target of accusations and attrition campaigns led by right-wing politicians and media outlets that supported them. The first Nationalist Front that was later assembled decided to replace Cem with Nevzat Yalçıntaş. The Council of State ruled in favor of his reinstatement as the result of a lawsuit Cem filed, but in the end, he opted to get back into journalism.

In the 1980s, Cem became actively involved in politics. In the general elections of 1987, he was elected as an MP for Istanbul from the SHP's list of candidates. In 1988, he ran against Erdal İnönü in the second general assembly of the SHP for the presidency of the party but lost. In the general elections of 1991, he was elected as an MP for Istanbul representing the SHP. After deciding to work with Deniz Baykal, he left the SHP in 1992 and became involved in the reestablishment of the Republican People's Party.

In 1993, Cem was nominated by the CHP as a candidate for the presidential elections held by the TBMM. In 1995, he held the position of minister of culture for approximately three months. Prior to the elections of 1995, he left the CHP and joined the Democratic Left Party (DSP) and was elected as an MP for Kayseri, thereby winning a seat in parliament for the third time. He served as the minister of foreign affairs for the 55th, 56th and 57th governments from June 30, 1997 until July 11, 2002. Throughout his term as minister, he focused on Turkey's relations with the European Union, and Turkey was accepted as an EU candidate at the Helsinki Summit held in December 1999.

In July 2002, Cem resigned from the DSP and also stepped down as minister, and he declared his intention to establish a new social democrat party alongside Kemal Derviş and Hüsamettin Özkan. Sixty-three members of parliament also resigned from the DSP in support of Cem and established the New Turkey Party (YTP) on July 22, 2002 with Cem as president of the party. The party received 1.15% of the vote in the elections of 2002, so it was unable to win any seats in parliament. In 2004 the YTP joined the CHP.

Throughout his life as a journalist and politician, Cem was an intellectual who sought social democratic solutions to the problems of Turkey. He passed away on January 24, 2007.

İsmail Kahraman

Politician.



Kahraman was born in Rize on December 7, 1950. He attended primary and secondary school in Karabük and completed his high school education in Istanbul. He went on to study at Istanbul University's Faculty of Law.

While at university, Kahraman became interested in nationalist and Islamist politics. He was president of the Istanbul Faculty of Law Students' Society, and later he served as the 48th president of the National Turkish Students Union (MTTB). Between 1965 and 1980, the MTTB was dominated by Islamist movements. Most of the nationalist, religious and Islamist politicians that are active today once had ties with the MTTB. In 1967, Kahraman became the leader of the MTTB, which held to the self-proclaimed objective of encouraging young people to dedicate themselves to national and moral values.

In that period, Kahraman and his group responded to the "Resurrection Meetings" held by the Workers Party of Turkey with their own "Movement Meetings." In the meantime, Kahraman was also involved in Islamist politics as an activist. Kahraman and his group vociferously claimed that Hagia Sophia was a mosque when Pope Paul VI visited the site, which had long since been closed to worship, and they performed Muslim prayers there in protest. In 1968, he was among the first to protest the headscarf ban in Turkey. When Hatice Babacan, the paternal aunt of Ali Babacan, a former minister of the economy, was prevented from giving lectures at the Faculty of Theology because she was wearing a headscarf, Kahraman and his group held their first occupation and boycott, which lasted 68 days. They called themselves "Volunteering Pioneers for the Cyprus War" during the Cyprus Peace Operation and,

after volunteering to enlist, they travelled to the Greek border.

In 1974, he was appointed as an advisor to the minister of labor. Kahraman took part in the establishment of Necmettin Erbakan's National Order Party (MNP) and the National Salvation Party (MSP). In the elections of 1977, he ran as a parliamentary candidate for the MSP for Rize but failed to garner enough votes to win.

After the MTTB was shut down, as were many other labor unions, foundations and associations after the coup of 1980, Kahraman participated in the establishment of the Unity Foundation to replace the MTTB in 1985. As with the MTTB, many people who are currently active in politics as members of the Justice and Development Party were involved as well.

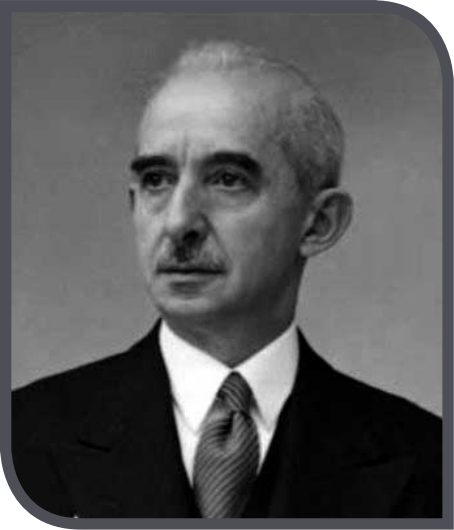
Kahraman was elected as an MP for Istanbul as a representative of the Welfare Party in the elections of 1995. He served as the minister of culture in the coalition government of the Welfare Party (RP) and the True Path Party (the Refah-Yol government), which was in power from June 28, 1996 and June 30, 1997. He caused a stir when he brought up the debate about building a mosque in Taksim Square and said of renowned art historian Semavi Eyice, who had disapproved of the mosque project, "He didn't approve of the mosque project so I sacked him."

After the events surrounding February 28, the RP was shut down. In the elections of 1999, Kahraman was elected as an MP for Istanbul from the Felicity Party, which had been founded to replace the RP, and he participated in the founding of the AKP. However, after 2002 he distanced himself from active politics and held positions at a wide variety of associations, foundations and industrial and business enterprises.

In the elections held on November 1, 2015, Kahraman returned to active politics, resuming his work as an MP (he had previously been an MP between 1995 and 2002) representing Istanbul and he was elected as the leader of the TBMM. He was reelected for a second term on November 20, 2017. Kahraman did not run as a parliamentary candidate in the general elections of June 2018.

İsmet İnönü

Member of the armed forces,
politician.



During the Turkish War of Independence, İnönü served as the commander of the Western Army and the minister of foreign affairs of the Ankara-based government. He was the first prime minister and second president of the Republic of Turkey. He continued being active in politics as an MP representing the Republican People's Party, of which he was president. He held the post of prime minister once again from 1961 until 1965.

İnönü was born in Izmir in 1884. In 1895, he graduated from the Sivas Junior Military School and enrolled in the Military Academy for Bombardiers. After graduating from the Military Academy and War Academy at the top of his class, he was appointed to the Second Army in Edirne as a staff captain. In 1907, he worked with the Committee of Union and Progress for a short period of time. He joined the Army of Operations that had been called upon to quell the 31st of March Incident. He was included in the general staff of the 4th Corps sent to Yemen, which was his first diplomatic mission. Upon the signing of the Armistice of Mudanya, he returned to the capital from the front lines and was appointed as an advisor to the Ministry of War.

İnönü joined the National Resistance in 1920. As commander of the Western Army, he played a role in quelling the uprisings against the Ankara-based government and led the victories in the 1st and 2nd Battles of İnönü. He then took part in the negotiations for the ceasefire in Mudanya as minister of foreign affairs, and later he signed the Treaty of Lausanne as the head of Turkey's delegation. After assembling the first government of the Republic of

Turkey, on November 8, 1924 he resigned as prime minister, but in March of 1925 he was reappointed as a means of bolstering the government during the Sheikh Said Rebellion. In 1937, he resigned from the government as the result of conflicts with Mustafa Kemal. According to some claims, the two had disagreed about a number of issues, including how to handle Turkey's relations with Italy and the Dersim Issue.

After Mustafa Kemal passed away, İnönü was elected leader of the Turkish Grand National Assembly by a unanimous vote in 1938. In the same year, he was also elected as president of the CHP and granted the title Head of the Nation, which was a reflection of how, throughout the 1930s, Italian politics had an influence on İnönü and the political group represented by Şükrü Saraçoğlu. Much of his rule, which lasted until 1950, was marked by anti-left policies. Turkey had maintained close relations with Soviet Russia since the founding of the Republic but that relationship became strained as World War II drew near and Turkey sought an alliance with England and France. Throughout the war, Turkey adopted a neutral stance and policies that targeted integration into the Western Bloc in line with the outcome of the war.

İnönü sought to maintain control over how Turkey's policies impacted domestic politics. In 1945, he pushed for a transition to a multi-party system. His decision was largely driven by opposition within the CHP and parliament. When the Western Bloc adopted a discourse of democracy in its international relations, the opposition became further emboldened. On June 7, 1945, Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan, Adnan Menderes and Fuat Köprülü made a call for a shift to democracy in a letter addressed to "the Esteemed Presidency of the CHP Parliamentary Group," which became known in Turkish political history as the "motion made with four signatures." In order to maintain his hold on power, he called for snap elections in 1946, and after the elections, which were deemed "controversial," he remained in office for four more years. During the rule of the Democrat Party, which lasted between 1950 and 1960, he led the opposition in parliament as president of the CHP.

He became a member of the Founding Parliament that was assembled through the merging of the Council of Representatives and the National Union Committee that had been commissioned to prepare a new constitution after the military seized power on May 27, 1960. He then became prime minister of the government that was assembled in 1961, a position that he held until 1965 with three different coalition governments. After losing to the Justice Party, İnönü developed a stance that was referred to as "left of the middle." By shifting the party towards the left in response to the empowerment of the working class and the dynamism acquired by the youth movement as well as the strengthening of the Workers' Party of Turkey, which had organic ties with all of these elements, and the increasing influence of radical leftist

politics and ideologies throughout the 1960s, İnönü sought to exercise control over the left and take advantage of the increase in public opposition. In the statements he made throughout this period, İnönü asserted that the CHP had been on the left in the political spectrum since it was founded.

İnönü served as president of the party from 1965 to 1972. His stance regarding the Memorandum of March 12 was one of support. During the party's general assembly held in 1972, there was a power struggle within the party, and ultimately, he lost to Bülent Ecevit, who had reoriented the "left of the middle" concept within the framework of a Democratic Left. In the period that followed, İnönü became a member of the Senate, and while he was still holding that position he passed away on December 25, 1973.



Kemal Derviş

Economist, politician.

Derviş taught in the Department of Economics at Middle East Technical University. From 1973 and 1976 he served as an economic advisor to Bülent Ecevit, and between 1977 and 2001 he worked for the World Bank. From 2001 to 2002 he held the post of minister of the economy and after representing the CHP as an MP between 2002 and 2005, he took on the presidency of the UNDP.

Derviş was born in 1949. His mother was from Germany and his father was from Turkey. After completing his bachelor's and master's degrees at the London School of Economics, he went on to do his PhD at Princeton University, which he completed in 1973. Between 1973 and 1976, he taught economics at METU and from 1976 to 1978 he lectured at Princeton University. He began working for the World Bank in 1977. In 1996, he became deputy president of the World Bank for the Middle East and North African regions. Following the financial crisis in Turkey in November 2000 and February 2001, he resigned from the World Bank and on March 3, 2001 he was appointed state minister of the economy under the government led by Bülent Ecevit. He introduced a new economic program which called for a radical restructuring of the financial system. In August 2002, he resigned from that position due to conflicts within the government. Although he participated in activities for the establishment of the New Turkey Party alongside İsmail Cem and Hüsamet-tin Özkan, he did not join the party, opting instead to run as a parliamentary candidate for the Republican People's Party. In the elections of November 3, 2002, he was elected as an MP for Istanbul representing the CHP. On May 9,

2005, he resigned from parliament and took over as president of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), a post he held until 2009. Recently he was appointed as a member of the Brookings Institute. As an economist, Derviş positions himself on the left of the political spectrum, a point he mentions in his book *Recovery from the Crisis and Contemporary Social Democracy*, which was published in 2006. Nevertheless, it can also be said that the economic model that was implemented under his guidance in Turkey in 2001 was steeped in a neoliberal approach to economics and that Derviş was a proponent of the form of social neoliberalism that was dominant from the 1990s until the crisis of 2008. His “Program for the Transition of Turkey into a Powerful Economy” can be seen as an attempt to integrate the national economy into global capitalism. Both his suggestions for economic policy and the institutional components involved in setting up such a program support such a claim. The program was implemented within the framework of a deal made with the International Money Fund (IMF). Dedication to the core principles of the market economy and financial and monetary discipline (including a reduction in social spending, bolstering the autonomy of the Central Bank, encouraging technocratization and fighting inflation) constituted the backbone of the program. In addition, measures of financialization, including the reorganization of the banking sector, were introduced.



Kemal Gürüz

Chemical engineer, instructor.

Former president of TÜBİTAK and YÖK, Kemal Gürüz was among the leading figures in the incidents of February 28. After retiring, he came into the spotlight yet again through the Ergenekon Investigation and afterwards he was one of the suspects in the case that was launched regarding the events surrounding the military memorandum of 1997.

Gürüz was born in Izmir in 1947. He attended Bornova Anatolian High School and graduated from Middle East Technical University's Chemical Engineering Department. Between 1979 and 1982 he was in the USA on a Fulbright scholarship working as a lecturer at the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. Later he served as the director of METU's Institute of Sciences, dean of Ankara University's Pharmaceutical Faculty, president of Karadeniz Technical University and president of the Inter-University Board, in addition to being president of TÜBİTAK and a member of the general board of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) based on the quota of the Inter-University Board between 1991 and 1995. He also worked for the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. On December 6, 1995, he was elected as president of YÖK, a post that he held until 2003. Since 1999 he has been a member of the advisory board of Kadir Has University. He was also a member of the board of trustees of Tel Aviv University's Moshe Dayan Center.

Kemal Gürüz garnered public attention for his stance during the "Post-modern" coup of February 28, which took place when he was president of YÖK. The political agenda of the coalition government led by Necmettin

Erbakan as prime minister led the Turkish Armed Forces to weigh in on politics and describe the government's reactionary activities as a threat. Tensions reached a peak in those times, partly as a result of Erbakan's visit to Libyan leader Qaddafi, images of members of the Aczimendi sect and incidents such as the Jerusalem Night, and an eighteen-article memorandum was issued at the end of a nine-hour National Security Council meeting that was held on February 28, 1997 which would later be referred to as the "postmodern coup." The memorandum contained an ultimatum to the government about secularism, the enforcement of laws and the implementation of precautions to ensure that secularism was protected. Some of those included statements such as: It is clear that the wearing of religious attire is being encouraged, and people wearing such attire which is not permissible by law must be dealt with accordingly; policies on education must be in line with the spirit of the Law on the Unification of Education; the duration of compulsory education must be extended to eight years; Imam Hatip schools have been established to meet the needs of a certain segment of society, and any such schools in excess of that need must be converted into vocational schools; courses on the Quran offered by radical Islamist groups must be shut down and courses on religion must be regulated at schools overseen by the Ministry of National Education; military officers that have been dismissed from the TSK must not be allowed to resume their duties; financial institutions and foundations controlled by religious sects must be monitored and audited; television and, in particular, radio broadcasters must be closely monitored to ensure that they do not disseminate messages which go against the principle of secularism and they must comply with the tenets of the Constitution. In this period of time, female students wearing headscarves were not allowed to attend university, which represented a violation of their right to education. As the president of YÖK, Gürüz supported those measures, and he was tried within the scope of the 28th of February Case, which was filed in 2013 and finalized in April 2018. Gürüz was one of 21 suspects who were handed a life sentence when the trial was concluded. Gürüz was not incarcerated, however, because of an age limit that was imposed.

Gürüz was detained within the scope of the Ergenekon Investigations of 2009 but he was released by the court pending trial. In the meantime, he was accused of being part of the Western Working Group in the Turkish Armed Forces, which was alleged to have been established on illegal terms for the purpose of engaging in profiling. Gürüz stated that the structure known as Ergenekon was neo-nationalist and that he, in contrast, was an Americanist. He was given a sentence of thirteen years and eleven months imprisonment but more than a year later that ruling was reversed by a higher court.



Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu

Politician, bureaucrat.

Kılıçdaroğlu got involved in politics after working as an upper-level bureaucrat, including the position he held as director general of the SSK (Institute of Social Security). He first served as the deputy chairperson of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and he ran for mayor of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Afterwards, he was elected as the party's president, and as of now he still holds that position.

Kılıçdaroğlu was born in Tunceli on December 17, 1948. His family was from the Kureyşan tribe, which had migrated from Khorasan and settled in Anatolia. He attended the Ankara Economic and Business Sciences Academy (now Gazi University's Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences), from which he graduated in 1971. After taking the junior accountant examination in the same year, he was hired by the Ministry of Finance, and in 1983 he was appointed to the General Directorate of Revenue. Initially he served as the head of office but he went on to be appointed deputy general director. In 1991, he was appointed to Bağ-Kur, where he would later become director general. In 1992, he took a position at the General Directorate of the Institute of Social Security. Later, for a brief period of time he worked as its deputy undersecretary. In 1994, he was awarded "the Bureaucrat of the Year Award" by the magazine *Ekonomik Trend*. In 1996, he was removed from office by Necati Çelik, the minister of labor and social security. Afterwards, he was appointed to the Institute of Social Security as director general, and in 1999, he retired from that position. Kılıçdaroğlu also served as the head of

the Informal Economy Specialization Commission when preparations were underway for the eighth Five-Year Development Plan. He also lectured for a period at Hacettepe University and worked at İş Bank as a member of the executive board.

After retiring from the general directorate of SSK, Kılıçdaroğlu became known as one of the “stars of the Democratic Left Party (DSP)” and while it was expected that he would be a parliamentary candidate in the general elections of 1999, Bülent Ecevit did not nominate him.

In the elections of 2002, Kılıçdaroğlu was nominated as a candidate by the CHP and he was elected as an MP for Istanbul. As his popularity increased, he was appointed as the party’s deputy group chairperson. In that period, in which he emerged victorious from television debates with Dengir Mir Mehmet Fırat and Melik Gökçek, he became even more popular. Kılıçdaroğlu was nominated as a mayoral candidate for Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality during the local elections of 2009. Although he lost in the elections, thanks to his strong campaign, which garnered him 37% of the vote, he became a rising figure in the CHP.

After Deniz Baykal resigned as the leader of the CHP in 2010 following a video tape scandal, Kılıçdaroğlu was elected party president by the general assembly as the sole candidate. His performance as the leader of the main opposition has increasingly become a controversial issue over the years. The CHP’s defeat in the Constitution Referendums of 2010 and 2017 and also in the general elections of 2011, 2015 and 2018 have contributed to that controversy. The performance of Muharrem İnce, who ran as the CHP’s candidate in the presidential elections of 2018, and Kılıçdaroğlu’s leadership have prompted further debates. However, as the opposition within the party was unable to get enough dissenting votes, its efforts are stalled for now.

With the exception of some of his actions, including a protest march he organized in reaction to the arrest of Enis Berberoğlu, an MP from the CHP, and a subsequent gathering held in Maltepe, he has been accused of failing in his responsibilities as the leader of the main opposition. It has also been argued that he is incapable of effectively dealing with the politics of the ruling regime and that he has surrendered to a discourse of national conformity, which the government has utilized in coping with many of the internal and external issues Turkey has faced in recent years.



Kenan Evren

Soldier, politician.

After initiating the military coup of September 12, 1980 as the seventeenth Chief of General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces, Evren was proclaimed “state president.” He also served as the seventh president of the Republic of Turkey from 1982 to 1989 after the enactment of the Constitution of 1982 following a referendum.

Evren was born in Manisa in 1917. He enrolled in the Army War College in 1946 and graduated in 1949 as a staff captain. In 1958 and 1959, Evren was the head of operations and training and the chief of staff for the Turkish brigade that was stationed in South Korea after the Korean War. In 1964, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, in 1967 he became a major general and in 1970 he attained the rank of lieutenant general. In 1974, he became a full general and deputy chief of general staff. Between 1976 and 1977, he served as the commander of the Aegean Army. After Namık Kemal Ersun, the commander of Turkey’s land forces, was ordered ex officio to retire on June 1, 1977 along with two hundred high-ranking army officers upon the orders of Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel on the grounds that they had been planning a coup after Bloody May Day (1st of May 1977), Evren was presented with the opportunity to be appointed as the chief of general staff.

The retirement of Ersun, who was expected to become the next chief of staff, upset the balance of power and tradition of seniority in the Turkish Armed Forces. Disagreements ensued about who would take his place. President Fahri Korutürk supported Adnan Ersöz, the commander of the

First Army, whereas Prime Minister Demirel nominated Ali Fethi Esener, the commander of the Third Army. Since both parties refused to back down, the two commanders retired on August 30, 1977 as their terms had ended. As the highest ranking full general, Evren unexpectedly became the commander of the land forces on September 5, 1977. Evren held the post of commander of the land forces in 1977 and 1978 and he was appointed chief of general staff on March 6, 1978. On December 27, 1979, in a letter of warning which was later dubbed the “letter without an address” that he signed along with the commanders-in-chief, Evren called on President Fahri Korutürk to settle the dispute between the two major political parties ruling the country, urging him to convince the parties to cooperate in solving the problems Turkey was facing.

Through a coup launched on September 12, 1980, the military seized control of the government and freedoms were suspended. The National Security Council (MGK) was assembled so that it could exercise legislative and judicial powers. The council was led by Evren as general and chief of general staff, and its members included Nurettin Ersin, a general and commander of the Army, Tahsin Şahinkaya, a general and commander of the Air Force, Nejat Tümer, an admiral and commander of the Navy, and Sedat Celasun, commander of the gendarmerie. Evren served as the president of the MGK, chief of general staff and president of the state. He dissolved the TBMM and the government and proclaimed martial law throughout country. He toured the nation as its state president so he could inform people about the intentions behind the coup, and he launched an intensive campaign to win the public’s confidence in the new constitution finalized by the MGK after it was prepared by the Advisory Council, the members of which were appointed by the MGK. In a referendum held on November 7, 1982, which put the new constitution to a vote, Evren was elected for a term of seven years in accordance with Article 1 of the Constitution, thus becoming the seventh president of Turkey. He also held the posts of president of the MGK and chief of general staff until July 1, 1983.

The military coup of September 12 is still a matter of debate. It is widely acknowledged that the explanations for the coup were embedded in the implementation of economic policies that had been announced on January 24 as part of Turkey’s integration into global capitalism. In addition, it has been noted that public opposition was not taken into account and that social polarization was a pressing issue, as was the governmental crisis signaled by the previous presidential elections, which had proven to be problematic. Given these circumstances, it should come as no surprise that economic liberalization and the rise of Islamism in politics were the most conspicuous trends to emerge following the coup. Ironically, in 2010 the current ruling government, which

has always adopted a neoliberal perspective in its economic policies (in contrast to the coup government which sought out different forms of hegemony in a coalition with liberals), added an article to the amended constitution that would make it possible for people who were involved in the coup of September 12th to be put on trial. In the trials that ensued, Evren was given a life sentence and he was demoted to private because he had issued a memorandum to the prime minister of the period, Süleyman Demirel, and attempted to abolish the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey and the Turkish Grand National Assembly. However, that ruling has yet to be approved by the Supreme Court of Appeals.

Konca Kuriş

Islamist feminist, activist.



In the 1990s, Kuriş was renowned as an activist for her Islamist-feminist views. In 1998, she was abducted, tortured and murdered by Hezbollah, of which she had been a former member.

Kuriş was born in Mersin in 1962 to a family steeped in modern values. She married a man by the name of Orhan Kuriş at a young age and, influenced by the conservatism of her husband's family, she began wearing the headscarf. In those years, the Islamic State of Iran exerted a strong influence across the region, and Hezbollah started becoming active in Turkey independent of its headquarters in Lebanon. Kuriş developed relations with the group through her neighbors. Hezbollah, which by 1985 had secured a firm power base in Turkey, started implementing its plans of action. It was most active in cities in Turkey with large populations of Kurds, and it claimed responsibility for numerous political murders. In the 2000s, many of the organization's leaders and militants were apprehended and put on trial. Hezbollah targeted militants belonging to the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and people active in the Kurdish Movement. At the same time, however, it also targeted former members of the organization.

Later, Kuriş became acquainted with the people involved in the publication of the magazine *İktibas*. At this point, her outlook on Islam started to change. She disagreed with Hezbollah on the issue of women being forced to wear the burqa, as had been the case in Iran. She was also influenced by the dissertations and books penned by academicians from Ankara University's Faculty of

Theology. In Mersin, she founded the Independent Women's Association with her aunt, who had a leftist background, and it was around this time that she started to acquire a feminist perspective. The synthesis she created between Islam and feminism did not go unnoticed. The fact that ideas which had generally argued by figures such as Yaşar Nuri Öztürk were now being expressed by a woman with an Islamist background garnered no small amount of attention, and she had the opportunity to air her views in the newspaper *Yeni Yüzyıl* and on talks shows broadcast by Star TV. She made statements such as: "People believe that men are depicted in the Quran as being superior to women. But there is no such verse in the Quran"; "The Quran is interpreted by men but if women had the chance to offer up their interpretations, things would be different. Women also need to interpret the Quran to bring down the system of patriarchy"; "There is nothing wrong with praying in Turkish", "A woman can pray and fast when she is menstruating"; "Per the tenets of Islam, women don't have to cover their hair"; "The Quran only requires that women cover their chests. There is no burqa in the Quran"; "Women and men can pray together in the mosque during Friday prayers and prayers at funerals"; and, "Polygamy is not right for our day and age, and women whose husbands marry other women should be able to get a divorce."

In the meantime, Kuriş was working in the textile industry with her husband. On July 17, 1999, as she was returning home from work in the evening, she was abducted by Hezbollah militants, who interrogated and tortured her for approximately forty days. Video tapes that were later seized revealed that she had also been murdered. The tapes indicated that Kuriş had been killed for establishing an "alliance with the secular Republic of Turkey" and committing crimes against the Quran and Islam. When her body was found, her son was asked to identify the remains. The suspects involved in the case were released in 2011.

Leyla Zana

Politician, activist.



Zana was born in the Silvan district of Diyarbakır on May 3, 1961. When she was fourteen years old, she married Mehdi Zana, who had been the head of the Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Societies Association and the founder of the Silvan branch of the Workers' Party of Turkey. Mehdi Zana was elected as mayor of Diyarbakır in the elections of 1978, in which he had campaigned as an independent candidate. He was arrested after the military coup of September 12 and imprisoned for a long period of time. Subsequently, Leyla Zana became increasingly involved in politics and joined the People's Labor Party (HEP). In the general elections of 1991, she was elected as an MP for Diyarbakır as a member of the HEP on the candidate list of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP). When she was sworn in as an MP in the TBMM, after giving her oath in Turkish she made another remark in Kurdish, which provoked strong reactions. Ali Rıza Septioğlu, who was the leader of parliament and who also had a Kurdish background, demanded that she repeat the oath. This incident went down in the political history of Turkey as the "Oath Crisis."

As a result of a lawsuit that was filed on the basis of the claim that the HEP "seeks to destroy the indivisible territorial and national integrity of the country" and "acts as the focus of political activities in violation of the laws," the Constitutional Court ruled that the HEP had to be shut down. MPs from the HEP transferred to the Democracy Party, which had been established as a precaution, and thus they retained their political immunity. However, the DEP

was also shut down in 1994 on similar grounds and the MPs were stripped of their immunity as members of parliament. Immediately afterwards, Zana was arrested along with Orhan Doğan, Hatip Dicle, Ahmet Türk, Sırrı Sakık and Mahmut Alınak. As the result of a comment Zana had made while she was in the USA, she was given a prison sentence of ten years. During her years of imprisonment, she was granted the Rafto Prize for Human Rights, the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought and the Bruno Kreisky Prize for Services to Human Rights. Amnesty International described her imprisonment as a violation of the right to free speech. In 2001, the European Court of Human Rights ruled that her imprisonment was unlawful, but Turkey refused to comply with the ruling; however, a retrial was held as a result of the EU harmonization laws that were passed in 2003, and in 2004 Zana was released.

Following her release, she participated in the establishment of the Democratic Society Movement, which became one of the main components of the Democratic Society Party that was founded in 2005 alongside the Democratic People's Party. After the party was shut down by the Constitutional Court in 2009 on the grounds that it was advocating for a federalist system, Zana was banned from politics for five years. From 2008 to 2009 Zana was repeatedly put on trial for statements she made and received sentences varying in duration from fifteen months to ten years. Ultimately, however, the Supreme Court of Appeals reversed the sentences.

The ban on politics imposed on Zana did not prevent her from taking part in parliamentary elections, and she was nominated as a candidate in the elections of 2011, as a result of which she was elected as an MP for Diyarbakır. In 2012, after meeting with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan she stated that he could bring about a resolution to the Kurdish Issue, which did not go over well among some segments of the population. In the elections of 2015, she was elected as an MP for Ağrı. After the elections of November 1, she used the term “people of Turkey” when she was being sworn into office, and her oath was deemed illegitimate. Afterwards, because she did not show up regularly for parliamentary sessions and did not provide a suitable explanation for her absences, her parliamentary membership was annulled in January 2018.

Mehmet Kadir Ağar

Bureaucrat, politician.



Ağar has held the posts of chief of police, minister of internal affairs and minister of justice, and he was also the founding president of the Democrat Party. Especially in the 1990s, he became a major public figure as regards state policies on surveillance.

Ağar was born in Ankara at Çankaya Mansion on October 30, 1951. His father was a chief of police. Ağar first enrolled at Ankara University's Faculty of Political Science on a scholarship granted by the Office of the Chief of Police, but in 1973, he graduated from the Finance Department. He worked at the Public Security Office of the General Directorate of Security and at the Directorate of Presidential Guards. In January 1980, he was appointed as the deputy director of the Anti-Terrorism Unit of the Istanbul Police Department and in May 1981 he started working as chief of the Public Security Unit. Between 1984 and 1988, he worked as the deputy chief of police at the Istanbul Police Department's Anti-Terrorism and Public Security Unit. In 1988, he was appointed as the chief of Ankara's police department, in 1990 he was appointed as the chief of Istanbul's police department, in 1992 he was appointed as the governor of Erzurum and in 1993 he was appointed as the chief of Police Headquarters. When Ağar was the governor of Erzurum, he acted as a witness in the marriage of Haluk Kırcı, who had been involved in the Bahçelievler Massacre but fled prosecution. In 1993 he made a provocative statement about Hezbollah, saying, "Hezbollah avoids taking action against the state. It would not be advantageous for us to capture the

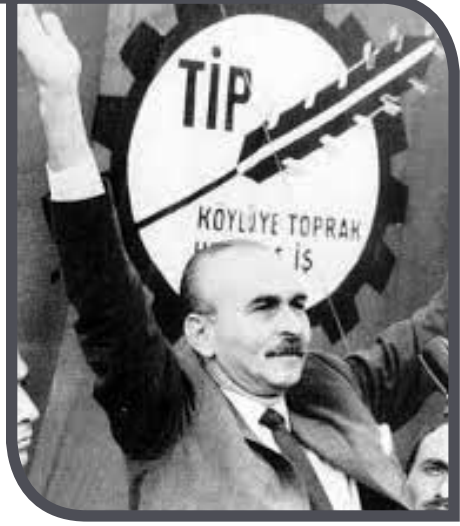
organization's members." He became the target of criticism for taking such a position and making comments along those lines. He was influential in the establishment of a Special Operations Unit under the auspices of the Police Headquarters, and he secured the involvement of the police in operations conducted in rural areas.

In the general elections of December 24, 1995, he was elected as an MP for Elazığ representing the True Path Party, and he held seats in both of the governments assembled in 1996. In the 53rd government, he held the position of minister of justice and in the 54th government (the Refah-Yol Coalition), he was the minister of internal affairs. In November 1996, due to a break with Necmettin Erbakan, he resigned. Ağar ran as an independent MP for Elazığ in the elections of April 18, 1999. He was elected president of the True Path Party at the party's seventh ordinary general assembly held on December 14 and 15 in 2002. In 2005 he was elected again as the party's president. After the general elections of July 22, 2007, he announced that he was going to resign as leader of the party, and he was replaced by Namık Kemal Zeybek.

Ağar played a critical role in putting into practice the official policies of the state concerning the Kurdish Issue, which at the time was referred to as the Southeastern Question. He was among the leading civilian advocates supporting the use of surveillance in dealing with the issue. He has been the subject of numerous debates concerning the political and legal nature of state practices of surveillance. Prominent among such allegations is the claim that he "established an organization dedicated to committing crimes." This issue was brought up during the proceedings initiated after what became known as the Susurluk Scandal. The network of relations that became apparent after a car accident in Susurluk in 1996 pointed to the existence of an organization in which the government, security forces and criminal organizations were working together. During the course of the inquiry, it came to light that Ağar was one of the last people seen by Sedat Bucak and Abdullah Çatlı prior to the accident. He was found guilty in 2011 and sentenced to five years of imprisonment. His sentence was later shortened to three years and nine months, and he was released in 2013.

Mehmet Ali Aybar

Lawyer, academician, politician.



In addition to being a prominent lawyer, Aybar is also a socialist politician and intellectual. In his youth, he was a leading athlete. He served as one of the judges on the Russel Tribunal, and he has been a staunch defender of the forms of socialism particular to Turkey.

Born in Istanbul on October 5, 1908, Aybar was an athlete on Galatasaray High School's athletics team. In 1928, he went on to represent Turkey at the Olympics held in Amsterdam. Between 1928 and 1935, he was on the Turkish national team and he broke records for Turkish athletics in the 100- and 200-meter relay races. In 1931, Aybar was on the team that went on to win the Balkan championship in the 4x100 race.

After graduating from Galatasaray High School, he enrolled in Istanbul University's Faculty of Law, where he became an assistant in the field of constitutional law. He went on to complete his doctorate, becoming an associate professor focusing on national law. In 1946, he was dismissed from that position because of his writings. In the same year, he ran as a parliamentary candidate for the Democrat Party (DP) but he was not elected. He published the newspaper *Hür* and after that the newspaper *Zincirli Hürriyet*, but in 1949 he was tried and sentenced to three years and eight months of imprisonment for the content of articles he had written. Aybar was released as part of the general amnesty proclaimed in 1950 and he started working as a lawyer two years later. According to the memoirs of Rasih Nuri İleri and Nihat Sargın, he joined the Communist Party of Turkey in the late 1940s.

In 1961, twelve unionists including Kemal Türkler founded the Workers' Party of Turkey (the TİP). They represented various workers' unions, including those involved in the hardware, textile, media and food industries. Most of the unions were also members of the Federation of Workers' Unions of Istanbul, for which Avni Erakalın served as president in addition to leading the TİP. Because the Türk-İş administration sought to quell the activities of the TİP, as did the leading actors in the political system including the CHP and the Justice Party, the party tried to include people who were experienced in politics by electing unionists as leaders. Aybar was appointed president of the party in 1962, and upon Aybar's invitation, prominent intellectuals such as Behice Boran, Sadun Aren and Adnan Cemgil joined the party. In this way, the party's ideological/political stance was firmly directed towards the left. Aybar was elected as an MP for Istanbul representing the party in the general elections of 1965 and 1969. However, a state of ideological uncertainty in the TİP started becoming apparent in 1966 as disputes broke out among its members. In the same period of time, within the framework of the notion of a gradual revolution, which had been idealized by Mihri Belli from outside the party, those groups that had adopted the tenets of the National Democratic Revolution within the TİP came into conflict with the party's leaders. Since the umbrella organization of the revolutionary youth, Dev-Genç, had also adopted the same perspective, the party's ties with the youth also started to weaken. Afterwards, another dispute broke among the supporters of the socialist revolution who had remained in the party. As argued by Aybar, socialism "with a human face," or as Aybar called it, "a socialism particular to Turkey," offered a humanist interpretation of socialism whereas the Labor Group led by Behice Boran championed a Soviet/Stalinist approach to socialism. When the party lost in the general elections of October 1969, a year when the party was rocked by severe internal conflicts, Aybar resigned as party president in November and in 1971 he quit the party altogether.

A breaking point in Aybar's outlook occurred when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) invaded Czechoslovakia. That stifling of "original" socialism had a major impact on Aybar. He argued that socialism could be implemented by smaller states using their own means and practices, thereby preserving their independence.

Aybar founded the Socialist Party in 1975. The party was later renamed the Socialist Revolution Party but it was shut down along with other parties in the aftermath of the military coup of September 12, 1980. Afterwards, he wrote about the history of the TİP, strove to establish an umbrella socialist party and became involved in a case against the DİSK as a lawyer.

Aybar served as a judge on the Russel Tribunal, which was established in 1966 as a means of asserting jurisdiction over the war crimes committed by the USA in Vietnam.

Aybar passed away in Istanbul in 1995.

Mehmet Eymür

Bureaucrat, intelligence expert,
head of the National Intelligence
Organization's counter-terrorism
department.



Eymür was born in Istanbul in 1943. His father Mazhar Eymür was one of the chiefs of the National Security Service, which was later replaced by the MİT. After graduating from TED College, he worked for the MİT as a monitoring officer at the Istanbul School of Economics and Business Sciences, where he had enrolled in 1965. Afterwards, he began working with Hiram Abas, and they were involved in the interrogation unit known as the Ziverbey Mansion, which was established after the military coup of the 12th of March in 1971. He took part in the raid in Kızıldere targeting the militants of the THKP-C, which was led by Mahir Çayan, and the operations in which Ulaş Bardakçı was killed.

After the military coup of September 12, he was involved in operations focused on ASALA. He was then appointed to the Anti-smuggling and Intelligence Office in Ankara, which had been established under the auspices of the Counter-espionage Office. In 1984, he initiated the Fathers Operation with the permission of the General Staff. In close coordination with the MİT's Anti-smuggling, Intelligence and Operations Department and the Directorate of General Security, he became involved in anti-smuggling operations as a way to cut off the funding of terrorist organizations. The Anti-smuggling Office of the MİT started cooperating with the Anti-smuggling and Intelligence Department of the Directorate of General Security, which was headed by Atilla Aytek, and on February 9 Eymür suggested to the General Staff that an investigation be launched into the activities of Dündar Kılıç, Behçet Cantürk,

Vahit Kaynar and Abuzer Uğurlu. The men were detained, interrogated and taken to the Ankara Court of Martial Law. When the siege on Ankara came to a halt, the cases were transferred to the Diyarbakır Court of Martial Law and resulted in an acquittal. Dündar Kılıç and Behçet Cantürk were subsequently released.

Another incident that led Eymür to become publicly known was the 1987 MİT Report. The report, which Eymür had written, revealed that top politicians and chiefs of police were working with the mafia. When the report was leaked to the media, it was critiqued for being hastily prepared. Hiram Abas accused Eymür of leaking the report, and in 1988 he was forced to retire.

Eymür was reappointed in 1994 during the prime ministry of Tansu Çiller to the Special Intelligence Office and Operations Department. During that time, Eymür came into conflict with Şenkal Atasagun and in 1995 he was appointed to the Anti-terrorism Department. He once made the claim that in those days he worked with a spy who was code-named Yeşil but he said that he was not under his command. When Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz finished his term in office, Eymür was appointed to Washington as a representative of the MİT. In 1999, he resigned from the MİT and moved to the USA, where he started working for the Central Intelligence Agency. Eymür was mentioned in the Ergenekon Investigation, during the course of which the claim was made that Eymür had requested that Tuncay Güney, a critical witness in the case, work for the MİT.

Melih Gökçek

Politician, bureaucrat, mayor of Keçiören, general director of the Social Services and Children Protection Agency, mayor of Ankara.



Gökçek was born in Ankara on October 20, 1948. He spent part of his childhood in the district of Halfeti in Şanlıurfa and grew up in Gaziantep, where his father, Ahmet Gökçek, had been posted. His father, who was a lawyer, served as the head of the Justice Party for the province of Gaziantep. Gökçek went to primary and secondary school in Gaziantep and enrolled in Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences. He completed his studies at Gazi University's School of Journalism.

After completing his military service, he started working as a businessman. In 1984, he ran as a municipal candidate for Keçiören representing the Motherland Party (ANAP) and he was elected. In 1989, Gökçek once again ran as a candidate for Keçiören, but this time he failed to get enough votes. He was subsequently appointed as the general director of the Social Services and Children Protection Agency and he held that position until early 1991.

In 1991, Melih Gökçek resigned from the ANAP and joined the Welfare Party. In the general elections held on October 20, 1991, he took a seat in parliament as an MP for Ankara representing the Welfare Party. Gökçek held that post for two years and three months, and then he ran for mayor of Ankara in 1994 as a member of the Welfare Party. He won the election by a mere 6,500 votes.

When the Welfare Party was shut down, Gökçek joined the Virtue Party and ran for mayor of Ankara once again in the local elections of 1999. When he won by getting 33.7% of the vote (leading by 30,000 votes), he became the first mayor in the history of Ankara to be elected two times in a row.

After the Virtue Party was shut down, in 2002 he became a member of the Democrat Party, and in 2003 he joined the Justice and Development Party. He held the position of mayor of Ankara longer than any of his predecessors; he was reelected for the third time in the local elections of 2004, for the fourth time on March 29, 2009, and for the fifth time on March 30, 2014. On October 28, 2017, he resigned as mayor upon the request of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

During his terms as mayor, Gökçek was harshly critiqued by his opponents for his actions and comments. For example, he provoked strong reactions when he said, “I spit on art like that” during the removal of the sculpture “In Fairy Land” from Altınpark. He has also been criticized for his other public polemics as well as for routing the water of the Kızılırmak River to Ankara even though it was unpotable, ordering the construction of poorly planned overpasses, insisting on gaudy water-themed urban landscape designs, building city gates that many found to be in poor taste, and using social media in a controversial manner. Gökçek increased his influence in Ankara through his sons. After the fiasco surrounding the construction of the Ankara Metropolitan Sports Club, which he had ordered, he tried to have his son appointed as president of the Ankaragücü football club, one of the oldest sports clubs in the city. He also tried to get his other son appointed as the head of the Ankara Chamber of Commerce, and it has been suggested that was what led to the breakdown in his relationship with President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Lawsuits have been filed against him for engaging in insulting behavior in the media, launching attacks on the personal rights of individuals, initiating smear campaigns and acting in a manner that is morally offensive. After resigning, he has kept a low public profile.

Meral Akşener

Politician, historian.



Akşener was born on July 18, 1956 in the village of Gündoğdu in Kocaeli's district of İzmit. In 1974 she graduated from the Bursa Teacher's School for Girls and in 1979 she completed her studies at Istanbul University's Department of History. Between 1979 and 1982, Akşener worked as a teacher and in 1982 she became a research assistant at Yıldız Technical University's Faculty of Engineering in Kocaeli. She completed her MA and PhD degrees at the Social Sciences Institute of Marmara University, and she served as the head of Kocaeli University's Department of History of the War of Independence.

Akşener's family supported the MHP and she was involved in the Idealist Movement in her years as a student. Afterwards, she joined the True Path Party (DYP) and ran as a candidate for the party in the local elections of 1994 for Kocaeli. In 1995, Akşener was appointed as the head of the DYP's women's branch and took her first seat in parliament in the general elections of 1995 representing the DYP in Kocaeli. In 1996, she served in the 54th government, which was assembled via a coalition between the Welfare Party (RP) and DYP. On November 3, 1996, she replaced Mehmet Ağar, who had resigned from his post as the minister of internal affairs after the Susurluk Accident, thus becoming the first female minister of internal affairs in the history of Turkey. On June 30, 1997, after the "post-modern coup" of February 28 in which the 54th government was dissolved, her term as minister came to an end. During her term in the ministry, intensive operations were carried out by security forces in the largely Kurdish southeast region of Turkey, and the resolution

of the Kurdish Issue was considered within the framework of a paradigm of surveillance backed by a militarist approach. In the general elections of 1999, Akşener entered parliament once again as an MP for Istanbul representing the DYP.

On July 4, 2001, Meral Akşener held a press conference at the Center for Political Research, which Abdullah Gül and his associates had also used as a venue, where she declared that she was resigning from the True Path Party and joining a group called the “reformers” which had left the Virtue Party. Afterwards, she left that group as well, saying that “it was a mere continuation of the National Vision approach,” and she joined the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) on November 3, 2001.

In the general elections of 2007, Akşener won a seat in parliament as an MP for Istanbul representing the MHP. In that period, she served as the chief advisor to Devlet Bahçeli, the president of the MHP, for political affairs. In the local elections of 2004, she ran as the MHP’s candidate for mayor of Istanbul. On August 10, 2007 she was elected as deputy speaker of the TBMM. In the general elections of June 2015, she entered parliament once again as an MP for Istanbul representing the MHP. However, in the general elections of November 2015, she was not nominated as a parliamentary candidate because she had started voicing disagreement with the party’s policies. Akşener led the opposition within the party and took part in efforts to force the party to hold an extraordinary general assembly. Because the leaders of the party rejected those demands, the opposition filed a lawsuit, and Akşener stated that an assembly was going to be held by a court order. Akşener announced her intention to run as a candidate for president of the party in the extraordinary assembly. The leaders of the MHP stated that they would not accept her candidacy and Akşener was dismissed from the party on September 8, 2016.

Akşener founded the Good Party on October 25, 2017 along with several other figures including Koray Aydın and Ümit Özdağ. The party has a nationalist and secular outlook and positions itself on the center-right. The Good Party took part in the general elections of 2018, getting 10% of the vote, thereby securing 43 seats in parliament. At the same time, Akşener also ran in the presidential elections. In order for her to qualify as a candidate, however, the party had to have MPs in parliament; the Republican People’s Party (CHP) stepped in, providing the party with fifteen MPs. Akşener returned the MPs to the CHP and managed to collect the minimum number of signatures required for her candidacy. Akşener received 7.29% of the vote in the presidential elections. Shortly afterwards, she announced that she was resigning as president of the party and she said that she would not run again as a candidate. However, she was reelected as the leader at the party’s second extraordinary assembly held on August 12, 2018.

Merve Kavakçı

Scientist, politician, diplomat.



After studying abroad, Kavakçı returned to Turkey and was elected as an MP representing the Virtue Party in the elections of 1999. When she showed up to be sworn in as an MP, she was wearing a headscarf, and as a result she was expelled from parliament. She was expatriated on the grounds that she was also a citizen of the United States. After more than seventeen years she was naturalized as a citizen of Turkey, whereupon she was appointed as Turkey's ambassador to Malaysia.

Kavakçı was born in Ankara on August 19, 1968. His father, Yusuf Ziya Kavakçı, is a professor of Islamic law and her mother, Gülseren Gülhan Kavakçı, is a specialist in German language and literature. Yusuf Ziya Kavakçı served as the dean of Atatürk University's Faculty of Theology in the 1970s. Gülseren Gülhan Kavakçı was among the first to protest against the banning of headscarves at universities starting in 1974. Ultimately she resigned from her post at Atatürk University because of the way people reacted to her insistence on wearing a headscarf.

Merve Kavakçı graduated from TED Ankara College. Afterwards, she attended Ankara University's Faculty of Medicine but after studying there for two years she dropped out because of the headscarf ban. She went to the USA, where she studied computer engineering at Texas University. During that time, she married Ali Ahmad Abushanab, an American citizen of Jordanian origin.

In July 2010, she got married for the third time to a doctor by the name of Cihangir İslam, who was the son of Nadir Latif İslam, an MP from the Justice Party. Kavakçı completed her MA at Harvard University in the field of public administration and her PhD at Howard University in political science.

After returning to Turkey, she joined the Welfare Party in 1994 and worked for its women's branches. In 1999, she was elected as an MP for Istanbul representing the Virtue Party. When Kavakçı attended the first session of parliament in the 21st period wearing a headscarf, MPs from the DSP protested, and she was forced to leave parliament before she could be sworn in. Later it came to light that she had acquired a Green Card in May 1992 and became a US citizen on March 5, 1999. On these grounds, a request was submitted for her expatriation. In August 1999, the public prosecutor of the State Security Court, Nuh Mete Yüksel, submitted a summary of proceedings to the Prime Ministry and the Ministry of Justice demanding that her parliamentary immunity be annulled, and the request was accepted.

In June 1999, as the Constitutional Court was reviewing a case to shut down the Virtue Party, the issue of Kavakçı's insistence on wearing a headscarf at the ceremony in which she was going to be sworn in as an MP was cited as contravening the principle of secularism stated in the fourth paragraph of the 68th article of the Constitution. As a result, the party was closed down.

In 2007, Kavakçı won the case she had filed at the European Court of Human Rights against Turkey in 2001. The court ruled that the expulsion of Kavakçı from parliament constituted a violation of her rights. Kavakçı was naturalized by a resolution passed by the cabinet in 2017 and she was appointed as the ambassador to Malaysia.

Kavakçı has also worked at George Washington University's Political Sciences Department, and she has written and edited several books including *Democracy without the Hijab* and *Headscarf Politics in Turkey: A Postcolonial Reading*. She was included as a Person of the Year on the Muslim 500 list and granted the Faith Award by the Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for the Oppressed.

Mesut Yılmaz

Politician.



Yılmaz served as prime minister and president of the Motherland Party (ANAP). Throughout the 1990s, he was a lead actor shaping the development of politics in Turkey. He also held the posts of state minister and deputy prime minister.

Yılmaz was born in Istanbul in 1947. He graduated from the Istanbul High School for Boys and in 1971 he completed his studies at Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences in the Economics and Finance Department. Between 1972 and 1974, he studied for his master's degree in Germany at the University of Cologne's Economic and Social Sciences Faculty, and from 1975 to 1983 he worked for various private companies. He was a founding member and deputy president of the Motherland Party, which was founded in 1983. In the general elections held in November of the same year, he was elected as an MP for Rize. After the ANAP came to power, he was appointed as the minister of communications and served as the spokesperson of the government. In 1986, he was appointed minister of culture and tourism.

Known for being the leader of the liberal wing of the party, Yılmaz sided with the nationalists during a dispute that erupted in the ANAP in 1986 between Turgut Özal and Bedrettin Dalan, who claimed that the conflict had arisen as a result of the nature of the regime and accused Özal of betraying Atatürk's ideas, holding to unorthodox notions concerning secularism and defending federalization. Yılmaz was reelected as an MP for Rize in the general elections held on November 29, 1987. He was appointed as minister of for-

eign affairs in the second Özal government. In 1988, he was appointed deputy general president of the European Union of Democracy and he resigned from the position on February 20, 1990. After Özal was elected president, he was appointed leader of the party at an assembly held by the ANAP on June 15, 1991 and he assembled the government in July. After the general elections held on October 20, 1991, he served as the leader of the main opposition party. Following the general elections of December 24, 1995, he became the prime minister of the 53rd government assembled by the ANAP and the True Path Party, and he sought to enact the constitutional amendments that had been drafted in July. Those amendments represented the most comprehensive revisions that had ever been made to the Constitution of 1982. It has been argued that they were a democratic move and hence significant in terms of EU-Turkey relations. During the post-modern coup of February 28, his party represented the opposition in parliament. President Süleyman Demirel gave him the task of assembling a new government despite the fact that the party lacked the number of MPs needed to do so. To overcome this impasse, Demirel demanded the resignation of some MPs from his former party, the DYP, and they were then asked to join the Democrat Turkey Party. In this way, a coalition of the ANAP-DSP-DTP was established and he became prime minister for the third time on June 20, 1997. He resigned one year later.

In the elections on April 18, 1999, even though his party suffered heavy losses at the polls, Yılmaz joined the DSP-MHP-ANAP coalition and became state minister and deputy prime minister. When his party only received 5% of the vote in the elections of November 3, 2002, thus failing to pass the election threshold, he resigned from the leadership of the party. In the general elections held on July 22, 2007, he secured a seat in the parliament as an independent MP for Rize. In 2009, he joined the Democrat Party, which had been established by the merger of the ANAP and the True Path Party, and continued to be active in the party until 2011.

Yılmaz was the first prime minister to be tried by the Supreme Criminal Tribunal. On June 13, 2004, the TBMM requested that he be put on trial in accordance with Article 205 of the Turkish Criminal Code on the basis of an indictment stating that he had been involved in collusive tendering in the sale of Türkbank. In 2006, the case was postponed.

Metin Göktepe

Journalist.



Göktepe was detained by the police in Alibeyköy, where he had gone to report on a news story for the newspaper *Evrensel*, and he died as a result of the torture to which he was subjected. The state admitted that he had been killed while being held in detention, the first such admission of its kind in Turkey.

Göktepe was born in the village of Çipil in Sivas in 1968 as the seventh child of an Alevi-Kurdish family that had eight children. In 1979, he settled in Istanbul and in 1986 he graduated from high school. Göktepe worked during the summers to pay for his education and in 1989 he enrolled at Istanbul University's Faculty of Economics in the Department of Finance. In 1986, Göktepe started becoming politically active and he joined the student youth movement. He began working as a journalist in 1992 by working for the magazine *Gerçek* and in 1995 he became a correspondent for the newspaper *Evrensel*.

On January 4, 1996, during an operation targeting the political prisoners held at Ümraniye Special Prison, Abdülmecid Seçkin, Orhan Özen, Rıza Boybaş and Gültekin Beyhan were beaten to death. On January 8, 1996, Metin Göktepe went to Alibeyköy in order to follow up on the funerals of two of the prisoners who were murdered in prison. Göktepe was included among the detainees rounded up by the police on the grounds that he did not have his press card with him at the time. Along with nearly a thousand other people, Göktepe was taken to the Eyüp Sports Center where he was killed by police officers who admitted during the hearing that their superior had ordered them

to “give the journalist ‘special’ treatment.” The fact that his body, which had been hidden, was discovered a day later, led to severe repercussions. On January 11, 1996, the minister of internal affairs, Teoman Ünüsan, stated on the television show *32. Gün*, “I don’t know much about the issue. But evidence that has recently come to light indicates that Metin Göktepe died because he fell off a wall.” Under public pressure, the authorities admitted that the journalist had actually been beaten to death while being held in detention. When the case was brought to trial, the officers who killed Göktepe were merely tried for the crime of “accidental murder,” which led to intense criticism. Mehmet Ağar was the minister of justice at the time. The case, which lasted four years and was moved from court to court, was finalized in February 1999. Six of the eleven officers who were tried received sentences of seven years and six months, but the case was eventually dismissed by a higher court on procedural grounds. On May 5, 1999, the Supreme Court upheld the sentences of five of the six officers and dismissed the sentence of the chief of police. The officers were released from prison after serving a year and eight months through the Conditional Release and Postponement Law enacted on December 22, 2000.

Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu

Politician.



Yazıcıoğlu was the founding president of the Great Unity Party (BBP), an MP for Sivas and president of the Grey Wolves Organization before the military coup of 1980. He adopted a Turkist-Islamist ideology and led organizations that held to a similar outlook. In 2009, he was killed in an accident under suspicious circumstances.

Yazıcıoğlu was born in the village of Elmalı in the Şarkışla district of Sivas on December 31, 1954. He graduated from Ankara University's Veterinary Faculty. In 1968, he joined the Young Grey Wolves Movement in Şarkışla. After moving to Ankara for his university education in 1972, he worked for the headquarters of the Grey Wolves. The Grey Wolves organization, officially named the Grey Wolves Education and Cultural Foundation, was founded in 1968. Although it has had an organic relationship with the National Movement Party in terms of ideology and politics, it has not acted officially as the party's youth organization. The Grey Wolves is an ultra-nationalist organization that was founded as an anti-communist movement during the Cold War. In late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the organization was a leading factor in the escalation of violence on the streets. Yazıcıoğlu has also been accused of taking part in numerous acts of violence. The most notable of these were the massacres of Bahçelievler and Kahramanmaraş. Yazıcıoğlu was put on trial following those incidents but he was acquitted and released. Among his supporters, Yazıcıoğlu has attained a status that borders on the mythical. It was reported that in 1978 when Abdullah Çatlı and Mustafa Pehlivanoglu were

apprehended, he called the police station in Ankara where they were being held and said, “This is my last warning to you. If you don’t release Abdullah Çatlı, we will set off bombs in a hundred and fifty places across Ankara.” He served as deputy president and then president of the Grey Wolves. He was also the founding president of the Idealist Youth Association, which became active in 1978. Between 1978 and 1980, he served as advisor to the president of the Nationalist Movement Party. Within the scope of the trials held after the military coup of September 12, 1980, he was tried in the case against the MHP and various idealist institutions. He was imprisoned for seven and a half years but ultimately he was found not guilty and released.

When he got out of prison, he was appointed president of the Social Security and Education Foundation that had been founded with the objective of helping fellow nationalist idealists in prison and their families. In 1987, Yazıcıoğlu joined the Nationalist Task Party (MÇP), which was the successor of the MHP, and worked as its deputy general secretary. In the elections of 1991, he was elected as an MP for Sivas. Because of political disputes, Yazıcıoğlu left the MÇP on July 7, 1992 along with five of his fellow MPs and founded the Great Unity Party (BBP) on January 29, 1993, whereupon he became president of the party. In the early elections held on December 24, 1995, he won a seat in the TBMM once again as an MP for Sivas in the 20th period as a result of the alliance between the ANAP and the BBP. On February 28, 1996, he resigned from the ANAP and returned to the BBP. He was elected as president of the party in the general assemblies of October 8, 2000, July 20, 2003 and April 30, 2006, as well as in the extraordinary assembly of April 15, 2007. In the elections of July 22, 2007, he entered parliament as an independent MP for Sivas and he was reelected as president of the BBP, a position from which he had resigned prior to the elections.

Yazıcıoğlu died on March 25, 2009 when his helicopter crashed in Kahramanmaraş. The claim has been made that the crash was not actually an accident. Blood tests carried out on the other people who had been killed indicated a high level of carbon monoxide and videotapes that were released at a later date revealed that the location of the accident had been identified within a short period of time but was not reported to the authorities. Furthermore, three of the people who did not immediately report the crash were connected to the attempted coup of July 15, 2016.

Murat Karayalçın

Politician.



Karayalçın has held the posts of deputy prime minister, state minister and minister of foreign affairs, and he also served as mayor of Ankara, president of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) and president of the Social Democrat People's Party (also abbreviated as "SHP").

Karayalçın was born in Samsun in 1943. His family is from the district of Çamlıhemşin in Rize. In 1968, he graduated from the Department of Economics and Finance at Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences, whereupon he started working as a deputy duties specialist at the State Planning Organization. He later completed his bachelor's degree in England in the field of economic development. In 1978 and 1979, he worked for the Ministry of Rural Affairs as deputy undersecretary. He was one of the founders of the Batıkent Housing Development Cooperatives Union (Kent-Koop) and from 1981 to 1991 he was president of the cooperative. Additionally, from 1986 to 1987 he was a member of the International Housing Council's board of directors, and from its foundation in 1988 until September 1993, he was president of the City Cooperatives Central Union of Turkey. The satellite city project that he had developed for the betterment of urban settlements in Ankara was implemented with the name "Batıkent." As a result of the project, he was awarded the World Housing Prize in England in 1986. In the same year, the magazine *Nokta* selected him as Businessperson of the Year.

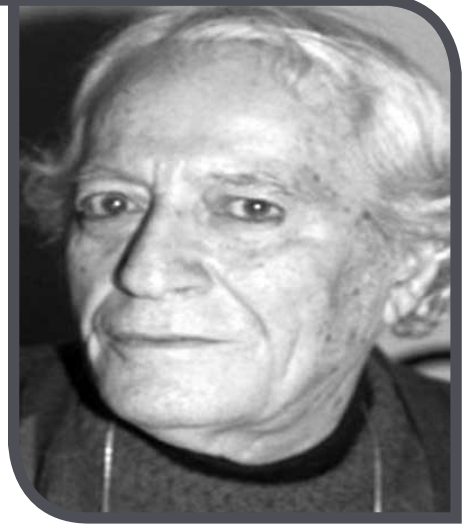
Karayalçın held to a right-wing outlook during his years as a student at the Faculty of Political Sciences and he joined the Free Thought Club. Eventually,

however, his political stance shifted and the Social Democrat Populist Party nominated him as a candidate during the local municipal elections for Ankara held on March 26, 1989 and he was elected. He held that position until he was elected as president of the SHP during the 4th Ordinary General Assembly of the party on September 11, 1993. After he was elected as the party's president, he served as deputy prime minister, state minister and minister of foreign affairs for the coalition government assembled by the DYP-SHP (1994-1995). In February 1995, after the merger of SHP with the Republican People's Party (CHP), he resigned as president. Afterwards, his rise in politics came to a halt. He was critiqued for resigning as mayor and taking on the party's leadership because the candidate nominated by the Welfare Party, Melih Gökçek, won the local elections of 1994 in Ankara even though the candidates from other social democrat parties had received more votes in total than Gökçek. The claim was made that if Karayalçın had completed his first term and run as a candidate once again, he would have won in the elections.

He was nominated as a candidate for the presidency of the CHP at the party's 27th Ordinary General Assembly held on the 9th and 10th September in 1995; however, he was defeated by Deniz Baykal. In the general elections of 1995, he was elected as an MP for Samsun representing the CHP. In the local elections held on April 18, 1999, he ran as a candidate from the CHP for the position of mayor of Ankara, but he was unable to secure enough votes to win. He lost in the race for the leadership of the CHP once again in the Extraordinary General Assembly of the party held on May 22, 1999. In 2001, he resigned from the CHP and set about reconstructing the left, working alongside Fikri Sağlar. In May 2002, he established a new party called the Social Democrat People's Party. In 2004, he ran as a candidate in the mayoral elections of Ankara representing the Social Democrat People's Party but again failed to garner enough votes. In 2009, he ran as a candidate for the CHP in the local elections in Ankara but again failed to be elected as mayor. He worked for the CHP as a member of the Party Council between 2012 and 2014. On December 17, 2014 he was appointed as president of the Istanbul Provincial Office of the CHP and he retained that post until December 2015.

Musa Anter

Poet, writer and journalist.



Nicknamed Apê Musa, meaning “Uncle” Musa, Anter was a Kurdish poet and journalist. He contributed to raising awareness among intellectuals about Kurdish identity through his poetry, newspaper articles and skills as an organizer. Also, as a member of the TİP he prompted many Kurdish intellectuals to take a more leftist stance and increased interest among Turkish leftists about the Kurdish Issue.

Anter was born in the village of Eskimağara Village in Mardin’s district of Nusaybin in 1920. His mother Fesla was among the first female village administrators in Turkey. He completed primary school in Mardin and secondary and high school in Adana, and he went on to graduate from Istanbul University’s Faculty of Law. In 1944, he got married to Ayşe Hanım, who was the paternal aunt of Cüneyt Zapsu and a graduate of St. George’s Austrian High School. During his years as a student, he was handed his first sentence for his responses to the Dersim Uprising. Anter published the newspaper *İleri Yurt* in Diyarbakır in collaboration with Canip Yıldırım and Yusuf Azizoglu, and he published a poem in Kurdish in the newspaper titled “Qimil/Kımıl” which became a national issue. He and the intellectuals supporting him were put on trial in 1959 in a case known as the “Case of the 49’s,” in which the public prosecutor called for the death penalty. In the period of the coup of May 27, the trial went on, and Anter was ultimately sentenced to time in prison. When he was released through an amnesty, he started writing for the magazines *Deng*, *Barış Dünyası* and *Yön*. After the failed coup attempt carried out by Talat Aydemir and his group in 1963, 23 people of Kurdish origin who had

ties with Anter were arrested within the scope of policies adopted by the regime in order to intimidate other political movements and groups. They were accused of trying to “establish an independent Kurdistan” as part of a case dubbed in the literature as the “Case of the 23’s.” They were released in 1964.

Alongside a group of Kurdish intellectuals that included Yaşar Kaya, Medet Serhat, Naci Kutlay, Kemal Burkay, Mehdi Zana, Tarık Ziya Ekinci and Canip Yıldırım, Anter joined the Workers’ Party of Turkey (TİP), which had been founded by twelve unionists on February 13, 1961. The “Easterners” wing that was created by the group played an important role in bringing up the “Eastern Question” through its name, which was referred to in the literature of the TİP.

In the following period, Anter was involved in the establishment of the Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Society (DDKO), which was active from 1969 to 1971. The organization spearheaded the mainstreaming of the ideal of socialism among Kurdish intellectuals. Anter was put on trial because of his membership in the DDKO, which was shut down in 1971, and he was imprisoned for three years. After getting out of prison, he settled in Akarsu. During the military coup of September 12, he was arrested for engaging in pro-Kurdish propaganda, and he was held in Nusaybin Prison for a short period of time. In 1985, he took up writing once again and in 1988 he moved to Dragos. In 1990, he was one of the founders of the People’s Labor Party, in 1991 he assisted in the establishment of the Mesopotamian Cultural Center and in 1992 he took part in the founding of the Kurdish Institute in Istanbul.

Throughout his career as a writer, Anter penned articles for *İleri Yurt*, *Dicle-Fırat*, *Barış Dünyası*, *Deng*, *Yön*, *Azadiye Welat*, *Yeni Ülke*, *Özgür Gündem*, *Rewşen* and *Tewlo*. In addition, he published seven books and a Kurdish-Turkish dictionary. He argued that the Kurdish Movement should continue its struggle but without taking up arms, and purportedly that is why author Yaşar Kemal referred to him as “a Kurd without the anger.” Despite his peaceful approach, many attempts were made to intimidate and silence Anter, particularly through trials, and in total he was imprisoned for eleven and a half years.

In 1992, Musa Anter was killed during an armed attack. The identity of the perpetrator was a subject of controversy for many years, but today most people believe that the murder was carried out by JİTEM (the Gendarmerie Intelligence Organization). That claim has been made because Abdülkadir Aygan stated in his book *Memoirs of a JİTEM Confessor*, which was published in 2004, that a number of figures were involved, including Major Ahmet Cem Ersever, Mahmut Yıldırım (code-named “Yeşil”), Mustafa Deniz, Cemil Işık (code-named “Hogir”), Neval Boz (a former officer from the Syrian intelligence organization Al Mukhabarat), Ali Ozansoy (an officer who worked for JİTEM’s Wireless Command Department), Savaş Gevrekçi (JİTEM’s team commander) and “Hamit of Şırnak.”

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

Soldier, politician and statesperson. Field marshal, leader of the War of Independence, founding leader of the Republic of Turkey and president until he passed away in 1938, founder of the Republican People's Party and president of the party until his death.



Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was born in 1881 in Thessaloniki, a cosmopolitan coastal city. At the time, Thessaloniki and Macedonia were major political centers where new currents of thought were emerging in an environment marked by wars, rebellions and struggles for change. Mustafa Kemal was from a middle class family. His father, Ali Rıza Efendi, worked as a civil servant for the Foundations and Customs Department, and later he started his own business. His mother, Zübeyde Hanım, was from a Yörük family that had migrated from Anatolia to Rumelia. Mustafa Kemal's father passed away in 1888. He completed primary and secondary school in Thessaloniki, and he went on to study at the Manastır (Bitola) Military High School and the Military College in Istanbul. In 1902, he graduated with the rank of lieutenant. He continued his studies at the Military Academy and in 1905 he graduated with the rank of captain, whereupon he was posted to Damascus and Manastır.

In 1909, he briefly held the post of chief of staff in the Action Army that was stationed in Istanbul. In 1911, he served in the Tripoli War and in 1912 he served in the Balkan War. During World War I, he fought in the Battle of Gallipoli as a division commander. Starting in 1916, he was assigned as commander of the eastern and southern fronts. Mustafa Kemal was promoted to colonel in 1915 and major general in 1916. Following the Armistice of Mudros, his units were disbanded so he moved to Istanbul to work for the Ministry of War.

When Istanbul was occupied by the Allied Powers, Mustafa Kemal travelled to Samsun on May 19, 1919 as the inspector of the 9th Army, and he set about laying plans for the national struggle for independence. On June 22, 1919 he made a proclamation in Amasya calling for the assembly of what would come to be known as the Sivas Congress. Between July 23 and August 7, 1919 he led the Erzurum Congress and between September 4 and 11 of the same year the Sivas Congress was held under his leadership. After the congresses, a declaration was issued stating that a regime of mandates was unacceptable and that a temporary government would be established, under the auspices of which a new national assembly would be instated. On April, 23, 1920 the Grand National Assembly was proclaimed in Ankara, and Mustafa Kemal was elected as the president of the assembly, which declared that it rejected outright the terms of the Treaty of Sevres. The struggle for national liberation that had been launched by militias (called the *kuvayı millîye*) was carried on by a regular army established under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. In 1921, he became the commander in chief of the armed forces. After the Battle of Sakarya, the Grand National Assembly appointed him field marshal on September 19, 1921, and between August 26 and 30, 1922 he led the Great Offensive. The War of Independence concluded with the Treaty of Lausanne, which was signed on July 24, 1923.

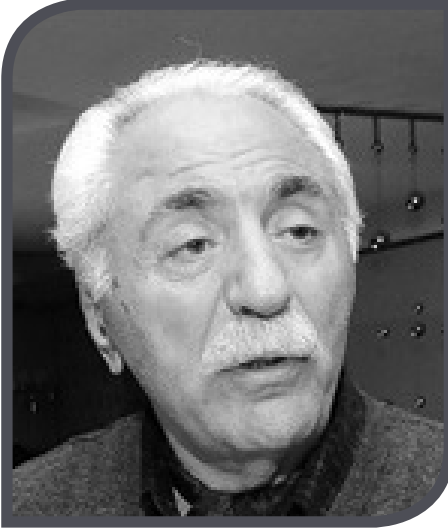
Under Mustafa Kemal's leadership, the People's Faction was founded on September 9, 1923. It was renamed the People's Republican Faction in 1924 and the Republican People's Party in 1935. Mustafa Kemal led the party until his death in 1938.

After the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey on October 29, 1923, Mustafa Kemal was voted in by members of parliament as the first president of Turkey. He retained the post of president in the elections of 1927, 1931 and 1935.

During his lifetime, two attempts were made to switch to multi-party politics in Turkey (with the involvement of the Progressive Republican Party between November 1924 and June 1925 and the Liberal Republican Party between August and November 1930) but they ultimately failed. The reforms that were implemented with the aim of establishing a secular and modern nation-state were drafted by a political regime that ruled as a single party government instated by two-stage elections. Within the scope of reforms targeting modernization, the sultanate was abolished prior to the Lausanne negotiations and on March 3, 1924 the caliphate was also abolished. On the basis of another law that was passed on the same day, institutions of education were placed under the control of the Ministry of National Education. Through a series of reforms implemented between 1925 and 1935 concerning law, education,

language, culture, and social life, major steps were taken towards constructing a modern secular state and society. The founding ideology of the Republic of Turkey, which was based on the principles of populism, nationalism, republicanism, secularism, statism, and revolutionism, took shape throughout this period, and it came to be known as Atatürkism or Kemalism. The principles of republicanism, populism, nationalism and secularism were included in the party regulations in 1927 and all six principles, including statism and revolutionism, were included in the program of the Republican People's Party in 1931. In the party program that was enacted at the party's general assembly in 1935, these principles were explicitly referred to as Kemalism for the first time. They were added to the second article of the Constitution in 1937.

The surname Atatürk was given to Mustafa Kemal on November 24, 1934 through the enactment of Law 2587, which also banned anyone else from adopting the name. Atatürk passed away in Istanbul at Dolmabahçe Palace on November 10, 1938, at 9:05 in the morning. His body was placed in the Ethnography Museum in Ankara on November 21, 1938, and after construction of Anıtkabir (Atatürk's Mausoleum) was completed, his remains were transferred there on November 10, 1953.



Mustafa Timisi

Politician.

Throughout the 1960s, Timisi was a pioneering figure in the process by which Alevis became a political subject, and he was the president of the Union Party founded by the Alevis. After the military coup of September 12, he got involved in politics as a supporter of social democrat policies.

Timisi was born in the district of Divriği in Sivas on May 1, 1936. His political views started to coalesce in the climate created by the Constitution of 1961. In this period, the Workers' Party of Turkey and a variety of other political organizations were able to voice their opinions, and Timisi worked with young Alevis who sought to promote their culture. After May 27, the second İnönü government made an amendment to the Law on the Organization of Religious Affairs and established the Directorate of Sects in which Alevis were included in the "Circle of Islam." That move prompted strong reactions, and students of Alevi origin studying at Ankara University, including Mustafa Timisi, assembled a committee in 1963. The committee issued a press statement which said that Alevis supported the values of the Republic and that they were supporters of Atatürk and the National Struggle. Timisi read the statement on behalf of the committee. The president of the time, Cemal Gürsel, sent an invitation to the group, which included Seyfi Oktay and Kahraman Aytaç, who would in later years become ministers of justice, as well as Engin Dikmen, Taki Davutoğlu and Ali İlhan. During their meeting with the president, they demanded that the restrictions placed on Alevis be lifted and that the shrine of Hacıbektaş-ı Veli be opened.

In 1964, following the dissolution of the İnönü government, Alevi intellectuals set about trying to find ways to become more active in politics. The Republican People's Party (CHP) did not provide enough support; during the rule of the Demirel government, İbrahim Elmalı, the president of the Directorate of Religious Affairs, stated, "There is no such thing as Alevis," thereby deepening the gap between the group and the party. Timisi believed that the massacre of Alevis in Muğla-Ortaca in 1966 and the incidents in Elbistan in 1967 made it necessary for Alevis to assert their political rights. He was therefore included, in his own words, "in efforts to institutionalize a leftist movement that is devoted to Atatürk's principles and revolutions and a social state perspective." Timisi argued that the reason why such efforts remained beyond the scope of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) was that the TİP had not provided an adequate amount of practical support for Alevis.

As the result of endeavors undertaken with the participation of Hürrem Erman, Halil Tunç, Bahri Savcı, members of the Supreme Court, bureaucrats, business people, the mayor of Hacıbektaş, and Alevis and non-Alevis, a group led by Cemal Özbey founded the Union Party in 1966. The fact that the participants were not later included in the party, however, led to a problem in terms of leadership. During a general assembly held after the elections of 1969, Timisi was appointed as president of the party.

After the military intervention of March 12, 1971, Timisi secured a seat in parliament for the Union Party, and he objected to the execution of Deniz Gezmiş and his associates. He wrote a letter to the president of the period, Cevdet Sunay, demanding amnesty for Gezmiş and the others. Timisi and the Union Party continued to be active in politics until the military coup of 1980. During the coup, he was held in custody in Istanbul alongside Behice Boran. After 1980, he worked for the unification of social democratic groups with organizations that followed in the footsteps of the Union Party and he supported the SODEP, which he eventually joined by working with Erdal İnönü. He was also involved in activities supporting the merging of the Populist Party with the SODEP. In 1993, he was one of the prominent party figures during the leadership of Murat Karayalçın, and he contributed to the merger of the SHP and CHP. In 1995, Timisi set aside active politics in the party and began working for İş Bank of Turkey as a top executive. Nevertheless, he remained a member of the party, despite the resignation of İnönü and Karayalçın, with whom he had worked.



Mümtaz Soysal

Lawyer, academician, politician.

Soysal was born in Zonguldak in 1929. In 1949, he graduated from Galatasaray High School and in 1953 he graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences (SBF). While he was working as an assistant at the Middle Eastern Institute of Public Administration, he passed the requisite exams and received a degree from Ankara University's Faculty of Law as well. In 1956, he began working as an assistant at the SBF and in 1958 he completed his dissertation in political sciences. For a long period of time, he lectured as a constitutional law professor at the SBF. He held various posts including assistant of administrative law at Ankara University (1959-1963), assistant professor of constitutional law (1963-1969), professor of constitutional law (1969-1991), founding council member (1961), head of the Mediterranean Social Research Council (1970), dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences (1971), and member of the constitutional commission as a representative of the Republican People's Party at the Council of Representatives (6th of January 1961-25th of October 1961).

In 1963, Soysal became an associate professor at the SBF and in 1969 he became a full professor, and he was elected as the dean of the same faculty in 1971. Following the memorandum of March 12, he was detained and arrested by the Martial Law Command of Ankara on March 18, 1971 while he was giving a lecture. He was accused of engaging in propaganda for communism based on the contents of a textbook he had published in 1968 titled *Introduction to the Constitution*. He was sentenced to six years and eight months of

imprisonment, and he was held in custody for two months and twenty days in Kuşadası. In addition, he was stripped of all of his public rights. In the end, he was incarcerated in Mamak Prison for a total of fourteen and a half months.

In the elections of 1991, he was nominated by the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) as a quota-based candidate for Ankara, and he won a seat in the TBMM. During his term as an MP, Soysal was critical of the policies of the government, including Operation Provide Comfort, the ongoing state of emergency, democratization, Cyprus and privatization. Members of the DYP, the coalition partner, reacted strongly to his critiques, especially when he applied to the Constitutional Court about the authorization laws on privatization. As a result of his efforts, the Constitutional Court ordered for a stay of execution for the first time in its history. As a professor of constitutional law, Soysal regularly criticized the passivity of the SHP as a coalition partner. During Murat Karayalçın's term, he held the post of minister of foreign affairs for a short period of time (July to November 1994). However, over time his disputes with Prime Minister Tansu Çiller and her deputy Murat Karayalçın intensified, and he resigned from the ministry. During the preparations of a constitutional draft in 1995, he retained his popularity, especially as the result of his quarrels with Coşkun Kırca from the DYP. He played a leading role in taking the election law to the Constitutional Court. Afterwards, he broke with the CHP and transferred to the DSP. In the general elections of 1995, he was elected as an MP for Zonguldak representing the DSP. Afterwards, he had differences of opinion with Bülent Ecevit and Raşan Ecevit and he left the DSP in 1998. In 2002, he founded the Independent Republic Party and became its leader. Soysal participated in the international negotiations over Cyprus as a constitutional advisor and he was also the advisor to the president of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), Rauf Denktaş, for a long period of time. He held that post in 2002 during negotiations for a resolution known as the Annan Plan.

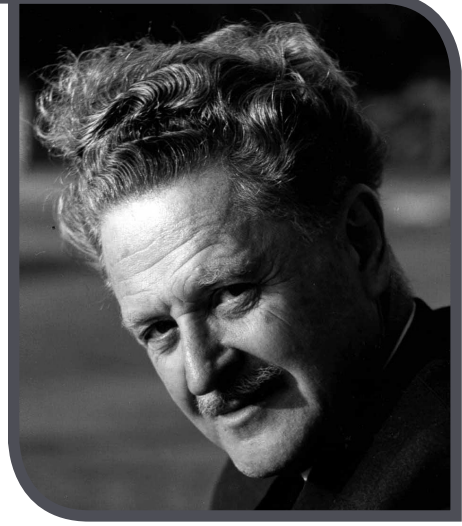
Aside from his work as a lawyer, Soysal garnered attention for his newspaper articles, and he wrote for a variety of magazines and newspapers including *Forum*, *Akis*, *Yön*, *Ortam Yeni İstanbul*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Ulus*, *Barış*, *Milliyet* and *Hürriyet*. He started writing a column called "Açı" for *Milliyet* in 1974, wrote for *Hürriyet* between 1991 and 2001, and worked as a columnist for *Cumhuriyet* after 2001.

Soysal was a member of numerous domestic and international associations. In 1962, he founded the Socialist Culture Association with some of his associates. From 1969 to 1971 he was president of the Mediterranean Social Sciences Research Council and from 1974 to 1978 he worked for the International Amnesty Organization as vice president. In 1979, he received the UNESCO Prize for International Human Rights Education.

Soysal is also the author of numerous books. His more popular books include *A Dynamic Approach to the Constitution*, which was published in 1969, and *The Constitution in 100 Questions*, which was released in the same year. His conceptualization of a more dynamic constitution has been adopted especially by democrat constitutional lawyers. Such an approach argues that the texts of constitutions have a complex and significant purpose that surpasses the mere resolution of current problems and that they establish a social balance which needs to be explained from an emancipatory perspective.

Nazım Hikmet Ran

Poet, playwright, novelist,
memoirist, journalist.



Hikmet was born in Thessaloniki on November 20, 1901, although his birth record was registered on January 15, 1902. He was the son of Hikmet Bey, a civil servant at the Foreign Office, and Ayşe Celile Hanım.

He completed his primary education at Göztepe Taşmektep. He started secondary school at Mekteb-i Sultani (Galatasaray High School) and graduated from Nişantaşı Sultanisi in 1917. When he was eleven, he wrote his first poem, “Feryad-ı Vatan,” the theme of which concerned the heroism of sailors. When he read the poem at a family gathering, Cemal Pasha, who was a naval minister, was quite impressed, and they decided to send him to the Navy School. Nazım attended the Navy School on the island of Heybeliada in 1917 and graduated in 1919. Immediately after graduating, he was assigned to the cruiser Hamidiye as an intern deck officer. In the winter of that year, he fell ill with pleurisy. After a long recovery, he was unable to get a passable bill of health to work as a naval officer, so he was discharged with a medical report on May 17, 1920.

In 1920, he came first in a poetry contest run by the newspaper *Alemdar*. Hikmet’s poetry included the themes of patriotism and resistance, and he went to Anatolia in 1921 to join the War of Independence and he worked as a teacher in Bolu. Afterwards, he went to Moscow through Batumi and enrolled at the Eastern Laborers Communist University, where he studied political science and economics. He got interested in the Soviet Revolution and became acquainted with communism during his years in Moscow.

He was influenced by Mayakovski and futurism. After his return to Turkey in 1924, he began working for the magazine *Aydınlık*. In 1925, within the scope of the Law on the Maintenance of Order, a large number of magazines and newspapers were shut down, and because of his poetry, which had been published in *Aydınlık*, he was put on trial by the Independence Court of Ankara. He faced up to fifteen years of imprisonment. Hikmet then travelled to the Soviet Union once again and he was unable to return to Turkey until 1928.

Although he was sentenced to imprisonment once again in 1932, he was able to take advantage of the amnesty proclaimed in honor of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the republic. In those days he started doing work for film studios and working as a journalist. He wrote humorous stories for the newspapers *Akşam*, *Son Posta* and *Tan* under the pseudonym Orhan Selim. Nazım had married twice in the Soviet Union, and on January 31, 1935 he got married to Piraye Altınoğlu, whom he had met in 1930.

In 1938, based on the allegation that he had been inciting the students of the Turkish Military Academy to take part in a rebellion and carrying out related activities in the Navy, he was sentenced to prison for twenty years and four months. He was incarcerated in prisons in Istanbul, Ankara, Bursa and Çankırı for twelve years, though international campaigns calling for his release were carried out throughout the 1940s. Hikmet went on hunger strike, and he was released through the amnesty law enacted by the Democrat Party, which had won the elections in 1950. When he got out of prison, he started a relationship with his cousin Münevver Berk, who had visited him regularly when he was in prison. Because he constantly faced indictments and because he had been summoned for his military service, he fled to the Soviet Union the same year. He was expatriated through a cabinet decree, and ultimately he was granted citizenship by Poland, the homeland of his grandfather. As a result of the resolution passed by the cabinet, it was impossible for Hikmet to return to Turkey. In 1960, he married Vera Tulyakova, whom he had met at a gathering towards the end of 1955, and the couple settled in Moscow. Thanks to the fact that his works were translated into more than fifty languages and he was regarded as one of the most prominent poets of the twentieth century, he attended conferences in various countries including Egypt, Cuba, Bulgaria, Hungary and Germany, and he participated in anti-war and anti-imperialist protests. He has long been a symbolic figure for the communist movement in Turkey.

Hikmet died of heart failure in Moscow on June 3, 1963, and he was buried with a ceremony in Novodevichi Cemetery. The year 2002 was declared “the Year of Nazım Hikmet” by UNESCO. Hikmet’s Turkish citizenship was reinstated in 2009, fifty-eight years after his death, through a cabinet resolution. In one of his poems, Hikmet had written that he wanted to be buried under a plane tree in Anatolia, but for political reasons his wish has never been fulfilled.

Nazlı Ilıcak

Journalist, politician.



Ilıcak was born in Ankara on November 14, 1944. Her father was a minister when the Democrat Party was in power. She completed her primary education at TED Ankara College, and she went to Notre Dame de Sion French High School (1963) and studied at Lausanne University's Faculty of Political Sciences (1967).

In 1969, she got married to Kemal Ilıcak, the owner of the newspaper *Tercüman*, and she became an editorial writer for the newspaper. Until 1988, she was the publisher of *Bulvar*, a newspaper launched by the same media group. Between 1992 and 1994, she hosted a television show on TRT called *Söz Meclisten İçeri*. Ilıcak also wrote columns for the newspapers *Meydan*, *Hürriyet*, *Akşam*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Dünden Bugüne Tercüman*, *Sabah*, *Bugün* and *Takvim*. She was incarcerated in Sağmalcılar Prison for three months (from October 1982 to January 1983) for engaging in acts that violated the National Security Council's principles.

In the general elections of April 18, 1999, she won a seat in parliament as an MP for Istanbul representing the Virtue Party. During the swearing-in ceremony, Ilıcak entered the parliament chamber arm in arm with Merve Kavakçı, an MP from Istanbul who was wearing a headscarf. The Virtue Party was shut down by the Constitutional Court on June 22, 2001. Ilıcak's status as a parliamentarian was nullified and she was banned from politics for five years. In the general elections of 2011, she applied for candidacy to run as an MP for the Justice and Development Party, but her application was declined.

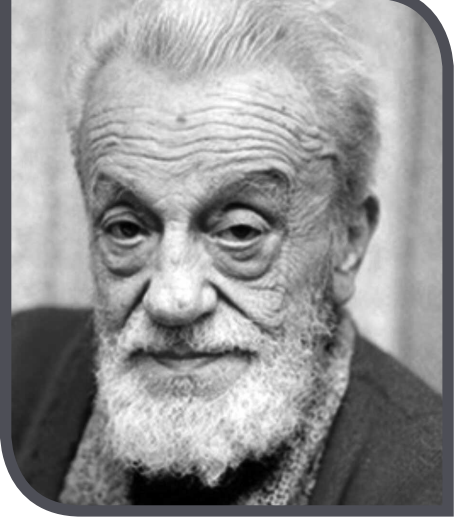
Over the years, Ilıcak has shifted her ideological position in right-wing politics numerous times, and she has been a democrat, a nationalist and a Muslim activist. She has voiced support for the military regime while also criticizing the military coup. Throughout her life she has supported whichever position seems to be the “right” thing to do in terms of being the most advantageous for her in the midst of shifts in the balance in power and power relations. She has sided with various factions in right-wing politics by first supporting Erbakan and then supporting Çiller, Yılmaz and Erdoğan, and she also turned against Erdoğan at one point.

Ilıcak was critical of the operations launched against the Parallel State Structure and she also stated that the corruption and bribery operations of December 17-25 could not be construed as an attempted coup. She has also claimed that the MİT was shipping weapons by truck to Syria and she was critical of how the judges who had brought the situation to light were depicted as “spies.”

Following the attempted military coup on July 15, 2016, Ilıcak was detained along with 42 other journalists on July 26 within the scope of operations carried out against the media organizations of the parallel state. On July 29, 2016, she was arrested on charges of being a member of an armed terrorist organization. She received a sentence of aggravated life imprisonment on February 16, 2018. Ilıcak is still being held in prison within the scope of the investigation into the Fethullah Terrorist Organization on charges of “committing a felony on behalf of the organization while not being a member.”

Necip Fazıl Kısakürek

Poet, writer, politician.



Kısakürek was born in Istanbul in 1904. He received his primary education at various institutions including the American College and a French school. He went to secondary school at the Navy School in 1922. The duration of studies was extended to three years when he first enrolled and again to four years in his final year, so he decided not to become a military officer, instead opting to enroll in the Philosophy Department of the Ottoman University, from which he graduated in 1924. Kısakürek published his first poems in *Yeni Mecmua* in 1922 and he went to Paris on a scholarship granted by the Ministry of Education. In Paris he led a bohemian life, becoming a gambling addict as well. Upon his return to Turkey, he worked as a civil servant and an inspector at various banks (1926-1938). In the meantime, Necip Fazıl continued to be interested in literature and he published three books of poetry between 1925 and 1931. In 1934, he met Ablüdhakim Arvasi, a leader of the Naqshibandi sect. Although he considered this encounter to be a turning point in his intellectual life, he remained an avid supporter of Atatürk, both when he was alive and after his death. Between 1939 and 1942, he gave lectures on literature at various universities. In 1940, he applied to CHP for parliamentary membership, but he was rejected; it has been said that this rejection was a major factor in his hostility towards İnönü. After 1938, he took up journalism full time. In 1941, Kısakürek got married to Fatma Neslihan Baban, and they had five children together. In 1942, he was put on trial for an article he had written, and in 1943 he started publishing the magazine *Büyük Doğu*, which was a reflection of his conservative-Islamist intellectual beliefs. From 1943 to 1978,

the magazine was published in five cycles (512 issues in total) and through the articles he published therein he developed ideas and arguments that would later be adopted by conservative, nationalist and Islamist movements. Through his articles in the magazine, Kısakürek criticized the pursuit of Westernization that had gotten underway starting in the Tanzimat Era, lauded Turkish nationalism and the Islamic tradition, embraced the political legacy of Abdul Hamid II, highlighted values that he claimed were “domestic and representative of people’s own values” instead of those “that are distant to people’s reality and under a Western influence” and supported the Democrat Party and other subsequent nationalist-Islamist parties. In his book *İdeolocya Örgüsü*, he developed his utopian concept of “sublime transcendency” and described a rather authoritarian system of the presidency. “Sublime transcendency” was described as a regime in which Islamic law is practiced on the basis of militarism. Through that concept he proposed the creation of a Congress of Nobles which would be determined based on the quality of character of its potential members instead of a parliamentary system. The sublime transcendent was to be elected from among the members of the congress once every five years. That utopia partly inspired the right-wing politics of the presidential system. Kısakürek supported numerous state actions including the raiding of the *Tan* printing house in 1945, and he was a prominent figure in the anti-communist literature.

In 1949, Kısakürek established the Great Eastern Society, thereby showcasing his political activism, and he also mainstreamed his almost totalitarian political views through his work, such as encouraging married couples to have many children, introducing a ban on dancing, segregating women and men in the public sphere, and institutionalizing capital punishment. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who stated that he wanted the new generation to be more pious, cited Kısakürek’s *Address to the Youth* in a speech in 2012. He said, “I would like to see our youth raised up to be dedicated to their religion, language, minds, chastity, homes, grudges and hearts.” Until the end of his life, Kısakürek advocated for the establishment of an authoritarian political regime. He died in Istanbul in 1983.

Necmettin Erbakan

Politician, deputy prime minister, prime minister, state minister; founding president of the National Order Party (MNP), National Salvation Party (MSP), Welfare Party (RP) and Felicity Party (SP); president of the Turkish Union of Chambers, MP for five terms. .



Erbakan was born in Sinop in 1926. His father was a judge in the employ of Adana's high criminal court and his mother was a homemaker from Sinop. He completed primary school in Trabzon and in 1937 he enrolled at the Istanbul High School for Boys, where classes were taught in German. In 1943, he graduated from high school at the top of his class and enrolled at Istanbul Technical University's Faculty of Mechanics. He graduated from university in 1948 and worked as an assistant at the faculty, and then he went to Germany for research. Erbakan specialized in automotive engineering and he worked at various institutions and companies. In 1953, he passed the exam for his associate professorship upon returning to Turkey, and in 1956 he led the establishment of Gümüş Motor A.Ş., which was to be later renamed Pancar Motors. Erbakan became a professor in 1965 and while working for the Turkish Union of Chambers, he made a name for himself by advocating for policies supporting small- and medium-sized enterprises. In 1969, he became president of the Union of Chambers. However, due to outside pressure he did not hold the post for very long. In the general elections of the same year, he was elected as an independent MP for Konya and secured a seat in parliament. In 1970, with the support of Naqshibandi leader Mehmet Zahit Kotku, he became the founding president of the MNP, which was the first party to represent the Islamist movement through a "National Vision." In the multi-party system that had been adopted in 1946, the MNP was the first to support Islamist politics and it held to a political doctrine that was anti-West-

ern and opposed to monopolist capitalism. The MNP was shut down after the military coup of March 12, 1971 by the Constitutional Court on the grounds that it had been acting against the principle of secularism. In 1972, the MSP was founded as the successor of the MNP and in the general elections of 1973, the party achieved a voting rate of 12%, thereby securing 51 seats in parliament. Erbakan encouraged a model of economic development based on heavy industry as well as social development grounded in a recourse to spiritual (meaning, Islamic) values. Between 1974 and 1978, he held the posts of state minister and deputy prime minister, firstly for the government led by the CHP and secondly for the coalition governments assembled by Demirel with the Justice Party and other right-wing parties.

Following the military coup of September 12, 1980, the MSP was shut down along with other political parties and Erbakan, who was arrested and then released, was banned from taking part in politics. After the ban was lifted in 1987 through a referendum, he became president of the RP, which had been founded to replace the MSP. In the general elections of 1991, Erbakan was elected as an MP once again and he rose to prominence through the achievements of his party in the local elections of 1994. In the general elections of 1995, the RP outperformed the other parties by getting 21.7% of the vote. In 1996, Erbakan was appointed prime minister in the coalition government of the RP and the True Path Party (DYP), although some of his actions were seen as being controversial both inside and outside the country. While visiting Libya, he was heavily criticized by Qaddafi. After winning the elections by promising to create “a just order,” Erbakan led the establishment of the D-8 organization in an effort to create an alliance among developing countries with primarily Muslim populations, which was seen as an attempt to break Turkey’s ties with the West.

He belittled the social opposition that had become quite vociferous after the Susurluk Incident which took place in November 1996 and revealed the existence of mafia-political-deep state relations, and he defined the protests based on the slogan “one minute of darkness for constant light” as “fiddle-faddle.” His party also became known for its anti-Alevi discourses. As a result, the social opposition, which was mainly driven by demands for a democratic state order backed by the rule of law, targeted Erbakan and his party for breaking with the principle of secularism. Erbakan engaged in other symbolic acts, such as hosting a dinner at the prime minister’s residence with the leaders of religious sects and supporting Islamist shows of power, such as the shouting of pro-sharia slogans at an event called “Jerusalem Night” arranged by the Sincan Municipality, thereby increasing political tensions. The worsening climate paved the way for the launching of a “mild coup” by the

armed forces, which had maintained its power within the system and was widely acclaimed as the defender of secularism, through resolutions passed at a National Security Council meeting held on February 28, 1997. As a result of this “post-modern coup,” Erbakan was forced to resign as prime minister and soon after the RP was shut down by the Constitutional Court. Erbakan was banned from engaging in politics for a period of five years. In 2003, although he became the leader of the Felicity Party, which had been founded to replace the RP, he was forced to give up his leadership when he was tried and sentenced again the following year. In 2010, he was appointed president of the party once again, but he passed away on February 27, 2011.



Nevzat Yalçıntaş

Economist, politician,
academician, journalist, writer.

Yalçıntaş was born in Ankara on August 24, 1933. He attended primary and secondary school in Ankara, and then he attended Ankara Commercial High School. In 1954, after graduating from the Istanbul Academy of Trading and Economics, he completed his doctorate degree in France at Caen University. Afterwards, he conducted research at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). In 1960, he started working as a lecturer at Istanbul University's Faculty of Economics. Yalçıntaş became an associate professor in 1964 and he became a professor in 1970.

When he returned from the LSE to Turkey, he began working for the State Water Works General Directorate as a specialist in economics. After that, he continued working as a lecturer between 1960 and 1998 and he also worked at the State Planning Organization's Social Planning Head Office. Additionally, he served as a member of the European Migrant Workers' Board, held the post of general director of TRT in 1975, served as the founding president of the Islamic Development Bank's Research and Education Institute, and worked as the undersecretary for the president of the Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges.

Yalçıntaş was an active member of the Society of Intellectuals, which brought together academicians and intellectuals who supported Turkish nationalism. Throughout the 1970s, he actively participated in the educational and publishing activities of the institution. He was a prominent figure in the formulation of the ideology of the nationalist-conservative political wing.

During the assembly of the first and second Nationalist Front governments, he helped right-wing parties and leaders develop a consistent platform. After the military coup of September 12, Yalçıntaş developed close relations with Turgut Özal and the ideology of the ANAP, and he served as president of the Society of Intellectuals from 1988 to 1998.

In 1995, when truck drivers from Turkey were caught shipping drugs in Saudi Arabia, there was a crisis over whether they would face capital punishment. Süleyman Demirel, the president, and Tansu Çiller, the prime minister, sent Yalçıntaş to Saudi Arabia to smooth over the issue. As a result of his efforts, around fifty Turkish drivers were spared the death penalty.

Yalçıntaş, who could speak English, French and Arabic, worked as an editorial writer for the newspaper *Türkiye* between 1996 and 1998, and his writings were informed by a religious-conservative discourse. Yalçıntaş was Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's mentor in the National Turkish Union of Students and he was Abdullah Gül's instructor at Istanbul University. In the general elections of April 18, 1999, he was elected as an MP representing the Virtue Party (FP) in the 21st period and in the general elections held on November 3, 2002, he was elected as an MP for Istanbul representing the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in the 22nd period. In the elections of 2007, he did not apply for candidacy. In 2009, President Abdullah Gül bestowed on him the title "Professor of Professors." Starting in 2013, he distanced himself from Erdoğan and the AKP.

Yalçıntaş headed the Turkey delegation in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and wrote many books about Turkish foreign politics, relations with the EU, anti-terrorism, and Turks and Islam.

Yalçıntaş passed away in Istanbul on July 15, 2016 after suffering a heart attack.



Numan Kurtulmuş

Academician, writer, politician,
member of parliament.

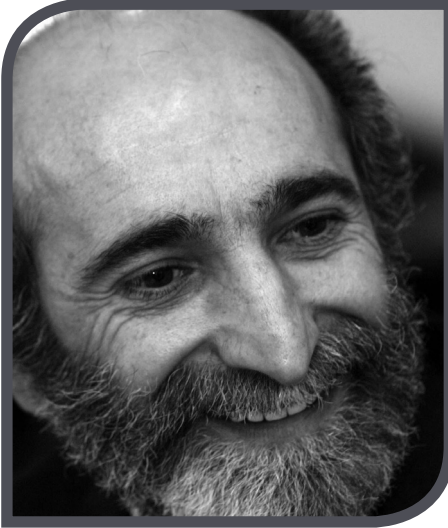
Kurtulmuş was born in Ordu on September 15, 1959. His grandfather, whom he was named after, was an officer who had joined the War of Independence as a squadron leader and he also the author of *Amentü Şerhi*, the first Islamic faith manual written in Turkish using the Latin alphabet. Kurtulmuş attended the Istanbul İmam Hatip High School and studied at Istanbul University's Faculty of Business Administration for his bachelor's and master's degrees. In 1988 and 1989, he studied at Temple University's School of Business Management in the USA in the field of business management. From 1990 to 1993, he was a guest lecturer at Cornell University's New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations. In 1992, Kurtulmuş completed his PhD at Istanbul University and in 1994 he became an associate professor. In 2004, he became a professor at Istanbul University's Faculty of Economics, where he taught courses on social politics, labor economy and human resources management.

Kurtulmuş started his political career in 1998 with the Virtue Party. He served as the head of the party's Istanbul branch and he was a member of the general administrative board. In 2001, when the Virtue Party was closed down, he joined the Felicity Party and became the head of its Istanbul branch as well as deputy president of the party. On October 26, 2008, he was elected as president of the party in the 3rd General Assembly to replace Recai Kutan and before then he had been deputy president for political affairs. On October 1, 2010, he resigned from the Felicity Party, stating that the party lacked a

clear political agenda, and he announced that he was launching the Civilization Politics Movement. Along with 235 people who came together within the scope of the movement, he founded the People's Voice Party (HAS Party) and was appointed as its president. In this period of time, Kurtulmuş was quite critical of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan regarding the issues of social justice and he compared Erdoğan to a “pharaoh” as he followed the political path of the Islamist-National Vision.

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who at that time was the president of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and prime minister, called for a merger of the AKP and HAS Party; his offer was evaluated and agreed upon during an extraordinary assembly. On September 19, 2012, the decision to dissolve the HAS Party was implemented. When Kurtulmuş joined the AKP with many of his fellow party members, he was appointed deputy minister of economic affairs. He was elected as an MP for Ordu representing the AKP in the general elections of June 7 and November 1. He then held the post of deputy prime minister in the 62nd, 63rd, 64th and 65th governments, and in the 64th government he was the government spokesperson as well as the head of public diplomacy affairs. On July 11, 2017 he was appointed as minister of culture and tourism. Kurtulmuş is currently an MP for Istanbul and he is also deputy president of the AKP.

He has published two books, *Ultra-Industrial Transformation* and *Human Resources Management*.



Orhan Doğan

Lawyer, politician, former MP.

Doğan was born in Mardin on July 25, 1955, and he attended schools in various cities because his father was a public servant whose job required that he often relocate. His first job was with the Directorate of Forestry. Afterwards, he worked at the Bafra Regional Collection Directorate as a draftsman, and in 1974 he enrolled in Ankara University's Faculty of Law. He took the public service exam and worked as a bookkeeper at the Ankara Altındağ Primary Education Directorate while he was studying law. When he graduated, he did an internship at the office of Ismail Mungan, the father of author Murathan Mungan. Eventually he settled in Cizre with his wife, whom he had married before graduating.

Doğan began working as a lawyer in Cizre and in the meantime he took part in human rights advocacy activities, becoming the representative of the Human Rights Association (İHD) for Cizre and then he was appointed as the head of the organization's Şırnak branch. He contributed to the drafting of the Kurdish Report issued by the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP). In 1989, when seven MPs from the SHP were expelled from the party because they had participated in the Kurdish Identity and Human Rights Conference held in Paris, he was one of the MPs who resigned from the party in protest. They went on to establish the People's Labor Party (HEP), which took part in the general elections of 1991 in alliance with the SHP and won 21 seats in parliament for eight cities. Doğan entered parliament as well, as an MP for Şırnak.

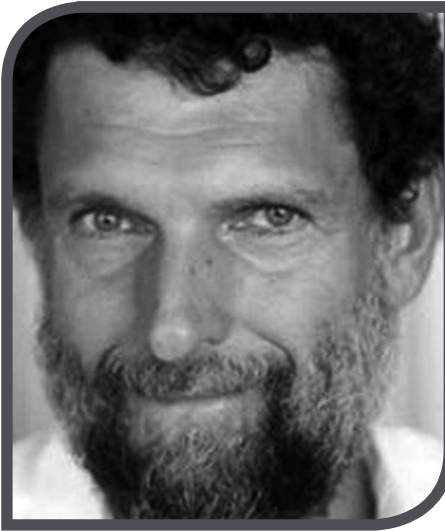
Throughout his term as an MP, he served on the delegation that negotiated with prominent leaders in Turkish politics, including Süleyman Demirel and Turgut Özal, in efforts to resolve the Kurdish Issue. The same delegation also met with Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the PKK, who was in Damascus at the time.

After a crisis broke out in November 1991 concerning Leyla Zana's swearing in as the MP for Diyarbakır and the Newroz incidents of 1992, eighteen MPs, including Doğan, resigned from the SHP. On July 14, 1993, the HEP was shut down upon a ruling of the Constitutional Court. Those MPs transferred to the Democracy Party (DEP), which had been founded as the successor of the HEP. On March 2, 1994, in a vote held during the General Assembly of the TBMM, six MPs from the DEP, including Doğan, were stripped of their parliamentary immunity. Doğan was arrested on March 17, 1994 and sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment.

Doğan applied to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) and the Court ruled in his favor, stating that Turkey had to pay a fine of \$25,000.

Doğan was acquitted in his last trial in 2004. After his release, he became one of the founders of the Democratic Society Party (DTP), which had been established as a successor to the DEP, which in turn had also been shut down by the Constitutional Court. He contributed to the establishment of the Peace Council and the organization of the conference Turkey is Seeking Peace. In the general elections of 2007, Doğan wanted to run as an independent parliamentary candidate for Şırnak; however, a resolution passed by the Supreme Committee of Elections stated that he could not run because he had been sentenced for committing a crime.

In the same year, Doğan collapsed while he was giving a conference speech at the Doğubayazıt Festival, and he passed away on June 29, 2007.



Osman Kavala

Manager of a non-governmental organization (NGO), businessperson, founder of İletişim Publishing, chairperson of the executive board of Anadolu Kültür.

Kavala was born in Paris in 1957. He graduated from Istanbul Robert College and then from Manchester University's Department of Economics. After his father Mehmet Kavala passed away in 1982, he took over the management of the Kavala Group's companies. In 1983, he founded İletişim Publishing with Murat Belge, and the company has become one of the largest publishing houses in Turkey.

Kavala was a member of the Turkish-Greek Business Council, Turkish-Polish Business Council and the Center for Democracy in Southeastern Europe. In a shift away from business life, Kavala became increasingly involved in social solidarity and civil society organizations, and he took part in the establishment and management of numerous NGOs.

In 2002, he became one of the main supporters of Anadolu Kültür, which had been established with the objective of supporting cultural rights, solidarity and inter-cultural sharing, as well as the enabling of social peace. In addition to serving as the chairperson of the executive board of Anadolu Kültür, Kavala also worked with a variety of non-governmental organizations including TESEV, TEMA, the Open Society Foundation, the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, the Diyarbakır Institute for Political and Social Research, and the History Foundation. He was also part of the Dialogue and Communication Group, which was founded upon the initiative of numerous civil society representatives for a peaceful resolution to the Kurdish Issue, the prevention of violence and opening the way for political solutions.

In October of 2017, Kavala was detained within the scope of an investigation into the attempted coup of July 15. The case had been launched by the Public Prosecutor's Office of Istanbul. He was officially arrested on November 1 on charges of "attempting to destroy the government of the Republic of Turkey" and "attempting to destroy the constitutional order." When he was arrested, numerous people expressed concern, including Kati Piri, the rapporteur for Turkey for the European Parliament, and Heather Nauert, the spokesperson for the US State Department. Demands for Kavala's release were rejected on the basis of the case against him, and he is currently incarcerated in Silivri Prison.



Oya Baydar

Writer, journalist, activist.

Baydar was born in Istanbul in 1940. She graduated from the Notre Dame de Sion French High School for Girls and from Istanbul University's Department of Sociology. She continued studying in the same department for her doctorate degree and also worked there as an assistant. Her dissertation titled "The Birth of the Working Class of Turkey" was rejected twice by the university's Council of Professors for political reasons. In protest, students occupied the offices of the president of the university in December of 1968. That protest, the first of its kind as an "occupation," was indicative of how the student movement was gaining momentum. Baydar thus became implicated in the political debates and activities of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP), and in the end she left Istanbul University. Later on she started lecturing at Hacettepe University's Department of Sociology as an assistant. In 1971, she began publishing the magazine *Sosyalist Parti İçin Teori ve Parti Birliği* (*Theoretical and Party Unity for a Socialist Party*) with others who held to similar political beliefs. She was imprisoned for a period of time during the military coup of March 12 and afterwards she was dismissed from her job at the university. Baydar wrote articles for the newspaper *Yeni Ortam* between 1972 and 1974, and she participated in the establishment of the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSİP), which held to a perspective that was similar to that of the latter period of the dissolved TİP. Baydar had differences of opinion with TSİP regarding the strategies that the party had been adopting and she left the party. She joined the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), which was not allowed to

engage in legal politics in Turkey. She continued her career as a journalist between 1976 and 1979 by working for the newspaper *Politika*. After the military coup of September 12, she left Turkey as a political refugee, but towards the end of the 1980s, she stopped being a dedicated follower of the TKP's ideas.

When she returned to Turkey in 1992, Baydar continued with her political activism as a prominent member of peace and human rights movements. She played an active role in civil society organizations including the Citizens' Initiative and Peace Initiative.

In the meantime, she started writing again after a long hiatus; her earlier works, *God Forgot the Children* (1960) and *Age of War, Age of Hope* (1963), had been published nearly three decades earlier. Her later novels, which deal with the themes of leftist and students' movements, gender issues, identity and power relations, have received many prizes both domestically and internationally. Additionally, she has worked as the editor in chief, editor and author of a number of reference books, including *Trade Unionism in Turkey*, *The Encyclopedia of Istanbul*, and the series *75th Anniversary Books*, contributing greatly to the field of social sciences.

Baydar advocates for a libertarian and democratic perspective of the left, and she continues to write novels as well as columns for the web news portal *T24*.



Pervin Buldan

MP, Saturday Mother, co-president of the People's Democratic Party (HDP), former group deputy chairperson of the TBMM, first female MP for Iğdır.

Buldan was born in Hakkari on November 6, 1967. After completing high school, she began working at the Hakkari Special Provincial Administration as a civil servant. In 1987, she married businessman Savaş Buldan. On June 2, 1994 her husband was abducted by unknown assailants and killed on June 4, 1994. Upon the murder of her husband, Buldan joined the Saturday Mothers, a group of people whose loved ones have been abducted, disappeared or murdered while in detention, and she took part in the protests held in front of Galatasaray High School in Taksim.

In those years, she was also involved in the political activities of the People's Democracy Party (HADEP), and in the general elections of 1999 she was nominated as a parliamentary candidate for the third region of Istanbul; however, as her party didn't pass the 10% election threshold, she wasn't elected. In 2002, she was a candidate for the third region of Istanbul representing the Democratic People's Party (DEHAP) but once again the party failed to pass the threshold. In 2005, she was included among the 100 women nominees for the Nobel Peace Prize. In the general elections of 2007, she ran as part of the "Candidates of a Thousand Hopes" bloc and won as an independent MP for Iğdır, thereby becoming the first female MP for the province. After securing a seat in parliament, she joined the Democratic Society Party (DTP); when the party was shut down by a court order, she joined the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), the successor of the DTP. In the general elections of 2011, she was nominated as an independent candidate for the "Labor, Democracy and Freedom Bloc" for Iğdır and she was elected as an MP.

In 2013, she joined the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP), which had been founded after the Peoples' Democratic Congress (HDK) decided to establish a party. In the elections of June 7 and November 1, 2015, she was elected as an MP for the third region of Istanbul. Between 2015 and 2018, Buldan served as deputy chair of the TBMM and she was elected as co-president of her party in the third ordinary assembly of the HDP held on February 11, 2018. In the elections of June 24, 2018, Buldan was once again elected as an MP for Istanbul.

During the Solution Process that was initiated in 2013, she was part of the İmralı Delegation that met with Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the PKK. She read Öcalan's Newroz message together with Sırrı Süreyya Önder at a gathering in Diyarbakır. Part of the message read, "We are shifting from armed resistance to political resistance. The bloodshed between the Turkish and Kurdish people will stop. Politics will be the means to an end, not weapons."

The Public Prosecutor's Office filed a case against Buldan on the basis of a speech she had made in Iğdır 2008 when she was an MP for the province representing the DTP. She was accused of "praising crime and criminals," "inciting people to hostility and enmity or belittling the people" and "engaging in propaganda for a terrorist organization." In 2017, however, the court ruled that the case be postponed.

After Savaş Buldan was killed, she founded the Association for Aid and Solidarity for Victimized Families. When the association was shut down in 2002, she founded and served as president of the Association for Aid and Solidarity for the Families that Lost Loved Ones (Yakay-Der).



Pinar Selek

Sociologist, feminist, researcher,
writer.

Selek was born in Istanbul in 1971. She attended Notre Dame de Sion High School and went on to graduate from Mimar Sinan University's Department of Sociology. She completed her bachelor's degree at the top of her class with a thesis titled "From Babiali to İkitelli, from the Smell of Ink to Plazas." Selek completed her MA in sociology at the same university and then studied political economy in France at Sophiantipolis UDEL University.

Selek conducted research as an undergraduate student about children living on the streets, sex workers, Kurds, the Roma and women. She also supported numerous non-governmental organizations and movements involved in anti-militarism, human rights and peacemaking activities. She was among the pioneers of the "Street Artists Workshop," which brought together socially disadvantaged groups of people. She was one of the founders of the Amargi Women's Solidarity Cooperative and she also worked for the feminist magazine *Amargi* as an editor.

In 1997, Selek focused on the Kurdish Issue as a means of understanding and describing the conditions of the ongoing war and to explore the possibility of establishing peace. Within the scope of her research, she carried out a series of interviews with the parties involved. Afterwards, on July 11, 1998 she was detained. On the pretext that she had been engaging in propaganda for the PKK and because she refused to disclose the identities of her interviewees, her studies were seized, she was tortured while being interrogated and she was arrested on charges of being a member of the organization.

The media began presenting news stories containing allegations that explosives of the same type used in the bomb attack on the Egyptian Bazaar that took place on July 9, 1998 in which nine people lost their lives and 127 were wounded were found in the workshop that Selek had established for children living on the streets. Selek was detained just two days after the explosion and later it came to light that Selek had not been asked a single question about the explosives. On July 20, 1998, a Crime Scene Investigation Report issued by the police noted that no traces of explosives were found at the scene. On December 21, 2000, specialists demonstrated that the explosion was not caused by explosives but a gas leak, and Selek was acquitted on December 22, 2000. The first official acquittal was announced on June 8, 2006 by the 12th High Criminal Court of Istanbul (ACM). However, the Supreme Court of Appeals rejected the ruling on the grounds that the judgment was deficient. The process of trials in the aftermath was an endless series of acquittals and objections. Today, in 2018, in the twentieth year of the trial, the ruling of the general board of the Supreme Court of Appeals is still pending.

In 1996, Selek translated the book *Ya Basta!*, a compilation of letters of penned by Marcos, the leader of the EZLN Zapatista movement, and the movement's declarations, into Turkish. In 2001, her book *Maskeler Süvariler Gacılar*, which is about the lives of members of the trans community, was published, and in 2004 her book *Barışamadık* was released. *Sürüne Erkek Olmak*, Selek's study about the role of mandatory military service in the construction of manhood, was released in 2010. In addition, Selek has also written two children's books, *Siyah Pelerinli Kız* (2009) and *Yeşil Kız* (2010). *Yolgeçen*, her first novel and her most recent work, was published in 2011.

On October 4, 2013 Selek was granted an honorary PhD by Ecole Normale Supérieure University. On March 7, 2014 she completed her Doctorate of Political Science upon completion of her dissertation "Interaction of Turkish Opponents" at Strasbourg University. She is currently living outside the country.



Rahşan Ecevit

Painter, writer, politician, one of the founders and presidents of the Democratic Left Party and the Democratic Left People's Party.

Ecevit was born in Bursa in 1923. She was one of the four children of finance professor Namık Zeki Aral and Zahide Aral. Her family migrated from Thessaloniki to Şebinkarahisar and then to Istanbul. She studied at Ankara High School and then at Robert College, and in 1946 she got married to Bülent Ecevit, one of her classmates from Robert College.

In the 1970s, she founded the Peasants' Association as part of her plan to establish better cooperation between peasants and specialists. However, the association was shut down after the military coup of the 12th of September. Later, she applied the organizational skills she acquired through that experience when working with the political parties she founded and led.

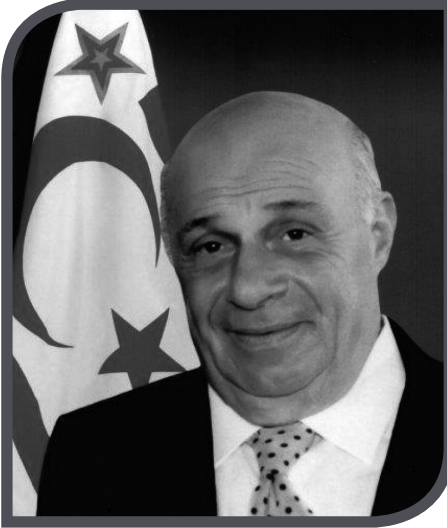
On November 14, 1985 she founded and became the first president of the Democratic Left Party. She continued to lead the party until 1987 and then she handed the leadership over to Bülent Ecevit, whose ban on politics was lifted that year.

She came into the political limelight when she proposed an amnesty and it was realized three days after the "Return to Life" operation on December 19, 2000 as a means of putting an end to the hunger strikes and death fasts that had been initiated on October 20, 2000 to protest worsening prison conditions, the F-type cell system and practices of isolation in prison. The Law on the Conditional Release and Postponement of Sentences, publicly known as "Rahşan's Amnesty," covered crimes committed before April 23, 1999 that did

not target the government, and tens of thousands of prisoners were released. As a result, the consequences of the amnesty law, as well as Raḥşan Ecevit herself, became the focus of debates.

After resigning from the Democratic Left Party, Ecevit became one of the founders of the Democratic Left People's Party on November 23, 2009. She was elected as the president of the party, replacing Hulki Cevizoğlu, who had resigned as the founding president. On May 22, 2010 she attended the 33rd General Assembly of the CHP and declared her support for president-elect Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, and twenty-one days later she decided to close down the DSHP after the party held an assembly meeting.

Raḥşan Ecevit wrote the novel *Pülümür'de Aşk*, which was adapted to the stage in 2002.



Rauf Raif Denktaş

Lawyer, politician, founding president of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Denktaş was born in the city of Baf in Cyprus on January 27, 1924. His mother died when he was only one-and-a half years old. Denktaş was sent to the boarding school of Fevzi Atı High School in the district of Arnavutköy in Istanbul. After completing his studies there, he moved back to Cyprus and graduated from the Nicosia British School in 1941, whereupon he started writing for the newspaper *Halkın Sesi*, which was published by Fazıl Küçük, who influenced Denktaş intellectually and also became a major political figure for Turks on the island. In Famagusta, he worked as a translator, a court officer and a teacher at the British school. In 1944, he started studying law on a British Council scholarship at Lincoln's Inn and graduated in 1947. He then returned to Cyprus, where he practiced law. Denktaş became a public prosecutor in 1949 but in 1957 he resigned from that post.

He was a speaker at the first gathering organized by Cypriot Turks on November 27, 1948 and he influenced their ideas and attitudes. Denktaş was a prominent figure in Turkish nationalist circles and he advocated for the division of Cyprus. In that context, he established the Turkish Resistance Organization in 1958 with his associates and remained actively involved in the group's endeavors.

Prior to the treaties of Zurich and London, he met with Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, the minister of foreign affairs in Ankara, and he suggested that troops from Turkey be stationed on the island. He played a critical role in the Zurich and London treaties signed by the Greek and Turkish sides in 1959 under the su-

pervision of delegates from England, Greece and Turkey, and he secured the establishment of an independent Republic of Cyprus and the drafting of the constitution of the Republic that was ratified by those treaties. He was elected as a member of the Turkish Community Council and head of the executive committee of the Turkish community.

Towards the end of 1963, when the Greek nationalists carried out assaults and massacres targeting the Turkish minority on the island, he went to Ankara to take part in negotiations. Denktaş represented the Turkish side at the London Conference in 1964 and stated that they were going to establish a separate government unless a government based on federalism was accepted. For that reason, he was declared a *persona non grata* by Makarios III, the first president of the Republic of Cyprus, and he was barred from going to Cyprus. In 1967, he was arrested while trying to go to the island but after negotiations he was sent back to Turkey, and in 1968, when his entry ban was lifted, he went back to Cyprus. Later, as the deputy of Vice President Fazıl Küçük, he launched the first international talks with Glafkos Clerides, the deputy of President Makarios.

In the elections of 1970, he was elected head of the Turkish Community Council and when Fazıl Küçük resigned from his post, he took over as deputy president for a short period of time. In 1973, Denktaş was elected president of the Cypriot-Turkish government. After the Cyprus Operation, he was appointed president and head of the council of the Turkish-Cypriot Federal State founded in 1975. In 1976, during the first general elections, he was elected state president, and he was reelected in 1981. On November 15, 1983, after the founding of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Denktaş was elected president, and he was reelected in the elections of 1990, 1995 and 2000. He was opposed to the Annan Plan, which proposed the unification of the island as an independent state, yet while the Greek side rejected the plan outright, the Turkish side accepted the proposal of unification during the referendums held in 2004. In 2005, he did not run as a candidate in the elections.

Denktaş, who was fluent in English and Greek, wrote around fifty books, and he was an avid amateur photographer. He passed away on January 13, 2012. After his death, a national day of mourning was declared in Turkey and the TRNC. He was buried in Cumhuriyet Park in Nicosia on January 17, 2012 to the accompaniment of a state ceremony.



Recep Tayyip Erdoğan

Politician, prime minister,
president.

Erdoğan was born in Istanbul on February 26, 1954. His father, Ahmet Erdoğan, who worked for maritime shipping lines, was a sea captain from Rize and his mother, Tenzile Erdoğan, was a homemaker. Erdoğan spent his childhood and youth in the district of Kasımpaşa in Istanbul. He completed his primary school studies in 1965 at Kasımpaşa Piyale Primary School and in 1973 he graduated from Istanbul İmam Hatip High School. He also received a high school diploma from Eyüp High School by attending extra courses. Erdoğan enrolled in Marmara University's Faculty of Economic and Commercial Sciences and although he claims that he graduated from the program in 1981, opposition parties in the government claim that he is not a university graduate on the grounds that his diploma and/or certificate of graduation have never been presented as proof.

Erdoğan led an active life starting at a young age. He was an amateur football player between 1969 and 1982. During those years, he joined the National Turkish Students' Union, an umbrella organization for right-wing youth. In 1976, he became the head of the Beyoğlu youth branch of the National Salvation Party and afterwards the head of its Istanbul youth branch. After the military coup of September 12, he enlisted for his military service and then worked for a period of time for the İETT (Istanbul Electricity, Tramway and Tunnel General Management) and in the private sector. In 1983, Erdoğan returned to politics after the founding of the Welfare Party (RP), which was the successor of the MSP. In 1984, Erdoğan became the district head of the RP

for Beyoğlu and in the next year he was appointed as a member of the central executive committee of the party and the province head for Istanbul. In the local elections of 1989, although he utilized an organizational model based on house visits by women and young people as well as on-the-street politics and received more votes than the RP as a whole, he was not elected as mayor. In the general elections of 1991, after he served a brief term as an MP, his parliamentary membership was cancelled upon an objection made by another candidate who had gotten more preferential votes. Until 1994, Erdoğan served as the province head of the RP for Istanbul. When he was elected as mayor of Istanbul in the local elections of 1994, he won the first victory of a long political career. During his three-year term as mayor, Erdoğan rose to the top of the political agenda thanks to his charismatic personality, and he acquired greater prestige by bringing to completion projects that had been launched when Sözen was in office. After the military intervention of February 28, he was sentenced to ten months of imprisonment on charges of “inciting hostility and enmity through religious and racial differences” as the result of a poem he read during a gathering in Siirt in December of 1997. Part of the poem reads, “Minarets are our bayonets, domes are our helmets, mosques are our barracks and the believers of Islam are soldiers.” Erdoğan’s term as mayor of Istanbul came to an end and in March 1999, when his sentence was finalized, he was held in prison for four months.

When the Virtue Party, which had been established after the Welfare Party (RP) was shut down by the Constitutional Court, was also closed down and Erbakan was banned from politics, new debates arose on the National Vision front. The traditionalists and reformists within the movement held to quite different political perspectives. Under the leadership of Erdoğan, who had said “we removed the garments of the national vision”, Abdullah Gül, Bülent Arınç and other reformist figures founded the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2001. The economic crisis that rocked Turkey in 2001 weakened the coalition parties in the government, and in the general elections of November 2002, the AKP won a sweeping victory at the polls, coming into power as the sole political party. Because he was still banned from politics, Erdoğan was unable to run as a parliamentary candidate; however, when parliament lifted legal obstacles to his candidacy, thanks to the support of Deniz Baykal, the leader of the CHP, he secured a seat in parliament after the renewed elections in Siirt on March 9, 2003.

Under the leadership of Erdoğan, who became prime minister on March 15, 2003, the AKP received widespread support from the people as a result of its neoliberal economic policies in line with the IMF and World Bank, a neoliberal social policy, its claim of supporting democratization through a weakening of the military regime, and a project of hegemony established on

the basis of foreign policies targeting EU membership and an alliance with the USA. Erdoğan became prime minister once again with a major victory in the general elections of 2007. In this period, the political power of the armed forces, which had been already weakened on the pretext of EU membership reforms, was rendered even more ineffective through the Ergenekon and Balyoz investigations. Additionally, through a referendum concerning a constitutional amendment held in 2010, the Kemalist bloc's influence on the higher judicial bodies and especially on the Constitutional Court and the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors was reduced. Thus, in the elections of 2011 Erdoğan was able to increase his voting base once again and he went on serving as prime minister by assembling the government without the need for coalition partners. From that point onwards, Erdoğan and the AKP started engaging in neoliberal, Islamist-conservative and authoritarian discourses and practices as well as policies that created tensions with global powers such as the USA, EU and Russia, especially in light of the AKP's claims that Turkey was becoming a regional power in the Middle East. Erdoğan's political career continued in the meantime amidst a series of social, economic and political crises. Those crises include: the Gezi movement in the spring and summer of 2013; the conflict between the Gülen Community that exploded with the corruption investigations of December 17-25, 2013 launched by Gülen supporters in the police and judiciary; the success of the HDP in the elections of June 7, 2015 as an alliance of democratic, leftist powers and the Kurdish movement which disrupted the plans of Erdoğan and the AKP to yet again be voted in as the sole ruling party; the attempted coup of July 15, 2016; and, the country's involvement and entanglement in the military-political crisis in Syria that has yet to come to an end. Erdoğan opted to get through those crises by further securing his grip on power. In August 2014, he was elected as the twelfth president in the first round of Turkey's first presidential elections through the direct votes of the people. After the AKP lost its position as the sole party in power in the elections of June 7, 2015, Erdoğan intervened and by adopting a discourse based on surveillance and nationalism, in the repeat elections of November 1, 2015 the AKP made a comeback as the ruling party once again. On July 15, 2016, a group in the armed forces, which, it is widely claimed, was led by Gülenists, launched a failed coup attempt. Through statutory decrees issued under the state of emergency declared right after the attempted coup, opponents of Erdoğan and the AKP were fired from state organizations and the structure of the state was reconfigured to a great extent. After the transition to a presidential government system made possible by an amendment to the Constitution made on April 16, 2017, Erdoğan was reelected as president of the AKP in May 2017. By garnering 52.59% of the vote in the first round of the presidential elections of June 24, 2018, he was elected president, a position that he still currently holds.

Said Nursi

Islamist thinker, writer, founding leader of the Nur community.



Said Nursi (also known as Said-i Kürdi), was born in 1878 in the village of Nurs, which is located in the district of Hizan in Bitlis. He began his education in 1887 at the madrasah of Mulla Mehmet Emin. He went on to attend the classes that his brother, who was also a madrasah student, was taking. He then studied at the madrasah of Mir Said Veli and Mulla Fethullah Efendi. Reportedly, during his years as a student he memorized nearly a hundred major works dealing with Islamic scholarship.

Allegedly, as a result of Nursi's extraordinary skill as a madrasah student, he became one of his instructor's favorites and he was given the name *Bediüzzaman* ("peerless of the times"). He lived in the towns of Şirvan, Siirt, Bitlis, Doğubayazıt and Mardin, and later he resided in Van for twelve years, where he taught at the madrasah. He was eager to establish a university where religious scholarship and the sciences would be taught in multiple languages. He travelled to Istanbul in 1907 to seek support for the foundation of that institution, which he was planning to name "Medresetü'z-Zehra" as a reflection of the name of Ezher University in Cairo. However, in the climate of tyranny under the rule of Abdul Hamid II, he was arrested for his Islamist ideas and then sent to a mental institution to prevent people from protesting his detention. After the hospital declared that he was sane, he turned down the salary and funds offered by the sultan. Nursi did not give up on his dream of founding a university, however, and after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, Sultan Mehmet V assured him that he would receive his support.

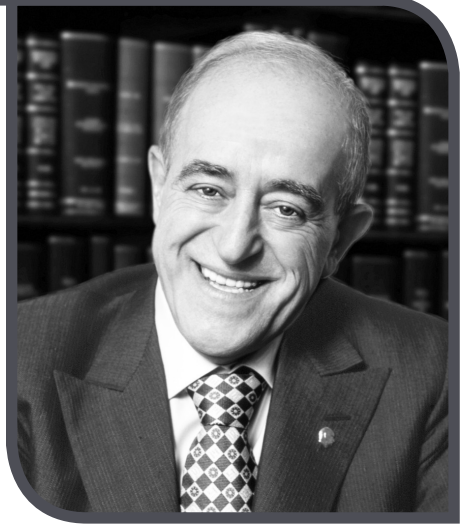
Nursi developed ties with the Committee of Union and Progress, but he later distanced himself from the committee. He was put on trial and potentially faced the death sentence on charges of being involved in the 31st of March Incident, but in the end, he was acquitted. Nursi volunteered for the army as a regiment commander in World War I. After being wounded, Nursi was held captive in Russia for nearly two and a half years. During the chaos of the Bolshevik Revolution, he managed to escape, and he started working for the Dar'ül-Hikmet-il İslamiyye, a major religious advisory board in the Ottoman era.

Nursi supported the War of Independence, but when Mustafa Kemal invited him to Ankara in 1922, he declined, as he saw parliament as being under the sway of secular ideas. He decided to shun politics and focus instead on the education of his students. He was exiled to Burdur on the grounds that he had taken part in the Sheikh Said revolt in 1925, and he was exiled yet again to Isparta, Eskişehir and Kastamonu in 1936 on the allegation that he had established a secret community and sought to topple the regime. Nursi continued to be seen as a threat by the government, and in 1947 he was exiled yet again to the district of Emirdağ in Afyon, where he was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment, though the other charges against him were dropped. After the Democrat Party came to power in 1950, the pressure on Nursi abated to a certain extent, although he was once again put on trial on the grounds that his work *Gençlik Rehberi*, which he had published in 1952, violated the principles of secularism but he was also acquitted in that case. Said Nursi's work *Risale-i Nur*, which contains his interpretation of Islam, became a reference book for his followers. Under the influence of the ideas of Nursi, his students and followers established an Islamic movement known as the Nur Community. The advocates of the movement, which was inspired by a poetic interplay of ideas between traditionalism and modernity, came to be known as "Nurcu." Over time, the Nurcu split into factions. The Service Group, which was led by Gülen, had a major influence on the state, politics and social life, and as such it has been the most influential of them all.

Said Nursi died in Urfa on March 23, 1960 when he was 82 years old. When his grave in Urfa started to draw in increasing numbers of people, after the coup of May 27, 1960 the military government transferred his grave to another secret location on the basis of a resolution passed by the National Union Committee. The location of his grave is still unknown.

Sakıp Sabancı

Businessman, chairman of the board of directors of Sabancı Holding, chairman of the board of directors of the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD), founder of the Sabancı Foundation.



Sabancı was born into a family of farmers in the village of Akçakaya in Kayseri on September 7, 1933. He received a primary and secondary education in Adana. Afterwards, he enrolled at the Adana High School for Boys, but he had to drop out because of a severe case of pneumonia so he began working for his father's company. He got started in business as an intern at Akbank.

In 1950, he quit his job at Akbank and started working as a clerk at the Bossa Flour Factory. Sabancı was soon promoted to trading director at the factory and in 1957 he was appointed deputy general manager of the Bossa Textile Factory. In the meantime, he married his cousin Türkan Civelek.

Sabancı was appointed chairman of the board of directors of Sabancı Holding, which was founded after his father's death in 1966. Throughout that period, the Sabancı group established partnerships with global corporations including Bridgestone, DuPont, Toyota, Philip Morris, Kraft Foods International, Danone, IBM and Carrefour, mostly by controlling 50% of the shares. In 1986, Sabancı became the chairman of the board of directors of TÜSİAD and he was also the head of the high consultative council of TÜSİAD from 1987 to 1990.

Sabancı made an effort to remain on good terms with Turkey's right-wing political governments and those relations, which began with the Democrat Party, continued with his support of the Justice Party led by Süleyman Demirel. After the military coup of September 12, he expressed his support for the military government. Afterwards, he also supported Özal's neoliberal conser-

vative policies. Led by Sabancı, TÜSİAD prepared a Kurdish Report in late 1995, pointing out the human rights violations taking place in the southeast of the country and offering a political resolution based on peaceful methods. Following Sabancı's call for a political and democratic resolution, Alparslan Türkeş warned Sabancı by saying, "You are going too far, Sakıp Ağa," and shortly afterwards his brother Özdemir Sabancı was assassinated during an armed attack on the offices of Sabancı Holding. That incident was regarded by many as the price he paid for his involvement in the Kurdish Issue.

When the Justice and Development Party came into power in November 2002, Sabancı said, "I have the feeling that we are getting on the Turgut Özal train once again. This new train will take us to the EU with resolve, stability and by employing the unemployed."

In addition to his acumen as a businessman, Sabancı was also known for his writings. He wrote three books and was granted honorary PhDs from a number of universities, as well as titles of honor from countries such as Japan, Belgium and France. Sabancı passed away in Istanbul on April 10, 2004 at the hospital where he was being treated for kidney cancer.

Sedat Bucak

Politician, tribal leader, MP for three terms as a representative of the True Path Party (DYP), leading actor in the Susurluk Incident.



Bucak was born in the Siverek district of Şanlıurfa on October 31, 1960. He graduated from an industrial vocational high school. Bucak served as an MP for Şanlıurfa for three terms between 1991 and 2002 as a representative of the DYP. He was also a member of Bucak Tribe, as indicated by his surname.

Starting in 1978, the PKK carried out operations near Siverek, where the Bucak tribe resides and bloody conflicts occurred between the PKK and the members of the tribe. For about forty years, starting with the military coup of September 12, thousands of members of the Bucak tribe have worked for the government as village guards in the struggle against the PKK.

Bucak was one of the four people involved in a car accident that revealed the existence of pervasive state-political-mafia relations. The accident came to be known as the Susurluk Incident. The Mercedes involved in the accident had set off from Kuşadası on November 3, 1996 and crashed into a truck in the district of Susurluk in Balıkesir. Hüseyin Kocadağ (former deputy chief of the police), Abdullah Çatlı (a wanted man whose name was tagged with a red notice and a suspect in numerous killings) and Gonca Us (Çatlı's girlfriend) died in the accident, whereas Sedat Bucak, an MP, escaped with his life, though he suffered injuries. The fact that a former deputy chief of the police and a member of parliament had been with Çatlı sparked public debates. Consequently, civil disobedience protests referred to as “one minute of darkness for constant light” were launched on February 1, 1997. As part of the protests, people would switch off their lights at nine o'clock every evening as a remind-

er of their demand that the state reveal government officers' ties to illegal groups and launch investigations into the people who were responsible. The incident had a long-lasting impact on the political agenda of Turkey. When he was being treated at Istanbul University's Faculty of Medicine, Bucak was surreptitiously discharged from the hospital twelve days after the accident.

Bucak avoided appearing in the media for a long time, though he admitted that the guns found in the car had been in his possession. He also stated, however, that he did not know who Kocadağ and Çatlı really were. On December 11, 1997, Bucak was stripped of his parliamentary immunity and the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office filed a lawsuit against him, requesting a sentence of eleven to twenty years imprisonment on the charge of concealing the whereabouts of Çatlı, who had been sought for not reporting to the authorities even though an arrest warrant had been issued for him, establishing an organization for the purpose of committing felonies and possession of weapons. Eventually, the case was finalized, and he was acquitted. Bucak's acquittal was rejected by the Supreme Court of Appeals, and he presented to the court certain pieces of evidence that he had previously been keeping as a state secret. Bucak was given a sentence of one year and fifteen days for aiding a criminal organization. That sentence, however, was postponed by the court on a number of different pretexts.

Bucak ran as a parliamentary candidate on July 22, 2007 for MP of Şanlıurfa as a representative of the Democrat Party but he did not win a seat in parliament.

Sedat Peker

Businessperson, leader of a criminal organization.



Peker was born in Sakarya on June 26, 1971. His family first moved from Rize to Sakarya and then to Istanbul. He attended primary school in Istanbul and completed his secondary education through distance learning. He frequently expressed his admiration of nationalist-conservative figures in Turkish politics, such as Alparslan Türkeş, Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, Abdullah Çatlı, Sheikh Nazım Kırbsi, Devlet Bahçeli and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

Peker started working with mafia organizations in the 1990s and also began organizing his own affiliations. In 1997, he was put on trial when someone was murdered in Rize and in the years that followed, he was tried and sentenced for numerous criminal acts. He has been charged such crimes as founding an illegal organization, detention by force, solicitation to murder, causing bodily harm, issuing threats, unlawful appropriation of property, deprivation of liberty and forgery of documents. On March 12, 2005, he was arrested within the scope of the Butterfly Operation and sentenced to fourteen years in prison. Afterwards, his sentence was remitted. Peker was also tried for the crime of “establishing an armed terrorist organization” within the scope of the Ergenekon Investigation, and although he was given a sentence of ten years of imprisonment, he was released in line with the existing legislation as his period of detention had been in excess of five years. Many others, however, who were tried for the same crimes had to serve out their sentences.

At a gathering held in Rize in October 2015 organized for the purpose of condemning terrorism, Peker made a speech containing verbal violence and

threats, and he also asked the attendees to vote for the Justice and Development Party in the general elections to be held on November 1, 2015 and openly declared his support for President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Soon after that, he garnered attention by threatening the academicians for peace, who had called for a halt to the violence and curfews in Turkey's predominantly Kurdish provinces and pointed out the human rights violations carried out in 2015 and 2016. The academicians for peace issued a declaration titled "We Shall Not Be Part of This Crime" on January 10, 2016. Peker posted a statement on his website threatening those academicians with death. Although he was put on trial for the crime he'd committed, potentially facing eleven years in prison, he was eventually acquitted.

Peker provided the Turkmen Mountain Army, which is connected to the Free Syrian Army in Syria, with military gear, and he also sent military hardware to the Free Syrian Army, which the TSK worked with during an operation in Afrin that was a subject of heated debates throughout 2018.

Selahattin Demirtaş

Lawyer, human rights advocate, politician, former member of parliament, ex-party leader of BDP, and ex-co-party leader of HDP.



Demirtaş was born in the Palu district of Elazığ on April 10, 1973. In 1991, Demirtaş was accepted into Dokuz Eylül University's Maritime Lines Management Department. He took the university exam once again in 1993 and enrolled in Ankara University's Faculty of Law. In one of his later statements, he noted that the reason why he opted to study law was the unsolved murder of Vedat Aydın, the head of the HEP's Diyarbakır branch, and the sentence of twenty-two years of imprisonment meted out to his brother, Nurettin Demirtaş, who had been a student at university.

In 2000, he became a manager for the Diyarbakır branch of the Human Rights Association (İHD) and in 2004 he was appointed as the head of the association. Additionally, he worked with the Diyarbakır branch of the International Amnesty Organization and he was among the founders of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV). He was also involved in a number of human rights violation cases including that of Uğur Kaymaz and his father, who were killed in a police shooting, and lawsuits that had been filed against 54 mayors from the DTP.

After doing his military service, he worked as a self-employed lawyer for a period of time. When early elections were held in 2007, he was elected as an MP for Diyarbakır as one of the "Candidates of a Thousand Hopes" led by the Democratic Society Party (DTP) as a means of overcoming the 10% election threshold. He held the position of group deputy chairperson of the DTP for some time, but after the party was shut down by the Constitutional Court

in 2009, he joined the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), which was founded when the DTP's case was still pending. He was elected as president of that party at its first extraordinary general assembly held on February 1, 2010.

Demirtaş played an active role in the Solution Process initiated in 2009 and closely monitored the developments that were occurring. In the meantime, he took part in the legal struggle over the Roboski Massacre and the legal battles involved in the KCK cases so that litigants could present their testimony in Kurdish and he also pressed for the shortening of inordinately long terms of detention. Alongside Pervin Buldan and Sırrı Süreyya Önder, he was part of the delegation that met with PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan to bring about a resolution to the Kurdish Issue.

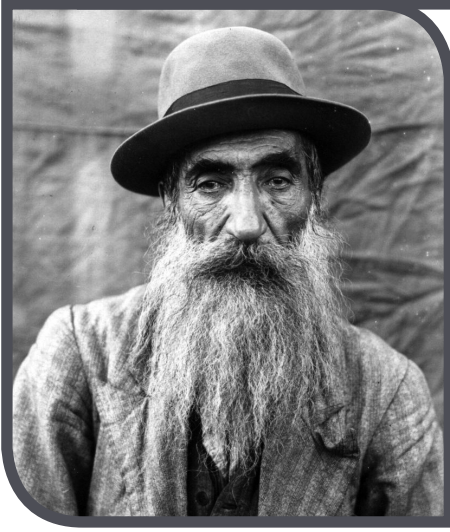
In the general elections of 2011, he was elected as an MP for Hakkari representing the Labor, Democracy and Freedom Bloc. In 2012, he was among the former members of the BDP that transferred to the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) and he was elected co-president of the party with Figen Yüksekdağ on June 22, 2014.

In the presidential elections of August 10, 2014, which were held for the first time through a public vote, he ran as a candidate for the presidency. In his election campaign, he pledged to protect the rights of ethnic and religious minorities, support women's rights and the rights of members of the LGBTQ+ community, promote equality for all citizens, implement legislation to prevent workplace deaths, secure the rights of workers and empower local governments through democratic autonomy. He succeeded in getting more votes than any other Kurdish political movement, nabbing 9.76% of the vote.

He secured seats twice in parliament as an MP for Istanbul representing the HDP, which had participated in the general elections of June 7 and November 1, 2015. When the Peace Process, which had been launched in 2013, started falling apart in February 2015 following the Dolmabahçe Reconciliation, Demirtaş initiated a campaign before the elections of June 7, 2015 which directly addressed President Erdoğan with the motto, "We won't let you be president!" The campaign had a serious impact on the political agenda of the day.

The Peace Process collapsed in the summer of 2015 after an attack was carried out in Ceylanpınar, and the general elections of November 1, 2015 were carried out in a tense atmosphere marked by bombings, surveillance and nationalist policies. On November 4, 2016, Demirtaş was detained along with the HDP's co-president Figen Yüksekdağ and nine other MPs from the HDP on charges of "establishing an organization for the purposes of committing felonies," "being a member of an armed terrorist organization" and "committing crimes on behalf of such organizations." In the summer of 2014, the

Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) launched an attack on the Syrian city of Kobane, which shares a border with Urfa's district of Suruç. Because of the siege on the city, in October the HDP issued a call for people to protest Turkey's embargo and offer support in reestablishing an aid corridor to the city. The incidents of violence that subsequently took place were blamed on Demirtaş and offered up as evidence that he was involved in criminal activities. Demirtaş was arrested on charges of "founding and directing a terrorist organization, engaging in propaganda for the organization, and praising crime and criminals," and he was sent to the Edirne F Type Prison. From prison he took part in the parliamentary elections of June 24, 2018 and also ran for the presidency within the scope of the new "presidential regime" enabled by constitutional amendments, thereby becoming the first person in the political history of Turkey to run for office while being held in prison. In the elections, he received 8.4% of the vote. Fourteen months after he was arrested, he attended the first court hearing in the case against him. Demirtaş has composed songs, written poems and painted while in prison, and a collection of his short stories, titled *Dawn*, was published by Dipnot Publishing in September 2017.



Seyit Rıza

Tribal chief, leader of the Dersim Rebellion.

Rıza was born in the village of Lirtik in the district of Ovacık, which is located in the province of Dersim, in 1863 as the youngest of Seyit İbrahim's four sons. Rıza was from the Upper Abbasan branch of the Sheikh Hesenan tribe, which was part of the Confederation of Dersim Tribes. According to the will of Seyit İbrahim, who had been influential in Dersim's Kalmen Sor and Lirtik regions, Rıza inherited the leadership of the tribe.

During the deportations of 1915, Armenians in Dersim were protected both by Seyit Rıza and the people of Dersim, and the locals did not hand them over to the Ottoman government. The memoirs of Mehmet Nuri Dersimi, who had participated in the Koçgiri Rebellion as well as the Dersim rebellion, indicate that at the time of the Deportations of 1915, Rıza helped many Armenians.

According to an agreement between the Ottoman government and Seyit Rıza during World War I, Dersim backed the Ottomans against the Russian occupation. In return, the Ottoman state provided aid to the people of Dersim in the form of weapons and ammunition. Additionally, the people of Dersim were granted the right to fight in the war independently without receiving orders from the Ottoman army.

During the Koçgiri Rebellion in 1921, the Alişan and Alişer chiefs, who were among the leaders of the rebellion, were brought under the control of Rıza. Although the government of Ankara demanded that they be handed over, Rıza refused to do so.

The tradition of autonomy in Dersim, and the fact that the people in the region were Alevi, placed Dersim and leaders such as Rıza in a separate category for the government in Ankara. Rıza was vilified as a leading cause of the state's inability to establish its authority in Dersim and his name was at the top of lists of problematic figures sent to the government. In 1924, Rıza entered the district of Hozat with his militia and fought against tribes that were sympathetic to the government of the Republic.

Rıza launched a rebellion against the government during the Newroz Festival of 1937, thereby becoming symbolic as a figure of revolt.

After the heavy clashes and other incidents that took place during the Dersim Rebellion, Rıza was summoned to Erzincan for peace negotiations with the government. On September 5, 1937, he was arrested along with 72 other people when he was heading to the negotiations. Rıza was tried at an Independence Court established in Elazığ and charged with inciting a rebellion. He was given the death penalty along with six others. On November 15, 1937, when he was 74 years old, Rıza was executed in Elazığ's Buğday Square. İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil, Malatya's chief of police, recorded his impressions of the execution:

"We asked him if he had any final words. He said, 'I have forty lira and a watch. Give them to my son.' We took him to the square. It was cold and there was nobody around. However, Seyit Rıza addressed the silence and emptiness as if the square was full of people. He said, 'We are the children of Karbala. We are blameless. This is shameful. It is cruel. It is murder!' A chill ran down my spine. The old man leapt up to the gallows, shoving the gypsy executioner aside. He put his head through the noose and kicked the chair out from under him, executing himself."



Sezai Karakoç

Poet, writer, intellectual,
politician.

Although his date of birth is known to be January 22, 1933, he said his mother told him that she had given birth to him in the month of “Gülen” (an old name for the month of May).

Karakoç spent his childhood in the districts of Ergani, Maden and Dicle, and he completed primary school in Ergani. He went to secondary school in Maraş and attended high school in Gaziantep at a boarding school on a scholarship. After high school, he went to Istanbul to study philosophy. However, when he found out that he couldn't afford the tuition, he opted to study at Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences, which offered accommodations on the basis of a scholarship. In 1955, he graduated from the faculty's department of finance. Afterwards, because he'd studied on a scholarship, he was required to work for a period of time for the state, so he took a position at the Treasury General Directorate of the Ministry of Finance. Later, he passed a state exam and became an assistant financial inspector in 1956. Within the scope of his professional duties, he had the opportunity to visit many provinces and districts across Anatolia. In 1959, he was appointed as a revenue inspector in Istanbul. During his career, he had resigned from and returned to his job numerous times, but in 1973 he quit for good.

Karakoç is considered to be a poet of the “Second New Poetry Movement” that emerged in the 1950s in Turkey. He was a pioneer in Turkish literature, as he sought to create a synthesis of the Islamic faith and modern poetry. In his poetry, the theme of resurrection is recurrent. He argued that the notion of resurrection involves the search for and attainment of the true essence of

life, as well as rebirth. Because a metaphysical atmosphere predominates in his poetry, his ideas of Islam are most apparent in his reflective essays.

In 1960, he founded the magazine *Diriliş*, which held an important place in the history of Islamic thought and which he described as a periodical of faith, thinking, literature and politics. The magazine included articles about Islamic culture, civilization, thought and economics, as well as literary and philosophical essays and translations and excerpts from classical texts. In this way, he brought together authors inspired by traditional and Islamic modes of thought. In 1967, he was put on trial for his books *Resurrection of Islam* and *Articles*. *Diriliş* and the works of Karakoç made significant contributions to the intellectual world of rightist and conservative politicians as well as Islamic literature.

In 1990, he founded the Resurrection Party (DİRİ-P), the symbol of which consisted of a rose bush with blossoming roses. However, the party was shut down in 1997 on the grounds that it had not taken part in two successive general elections or offered a reasonable explanation for its absence in the elections. In 2007, Karakoç founded the Great Resurrection Party (YÜCEDİRİ-P). The principles and objectives of the party were based around the idea of seeking and attaining the truth, and he believed that the integration of intellectuals into society is critical for the realization of peace.

Both the Resurrection Party and the Great Resurrection Party have been representatives of a “Resurrection Movement.” Karakoç claims that the resurrection of a great civilization is only possible through a “resurrection” as he has conceived of it. Accordingly, he argues that the Middle East, which he refers to as the sacred land of Islam, was dismembered along the lines of false borders following World War I. Karakoç has asserted that the Islamic world should rise up once again and reassemble the broken pieces of that holy land so it can be healed, and that an understanding of “one nation” should be adopted so that an integral, powerful state can be established without distinctions of race or other discriminatory, separatist elements. Furthermore, he has made the claim that a nation can only truly become a nation if it is comprised of a civilized society populated by people of all races who speak a variety of languages and adhere to many religious sects, all of whom must gather around the ultimate aim of achieving a higher level of civilization. In his conceptualization, such a civilization and nation in the Middle East should be aware of its own existence and presence as a means of overcoming those who promote separation, division and destruction, and he refers to that particular way of acquiring consciousness as a “resurrection.”

In 2006, Karakoç was awarded the Special Prize of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for Literature and Poetry, and in 2011, he was granted the Presidential Literature Prize. As is usual for him, he turned down the invitations to attend the ceremonies and he asked that any prize money be spent on activities focusing on culture and the arts.



Sezgin Tanrikulu

Lawyer, politician, human rights advocate, deputy president of the Republican People's Party (2010-2016).

Tanrikulu was born in the district of Lice in Diyarbakır in 1963. In 1985, he graduated from Istanbul University's Faculty of Law and in 1989 he completed his master's degree at Dicle University's Institute of Political Sciences with a thesis titled "Guarantees for Workers' Union Managers and Representatives." Later he completed his doctorate degree at Kültür University's Institute of Social Sciences. After receiving his bachelor's degree, he began to work as a self-employed lawyer. Between 1986 and 2002, he was employed as the general secretary and deputy president of the Diyarbakır Bar Association, and from 2002 to 2008 he was the president of the Diyarbakır Bar Association.

Tanrikulu was one of the founders of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, an internationally renowned non-governmental organization that carries out activities dedicated to the documentation of cases of torture, as well as the treatment and rehabilitation of people subjected to torture. He also worked as the head of the foundation's Diyarbakır branch.

In 1988, Tanrikulu led the establishment of the Human Rights Association's Diyarbakır branch. Through his work as a lawyer in cases of human rights violations, especially in the southeastern region of Turkey, he was one of the first lawyers to bring such cases to the European Court of Human Rights. As a result of his efforts, the USA granted him the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award in 1997. The wife of Robert F. Kennedy presented him with the award, along with Senator Edward Kennedy, his brother.

Tanrikulu began his political career in 2010 by working with the Republican People's Party and between 2010 and 2016 he served as deputy president of the party on the issue of human rights. In the general elections of 2011, he won a seat in parliament by being elected as an MP for the second region of Istanbul. Afterwards, he served as an MP during the 25th and 26th periods, and he is currently an MP for the 27th period.

In 2015, during a hostage crisis that took place at the Court of Justice of Istanbul, public prosecutor Mehmet Selim Kiraz, who had been working on the proceedings of the case involving Berkin Elvan, was taken hostage and killed by militants belonging to the DHKP-C. During the incident, the militants asked that Tanrikulu be part of the delegation involved in negotiations. However, Tanrikulu later explained that since state officials had not mediated such a demand, he thought it could be a trap, and he decided against going to the scene of the incident.

Tanrikulu's work largely focuses on the problems of torture, human rights violations and unsolved murders, as well as trying to find resolutions to such issues. He has published two books, *Handbook for Individual Applications to the European Court of Human Rights* and *European Convention on Human Rights and the Right to an Effective Remedy*. He is also the co-author of the book *15th of July Facts*, which was published in 2018 as the combined effort of four members of the Parliamentary Commission for the Investigation of the Attempted Coup of July 15. The aim of the book was to bring to light the mysteries surrounding the coup and ensure that justice prevails, and it contains opinions that run contrary to the draft report issued by the commission as well as additional insights and evidence obtained by the authors.



Süleyman Demirel

Politician, ninth president of the Republic of Turkey.

Demirel was born in the village of İslamköy in the Atabey district of Isparta province on November 1, 1924. He finished primary school in the village where he was born. Because he'd been a shepherd in his village, he was later nicknamed "Shepherd Sülü" during his political career. He graduated from Afyon High School and then from Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ) with an MSc in engineering 1949. In 1950, he began working at the General Directorate of Electrical Power Resources Surveying and Development Administration, and he was sent to the USA to conduct research on irrigation and electricity. Upon his return to Turkey, he worked as a project engineer on the building site of Seyhan Dam in 1953. During that time, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes became aware of his work, and in 1955 he was appointed as the general director of the State Hydraulic Works. He qualified for an Eisenhower scholarship and went back to the USA for a period of time, but he had to resign as general director so he could do his military service in Turkey.

From 1962 to 1964 he worked as a self-employed financial advisor and engineer and he gave lectures on civil engineering at Middle East Technical University (METU). He later became the Turkish representative of the US-based international engineering and development company Morrison Knudsen, Inc. For this reason, he also acquired the nickname "Morrison" during his career in politics, and his opponents claimed that the nickname symbolized his status as a "non-national" and "Americanist." Additionally, smear campaigns were carried out against him alleging that he was a member of the Masons.

However, he managed to deflect such claims by asserting his pro-development vision and condemning pro-Western circles, as well as by arousing sympathy among the traditional-conservative masses with his image as “Shepherd Sülü.”

In 1962, Demirel joined the Justice Party (AP). He held the post of deputy president for organizational affairs but he resigned in 1963 after the headquarters of the AP were attacked not long after Celâl Bayar was released from prison. When his opponents said, “He grabbed his hat and ran away,” they were referring to Demirel’s behavior following the incident. However, he heeded calls for him to play an active role in the party, and through the support of the party’s youth branches, the armed forces and large business owners, he was elected president of the AP in 1964. After the İnönü government fell from power, a coalition government was assembled under the leadership of Suat Hayri Ürgüplü in February 1965, and he held the posts of deputy prime minister and state minister from outside the TBMM.

In 1965, as the only successor of the Democrat Party (DP), the AP received 52.8% of the vote, thereby becoming the ruling party. In those elections, Demirel secured a seat in parliament for the first time as an MP for Isparta and assembled the 30th government on October 27, 1965, and in the process he became the twelfth prime minister of Turkey. Student protests, strikes and the poppy plantation crisis which erupted between the USA and Turkey were among the main problems that the Demirel government faced. Demirel resigned when a delegation of the high command issued a memorandum on March 12, 1971, but he retained his position in parliament as the leader of the main opposition until 1975.

In opposition to the left, he assembled the first Nationalist Front government in 1975 and the second Nationalist Front government in 1977. At that time, a major economic and social crisis was underway, which stood in sharp contrast to the strong figures for development chalked up in the 1960s. In 1978, the government was brought to its knees, but a year later Demirel was able to cobble together a minority government once again. Attempts were made to minimize the damage to the economy, such as the Decisions of January 24, which proposed turning to international creditors. In that period, when Turgut Özal was appointed undersecretary of the prime minister, a shift to a liberal economy occurred. His post as prime minister came to an end, however, with the military intervention on September 12, 1980. He was released after a period of detention that lasted a few months but he was banned from taking part in politics for ten years. The ban was lifted through a referendum in 1987, whereupon he became the leader of the True Path Party (DYP), though he had actually been in control of the party behind the scenes. In the same year, he entered parliament by being elected as an MP for Isparta in the

general elections and he challenged Turgut Özal with a strong oppositional base of power. On November 20, 1991, he assembled a coalition government with the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) and became prime minister for the seventh time. The most prominent moves made by the DYP-SHP government in terms of democratization included a declaration recognizing the “Kurdish reality,” an amendment made to the Law on Criminal Procedures, the reestablishment of the DP (which had been shut down after May 27, 1960 along with other parties that were closed down after September 12) and the ratification of several international treaties concerning the freedom of unionization. During his final days in office, journalist Uğur Mumcu was murdered in a bomb attack in January 1993, and the incident raised questions about the government’s approach to radical Islamist terrorism.

Ultimately, Demirel was a pragmatic politician. Upon the sudden death of President Turgut Özal, he resigned from the prime ministry and was appointed president on May 16, 1993. During his term as president, Turkey went through the “post-modern coup” of February 28. Some claimed that Demirel supported the antagonists of the REFAH-YOL government, whereas others argued that he prevented a true coup by easing tensions. In 2000, his presidential term came to an end, and when he stepped down from the presidency, he also stopped being active in politics. Demirel has been described as “a man who speaks wisely,” and his mastery of rhetoric and populism, as well as his practical intelligence, wittiness and ability to coin aphorisms, made him one of the most memorable politicians in modern Turkish history. He passed away at the age of 90 on May 13, 2015.

Süleyman Hasan Soylu

Politician, minister of internal affairs.



Soylu was born in Istanbul on November 21, 1969. His family was originally from Trabzon. He completed primary and secondary school in the district of Gaziosmanpaşa in Istanbul and he attended Gaziosmanpaşa Plevne High School. He started his undergraduate studies at the Black Sea Technical University and graduated from Istanbul University's Faculty of Business Administration, whereupon he began working at an Istanbul Stock Exchange agency in 1990. In 1994, he established a business in the insurance sector, and controversially he continued working for the company as a partner after he was appointed as a government minister.

Soylu was raised in a family that was steeped in the traditions of the Democrat Party (DP) and the Justice Party (AP), and he started his political career in 1987 by working with the youth branch of the True Path Party (DYP). Between 1987 and 1990, he continued working as a member of the DYP's Istanbul youth branch by serving on its board of directors and in 1995, when he was just 25 years old, he was elected as the head of the Gaziosmanpaşa district branch of the DYP. At the time, he was the youngest district head of a party in Turkey, and he held that position until 1999. In the local elections of 1999, he was nominated as a mayoral candidate for Gaziosmanpaşa Municipality. In the same year, he was appointed head of the Istanbul branch of the DYP, a position he retained until he ran as a candidate for parliament in 2002. Tansu Çiller, who was president of the party at the time, held him in high regard as a proactive young member of the party.

Prior to the general elections of 2007, the DYP became the Democrat Party (DP) under the leadership of Mehmet Ağar, but it was unable to pass the election threshold (garnering only 5.4% of the vote) and Ağar resigned. Afterwards, Soylu was elected as party president at its Fourth Extraordinary General Assembly held in January 2008. For the local elections of 2009, Soylu promised that he would resign if the party received less votes than in the previous local elections and he wanted to fulfill that promise when the voting rate was 4%; however, he ran as a candidate once again upon the insistence of the party. During the third round of voting, he withdrew and Hüsametdin Cindoruk was elected party president. Before the referendum for a constitutional amendment held in 2010, the DP, which was under Cindoruk's leadership, declared that they would vote "No," whereas Soylu announced that he would vote in favor of it. He organized a series of seminars called "Democracy Meetings" where he publicly explained why he was in favor of a "yes" vote, which he believed would be of critical importance for the democratization of Turkey. He claimed that he was opposed to the despotic pro-coup approach to politics and the government's tendency to marginalize minorities. As a result of his proclamations, he was expelled from the party.

Soylu had initially denounced the AKP and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, but after he was kicked out of the DP, he joined the AKP on September 5, 2012 upon Erdoğan's invitation. On September 30, 2012, he was appointed as a member of the Central Executive Committee, a position he still holds. In 2014, he became deputy president of the party for public events. In 2015, he was elected as an MP for Trabzon for the 25th and 26th periods, and in the general elections of June 24, 2018, he was elected as an MP for Istanbul in the 27th period. In the 64th and 65th governments, he held the posts of minister of labor and social security, and in August of 2016 he replaced Efkan Ala when he retired as minister of internal affairs of the 65th government, officially taking office in that position on September 1, 2016. It has been claimed that because he joined the protests in Ankara during the coup attempt on July 15, 2016 and made an effort to prevent the coup, he was appointed minister of internal affairs. After his appointment, Soylu stated that some local governments in Turkey "utilized an approach in support of terrorism" and he announced that he had appointed trustees to twenty-eight municipalities within the scope of Decree Law 674.

After he joined the AKP, the claim was made that he was still working with Mehmet Ağar, the former minister of internal affairs and former president of the DYP who was alleged to have been behind a series of unsolved murders and had been sentenced to prison for leading a criminal organization, and it was also alleged that he was serving as an advisor to the president. In August

2018, the US Treasury Department declared that in response to the unjust arrest and detainment of Pastor Andrew Brunson, a US citizen, that it was going to impose sanctions against Abdülhamit Gül, the minister of justice, and Süleyman Soylu, the minister of internal affairs; as a result of the sanctions, their financial assets in the US were frozen and they were prohibited from doing business with US citizens and US-based institutions. From July 10, 2018 until the present time, Soylu has been serving as minister of internal affairs in the 66th government, the first to be assembled under the new presidential government system put into place in Turkey.



Şebnem Korur Fincancı

Academician, human rights advocate, medical doctor specializing in forensics and identification of cases of torture as well as rehabilitation of torture victims.

Fincancı was born in Istanbul in 1959. She completed her secondary schooling at the Kadıköy College of Education and in 1983 she graduated from Istanbul University's Faculty of Medicine while also completing her specialized studies at the Cerrahpaşa Faculty of Medicine. She works in the field of forensic science, particularly as regards human rights violations, torture, hunger strikes, domestic sexual violence, rape, child abuse, post-mortem intervals and health problems caused by chemical weapons.

Between 1993 and 1998, she was president of the Forensic Experts Association and from 1996 to 1998 and again from 2002 to 2006 she was secretary general of the Istanbul Chamber of Medicine. Between 1997 and 2007, she was president of the Forensic Sciences Department at Istanbul University's Faculty of Medicine and from 1995 to 1996 she was president of the board of experts of the Forensics Authority of the Ministry of Justice. She was suspended when she was head of the department in 2005 and she was also suspended a few times when she was president of the board of experts. However, after a series of legal procedures she was allowed to resume her work. In 1999, she established Turkey's first forensics polyclinic under the auspices of Istanbul University's Faculty of Medicine.

In 1998, she was among the founding members of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey and in 2001 she was a founding member of the Criminal Law Research Association. From 2006 to 2008, she served as a member of the Honorary Board of the Turkish Medical Association. Since 2009, she has been president of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey.

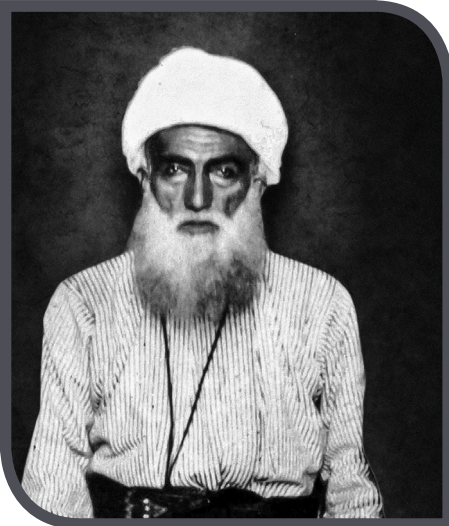
In 1996, at the behest of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia of the United Nations (UN ICTY), she participated in autopsies and the identification of bodies removed from mass graves in the Kalesija region of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Between 1996 and 1999, she took part in the preparation of the Istanbul Protocol, one of the main guidelines of the United Nations concerning principles for research and documentation of claims of torture and other forms of maltreatment. She played an active role in the development of the protocol and provided training in various countries about how it should be implemented. In 2000, she was involved in the international activities of Physicians for Human Rights in South Africa, and in 2002 she participated in studies for the World Health Organization's (WHO) guide "Researching Violence against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists." Between 2006 and 2009, she was a council member of the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims (IRCT) and in 2010 she served as a member of the International Forensic Expert Group at the same institution; as a forensic specialist, she carried out activities in applicant countries for the treatment of torture victims, documentation of torture and autopsies in cases of death. In 2012, she went to Bahrain on behalf of the IRCT under the guise of a tourist and took tissue samples from the body of a young person whose body had been found in the sea and who the police claimed had drowned. When she took the samples to Turkey and examined them, she discovered that the individual had been killed as the result of torture while in detention, as the family had claimed. She is one of the co-authors of the book *Atlas of Torture* (2007) which provides information about treatment of torture victims and the identification of cases of torture.

Fincancı has worked hard to ensure that the Forensic Medicine Institute in Turkey operates as an independent institution. Throughout the 1990s, when incidents of torture were widespread yet denied by the authorities, she was under a great amount of pressure and the state tried to prevent her from doing her work because of the reports and articles she wrote about her findings. She stated that the authorities threatened her after she issued a report about the treatment of the suspects in Uğur Mumcu's assassination and immediately afterwards it came to light that a secret letter had been sent ordering her dismissal. In addition, she demonstrated that Adil Serdar Saçan, the former police chief in charge of the Anti-organized Crime Unit, had been engaging in torture. She applied to the courts on the grounds that she was being wiretapped and that the Ergenekon organization was gathering personal information about her. Her application was accepted, and she thus became the only civilian to intervene in the Ergenekon Investigation. Fincancı has received many international and national awards, and most recently in 2014 she was the recipient of the International Hrant Dink Award.

Fincancı has striven to put an end to torture in Turkey and elsewhere to prevent human rights violations. In 2016, she was arrested upon orders issued by the prosecutor heading the anti-terrorism and organized crime division on charges that she was “engaging in propaganda for a terrorist organization.” The allegations were based on her participation in an editorial solidarity campaign for the newspaper *Özgür Gündem*. In the end, she was released ten days later. In October 2017, she quit teaching at Altınbaş University when the university administration refused to renew the contracts of instructors who had signed the Academicians for Peace declaration.

Şeyh Said

Leader of the Sheikh Said
Rebellion, head of the
Naqshbandi sect.



Sheikh Said was a prominent figure in his region. He was born in the Palu district of Elazığ in 1865 or 1866 to a “Seyyid family” (descendants of Mo-hammad). Sheikh Said studied in the madrasahs overseen by his father, Sheikh Mahmud Fevzi, and he also studied under the most well-known scholars in Palu, Hınıs and Malazgirt. Later, Sheikh Said started teaching in the madrasah and upon his father’s death, he started running the madrasah himself and overseeing the services provided by the foundation. He first married Amine Hanım but when she died during the Russo-Turkish War, he married Fatma Hanım, the sister of Colonel Cıbranlı Halit Bey.

After the closure of the Society for the Rise of Kurdistan, which had been established in 1918 with the objective of founding an independent Kurdistan, Kurdish societies that had been carrying out their activities in secret came together and founded the Society of Kurdish Independence (Azadi). Cıbranlı Halil Bey was appointed as president of the society, which developed close relations with Sheikh Said as a result of his influence over people. Eventually, the Bitlis representative of the First Parliament, Yusuf Ziya Bey, travelled to Hınıs, and they made an agreement with Sheikh Said to launch a rebellion. When the Xormek tribe reported about their meetings in Palu to the government, Yusuf Ziya Bey and Cıbranlı Halit Bey were captured and thus Sheikh Said became the head of the society.

Sheikh Said was unable to convince a number of tribes to take part in the rebellion, but he moved with his supporters and continued in his efforts to organize a following. One evening in February of 1925, when a hundred armed men met up with a group of leaders and Sheikh Said's brother Sheikh Abdurrahim in Piran (Dicle), a clash broke out between the group and some troops that showed up in the village, sparking the beginning of the rebellion.

Sheikh Said and his troops, who left Piran and arrived in Genç, took over the district. When several prominent tribal leaders joined him, major districts in Diyarbakır, Elazığ and Mardin fell under their control and the rebellion grew, spreading across four eastern provinces. The rebels' attempt to lay siege to Diyarbakır, however, resulted in heavy losses. Sheikh Said and his group first had to retreat to Çapakçur and then to Solhan.

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, in an attempt to ramp up its operations to crush the rebellion, declared a curfew in fourteen critical provinces and districts in the east of Turkey on February 23. Parliament declared that the rebellion was a reactionary movement and accused Sheikh Said and other rebellion leaders of treason. Through the Law on the Maintenance of Order that was enacted on March 4, 1925, Independence Courts were established to hold trials for those involved, and an announcement was made stating that whoever captured him dead or alive would be granted a reward.

Sheikh Said and 31 people in his group were caught after one of his relatives informed the government of his whereabouts. Sheikh Said was put on trial at an Independence Court in Diyarbakır and sentenced to death. He was executed on June 29, 1925 along with forty-seven other leaders of the rebellion.

Şirin Tekeli

Feminist writer, women's rights advocate, translator, activist.



Tekeli was born in Ankara in 1944. She was the only child of a mother and father who were philosophers and teachers. After graduating from Ankara Girls' High School, upon her mother's encouragement Tekeli went to Paris to study law in 1962. She transferred to the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Lausanne's Faculty of Social and Political Sciences when it became clear that she couldn't continue studying in Paris, which had become politically turbulent as a result of the Algerian War, and she also came to realize that she was not interested in furthering her studies in law. In those days, she started moving away from existentialism, which had been her primary source of inspiration since high school, and she started gravitating towards the left in terms of her political stance. She returned to Turkey in 1967, and a year later she started working as a research assistant in the field of social sciences at Istanbul University's Faculty of Economics. As such, she was the first female academic to be employed there. In 1975, she helped establish the University Academy and High School Assistants' Association (TÜMAS) and its women's committee. She completed her graduate studies in 1978 with a focus on the participation of women in political life, thereby becoming the first woman in Turkey to discuss the issue of women in that regard. In one statement, she defined herself as "a shy feminist" and said that her graduate work was informed by Marxism. Out of protest she resigned from her career in academics, saying that the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), which had been established following the military coup of 1980, stifled freedom of thought and research at universities; she claimed that the Council of Higher Education was a vertically-based organization similar to the armed forces and

that it excluded students and lecturers from politics with the aim of teaching an official ideology instead of practicing the sciences. She then went on to work as a writer, copy editor and translator to make a living.

She became involved in a consciousness-raising group that was established to publish a magazine and a women's literary series through the Authors and Translators' Publication Production Cooperative (YAZKO) in 1981. Group members translated works from feminist literature to expand on their knowledge about feminism and contributed to the formulation of a feminist terminology in Turkish.

Although the group was ultimately unable to publish the magazine, in 1983 the fourth page of the magazine was put out by *Somut* through the efforts of YAZKO. Tekeli contributed to the page with her articles.

She started a petition for the enforcement of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and civil law reforms in 1985. She was among the founders of the Human Rights Association in 1986.

In 1987, a judge in the province of Çorum turned down the request for divorce of a woman who, in addition to being a victim of domestic violence, had three children, saying, "Don't leave a woman unbeaten and don't leave a woman's belly without a child." The same year, in reaction to that court order and assertion, a March against Domestic Violence and the Kariye Festival were organized, and in 1989 the Purple Needle Campaign was also held. In all of those campaigns, Tekeli played a leading role. The campaigns were influential in public discussions of private issues, and they raised consciousness among women. Also in that year, she initiated activities for the establishment of the Women's Library and Information Center Foundation. In 1990, she was among the founding members of the Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation and in 1993 of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly of Turkey. In 1996, she was awarded with the *Officier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques* (the Golden Palm for Academics) by the French Ministry of Culture. In 1997, she participated in the founding of the Association for the Support and Training of Women Candidates (KA-DER), the Anakültür Cooperative, and the Winpeace-Women's Initiative for Peace in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. She translated twenty-five books from French and English into Turkish, most of which were related to women's issues and democracy.

Tekeli was among the pioneering figures of the feminist movement in Turkey both through her academic and political endeavors as well as her activism. Tekeli played a prominent role in increasing the visibility of women's issues and the establishment of a perspective for offering solutions to the problems that women face, as well as the founding of organizations that made it easier for women from all backgrounds to become part of the feminist movement, and in doing so, she rendered the women's movement more vibrant in Turkey. She passed away in Bodrum on June 13, 2017, where she was being treated for a brain tumor, and she donated her body to the Cerrahpaşa Faculty of Medicine for scientific studies.

Tahir Elçi

Lawyer, human's rights advocate,
former president of the Diyarbakır
Bar Association.



Elçi was born in the district of Şırnak in Cizre in 1966, where he completed his primary, secondary and high school education. In 1991, he graduated from Dicle University's Faculty of Law. After graduating, he worked as a lawyer in his hometown of Cizre for a period of time. He defended the cases of torture victims and people who had lost their loved ones while they were being held in detention. Because he was detained and tortured, he decided to move his office to Diyarbakır, where, in 1992, he started working as a self-employed lawyer.

He studied international criminal law and criminal procedures at the Academy of European Law (ERA) in Germany. In 1998, he started giving seminars on human rights law for interns and professionals. He attended numerous national and international conferences and gatherings as a speaker. Between 1998 and 2006, he worked as a manager at the Bar Association of Diyarbakır and he was elected president of the Bar Association in November 2012. He was reelected as president of the association once again at its Ordinary General Assembly of 2014. He was also a member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Human Rights Center of the Union of Bar Associations of Turkey (TBB).

Elçi's professional activities focused on criminal and human rights law and through his work with the Human Rights Association, of which he was a member, as well as with the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, of which he was a founder, he made efforts to shed light on unsolved murders. He was the lawyer of the victims of the Kızıltepe JİTEM case, which had been filed

for the illegal and arbitrary execution and forced disappearance of 22 people in Mardin's district of Kızıltepe between 1992 and 1996, in which state officials were also involved. Later, all of the suspects in the case were acquitted. Elçi worked on the trial of JİTEM and its military command until the day he was murdered. He also sought to shed light on the murder of brigadier general Bahtiyar Aydın within the scope of the Lice Case. Elçi stated that trials such as the Lice Case could play a role in the achievement of social peace, and he also participated as a lawyer in the cases for the bombings of the villages of Kuşkonar and Koçağılı and the case of Uludere (Roboski), representing victims in domestic hearings and trials heard at the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR).

The Chief Public Prosecutor's Office of Bakırköy in Istanbul launched an investigation against Elçi because of comments he made during a TV program on CNNTürk in October of 2015. On the program, he said, "The PKK is not a terrorist organization. Although some of its actions are terrorist in nature, the PKK is in fact an armed political movement. It is a political movement with political demands and it has strong support." Next, a warrant was issued for Elçi on the charge of "engaging in propaganda for a terrorist organization," and Elçi was detained in his office. Elçi was released on probation by the 2nd High Criminal Court of Bakırköy, although the public prosecutor's office requested that he be arrested. An indictment was issued for him, requesting up to seven and a half years imprisonment, and he was banned from leaving the country.

In 2015, when clashes broke out in the district of Sur in Diyarbakır, the pillars of the Four-Pillared Minaret, which had been built in 1500 as the most significant monument constructed by the Akkoyunlu Clan, were damaged. On November 28, 2015, along with other lawyers from the Diyarbakır Bar Association, Elçi made a press statement in front of the minaret to highlight the loss of historical and cultural heritage and to underline that wars and clashes are destructive not only for people but also for the environment and culture. Minutes after making the press statement, he lost his life when he was shot in the head on that very same street.

To date, there has been no progress in the investigation of the murder of Tahir Elçi, who worked diligently on numerous unsolved murders and disappearances as well as the identification of perpetrators involved in crimes.

Tansu Penbe Çiller

Economist, academician,
politician, 22nd prime minister of
the Republic of Turkey.



Çiller was born in Istanbul in 1946. She was the only child of Hüseyin Necati Çiller, who was a journalist and the former governor of Bilecik. She completed her secondary education at the Arnavutköy American College for Girls and graduated from the High School of Robert College's (Boğaziçi University) Department of Economics in 1967. She went to the USA with her husband Özer Uçuran, whom she married in 1963, and in 1969 she received her MA from New Hampshire University and in 1971 she received her PhD from Connecticut University. Between 1971 and 1973 she worked as an assistant professor at Franklin & Marshall College. Between 1974 and 1975, Çiller worked as an assistant professor at Boğaziçi University, in 1978 she became an associate professor, and in 1983 she became a professor.

Çiller applied to the Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP) as a parliamentary candidate but was declined. Prior to her political career, she became renowned for the economic reports she prepared for the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD) and Süleyman Demirel as well as for her reports which were critical of the economic policies of the Motherland Party (ANAP). In 1990, Demirel, who was keen on increasing the urban votes of the True Path Party (DYP), invited her to join the party. In the elections of 1991, she was elected as an MP for Istanbul representing the DYP and she secured a seat in parliament for the 19th period. She was appointed state minister for the economy by Demirel for the DYP-SHP coalition government between 1991 and 1993.

Because she was “presentable” and a woman, she was supported by the media and business owners. When Demirel was elected president in 1993, she was appointed president of the DYP in its general assembly and she assembled the 50th government of Turkey (the second DYP-SHP coalition government), thus becoming the first female prime minister of Turkey. In the early days of her term in office, incidents such as the massacres of Sivas and Başbağlar took place. Çiller is remembered for saying, “Thank God, no harm came to our people outside the hotel” after the massacre in Sivas. Earlier during her prime ministry, she mentioned the BASK model for a resolution of the Kurdish Issue when she was in Vienna for a Council of Europe meeting and said that “the Kurdish Issue cannot be resolved merely by weapons.” The army and president, however, offered fierce resistance, and she quickly resorted to a hawkish policy that reduced the resolution to an armed struggle. Her policies resulted in a compromising of democratic principles as well as numerous cases of human rights violations.

Çiller took all public authorities that were directly or indirectly related to the economy under her control. Nevertheless, she failed to fulfill her promise of finding a solution for soaring inflation rates. Çiller’s economy policies caused a crisis in Turkey’s financial markets early in 1994, and she was forced to implement the Resolutions of April 5th. As a result of those resolutions, the Turkish lira experienced its greatest devaluation in the history of republic, and a fourteen-month stand-by agreement was signed with the IMF.

Also under Çiller’s prime ministry, the Customs Unions Agreement was signed with the EU, and it went into effect on January 1, 1996. That move was controversial because the agreement was enforced before Turkey was even being considered for membership in the EU, which ran contrary to standard procedure.

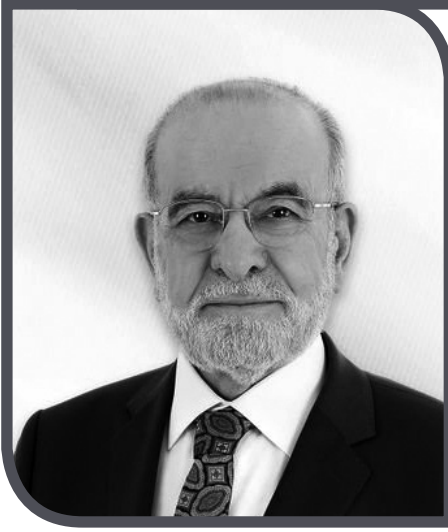
In February of 1996, Çiller was appointed deputy prime minister in the ANAYOL coalition government with the Motherland Party (ANAP). However, as she was engaged in a vicious quarrel with Mesut Yılmaz, the Welfare Party, which had been left out of the coalition, launched a bitter attack on the coalition, and as the ANAP supported an investigation into her doings, the coalition was dissolved three months later. The actual end of Çiller’s political career came about in June 1996, when she formed a coalition with the RP (the REFAHYOL Coalition), although previously she had been firmly against such a move. In the coalition, she was appointed deputy prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs. The main reason why she supported the coalition, which caused consternation in her own party, was that the RP and ANAP had been eager to launch an investigation into her actions.

She sparked debates when she said, “People who shoot and get shot for the sake of our nation, our state and our country are always worthy of our respect, and they are honorable people.” She made that remark at a time when heated debates were underway about the Susurluk Incident during the rule of the REFAHYOL coalition.

She told Necmettin Erbakan, who was prime minister during the post-modern coup of February 28th and the pending case for shutting down the RP, that he should resign from his position. She thought that, according to the protocol of the coalition, President Demirel would appoint her as the new prime minister. However, Demirel ignored the protocol and put Mesut Yılmaz in charge of assembling the new government. The DYP became the opposition party, but over time it became less and less popular. In the elections of 1999, the DYP only got 12% of the vote and Çiller was barely elected an MP. In the elections of 2002, the party did not pass the election threshold and was left out of parliament. Subsequently, Çiller announced that she would not run as a candidate for the party’s leadership in the following general assembly. She opted to drop out of politics and give up her presidency of the party, which concluded in December of 2002.

Çiller had a tumultuous political life. In a report issued by the National Intelligence Organization (MİT) that was leaked to the press, her name was mentioned among those who had organized a planned coup in Azerbaijan; in addition, the claim was made that she did not offer a satisfactory explanation for her assets in the USA. Furthermore, claims were made that she had used a discretionary fund to prop up her political interests, and it was claimed that she was involved in the Kardak Crisis with Greece, the Susurluk Scandal and the post-modern coup of February 28th. Those were just a few of the many problematic incidents that occurred during her political career.

Çiller was not very strong in terms of rhetoric and she is remembered for making numerous off-key public statements. Her most recent public appearance occurred when she testified as a victim, witness and litigant within the scope of the case concerning the events of the 28th of February.



Temel Karamollaoğlu

Politician, engineer, president of
the Felicity Party (SP).

Karamollaoğlu, who grew up in the district of Gürün in the province of Sivas, was one of seven children. He was born on June 7, 1941 in Kahramanmaraş, where his father was a teacher. He graduated from Kayseri High School in 1959. In 1960, he started studying in the Department of Textile Technologies at Manchester University on a scholarship granted by Sümerbank. He graduated in 1964, and in 1967 he completed his master's degree at the same university. During his studies, he led the activities of the National Turkish Students' Union (MTTB), a nationalist and conservative student movement established in England. He actively participated in the social activities of Muslim communities and he also served as a manager for the Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS). When he was in England, he got married to Ayşe Yasemin Karamollaoğlu, who was originally from England but later became a citizen of Turkey and converted to Islam. In 1967, he returned to Turkey and started working for Sümerbank as a project engineer. In 1969, he was one of the founders of the Economic and Social Research Center (ESAM), and he participated in the ESAM's activities and also held management positions at the center. Until 1972 he worked as a textile sector specialist for the State Planning Organization (DPT). Between 1975 and 1977, he held the position of incentive and implementations director at the Ministry of Industry and Technology and he was also the deputy undersecretary for mainstream industries. In those years he met Necmettin Erbakan and Mehmet Zahid Kotku, who was the founder of the İskenderpaşa Community and also known as the Naqshbandi Sheikh. Both of them shaped the intellectual world of right-wing conservative politics in Turkey, and they were influential in the formation of Karamollaoğlu's daily and political life.

Karamollaoğlu started getting involved in politics in 1977 when he was elected as an MP for Sivas representing the National Salvation Party. In 1978, he was elected as a member of the general board of the party. In parliament he worked as a member of the State Economic Enterprise (KİT) Commission and he also participated in the industrialization operations of the DPT. He was arrested during the military coup of 1980 but after being held in prison for ten months he was acquitted. Up to 1987, even though his ban on being active in politics had been lifted through a referendum, he remained distant from politics, opting to work as an advisor and manager in the private sector.

In 1987, he was elected as a member of the general administrative board of the Welfare Party and became a candidate for the elections of 1987. In 1989 and in 1994, he was elected mayor of Sivas as a representative of the Welfare Party. On July 2, 1993, during the Pir Sultan Abdal Festival organized by the Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association in Sivas, the Madımak Hotel was set on fire by radical Islamists; in the end, 33 writers, poet-singers, and intellectuals, most of whom were Alevi, were killed, along with two hotel workers. It was reported in the media that during the massacre, Karamollaoğlu approached the perpetrators in front of the hotel, where he was greeted with chants of “Mujahid Temel” whereupon he said, “May your war be holy” and “Let’s recite the Al-fatehah prayer for the souls of these wretched creatures.” Following the reports, an investigation was launched and he was dismissed from his post. However, Karamollaoğlu denied the allegations, saying that he had made a speech to calm down and disperse the crowd. Later it came to light that the person who said “May your war be holy” was Cafer Erçakmak, a member of the municipal council of Sivas from the Welfare Party, and the claim was made that Erçakmak had been mistaken for Karamollaoğlu because they resembled one another. In the elections of 1995, Karamollaoğlu entered parliament once again as an MP representing the Welfare Party. He was elected deputy president of the Welfare Party and he held that post until the Welfare Party (RP) was shut down by the Constitutional Court on January 16, 1998. Afterwards, he joined the Virtue Party (FP), which was the successor of the RP, and in the general elections of 1999, he was elected as an MP for the party. After the FP was shut down in 2001 on the grounds that it had engaged in “acts running contrary to the principles of a secular republic,” he was elected as a member of the general administrative board of the Felicity Party in a general assembly held in May 2000 and became deputy president of the party for foreign affairs. In 2002, when a separation took place with the founding of the AKP, Karamollaoğlu opted to remain loyal to the National Vision Movement and in 2016 he was elected president of the SP.

In the presidential elections of 2018, despite Erdoğan’s personal efforts to win him over, he refused to join the State Alliance and joined the National Alliance consisting of the CHP, the Good Party and the DP, and he also campaigned as a presidential candidate for the SP.



Tuncay Özkan

Journalist, writer, broadcaster,
politician.

Özkan was born in Ankara on August 14, 1966. His family was originally from Erzincan's district of Kemaliye. He studied at Gazi University's Faculty of Communication and completed his master's education at the same university's Faculty of Sciences. He took up journalism in 1981 when he landed a job on Rüzgarlı Street, which was known as the "Babıali of Ankara." In 1984, he started working for the newspaper *Hürgün*, which was published by the Hürriyet Group, and in 1988 he was hired on by the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. He started his career in broadcasting in 1993 as the Ankara correspondent of *Arena on Show TV*, which was produced by Uğur Dündar. In 1995, he transferred to Kanal D along with Uğur Dündar and he worked as the chief editor of the channel from October 2000 until June 2002. In 1999, he directed, produced and hosted a documentary about Abdi İpekçi for the 20th anniversary of his assassination to shed light on the events that had transpired. Between 2001 and 2007, he hosted the bi-weekly TV show *Politika Durağı* with journalist Cüneyt Arcayürek.

Between 1998 and 2003, he penned columns for the newspapers *Radikal*, *Milliyet* and *Akşam*. In June 2002, he became the president of Çukurova Media Group and held that position until December 2003. After leaving Çukurova, he established the TV channel KanalTürk and became its chief editor. On May 13, 2008, he stated that he had to sell the channel and all of its subsidiaries for 25 million dollars to Akın İpek, the owner of the newspaper *Bugün* and Koza Madencilik A.Ş., due to financial problems. Afterwards, in September 2008, he founded the channel Kanal Biz, which was also closed down in September 2009 because of financial problems.

Prior to the presidential elections of 2007, in opposition to the candidacy of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and other politicians originally from the National Vision Movement, he organized a gathering called the Republic Meeting. The gathering, which was held on April 14, 2007 and included a march to the monument Anıtkabir, received poor media coverage but was broadcast live on KanalTürk, which was then owned by Özkan.

On September 12, 2007, Özkan founded a non-governmental platform called “How Many of Us Are There?” On December 28, 2008, he was elected as president of the neo-nationalist New Party, which was founded on June 28, 2008, and on May 20, 2012 he joined the Rights and Equality Party led by retired major general Osman Pamukoğlu. Although he was detained and arrested within the scope of the Ergenekon Investigation on September 23, 2008, he remained president of the New Party until June 2011.

On August 5, 2013 he was given a life sentence on charges of attempting to launch a coup and sixteen years of penal servitude for other crimes. He stated that he had been given a life sentence for organizing the Republic Meeting and a sentence of imprisonment of sixteen years for publishing the Susurluk Documents, and he further made the claim that one of the prosecutors involved in the case had said that a copy of a speech made by Atatürk in Bursa was included as criminal evidence when they found it in his home. Some of the suspects in the case made individual applications to the Constitutional Court (AYM), which ruled that the rights of the suspects had been violated, and they were released. Özkan was released on March 10, 2015 after being held in prison for five and a half months.

During his time in prison, he ran as a candidate for the first region of Istanbul in the general elections of 2011 but he was not elected. After his release, Özkan joined the Republican People’s Party (CHP) and was elected as an MP for the first region of Izmir in the general elections held on the 7th of June 2015, and he was elected again on the 1st of November in 2015 and the 24th of June in 2018. As such, he secured a seat in parliament for the 25th, 26th and 27th periods. Özkan has published twenty-one books in the course of his career.



Turgut Özal

Bureaucrat, politician, eighth president of the Republic of Turkey.

Özal was born in Malatya in 1927. His mother was a primary school teacher from the district of Çemişgezek in Tunceli and his father was a bank officer from the district of Yeşilyurt (Çırmıklı) in Malatya. Özal moved with his family from city to city because of his father's work. He completed primary school in Bilecik and secondary school in Mardin. In 1950, he graduated from the Electrical Engineering Department of Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ). During his years as an undergraduate student, he was influenced by Mehmet Zahid Kotku, the Naqshbandi Sheikh. When he was working for the General Directorate of the Electrical Power Resources Survey and Development Administration, he got married to Semra Yeğinmen, who was working there as a secretary. In 1952, he went to the USA to study economics at Texas Technology University. Özal's experiences in the USA influenced his conservative political and liberal economic views.

After the elections of 1965, he became an advisor to Süleyman Demirel. He was involved in the establishment of the State Planning Organization (DPT) and he was appointed undersecretary of the DPT in 1967. At the time, he was criticized for being involved in "the employment of clog-wearers." After that scandal, which was presented as grounds for the Memorandum of 1971, between 1971 and 1973 he worked in the US as a consultant at the World Bank's Industrial Office. From 1973 to 1979, he worked as an executive in the private sector, including Sabancı Holding. In that period of time, the contacts he made in the business world offered him a strong base for starting a political career, which made it possible for him to play a key role in the

emergence of the Resolutions of January 24 in 1979 that drove the Republic of Turkey towards a liberal economy. At the time, he was undersecretary of the prime ministry. After the military coup on September 12, 1980, he was appointed deputy prime minister of the economy for the Bülend Ulusu government. In 1977, Özal ran as a parliamentary candidate for the National Salvation Party (MSP) but he failed to be elected. According to some claims, he was not included on the list of banned politicians because he had strong ties with the business world in Turkey as well as with international institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. In line with this, the Motherland Party (ANAP), which he founded in 1983, was allowed by the military government to join the elections of 1983. Özal was elected as an MP for the first time in those elections and he also assembled the 45th government of the Republic of Turkey when his party received 45% of the vote, even though it was relatively new. In the general elections of 1987, the ANAP's voting rates slipped to 36.31% but Özal was able to assemble a government once again and become prime minister.

On June 18, 1988, during the ordinary general assembly of the ANAP held at Ankara Atatürk Sports Hall, he was wounded when a man by the name of Kartal Demirağ tried to assassinate him. His brother, Korkut Özal, stated that he found out that an organization had been behind the attempted assassination but he refused to disclose the details without his brother's consent.

Although the ANAP was falling behind in the elections, Özal was elected president in 1989, becoming eighth president of the Republic of Turkey. During his term as president, within the scope of undertakings dating from 1992 referred to as "the first solution process," Masoud Barzani was granted a Turkish passport, which eased the restrictions that had been placed on his international travels. According to some accounts, Özal's unexpected death in 1993 was related to that move. In another significant development during his presidency, Özal declared that Saddam Hussein posed a grave threat for Turkey during the First Gulf War and firmly supported the military intervention of the USA.

Although he pushed his presidential powers from time to time, Özal stood in defense of a civilian form of government. He visited public institutions and authorities in his daily attire and at one time he supervised military operations while wearing shorts. Such an approach stirred heated debates at the time, but the fact that he increased the effectiveness of the presidency by exceeding its symbolic structure resulted in a shift towards a semi-presidential system in Turkey.

Through his experience both in the bureaucracy and in the private sector, Özal can be regarded as the chief architect of the major economic change that took place in Turkey in the 1980s. He did not refrain from making political

choices in favor of the private sector and he integrated Turkey into the global economy. Bolstered by a political intelligence that was steeped in pragmatism, Özal was known for being skilled in communicating with a range of people from different socio-economic backgrounds. He is also remembered in Turkey for making remarks such as, “My civil servants know how to do their business” and “I really like the rich.”

Amidst the ongoing debates that he might have been assassinated, Özal’s wife Semra claimed that her husband had been poisoned when arsenic was added to a glass of lemonade he was drinking, and she said that she collected evidence by getting a strand of his hair tested in the USA. In light of these claims, nineteen years after his death Özal’s body was exhumed. The Forensic Medical Institute declared that poison was found but could not definitively claim that it had been the cause of his death.

Türkân Saylan

Medical doctor, academician,
writer, educator, president of
the Association for Supporting
Contemporary Life (ÇYDD).



Saylan was born in Istanbul on December 13, 1935 as the eldest of the five children of Fasih Galip Bey, one of the first contractors in the history of the Republic of Turkey, and Lili Mina Raiman, a woman of Swiss descent who took the name Leyla after she got married. Saylan studied at Kandilli Primary School and Kandilli High School for Girls. In 1963, she graduated from Istanbul University's Faculty of Medicine with a specialization in dermatology and venereal diseases. In 1968, she began working as an assistant in the Department of Dermatology at Istanbul University. Three years later, she studied in England on a scholarship granted by the British Cultural Delegation. She carried out further studies in France in 1974 and in England in 1976. For a number of years she served as head of Istanbul University's Dermatology Department and as director of the Leprosy Research Center.

In 1990, she took part in the founding of the Women's Issues Research and Application Center at Istanbul University, and she worked as deputy director until 1996, coordinating classes on women's health. She worked as a lecturer at the Dermatology Clinic until 2002 and she retired on December 13, 2002.

In 1958, when she was a medical student, she visited the Bakırköy Psychiatric Hospital, where she saw patients with leprosy and was moved by the way they were being treated. In 1976, she started carrying out studies on leprosy and according to her mentor Cihat Yemni, she decided to establish the Association and Foundation for Fighting Leprosy (CSD) in Istanbul. In 1986, she was awarded the Gandhi Peace Prize, which is granted by India's Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation.

She was a founding member and deputy president of the International Leprosy Union (ILU) as well as a member of the European Academy of Dermatology and Venerology and the International Leprosy Association. In 1980, she founded Istanbul University's Leprosy Research and Application Center. She pioneered the establishment of the Derma-pathology Lab and the Polyclinic for Behçet's Disease and Sexually Transmitted Diseases. Saylan worked hard to reduce cases of leprosy in Turkey and she took care of patients and their families so they could maintain a decent standard of socio-economic living, and she also dedicated herself to the education of their children. In recognition of her efforts, the World Health Organization (WHO) lauded Turkey's efforts to decrease cases of leprosy.

On February 21, 1989, she joined the ranks of the founders of the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life (ÇYDD), which had been established with the aim of "preserving and developing Atatürk's principles and promoting the upbringing of modern individuals and society through contemporary education." She was the first president of the association, a position she held until the end of her life. In 1990, she founded and served as the deputy president of the Lecturers Association. Five years later, she founded and served as president of the Culture and Education Foundation of the Kandilli High School for Girls (KANKEV), the high school from which she had graduated. She resigned from that position when she retired. In addition, until her death she worked as a volunteer for ÇYDD, KANKEV and CSD as president.

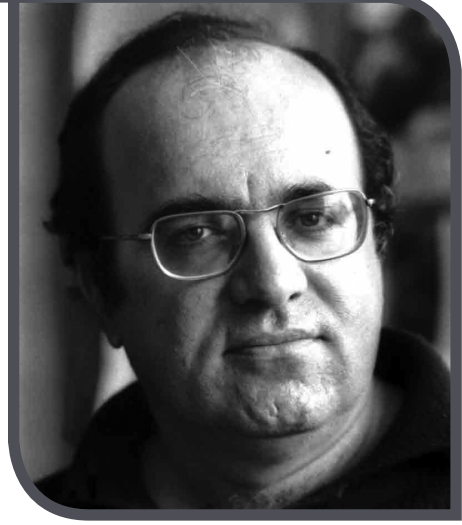
In April 2007, she organized Republic Meetings in Ankara and Istanbul.

Within the scope of the Ergenekon Investigation, on April 13 in 2009 Saylan's house in Arnavutköy and the branches of the ÇYDD, which has more than ninety offices around Turkey and has supported thousands of girls in their education, were subjected to extensive searches. In those days, Saylan was being treated for cancer. Some of the executives from the association were detained, and many of the computers and lists of students granted scholarships and members of the association were seized. A large number of people protested the searches of Saylan's house and ÇYDD's headquarters.

Saylan published numerous works on a national and international scale, including medical papers as well as newspaper articles and books about social and political issues. In the course of her life, she was the recipient of prizes in various fields. Saylan spent the last seventeen years of her life struggling with breast cancer, and she passed away on May 18, 2009.

Uğur Mumcu

Journalist, researcher and writer.



Mumcu was born in Kırşehir on August 22, 1942. He completed his primary and secondary education in Ankara. In 1961, he enrolled at Ankara University's Faculty of Law. Mumcu started writing while he was a student. In 1962, he received the Yunus Nadi Award for an article titled "Turkish Socialism" which he published in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. In 1965, he graduated from university and for a period of time he worked as a lawyer. In 1965, he started writing for the magazine *Yön*. Between 1969 and 1972, he worked as an assistant at Ankara University's Faculty of Law in the field of administrative law.

During the events surrounding the 12th of March, he was arrested for insulting the armed forces. He was given a sentence of seven years of prison and incarcerated in Mamak Military Prison for approximately one year. In the end, however, the Supreme Court of Appeals nullified the sentence and he was released. Between 1972 and 1974 he did his military service in the district of Patnos in Ağrı as an "unfavorable foot soldier." He published his experiences in a book titled *The Unfavorable Soldier*, which was later adapted to the stage. After completing his military service, he started working as a journalist. Between 1975 and 1991, he penned articles for his column "Observations" in *Cumhuriyet*. His first book of investigative journalism, *The Furniture Brief*, which he co-wrote with Altan Öymen, was about how Süleyman Demirel's nephew Yahya Demirel exported chipboards by claiming them as furniture, thereby getting a vast amount of tax returns in 1975. His book *The Dead End*, published in 1979, was an exposition of his opposition to armed action.

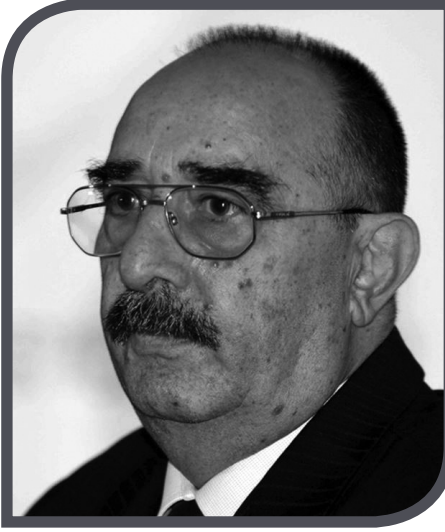
In the climate of political violence that was rampant under the Nationalist Front (MC) governments, he stated that investigations needed to be carried out about Turkey's counter-guerilla teams and the MİT, as well as other related organizations. He submitted names and documents that he obtained through his research to the Ecevit government that took over, but no action was taken. In 1979, he began investigating the alleged murder of Abdi İpekçi by Mehmet Ali Ağca, who was caught but escaped from prison six months later. He wrote that Ağca had ultimately been taken out by a right-wing organization embedded in the armed forces and that the actual killer in the murder of İpekçi was none other than Oral Çelik. However, his claims were not taken seriously by the authorities.

Mumcu saw journalism as part of a larger political struggle. In his book *Weapon Smuggling and Terror* (1981), he revealed how terrorism was tied into the smuggling of arms. In 1984, he contributed to the drafting of the "Petition of Intellectuals" submitted to the speaker and head of the TBMM by a group led by Aziz Nesin; Kenan Evren accused the signatories of engaging in "treason" and filed a lawsuit against them. In 1988, he published a book titled *The Sect, Politics and Trade*, which contained information about the connections among these three groups based on credible evidence. Three years later in 1991 he published one of his most significant works, titled *The Kurdish-Islamist Rebellion, 1919-1925*.

In his newspaper column "Observations," he often reported about how the Grey Wolves were given weapons by officers from the gendarmerie, and he made the claim that there was a secret state organization that functioned as a counter-guerilla unit. He also asserted that Abdi İpekçi had been murdered by that very organization. In addition, he claimed that unless Abdullah Çatlı, a figure who stood out in his investigations, was taken to Turkey and put on trial, many mysterious incidents would remain unsolved. He also posited that Çatlı and his associates were involved in the smuggling of arms and drugs but since they were being used as gatherers of intelligence, they were being protected by the state. However, the state did not investigate Mumcu's findings. After Ağca attempted to assassinate Pope Jean Paul II in 1981, Mumcu published *The Ağca Brief* (1982) and the *Pope, Mafia, Ağca* (1984). In 1983, he interviewed Ağca in prison, and when the case was being heard in Italy, he was consulted as an expert witness. In addition, he carried out studies about the PKK, claiming that there was a connection between Kurdish nationalists and intelligence spies, and he wrote articles in which he analyzed Hezbollah and the PKK.

During a press conference held by the MİT, the undersecretary of the MİT, lieutenant general Teoman Koman, stated that terrorists were preparing to engage in sensational actions and that one of the journalists in the hall—including Mumcu—might also become a target.

Mumcu was killed on January 24, 1993 in front of his house in Ankara in an explosion when a bomb, consisting of C-4 plastic explosives, was detonated in his car. The Islamist Movement, İBDA-C and Hezbollah claimed responsibility, but the perpetrators were never caught. After his death, it came to light that Mumcu had uncovered information concerning the network of relations disclosed through the Susurluk Incident. The claim has been put forward that was the reason why he was silenced, thereby becoming one of the victims of the dark forces he had been investigating.



Veli Küçük

Soldier, retired brigadier general
of the Gendarmerie.

Küçük was born in a Türkmen village in the district of Gölpazarı in Bilecik on May 9, 1944 as the fourth child of a family of farmers with Azeri origins. He completed his primary education in the village in which he was born and his secondary education in the district of Gölpazarı. In 1959, he passed the examination and qualified for Kuleli Military High School, from which he graduated in 1963, and in 1965 he completed his studies at the Turkish Military Academy. He served as the provincial gendarmerie regiment commander in Edirne, Van, Eskişehir, Ağrı and Kocaeli. In 1996, he was promoted to general. Afterwards, he established the Giresun Regional Command, which he led for two years. When he was commissioned in the Çanakkale Brigade Command, he transferred the brigade to Bilecik. In 1966, he had been enlisted as a lieutenant in Bilecik, and he retired from the position of major general in the same province in 2000.

His name was brought up for the first time through the Susurluk Incident. The claim was put forward that he had been the last person to speak to Abdullah Çatlı, who died in the Susurluk Incident that took place in 1996, thus revealing the connections between the state, police and mafia. The claim was also made that he had spoken numerous times with Abdullah Çatlı and Ali Yasak, known as “Drej Ali,” as well as Sami Hoştan, a suspect in the Susurluk Incident. Fikri Sağlar, a member of the TBMM’s Susurluk Investigation Commission and former Minister of Culture, stated that the commission had decided to call in Veli Küçük, whose name had come up in the Susurluk In-

cident, but Necmettin Erbakan, the head of the REFAH-YOL government, and Tansu Çiller and others pressured Mehmet Elkatmış, the head of the commission, to make him back down on the decision to summon Küçük. However, after a criminal complaint was filed by the prosecutor's office, a commission consisting of three generals tasked with investigating the claims stated that they did not find anything amiss. Küçük had told the investigation commission that he had spoken with Abdullah Çatlı, Sami Hoştan and Sedat Peker merely to "obtain information." Years later, he attended the opening ceremony of the website "öztürkler.com," which had been launched by Sedat Peker, and that raised not a few eyebrows.

It was later discovered that Mahmut Yıldırım (code-named "Yeşil"), one of the key figures in the Susurluk Incident, had been using a mobile phone registered in the name of Küçük, who was then the gendarmerie's regional commander for Giresun, and that Abdullah Çatlı had called that number as well as many others involved in the Susurluk Incident. At the time, Küçük was the regiment commander for the gendarmerie in Kocaeli, and it came to light that the same mobile phone was used to call casinos owned by Ömer Lütfü Topal, who was later killed. In the period of time when the phone was used in Kocaeli, numerous unsolved murders occurred; among the people killed were Kurdish businesspeople residing in the regional triangle of "Adapazarı-İzmit-Sapanca," which was within the region overseen by the gendarmerie under the jurisdiction of Küçük.

Notably, Küçük took part in protests organized by Kemal Kerişsiz, who became publicly known for the lawsuits he filed against such writers as Hrant Dink, Orhan Pamuk and Elif Şafak on the basis of the Turkish Criminal Code's notorious Article 301. Toktamış Ateş claimed that Küçük had assembled the coalition of the "Red Apple Supporters."

Küçük's name came up yet again on the assertion that he had threatened Hrant Dink and Dink's lawyer Erdal Doğan during the sessions of Dink's trial. Küçük, however, denied the allegations. The media released a photograph in which Muzaffer Tekin, who had been involved in the attack on the Council of State, was kissing Küçük's hand, and that gave the impression that he had been involved in the incident.

The claim was made that Küçük had travelled to Azerbaijan to rally Turks there against the Armenians and that he had taken people from Azerbaijan to Turkey. Yasin Hayal, the alleged instigator of the murder of Hrant Dink, had also gone to Azerbaijan in 2004 and stayed there for fifteen days, a period of time corresponding with the assassination. Küçük explained his ties to Azerbaijan by saying that he had Azeri origins and that he had been elected as president of the World Congress of Azerbaijanis.

It was also alleged that he was among the founders of JİTEM, the Gendarmerie Intelligence Anti-Terrorism Group, which was associated with numerous unsolved murders and whose existence was denied by government officials for a long time. In 2011, JİTEM's existence was announced for the first time by the minister of internal affairs. However, Küçük denied those allegations and stated that JİTEM had never existed. He asserted, however, that he had established the Intelligence Group Command and had been the commander of that unit, which was dissolved a year later for unknown reasons.

On January 22, 2008, Küçük was detained as part of the Ergenekon Investigation and arrested for the crime of “instigating people to rebellion.” He was tried for the crimes of founding and overseeing an armed terrorist organization, instigating an armed rebellion against the government of the Republic of Turkey, being involved in cases of murder, facilitating the use of explosives to cause terror and panic, causing damage to property and being in possession of illegal explosives. He was tried and faced a sentence of 239 to 524 years. In the trial, which was finalized on August 5, 2013 by the 13th High Criminal Court of Istanbul, he received two separate life sentences. However, in the meantime long-term sentences of imprisonment were reduced from ten years to five years and he was released by the 4th High Criminal Court of Istanbul on March 12, 2014. On April 21, 2016, the 16th Criminal Division of the Supreme Court of Appeals examined the appeal for the ruling against Küçük and nullified the sentence issued by the 13th High Criminal Court of Istanbul.

Vural Savaş

Honorary chief public prosecutor
of the Supreme Court of Appeals,
lawyer, writer.



Savaş was born in Antalya on August 21, 1938. He graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Law in 1969 and started his professional life by working as a judge in Iğdır and Mersin. He was later appointed as a judge for the Criminal Commission of the Supreme Court of Appeals. In 1987, he was elected as a member of the Supreme Court of Appeals. Three years later, he was elected as an associate member of the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK) and appointed as a full member in 1993. He resigned from that post in March 1994, when Mehmet Seyfi Oktay was the minister of justice (November 1991- July 1994), to protest the appointments being made at the time. In 1996, when he was a member of the First Criminal Division Court, in the elections held at the Grand General Assembly of the Supreme Court of Appeals for the nomination of candidates for Chief Public Prosecutor's Office of the Supreme Court of Appeals, he received the second highest number of votes for the five candidates who were running for the position, and in January 1997 he was appointed by President Süleyman Demirel.

The post-modern coup of February 28, 1997 occurred as the result of an extraordinary meeting held by the National Security Council (MGK) on the grounds that the government had been engaged in "reactionary activities" and to prevent such activities. At the time, Necmettin Erbakan was prime minister and Tansu Çiller was minister of foreign affairs. The subsequent resolutions led to numerous political, administrative, legal and social changes in Turkey and the proceedings are still continuing. In this period, which coincided with

the end of the 54th government, Savaş was chief public prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Appeals and he filed a number of cases that went down in the political history of Turkey. The most prominent of those was the case for shutting down the Welfare Party (RP), which he filed soon after the meeting held by the MGK. On May 21, 1997, the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office of the Supreme Court filed a lawsuit with the Constitutional Court to shut down the RP on the grounds that "the party had started to be the focal point of illegal activities and some of its members had attempted to target the secular regime." At the end of an eight-month trial, the party was shut down by the Constitutional Court on January 16, 1998.

On December 17, 1997, the Virtue Party (FP) was founded as an alternative which also held to the perspective of the "National Vision." The Virtue Party was established under the leadership of İsmail Alptekin, and most of the MPs from the RP joined its ranks. However, because Erbakan, who had been banned from politics after the RP was shut down, was regularly meeting up with the leaders of the FP and hosted the group during a religious festival, Vural argued that Erbakan was acting as president of the party; he also claimed that the FP was the successor of the RP and that the new party had become the focus of anti-secular activities. For that reason, he filed another case on May 7, 1999 to shut down the FP.

As the case was pending, Savaş became a candidate once again in the elections of the Grand General Assembly of the Supreme Court of Appeals held on December 18, 2000. However, the president of the period, Ahmet Necdet Sezer, appointed Sabih Kanadoğlu, who ranked second after Vural even though he had received 49 more votes. Kanadoğlu, now chief prosecutor, issued an additional indictment. In this way, the case which began in May of 1999 came to a conclusion with a ruling issued by the Constitutional Court on June 22, 2001 to shut down the FP.

Savaş sued Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who at that time was the mayor of Istanbul, on charges of making threats. On September 27 in 1998, Erdoğan had attended the opening ceremony of a sports complex in the district of Tuzla in Istanbul during which the crowd chanted, "This is the army, this is the commander... Say shoot and we will shoot, say die and we will die" and Erdoğan responded, "Your name is not Vural, so I cannot say to you, 'Go ahead and shoot,' and your surname is not war, so I cannot say to you, 'Make war'" (in reference to the meanings of Vural and Savaş, which can be inferred as "shoot" and "war"). Savaş filed a criminal complaint with the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office in Kartal, claiming that Erdoğan was openly threatening him. The Chief Public Prosecutor's Office filed a public case against Erdoğan for "openly encouraging the perpetration of a crime" and called for a sentence

of imprisonment of three to five years. The 2nd Chamber of the Council of State rejected the objections made by Erdoğan's lawyers and submitted the case to the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office of the Supreme Court of Appeals. At that point, Savaş, as the chief public prosecutor, reexamined the case and concluded there were no grounds for legal action.

In one of his later statements, Savaş noted that social democrats had objected to the filing of the case to shut down the RP and that party shut-downs had become more difficult as the result of legal regulations. Additionally, while appearing in a television show he stated that they had considered shutting down the AKP but desisted when Bülent Ecevit balked at the idea.

In January 2001, Savaş completed his four-year term of office as Chief Public Prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Appeals and retired.



Yaşar Büyükanıt

25th chief of general staff of
the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK),
retired full general.

Büyükanıt was born in the district of Eyüp in Istanbul on September 1, 1940. He lost his mother when he was nine years old. After primary school, he took the exams for military secondary school but did not pass them. After graduating from Eyüp Secondary School, he took the military high school exams and qualified for the Erzincan Military High School. In 1961, he graduated from the Turkish Military Academy and in 1963 he completed his studies at the Infantry School.

In 1972, he enrolled in the Army War College as a staff officer. Afterwards, he held the rank of operation head of the 6th Infantry Division and he went on to be a lecturer at the Army War College, head of the Power and Systems Division of the Basic Intelligence Branch of the Intelligence Office at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe in Mons, Belgium, and division and branch head of the General Staff Office of the General-Admiral Branch. Between 1983 and 1986, he was commander of the Kuleli Military High School, and from 1986 to 1988 he served as the commander of the Presidential Guard Regiment.

In 1988, he was promoted to brigadier general, in 1992 he was appointed major general, in 1996 he was promoted to lieutenant general and in 2000 he became full general. As full general, he held the posts of deputy chief of the Turkish General Staff as commander of the First Army and commander of the Land Forces. On August 28, 2006 he was appointed chief of general staff and he retired on August 30, 2008.

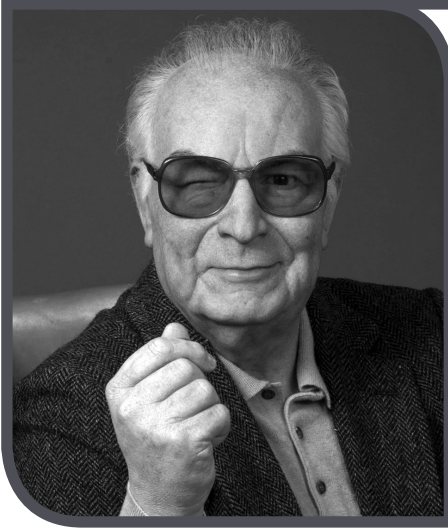
In 2005, when he was commander of the Land Forces, after the bombing of the Umut Bookstore in the Şemdinli district of Hakkari, when sergeant Ali Kaya was caught with bombs and guns at the scene of the incident, he said, “We know him, he is a good kid.” After that statement, based on the claims that he was attempting to influence the case, during the course of which he fabricated documents and was involved in misconduct, the public prosecutor’s office demanded that the General Staff carry out an investigation but no action was taken.

Before the presidential elections slated to be held in April of 2007, he made a statement saying, “I hope that a president who is genuinely devoted to the core values of the Republic, as well as to the unitary structure of the secular and democratic state, will be elected.” Shortly after this statement, amidst debates concerning secularism sparked by the presidential candidacy of Abdullah Gül, on April 27, 2007 at 23.20 in the evening a statement was posted on the website of the General Staff on behalf of the Turkish Armed Forces which contained comments on secularism in relation to the presidential election. During this time, when heated debates were ongoing about Gül’s political background as a supporter of the National Vision and as one of the founders of the AKP with a wife who wore the headscarf, the publishing of such a statement was seen as a kind of memorandum regarding the presidential elections. During a television show in 2009, as regards the statement that went down in the history of the Republic of Turkey as an “e-memorandum” because it had been published on the website of the General Staff, Büyükanıt said that he had written the text himself but not as a memorandum.

On May 5, 2007, he took part in a private meeting with the prime minister of the period, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, at his office in Dolmabahçe Palace, but the details of the meeting have never been disclosed. Büyükanıt said, “I will take [that information] to the grave.” Shortly afterwards, the Ergenekon Investigation was launched and numerous military officers were arrested, but Büyükanıt was not put on trial, which aroused suspicions.

In 2015, Büyükanıt issued a statement as a suspect within the scope of an investigation in which he reiterated the claim he had made in 2012 to the TBMM’s Coup and Memorandums Investigation Commission, saying that his statement in no way was meant to alter the constitutional order; rather, he said that his sole intent was to protect the Armed Forces and inform the people.

Debates broke out when his name was mentioned in an encrypted document leaked by WikiLeaks on November 29, 2010 which had been sent to Washington by W. Robert Pearson, the US ambassador to Ankara, on June 6, 2003, as well as the introductory notes in a document about Büyükanıt.



Yaşar Kemal

Author of novels, short stories
and scripts.

Kemal's real name was Kemal Sadık Gökçeli. According to some sources and his own calculations, his true year of birth was 1923, although he said that his birth certificate indicated he was born in 1926. He was born in the village of Hemite in the district of Kadirli in Osmaniye. His family was originally from the village of Ernis, which was located near Lake Van. His family, which had left the village because of attacks carried out by the Russian Army during World War I, went first to Van and then to Diyarbakır, eventually moving to Hemite after a period of migration that lasted one and a half years. His family was the only one of Kurdish origin in Hemite, which was then a Turkmen village of sixty households. His mother often told him Kurdish tales and mythical stories. He was able to understand and speak Kurdish, although he refrained from speaking the language later in his life.

When he was three and a half years old, he lost his right eye in an accident in which his uncle-in-law accidentally stabbed him as he was killing an animal for the annual Feast of the Sacrifice. When he was four and a half years old, his father was killed by Yusuf, a child his father had adopted when they were moving from Van. Yusuf stabbed him in the back with a knife. Having witnessed the murder, Kemal began stuttering, a condition he suffered from until he was twelve years old. When he was in primary school, he decided to become a wandering poet dedicated to folk music. After completing primary school, however, he decided to go to secondary school instead of being a wandering poet. In his last year of secondary school, he got his certification

of education and did not continue studying. Afterwards, he took various jobs as a clerk, headman, assistant teacher, librarian, tractor driver and inspector at rice plants. When he was seventeen, he was arrested for the first time for political reasons.

After he quit school, he started experimenting with folkloric texts. His compilation titled *Requiems* was published as his first book in 1943. Early in the 1940s, he started spending time with people associated with the magazine *Çığ*, which was based in Adana, and he established relations with leftist artists and writers including Pertev Naili Boratav, Abidin Dino and Arif Dino. His friendship with Arif Dino had a great influence on Kemal's intellectual and literary development, and Dino encouraged him to write novels. The "School of Adana," as it came to be known, made major contributions to his early life as an artist. In 1944, he published his first piece of short fiction titled "The Dirty Story," which he had written while he was doing his military service in Kayseri. He moved to Istanbul in 1946 and worked as an inspection officer at a French-run coal gas company.

In 1948, he went back to Kadirli and for a period of time he worked as an inspector at rice plants and did work as a scrivener. In 1950, he was arrested on charges of engaging in communist propaganda and he was incarcerated in Kozan prison. Upon his release in 1951, he went back to Istanbul. When he started writing for the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, he began using the pseudonym Yaşar Kemal as a precaution. Between 1951 and 1963, he wrote humorous stories and did interviews for the newspaper. In 1952, he put out a collection of short stories titled *Yellow Heat*, and the story "Baby" was published by the newspaper. The story was later translated into many languages. In 1947, he started writing a novel titled *Memed, My Hawk*, which was translated into more than forty languages. He finished writing the novel in 1954. In his work, he sought to explore the richness of Anatolian Turkey, and his style was greatly influenced by Karacaoğlu, a poet-singer from the region. In an interview, he said he was lucky to have been able to use both Turkish and Kurdish as source languages. A repertoire of sagas, tales and poems from those languages, as well as the oral literary tradition of Anatolia, enriched his narrative style.

Kemal's dedication to socialism impacted his work. He pointed out on numerous occasions that he engaged in art with the people and for the people, and his political views cannot be separated from his art, which focused on the working classes. For that reason, his writings and political activities were often targeted for investigations. In 1962, he joined the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP). He worked for the party as a member of its general board and central executive board. In 1967, he was among the founders of the political magazine *Ant*. In 1973, he participated in the founding of the Writers' Union

of Turkey and served as its first president. He was also the first president of Turkey's PEN Writers Association, which was founded in 1988. Because of an article he wrote for *Der Spiegel* in 1995, he was put on trial by the State Security Court of Istanbul on charges of “engaging in propaganda for separatism” but later he was acquitted in the case. In the same year, for an article titled “Black Clouds over Turkey,” which he wrote for the Index on Censorship, he was put on trial and given a sentence of imprisonment for a year and eight months, but the sentence was postponed indefinitely.

Thanks to his rich narrative style, Kemal became a prominent figure not only for his contributions to the development of novel writing in Turkey but also in terms of world literature. He received many domestic and international awards. Shortly before he passed away, on November 9, 2013 he was given the Bjørnson Prize by the Literature and Freedom of Expression Academy, which is granted in honor of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Norway's national poet. He was also nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1973. Kemal believed in the boundless power of the people and nature. He passed away in Istanbul on February 28, 2015.

Yekta Güngör Özden

Lawyer, writer, poet, president of
the Constitutional Court.



Özden was born in the district of Niksar in Tokat province in 1932. His father was a teacher and his mother was a homemaker. When he was a high school student in Samsun, he got into an argument with one of his teachers about communism and subsequently had to drop out, but he later completed his high school studies in Sivas. He explained that the quarrel arose as a result of his firm belief in the ideas of Atatürk. In 1956, he graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Law. He was one of the ten civilian observers and a student representative when Atatürk's body was moved from his temporary grave to the Museum of Ethnography on November 4, 1953. He is the only living person who was present for that event.

In 1956, he began working for the Bar Association of Ankara as an intern and after holding various positions, he was appointed as the association's general secretary between 1965 and 1966, and from 1972 to 1974 he served as its president. He participated in activities for the establishment of the Turkish Union of Bar Associations and he was the founding president of the Turkish Lawyers' Union.

On January 16, 1979, he was elected by the Senate as a permanent member of the Constitutional Court (AYM). Until that time, he had been working as a self-employed lawyer. As a lawyer, he took on cases defending the CHP, the newspaper *Ulus*, the Association of Social Democracy, the Ankara Society of Journalists and METU, as well as other institutions and politicians including İsmet İnönü, Bülent Ecevit and a number of journalists.

On January 18 in 1979, he quit working for the CHP, where he had held various positions, because he was appointed to the Constitutional Court. In 1988, he was promoted to the position of deputy president of the Constitutional Court and in 1991 he served as president of the Court. In 1995, he was appointed president of the Court for the second time. As required by the terms of the Constitution, he retired in 1998 when he was 65 years old.

Özden wrote the Oath of the Youth, which was read for the first time on November 10, 1960 at the monument Anıtkabir. He was also the author of the lawyers' oath for the Practice of Law as a Profession and the independence oath of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. He penned articles and took part in interviews with many newspapers including *Cumhuriyet*, *Mil-liyet*, and *Akşam*, as well as magazines such as *Forum*, *Türksolu* and *Atatürkçü Düşünce*. He also wrote poems, which were published by art magazines and anthologies such as *Varlık*, *Türk Dili*, *Antoloji* and *Aykırı Sanat*, and some of his poems were put to music. Özden has received many awards and he has written numerous books on law. He also wrote the lyrics for ten songs, two anthems and a symphony.

In the case of Nazire Tarhan, who was abducted and raped by four men in 1986, the police headquarters of Antalya stated that “she was a woman who practices prostitution as a profession” and as such Article 438 of the Turkish Criminal Code was invoked, which meant that the men would not be charged with a criminal offense. The judge of the Antalya High Criminal Court applied to the Constitutional Court to annul the article on the grounds that it stood in violation of the Constitution. However, the Constitutional Court ruled that the rape of a prostitute was an “ordinary incident,” stating that “a prostitute and an honorable woman cannot be treated in the same manner.” The members of the Constitutional Court, all of whom were male, voted down the move. Özden, who was deputy president at the time, was one of the few members to vote in opposition to the ruling.

Özden was critiqued for his role in a Constitutional Court ruling on March 7, 1989 annulling Article 16, which was to be included in the Law on the Higher Education Board (Law 2547) allowing women to wear headscarf at universities. Özden frequently made it clear that he was a firm believer in the ideas of Atatürk and secularism, and he explained that he made that resolution to prevent harm to the principle of secularism and to be in line with the Constitution. He also stated that the headscarf could be used by exploiters of religion as a means of acquiring greater privileges.

During his term as president of the Constitutional Court, the Court ruled to shut down the Unified Communist Part of Turkey (TBKP), the Socialist Party (SP), the People's Labor Party (HEP), the Freedom and Democracy Party (ÖZDEP), the Socialist Turkey Party (STP), the Green Party, the Democra-

cy Party (DEP), the Socialist Union Party (SBP), the Democracy and Change Party (DDP) and the Resurrection Party (DİRİ-P). Özden was president of the Court when the case to shut down of the Welfare Party (RP) was launched but the ruling was made on January 16, 1998, fifteen days after his retirement.

In the same year that he retired from the Constitutional Court, he was elected president of the Atatürkist Thought Association (ADD). On May 10, 2000, he was appointed president of the Turkish Law Institution and on July 19, 2002 he was elected president of the Republican Democracy Party (CDP). However, he left the party on February 14, 2004 and cut all ties with political parties. He gave lectures on law at various universities after retiring, and he currently pens columns for the newspaper *Sözcü*.



Yiğit Bulut

Financial analyst, columnist,
television host, chief advisor to
the president.

Bulut was born in the district of Keşan in the province of Edirne in 1972. His mother was a teacher and his father, Mustafa Bulut, was elected as an MP for Edirne representing the Justice Party in the by-elections of 1977. Bulut graduated from Galatasaray High School and then from Bilkent University's Banking and Finance Department. After completing his MA degree at Sorbonne University, he started working for Kanal 6 as an economics commentator, and he continued to work as a commentator for Kanal E and CNN Türk. He penned columns for the newspapers *Referans*, *Radikal* and *Vatan* and produced and hosted the television shows *Parametre* and *Finans Analiz*. On *Parametre*, he worked as a presenter along with Enis Berberoğlu and Bilal Çetin. When he was working for the Doğan Media Group, he got married to Şule Zeybek, a presenter on the television channel Kanal D. Because Şule was the daughter of Namık Kemal Zeybek, the brother-in-law of Aydın Doğan, a media boss and former minister of culture, it was said that he enjoyed the benefits of having such “family bonds.”

In those days, Bulut held to a neo-nationalist perspective, and rumor had it that he would get into politics and become a candidate for the leadership of the MHP. Also, in that period he was strongly critical of Prime Minister Erdoğan. After some time, he shifted his critiques to Ertuğrul Özkök, the editor in chief of *Hürriyet*, and Mehmet Ali Birand, a top executive at CNN Türk. The claim was made that he shifted his attitude because he wanted to become the top manager of the newspaper and channel. Bulut's marriage with Aydın Doğan's niece was said to have soured because of his harsh critiques of the Doğan Group and its top executives.

In August of 2009, Bulut was hired on by the Ciner Media Group, a competitor of Doğan Media Group, as editor in chief of Habertürk TV. Afterwards, he gradually distanced himself from his neo-nationalist perspective and began to support the AKP, which he had earlier criticized, and started praising the government in his articles and television shows. During a meeting with Prime Minister Erdoğan and some journalists, he proposed the establishment of an institution to oversee the content of newspapers and the online media, similar to the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK). He also claimed that if the Republic of Turkey remained within its current borders, the country would lose its existing territories, and he adopted a Neo-Ottomanist discourse. Occasionally, Bulut showed fervent support for the AKP and Erdoğan by making bizarre statements and on one occasion he went so far as to say, “I am sure that numerous centers of command are trying to kill Recep Tayyip Erdoğan through telekinesis and other such methods.”

The claim was put forward that Bulut shifted his political stance because he was worried that he might be arrested as part of the Ergenekon Investigation. In the meantime, Bulut continued targeting the Doğan Group and he made various claims about Doğan, Birand and Özkök. Shortly after, his wife Zeybek applied for divorce, which was finalized in 2010.

He was dismissed from his position as editor in chief of Habertürk TV on January 3, 2012. It was said that he was let go because he discussed controversial issues such as the “interest rate lobby,” the financial aspects of the Ergenekon case, oil and mining, a chemical warehouse that was to be built in Yalova, the sugar industry, and food insecurity in Turkey. In addition, he asserted that medicine in Turkey is not prescribed according to sicknesses but illnesses are diagnosed according to pharmaceuticals. Shortly after, he signed on with the Star Media Group and became the editor in chief of 24 TV. He also started writing for *Star* newspaper.

Known by the nickname “gel-head,” Bulut was appointed chief advisor for the prime minister in June 2013 and chief advisor to the president on August 30, 2014.