

# Masculinities at War: Rethinking Turkey's 1968<sup>1</sup>

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## **Abstract:**

The study of Turkey's 1968 offers an interesting case, since not only was Turkey a devout NATO ally, as a neighboring country of the Soviet Union during the Cold War era, but also because Turkey consequently found itself experiencing extremes leading to political polarization and violence in the late 1960s and 1970s. The 1968 generation in Turkey first emerged as a student movement focusing on reform within the university system, but towards the end of the 60s, it evolved into a revolutionary movement, eventually fighting for the use of revolutionary violence after the military intervention of 1971. This paper argues that the dominant discourses of the period, such as the myth of youth, anti-imperialist, modernist, and developmentalist discourses, and the martyrdom discourse meld perfectly with a masculine discourse and underlines the importance of introducing masculinity studies for a deeper understanding of Turkey's 1968. 'Masculinity' is indeed a keyword for rethinking the 1960s and 1968 generation in Turkey, as well as rethinking the Turkish

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political culture within which masculine discourse occupies an important place. In light of the works of Raewyn Connell, who argues that “gender relations are a major component of social structure as a whole, and gender politics are among the main determinants of our collective fate”, it is argued in this paper that Turkey’s 1968 cannot be understood without “constantly moving towards gender (1995:76)”. The paper discusses how the Turkish 1968 student movement did not only instrumentalize a masculine discourse but also that it is possible to observe a war of masculinities. Turkey’s 1968 generation’s masculinity was constructed in relation to the colonial masculinity of the United States as symbolized by the demonstrations against the Six Fleet of the US navy in Istanbul.

**Keywords:** 1968 generation, political discourses, masculinity, political violence, Turkey

## Erkekliklerin Savaşı: Türkiye'nin 1968'lerini Yeniden Düşünmek

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### Öz:

1968'lerin Türkiye'sini çalışmak, yalnızca Soğuk Savaş dönemi boyunca Sovyetler Birliği'ne komşu iken NATO'nun sadık bir üyesi olması açısından değil, aynı zamanda 1960'ların sonunda ve 1970'lerde Türkiye'nin kendisini sıklıkla politik kutuplaşmaya ve şiddete yol açan aşırılıkların ortasında bulması bakımından ilginç bir konudur. Türkiye'de 1968 kuşağı ilk olarak üniversite sistemi içerisindeki reformlara odaklanan bir öğrenci hareketi olarak ortaya çıkmış, fakat 60'ların sonlarına doğru 1971 askeri darbesinin ardından devrimci şiddeti kullanarak devrimci bir harekete dönüşmüştür. Bu çalışma; gençlik efsaneleri, emperyalizm karşıtlığı, yenilikçi ve ilerlemeci söylemler gibi dönemin baskın politik söylemlerinin ve şehitlik söyleminin eril söylem ile mükemmel bir uyum içerisinde olduğunu tartışır ve eleştirel erkeklik çalışmalarının Türkiye'nin 1968'lerini daha derinden kavrayabilmek adına ne denli önemli olduğunu altını çizer. Aslında 'erkeklik,' eril söylemin önemli bir yer işgal ettiği Türk siyasi kültürünü tekrar gözden geçirilmesi kadar, aynı zamanda 1960'ı ve Türkiye'deki 1968 kuşağını tekrar düşünmek için de bir anahtar kelimedir. Bu çalışmada "toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinin bir bütün olarak sosyal yapıların ayrılmaz bir bileşeni" olduğu ve "toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarının müşterek kaderimizin temel belirleyicileri arasında" olduğunu ortaya koyan

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Raewyn Connell'in alıřmaları ışığında, Trkiye 1968'inin "srekli biimde toplumsal cinsiyete doėru ynelmeden" anlayılamayacaėını iddia eder (1995:76). Bu makale, Trk 1968 ėrenci hareketinin yalnızca eril sylemi nasıl arasallařtırdıėını deėil, aynı zamanda hareketin ierisinde bir erkeklikler savařını gzlemlemenin de mmkn olduėunu tartıřmaktadır. Trkiye'nin 1968 kuřaėının erkekliėi, İstanbul'daki ABD donanmasının Altıncı Filosu'na karřı yapılan gsterilerle sembolleřmiř olan ABD'nin smrgeci erkekliėine istinaden inřa edilmiřtir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** 1968 kuřaėı, politik sylemler, erkeklik, politik řiddet, Trkiye

There is a rich literature on student movements in the 1960s in the West, but it seems important to study that period in different geographies in order to see the bigger picture, as well as to better comprehend the different colors of youth movements all around the globe. The study of the 1968 generation in Turkey offers a very interesting case since it led to political polarization and violence in late 1960s and 1970s. Turkey's 1960s ended with a military intervention, the military coup of March 12th, 1971. At the end of the military regime, almost all of the leaders from the 1968 generation were killed, either in executions, operations, or torture cells. With the end of the March 12th military regime and the declaration of amnesty in 1974, the surviving members of the 1968 generation were all released from prison. Since the leaders of the movement were all killed, it was the time of "apostles", using Gün Zileli's (2002) words, and there was a fragmentalization of the movement continuing the "struggle" even more strongly joined by the members of the 1978 generation. Thus, "social movements continued to rise, parallel to its reactionary opponents. The surmounting clashes between leftist revolutionary movements and its reactionary-fascist opponents determined the political fate of the country (Alper, 2009, p. IX)". The result was the military coup of September 12th, 1980, leading Turkey into an authoritarian military regime.

Even though there are many important biographies<sup>1</sup>, memoirs<sup>2</sup>, and interviews<sup>3</sup> by the members of the 1968 generation in Turkey written *a posteriori*, the original documentation of the period is still an unresearched area. The existing literature in the social sciences on the 1968 generation in Turkey aims to contribute to the discussions on the history of the left in Turkey and social movements' literature<sup>4</sup>. In this paper, however, I aim to refer to the existing literature as well as focus on the original documentation of the period based on my research of books and brochures, personal archives, periodicals, and audiovisual material present at the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam<sup>5</sup>.

This paper argues that ‘masculinity’ is a keyword for rethinking Turkey’s 1968 as well as the Turkish political culture within which masculine discourse occupies an important place.<sup>6</sup> Masculinity Studies in Turkey is a developing field and there is a promising literature demonstrating the importance of introducing masculinities in the analysis of modern Turkey (see Sancar 2009; Özbay 2013, 2016) and this paper aims to contribute to that literature with a special emphasis on the 1960s. During that period, there was the melding of the different discourses (myth of youth, anti-imperialist, modernist and developmentalist, and martyrdom) with a masculine discourse. As Raewyn Connell (1995:76) argues, “[g]ender relations are a major component of social structure as a whole, and gender politics are among the main determinants of our collective fate”, and accordingly, this paper argues that Turkey’s 1968 cannot be understood without “constantly moving towards gender”. An analysis of Turkey’s leftist student movement demonstrates how masculinity can be read as a keyword of the period and that the movement finds itself in the middle of a war of masculinities.

The paper starts with a brief discussion of Turkey’s 1968 by focusing on the student profile of the 1960s and continues with the dominant discourses of the 1968 student movement and underlines how the masculine discourse successfully melds into the other dominant discourses and that Turkey’s 1968 cannot be understood without underlining the dominance of this masculine discourse. Then the paper discusses masculinity as a keyword for analyzing Turkey’s 1960s and underlines a war of masculinities, a war between that of the 1968 student movement and of the US imperialism.

### **Turkey’s 1968 Student profile of the 1960s**

**T**he 1968 generation in Turkey first emerged as a student movement demanding reforms in the university system, but with the end of the 1960s, the movement evolved from a student

movement into a revolutionary one, and finally to one arguing to use revolutionary violence after the military intervention of 1971. Starting with 8 April 1968 rectorate building at Middle Eastern University, the wave of university occupations began in June of 1968 at Ankara University in the Faculty of Language-History-Geography on June 10th, 1968, and spread to their Faculty of Law and Sciences on June 11th, and then to the Istanbul University Faculty of Law on June 12th, 1968. In other words, the 1968 movement started as a student movement and thus recruited its members mainly from 'university students', which is why it becomes indispensable to study the profile of university students of the period in order to understand the dynamics of the movement.

An in-depth study of the profile of university students from the period shows that only a minority of young people had the 'privilege' to study in a university. In the 1968 academic year, for example, the percentage of university students in the same age category was only 6.5%. When the university student category is analyzed according to gender, we see the dominance of the males: 19% of the university students were female, whereas 81% were male.<sup>7</sup> There is also the dominance of a certain class within the university student category; that of students coming from civil or military bureaucratic middle-class families. In short, among the characteristics of the university student profile, we see the dominance of the males coming, for the most part, from civil or military bureaucratic families.<sup>8</sup> That brings about the dominance of the male category within the 1968 student movement, which in turn, makes the research on the 1968 generation a male-dominated one. However, it is important to underline that, recently, research on the 1968 generation also began to focus on the 'women' of 1968 and female members of the generation have begun to tell their own memoirs of 1968 in Turkey and create their own social memories.<sup>9</sup> The memoirs and anecdotes of these women underline the male dominance during the period enables a feminist account of Turkey's 1960s.

## Dominant discourses of Turkey's 1968 generation

In order to understand Turkey's 1968 and underline its specificities, this paper will discuss the dominant discourses of Turkey's 1968 generation. The paper argues that masculine discourse melds perfectly with some other dominant discourses of the movement as it will be discussed below ("myth of youth", anti-imperialist, modernist and developmentalist, and "martyrdom"), and as a result, the movement reaches/gains a certain momentum in the late 1960s. Hence, it is argued that a multi-layered analysis of these discourses is necessary in order to understand the 1968 generation as well as the political culture in Turkey.

In Turkish political culture, since the nineteenth century, there is what I call the "myth of youth" (Lüküslü 2009), in which young people play an active role in the political space. If youth, as a social category, is indeed a construct of industrialization, urbanization, and modernity (e.g. Levi & Schmitt 1996), then the emergence of youth as a social category in the history of modern Turkey dates from the nineteenth century modernization movements of the Ottoman Empire. That era witnessed the emergence of 'modern' Western-style schools, where the generation underwent a 'modern' form of socialization (e.g. Fortna 2002; Sakaoğlu 2003; Somel 2001. Interestingly, this modernization process constructed youth as a political category whose ultimate objective was to save the Ottoman Empire from collapse and restore its glory (Georgeon 2007; Zürcher 1984, 47-9). I refer to this definition of youth as a political category, as the "myth of youth", and argue that it has been a key component of Turkish political culture since the nineteenth century. Although the empire's young generation accepted its political mission, it also believed that the way to save the empire was to rebel against the Sultan Abdulhamid II and his oppressive regime. Hence, the Young Turk movement and the revolution of 1908 were in fact products of the modernization process. Likewise, those who founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923 were all members of the last generation of the empire and had inherited this myth of youth, which therefore became the



symbol of the young republic. The Republic's first generation (1923–1950), a restricted group of those privileged enough to have received an education, was constructed according to the principles of the Republic and Kemalist ideology, and is seen as the “vanguard” (Neyzi 2001) of the Republic.

We observe that in the 1960s, youth acted in line with this myth of youth and was mobilized in order to save the State. On December 27–29th, 1968, forty-seven revolutionary organizations from different universities and cities organized a protest march between two cities, Izmit and Istanbul, against the foreign capital, common market, and assembly industry. Following this protest, a brochure was published in March 1969 by the Istanbul Technical University Student Union and Istanbul Technical University Technical Schools' Student Union. The brochure demonstrates vividly the dominance of the myth of youth. In this 31-page brochure, we see that the students say ‘no’ to the Sixth Fleet of the US army, foreign capital, common market, and assembly industry, and underline that they were children when the Marshall Plan<sup>10</sup> was signed, but now these days are over since they are the ‘young’ of this country and say no to this plan of exploitation (see Illustration 1).

This rejection of the economic and political role imposed on Turkey by the United States to be a loyal and docile ally, brings one of the dominant discourses of the 1968 generation in Turkey: the anti-imperialist discourse joined with anti-Americanism in the spirit of the Cold War era. Saving the nation passes through an anti-imperialist discourse during this Cold War era and reaches an anti-American momentum, in particular, with demonstrations against the Sixth Fleet of the US navy in Istanbul and the protests against the US Ambassador to Turkey, Robert Kommer<sup>11</sup>, during his visit to the Middle Eastern Technical University in Ankara on January 6th, 1969. Needless to say, this anti-imperialist and anti-American discourse of the 1968 generation in Turkey is in strong solidarity with Vietnam and Palestine, and there is a reflection of the Vietnam War and the Palestine issue in Turkey. This anti-imperialist discourse thus seems to give the 1968 generation in Turkey a transnational aspect, while it also enables us to create a link

with the 'local' rebellions and revolts in Anatolian history against tyranny. In the brochure of the Istanbul Technical University published in March 1969, we see this reference to the Anatolian folk culture. In the brochure, famous folk literature composed of epic narratives about outlaw heroes like the epic of Koroğlu are being rewritten to talk about the current situation in Turkey. For example, Koroğlu's epic address to the *Bey* of Bolu in a harshly critical manner is rewritten to address NATO (İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Öğrenci Birliği, 1969, p. 8-9).

In line with this anti-imperialist discourse, it is possible to observe the dominance of a modernist and developmentalist discourse in the brochures of the 1968 generation in Turkey<sup>12</sup>. It is argued that imperialism is an important obstacle for the development of the country and that for the country to develop, Turkey needs to be totally 'independent'. Indeed, the Turkish 1968 shares a characteristic of the Third World student movements of the period. Emin Alper (2009, p. 92), discussing the 1960s student movement in a global perspective, argues that "unlike the Western student movements' anti-nationalist, anti-modernizationist characteristics, student movements of the Third World are strongly nationalists (nationalism with a leftist version) and are in support of modernization, development, and industrialization discourses". A brochure published by the Hacettepe University Faculty of Medicine students discussing health issues in Turkey demonstrates how the students saw a strong link between imperialism and the development of the country. In this report, published after a field trip to eastern Turkey, it is underlined that health problems in Turkey are directly linked to other issues in Turkey. The brochure notes:

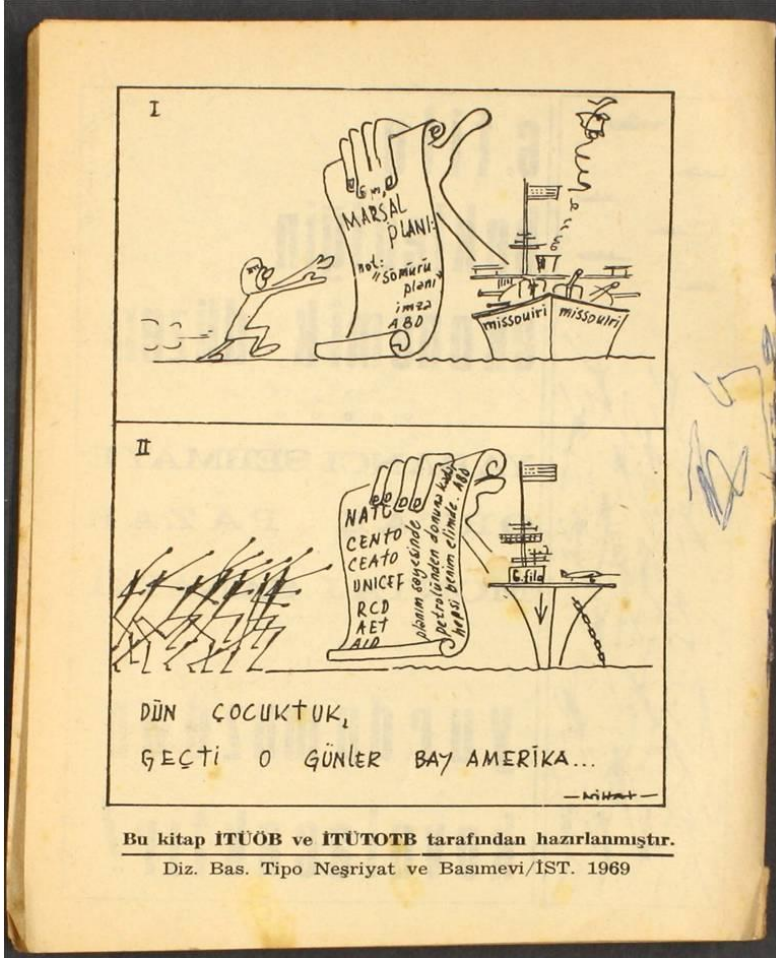
We believe that before any action towards the development of the country can be taken, our country needs to gain full independence, because all of these actions are incompatible with the profits of the imperialists and compradors.

There appears the task of the revolutionaries: To work for the full independence of Turkey..., which is indeed the

prerequisite for the resolutions of so many of our problems (Ertürk, 1970, p. 12, my translation).

With the death of Vedat Demircioğlu, the first ‘martyr’ of the 1968 generation in Turkey, through an operation by the police at the Istanbul Technical University dormitory after demonstrations against the Sixth Fleet, begins a discourse of ‘martyrdom’. The number of ‘martyrs’ in the 1968 generation will rise, and as already stated with the March 12th, 1971 military intervention which Çimen Günay Erkol (2016, p. XI) calls as a coup “which traumatized the climactic 1968 spirit in Turkey” and “which punished 1968 radicalism grievously and put the brakes on the rise of socialism in Turkey”, all of the leaders of the movement will be either killed in operations, in political executions, or in torture cells. As stated by Hamit Bozarslan (2011), ‘martyrdom’ is indeed one of the keywords for understanding not only the Turkish case but also the Middle East. These deaths, as well as the torture endured in prisons during the military regime, should be seen for this generation as “pursuing the politics of certainty, in which death is the mysterious but unambiguous point of reference upon which to build a moral word and a sense of community (Spencer, 2000, p. 134)”. It is, in fact, through these martyrs and the martyrdom discourse that the state violence and political bravery of the victims/martyrs are transferred into the political imagery. In the brochures published, it is possible to see this transfer of the martyrs into political imagery. The names of the martyrs are continuously stated and commemorated and there is also the production of folk poem for them (see in particular *Dosttan Dosta Deyişler*).

Thus, all of these discourses discussed above meld with a masculine one and it becomes the duty of the young of the country to change the situation. The illustration below (discussed earlier in the text) states that as children, the members of the generation could not say no to the Marshall Plan but now as the young of the country, they say no to the plan.



**İllustration 1**

*Yesterday we were children, those days are gone Mr. America.* (İTÜÖB, İTÜTOTB, 6. Filo Beklediğin Ekonomik Düzen Yurdumuzdan Kovulacaktır, p.2)

## Masculinities at war: Masculinity as a keyword for studying Turkey's 1968

Before discussing how masculinity can be used as a keyword to study Turkey's 1968 and the 1960s in Turkey and that the movement finds itself in a war of masculinities, it is important to underline that Turkey's political culture was (and continues to be) a predominantly 'masculine' one. Tanıl Bora and Ulaş Tol (2009, p. 826) argue that politics in Turkey has been "male politics" not only because of the fact that it is in great majority men doing politics but also because of the dominant mentality underlining that politics is a man's job and that politicians masculinity had always been shaped around "proving oneself, challenging other, and showing the efforts for showing what they are not [showing all the efforts to show that they are not weak and womanly for example]". The study by Funda Şenol Cantek and Levent Cantek (2009, p. 80) on the history of political humor in the early republican era demonstrate that in Turkish political humor, there is a tradition of caricaturizing male politicians as women and this portrayal always has a negative connotation symbolizing being 'incapable, weak, and wrong'. It seems that today's political culture continues to use this male discourse and associate the opponent with characteristics such as not being manly or brave. In Turkish political culture, politics is seen as a space in which men prove their manliness and that on one side there is "honest, righteous, and brave politicians" while the other those "acting like a bellydancer, curling or twisting" (Bora and Tol, 2009, p. 827).

As already discussed, the university student profile of the period was a dominantly male one with only 19% female students. That dominance can also be seen in the student movement, which later on transformed into a revolutionary movement. As already stated, the female members of the generation have currently begun to write about the 1968 generation and constitute their own social memories. A female member of the 1968 generation, Jülide Aral, comments as follows on the question "Was there equality between men and women in the movement?": "Were we equal to men? In theory we were. However, the

dominance of men was undeniable. They were there in committees, in the administrations, and there were only a few women, and they were in lower positions (Mater, 2009, p. 116)". In a similar manner, Şule Zaloğlu Perinçek, also argues that the members of the 1968 generation were also members of the patriarchal society, and thus interiorized the existent gender regime and division of labor. She explains, for example, that men were the ones who were developing the theories, writing articles and making decisions about the fate of the movement, whereas women were active in jobs such as typing, preparing tea, or cleaning the office (Yazıcıoğlu, 2010, p. 186-187).

Çimen Günay-Erkol (2016, p. 10) underlines that during the period "masculinity was the primary constituent both in Turkish Marxism and anticommunism" and that "both camps celebrated traditional masculine concerns and phallic potency, creating similar ideals of masculine toughness". As a female scholar studying the documentation of the period, the dominance of the masculine discourse struck me and made me realize the importance of 'masculinity' as a keyword for understanding the period.<sup>13</sup> While reading the documentation of the period, I observed that, especially with the transformation of the student movement into a revolutionary one and the fragmentation of the left, a pyramid of hierarchy among men was created, even among the leftist groups, at the top of which were characteristics like bravery, heroism, and honor, and at the bottom of the hierarchy, alongside the opponents, resided characteristics like traitors, opportunists, and collaborationists. There were also those 'outsider' categories used for the people on the right. 'Dog' was often used as a metaphor for the rightists, alluding that they were the servants of imperialism. In fact, we observe that a local "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell, 2001) was being created hegemonic masculinity of the 1968 movement, and at the top of which were characteristics like bravery and honor.<sup>14</sup> It is important to highlight that the 'mythical' figures of the 1968 generation in Turkey were all portrayed and "remembered" by their bravery and honor: Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, and Hüseyin İnan were executed; İbrahim Kaypakkaya was tortured to death, and Mahir Çayan

and his comrades were killed in an operation by the 12 March military regime, all of which were demonstrated as examples of bravery combining discourses of martyrdom and masculinity.

For understanding how Turkey's 1968 generation's masculinity is being constructed, it is important to underline the existence of an anticommunist propaganda during Cold War era in Turkey, as it is the case in other ally countries of the US. The peculiarity of the Turkish case is that the "inveterate enemy" is the neighboring country, the Soviet Union (Öztan, 2012). The anticommunist propaganda uses a masculine discourse against the left. In their article "Anticommunist Fantasies," Aylin Özman and Aslı Yazıcı Yakın (2012, p. 125) demonstrate how this anticommunist propaganda is defining communism as a system in which there is a common sharing of women and that the following anecdote is well known in Turkey: "The husband comes home. While taking off his coat he sees on the hat stand in the entrance another man's hat. He puts back on his coat and leaves the house; communism had come".

Against such anticommunist propaganda, the 1968 movement melds different discourses (already studied) with a masculine one and argues that what they try to do is, in fact, save the country, threatened by the dominance of US/imperialism. A good example demonstrating the melding of different discourses with a masculine one can be seen in the discourses of the movement against the Sixth Fleet. The Sixth Fleet of the US was one of the main forces constituting the backbone of the US military presence in the Middle East during the Cold War era and it regularly visited Turkish ports throughout the 1960s. Following the tension between Egypt and Israel, and the Six Days War in the summer of 1967, and the explicit support of the US of Israel, "the Sixth Fleet became the central symbolic figure of imperialism, around which the main demonstrations and clashes would take place (Alper, 2009, p. 312)". In the brochures of the student movement and in the slogans used, it is interesting to see the melding of the anti-American (anti-imperialist) discourse with, specifically, the developmentalist and the masculine discourse. In the brochures it is argued (aside from the other arguments) that the American soldiers were turning the country into a "brothel".

That is why it is the task of the youth of the country (the myth of youth discourse) to protest and stop the Sixth Fleet's visits to the country.

This example not only shows how different masculinities are at war but also helps us to deepen our analysis on hegemonic masculinity, since local masculinities are being constructed in relation to each other and in relation to the global hegemonic masculinity, and thus helps to reflect upon global inequalities. Earlier scholarship has demonstrated that European societies have used "gendered concepts and stereotypes to legitimize and perpetuate their colonial governance and their exercise of command and subordination (Sabelli, 2011, p. 138)". "Colonial masculinity" (Sinha, 1995) defines the East with an Orientalist approach and constructs a certain hegemonic masculinity over it. Spivak (1988), in her influential essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," underlines the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized man and explains that the colonizer plays the role of "white men saving brown women from brown men". This raises the question of power and hierarchy between "white" men and "brown" men. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 842) argue, the "locally hegemonic version of masculinity can be used to promote self-respect in the face of discredit, for instance, from racist denigration" and can only be understood in relation to its adversary. That is why "dominant, subordinated, and marginalized masculinities are in constant interaction, changing the conditions for each other's existence and transforming themselves as they do" (Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 198). Needless to say, these masculinities that need to be discussed in relation to each other, serve to enforce the gender inequality and gender hierarchy, as demonstrated in the Turkish example.

Even though this paper is limiting itself to focus on the war of masculinities between the colonial masculinity and local Turkish masculinity of the 1968 student movement, this war is extended to wars between the student movement and what the student movement calls as the collaborators of US imperialism, security forces and the rightist anti-communist movement as well as a war of masculinities between different leftist fractions, especially with the 1970s .



## Conclusion

In this paper, I argued that for rethinking Turkey's 1968, masculinity is a keyword. The masculine discourse is one of the dominant discourses of the 1960s and it melds perfectly with other dominant discourses of the period. This melding of the masculine discourse with the myth of youth, anti-imperialist, modernist and developmentalist, and martyrdom discourses enabled the 1968 generation to gain a certain momentum in late 1960s. The paper aimed to demonstrate the importance of introducing masculinity studies for studying the 1968 movement, as well as for studying Turkish political culture within which masculine discourse occupies an important place. 'Masculinity' as a keyword enabling us to study how different masculinities are at war and how those masculinities are being constructed in relationship to each other in political life. Thus, masculinity becomes a keyword for understanding Turkey's 1968. The student movement which evolved into revolutionary movement found itself in a war with the colonial masculinity, imposed by United States' hegemony and that Turkey's 1968 cannot be understood without understanding this war of masculinities.

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<sup>1</sup> See Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Bizim Deniz* (Ankara: Doruk Yayınevi, 1998); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Mahir* (İstanbul: Su Yayınevi, 1999); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *İbrahim Kaypakkaya* (İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2000); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *İki Adalı. Hüseyin Cevahir-Ulaş Bardakçı* (İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> See Oray Çalışlar, *68 Anılarım* (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1990); Hasan Cemal, *Kimse Kızmasın, Kendimi Yazdım* (İstanbul, Doğan Kitapçılık, 1999); Sezai Sarioğlu, *Nar Taneleri. Gayriresmi Portreler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001); Gün Zileli, *Yarılma (1954–1972)* (İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2000); Gün Zileli, *Havariler (1972–1983)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> See Cüneyt Akalın, *Düşler ve Gerçekler. Tanıklıklarıyla Dünya’da ve Türkiye’de 68* (Ankara: Sarmal Yayınevi, 2000); Bedri Baykam, *68’li Yıllar. Eylemciler* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1998); Bedri Baykam, *68’li Yıllar. Tanıklar* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1999); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Fırtınalı Yılların Gençlik Liderleri Konuşuyor* (İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2004); Nadire Mater, *Sokak Güzeldir. 68’de Ne Oldu?* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> See Fulya Gürses and Hasan Basri Gürses, *Dünya’da ve Türkiye’de Gençlik* (İstanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları, 1979); Alpay Kabacalı, *Türkiye’de Gençlik Hareketleri* (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 1992); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Türkiye’de Devrimci Gençlik Hareketleri Tarihi* (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1993); Turhan Feyizoğlu, *FKF Fikir Kulüpleri Federasyonu* (İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2004); Emin Alper, “Student Movement in Turkey from a Global Perspective 1960–1971” (PhD Dissertation, Boğaziçi University, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> The collections on Turkey are so unique- especially for that period- because many of those material are either impossible to find in Turkey or are spread-out through inaccessible individual collections. I would like to thank the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam for providing me the opportunity to do research in the institute with a five-month postdoctoral

research fellowship between September 2011–February 2012. For details of this research see Demet Lüküslü, *Türkiye'nin 68'i: Bir Kuşağın Sosyolojik Analizi* (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> For a pioneer study aiming to rethink male identity and culture in the Middle East see Mai Ghoussoub and Emma Sinclair-Webb, eds. *Imagined Masculinities. Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East* (Saqi Essentials, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> The statistics of national education discussed in *Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planlarında (1968-1988) Gençlik*, (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988), 22.

<sup>8</sup> For the studies aiming to understand the university students' profile of the period see, Nermin Abadan, *Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Serbest Zaman Faaliyetleri. Ankara Yüksek Öğrenim Gençliği Üzerinde Bir Araştırma* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1961); Özcan Köknel, *Türk Toplumunda Bugünün Gençliği* (İstanbul: Bozak Matbaası, 1970); Özer Ozankaya, *Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Siyasal Yönelimleri* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1966); Leslie Roos, Jr., P. Noralou Roos, and Gary R. Field, "Students and Politics in Contemporary Turkey," in *Students in Revolt*, edited by Seymour Martin Lipset and Philip G. Altbach (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969); Nephane Saran, *Üniversite Gençliği* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1975). For an analysis of these research see Demet Lüküslü "60'lı Yılları Gençlik Kategorisi Üzerinden Okumak." In *Modernizmin Yansımaları: 60'lı Yıllarda Türkiye*, edited by R. Funda Barbaros & Erik Jan Zürcher, 212–230. Ankara: Efil Yayınevi, 2013; Demet Lüküslü, *Türkiye'nin 68'i*, 34–43.

<sup>9</sup> See Ayşe Yazıcıoğlu, *68'in Kadınları* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2010); Oya Baydar and Melek Ulagay, *Bir Dönem İki Kadın. Birbirimizin Aynasında* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2011); Gülfer Akkaya, *Sanki Eşittik. 1960–70'li Yıllarda Devrimci Mücadelenein Feminist Sorgusu* (İstanbul: Kumbara Sanat, 2012).

<sup>10</sup> Marshall Plan, refers to the Marshall Aid, offered to European countries in 1947, which aimed, in accordance with American interests, to revive the European economy (as a strong trading partner) and to strengthen Europe politically against Soviet expansion westward.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Kommer was appointed as the US Ambassador to Turkey in December 1968 and since his arrival in Turkey, there were protests against him since he was known to be a CIA agent who had worked in Vietnam.

<sup>12</sup> For an in-depth study of the modernist and developmentalist aspect of the Turkey's 1968 see, Kerem Ünüvar, "Öğrenci Hareketleri ve Sol," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce. Sol* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 818-819; A. Bağış Erten, "Türkiye'de 68," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce. Sol*, 844-845.; Emin Alper, "Student Movement in Turkey from a Global Perspective"; Demet Lüküslü, "60'lı Yılları Gençlik Kategorisi Üzerinden Okumak." in *Modernizmin Yansımaları: 60'lı Yıllarda Türkiye*, edited by R. Funda Barbaros & Erik Jan Zürcher (Ankara: Efil Yayınevi, 2013), 212-230.

<sup>13</sup> See the list of brochures analyzed in the references section of the article.

<sup>14</sup> It is important to note that a similar discourse also affects Kurdish politics' discourse on manhood as well. Nazan Üstündağ argues that the 'ontological war' of the State against the Kurds produced two forms of Kurdish masculinities: martyrs and betrayers. See Nazan Üstündağ, "Pornografik Devlet, Erotik Direniş: Kürt Erkek Bedenlerinin Genel Ekonomisi", in *Erkek Millet, Asker Millet: Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler*, ed. Nursel Yeşim Sünbuloğlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 517.