

VALUES AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF TURKISH YOUTH

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The impact of youth on politics has received mainly in the Twentieth Century an increased interest. This increased interest adopted according various political systems different forms. The spreading of universal suffrage, the past experiences of World War II, the rise to power of younger generations to political leadership in western democratic societies induced statesmen and political parties to encourage the younger population stratas to take more active part in civic affairs.

With the revolutionary or quasi-legal taking over of various totalitarian dictatorships, the guarantee of those systems were placed in the hands of the future generations. In some cases, such as the fascist and Nazi systems, adherence to the party was only admitted to members of the official youth organizations such as the Balilla and the Hitler Jugend. The importance totalitarian rulers are attaching in regard of the indoctrination of fresh minds, unexposed to deviant ideologies, reveals itself even today in most of the East European countries the Soviet Union and China. In all these countries, government keeps a strong, exclusive and controlling power of youth organizations. The common feature of these systems is its compulsory and centralized character, leaving little or nothing to spontaneous action or independent thought.

Finally, with the growing social consciousness of various economically less developed countries and their relative weak

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pluralistic structure, the importance of the most dynamic, active and educated part of their populations gained weight. Thus, the role of university students began to exercise a quite remarkable influence in countries undertaking major efforts in order to realize full economic development.

Various studies and surveys all indicate that in Turkey as well as Greece, Irak, Syria, Lebanon and in the Far Eastern countries such as Korea, South Vietman, Japan and the like, the spontaneous, outbursting and recurrent interventions of university students tend to become one of the three components with which all politicians and party leaders have to reckon: the army, youth, press and the intellectuals.

This evolution stands almost diametrically opposed to the western countries. whereas European and American youth, sometimes described as the "beat" or "sceptical generation," deliberately adopts a strong apolitical standpoint and relegates its public responsibilities to a future time, the growing social and economic problems of developing countries, paired with some imminent national and international conflicts, pushes the youth of these countries right into the heart of the political arena.

This participation gains so much in intensity, that many times such as during the fermentation of revolutionary movements like in Turkey, Egypt, Korea, Vietman and South America, the political ideas adopted by the university youth and partly backed by the press, were used as ideological weapons of the progressive political groups. Their demands many times served as triggers for revolution.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the factors encouraging political activity among Turkish youth, deliberately limiting the discussions on the age group of 18-25 of college students. However in some place will be given to findings concerning lycee students also. Turkey possesses a total of 80.000 college students, out of which 51.340 are directly enrolled in the six existing universities in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, the remaining part being distributed among higher educational institutions all over the country. One -fifth of these students are female. It will be attempted to indicate the major value judgements adopted by Turkish students, their attitudes in face

of some problems of our time, such as nationalism, international relations, the role of the state, and the like; the role of official student organizations, their finances, their policies such as revealed by press statements as well as various forms of collective action, such as demonstrations, rallies, campaigns, boycotts and similar topics will also be scrutinized. In regard of press statement, content analysis method was used. Thus, the attitude of youth organizations from 1950-64 was measured in retrospective.

1- The Social and Economic Factors Encouraging Political Action:

The extraordinary dense interest shown by the Turkish students toward public affairs has relative a long past. Already in the 18 th and the early 19th centuries, riots and demonstrations by the Istanbul **medrese** students (softa), frequently, threw the capital into turmoil. The deposition of Sultan Abdulhamid and the restoration of Constitutional Monarchy in 1908 was strongly backed by the war College students¹. With the first attempt to organize themselves during World War I in 1916, Turkish students began to raise their voices. They enthusiastically backed Mustafa Kemal during the War of Independence. During the first twenty years of the new republic their activity was confined to a supportive part, which continued until the transition toward a multiparty system in 1946. This marks the first turning point for Turkey's vigilant republican youth, the second important phase being the role of Turkish youth at the outburst of the Revolution of May 27,1960, and the elaboration of the Constitution of 1961.

Taking up the major economic factors, it can be said that the sharp income discrepancy among urban and rural population, the inequality within the taxing system - income tax not covering completely the agricultural sector - , the short range profit tending investment policy of private enterprise, hidden unemployment, exodus as labour force to foreign countries, as well as social factors such as constant flow of the rural population toward the big cities, the growth of bidons-

1. Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Harbiye Mektebinde Hürriyet Mücadelesi* (the Struggle for Freedom in the War College), Istanbul.

viles, the sterile struggle among political parties, the prevailing high illiteracy, and other problems constantly preoccupied the minds of university students during last twenty years.

Facing such urgent and imminent problems of society, are there many distractions which could appeal to the Turkish students? Indeed, they are very limited. Most of the students similar as in other underdeveloped countries come from low income urban or rural families, their pocket money being very modest. Schools, municipalities and other public organizations offer little if none means for recreation, sports and hobbies. The mass media - limited in Turkey to radio, film and press - strongly influences these groups, pushing them into a passive consumptive position; heavy movie attendance - more than 86 % attend weekly more than once the cinema - furnishes dream substitutes instead of concrete demands². The behaviour observed on the screen imbued with alien frames of reference, superimposes itself on an emotional highly unstable group; the unfinished process of woman emancipation creates strong tensions between the sexes; normal friendship relations between boys and girls even at university level are not quite rooted³. The unwillingness of families to rent rooms to students pushes them in extremely crowded dormitories - rooms for four students being considered a privilege - thus reinforces the impact of opinion leaders within collective housing. Finally, parental indoctrination beginning at an early age in favour for the development of the country, the welfare of the nation and pride on behalf of the army and military successes has to be noted as well.

2- Major Value Judgements of Turkish Youth:

Schools at all levels are training and socializing institutions. Thus, it seems absolutely necessary to briefly enumerate the major value judgements which have taken roots among Turkish youth during the schooling age. Findings of a national-wide survey carried out in 1959 on the lycée students as

2. Nermin Abadan, "Leisure-Time Activity of Turkish University Students," *Reprint of Transaction of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology*, Washington, 1962, Volume IV, p. 456.

3. _____, "Verhaltenskonflikte des türkischen akademischen Nachwuchses," *Soziale Welt*, Jhrg. 13, Nr. 3/4, p. 295.

well as results obtained from some more limited attitude studies among university students will be cited hereby.

a. The Lycée Level:

The determination to westernize and modernize the country with their own will power along the lines of Atatürk's philosophy is one area where a strong consensus exists. 82% of lycée students checked the "strongly agree" response and 97% selected one of the two favorable responses.

The reaction of the students toward participation in the government or to the benevolence of the government was measured too. More than three quarters (78%) of the respondents stressed participation "by the people."

The deep impact general elections made on young minds revealed itself in the question whether they thought the good citizen should vote in local, provincial and national elections. 56 % only answered -yes- to the least important, namely the provincial one; 71 % answered affirmatively for local elections and 88 % thought that the good citizen was obliged to vote in national elections⁴.

Agreement was decisive on the position of Mustafa Kemal in the pantheon of heroes. Nearly 4 out of 5 named Atatürk even though members of their immediate family and the world's great men could have furnished them the person they admired most.

Secularism of these youth is also striking. They refer more readily to their conceptions of modernity and seldom to religious values and principles. In answer to an open question what two specific things they as parents would try to teach their children, only 2% mentioned religion. Again 7% named religion as the area of activity which would give them the greatest satisfaction in life. Even when asked what they would do if disaster befell them, only 1.5.% named religion. Religion rated also extremely low in vocational prestige -picked first 0.2% - .Virtually the only time a proreligious response was

4. Fredrick W. Frey, "Education in Turkey," *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, ed. by Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow, Princeton University Press, 1964, p. 224-225.

obtained was when they were directed whether they found some form of religious belief necessary to a full mature approach to life. Just over 2-3 -69 % said "yes" .Nearly one quarter (23%) were doubtful and 8 % said "No"⁵. The respondents of this survey were urban youths; among them the inter-school and inter-sex differences were surprisingly slim.

Finally, another warrant deserves special mention, namely the relatively high degree of nationalism adopted by these youths. Taking the 15 politically significant items from the questionnaire 10 of these items gathered a rather homogenous consensus. Among these items can be listed the feeling that authority is important, the importance of voting and the necessity of war.

b. The University Level

Findings of other more limited studies among university students in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir reveal a striking parallel with the findings of value judgements among lycee students.

Taking the issue of nationalism first, to the question "As a father what would you like to teach most to your children?" 20 % answered "to be useful to the nation" This question found only in Egypt a similar assertion of 10 % and nowhere else reached more than 3 %⁶.

Likely the question "In favour of which goal would you individually make the greatest sacrifice both in time and money" was answered 45% "in favour of the nation"

Finally, the question about the most remarkable achievement in life was described 46 % in form "an innovation, concerned with the happiness and welfare of the nation,". This question was answered in Mexico 25 %, in Egypt 20 %, in USA and France 6 %. Especially students of the Faculty of Political Science considered national issues more relevant than local ones⁷.

5. ———, *op.cit.*, p. 226.

6. Herbert H. Hyman, Arif Payaslıoğlu, Frederick W. Frey, "The Values of Turkish Youth," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, 1958, No. 3, p. 283.

7. ———, *Ibid.*, p. 287.

A second important set of questions dealt with the preference of political system and government's role. Interesting enough, more than half of university youth indicated a strong preference for a multiparty system (% 59). Only slightly more than one fifth (21.5 %) preferred a two party system. Partisans of a single party as well as the abolishment of all parties are equally divided (Each 5 %) ⁸. Thus the existence of more than two parties seems to be more important for the continuation of democracy than for instance, a two party system, which presupposes more stability and also secures democratic control.

However, growing experience seems to increase political realism. A survey conducted in 1954 indicates that 48 % of the young administrators were worried about instability which could be produced by a multiparty system ⁹. Similarly, among students on Ankara and Istanbul 47 % preferred a "government for the people." "Here lies a striking deviance in comparison to the lycée students among which more than three fourth (78 %) were in favour of a government "by the people"

The strong preoccupation of Turkish youth with governmental affairs reflects itself also in regard of internationalism. University students are much more "nation-concerned" than "world affairs-oriented." Nevertheless, two-thirds of Turkey's future administrators believe in the necessity for Turkey to participate as active members in the various international organizations. Here, too, political realism reveals itself. Only 36 % believe in the feasibility of creating a world government and 48% insist upon the continuation of sovereign national governments.

3 — Structure and Activities of University Student Organization:

a - *Structure*: As pointed out before, since the days Mustafa Kemal proclaimed youth "the owner and guardian of the revolution", the impact of youth and especially university students in Turkey increased noticeably. The two largest or-

8. Unpublished results of a survey of all Turkish University students carried out by SIHAG (Public Opinion Research Group of the Faculty of Political Science, University Ankara). This survey has been realized in January 1964.

9. A. T. J. Matthews, *Emergent Turkish Administrators*, Ankara, Fac. of Pol. Science, 1955, p. 48.

ganizations, which embrace Turkey's 80. 000 students are as follows: The National Turkish Students Federation (*Türk Milli Talebe Federasyonu*) founded in 1948 and the National Turkish. Students Union (*Milli Türk Talebe Birliği*) founded in 1916.

Both of these organizations are falling under the jurisdiction of the law of association, but for sake of survival and in order to benefit governmental subsidies, these organizations are in fact granting all students of faculties and higher educational institutions membership rights, without explicit registration. However, the absence of regular member lists renders a reliable estimation of their size almost impossible. Yet it might be stated that the first one is larger and concentrates its activities rather on faculties, whereas the second gets considerable support from higher educational institutions outside the university framework. Unfortunately, no reliable figures are available about the rate of participation at the election of these students bodies.

The above-stated organizations issue frequently press declarations, organize various forms of collective action such as meetings, rallies, campaigns, boycotts, etc., they publish periodicals containing much political discussion and both may confer with politicians. Many of the presidents of these students organizations such as Tefvik İleri (Democratic Party, Minister of Education), Dr . İbrahim Öktem (People's Republican Party, Minister of Education) and Suphi Baykam (fraction leader) have entered political careers.

In contrast to irregular and secret financial aid administered to these organizations until 1960, the above-stated organizations together with their superstructure are now receiving TL 500.000 grant from the government, included in the national budget. The allocations goes as follows : 200.000 MTGT, 120.000 MTTB, 180. 000 MTF.

The superstructure which embraces beside the student association, other associations, such as the Turkish Women Union, the Turkish Scouts Union, the Turkish Agricultural Association, the Turkish Textile Trade Union Federation and some other more, bears the name of "Turkish National Youth Organization" (*Türkiye Milli Gençlik Teşkilatı*). Although an

eclectic attempt of uniting manifold associations, its major moulding power on public opinion remains on the shoulder of its largest associate, the Turkish National Students Federation (TMTF).

b. Activities and Press Statements:

The major student organizations are placing great importance on expressing their opinion in regard of governmental decisions, national and international affairs. A content analysis of press statements issued by youth organizations in Turkey from 1950-1964 may serve as a useful device to point out the sensitive topics, which raises among youth strong contrivencies or are the reason for a solid consensus. Since no date is available on the actual rate of electoral participation at student bodies conventions, we are not able to measure the exact rate of representativeness. Thus, our findings are limited on the analysis of written und publicly published documents.

Table: 1

Subject matter of press statements issued from 1950-1964 by
Turkish student organizations

Subject:	Number	%	
<i>Student affairs</i>			
University matters	6	4	= 7
Unification of student organizations	4	3	
<i>Ideological issues</i>			
Protest against reactionary actions	16	11	= 15
Communism	5	4	
<i>Domestic affairs</i>			
Unity of the fatherland, Democracy, republicanism, constitutionalism	8	5	
Freedom of the press	5	4	
Legislative, executive, judiciary powers	6	4	
Limitation of political activities of youth	5	4	= 41
Revolution of May 27, 1960	20	14	
Protest against various charges	7	5	
Collaboration among youth branches of various political parties	2	1	
<i>International affairs</i>			
Cyprus conflict	24	17	17
<i>Protection of reforms</i>			
Atatürk and his reforms	24	17	17
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	5	4	3
	143	100	100

(The press statements of 1964 covers January-June)

These statements when chronologically examined, clearly indicates that the revolution or *coup d'état* of May 27, 1960, has been definitely a turning point in regard of the diversity of subjects treated. Almost all statements issued prior to May 27, 1960, were more of an indicative nature, carrying the only purpose to inform public opinion, whereas the nature of those published after the revolution are much more dynamic, requesting quick action, containing warnings and some times even threats. The most obvious reason of this clear-cut difference is the much more liberal atmosphere obtained through constitutional guarantees in contrast to the rather authoritarian, suppressing and quasi-dictatorial regime prevailing before the change.

*c. Other Political Activities Such as Meetings, Rallies, Campaigns
Etc.*

Due to the fact that university students as a significant social group are not located in midst of official organizational frameworks but operate rather as a significant extra-legal factor, their action tends to take partly collective, extrovert forms.

Table:2

Various forms of collective action carried out by youth organizations

	%	Total%
<i>Meetings</i>		
On Atatürk	23	
To condemn reactionaries and communist	27	26
To celebrate the Revolution of May 27,1960		
On Cyprus	23=100	
<i>Silent marching</i>		
On various issues of foreign policy (Algeria, Irak, etc.)	55	
On domestic issues (Amnesty,etc)	45=100	10
<i>Demonstrations</i>		
In favour of freedom	75	
To protest radio and some news papers	15	
Against the Justice Party	10=100	18
<i>Street rallies</i>		
In favour of the Revolution of May 27,1960	78	
Against violent action carried on 6/7 Sept. 1955	22=100	8
<i>Boycott</i>		
Against epuration of university professors		14
<i>Campaigns</i>		
In favour of the constitution and referandum		14
<i>Telegraphs</i>		
Protesting arbitrary governmental action; in favour of Cyprus		10
		100 ¹⁰

10. Both tables have been compiled by students of the third year of the Faculty of political Science, within the program of a special seminar, Winter 1964.

As this table indicates the most frequent way to incite the interest of Turkish public opinion, apart from the way of issuing written statements, has been to organize meetings. The reason for preferring meeting is, doubtless, the possibility to attract large crowds. Aside of meeting, mostly due to the high tension and emotional slogans, students acted in way of spontaneous, non-organized demonstrations.

The overall aspect of active youth participation in politics indicates clearly that in view of the still very high rate of illiteracy, the academic youth-embracing students at the universities and equal-ranked higher educational institutions such as the business administration academies, Robert College, etc. plays at the same time the role of the speakers of the social classes they belong or they decide to be worthy to be defended. Since the establishment of trade unions in 1946 which followed first a rather slow evolution and the right for strikes and lockout have only been granted since last year, the real impact of organized social bodies is still not very intensive. Thus, the formal and informally integrated academic youth even today represents one of its most active and dynamic social component. This explains also why their formally organized bodies felt the necessity to express their opinion and to indicate proper decisions to be taken on domestic and foreign policy.

4. Major Fields of Political Interest:

(i) Ideological issues

The Turkish university students have strongly resisted through the years against various reactionary movements. The term of reactionary movement means hereby: any action contradictory to Atatürk's reforms, namely nostalgic wishing to restore the past, opposition against westernization and secularization. A careful investigation shows that such reactionary movements have noticeably increased after the introduction of a multiparty system in 1946. Indeed, Turkish university students denounced fanatic religious behaviour during the funerals of Marshal Çakmak in 1946 and vehemently opposed the spreading activities of the **Ticani** sect, which attempted to create a terroristic wave by demolishing Atatürk's statues. These youth organizations also publicly disavowed the transcription of the Constitution of 1924 back to the Ottoman language, the

reinstalment of reciting the call for praying in the Arabic language. The backing of a so-called nationalistic association by the Minister of Education, which among others got involved in the attempted assassination of the well-known journalist Ahmet Emin Yalman, was first denounced by the official Turkish student organization, with the result that the above cited association was closed on December 22, 1953, and the minister forced to resign shortly after. The tolerance shown by the government between the years 1958-60 on behalf of the trips and religious propaganda in favour of the restoration of the Caliphate and the sultanate by a sect leader named Saidi Nursi was protested vigorously five times by youth organizations. Similarly, a comment by the head of religious affairs, Eyüb Sabri Hayırlıoğlu, whereby the translations of the Koran is not admissible, was strongly rebuked.

Communism :

The statements concerning communism are restricted to a certain period, namely the years 1950-53. As a matter of fact five of the six statements were issued in 1950 and aimed to protest the amnesty of political prisoners. The hottest debate was centered around the freeing of Nazım Hikmet, a wellknown poet, who later fled to the Soviet Union and died there.

All the statements are focused around the general consensus: communism is the unique and greatest enemy of Turkey, the Turkish youth is not willing to admit the ideology of countries which have deliberately permitted the systematic subjugation of liberty.

The problems of communism did not only preoccupy youth organizations within Turkey, but also abroad, namely the Turkish students organizations in Paris requested by cable to undertake a merciless struggle against underground communist activities in Turkey.

ii- National Issues:

a-National Unity and Nationalism:

The sensitivity of youth on these issues is easy to understand. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and a weary-

some struggle of independence, a moderate nationalism so to speak became the only mean to regain the self-confidence of the people. However, nationalism in Turkey, although embedded after 1931 in the Constitution, never acquired an aggressive character. In this regard, nationalism was not used by students for excessive and unrealistic demands; Atatürk's undertaking and implementation of nationalism was strictly followed by them.

b- Democracy, Republic and Constitution:

The reaction of youth organizations on these topics - with the exception of the defense of a republican régime - shows prior to the revolution of 1960 a quite different character than during the last four years. The main reason for this difference lies in the political climate. With the guaranteeing of civil liberties, the attitude of youth acquired a much more determined character. The best example is the statement issued by the student organization of the Istanbul Law Faculty (Ulus October 9, 1962): "We witnessed with great sorrow how the democratic ideals cherished since more than half a century have been exploited by some politicians. We want to realize social justice; economic upheaval and the application of human rights. The Turkish public opinion should know that when the major interests of the countries require, Turkish youth knows its duties. Under such circumstances it will not pay attention to the police, the courts or the parliament."

c-Freedom of the Press:

The fourth estate as safeguarding institution of democratic liberties has been variously praised by university students. These statements are chronologically mostly located after the revolution of 1960 and focused around the discussion about the misuse of the liberty of the press on behalf of some newspapers taking side with those elements condemning the revolution. In most of these statements the term of - reactionary press - is frequently used and means above anything else, those Turkish newspapers, who tacitly or openly permit and foster the aggression on Atatürk's reforms. As an example we may cite as follows: "We can not tolerate any more the destruc

tive criticism in regard of Ataturk's guiding principles or the headlines, which are reflecting a state of mind rejected by the Revolution of May 27, 1960. Thus, we call the responsible Turkish Parliament in front of the Constitution and all other laws to duty.

d-Statements Concerning the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary Branches:

The reaction of university students on these subjects have to be considered under two different aspects.

During the period prior to the revolution only those administrative and executive decisions taken by the government or proposed by parliament were vehemently protested, which were directly concerned with the autonomy of the universities, such as the suspension of the Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, Prof. Turhan Feyzioğlu, who advised the students to follow "the road of law and rightness" (Dec. 3, 1956) and the draft bill to degrade the Faculty of Political Science to a regular school and move it to Konya (February 8, 1960).

After the revolution the reaction of the student bodies against arbitrary legislative measures such as the suspension without any explanation of 147 university professors by the National Unity Committee which for an interim period took place instead of parliament, acquired a much heavier tone. The university students who played may be the second most important part in the outbreak of the revolution, felt the right to require adherence to the state of law they fought for.

e-Limitation of Political Activities by Student Bodies:

Political activity of organized student bodies and the degree of political side taking continued to be a subject of hot discussions.

Since any ovation of the leader of the opposition (İ. İnönü) or the general secretary of the major opposition party (K. Gülek), disturbed greatly governmental circles, various student bodies felt themselves compelled to indicate that their activi-

ties - stands above all political parties -(April 14,1954, TMTF; Oct. 22,1954, MTTB)

Nevertheless the continuing efforts of the Democratic Party to narrow the boundaries of existing liberties, challenged the student bodies to make a clarification the issue. With the increasing pressure after 1954, various student bodies declared themselves faithful to the Law of Association. which prohibits any association from political activity unless specifically stated. However the leaders of these youth organizations declared that as an individual they consider participation in politics not only as a right, but as a duty. (Sept. 25, 1954) There is no evidence that the general tendency of Turkish students have changed their mind in this regard. On the contrary, students of various institutions tend to become more and more a source of influential opinion leaders.

f-The Revolution of May 27, 1960:

As pointed out previously, one of the major factors attracting mostly the attention of Turkey's urban population on the increasing governmental pressure upon the administration, press, university and intellectual circles was the efficient intervention carried out by university students. Furthermore, it was again student demonstrations against anti-constitutional measures and active resistance against military rule, which provides the "trigger situation" for the declaration of martial law and finally the realization of the coup d'état.

The relative high degree of students' participation in the preparation and fermentation of the revolution reflects itself in the high percentage covering this subject. (14 %) Indeed Turkey's organized youth issued more than 20 statements on this topic within three years. These statements can be grouped under four major headings :

- 1) Commemorative statements on the events of April 28-1960. (Demonstrations of students in İstanbul and Ankara, shooting of the police, killing of one student, arrest and deportation of many students)
- 2— Celebration of the anniversary of the Revolution of May 27, 1960.

- 3— Strong protests directed toward various actions against the Revolution. (Street demonstrations in Ankara against the Justice Party, condemnation of organized visits to former president Celal Bayar in jail)
- 4— Problems concerning amnesty of political offenders.

Especially, the very strong resistance of Turkish youth against any form of political amnesty may serve as a clearcut evidence of the right to interfere in purely political affairs, which the Turkish youth definitely affirms to possess and to use with full force. The violent refusal to grant the destroyers of a democratic society freedom has been expressed as follows: "As the representatives of a generation which did not even shrink back to give their life in order to use the right of revolution against a government deprived from all legitimacy, we maintain to have more right to express our opinions on amnesty than anybody else." "(Cumhuriyet May 22, 1962,)

Refutation of Various Charges against Turkish Youth:

Turkey's university students have been charged from time to time on various issues. These charges were all refuted and answered. Among them the most interesting one is the charge of some newspapers claiming Turkish student organizations have been bribed by governmental subsidies. These charges, of course, are the inevitable complementary symptoms of intensive political action.

Collaboration among Various Youth Organizations of Political Parties:

The permanent concern of Turkey's youth to preserve and fight for the democratic order, incited the youth representatives of various political parties to establish a cooperation scheme, which, however, was not carried out due to fast changes in the law of association.

Foreign Policy:

The highly sensitive reactions of Turkey's youth toward all kinds of destructive action against a prowestern, liberal yet social justice aiming, Ataturk's reforms backing, prog-

ressive policy in national affairs shows itself also on foreign policy, mainly in the Cyprus issue

Hereby it has to be stressed that at the early stage of the birth of an independent Cyprus, the only organized institution of the country which dealt with the problem in detail were students.

Back as far as 1948 student meetings protesting the increasing influence of communist elements in Cyprus began. The attempt to organize a plebiscite in 1950 was violently opposed by students.

At this period, the Turkish Government remained utterly static. The responsible foreign minister of the time was stating: "There is no such problem as Cyprus. Cyprus is under British rule and we are utterly convinced that England will not relinquish the island to any other government." In spite of these statements, the students did not cease to issue serious warnings.

In 1952 the coining of the term "self determination" on behalf of Greece immediately incited Turkey's youth organizations to put forward their point of view, according to which "We announce to the whole world, that Cyprus is Turkish soil, belongs geographically to Asia Minor, has remained 307 years under Ottoman sovereignty, is linked economically to Anatolia and represents a vital military and strategic importance for Turkey. Thus, any annexation to Greece can not be accepted by Turkey under any conditions". (Cumhuriyet July-17,1952.)

In 1953 the government began to show an increased interest toward the fostering of Turkish-Greek friendship, going so far as to even abolish the planned program for the 500th anniversary of İstanbul's conquest. Yet the vigilance of Turkey's youth did not diminish. They declared the Cyprus issue as the "number one National Problem" of the year.

In 1954 Greece applied for Cyprus to the United Nations. The reaction of various youth organizations was quite strong; attempts for granting autonomy or annexation were brushed aside. The decision at that time given by the United Nations, whereby the British proposal needs no further elaboration was

met by the Turkish premier of the time with great optimism. Adnan Menderes stated on December 18, 1954: "Since this issue has now been completely closed, we shall pay great attention not even to cast a shadow on the friendship with our ally Greece". However, Turkey's youth organization never shared this excessive optimism.

In 1955 Turkish youth together with the government for the first time began to mention a possible annexation of Cyprus one of the significant declarations of that year points out: "Turkey has tried to realize until today its goals within the framework of logic and consciousness. If as a result of unfavourable diplomatic negotiations this island should be severed from England, it would only be the most logical way to return it to its former owner". The interesting point is the fact that the Turkish official viewpoint, presented at a Turkish-British-Greek conference of that year contained exactly the same conditions: a) Unwillingness to change the status quo, b) In case of change, restitution to Turkey.

Soon after the failure of this conference a meeting staged by some student organizations led to violent mob action, paired with destruction of Greek and Turkish shops. The so-called "6-7 September Events" were unanimously deplored by all the student organizations and caused some long and wearisome governmental investigations.

In 1956 the government adopted a different attitude. After having defended the maintenance of the status quo and later conditional autonomy, the responsible politicians adopted the thesis of partition. It might be interesting to note that this swing of opinion created some undecidedness among the students; this year passes without any statement on behalf of the students.

However, in 1957 and 1958 Turkish students after having witnessed with a high degree of concern the invitation of Archbishop Makarios by Harriman to the States, issued a series of declarations backing the government's formal requests. These declarations partly contain also some sharp criticism about the fact, that the government does not inform public opinion about the major negotiations going on. However, governmental circles preferred to maintain secret contacts and

finally presented in 1959 suddenly the world with the creation of an independent Republic of Cyprus, based on the London and Zurich Agreements. This solution created among the students a three years long lasting silence. Finally, in 1963, with the beginning of constant troubles, the Turkish students reappeared in the press, this time as defender of the major principles of the Cyprus Constitution and requesting its faithful application.

To summarize Turkish youth activities in the field of foreign policy, it can be said that their interest instead of spreading out on various issues or concentrating rather on the ban of nuclear weapons, has been solely devoted on the Cyprus issue. This attitude indicates the close link between nationalism and its impact on public opinion.

Atatürk and His Reforms:

Scrutinizing youth's declarations on Atatürk and his reforms, first can be noted the relative large space allotted to him (17 %). This must be accounted as quite natural since Turkey's founder relinquished the new republic to the future generation. Turkey's youth consider Atatürk not only as the victorious general, who defeated the invading armies, but as the founder of the Republic and because they look upon Mustafa Kemal as a symbol of westernization and modernization.

The declarations issued on various occasions can be classified as follows:

a- Commemorative statement on the anniversary of Atatürk's death and other national holidays.

b- Condemning declarations against various attempts of demolishing his statues and pictures. Indeed, within the first six months of 1951 the adherents of Kemal Pilavoğlu engaged themselves in a systematic campaign of statue destruction. It is mainly due to the repeated requests of Turkish students that parliament promulgated a special law for the protection of Atatürk's personality.

c- Condemnation of unfair criticism against Atatürk by some of his closest friends also incited youth organizations to strike back.

d- Turkey's youth not only vigilantly watched loyal adherence to Atatürk reforms, but also organized some counter-action, such as collecting money and erecting various monuments for Atatürk, like the group statue in Istanbul and an individual one in Ankara.

5. Some Concluding Suggestions:

1- There is a strong noticeable disparity between the political attitudes and interests of Western European youth and the younger generation in less-developed European countries, Asia and Latin America. The criteria of economic welfare not only divides these countries into two different economic units, but also determines the degree of political interest. Youth belonging to the first group is showing a moderate, if not utterly "passive" behaviour, whereas organized and unorganized youth in transitional societies with great demand for economic upheaval determine directly policy decisions¹¹.

2- Parallel to the degree of economic development, the absence of powerful social groups also determines the degree of influence exercised by youth. The educational level- to some extent the degree of illiteracy- enhances automatically university students with a special halo of prestige and raises their chances to enter the circles of leading "political elite"

3- In Turkey the academic youth, partly due to the special emphasis placed by Atatürk upon the future evolution of the fundamental principle of the new republic, feels sincerely themselves as the guardian of modern secular, Western-oriented state which replaced the collapsing Ottoman Empire. The common value judgements such as moderate nationalism and militarism, strong emphasis on the realization of collective goals, adoption of Western ideas and institutions, adherence to democratic principles, shared by members of the armed forces, the intelligentsia and the academic youth-the so called "fresh forces" - indicates which components are carrying social dynamism in Turkey forward.

11. Raoul Makarius, *La Jeunesse intellectuelle d'Egypte au lendemain de la deuxième guerre mondiale*, Paris, Mouton and Co., 1960, p. 16.

4- Another significant particularity of the Turkish university youth is the relative large place occupied by students of the social sciences. The great pressure for prestige securing higher education on one side and the difficulties of the less industrialized countries to provide facilities and personel for technical and pure scientific education on the other side, leads an excessive high amount of youngsters to study fields promoting high political interest such as law, political science, economics, public and business administration.

5- Certain features of social life such as uncreatively spent leisure time, strong impact of Islamic tradition based upon severe segregation of boys and girls, lack of part-time jobs, the desire to reflect the social and economic frustration of the large population paired with a natural amount of adolescent idealism also contributes to an active participation in public life.

6- Youth's participation in Turkey-unlike some European countries-restricts its coverage upon the enrolled students of higher educational institutions. Again, unlike many countries both behind the Iron Curtain as well as in Latin Amerika, the activities of Turkey's academic youth are carrying a rather neutral, non-engaged, spontaneous character. Political parties are strongly attempting to exercize some influence on them with little success.

On specific foreign policy issues such as the participation in the Korean war, the Cyprus conflict, backing of anti-colonial struggles (Algeria, Kashmir) Turkish youth has often provided fresh initiative to responsible govermental circles.

During the interim period of the National Union Committee at a time when the Partliament was dissolved, the universities and organized student bodies were practically the only institutions together with the shaping of policy and the conduct of public affairs.