

**COPING WITH STATE TERROR: COPING BEHAVIOUR OF
ETHNIC TURKS AGAINST STATE ATROCITIES DURING
THE JIVKOV REGIME IN BULGARIA**

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ÖZET:

Çeşitli baskı (stress) durumlarına karşı başa çıkma (coping) yöntemleri insan psikolojisinin en önemli konularından birisidir. Bu konunun kişisel düzeyde ele alınmasıyla ilgili olarak birçok teknikler üretilmiş, çaresizliğe karşı alınabilecek ve hayat kalitesini yükseltebilecek önlemler tartışıla gelmiştir. Ancak, bir toplumun başka bir toplum üzerindeki baskılarıyla ezilen toplumun, silahlı çatışma dışındaki karşı koyma yöntemleriyle ilgili sistematik araştırmalar, yok değilse bile çok azdır. Yüzyılımızda teknolojiye bağlı ilerlemeler, bu ilerlemelerin insanlığa getirdikleri imkan ve mutlulukların yamsıra insanlığın saldırganlık insiyaklarının da daha dakik ve korkunç şekillere dönüşebileceğini göstermiştir. Daha Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nı takiben ve İkinci Dünya Savaşıyla birlikte ve onu takip eden sürede bazı politik sistemlerde devlet eliyle organize edilen ve bazı azınlık gruplarına karşı yöneltilen çeşitli baskı sistemleri, Buchenwald, Auschwitz, Gulag Takım Adaları, Kore esir kampları ve Belene gibi çeşitli terör odaklarını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bunlar arasında bilhassa Nazi Almanya'sında olanlar, Savaşı müteakip çeşitli açılardan ele alınarak incelenmiştir. Jivkov'un Bulgaristan'ında olanlar ise, bilhassa 1980'lerden sonra Türk toplumuna yöneltilen baskı ve zulümler, Nazi Almanya'sında uygulananlarla pek çok bakımlardan benzerlik göstermesine rağmen batılı bilim adamlarının dikkatini pek çekmemiş, bilhassa çeşitli insanlık dışı baskılara maruz kalan Bulgaristan Türklerinin, başa çıkma (coping) yöntemleri üzerinde hiç durulmamıştır.

Jivkov idaresince "utanç treni"ne zorla tıkları Kapıkule'ye postalanan Türklerle ilk önce 1989 Ağustos'unda Kapıkule ve Çadırkent'te ve bu tarihten al-

tı ay sonra da İstanbul'daki misafirhanelerde yapmış olduğumuz gözlemlerde Bulgaristan Türklüğünün çeşitli devirlerde maruz bırakıldığı organize baskı ve zulümlere karşı varlığını korumaya yönelik kendine özgü bir takım direniş yöntemleri geliştirdiği tesbit edilmiştir. Ellinin üzerinde toplanan ve teyp'e kaydedilen çeşitli direniş vakalarının incelenmesi sonucunda bunların bir "tepkiler cetveli" oluşturduğu gözlenmiştir. Burada, bu incelemelerden elde edilen sonuçlar, Bruno Bettelheim'in Hitler'in Nazi Almanyasında Gestapo temerküz kamplarında mahpusların şahsiyet yapılarını değiştirmek üzere maruz bırakıldıkları fiziksel ve psikolojik yöntemlerle, ve Eugene Kinkead'ın naklettiği Kore savaş esirleri üzerinde Kuzey Kore'li ve Çinli'lerin uyguladıkları yöntemlerle karşılaştırılarak bu sityasyonlara karşı çeşitli gruplar ile Bulgaristan'da ve Kore'deki Türk gruplarının geliştirdikleri tepki sistemleri mukayese edilecektir.

At a time when we are so close to the 21 st. century, we observe that 20 th century has been occupying its place in the pages of history under such designations as "the Nuclear Age" or "the Age of the Computer" which symbolize the triumph of science and technology. In fact, we have been noticing an incredibly fast pace of progress in the physical sciences and application of the scientific discoveries to the service of mankind. Especially during the hostilities that took place in the first days of 1991 in the Gulf War, we were amazed when we watched and listened to live broadcasts of the events that were happening at the moment and we observed the legal and scientific precision with which even a war was conducted.

The scientific research and development conducted in the west in the field of genetics engineering during the past twenty years met with stiff protest by the public of the countries involded, especially of the United States due to the fears of the moral and political problems that may eventually produce. The authorities tried to hinder such research and at least prevented the conduct of such research in a widespread scale and in puplic manner.

Nevertheless, another process has been taking place during a period exceeding half a century, from the first quarter of the 20th century, down to the present time which is unprecedented in its scope and intensity and which should have aroused the attention of mankind at least as closly as the scientific and technological break throughs but, for some reason, has failed to reflect its implications on the masses on a sufficient scale. This process consists of the manipulations of the minds of human beings by using force. An example of this process are

the psychological techniques which have been applied by the communist regimes and other similar political organizations on certain groups of people. The west became aware of that phenomenon for the first time on a wide scale, during the trials conducted against political opponents in Moscow around 1936.

Those new methods, dubbed in such terms as "indoctrination", "brainwashing" or "thought reform" are psychological weapons that brutally deprive a human being of this dignity of "being oneself" and annihilate that feeling which humanity has cherished above everything else for so many thousands of years since the advent of that species on the earth.

It is a fact that the said weapon was also used by the Nazis in a style of their own, in their Gestapo concentration camps and in fact, with some modifications, throughout Germany and that it was used under communism in Soviet Russia, other Iron Curtain countries, China and North Korea, on the people at large, on dissidents and especially on prisoners of war.

Among the body of psychological observation and research carried out on this subject, the most prominent one is the study of psychologist Bruno Bettelheim who has examined the situation at the concentration camps of the Gestapo which had been set up as a means of revenge based on the animosity felt in the Nazi Germany toward the Jewish minority on the one hand and to make the whole German nation accept the treatment of the masses that Hitler chose for them on the other hand. That study is among the classics in social psychology.

Bettelheim made his above mentioned research in the camps of Buchenwald and Dachau where he himself remained an inmate. By means of occupying himself in such manner, he avoided surrendering his "personality" to the enemy on the one hand and made invaluable first-hand observations and psychological analyses about those camps and made them a part of history on the other hand.

During my psychological studies on the Turks who had been forcibly packed by Bulgarian authorities on the "trains of shame" and sent to Kapikule on the Turkish border, I found out that those Turks of Bulgaria had gone through situations resembling those that had taken place in Nazi Germany. I also noticed, however, that they maintained their determination, patience and good sense in spite of all the injustice and difficulties inflicted on them (B. Toğrol, 1989). When, six months later, I made further studies especially in the hostels in İstanbul (B. Toğrol, 1990). I became more fully aware of the scope of the resistance

movement of the Turks of Bulgaria, especially that which took place in 1989, but which had been only superficially reported in our press and television.

The events of the past hundred-odd years which started simultaneously with the setting-up of the Principality of Bulgaria in 1878, aimed at wiping out the Turkish identity of that minority in the country reached its climax in 1984 in he attempts to "seize the names of the Turks and exchange them with Bulgarian names". Thus, the authorities of the Communist Bulgaria committed in the closing years of the 20th century, a "crime against humanity" before the eyes of the whole world, similar for example, to the ones committed in the concentration or annihilation camps of Nazi Germany.

When the physical and psychological treatment methods of inhuman character applied by the Nazi Germany of Hitler in their concentration camps for the purpose of changing the personality structure of the prisoners and the changes that they have produced as well as the methods applied in communist regimes are examined and they are compared with the policy of terror applied in Bulgaria on Turks and all the other minorities, it becomes evident that what the Bulgarian Government has done for changing the identities of nearly half the population of that country were efforts as diabolic as those made by Hitler, Stalin or Mao.

All the above mentioned practices that took place both in the Nazi Germany and in Soviet Russia, China and North Korea and other communist satellites consist of cruel methods uniformly applied in totalitarian countries by highly powerful social organizations. They constitute organized oppression committed against innocent people who should in fact, be under their protection. This kind of oppressive practices committed by totalitarian regimes include also, the cruel treatment of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria.

The First World War shattered any hopes of mankind that peoples of the world would be able to settle their differences by peaceful means in view of the progress and development registered in every sphere of human endeavor. The Second World War, furthermore, proved that man was capable of utilizing technological progress to serve its basic instincts of aggression by creating ever more precise weapons of enormous destructive power and developing ever more sophisticated methods of oppression and cruelty towards fellow human beings. As a result of the progress in the development of powerful social organizations, such shameful institutions as Buchenwald, Auschwitz, the Gulag Archipelago, the

prisoner camps of Korea and the Belene camp of Bulgaria - where the Turks of Bulgaria were kept- came into being.

For the past century, particularly during the last fifty years, the Governments in Bulgaria have turned the whole country into a concentration camp or P.O.W. camp for the Turkish population living there. They attempted to deny their identity and wipe off their history by displaying an aggression toward everything Turkish, from the tombstones of the dead, to the living generations and the future generations to come. Despite all this aggression, the Turks of the Balkans put up a successful resistance to defend their identity and developed their own methods of coping with the situation.

What kind of response have the Turks of Bulgaria shown against all such oppression initiated by the Bulgarian authorities, particularly during the recent past? In other words, what have been their reactions in the sense used in the science of psychology? That group of people with a minority status who are accustomed to minding their own business, who do not possess any kind of weapon nor have learned the skills to use weapons for a period longer than the past hundred years, who are still required to perform their military service of two years by working in construction of roads and buildings must have shown some kind of reaction in the face of a violation of their human rights that has intensified especially since 1984 when they were "dispossessed of their names".

It appears that almost the whole of the Turks living in Bulgaria have shown a variety of forms of active response to the above mentioned attitude of the authorities that started to take shape in 1984 with the campaign for changing the Turkish names of the members of that minority group into Bulgarian ones. What kinds of elements constituted this opposition, i.e., the resistance methods of the Turks?

We shall briefly take up in this study, the decent manner of resistance which that group has shown and which behooves decent human beings best against the attempts to destroy the identity of innocent people by force and violence that constitutes an organized process of oppression and aggression which was most inhuman.

The world at large, just as it looked the other way when Hitler, just before the break-out of the Second World War proceeded in his course and with this attitude of denial it contributed to the ensuing tragedies. It has taken the same pos-

ture before the developments in Bulgaria. If in fact, the human kind wants to avoid a repetition of the state-organized incidents of terror in the coming centuries, it is bound to examine such subjects, particularly, in a scientific presence of mind. It would benefit mankind to examine in a scientific attitude the inhuman torment suffered by certain sections of humanity, to learn about them without becoming emotional and to study the methods with which a certain proportion of them, albeit a small one have coped with those techniques of terror. Peace could be a lasting one only when we know how to protect the peace we have achieved.

I quote from Bruno Bettelheim's book, "Surviving."⁽¹⁾ himself a victim of Hitler's concentration camp horrors. He was a psychologist in Vienna when arrested after the annexation of Austria by Hitler in 1938 and sent to Dachau and Buchenwald camps. After his release from these camps in 1939, he settled in the U.S. and earned considerable reputation in his field on child psychology. He wrote an article about his observations in the Nazi camps, as soon as he became free under the title, "Personel and Collective Behavior in Critically Extreme Situations "(1943-1952)", and later several other very interesting books on the subject.

(1) Bruno Bettelheim, *Surviving And Other Essays*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1979.

Bruno Bettelheim on concentration camps:

"Actual abuse and vilification of the Jews existed from the moment the Nazis came into power, and even before. The Nazis propagandized the concentration camps, using them deliberately as a threat to intimidate and subdue their opponent, and even their followers when these showed any sign of independent opinion." (1)

"Although the concentration camps were sometimes located in the same places as the death camps, and although they incidentally provided slave labor (including Jews) for the SS, their purpose was to terrorize, and through the anxiety thus created, permit the state to control all that its subjects did and thought. The specific method used to make the concentration camp an instrument for controlling the entire population was this terror shrouded in secrecy, which vastly increases its power to create incapacitating anxiety". (2)

"The camps were staffed by the most trusted and fanatic followers of Hitler, the SS troops. Later, when the SS expanded, elite formations were created whose officers administered and ruled the concentration camps while the soldiers served as guards. These specially selected and trained soldiers of the secret state police wore as a distinctive insignia a skull (death's-head) and from this were known as the death's-head units. The insignia signified both their inhumanity and their commitment to kill and die unhesitatingly for the Reich". (3)

"Millions -men, women and children- were processed after they had been utterly brutalized, their humanity destroyed, their clothes torn from their bodies. Naked, they were sorted into those who were designated to be murdered immediately, and those others who had a short-term usefulness as slave labor. But after a brief interval they, too, were to be herded into the same gas chambers into which the others were immediately piled, there to be asphyxiated so that, in their last moments, they could not prevent themselves from fighting each other in vain for a last breath of air". (4)

(1) Ibid.85.

(2) Ibid.40.

(3) Ibid. 44.

(4) Ibid.43.

"Millions of jews were systematically slaughtered, as were untold other "undesirables", not for any convictions of theirs, but only because they stood in the way of the realization of an illusion. They neither died for their convictions, but only in consequence of the Nazis delusional belief about what was required to protect the purity of their assumed superior racial endowment, and what they thought necessary to guarantee them the living space they believed they needed and were entitled to. Thus while these millions were slaughtered for an idea, they did not die for one". (1)

According to the Encyclopaedia Briannica (15th ed., 1974), "It is estimated that in all the camps of Germany and its occupied territories, 18.000.000 to 26.000.000 persons -prisoners of war, political prisoners, and nationals of occupied and invaded countries- were put to death through hunger, cold, pestilence, torture, medical experimentation, and other means of extermination such as a gas chambers". (2)

Closed ears all over the world to the reality of the concentration camps:

"From the moment I arrived in the U.S.A. within weeks after liberation, I spoke of the camps to everybody willing to listen, and to many more unwilling to do so. Painful as this was because of what it brought back to mind, I did it because I was so full of the experince that it would not be contained. I did it also because I was anxious to force on the awareness of as many people as possible what was going on in Nazi Germany, and out of a feeling of obligation to those who still suffered in the camps. But I met with little succes.

At that time, nothing was known in the U.S. about the camps, and my story was met with utter disbelief. Before the U.S. was drawn into the war, people did not wish to believe Germans could do such horrendous things. I was accused of being carried away by my hatred of the Nazis, of engaging in paranoid distortions. I was warned not to spread such lies. I was taken to task for oppositie reasons at the same time: that I painted the SS much too black; and that I gave them much too much credit for being intelligent enough to devise and systematically execute such a diabolic system, when everybody knew that they were but stupid madmen." (3)

(1) Ibid.93.

(2) Ibid.47.

(3) Ibid. 14.15.

Denial as a psychological weapon to avoid facing unpleasant reality:

"It is understandable that we wish to avoid coping with the deeply disturbing perspectives on man which the holocaust opens up; man as a wanton destroyer, and as a victim shorn of all defenses. The appalling nature of that which we ought to understand and build into our view of the world as a terrible warning induces us to avoid facing the true nature of the problem by denying some of its most upsetting aspects, and by distorting others."⁽¹⁾

"Denial, ... is the most primitive of all psychological defensive mechanisms. The small child, confronted with some unpleasant fact, will insist that it is not so. Usually as we get older, we no longer use this primitive defense when confronted with incontrovertible facts. But when anxiety becomes overwhelming, even normal adults tend to regress to using it. That is why jews under Nazi domination, in the face of obvious facts but in mortal anxiety, engaged in denial so massive that under other circumstances it would have been considered delusional. Americans denied the reality of the extermination camps as the simplest way to avoid facing an unpleasant truth.

The reason for all this is that it is easier to deny reality when facing it would require taking unpleasant, difficult, or expensive actions. Not to take such actions out self-interest would evoke guilt feelings. So that one need not feel guilty for not acting, one denies the facts. Thus denial makes life easier, at least for moment."⁽²⁾

An example on the benefit of facing facts squarely

"The first use of the gas chambers was not for the elimination of jews, but in the so-called euthanasia program the elimination of those the Nazis considered misfits -mental defectives and inmates of psychiatric hospitals. This was the first group to be systematically killed off, quite a few them in the first mobile gas chambers... There was such a strong reaction against this slaughter of mental patients among religious leaders and the common people that des-

(2) Ibid.84.

(3) Ibid.96.

pite massive propaganda and much against their desire, the Nazis had to discontinue this important part of their official eugenics program. This demonstrates that when unpleasant facts are not dealt with by means of denial but are faced squarely, even the most ruthless totalitarian regime can be forced to back down by determined public action.

No such public, widespread objection, however, made itself heard about the persecution of the jews, or about the random killing of large masses of jews, or even the extermination of all of them; quite the contrary. If anything, the German People seemed in their overwhelming majority either to applaud the persecution of the jews, or to condone it by a sin of omission, a very few isolated voices raised against it notwithstanding. These few voices could easily be suppressed and disregarded by the government since they found no following." (1)

On why he wrote so insistently on the horrors of Hitler's Nazi Germany

Half a year after the publication of "Surviving" in The New Yorker, I participated in a conference on the Nazi holocaust, attended by some three hundred persons, self-selected on the basis of their personal concern with this event. They were people well above average in intelligence, education, and social awarenesses. Talking with them and observing their reactions to what was presented made me shockingly aware how little these serious and well-meaning persons really understood what it had been all about, and what it ought to mean today; or so it seemed to me. While giving verbal expression to how horrendous, to what an abomination it had been these people nevertheless seemed most eager to repress and deny it all by making it appear ordinary, robbing it of any present importance." (2).

It took the combination of these two events -the reactions to the article on survivors, and my experience at the conference- to convince me that it was worthwhile to attempt, as best I could, to

(1) Ibid.86.

(2) Ibid.23.

suggest how one may try to cope with the two connected phenomena of genocide and survivorship. Coping with these requires, first, an understanding of what holocaust was all about, how it could and did happen; second-and, since the holocaust is past history, more important today- some constructive way of dealing with what it evokes emotionally. Survivors are not alone in that they must learn to integrate an experience which, when not integrated, is either completely overwhelming, or forces one to deny in self-defense what it means to one personally in the present. (1)

But if we remain silent, then we perform exactly as the Nazis wanted: behave as if it never did happen. If we remain silent, we permit those who have falsified what happened to present the world with a fallacious understanding of one of the most tragic chapters of recent history. Thus thoughtful men are closed off from valid insights into what attitudes we must develop to prevent it all from ever happening again. (2)

Bettelheim on his essay (1943) on, "... Behaviour in Extreme Situations" explains the diabolic methods of the Gestapo in the concentration camps on his victims, he says that the main objective of the Gestapo was to discover and develop "childish" behavior in their subjects and to give them characters in which they would easily obey the wishes of their leaders. Among the methods they used for achieving that objective was the system of taking hostages and holding an entire group responsible for the fault committed by a single member. In Bettelheim's view, the best method to neutralize the effects of such a system is the formation of democratic resistance groups of independent-minded, mature and self-confident individuals. Such groups should be formed as groups whose entire members are to support the resistance of one another. In cases when such groups cannot be formed, it is impossible to avoid the gradual disintegration of every man's personality under the cruel oppression of the Gestapo and the Nazi system.

Bettelheim draws attention to the fact that if resistance is not displayed by forming groups for the purpose, the same phenomenon could occur in all occupied countries and also points out that the changes that have occurred in the cha-

(1) Ibid.24.

(2) Ibid.97.

acter of a prisoner in the extreme situations in the concentration camps could have occurred, to some extent, in all the people living at that time in Germany which was another concentration camp, only much larger in size. The author who says that it is an indispensable necessity to examine the developments that occurred at places exposed to the methods of the Nazi system points out that the concentration camps did not only serve as a laboratory where ordinary people were incarcerated. He draws attention to the fact that the most fervent enemies of the Nazi system were also imprisoned there and even such individuals with extremely liberal minds could not avoid a process of personality disintegration. Bruno Bettelheim emphasizes the necessity of studying what happened to people who had to live for some time under the Nazi system so that methods can be developed to ensure resistance against such treatment in case similar situations happen anywhere in the world.

Similar ordeals have been experienced by the Turks of Bulgaria for over a hundred years. The so-called communist regime of Jivkov with its careful planning and precise deliberate execution of "The final solution" of Turkish minority acted with the same premeditation as Hitler's and applied the machinery and power of the state for his plans. The reason for my dealing with this subject is the same as Bettelheim's, for I believe in the damage of the conspiracy of silence on peace and salvation. And also the recent "forced emigration" only happened just a few years ago, a few kilometers from the border of my country, when the rest of the civilized world again preferred to turn his face away, as it did to what was happening to the Jews in Hitler's Germany.

Crimes Committed against Human Beings in Bulgaria During and After the War of 1877

During the war of 1877, 350.000 Turkish soldiers died in the Balkans where the Turkish population had constituted the majority in 1876. Moreover, in spite of the provisions of the Berlin Agreement on protection of minorities and before the ink on these agreements dried up, the Bulgarians, together with Russian soldiers began to attack the innocent civilian Turkish people with a savagery with very few precedents in history. A large amount of publications based on reliable sources about the agreements which the Bulgarians violated and the crimes against humanity which they committed during of after the war on Turks and other non-Bulgarian citizens have been issued since 1877 both in Turkey and from time to time. in European countries.

It appears that the oppression and atrocities which Bulgarians committed against Turks maintained the same level without any change for over a century, fed by the seeds of hate sown by the Russians. In short, the Russians and the Bulgarians applied genocide to Turks both during the 1877 War and in the years immediately following it.

It is possible to summarize under the following headings, the operations of annihilation and assimilation that were systematically applied on Turks both during the Turco-Bulgarian War of 1877-1878 and in the subsequent period that ended with the Balkan War of 1913:

1. To eliminate Turks by killing them off

a) **To murder civilian people with torture:** Depending on the locality, prominent inhabitants of villages were executed, women were raped in villages and towns after which they, especially those who had resisted were killed under torture.

b) **To eliminate prisoners of war by killing them off.**

2. Bulgarization of Turks

a) **To force Turks to abandon the Islamic faith and adopt Christianity.**

b) **To change the Turkish names into Slavic-Christian names and prohibiting the use of the Turkish Language.**

c) **After killing of the relatives of young Turkish women, forcibly getting them to marry Bulgarians and making them Christian and Bulgar.**

d) **To have Moslem Turkish children attend forcibly, Bulgarian schools so as to make them forget their identities**

3. To wipe off the Traces of the Turks in Bulgaria

a) **With the purpose of wiping out traces of the Turks in Bulgaria, mosques were burned, destroyed or damaged. The minarets of some of them were demolished and they were converted into churches.**

b) **Ruining Turkish Cemeteries**

4. Plunder, Robbery and Burglary

5. Forcing Turks to emigrate

In the face of all this persecution, torture, plunder and pillage they suffered, the Turks and Moslems felt obliged to resort to emigration, leaving all their property, effects and homes behind and group after group set out for the fatherland. This wave of emigration has been going on for the past 114 years.

When Todor Jivkov was brought to the leadership at the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1956, a new period of misery started for all the Turks and Moslems of Bulgaria. That era constitutes a chain of oppression formed and perfectly organized -similar to or even worse than the oppressive conditions of Hitler's Germany, or Stalin's Russia or of the prisoner of war camps of the Chinese in North Korea- by yet another totalitarian police state against the Turkish community.

"Hitlerian Racism" against the Turks during the Communist Government of Todor Jivkov (1956-1989)

Todor Jivkov put into practice the policy of "annihilating the Turks" in a highly systematic manner, as if according to a well-organized program of experiment, gradually, bit by bit but never veering from the course that had been set.

First, Turkish lessons in schools were curtailed; then, the number of Turkish schools were decreased day by day on a variety of pretexts and finally, it was made impossible for the Turks to get an education in their own language as from 1959. This was followed by the gradual disappearance of publications in the Turkish Language.

In 1964, under the pretext of ensuring the economic development of areas densely populated by the Turks, they launched a massive propaganda campaign against Turkey among the ethnic Turks of Bulgaria and offered them such intolerable packages of assimilation as using the Bulgarian language in their conversations and adopting Bulgarian names for themselves with the ostensible purpose of liberating them from illiteracy and turning them into "progressive" citizens. Nevertheless, in spite of this incessant propaganda, Turks were not impressed in the least and they continued to maintain their unity and solidarity and to uphold their national identity. On the other hand, the rulers of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Politbureau adopted Resolution No. 549 of "changing national identity and religious faith by applying clandestine terror" on July 17, 1970. That decision was a sequel to the policy of suppression applied

on Turkish-speaking people initiated with the "integration" decision in 1968 and it represents a decision equivalent to the Camps for annihilation of the Jews we set up at Auschwitz under Hitler's orders. With the above mentioned resolution that Jivkov urged the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to adopt in 1970, the whole Bulgarian territory was turned into a camp to be used for the purpose of wiping out the Turkish identity. Hitler's project was a case of delirium originating from his fear that the Aryan race that he upheld to be superior would mix with the Jewish race and other "inferior" races and consequently would forfeit its superiority. That of Jivkov and his henchmen was a similar case of delirium of racist nature based on their scorn towards the Turks like Hitler's contempt for the Jews. With the adoption of that resolution caused by Jivkov, he tried to point out that no other nation had a right to live in Bulgaria and even that the ethnic minorities would not be able to continue their life in Bulgaria at all. He achieved the adoption of that resolution No. 549 in total disregard of all the agreements that Bulgaria signed since 1878 containing its commitments to respect the rights of the ethnic minorities. It can be said for Hitler that at least, Germany had not signed any agreement with another state regarding the minority rights of the Jews. Bulgarian statesmen, hiding behind the Iron Curtain and relying on the support of the Warsaw Pact and Soviet Russia, their permanent boss took that decision while the Western World who had lived through two global conflicts was looking the other way. Hitler's racism used as infrastructure, the psychological attitude of the German nation who had been conditioned for years with various slogans against the Jews and who, at least, did not feel an affection for that minority. Around 1933, some Jews who sensed the imminent holocaust appearing on the horizon fled Germany empty-handed, leaving behind all the property they had owned. The Germans on the other hand, were able to acquire those possessions easily and therefore, they turned a blind eye to what was happening and even felt happy about it. Thus, it can be said that the atrocious policy of Adolf Hitler found a veiled support among the simple folks.

Preliminary Experiments in Bulgaria for Organized Barbarism

The first application of Resolution No. 549 took place in 1972 especially in the Pirin Macedonia and Rodop regions where the names of ethnic Turks living in those areas were changed on a compulsory basis attempt to achieve the objective of wiping out their ethnic identity and religious faith. Thus, southern Bulgaria was turned into a structure entirely similar to that of the concentration

camps in Hitlerite Germany and Turks living in the above mentioned region were left, like the inmates of Dachau or Buchenwald, with only two choices: either to relinquish their ethnic identity together with human dignity or to give up their lives. Upon the opposition to that practice of the Turks living in the pilot area of the Rodop region in 1972, Jivkov's soldiers committed barbarous crimes in complete disregard of human lives similar to those committed by the Gestapo of Adolf Hitler. In pages between 184 and 193 of Dr. I. Alp's book, cases are described clearly where the names of the geographic regions and villages and those of the victims are specified. During that Bulgarization campaign, ten thousand ethnic Turks were murdered in that region alone. A thousand bodies were discovered in a mass at the reservoir of the dam on the Maritza river. It was the Yugoslav television which broadcast that unspeakable crime to the world public. When the crimes committed by the Bulgarian authorities are examined as depicted in the above mentioned book. It appears that Bulgarian atrocity never changed since 1877. The Bulgarian savagery is worse than the Hitlerian savagery. At least, the Jews were stunned unconscious with gas before they were sent to the incinerators. When, on the other hand, we make a random list of the crimes committed by the Bulgarians among those stated in the above mentioned pages of the book -with names of people and regions specified- the horror of the situation becomes evident. For example:

1- The inhabitants of a village who resisted a change of their names were imprisoned in the barn of the village where they were kept without food or water for three days and then the barn was set to fire and the villagers inside were burned alive.

2- The population of a village of 400 who went to complain to the Turkish Consulate were arrested on their return and a large number of them were killed.

3- The legs of a Turk who opposed the change of his name were broken. Then he was hung on a tree by his legs and was killed savagely.

4- The eyes of a Turk were gouged; his ears were cut off; his arms and legs broken; he was killed and his body was delivered to his family in a chest.

5- Another Turk was beaten senseless and then, was executed.

6- The religious leader of a village was put to torture to serve as an example to others and then was murdered by drinking poison forcibly.

7- A woman was raped in front of her two children.

8- In order that the people's morale may be shattered, girls were stripped naked and exhibited around streets.

9- They raided a mosque, beat up old men they captured there and then, burnt the mosque which was their place of worship.

10- They stopped a bus on the road; pulled out the Turkish passengers and began to beat them and a Turkish young man who resisted was shot dead on the spot.

Jivkov Achieves His Long-Sought Object: "Edinna Natsia". Jivkov's Folly of Creating an Artificial Bulgarian Nation by Wholesale "Change of the Turks' Names by Force".

In spite of the absence of any legal basis for Bulgaria's wiping out of the ethnic identity of the Turks in Bulgaria and in spite of the fact that such an attempt is in stark violation of the rules of international law, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations as well as the Helsinki Final Chart and it was even against its own Constitution, the events of 1972 were never sufficiently noticed either in the world public opinion or in Turkey and no reaction was made as if they had never happened. Thus, Jivkov and his henchmen enjoyed complete impunity. Very probably, this indifference in the world opinion will be taken up by the future scholars of social and political sciences as a highly interesting case to be examined in all aspects. In view of that lack of reaction, Jivkov went bolder and caused the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to adopt a resolution at its meeting in February, 1984 for completing the Bulgarization campaign in the whole of Bulgaria. This was followed by turning all Bulgaria into a Gestapo camp; the "human dignity" of the Turks of Bulgaria was trampled in an organized manner, with the use of all kinds of methods of humiliation and violence including murder; their "identities" were usurped and destroyed. Thus, Jivkov and his cohorts committed a "crime against humanity" of a character unprecedented in history towards the Turks. More than a million Turks were turned into "Bulgars" in Southern and South-Eastern Bulgaria in late 1984 and more than two and a half million in North-Eastern Bulgaria in the first months of 1985 with false documents drawn for the purpose.

An eye-witness to that barbarous operation relates as follows, the manner in which it was conducted:

The name-changing operation was performed at the Tekkeler village in the following manner: The village was surrounded by soldiers with tanks. Two armed soldiers and a policeman with a kalashnikov gun knocked at the door of each house and took the family to the Town Hall. There, the old identification certificates with Turkish names were confiscated, the Turks were made to sign certain forms and their new identification certificates bearing Bulgarian names were handed to them. The "name-Changing" operation was completed throughout Bulgaria on the 27th of February, 1985.

Thus, while the Hitlerian racism could not complete the "final solution of the Jewish problem", the Jivkovician racism successfully performed a similar feat in just a few months by turning the ethnic Turks of Bulgaria into "Bulgars" wholesale and thus, creating an artificial Bulgarian nation. What that really the case, however?

METHODS OF RESISTANCE OF THE ETHNIC TURKS OF BULGARIA

When the Berlin Agreement was signed in 1878, Turks who had survived the war but who had not been able to emigrate to Turkey suddenly found themselves in the status of "ethnic minority" in Roumelia which they had been owning theretofore. It is known that those Turks, contrary to the Bulgarian Government, were highly respectful to the agreements signed as a result of the lost wars and never took up arms and operated as komitadjis as had the Bulgarians had done earlier against the Ottoman administration.

If that had been their preference, they would no doubt have done so. However, it appears that the Turks who remained in Roumelia refused to leave their own land which had been sprinkled with the blood of their forefathers, their fields and orchards and all their other possessions which represented the accumulated savings of several generations and chose to live their lives in their homesteads tending their own work, while expecting to exercise the extensive rights accorded to them by the international agreements. No doubt, the fact that their fatherland was situated just across the border enhanced their morale. It seems, however that they were not able to foresee the scope of the brutal treatment against law and justice and human values that the Bulgarian administration would apply to them in total disregard of all agreements for protecting minority rights that would last for 114 years. In facing the plight which began in the War of 1877 and continued to the present and in spite of the fact that the Bulgarians used arms and violence in the bulk of the incidents, it is a certain fact that the Turks put up a resistance by developing some mechanisms of reaction without resorting to use of arms. Otherwise, it would be impossible for us to mention a Turkish community of Roumelia or Bulgaria. We can assume that the most extreme form of the methods of resistance was accepting death with honor when there was no other course left to take.

There is no doubt that other methods were: getting away from persecution through emigration or trying to go on living without losing their self-respect, using their mechanism of "patience" to the utmost which I am convinced to be a genuine trait of mechanism of "patience" to the utmost which I am convinced to be a genuine trait of the Turkish character. In this chapter, the various methods of resistance practiced by the Turks in Bulgaria for the past 114 years, especially during the jivkov area will be discussed.

VARIETES OF RESISTANCE GENERALLY OBSERVED IN THE TURKS OF BULGARIA

Dying a Martyr's Death Instead of Losing One's Honor

Because of the mass tortures, killings by rifle squads and rapes that had taken place in the Rodop region between 14th and 18th March, 1972, the Turks were obliged to take refuge in woods. When the persistent pursuit and search of the Bulgarian forces failed to produce results, poison gas from aircraft was sprayed between 18th and 20th June, 1972 on the woods near Samakov, Dospat, Yakouroda, Babiak, Belitza, Rozlok, Bansko, Tsepine and Svetino where Turks were hiding. As a result of this inhuman massacre, it is estimated that 8 to 10 thousand Turks including children were killed by poison gas. While the bodies of a part of the victims were left alone, most of them were dumped into the rivers and dams in the region. Among them, it is said that about 1850 bodies had been dumped into the dam at Dospat (I. Alp, p. 1990).

It is an irrefutable fact that the populace staged a resistance in which they risked their lives for the sake of their "names" and hence, their "honor" and that a considerable part of them died in martyrdom in that struggle. What was the reason why the governments of the free world who had prosecuted Adolf Hitler and his accomplices in Nuremberg failed to take steps to try Jivkov for these crimes and others that followed them and why, despite the existence of so many international conventions and despite their knowledge of these crimes they failed to find a legal basis for saying "stop" to him in those days? Is it not conceivable that this negligence was a cause of the tragedies of Kuwait and Iraq and of the appearance of Saddam Hussain whom the westerners have dubbed "the Second Hitler?" Furthermore, what has been the extent of the financial and other costs of that negligence for humankind in the Gulf War alone? The eye witnesses of the atrocities that took place in Bulgaria are still living and the microfilms documenting the incidents are waiting in the archives, ready for examination. There is no doubt that a large number of Turks lost their lives between 1984 and 1989, during the campaign for the wholesale change of their names and in the period thereafter. On 20th and 21st May, 1989 alone, 30 Turks in North-East Bulgaria lost their lives and hundreds were wounded by the police fire on them while they were in a protest demonstration in North-East Bulgaria.

Emigration to Mother Country

When the Turco-Russian War of 1877-1878 turned into a genocide, over a million Turks were obliged to emigrate to Turkey, their mother country. That emigration continued without stop 2,300,000 more Turks immigrated to motherland in 90 years. The 300,000 Turks who came to Turkey as a results of "compulsory emigration" in 1989 are not included in the above mentioned figure.

Development of the Turkish Population in Bulgaria as a New Power Source of Resistance

It appears that the Turks who remained in the status of an ethnic minority in Bulgaria, with their highly-developed powers of intuition, used the population factor as a most important resistance mechanism against the Bulgar. It seems that the Turks who were determined right from the start to maintain their own traditions and their Turkish "sense of identity" had been minding their own business without taking a too deep interest in the internal affairs of Bulgaria and having chosen conservative family order as their way of life, have stood up to hardships.

Teplow, a Russian writer assigned by the Russian Government to conduct some research just before the break-out of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 with the aim of proving that the land of Roumelia belonged to "Slavs" has produced some interesting figures as a results of his study. It is understood from the population table that the Ottoman Government prepared which was based on the above mentioned writer's findings (B. şimşir, 1970) that in the distribution of population in all the district and sanjaks of Roumelia, the Turkish population constituted the majority. In Bulgaria whose total population was indicated to be around 3,309,950 the Moslem Turkish population was 1,800,954 and the Bulgarian segment was 1,509,595 (İ. Alp, 1990). Thus, the Moslem Turks constituted 57 percent and the Bulgars 43 percent of the total population. It cannot be expected that the above mentioned study of Teplow should be an impartial one due to the fact that its objective was to collect evidence to be used for transferring Roumelia over to the sovereignty of the Slavs. However, he admitted to a 57 percent rate of Turkish population. This leads us to surmise that the real percentage must be much higher than those figures indicate. Nevertheless, the Russians, on an untenable pretext, inflicted the calamity of the 1877 War on the Ottoman state and as a result of its policy of ruining the Ottoman and without any legal basis,

wrested away Roumelia in spite of the fact that the Turkish population constituted the majority in that region and caused the beginning of a period of unrest and disorder in the Balkans whose repercussions have reached the present time. The same unsettled condition continues after passage of 114 years.

There is no doubt that the demographic statistics issued in Bulgaria from time to time are not accurate. In the population statistics they officially issued in 1946, they showed the Turkish population as 938,418. As to the population statistics issued since the Communists came to power, the number of Turks have never been shown to exceed one million in any of them. This has been due to a provision in the Bulgarian Constitution imposing the obligation to recognize cultural autonomy to an ethnic minority whose number exceeds one million, just like in the Soviet Constitution. With a view to avoiding the fulfilment of this responsibility, the Bulgarian authorities have constantly tried to show the number of the Turkish population smaller than it actually is.

Moreover, the Bulgarian authorities, with a view to hide the real proportions of the population segments on one hand and to weaken the solidarity among the Turkish people on the other hand, have divided that people which had been inhabiting Bulgaria all along, into smaller groups with the pretext of differences among their dialects. Thus, they have created such artificial groups as peoples of Macedonia of Pirin, Deliorman or Dobrudja regions. They also took care to create such artificial distinctions as Pomaks and Alawites.

It is known that during the "name changing" operations of 1984, the identities of 3,300,000 were changed. In view of the fact that small children are not included in this figure and those changed are the identification papers of only the Turks, the size that the Turkish population in Bulgaria has reached becomes apparent. In the seventh issue (1991) of the "Breeze" magazine published in Turkish language, an extract from the Bulgarian press bearing the signature of Peter Kirdjilov as quoted in which it was stated that 400,000 people had withdrawn their money from the banks in the crisis of 1989. According to the customs and usages of the Turks in Bulgaria, money is deposited in a Bank, to the name of the family head. If we assume that each family consisted an average of four members, it means a total of 1,600,000 family members. If we assume that the average number of family members is 5, it makes a total of 2,000,000. If we add to this figure, those with no money in banks, those who did not find a chance to withdraw their deposits and those who did not feel the need to do so because they

did not prepare for emigration, the figures reached in a roundabout way about the number of the Turkish population would approach the figure first quoted above. In fact, in an interview by the reporter of the Turkish weekly Tempo (issue No. 52, pp. 23-29, dated 29th December, 1990), Jivkov was asked a question concerning his "... exercising discrimination based on race among Bulgarian citizens of different ethnic origins and fanning the flames of racism, which caused strife among them" and he gave the following answer: **"Look, the situation for which they criticize me is the situation supported by exactly 4 million Bulgars in Bulgaria"**. Thus, while answering a question related to racism, he indirectly made a very significant revelation concerning the demographic situation in Bulgaria. It is evident that in Bulgaria where the total population was quoted to be 8,949,600 according to the 1987 census, the Bulgars are really in a minority position.

Traditional Family Setup that Re-inforced Resistance

It becomes evident from the incidents viewed in a historical perspective that in contravention to all agreements, the Bulgarian authorities --who did not have the habit of fulfilling their commitments-- planned to reduce the number of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria by killing them barbarously with any pretext they could find or by forcing them to emigrate to their mother country empty-handed, leaving everything behind. It appears, however, that the Turks, in response to the above mentioned plans of the Bulgarian administration, chose a way of life that is in harmony with the Turkish-Islamic traditions within the framework of neat family relations aimed at bringing up decent and filial children who are devoted to their homes. Thus, they been able to preserve their language, religious faith and traditions and customs on one hand and grow larger in numbers that re-inforced the guarantees for the protection of those aims and values.

We made a research in 1989 and 1990 among the immigrants who had come from the areas close to the banks of the Danube river, from places like Silistra, Razgrad and Shumen and we found out that the structure of the family among the Turks of Bulgaria was not nuclear, limited to a young couple and their children as is the case in most instances in the large cities and towns of Turkey. During the foundation of a new family, either the bride's or groom's father and mother and a unmarried brother or sister if there is one, joins that family without fail. This is similar to the practice in the rural areas of Turkey where the oldsters join the new family but a slight difference with the Turks of Bulgaria is that with

them, it is not clear-cut which oldsters are to join the newly married couple and may be decided according to the circumstances. These older members of these families, contrary to the practice in the families of our country, are quite active and productive. Each of the newly married husband and wife also has a job and works at it. The mother of the husband or wife in the extended family slows down in her work only when she becomes a grandmother and she then begins to take care of her grandchildren.

It is evident that this "extended family" system has been a significant factor in the Turk's maintaining their identity in spite of a separation from motherland that has lasted for 114 years. In this respect, the "family" has played successfully, its part as bearer of a culture and was able to transfer many characteristics of the Turkish community including its language to the youngur generations notwithstanding the fact that the said community was prohibited from reading, writing and speaking in the Turkish language; a tight iron curtain was drawn between them and Turkey for over 40 years and the community had been compelled to live in a political order based on materialism.

The Reaction Developed against the Operation of "Wholesale Changing of the Names of Turks" in 1984

The immense reaction shown by all the Turks in Bulgaria against the operation of mandatory change of the names of the Turks by force of arms, by using soldiers, in short, in a unilateral battle formation and by threat of death indicates that the above mentioned attempt of Jivkov and his henchmen bumped into the hardest point of the Turkish culture (F.C. Barlett, 1946). This event has constituted the beginning of their end.

There is no doubt that when the Bulgarian Government which took courage from their membership in the Warsaw Pact in those days began some experiments in 1972 to change the identities by force of arms, not any of the international organizations concerned in the Free World showed any reaction to it nor any Government nor even the Government of the Turkish Republic which was a member of NATO did so and that absence of reaction caused Jivkov to take bolder steps in that direction**. It is absolutely certain that Jivkov, in those days, was not afraid of any country outside Bulgaria, The fact that the Soviet Russia - of which Bulgaria was a satellite-- had not raised any objection leads one to be-

(**) "Documentary Evaluations of Prime Minister Turgut Özal Related to the Historical Development of the Immigration of Ethnic Turks". Prime Ministry Printing Press, Ankara, 1989.

lieve that the former approached that practice sympathetically, that it has even issued instructions to the latter in this respect. In short, it may have used Bulgaria as an experimental laboratory for certain actions it was contemplating to take future***. On the other hand, while Jivkov was not so much afraid of others outside of his country, it is obvious that he was highly afraid of the Turks in Bulgaria and that he made many mistakes out of that fear.

In my book on the various resistance activities of Turks of Bulgaria to the forceful change of their names I started with a tragic case that ended in death, as an example of the most extreme situation in the scale of reactions of these Turks. I related cases representing various degrees of resistance as they have been told by those who have suffered the experiences. It is impossible to determine the size of the groups falling on each category on the scale, in other words, the frequency of occurrence for each level. It appears, however, that a vast majority of Turks have opted to leave their native villages and to travel about idly among other villages for months as a way of sticking to their own names and avoiding to give them up. All reactions indicate to us to what extent the Turks cherished their names. There is no doubt that the various resistance methods indicated in our scale and perhaps, others which we may have overlooked, were amalgamated in a mass and served as a precursor of the actions that developed since April, 1989 and thus, the Turkish resistance has constituted the most significant factor in toppling Jivkov.

There is no doubt that the incidents of 1984-1985 had been an impetus for the flourishing of the consciousness of being Turks. The Turks have not behaved in any manner that would irritate the authorities but led their lives in a well-ordered family framework, minding their own business in an industrious, persevering, and calm manner. Their way of life and general behaviour had been inspired by the example set by the mother country which had always been cherishing the slogan, "Peace in fatherland peace in the world" for the past 68 years since the proclamation of the Republic. The population increase among the ethnic Turks of Bulgaria has sharply accelerated. It was probably due to the impetus provided by a subconscious instinct of survival reinforced by the capacity to hardships and persecutions which they exercised for the past 114 years.

What transpired in 1972 in South Bulgaria while the whole world looked the other way was resumed in 1984 and the operation of mandatory changing of

(***) İlker Alp, *Ibid.*, p. 369, par. 1.

names by force of arms went on until mid-1989 at an accelerated pace. It seems that the whole of the Turkish community in Bulgaria - whose number is estimated to be close to four million - categorically refused to co-operate in that operation and began a resistance movement unprecedented in scope theretofore. Such resistance can be imagined as a scale of reactions drawn in the order of stringency. At the top of this scale was accepting the death of a martyr. This was followed by such extreme situations as being beaten by kicks, blows and other brutality or serving time in prisons or remaining in custody without a court decision or with a decision issued following a travesty of a court trial. These, in turn, were followed in the scale by losing one's job, banishment from his native home or fleeing by his own initiative to avoid the name change or at least, to postpone it as long as possible. At the bottom of the scale, would be suffering persecution in silent grief, without complaining aloud.

We have data in our archives which we collected with the purpose of investigating on a more concrete basis, the modes of resistance of the ethnic Turks of Bulgaria against the persecution inflicted on them. More than 50 of these cases were based on interviews which we made firsthand and recorded. Among them, what have transpired in eight cases have been described in detail in my book, "Resistance" (Direniş, B. Toğrol, 1991). Here, the details of those cases will be omitted and the conclusions reached from them will be discussed briefly.

Conclusion

It can be deduced from the sample cases cited in my book, that while the economic and social order of Bulgaria was, theoretically, a communist system, it is evident that the authorities have applied to their Turkish citizens, methods of oppression, especially those of the Gestapo. Cruel violence has been applied to Turks at every opportunity in Bulgaria.

1. What befell Apti Necipoğlu, his son and his friend cited as an example to resistance that ended in martyrdom is comparable to the tragic deaths of those related by J. Lusseyran (1964) who attempted to escape from the next rail car. Fully 44 years after that incident, nothing had been changed and this time, the Bulgarian authorities committed an organized murder against their own citizens without blinking their eyes.

2. The second sample case about Y.T., the third case concerning A.Ş. and the fourth, concerning Z.N. in my book which describe the painful experiences of these people indicate that the kind of brutality exercised in the concentration

camps of the Nazis have been used in Bulgaria with great frequency and with the same degree of cruelty. Policeman fell upon A.Ş. and Z.N. and beat them senseless although they were not guilty of any offence.

3. It becomes evident from experiences of the Turkish detainees of Bulgarian concentration camps that the Bulgarian police had used for years, the method of insulting the prisoners with the aim of changing their attitudes just like the Nazis did in their own concentration camps. An example: while A.Ş. was staying in Belene camp and when he was leaving the camp, treating him like a small child and were asking nonsensical questions such as, "Well, have you come to your senses now? Did you learn that you are a Bulgar?"

4. Efforts were made to prevent, as much as possible, any Turk's distinguishing himself as a leader and especially the types like A.Ş. and Z.N. Just because they had become popular and earned the respect of the others, they were constantly persecuted, abused and tortured as a warning to them and to others.

5. Even the policeman's using German shepherd hounds on prisoners and on Turks at various occasions is an indication of the emulation of Hitler's Nazi and Gestapo methods in the Bulgaria of Jivkov.

It is possible to extend those comparisons. However, the cases cited and described are sufficient to make obvious without any doubt, the similarity between the treatment of the inmates of the Hitler's Nazi concentration camps and the treatment of the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria which had been turned into a vast concentration camp for the Turks by Jivkov. The same tragic drama was staged at both places with the same objectives. That objective was to use inhuman cruelty as a means for turning grown-up people into robot-like creatures who would agree to the demands of the system without asking any question. We know that in the methods applied either in Hitler's Germany or against political dissidents in Soviet Russia, even the periods required for the breakdown of people's resistance in extreme situations had been calculated. It is probable that some calculations had been made in Bulgaria also for the period required for wholesale assimilation of the Turks but when that objective was not reached, the leadership lost their temper. Jivkov's administration has committed crimes against humanity just like Hitler's administration and the free world, just as it prosecuted Hitler and his supporters, should prosecute Jivkov and his helpers also for everything they did to the Turks.

It is noticed that the general form of reaction of the Turks against all the oppression exerted on them as described above and the various specific reaction forms especially developed widely in the concentration camps and prisons of Bulgaria as described in cases cited bore some characteristics peculiar to Turks. In this connection, the childish attitudes or imitations of the Gestapo members which had been adopted by the Nazi prisoners did not appear among the Turks at all. On the contrary, their power of resistance increased all the more in the face of hardship. All the subjects whose tribulations described have not only refused to yield in the face of all kinds of Nazi violence applied to them but they were holding their heads high when they were leaving the prison, determined more than ever to resist the persecutions of the Bulgar.

It appears that the Turkish inmates of prisons utilized their time served there by re-inforcing their solidarity and thus, prepared the infrastructure for all the civil resistance movement they conducted through Bulgaria in 1989. A total submission like those adopted by the prisoners in Nazi Germany was not shown at all by the Turkish prisoners in Bulgaria. Similarly, the tendency to become influenced by indoctrination observed in some American soldiers in the Korean prisoners camps (Kinkead, 1959) did not occur in Turks either. Just like the Turkish prisoners in the Korean Camps, the Turkish inmates in the Bulgarian concentration camps such as Belene and others also listened to all the brainwashing efforts totally unimpressed and lost nothing from their culture, sense of identity or determination to resist. Thus, 1989 was reached.

And, Year 1989

1989 which was an unforgettable year for the peoples of eastern Europe was equally memorable for the Turks also. Soviet leader Michail Gorbachev, with two magic words, "perestroika" and "glasnost", made it possible to demolish like a hero of mythology, the walls of oppression and darkness of 70 years. First, the "**Berlin Wall of Shame**" was torn down amid singing and it was followed by the lifting of the iron curtains one by one. In the same days, the ethnic Turks of Bulgaria also began their actions of civil protest with the aim of getting rid of the sickening state terror and getting their share of the breeze of freedom blowing in Europe. No doubt, the advantage of the recent size of their population has been an added encouraging factor. In my studies among the Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria, I found out that nearly 90 percent of them had participa-

ted in the demonstrations organized by Turks in Bulgaria. Furthermore, almost all the subjects in the sample cases which we included in our study had actively taken part in the operations of the "resistance" organization in their regions.

We understand that the demonstrations that took place in Shumen had begun at the Tusvaniar village in late March and early April and went on without stop. The reflection of the incidents on the Turkish and world opinion took place in the following manner: Ten ethnic Turks sought asylum at the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia on 23rd April, 1989 and thus, drew attention to the situation.

On 1st May, 33 Turks traveled to Hungary ostensibly on a touristic trip. From there, they came to Istanbul over Vienna. Initiatives for organizing within the framework of the rights provided by the Bulgarian Constitution such as founding "Turkish Defence Organization" and "Democracy Organization", in short, tightening of complete solidarity among the Turks spread all over Bulgaria in the spring of 1989. When, in the meantime, five members of the society called "Turkish Union for Human Rights" were arrested, more than 300 Turks began a hunger strike for their release which was a new form of action. Beside the hunger strikes, protest demonstrations suddenly became widespread all over Bulgaria. The demonstrations staged with such slogans as, "we demand our rights", "we demand our names", "we will not give up our Turkish identity", "we are not slaves", and "we demand to live like human beings" were conducted in an extremely orderly fashion. Our interviewees who were either organizers or participants of those demonstrations described them as follows:

We used to put children of five or six years of age in the front rows. They were immediately followed by pregnant women. They in turn, were followed by women. Men took their position at the back rows. On some occasions, the Turkish flag was also carried. However, that was an unplanned, spontaneous event. In fact, our purpose in those marches was to avoid the creation of a fanatic image and avoid development of a belief about Turkey's inciting us. We organized those demonstrations solely for the purpose of demanding our rights as the ethnic Turkish minority. We did not carry guns. We were not going to a fight. We were walking only for democracy. Nevertheless, we regret that the red-bcrets did not hesitate to use arms against us.

At the demonstration at Razgrad, we decided to assemble in front of the Little Mosque. From there, we began to walk to

the Party headquarters, carrying placards and shouting slogans on the way and there, we held the main part of our demonstration. When those who tried to stop us at Shumen, Razgrad and Ozertse did not stop at using their fists and began to use guns, lives were lost on both sides.

When Turks took refuge in embassies in the face of Bulgarian oppression, staged hunger strikes and protest marches, these incidents enraged the Bulgarians, made them utterly restless and that, in turn, caused panic among them. Finally, Todor Jivkov, the head of the state of Bulgaria made a statement on the Bulgarian television on my 29th, 1989 in a style unbecoming to a statesman in which he said: "I call on Turkey to open its borders to all the Moslems who live in Bulgaria and who want to return to Turkey" and thus, challenged the Turkish Republic. Following that challenge, he began, in contravention of human rights and international law, to deport Turks at random, compelling them to leave all their belongings behind in the process. In the meantime, he invited Premier Turgut Özal to Bulgaria for a discussion for concluding an immigration agreement.

The Turkish nation gave a heartfelt welcome and love to those Turks who had been deprived of their homes and tried to alleviate the shock they had gone through and the pain they had suffered. During the period of two and a half months between June 2, 1989 and August 22, 1989, the date when Turkey prohibited entry without a visa, a total of 311,862 ethnic Turks of Bulgaria were made to emigrate to Turkey in a miserable condition. The purpose of that "compulsory emigration" was to eliminate the status of majority of the Turks in the demographic table of Bulgaria by expelling them from the country and to be able to assimilate those who stayed behind more easily as their leaders would have emigrated. It was seen, however, that the events did not exactly take the course planned by Jivkov as he was suddenly overthrown and arrested.

Thus, the actions of resistance that the Turks performed in a highly civilized and orderly manner struck the first and most powerful blow on the "walls of shame" erected in Bulgaria.

CONCLUSION

The subject of this study consists of an analysis of the 114-year-long resistance of the Turks of Bulgaria made from the vantage-point of a psychologist. There is no doubt that the "fight for dignity" of the ethnic Turks of Bulgaria has

constituted a most noble and most determined example of the fact that fights are not only fought at battlefields with arms but they can be fought by unarmed resistance too. The Turkish history is a glorious history replete with victories won at battlefields and with so many heroic legends. I believe, however, that the recent events have taught us that Turks have won victories not only in battlefields but even in P.O.W. camps also. Americans who examined the subject discovered that when the Turkish soldiers who had performed legendary heroism at the battle of Kunuri in the Korean war, won another kind of victory of "honor", this time, after they fell prisoner to the Chinese (E. Kinkead, 1959). When the conditions in which the ethnic Turks had to live in Bulgaria for the past 114 years are examined, it can be seen that their struggle through that period had been no less heroic than their behavior at the P.O.W. camps in Korea. In both cases, the Turks, as a means to overcome hardship have closed their ranks just as Bettelheim has recommended as a method for resisting the Nazi brutality; struggled undauntedly for years against all kinds of adversity and maintained the "awareness of their identity." Thus, they have demonstrated that heroism can take the form of dying a martyr's death when required as well as other forms of struggle put up to save the "honor".

In spite of all kinds of oppression and brutality inflicted in Bulgaria for the past 114 years with the purpose of eliminating the identity of the Turkish community, the Muslim Turks have persevered in their efforts to maintain their "values" and have won. After some writers described Hitler's barbarity as the ultimate limit, it has now become evident from the forms of man's inhumanity to man displayed in Jivkov's Bulgaria that there is no limit to the varieties of brutality. On the other hand, the fact that the Turks have been able to hold their ground there has demonstrated that the varieties of the methods of resistance cannot be exhausted either.

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(3) İbid. 40.

(4) İbid 44.

(5) İbid. 43.

(6) İbid. 93.

(7) İbid. 47.

(8) İbid. 4, 15.

(9) İbid 84.

(10) İbid. 96.

(11) İbid 86.

(12) İbid. 23.

(13) İbid. 24.

(14) İbid. 97.