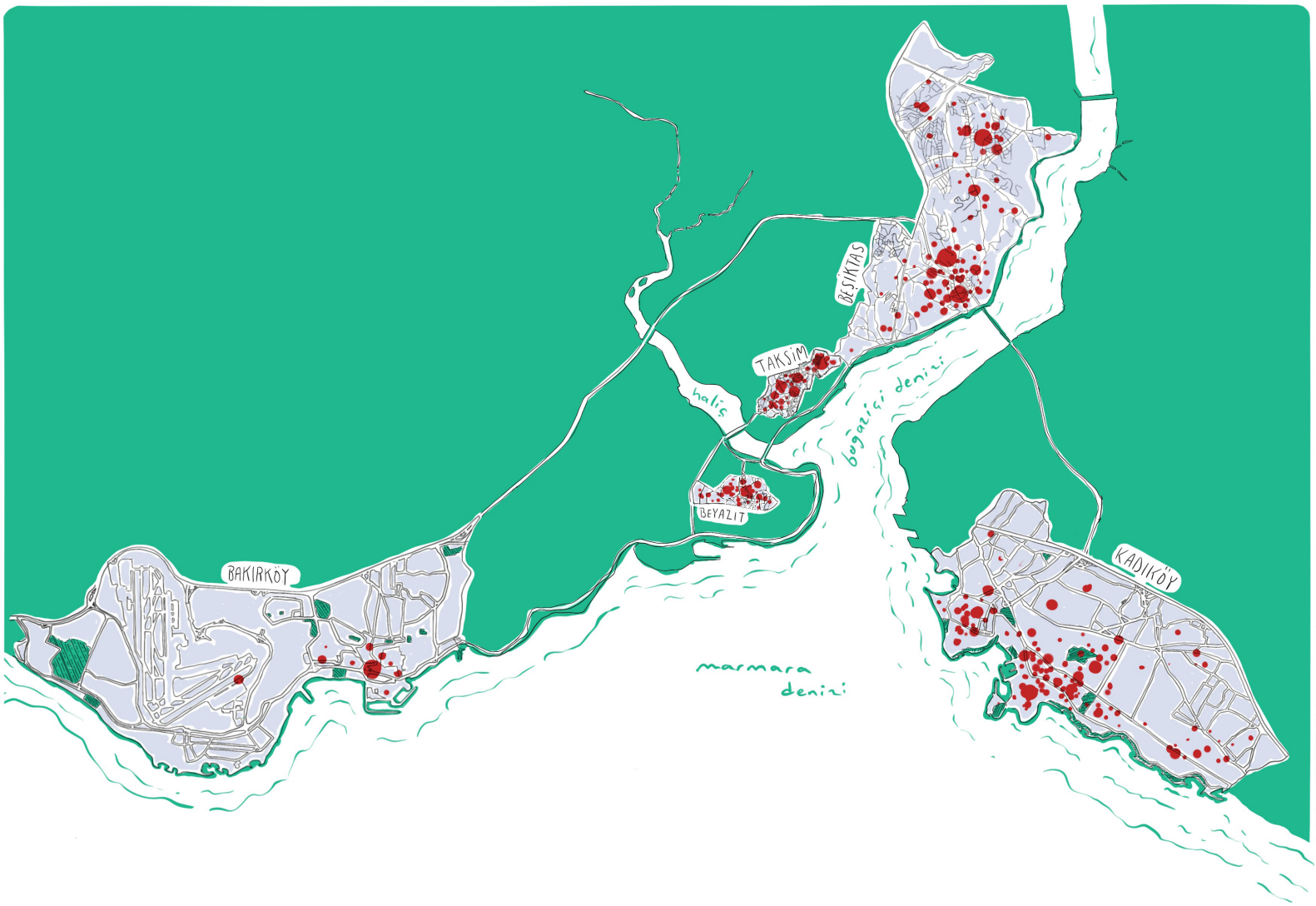
From Campuses to Squares, Streets to Cafés

Sites of Memory of Student Movements from 1985-2002

TURKEY REPORTS – 2024



Hakan Koçak
May 2023

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In memory of those who besieged campuses, squares and cities with their demands for a democratic, autonomous university, free education and a free future...

Report Writing

Hakan Koçak, was born in 1970. He graduated from Mimar Sinan University, Department of Sociology. He did his master's degree in the same department. He completed his PhD in Marmara University, Department of Labor Economics and Industrial Relations in 2009 with his thesis titled "Formation of the Working Class in the Paşabahçe District, Development and Orientations of the Glass Workers' Movement". He took part in training, organizing and publishing activities in unions such as Petrol-İş, DİSK and Tez-Koop-İş. He worked on oral history research projects at the History Foundation. While working as a faculty member at Kocaeli University, Department of Labor Economics and Industrial Relations, he was dismissed from his position in 2016 due to the Peace Declaration he signed. His research interests include labor history, city and space, sociology of work, and the dynamics of the development of the labor movement in Turkey.

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İlüstrasyon ve Tasarım:

Vardal Caniş, 1990, Adapazarı doğumlu, 2016 yılında Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Resim Bölümü'nü bitirdi. 2014 yıldan bu yana ilüstrasyon ve resim yapmakta, yayıncılık alanında çalışmalar yürütmektedir.

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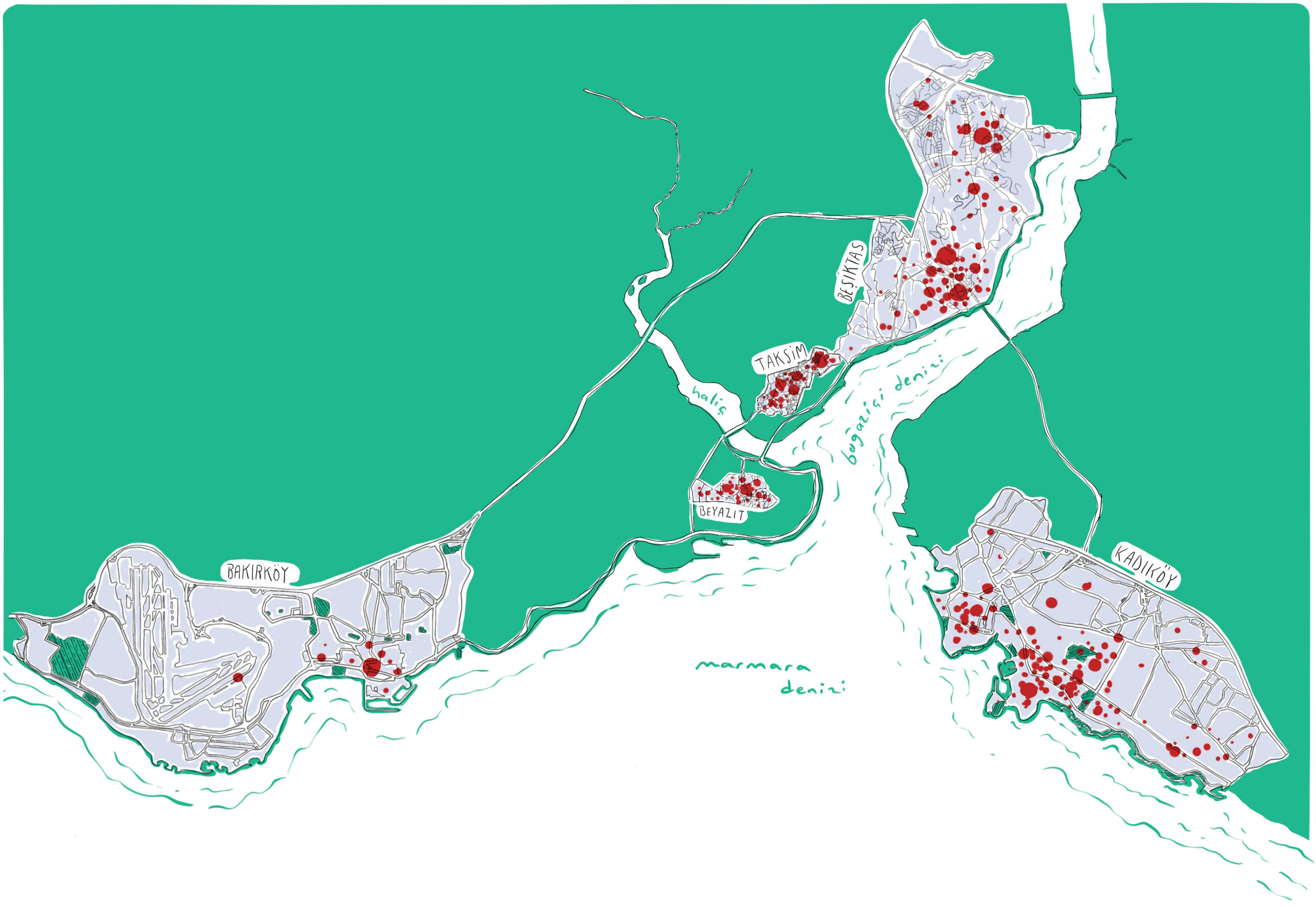
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Neither the past is gone nor the future
Hakan Koçak

This report is part of an exciting project that we have been pursuing by both filtering the testimonies of my personal past and the information, memories and evaluations put forward by those who rethink, discuss and appreciate that past, and trying to capture its spatial projection. We traced the student movement through the spaces that have been demolished or lost their meaning and context in the process of Istanbul's brutal transformation.

After the heavy destruction of the 1980 Coup, the revolutionary student movement, which re-emerged on campuses with great devotion and hope, became the dynamic force of social opposition in Turkey in the 1980s and 90s, just as it was before the 1980s. The struggle to defend publicism and science against neo-liberalism, and the autonomous-democratic university against authoritarianism continued in a fluctuating course for several generations.

In the mid-1980s, the process that started with the establishment of student associations and the first youth publications later turned into a militant movement that carried at its heart the internal struggles of different socialist groups. Later the associations, clubs, fronts and platforms were formed. Using a rich repertoire of actions such as occupations, marches, hunger strikes, refusals to leave school, pirate demonstrations, press releases, campus festivals, de facto rallies, etc., the student movement continued its existence by experiencing rises and falls. Each rise was accompanied by fascist and reactionary attacks as well as police repression. The demands raised by the student movement on campuses on the basis of equality and freedom were tried to be suffocated. The mainstream media slandered the movement and tried to criminalize it. The opposition students, most of whom come from working families, took serious risks, compromised their right to education and defended university values, the right to education and free campuses

The student movement of this period was both oriented towards overcoming the darkness of the 1980 Coup and was always compared to the great waves of the pre-Coup period and even 1968. In the climate of deep-seated social trauma created by the coup and within the new social map, perhaps the longed-for mass of the previous period could not be reached, but with the values and figures it produced, it was able to create a tradition of struggle that later fed many other areas of social opposition.

In Istanbul, which is the center of the student movement in this period as it was before, we traced the spaces where revolutionary students socialized, participated in cultural and artistic activities, and created and maintained their own sub-cultural communities. Some of them had a similar characteristic in the previous period. But we have seen and tried to show that in parallel to the transformation of the city with the expanding city and the increasing number of universities, the memory sites of the student movement have also expanded and multiplied. Of course, this is a beginning and an effort that will multiply itself.

It is our responsibility towards both our past and our future not to forget and let people forget.

Prologue
Eylem Delikanlı

In this second installment of the Research Institute on Turkey Collective Memory Working Group's report and mapping study, Spaces of Memory from Beyazıt Square to Taksim Square - 10 Years of the Revolutionary Student Movement (1975 - 1985), which was completed in 2022, we focus on the student movements between 1985 and 2002. In addition to the line between the two major squares of the previous report, we examine a wider periphery that includes other districts of Istanbul. Our aim is to understand whether the places of past memory in these lines that have changed and expanded over time overlap with the places we trace during 1985-2002, and to trace the public space that gained importance and expanded with these movements while marking the nature of student movements that took shape in different periods. Through this marking, while trying to decipher the political course of the student movements that sprouted from the revolutionary movements before 1980, we tried to convey the temporal projection of the process leading to today's shrinking public spaces, and to understand the 90s as a period between two periods of repression in which we could be relatively hopeful about the future.

As a writer and editor, it was of course exciting to look back at our own student years, the political atmosphere, the struggle, and the socio-cultural spaces of those years, many of which are no longer in place today, without overlooking Turkey's political conjuncture of those years. Nevertheless, we must say that this experience was accompanied by a subtle ache, a longing for the solidarity, struggle and hopeful days of the past. Let us add that we wish this effort, which we consider as a beginning, to grow with a collective effort, just like in the past, and to turn into a holistic memory study of the period.
The starting point of our study on memory spaces is the oral history studies on the September 12, 1980 Coup d'état conducted by the Research Institute on Turkey.1 Continuing from the previous period, in this report, we focus on the past relationship with space, how witnesses relate to these spaces today, and the ways in which they remember past events and phenomena by holding on to spatial features. In our first report, we tried to get a picture of the student movement by looking at Beyazıt Square, Taksim Square and the different lines connecting these squares.

In this report, we have focused on the student movement that regained momentum in the 90s after the 1980 Coup and the student movements and their memory spaces that differed in many aspects from their forms of action to their organization and their discourse in the years that followed. We can say that this is the first comprehensive study on this period. In parallel with the expanding student movement, we took photographs and made video recordings in an area spread across different districts of Istanbul. In addition to the Beyazıt - Taksim line, we have listed memory sites in Beşiktaş, Kadıköy, Ortaköy, Boğaziçi and Bakırköy. 41 of them have been photographed and their contents have been prepared. We have listed all the sites that we could not view at the end of each region. We think that this listing work will continue to increase.

Another part of this report is oral history research. In the records we started with 10 names from the student movements of the period, you will encounter a wide range of narratives ranging from the student struggle, its institutions, groups and initiatives, as well as the socio-cultural spaces, political debates and organizations of the period. Although the focus of these narratives is on Istanbul, we did not limit our recordings to it. Likewise, it was not possible for us to provide all political representation with 10 names and to reach all groups in terms of timing. Therefore, we consider the oral history part of the study as a beginning that complements the report.

Our expectations going forward

With this mapping study:
To enrich the information and documents about the memory spaces where the student struggle was organized between 1985-2002 in Istanbul;
Trace the continuity of these policies of transformation and amnesia by recording the memory sites that have been destroyed or transformed layer by layer within this kind of urban transformation;
To create the possibility of establishing connections between seemingly unrelated historical events and memory sites;

To realize a sound-walk project that includes a mapping and narratives integrated with the space with the help of technology based on both studies;
To find the physical/virtual tools that will enable these places to be remembered with all their historicity within the framework of cooperation with local governments with a collective understanding;
In the next leg, to look at the memory spaces of the student struggle between 2002 and 2023;
In the future, we hope to organize memory tours covering these places, to read an important link of recent history through these places, and to be able to transfer this growing and enriching knowledge to future generations.

Beyazıt and the Surrounding Area

1- Beyazıt Square
2- Street on the Beyazıt-Laleli-Aksaray walking path
3- Istanbul University School of Press and Broadcasting
4- Istanbul University Rectorate
5- Hergele Square / Istanbul University Faculty of Literature Canteen
6- Çapa Medical Faculty Garden
7- Tomorrow Magazine Bureau
8- Vatan Police Headquarters
9- Atatürk Student Dormitory
10- Edirnekapı Student Dormitory
11- State Security Court
12- Galata Bridge



Beyazit and its Surroundings

Beyazit Square

Beyazıt Square, which we mentioned in our previous report titled “Spaces of Memory from Beyazıt Square to Taksim Square”, has been the center of the student movement since the 1960s, and this characteristic continued in the same way in the 80s and 90s.

The march to Beyazıt in April 1987 and the Hunger Strike that took place in Beyazıt Square immediately afterwards marked the turning point in the new wave that started with student associations in the mid-80s.

In the mid-90s, in another phase of ascendancy, the Student Coordination’s big breakthrough, the December 20 Action, was organized with the slogan “Imagination is in Beyazıt” and years later it attracted attention with its massiveness, enthusiasm and new discourse and action style. In the following period, many actions of both the Coordination and the Platform took place in Beyazıt.

March 16, Newroz, and the November 6 Higher Education Council (YÖK) Protest were also held in Beyazıt. Different left-wing student groups sometimes organize protests together and sometimes at different times on the same day in or near the square.

Beyazıt is also a point where the revolutionary students inside and those who came from other schools to show solidarity after the frequent fascist attacks on the central campus of Istanbul University, the center of the student movement, met in mass protests. The scene where the iron bars of the magnificent historical gate, the symbol of Beyazıt, were forcibly opened and the anti-fascist students inside poured into the square with enthusiastic slogans symbolizes the spirit of the period. Years later, on November 3, 2016, the same scene was repeated, this time by academics, many of them one-time Coordinators, who had been dismissed by the state of emergency decrees, and their supporters and students. Those who came out of the Beyazıt gate and those who greeted them protested against the KHK dismissals with the Coordination’s famous slogan “The decree is state’s and the universities are ours”.



Beyazıt Meydanı, 2023
Video-fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

1 https://www.bellekmekanlari.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/USE_Beyazit_Meydani1_1.mp4



90’lı yıllarda Beyazıt Meydanında gerçekleştirilen bir Newroz gösterisi.



İstanbul Üniversitesi,
Barış için Akademisyenler Eylemi, 2016.
Hakan Koçak Arşivi

Street on the Beyazit-Laleli-Aksaray Street line

Ordu Street, which stretches from Beyazıt to Aksaray and is also a tram route today, became the venue for mass marches during the rise of the student movement.
On April 14, 1987, nearly two thousand students gathered in Aksaray to protest the Uniform Association law that the ANAP government wanted to introduce and started a march towards Beyazıt. After marching in silence for a while, the marching column began to sing an adapted version of Pir Sultan Abdal's ballad "Gelin Canlar Bir Olalım" (Come, Canlar, Let's be One) as the mass approached the Faculty of Literature in Vezneciler:

"Come, canlar, let's be one,
Let's take your student right,
Enough of servitude to the Higher Education Council,
Let's end this confusion."

The march was later dispersed by police force. However, the April 14th March became one of the symbolic actions of the rise of the student movement after 1985.

In the 90s, this place would frequently be the route of pirate demonstrations and marches. After the gatherings in Beyazıt were dispersed by the police, the masses blocked the street and marched towards Aksaray.



İstanbul Üniversitesi Beyazıt Kampüsü, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi önünde dönemin sloganlarını içeren pankartlar ve duvar yazıları.





**Beyazıt, Laleli, Aksaray yürüyüş yolu, 2023
Video-fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir**

Istanbul University School of Press and Broadcasting

Founded in 1950 as the “Journalism Institute” affiliated with the Faculty of Economics of Istanbul University, the school, which experienced status and name changes from time to time, continued its education in its new building under the name of the School of Press and Broadcasting with the Higher Education Law enacted after September 12. Today, this first journalism school of Turkey continues its education as the Faculty of Communication.

On December 1, 1989, revolutionary students, protesting the raid on the Istanbul School of Press and Broadcasting by a group of nationalist students, set up a barricade and occupied the school for six hours. After a clash with the police, the school was evacuated and nearly 200 students were detained. Alper Taş, one of the leaders of the occupation, would later become a prominent figure in the socialist movement. Taş was exposed as the ringleader in the mainstream media at the time. Some of those who participated in the occupation were a





İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi, 2023
video-fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi, 2023
video-fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Istanbul University Rectorate

Istanbul University Rectorate Building is located where the Old Palace, the first Ottoman palace in Istanbul, was built. Built by French architect Marie-Auguste Antoine Bourgeois in 1865-1866, the building was used as the Ministry of War (Ministry of National Defense) of the period. When the Ministry of Warfare was moved to Ankara with the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, the building was given to the Darülfünun and with the “University Reform” in 1933, it was used as the Central Building of Istanbul University.

The Rectorate became the center of the movement with the occupations that took place during the great wave of the student movement in 1968. This tradition was continued by the student movement after 1980. At a stage when Student Associations were established and the movement was on the rise again with protests against the Higher Education Council (YÖK) and the Uniform Association Draft Law, another occupation took place on April 28, 1988.

On April 28, 1960, revolutionary students gathered to commemorate Turan Emeksiz, a student who lost his life during the protests against the Democrat Party, but the program changed in the morning when they heard that a female student was harassed by plainclothes police officers at the Faculty of Political Sciences. Their request to meet with the rector about the incident was rejected and the police entered the university. Hundreds of students gathered at the rectorate, set up barricades, blocked the doors and started an occupation. Despite the resistance, after a while the barricades were broken down and 158 students were detained. 31 of the detained students were arrested in the following days and put in prison. However, the occupation action constituted one of the turning points for the student movement.



İstanbul Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, 2023
video-fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



Fotoğraf: Erboğan Köseoğlu

YEMEK BOYKOTU VE OTURMA EYLEMİ — İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde önceki gün meydana gelen olaylarda gözaltına alınan arkadaşlarının serbest bırakılmasını isteyen öğrenciler, dün üniversite yemekhanesinde yemek boykotu yaptılar, daha sonra üniversite önünde oturarak gözaltıları protesto ettiler.

7 kentte öğrenci protestosu

İstanbul'da *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, İstanbul Üniversitesi İTÜ Ayazağa Kampusu, Marmara Üniversitesi Basın Yayın Yüksekokulu ve Yıldız Üniversitesi'nde* **Ankara'da** *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, Basın Yayın Yüksekokulu, Hukuk ve Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi'nde* **Adana'da** *Çukurova Üniversitesi'nde* **Diyarbakır'da** *Dicle Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi'nde* **İzmir'de** *9 Eylül ve Ege Üniversitesi'nde* **Kocaeli'de** *Devlet Mimarlık'ta* **Van'da** *100. Yıl Üniversitesi'nde yemek boykotu yaptılar.* **Orta Sayfada**

28 Nisan 1988'de gerçekleşen işgalde tutuklanan arkadaşları için Beyazıt Rektörlüğü önünde eylem yapan öğrenciler.



Öğrenci protestosu.
Fahrettin Erdoğan Arşivi



İstanbul Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, 2023
video-fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

The protests against the exorbitant increases in university tuition fees at the beginning of the 1995-96 academic year grew with the demand for equal and free education, and the occupation of Istanbul University on February 29, 1996 became one of the important actions of this process. In addition to the Student Coordination against tuition fees and free education, the University Students' Platform, formed by students affiliated to a number of socialist parties/groups, also continues its protests.[2]

The visible demand of the protest, which started with a mass rally organized by the platform in Beyazıt Square and turned into an occupation, was the registration of students who had not paid their tuition fees. The rally in Beyazıt Square continued with students entering the school and declaring that they would not leave the school until their friends were registered. Later in the day, about 500 students who remained at the school settled in a lecture hall and continued their protest there. Rector Bülent Berkarda canceled the school and the school was surrounded by the police. The revolutionary students, who had occupied the Rectorate for a long time, left the school at night, breaking through the police barricades and running. During this time, some were detained and arrested.

2 Örneğin Mart 1996'da üniversitelerin ticarethaneye dönüşmesini, harç zammını ve tutuklamaları protesto eden Koordinasyon'a bağlı öğrenciler Beyoğlu Mis Sokak'tan Taksim'e yürür. (https://yurtsever.org.tr/2016/20-yil-sonra-29-subat-isgali-24969/)

Hergele Square / Istanbul University Faculty of Literature Canteen

The roots of Istanbul University Faculty of Literature date back to the late 19th century. A faculty of literature under different names affiliated to Istanbul University has survived until today. Since its foundation, the Faculty of Literature has been operating in Sultanahmet, Çemberlitaş, Galatasaray and Zeynep Hanım Mansion in Beyazıt, and moved to its current building in 1951. The building was built by architects Emin Onat and Sedat Hakkı Eldem, prominent architects of the early Republican period. The public space of this historic faculty is Hergele Square, a large area that connects the Science and Literature Faculties, which were together for a long time. It is the heart of the school, connecting to common living spaces such as the dining hall, canteen and garden. The square was a political space where political student organizations set up stands, hung posters, organized forums and demonstrations. Revolutionary students often had to defend the square against Islamist and Nationalist groups, and serious clashes took place. In the 2008 film Bahoz (Storm) by director Kazım Öz, which focuses on the struggle of leftist Kurdish youth at university in the 90s, the space is reflected in this characteristic. The square, which was closed for a long time after the intensified protests and clashes, has recently taken its share from the increasing construction activities at Istanbul University and has undergone a renovation that has obscured its identity.





Hergele Meydanı, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Çapa Medical Faculty Garden

Istanbul University Faculty of Medicine is known as Çapa Faculty of Medicine in reference to its neighborhood. It is the oldest medical school in Turkey. On March 14, 1827, it started its activities under the name Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Adliye-i Şahane. In the Republican Era, with the University Reform, the name was changed to Istanbul Faculty of Medicine as the only Faculty of Medicine of Istanbul University. The faculty buildings started within the framework of Architect Kemaleddin Bey's projects and developed over time. Many socialists studied and struggled at Çapa Medical Faculty. The school was also to be one of the places of struggle for the increasing number of subcontracted health workers in the 2000s. In the 1990s, it became one of the places of action of the Student Coordination, which developed a struggle against the commercialization of education and the YÖK system.

On October 31, 1995, members of the Istanbul University Students' Coordination presented the "Eternal Tulip" award to Prof. Dr. İhsan Doğramacı, the architect of the Higher Education Council (YÖK), at a ceremony in front of the Çapa Medical Faculty canteen. This action was a striking example of the festive style of opposition developed by the Coordination.



Doğramacı: 'Ebedi lale'

İstanbul Haber Servisi - YÖK'ün mimarı Prof. Dr. İhsan Doğramacı, üniversite öğrencilerince "üniversiteye verdiği hizmetler"den dolayı "Ebedi Üniversite Lalesi" ile ödüllendirildi.

İstanbul Üniversite Öğrencileri Koordinasyonu'nca düzenlenen ödül töreni, dün Çapa Tıp Fakültesi öğrenci kantini önünde yapıldı. Çok sayıda öğrencinin katıldığı törende konuşan öğrenciler, Doğramacı'ya neden ödül verdiklerini şöyle anlattılar:

"Darbenin hemen ardından, üniversitelerde darbenin kurumlaşmasını sağlayan YÖK, üniversiteden uzaklaştırdığı yüzlerce hocamızın, binlerce öğrenci arkadaşımızın geleceklerini kararttmış, boşalan kadrolara uluslararası hiçbir çalışması olmayan insanları doldurarak üniversitelerimizin gericileşmesine zemin hazırla-

Arkası Sa. 17, Sü. 1'de

arkadaşımız **Lale Sarıibrahimoğlu**'nun haberine göre, ortada henüz net bir eğilim yok.

Önceki günkü Ortaklık Konseyi toplantısının ardından AP Dış İlişkiler Komitesi de dün konuyu değerlendirdi. Burada dört yaklaşım dikkati çekiyor-

Her vadede yüksek faizli Hazine Bonosu satışı VakıfBank Menkul

HABİTAT II için geri sayım

GÜNDEM

Cumhurbaşkanı Süleyman

Çapa Tıp Fakültesi Bahçesinde Öğrenci Koordinasyonu tarafından gerçekleştirilen Ebedi Lale eyleminin haberi.





3 Ocak 1990 Çapa Boykotu. Fahrettin Erdoğan Arşivi

Tomorrow Magazine Bureau

Yarın magazine is a culture and arts publication that the Turkish Workers' Party (TİP) circle started publishing in 1981. The magazine, which was published until 1988, gradually turned into a platform for the re-formation process of the student movement after September 12th. Those who carried out political activities around the magazine were known as "Yarıncılar" within the student movement. They became pioneers in the reorganization of the post-1980 student movement under the umbrella of student associations. In addition to its publishing activities, Yarın magazine office becomes a center where the associations process is organized. The magazine not only laid the intellectual foundations of the student movement but also provided an important intellectual contribution for young socialists. The Istanbul office of the magazine, which was founded in Ankara, is first located in Divanyolu. Then it moves to Çemberlitaş.



Yarın Dergisi Bürosu, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



Vatan Police Headquarters

Previously, the main places of detention for student protests were neighborhood police stations and the 1st Branch/Political Branch in Gayrettepe. In 1994, a large Security Directorate complex was opened on Vatan Street. In the second half of the 90s, those detained during protests began to be taken there. Large detention cells hosted many revolutionary students. Hundreds of Student Coordination activists who were brought here after the November 6 protest in 1996 were taken to the courthouse the next day, while many parents gathered in front of the building. The detainees could be seen through the bus windows and many were injured. Reacting to the events, relatives of the students started a spontaneous march towards the Sultanahmet Courthouse where the students were taken.

Today, Vatan Police Headquarters continues to be one of the most famous detention centers where those detained in democratic struggles are taken.



Vatan Emniyet Müdürlüğü, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Ataturk Student Dormitory

It was built and put into service in 1971. Located in Topkapı Cevizlibağ, it was the largest student dormitory of the post-1980s period with ten dormitory blocks, social facilities and an indoor sports hall. Before September 12, the dormitory, where male and female students used to stay together, was allocated only to male students after the coup. In the early 80s, one of the dormitory blocks was allocated to gendarmes in case of an incident.

In his memoirs, Nabi Kımran, one of the revolutionary students who took part in the student movement in those years, writes that the dormitory was headed by a stern, cold, Nazi-reminiscent officer known as “Gestapo”. The appointment of former military officers to manage the dormitories was in line with the understanding of the September 12 period. The dormitory hosted many revolutionary students. Apart from those who stayed here officially, there were also students who stayed illegally. Political organizations and meetings were held in the dormitory rooms and protests were organized on dormitory problems. For example, in 1986, protesting the poor quality of the food and the lack of food vouchers, students boycotted the cafeteria and occupied it with a silent sit-in.



Atatürk Öğrenci Yurdu.
Hakan Koçak Arşivi

3 Nabi Kımran, Ne Geçmiş Tükendi Ne Yarınlar, İletişim Yayınları, 2022

The dormitory buildings were demolished and renovated in 2012 and the facility was reopened as a student dormitory in 2015.



Atatürk Öğrenci Yurdu, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Edirnekapi Student Dormitory

It was built in the early 1960s. In the 70s, it came under the control of the Nationalists and was used as a base of attack and shelter. There were revolutionary students who stated that they were tortured here. Zeki Erginbay, who was murdered in 1977 under severe torture, was also allegedly tortured here. It has always been a place where political activities and conflicts were intense. After 1980, it maintained this characteristic.

Nabi Kımran, who spent 1985-86 in Edirnekapı Student Dormitory, writes in his memoirs that the director of the dormitory, a retired military officer, was interested in boxing and would get into arguments with the students. Despite the oppressive atmosphere in the dormitory, revolutionary students somehow managed to overcome the climate of fear through creative actions, and furthermore, in the student representative elections, the revolutionaries' candidates were successful.

Another revolutionary student, Tesadüf Özlem Demir, who lived in Edirnekapı Dormitory in the same years, recounts in her memoirs an action that developed rapidly after a student was hit by a car in front of the dormitory. The revolutionary students, who considered the lack of traffic lights and crossings in the area where the dormitory was located on Vatan Street as the cause of the accident, made speeches to the students they gathered in the dormitory canteen, then went down the street collectively and blocked the road. After a while, Mehmet Ağar, who was Deputy Security Director at the time, arrived and dispersed the protest, which he had first tried to end through persuasion, by using riot police in the face of the students' determination.



Edirnekapı Öğrenci Yurdu, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

State Security Court

The building, which used to be the Forensic Medicine Morgue where revolutionary students came to collect the bodies of their murdered friends in the 1970s, was used as the State Security Court (DGM) between 1985 and 1994. During these years, socialists and social opposition forces were tried in special-status DGMs, and DGMs ensured the continuation of the September 12 law. During the post-September 12 resurgence of the student movement, many revolutionary students were also tried and sentenced in DGMs. The building, located opposite the main entrance gate of Gülhane Park, is remembered as a frequent destination for students protesting at universities.
The State Security Court would later move to a building on the Beşiktaş coast, where it would continue to operate until 2004, when the State Security Courts were abolished by a constitutional amendment.

List:
Belge Publishing House



Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi, Beyazıt, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



KOVALAMACA - İstanbul'dan sonra, Ankara'da da polisle öğrenci karşı karşıya geldi. Abdi İpekçi Parkı'ndaki heykelin önünde toplanan öğrenciler, daha sonra Kızılay Postanesi'ne doğru yürüyüşe geçti. Öğrenciler, Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığı'nın önüne geldiklerinde polis "eylemin sona erdirilmesini ve dağılmalarını istedi". Bu uyarıyı tepkiyle karşılayan öğrencilerden 200 kadarı, polis engelini aşarak koşmaya başladı, polisin bazı öğrencileri gözaltına alması üzerine bir kovalamaca gözlendi.

Ankara'da öğrencilerin olaylı yürüyüşü

Büyük gözaltı

İstanbul'dan sonra dün de Ankara'da bin kadar öğrencinin yürüyüşünü polis coplayarak dağıttı. 173 öğrenci gözaltında.

Ankara'da Sıhhiye Alanı'nda yürüyüş yapan öğrencilerin eylemine Özal da tanık oldu.

Öğrenci temsilcilerinden oluşan 30 kişilik bir grup dün TBMM'de SHP Genel Başkanı Erdal İnönü ve DYP Genel Başkanı Hüsamettin Cindoruk'la görüştü.

İzmir 9 Eylül Üniversitesi'nde 60 öğrenci açlık grevine başladı.

İstanbul, İzmir ve Bursa'dan Ankara'ya yola çıkan öğrenciler Eskişehir'de buluştular. Öğrenciler bugün Ankara'da olacak.

Eskişehir'de yürüyüş yapan öğrencileri polis dağıttı, 12 kişi gözaltına alındı. 10. Sayfada

173 ÖĞRENCİ GÖZALTINDA — Güvenlik kuvvetleri olaylar sırasında 250 dolayında öğrenciyi gözaltına aldı, ancak bir bölümü daha sonra serbest bırakıldı. Kızılay civarında çevrilen öğrencilere karşı cop kullanıldığı gözlendi. Öğrenci dernekleri temsilcileri, gözaltındaki arkadaşlarının serbest bırakılmaması halinde açlık grevi yapacaklarını söylediler. Üst düzey bir emniyet yetkilisi ise, "Yapılan eylemin, siyasi yönü var mı, yok mu, bunu bilmiyoruz. Ama bu yürüyüş, kanuna aykırıydı" dedi. (Fotoğraflar: RIZA EZER)

63 öğrenci DGM'de

İstanbul'da önceki gün çıkan olaylarda gözaltına alınan 63 öğrenci dün DGM'ye sevk edildi. İfadeleri alınan öğrenciler yeniden 1. Şube'de gözaltına alındılar. DGM Savcısı, soruşturma tamamlanmadığı için öğrencilerin bugün yeniden DGM'ye getirilmesini istedi. Adana'da gözaltına alınan 8 öğrenci tutuklandı.

Haber Merkezi — İstanbul'da öğrencilerin önceki gün üniversitelerdeki tek tip öğrenci derneği yasa önerisini protesto yürüyüşü sırasında çıkan olaylar üzerine gözaltına alınan 63 öğrenci dün DGM'ye sevkedildi. İfadeleri alınan öğrenciler yeniden Gayrettepe'deki 1. Şubeye getirildiler. Adana'dan yola çıkarken Pozantı'da gözaltına alınan 8 öğrenci ise tutuklandı.

İstanbul Haber Servisi'nden Şenol Konukçu'nun bildirdiğine göre, dün saat 10.30'da iki polis otobüsüyle DGM'ye getirilen 11'i kız 63 öğrenci, otobüslerden tek sıra halinde indirilerek tutukluların alındığı bölüme konuldular. Öğrencilerin DGM'ye getirilişleri sırasında Sultanahmet çevresinde geniş güvenlik önlemleri alındı ve DGM binasının çevresi Çevik Kuvvet'e mensup polisler tarafından çevrildi.

Dün saat 13.30'da başlayan ve iki savcı tarafından alınan ifadelerin tamamlanması 4,5 saat sürdü. Savcılık ifadelerin alınmasından sonra soruşturmanın tamamlanması için 63 öğrencinin bugün tekrar getirilmesini istedi. Öğrenciler, saat 10'da getirildikleri DGM'den saat 18'de polis otobüsleri ile tekrar Gayrettepe'deki 1. Şube'ye götürüldüler. Soruşturmayı yürüten savcılardan Bülban Akbaş, hazırlık soruşturmasının henüz tamamlanmadığını, bugün yapılacak incelemelerden sonra durumun belli olacağını söyledi.

Gayrettepe'deki 1. Şube'de gözaltında tutulan öğrenciler şunlar:

İstanbul Üniversitesi öğren- (Arkası Sa. 10, Sü. 6'da)

Tartışmalı yasa tekrar komisyonda

TBMM Genel Kurulunda bulunan "tek tip öğrenci derneği" yasa tasarısı, Milli Eğitim Komisyonu'nun ANAP'lı Başkanı tarafından geri alındı. Yasa, İçişleri Komisyonunda görüşülecek. Geri alma emrini bizzat Özal'ın verdiği öğrenildi.

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu) — Hükümet, öğrencilerin yoğun tepkisine yol açan tek tip dernek konusunda yumuşadı. TBMM Genel Kurul gündemine dün giren yasa önerisi Başbakan **Turgut Özal**'ın talimatı üzerine bir kez de İçişleri Komisyonu'nda görüşülecek olması gerekçesiyle geri çekildi.

Öğrenciler dün TBMM'de muhalefet liderleriyle yasanın önlenmesi için görüşmeler yaparken, Milli Eğitim Komisyonu'nca benimsenen yasa önerisinin geri çekilmesini bizzat Başbakan Özal'ın istediği belirtildi.

Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanı **Metin Emiroğlu** önerinin geri çekilmesinden sonra Cumhuriyet muhabirinin **"Bu bir geri adım mı?"** sorusu üzerine, **"Hayır, geri adım sayılamaz. Yalnızca meseleyi yeniden değerlendirelim diye düşündük"** dedi. (Arkası Sa. 10, Sü. 6'da)

Emiroğlu: Yasa çok demokratik

Milli Eğitim Bakanı: *Eylemde haklı bir taraf göremedim. Herhalde eski şevkleri, istekleri kabarıyor. Yasa çok demokratik.*

DSP Genel Başkanı: *Tek tip dernek yasası geri çekilsin. Bu yasa ile AET başvurusu akıl almaz çelişki.*

10. Sayfada

Cumhuriyet Gazetesi. 16 Nisan 1987

Galata Bridge

Although the idea of connecting the two sides of the Golden Horn with a bridge dates back hundreds of years, modern bridges were built by Ottoman sultans from the early 19th century onwards. The fourth of these, the historic Galata Bridge, was built by a German company in 1912. Until the fire on May 16, 1992, this bridge was in use. The old bridge on pontoons would sway and the chains would creak as heavy vehicles passed. Under the bridge, facing the Golden Horn, close to Eminönü, Arzu Birahanesi, Erzurum Çayevi and later the rock bar Kemancı operated side by side. All of these places were also meeting places for revolutionary students. In the early 1990s, they would drink beer and chat with Ahmet Kaya. Political discussions were held here, and people would get together here before or after pirate demonstrations. The places were ideal for students to socialize cheaply. The construction of a new bridge was started with piles driven next to the historic Galata bridge. Before its construction was completed, in May 1992, the historic Galata Bridge was destroyed by fire of unknown origin. After the fire, the construction of the other bridge was accelerated and completed in December 1994 and opened in the place of the old bridge. The old bridge was connected in pieces to the docks around Hasköy in the Golden Horn. When the Galata Bridge burned down, the places mentioned above had to close down. Some of them opened in other places but lost their old quality. The new bridge



Galata Köprüsü, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



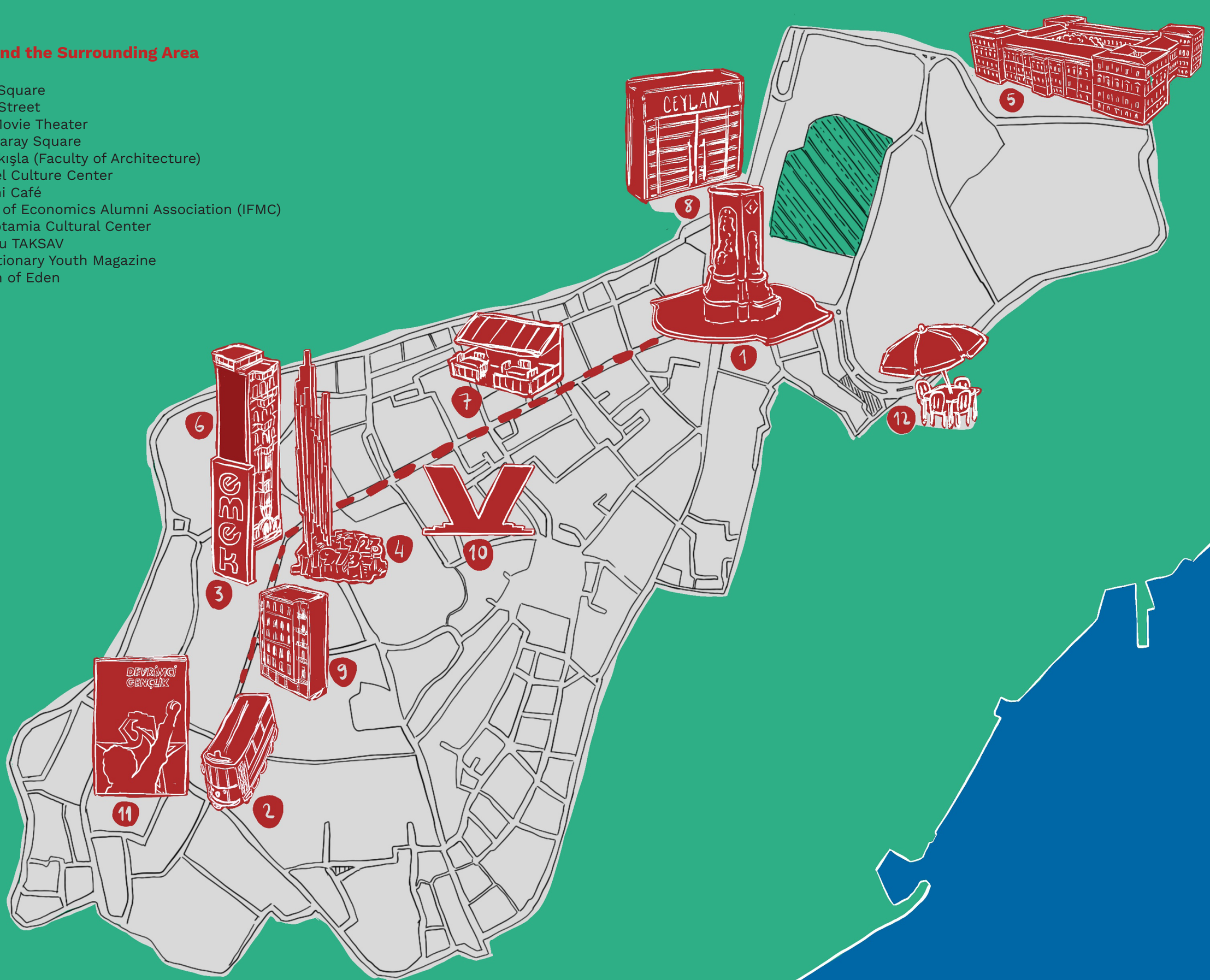
Galata Köprüsü, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



Galata Köprüsü, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Taksim and the Surrounding Area

1- Taksim Square
2- Istiklal Street
3- Emek Movie Theater
4- Galatasaray Square
5- ITU Taşkışla (Faculty of Architecture)
6- Evrensel Culture Center
7- Akademi Café
8- Faculty of Economics Alumni Association (IFMC)
9- Mesopotamia Cultural Center
10- Beyoğlu TAKSAV
11- Revolutionary Youth Magazine
12- Garden of Eden



Taksim ve Çevresi

Taksim Meydanı

“Beyazıt Meydanı’ndan Taksim Meydanı’na Bellek Mekanları” başlıklı önceki raporumuzda öğrenci hareketinin başlıca eylem mekanlarından olduğuna değindiğimiz Taksim Meydanı ele aldığımız dönemde özel olarak öğrenci hareketinin odağında değildir. Ancak 1978 sonrasında 1 Mayıs kutlamalarına kapatılan Taksim’in yeniden 1 Mayıs Meydanı olması için verilen fiili mücadelelere her yıl binlerce öğrenci de katılmış, gözaltına alınmış, şiddet görmüştür. 1990 1 Mayıs’ında Taksim’e çıkmak için yürüyüşe geçen gruplar içinde bulunan İTÜ Elektrik Fakültesi öğrencisi Gülay Beceren açılan ateşle yaralanarak felç olur.

Yasaklı Taksim Meydanı’nın 1 Mayıs’a açılması için verilen mücadeleler 2000’li yılların ortalarına kadar devam eder. Uzun mücadeleler sonucunda 2010 yılında Taksim 1 Mayıs gösterilerine açıldığında meydana akan büyük kalabalığın içinde yine üniversiteli devrimciler ve üniversiteli muhalif yapılar önemli bir dinamik olarak yer alırlar.

2013’te Meydan yine yasaklı hale getirilir. 1 Mayıs için Taksim’e yönelen gruplar büyük bir şiddetle durdurulur. AKP’nin iyice belirginleşen otoriterleşme eğilimlerinin bir göstergesi olan bu vakadan bir ay kadar sonra Taksim Meydanı Gezi Parkı’nın ortadan kaldırılmasına itirazla başlayan ve ülke tarihinin en büyük halk hareketlerinden birine dönüşen Gezi Direnişi’nin mekanı olacaktır.

Hem direnişte hem de Gezi Parkı’nda oluşan dayanışmacı komünde üniversiteli devrimciler etkin biçimde yer alırlar. Gezi, üniversitelerde öğrenci hareketinin dokunduğu kesimlerin de ötesinde binlerce öğrenciyi harekete geçiren, onlara farklı kimlik kazandıran bir



1950’li yıllarda Taksim Meydanıın görünümü



2013 Gezi Direnişi sırasında Taksim Meydanı ve burada bulunan AKM binasının görünümü



Taksim Meydanı, 2023.
video- foroğraf: Çağrı işbilr

Istiklal Street

İstiklal Street has always been one of the places of action where social opposition has gained visibility. In the 1980s and 90s, it was frequently used as a march route by various segments of the social opposition. At the same time, the avenue and the streets leading to it gradually acquired an oppositional social-cultural texture in these years, with cultural centers, publishing houses, bookstores, cinemas, theaters and cafes. Young revolutionaries from universities socialized here, participated in cultural exchange and production. With political party buildings, cultural centers and magazine offices, many leftist political movements were directed from here.

İstiklal Street also witnessed the protests of the student movement during this period. The masses gathered in places such as Mis Street and Galatasaray Square and march along İstiklal Street or carry out actions such as mass telegraphing from the Post Office. The avenue and the streets around it also functioned as a place where revolutionary youth found each other, met and made decisions for the next day after protests in different places or clashes with fascists.

Istiklal Street was also the venue of the Istanbul Pride Parade, which was held for the first time in 2003, with the largest number of participants in 2011 and 2013, and the March 8 Feminist Night March.



İstiklal Caddesi, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

4 Örneğin Mart 1996'da üniversitelerin ticarethaneye dönüşmesini, harç zammını ve tutuklamaları protesto eden Koordinasyon'a bağlı öğrenciler Beyoğlu Mis Sokak'tan Taksim'e yürür. (https://x.com/GunlukArsiv/status/1237296190380793862?s=20)



İstiklal Caddesi, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



Emek Cinema

One of the focal points of the cultural life of the period is the Emek Cinema. The cinema opens in 1924 under the name Melek Cinema in the backyard of the Cercle d'Orient, the famous Grand Club building built by Abraham Pasha for architect Alexandre Vallaury in the early 1880s. Together with the complex of buildings in which it is located, the cinema undergoes renovations over time, is closed and reopened. In late 1950, it was renamed Emek Cinema under the management of Emek Film, which was founded by the Pension Fund. In 1993, the cinema underwent a restoration and in 2000, the seats and sound system were renewed and modern technology was introduced.
Emek Cinema becomes a center of attraction where crowded screenings of many local and foreign films are held.
Since the mid-1980s, the cinema has hosted the Istanbul Film Festival and İKSV's Filmekimi event, and has become a place where young people meet with cinema. From the 1990s until 2010, the project to demolish the complex of buildings of protected historical value, including the Emek Cinema, and turn it into a shopping center was accompanied by complex legal processes and struggles. In 2010, an intense struggle began to prevent the closure of Emek Cinema. The protests, in which cinema artists took part and which were embraced by a wide range of people, were accompanied by the legal struggle waged by non-governmental organizations, particularly the Chamber of Architects. The protests were met with increasingly harsh police interventions.
The struggle for the Emek Movie Theater is a continuation of the various struggles against the neo-liberal attack throughout the 90s in the field of culture and arts. Names such as Can Atalay and Begüm Özden Fırat, who were active subjects of the student movement, also took part in the struggle.



Emek Sineması Direnişi - Can Atalay, 14 Mart 2013. video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



Emek Sineması İstanbul Film Festivali biletleri, 2000. Eylem Delikanlı arşivi



Emek Sineması Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

In May 2013, the historical building in which Emek Movie Theater was located was forcibly and unlawfully demolished and replaced by Demirören Shopping Mall. Although the project owners claimed that they were moving Emek Cinema into the shopping mall, democratic public opinion never accepted this. The demolition of Emek Cinema is seen as a symbolic part of the ongoing capitalization process on Istiklal Street. The process in which it has become more difficult and expensive for students with limited budgets and those who live off the labor of the society to access cinema, art and culture continues today.

Galatasaray Square

Galatasaray Square, the midpoint of Istiklal Street, has always been a prominent site of social opposition as a visible point of action. It is a common sight on Istiklal Street to see protest groups gathering in the square and marching down the street to Tünel or up to Taksim, or groups marching from there and demonstrating from Galatasaray Square.

For example, on November 21, 1995, members of the Student Coordination marched in front of the Post Office in Galatasaray Square and made a statement saying that they would follow up on the 350,000 signatures they had collected and sent to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey against the hikes in university tuition fees.

Undoubtedly, the most important action that took place in the Square and has gradually become synonymous with it is the silent sit-in of the Saturday Mothers/People, which started in 1995 and continues to this day. The Ocak family and human rights defenders launched the “Don’t Touch My Friend” campaign to find Hasan Ocak, who was detained on March 21 after the Gazi Massacre and was never heard from again. At each demonstration, a name of an enforced disappeared person is commemorated and the demand for the perpetrators to be found is voiced. The enforced disappearance of Hasan Ocak resonated greatly among the student youth. His family found his tortured body in the Beykoz Forest on May 15, 1995. University student revolutionaries were often among the participants of this historic action. The tragedy is that many university students who disappeared under custody, such as İsmail Bahçeci, Soner Gül, Hüsamettin Yaman, Cüneyt Aydınlar, were among those whose fate was asked during the demonstration. The darkness that hovered over the social opposition in the 90s also took many young activists and pioneers of the student movement from our midst.



Üniversite harçlarına yapılan zamları protesto için Galatasaray Postanesi’ne yürüyen 100 kadar Öğrenci Koordinasyonu üyesi, toplanan 350 bin imzaya rağmen bir adım atılmamasını eleştirdi



Üniversite harçlarına zamları protesto için meclise gönderilen imzalar hakkında Öğrenci Koordinasyonu açıklaması (Cumhuriyet, 22.11.1995)

Öğrenciler, Meclis’ten yanıt bekliyor

İstanbul Haber Servisi - Üniversite harçlarına yapılan zamları protesto etmek için toplanan 350 bin imzanın takipçisi olduklarını belirten öğrenciler, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi’ne (TBMM) telgraf çektiler. İstiklal Caddesi’nde **“Ferman devletinse, üniversiteler bizimdir”, “Param yok, derdim YÖK”** pankartları açarak yürüyen yaklaşık 100 kadar öğrenci, Galatasaray Postanesi önünde basın açıklaması yaptı.
Toplanan imzaları 20 ekimde TBMM Başkanlığı’na sunduklarını söyleyen öğrenciler, aradan bir ay geçmesine karşın bir açıklama yapılmadığını ifade ettiler. Üniversitelerin özerkleşmesinin gerektiği belirtilen açıklamada, **“Bağımsız, demokratik Türkiye istiyoruz”** denildi.
Şiddetli yağış altında süren eylemde güvenlik güçleri öğrencilere müdahale etmedi.
(Fotoğraf: KEREM ILGAZ)

The sit-in in Galatasaray Square continues to be a symbolic act of civil disobedience in Turkey, despite all the interruptions, lawsuits, etc. it has experienced from time to time due to police force.Since May 27, 1995, the Saturday Mothers/People have continued their silent protests in Galatasaray Square despite bans, attacks and detentions.On November 11, 2023, the square, which had been under police blockade and closed to rights defenders since the 800th week of meetings, was reopened to protests as a result of the determined struggle of the Saturday Mothers/People.

Despite the increasingly authoritarian and forbidding climate of recent years, Galatasaray Square continues to be one of the main venues for protests or protest attempts.

ITU Taşkışla (Faculty of Architecture)

Taşkışla was built between 1846-1852 during the Ottoman period by the British architect Williams James Smith and his assistant, the Ottoman journeyman İstefan. The building was designed as a hospital for the Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane (Military Medical School) using the new renaissance style. It was later used as a military barracks. During the March 31 events, it was the scene of clashes between the Hunter Battalion and the troops of the Movement Army, which were inside Taşkışla. After the proclamation of the Republic, Taşkışla was transferred to the Ministry of Education. After 1950, it underwent a major renovation and started to be used as the Rectorate of Istanbul Technical University and the Faculty of Architecture-Construction. In 1983, it was listed as a first class historical building in need of protection by the Supreme Council of Antiquities and Monuments. In 1980, when ITU moved its campuses in the city to the Ayazağa Campus in Maslak, the evacuation of Taşkışla was also on the agenda. The government of the period leased the building to a construction company for 49 years to be used as a hotel. Upon this, some faculty members filed a lawsuit in the Administrative Court in 1988 for the annulment of the decision. During this process, the students of the Faculties of Architecture and Shipbuilding, who were studying in the building at the time, demonstrated their reactions against the attempt to turn the building into a hotel with sit-in protests, press statements, forming a chain around the building, etc. Taşkışla is still used as ITU Faculty of Architecture.

Taşkışla has always been a lively meeting point for the student movement. It was lively with its history, inner courtyard with pool, large lecture halls and canteen. The founding meeting of the Student Coordination in 1995 was also held here.



İTÜ Taşkışla Mimarlık Fakültesi, 2021.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Evrensel Culture Center

Evrensel Kültür magazine, which began its publishing life in December 1991, stood out as a long-running publication until it was shut down by the State of Emergency Decree Law in 2016. Under the editorial direction of Aydın Çubukçu, many culture, literature and art producers contributed to the magazine over time. The People's Liberation and Labor Party circle that publishes the magazine also establishes and operates the cultural center of the same name on Istiklal Street, the center of cultural life at the time.

The Evrensel Cultural Center, which operated on the top floor of the historic Aznavur Passage in Galatasaray Square on the avenue, became a meeting place for university student revolutionaries and a venue for political and cultural activities.



Aznavur Pasajı, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Akademi Cafe

Mis Street, one of the streets leading to Istiklal Avenue, was one of the places of both action and socializing for the social opposition in the 90s. Numerous cafes and bars on the street attract attention as places where left-wing political activists continued to gather. From time to time, the street is also used as a gathering point to start marches. Akademi Cafe is also one of the places where especially the Student Coordination circle continues to gather. Located at the end of the street on the left-hand side as you enter from Istiklal Street, the ground floor of the café, which has a large hall, is one of the main meeting points of the Coordination on the evenings of important days of action.

Parallel to the rapid and continuous change in Beyoğlu, Akademi Cafe closed down and was replaced by other venues with different names. However, Mis Street continues to be one of the focal points of social opposition and recently especially LGBTI+ protests.



Mis Sokak, 2021.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Faculty of Economics Alumni Association (IFMC)

Istanbul University Faculty of Economics Alumni Association (İFMC) was founded on March 1, 1943 by the first graduates of the faculty in order to develop solidarity among the graduates of the Faculty of Economics and to ensure that the issues on Turkey's agenda are discussed from an Economics perspective and that solutions to problems are found on healthy grounds. It has made significant contributions to intellectual life with the seminars, conferences, etc. it has organized and its regular publication İktisat Magazine. From the 1980s to the 2000s, the Society's clubhouse in the Ceylan Apartment building in Elmadağ, Taksim, directly opposite Gezi Park, was one of the main meeting and discussion places for left-wing intellectuals and students.

Professors from the Faculty of Economics such as Gülten Kazgan, Asaf Savaş Akat, Tülay Arın, İzzettin Önder and journalists and writers such as Çetin Altan and Murat Belge participated in important discussions. It was also a place where one could have a drink under relatively economical conditions.

Ceylan Apartment Building, where the clubhouse is located, was designed by the famous architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem and built in 1932-1933. The building is known as "the ship" because of its forward-extending structure and its balcony overlooking the park.

In recent years, the İFMC clubhouse has moved to another building next to AKM.



İktisat Fakültesi Mezunlar Cemiyeti, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Mesopotamia Cultural Center

Founded on September 27, 1991 by a group of intellectuals and artists including Musa Anter, İsmail Beşikçi and Ali Temel, the Mesopotamia Cultural Center (in short: MKM, Kurdish: Navenda Çanda Mezopotamya; NÇM) begins its activities in its building on İstiklal Street. In the following years, it moves to the building in Tarlabaşı, which it will occupy for many years. However, it was forced to vacate this building in 2020. Until its closure on November 12, 2016 with the State of Emergency Decree Law, it was a place of collective work for the development and promotion of Kurdish culture and art.

In the 1990s, it was one of the main places frequented by Kurdish students. It also functioned as a school where Kurdish youth learned about their culture and contributed to its development through artistic activities such as music, theater, etc. In addition to subjects such as Kurdish language, literature and history, MKM established new music groups and released their albums, which led to a great increase in the number of music groups. Koma Mezrabotan, Koma Çiya, Agirê Jîyan, Koma Azad, Koma Rojhilat, Koma Rewşen etc. are some of the music groups that continued their work at MKM. Kurdish bands and artists took part in student festivals, nights and demonstrations during the semester, adding enthusiasm with their music. At the same time, MKM and especially its musicians made a great contribution to creating a strong awareness within the student movement on themes such as the brotherhood of peoples and cultural diversity.



Mezopotamya Kültür Merkezi eski binası, Taksim, 2023.
Fotoğraf - Video: Çağrı İşbilir

Beyoğlu TAKSAV

Founded in 1993 by intellectuals such as Oğuzhan Müftüoğlu, Can Yücel, Rıfat Ilgaz, Korkut Boratav, Fikret Başkaya, Emil Galip Sandalcı, Halit Çelenk, Aytaç Arman, the Foundation for Social Research, Culture and Art (TAKSAV) not only carried out cultural and artistic activities but also served as a meeting and socializing place for those involved in the student movement in the 90s. The Foundation's clubhouse, located in Beyoğlu, is a political center for students from the Revolutionary Youth and ÖDP. Many of the discussions within the Student Coordination and ÖDP Youth took place in this venue. Among students from these circles, the place was known as the Foundation for short.



TAKSAV eski binası, Taksim, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

TAKSAV moved to Kadıköy in the following years. Today it continues its activities in its building in Moda, Kadıköy.



TAKSAV, Kadıköy, 2024.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Revolutionary Youth Magazine

The formation that took shape in 1988-89 after the divisions and debates within the Revolutionary Path tradition began to publish the magazine “Revolutionary Youth Against Imperialism and Fascism” in January 1990. Its first office was in Cağaloğlu, on the right when you turn from the Cağaloğlu slope towards the Basilica Cistern. Later, he moves first to the neighborhood of Tünel in Beyoğlu and then to Mis Street. On Mis Street, it first operates on the second floor of the building where the pharmacy is on the right at the entrance, and then again on the second floor of the apartment building at the end of Mis Street on the right.



Devrimci Gençlik Dergisi eski binası, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

The Revolutionary Youth circle is the most influential group in the student associations after Tomorrow. The theoretical contribution of the Revolutionary Youth magazine and the practical contribution of its supporters are of decisive importance in the emergence of the fronts established in schools after the extinction of the associations and the Coordination that gradually brought them together.



Devrimci Gençlik Dergisi.
Fahrettin Erdoğan Arşivi

Garden of Eden

The Garden of Eden was a secret garden overlooking the sea in Gümüşsuyu, accessed by the street leading from the German Consulate. It was frequented by leftist students. It was an ideal place for reading and conversation. In 1998, it was turned into the Sinai Development Bank Facilities

List:
Balo Street
Semerkant Bookstore
Istanbul Film Festival moviie theaters (Emek, Beyoğlu, Atlas, Alkazar)
Leman Kültür
Library of Alexandria
Karavan Rock Bar
Bulunmaz Cultural Center
Ataturk Culture Center
Cadı Kazanı



Cennet Bahçesi.
Epi Mimarlık websitesi.



Cennet Bahçesi, Gümüşsuyu, 2024.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Beşiktaş and the Surrounding Area

1- Yıldız Technical University Campus
2- Mimar Sinan University Campuses
3- Marmara University Faculty of Communication Campus (Nişantaşı)
4- Hunchback's Garden
5- Ortaköy Cultural Center (OKM)
6- Ortaköy Tea Gardens
7- Gayrettepe Branch 1 / Political Branch
8- Boğaziçi Campus



Besiktas Neighborhood

Yildiz Technical University Campus

The Yıldız Technical University (YTU) Campus, located next to Yıldız Palace on the right when you walk up Barbaros Boulevard from Beşiktaş, was one of the most active spaces for the student movement throughout the period. The Hünkar Apartment of Yıldız Palace, which was established in the early 1800s as a collection of buildings, parks and mansions, was transformed into the rectorate building of YTU in 1937. In 1937, the Nafia Science School was abolished and replaced by the Istanbul Technical School in order to meet the need arising from the increase in construction works and technical services in Turkey, and the school was allocated buildings from the outbuildings of Yıldız Palace, which are still in use today. In the 70s, the school became the Istanbul State Academy of Engineering and Architecture (DMMA); in 1982, it was renamed Yıldız University; and in 1992, Yıldız Technical University.

DMMA takes its place in history as the place where the revolutionary youth movement of 1968 suffered its first casualties. In December 1969, first Mehmet Sevinçbüyük was murdered and then Battal Mehetoğlu was killed in an armed attack by a fascist mob incited by a sermon preached in the mosque next door during his funeral. His funeral turned into a mass demonstration.



Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi. YTÜ Websitesi

In the period when student associations began to revive, the first legal association was founded at Yıldız University in 1984-85. The campus's large cafeteria and the canteen immediately adjacent to it became the focal point of revolutionary students and student association activity.

The March 2, 1990 occupation of Yıldız University was another important action of the period. On March 1, security forces entered the campus and detained many revolutionary students after a plainclothes policeman was beaten following a forum held by students belonging to a socialist group. The next day, a forum and march was organized to protest the events, but the administration canceled the school. Despite the decision, the first intervention of the police took place when the decision to hold the forum was not abandoned and moreover, when the decision to occupy the campus was being discussed. Meanwhile, some of the students retreated towards the rectorate and closed the door, and the occupation began. Towards the evening the police intervened violently and the occupation ended with the detention of around 100 students, many of whom were arrested. Those arrested were released after a hearing at the DGM on June 3.
In mid-1990, the YTU Freedom and Solidarity Front was one of the most dynamic pillars of the Student Coordination, which was formed from fronts in various schools. The Front attracted attention both with the activities and actions it organized on campus and with its vitality in the joint actions it participated in.



YTÜ kampüsündeki kantinde devrimci öğrenciler bir eylem sırasında halay çekerken.

Mimar Sinan University Campuses

The central campus of Mimar Sinan University (MSU) in Fındıklı and the Faculty of Arts and Sciences building on the Beşiktaş coast are vibrant sites of the student movement.
MSU, which has been teaching in the Cemile Sultan Palace building, which was built in 1859 and served as the Parliament building in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, since 1926, has its origins in the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi (School of Fine Arts) founded in 1882. This was the Faculty of Fine Arts; in old words, the “Academy”.

On September 3, 1991, 20-year-old Seher Şahin, a fashion design student and the daughter of a PTT worker, who was working at the Guidance Desk opened by the Istanbul Association for Solidarity with Higher Education Youth (İYÖ-DER) at Mimar Sinan University’s Fındıklı campus to support newly enrolled students and engage them in the struggle, was thrown to her death from the third floor by police officers trying to remove the desk. The incident caused great reactions. Her body is buried with a mass funeral on September 10.

MSU’s Faculty of Arts and Sciences in Beşiktaş is one of the most vibrant venues of the student movement in the 90s. Although the population of the school, which uses the building of an old tobacco warehouse, is relatively small, it becomes one of the remarkable places of the student movement with its central location and the active personalities among its students. The intense club activities in the early 90s gradually transformed into the MSU Opposition Front. The Front is an active organization with its protests against tuition fees, canteen forums, classroom activities, etc. It is also one of the leading formations of the Coordination. MSU Front shows a serious participation in all actions of the Student Coordination. Political groups outside the Coordination, revolutionaries affiliated to the Platform and Kurdish patriotic students also carry out active work at the school.

In the 2000s, the school moved to its new building in Bomonti. Today, it is still a school where students are active and mobilized.



Mimar Sinan Üniversite Fındıklı Merkez Kampüsü, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Beşiktaş Kampüsü, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Marmara University Faculty of Communication Campus (Nişantaşı)

Marmara Communication School is the oldest communication faculty in Turkey. Opened in 1948 as a secondary education institution under the name of Istanbul Journalism, the school continued as Istanbul Private Journalism School in 1967, and after it was made a public school in 1971, it started 4-year education under the name of Istanbul Journalism High School in 1973. In 1982, it was affiliated to Marmara University and continued its education as the School of Press and Publication. In 1992, it was transformed into the Faculty of Communication. In addition to the Faculty of Communication, Nişantaşı campus also houses the Faculty of Dentistry. The 26-acre campus land, which was put up for tender in 2018 as a controversial urban transformation project, was sold to DAP Yapı and the Faculty of Communication moved to Göztepe Campus.

Although it has a small campus and relatively few students, it is a school where dissident students are active. The faculty, where students from the Opposition Formation and Coordination were predominantly active, was in unity of action and resistance with other schools and faculties due to its location in the center of the city.



Marmara Üniversitesi Nişantaşı Kampüsü.
Marmara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi
Nişantaşı Kampüsü Instagram Sayfası Arşivi

Considered as the founder of communication science in Turkey, Ünsal Oskay worked as a professor and dean at Marmara İletişim for many years, and the name of the school became synonymous with him. Oskay made the Frankfurt School known in Turkey through his lectures and translations, and his lectures on the sociology of communication and the history of civilization at Marmara Communication were without exception attended by both internal and external dissident students. Many of his graduates, who were active in the student movement and continued their activism in different fields of struggle in the following years, became prominent figures in the field of communication and academia.



Marmara Üniversitesi Nişantaşı Kampüsü.
Marmara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi
Nişantaşı Kampüsü Instagram Sayfası Arşivi



Marmara Üniversitesi Nişantaşı Kampüsü.
Marmara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi
Nişantaşı Kampüsü Instagram Sayfası Arşivi

Hunchback's Garden

The place called Kamburun Bahçesi (Kamburun Garden) by the residents of Beşiktaş district, which serves as the Historical Tea Garden, is a large garden entered through a gate on the left about two hundred meters after entering Ihlamurdere Street from the sea side. The large area shaded by large, old trees served as a casino and summer movie theater in the past. In the 1980s, there was a tea garden with wooden chairs here. Residents of all ages and walks of life had the opportunity to chat in the traditional garden where they could drink beer as well as tea. In the late 80s, it was possible to watch events such as the Workers' Congress, concerts of revolutionary groups, etc. in the garden. Towards the end of the 1990s, a part of the garden was turned into a parking lot and another part into a restaurant. In recent years, the tea garden was completely liquidated and a night club, whose name was involved in incidents that were met with public outcry, began to operate. During this period, the garden was a meeting and chatting place for leftist students. Meetings and discussions were held at tables with plastic chairs in this place, which was also affordable for the student budget and where food could be brought from outside.



Kamburun Bahçesi.

Ortakoy Cultural Center (OKM)

It is a place where revolutionaries close to the Revolutionary Left circle go and where Grup Yorum organizes cultural events and concerts. It operated as an active cultural center with concerts, film screenings, courses, etc. from the 80s to the mid-90s. Many of Grup Yorum's music works, especially their cult albums such as June'da Ölmek Zor, were performed here. On 22.9.1989, the commemoration night for the poet Hasan Hüseyin turned into a magnificent event. The revolutionary artists performed the compositions made from Hasan Hüseyin's poems together with the hall filled to capacity with more than a thousand spectators. The next day the OKM was raided by the police and closed for a while on the grounds that slogans were being shouted during the night. Although the OKM was reopened after 20 days due to the reactions, it was subjected to raids and closures in the following years.

For many years, independent cultural centers like the OKM played an important role in the construction of a political ground that was destroyed in the years when the oppressive environment of September 12 was still making itself felt. Özgür Derya makes the following apt description:

"These cultural centers contributed to the expansion of the boundaries of dissident art by creating collectivism and interdisciplinary communication and transitivity in a way that had never happened before. Musicians provide music for theater plays, theater actors read poetry at music concerts, those with painting skills prepare posters, etc. The cleaning, tea and coffee are done in a collectivist manner, everyone undertakes all kinds of drudgery at events, hangs posters, sells tickets, carries chairs, etc."

The political cultural tradition established at the Ortaköy Cultural Center was continued



Kültür Merkezi eski binası, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

4 https://sendika.org/2020/06/grup-yorum-ya-da-bir-muhalefet-deneyimi-olarak-muzik-589051

Bayrampaşa Cezaevi'nde işgal

■ **İstanbul Haber Servisi** - Bayrampaşa Cezaevi'ne dün saat 10.00 sıralarında görüşe gelen 26 tutuklu ve hükümlü yakını ziyaret saati bitmesine karşın cezaevini terk etmedi. Cezaevi müdürünün odasını işgal eden ziyaretçiler, tüm uyarılara rağmen odadan çıkmamakta direndi. Bu sırada ailelere destek vermek amacıyla siyasi tutuklu ve hükümlüler öğle yemeğini kabul etmediler. Olay üzerine cezaevine gelen güvenlik kuvvetleri geniş önlemler alırken, basın mensupları içeri sokulmadı.

Fen lisesi sınav sonuçları

■ **ANKARA (A.A)** - Fen Liseleri ve Anadolu Öğretmen Liseleri sınavlarının sonuçları belli oldu. İlk dört sırada her iki sınavda da aynı öğrenciler paylaştı. Fen Liseleri Sınavı'nda ilk dört dereceyi alan öğrenciler ve puanları şöyle: 1. Ümit Aydeniz (836.715 puan)- Diyarbakır Anadolu Lisesi mezunu-Ankara Fen Lisesi'ni kazandı. 2. Serdar Şam (834.507 puan)- Manisa Turgutlu Anadolu Lisesi mezunu- İzmir Fen Lisesi'ni kazandı. 3. Ragıp Pala (832.206 puan)- Edirne Anadolu Lisesi mezunu-İzmir Fen Lisesi'ni kazandı. 4- Mustafa Sanlı (832.206 puan)- İzmir Bornova Anadolu Lisesi mezunu-İzmir Fen Lisesi'ni kazandı. Fen Liseleri Sınavı'na katılan 110 bin 399 kişiden 5 bin 296, Anadolu Öğretmen Liseleri Sınavı'na katılan 93 bin 252 öğrenciden de 8 bin 111'inin başarılı olduğunu kaydeden Milli Eğitim Bakanı Nevzat Ayaz, her iki sınavın en başarılı ilinin Konya olarak tespit edildiğini kaydetti.

Adı Çatalca'da yaşayacak

■ **İstanbul Haber Servisi**- Türkiye Yazarlar Sendikası (TYS) Başkanı Ataol Behramoğlu'nun adı Çatalca'da yaşayacak. Çatalca Belediyesi tarafından adı bir sokağa verilen Ataol Behramoğlu, yaşarken böyle gurur verici bir olayı görmekten son derece mutlu olduğunu söyledi. Çatalca İncegiz Köyü doğumlu olan Behramoğlu, Aziz Nesin'in de gömülü bulunduğu topraklarda kendi isminin anılmasının ayrı bir gurur kaynağı olduğunu belirtti.

Mitterrand'dan mektup

■ **Haber Merkezi**- Eski Fransa Cumhurbaşkanı François Mitterrand, Yaşar Kemal'e destek ve dayanışma mesajı gönderdi. 13 temmuz tarihli mektupta eski Cumhurbaşkanı'nın şu sözlerine yer verildi: "Ümit ederim ki ülkenizdeki adalet mekanizması, önünde çağımızın en büyük yazarlarından birinin ve aynı zamanda insanın ve kültürlerin temel haklarının savunucusunun durduğunu anlayacaktır."

Eski korucu öldürüldü

■ **İstanbul Haber Servisi** - Esenler'de pazarcılık yapan Enver Billi (47) adlı şahıs, dün iki kişinin silahlı saldırısı sonucu öldürüldü. Enver Billi'nin daha önce Siirt'in Şirvan ilçesinde köy koruculuğu yaptığı ve kısa bir süre önce ailesi ile birlikte İstanbul'a geldiği öğrenildi.

Polis memuru Güngör öldü

■ **İstanbul Haber Servisi**- Şişli'de bir süre önce otobüs durağında beklerken uğradığı silahlı saldırı sonucu yaralanan polis memuru Mustafa Güngör öldü.

Meclis'in 2. anayasa sınavı

▶ Partilerarası Komisyon'da, anayasa değişikliklerinin, '19. dönemin sonuna kadar' açık oyla yapılmasını öngören yasa önerisi kabul edildi.

▶ 18 temmuz salı günü görüşülmesine başlanacak bu maddenin, referandum zorunluluğunu ortadan kaldıracak 300 oyla kabul edilmesi için çaba harcanacak.

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu) - TBMM, ikinci kez anayasa değişikliği sınavı verecek. CHP Genel Başkanı ve Başbakan Yardımcısı **Hikmet Çetin** ve DSP lideri **Bülent Ecevit**'in çabaları ile yeniden oluşturulan uzlaşma zemininin ardından, Partilerarası Komisyon'da da, ortak önergeler üzerinde görüş birliğine varıldı. Partilerarası Komisyon'un iki günlük çalışmasından sonra; memurlara sendika, öğretim üyelerine de siyasal katılım hakkı tanınması, 21 maddelik anayasa değişikliği önerisi oylamasının **"açık"**yapılması ve zorunluluk doğması durumunda, halkoylamasının ilk genel seçimle birlikte gerçekleştirilmesi konularında anlaşma sağlandı. TBMM Genel Kurulu'ndaki görüşmelere 18 temmuz salı günü başlanacak. CHP Ankara Milletvekili **Mümtaz Soysal**, oylamanın açık yapılmasına ilişkin Anayasa Komisyonu kararına muhalefet şerhi koydu.

Anayasa değişikliği için TBMM'deki sol partilerin tekrar başlattıkları çalışmalar uzlaşmayla sonuçlandı. DYP, CHP, ANAP, DSP ve MHP temsilcilerinden oluşturulan Partilerarası Komisyon, dün sabah anayasa değişikliklerinin **"gizli oy"**la yapılmasını öngören 175. maddenin değiştirilmesine ilişkin yasa önerisini görüştü. ANAP, yalnızca 21 maddelik anayasa değişikliğinin açık oylama ile yapılmasını istediği için, komisyonda, 175. maddenin değiştirilmesi yerine, anayasaya geçici bir madde eklenmesi kabul edildi. Komisyonda, **"açık oy"** ilkesini getiren yasa önerisi ile memur sendikaları, öğretim üyelerine siyasal katılım hakkı ve halkoylamasının genel seçimlerle birlikte yapılmasını içeren önergeler, daha önce varılan uzlaşma doğrultusunda bütün partilerin temsilcileri tarafından imzalandı.

Toplantıda, Genel Kurul'daki görüşmeler sırasında, ortak imzayla verilen önergeler dışında önerge verilmemesi konusunda da görüş birliğine varıldı.

ANAP'in isteği doğrultusunda kabul edilen ve anayasaya geçici bir madde eklenmesini öngören yasa önerisi şöyle:

"Anayasa değişikliğine ilişkin kanun tekliflerinin maddelerine dair değişiklik önergeleri, maddeleri ve tümü üzerinde, TBMM'nin 19. dönem yasama döneminin son bulduğu tarihe kadar oylamalar, açık olarak yapılır."

Komisyonda varılan uzlaşma doğrultusunda, kamu sendikaları ile *ilgili* düzenlemeler konusunda iki önerge hazırlandı. Anayasa değişikliği önerisine yeni bir madde eklenmesini içeren önerge, anayasanın 53. maddesinin değiştirilerek, memur sendikalarının idareyle toplu görüşme yapabilmelerini öngörüyor. Çalışanların tanımlandığı 128. madde üzerinde verilmek üzere hazırlanan ikinci önergede de, **"memur"** tanımı yeniden yapılırken, bu statü dışında kalan **"çalışanlar"** ve emeklilerinin, sendika kurmalarına ilişkin esasların yasa ile belirleneceği hükmü getiriliyor.

Komisyonda, 67. maddede değişiklik teklif eden ve **"yurtdışındaki yurttaşların oy haklarını kullanabilmek için yasa ile uygun önlemlerin alınabileceğini"** içeren önerge de kabul edildi.

Meclis tatile girmeden çıkacak

Varılan uzlaşma doğrultusunda gelecek salı günü, önce anayasa değişikliğinin **"açık oyla"** yapılmasını öngören yasa önerisi görüşülecek. Siyasi partiler bu önerinin, halkoylamasına gitme zorunluluğunu aşmak için en az 300 oyla kabul edilmesi amacıyla çaba gösterecek. Önerinin aynı gün kabul edilmesi durumunda, anayasa gereği ikinci tur oylamaya en az 48 saat geçtikten sonra başlanabileceği için, görüşmelere perşembe günü devam edilecek.

DYP Grup Başkanvekili **Turhan Tayan**, tek maddelik değişiklik önerisinin perşembe günü kabul edilmesi durumunda hafta sonunda ikinci tur oylamalara geçilebileceğini ve en geç ay sonuna kadar görüşmelerin tamamlanabileceğini bildirdi.

Partilerarası Komisyon toplantısından sonra gazetecilerin sorularını yanıtlayan DYP İstanbul Milletvekili **Coşkun Kırca**, **"açık oylama"**ya ilişkin yasa önerisinin 300 oyla kabul edilmesi için gerekli çabanın gösterileceğini söyledi.

Partilerarası Komisyon'da uzlaşma sağlanmasının ardından, Anayasa Komisyonu toplanarak daha önce görüştüğü, anayasanın 175. maddesinin değiştirilmesine ilişkin öneriyle ilgili olarak yeniden görüşme açtı. Toplantı sonunda anayasaya geçici bir madde eklenerek 19. dönem sonuna dek gerçekleştirilecek anayasa değişikliklerinde oylamanın açık yapılması kabul edildi.

Soysal'ın muhalefet şerhi

RP'li üyelerin katılmadığı toplantıda, Mümtaz Soysal, komisyon kararına muhalefet şerhi koydu. Soysal, şu açıklamayı yaptı.

"Ilke olarak açık oylamadan yanayım. Ama değişiklik sırasında kural değiştirilmesi doğru değil. Haftaymda kural değişmez. Anayasanın nasıl değiştirileceği gibi temel bir konunun geçici madde ile düzenlenmesi doğru değil. 1987'de bu yapıldı. O zaman da karşı çıktım. Bu yasa şimdi 300'den aşağı oy alırsa ne olacak? Bu işi o noktada yüzümüze bulaştırmış olacağız."

Adım adım anayasa...

Anayasada başlanılan yere dönüldü

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu) - CHP Genel Başkanı ve Başbakan Yardımcısı **Hikmet Çetin**'in arabuluculuğu ile yeniden canlandırılan anayasa değişikliği görüşmelerinde güven bunalımını aşmaya çalışan siyasi partiler, başlangıç noktasına döndüler. Anayasa değişikliği önerisinin başarısızlıkla sonuçlanan ikinci tur görüşmeleri de, bunalıma neden olan **"memur sendikaları ve öğretim üyelerine siyasete katılım hakkı"** konularında Partilerarası Komisyon'da uzlaşma sağlanarak başlamasına karşın, genel kurulda ANAP ve DYP milletvekillerinin anlaşmaya uymaması nedeniyle kesildi.

Çetin'in girişimiyle başlatılan görüşmelerde ve Partilerarası Komisyon'da da, **"memur sendikaları, öğretim üyeleri"** konusunda uzlaşma bir kez daha **"teyit"** edilirken, yalnızca bu anayasa değişikliğinin **"açık oyla"** yapılması konusunda görüş birliğine varıldı.

Sağ ittifak

Anayasa değişikliği önerisinin görüşmelerinin her aşaması bunalıma sahne oldu. TBMM'deki **"sağ ittifak"** bazı demokratik adımlar atılmasını engellerken, CHP ve DSP'nin memurlara grevli toplusözleşmeli sendika ile öğretim üyelerine siyasete katılım hakkı tanınmasına yönelik çabaları sonuçsuz kaldı.

TBMM Genel Kurulu'ndaki ilk bunalım, paketin, anayasanın **"Başlangıç"** bölümünün değiştirilmesini öngören birinci maddesi görüşülürken çıktı. ANAP, devletin laik niteliğini vurgulayan 24. maddenin son fıkrasının bir bölümünün başlangıca aktarılması, bir bölümünün de tümüyle metinden çıkarılmasına ilişkin bir önerge verdi. ANAP Ankara Milletvekili **Vehbi Dinçerler** tarafından hazırlanan ve grup başkanvekillerince de imzalanan önergeye Genel Başkan **Mesut Yılmaz**'ın da oy vermesi parti içinde tepkilere neden oldu.

Memurlara grevsiz, toplu sözleşmesiz sendika hakkı öngören 3. madde bile, 404 milletvekilinin katıldığı oylamada reddedildi. 225 milletvekili kabul oyu verirken, 168 **"hayır"**oyu kullandı.

Madde üzerinde verilen grev ve toplusözleşmenin yasayla düzenlenmesine ilişkin ANAP, CHP ve DSP'nin önergeleri, DYP oylarıyla reddedildi.

Öğretim üyelerinin siyaset yapmalarına olanak sağlayan değişiklik önergesi, TBMM Genel Kurulu'ndaki açık oylamada kabul edilirken, gizli oylamada 231 **"ret"**, 149 **"kabul"** oyu alarak reddedildi. ANAP'lılar, sağlanan uzlaşmayı DYP'nin bozduğunu öne sürdüler.

Liderlerin çabası

İkinci tur görüşmelerden önce Başbakan **Tansu Çiller**, öneriye destek veren parti liderleriyle görüştü. Görüşmelerden sonra oluşturulan Partilerarası Komisyon, somut uzlaşmaya varmadan ikinci tur görüşmelere geçildi. İlk iki maddenin referandumla gerektirecek bir sonuçla kabul edilmesinden sonra, sıra *memur* sendikalarına gelince, toplam 10 madde birden komisyona geri çekildi. ANAP, bu maddelerin daha önce de komisyona çekildiğini gerekçe göstererek, çekme işlemine itiraz etti. Bu arada, ANAP'ın katılmadığı Partilerarası Komisyon'da, DYP ve CHP memur sendikaları konusunda baştan beri sağlayamadıkları uzlaşmaya vardılar ve kamu çalışanları sendikaları ile ilgili esasların yasayla düzenlenmesini öngören ortak önerge hazırladılar.

ANAP'lılar, kendilerinden habersiz sağlanan uzlaşmaya itiraz ederken, 3. madde üzerindeki önergenin oylaması sırasında DYP ve CHP'lilerin oylarını göstermelerine karşı çıkarak salonu terkettiler.

ANAP'ın oylamalardan çekilme tehdidi üzerine Başbakan Çiller ve CHP lideri Hikmet Çetin'in Yılmaz'la görüşmeleri de sonuç vermedi. Memur sendikaları ile ilgili 3. maddenin reddedilmesi üzerine, hükümet ortakları ANAP'in desteğini çektiği gerekçesiyle anayasa değişikliği paketinin askıya alınmasını kararlaştırdılar.

ANAP ve DYP karşılıklı birbirini suçlarken, hükümet ortakları, anayasa değişikliklerinin **"açık oyla"** yapılması için anayasanın 175. maddesinin değiştirilmesini öngören bir yasa önerisi verdiler. ANAP'ın karşı çıktığı bu öneri, komisyonda kabul edildi.

Partilerarası Komisyon'un değişiklik önergelerini onayladığını söyledi

ANAP liderinden destek güvencesi

▶ ANAP Genel Başkanı Mesut Yılmaz, Avrupa Demokratik Birliği'nin (EDU) 'Daha Büyük Avrupa Komisyonu' genel kurul toplantısına katılmak üzere, dün Moskova'ya giderken yaptığı açıklamada, arkadaşlarından önergelere imza koymalarını istediğini belirtti.

▶ ANAP lideri Mesut Yılmaz anayasa değişikliklerine 'azami desteği' vereceklerini söyleyerek, "Umarım halkın özlemle beklediği anayasa değişiklikleri gerçekleşir" dedi. Yılmaz, kalıcı olmamak koşuluyla açık oylamaya destek vereceklerini söyledi.

DÜRDANE KOCAOĞLU

İSTANBUL - MOSKOVA (Cumhuriyet)- ANAP Genel Başkanı **Mesut Yılmaz**, Partilerarası Komisyon'un anayasa değişikliğiyle ilgili hazırladıkları önergeleri onayladığını, arkadaşlarından da önergelere imza koymalarını istediğini bildirdi. ANAP'in değişiklikler **"azami desteği vereceğini"**kaydeden Yılmaz, **"Umarım halkın özlemle beklediği anayasa değişiklikleri gerçekleşir"**dedi.

ANAP Genel Başkanı Mesut Yılmaz; eşi **Berna Yılmaz**, İstanbul Milletvekili **Cavit Kavak**, TBMM Başkanvekili **Mustafa Kalemli**, İstanbul Milletvekili **Şadan Tuzcu**, Aydın Milletvekili **Yüksel Yalova**ve bir grup gazeteciyle birlikte Avrupa Demokratik Birliği'nin (EDU) **"Daha Büyük Avrupa Komisyonu"** genel kurul toplantısına katılmak üzere, dün Moskova'ya gitti. Yılmaz, Atatürk Havalimanı'nda yaptığı basın toplantısında, Moskova'da yapılacak olan komisyon toplantısında Rusya'daki demokratik perspektifler, siyasal reformlar ve gelecekteki etkinlikler için öneriler ile Avrupa güvenliği sorunlarının tartışılacağını bildirdi.

ANAP lideri, önceki gün toplanan Partilerarası Komisyon'da, ANAP'ın, anayasa değişikliklerin ilişkin maddelerin 300'ün altında bir oyla kabul edilmesi durumunda, referandumun ilk genel seçimle birlikte yapılmasına ilişkin önerilerinin diğer partiler tarafından onaylandığını belirtti. Anayasa paketinin reddedilen 3. maddesinde *memurlar* için öngörülen hakların biraz daha genişletilerek 53. maddeye monte edilmesine ilişkin önergenin de komisyonda kabul edildiğini anımsatan Yılmaz, kalıcı olmamak koşuluyla açık oylamaya destek verdiklerini yineledi. Yılmaz, **"Arkadaşlarımdan komisyonda hazırlanan önergelere imza atmalarını istedim. Parti olarak azami desteği vereceğiz. Umuyorum, halkın özlemle beklediği değişiklikler gelecek hafta içinde gerçekleşir"** açıklamasını yaptı.

Demokrasi ve Anayasa Forumu yapıldı:

Emek egemen demokrasi oluşturulmalı

▶ Demokrasi Platformu'nun Ankara'da düzenlediği 'Demokrasi ve Anayasa Forumu'nda, emekçilere karşı tavır alan parti ve milletvekillerinin, oy verilmeyerek cezalandırılması istendi.

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu) - Anayasa değişikliklerinin askıya alınmasını kınayan emekçiler, **"emek egemen demokrasi"** oluşturarak kirlenen siyaseti temizlemek ve siyaseti yönlendirmek için ilk adımı attı. Demokrasi Platformu'nun Ankara'da düzenlediği **'Demokrasi ve Anayasa Forumu'**nda, emekçilere karşı tavır alan parti ve milletvekillerinin, oy verilmeyerek ve halka teşhir edilerek cezalandırılması ve **'emek gücünün kendini politik olarak ifade etmek için harekete geçirilmesi'** gerektiği vurgulandı.

Demokrasiyi güvence altına alacak alternatif bir anayasa hazırlama hedefiyle dün yapılan forumun açılışında konuşan Türk-İş Genel Başkanı **Bayram Meral**, Türk-İş'in **'demokrasinin güvencesi'** olduğunu ifade ederek **"Ülkemizin en önemli sorunlarının çözümü, siyasi niteliktedir. Türk-İş, bu nedenle, önümüzdeki dönemde çalışanların parlamentoda ağırlıklı bir biçimde temsil edilmesi için etkili bir biçimde mücadele edecektir. Çalışanlar, artık siyasetin içinde olmalı, siyaseti yönlendirmelidir"** dedi. DİSK Genel Başkanı **Rıdvan Budak** da anayasanın **'devleti bireyden değil, bireyleri devletten korumasa'** gerektiğini savunarak **"Örgütlü güçsüzüz, kitlesel etkinliğimizi göstermeliyiz. Bu Meclis, toplumu temsil etme işlevini yitirmiştir"** dedi. Demokratikleşmeyi gerçekleştirecek yeni bir Meclis ve seçilmiş olmanın onurunu koruyacak yeni milletvekilleri istediklerini ifade eden Budak, **"Bizler, toplumun dinamiklerini, devindirici gücünü temsil ediyoruz. Artık sırça köşklerimizi terk etme zamanı geldi. Demokrasi Platformu ve Türkiye'nin sivil toplum örgütleri, aydınları olarak, siyasete artık uzak bakmamak ve potansiyellerimizi, birikimimizi, ülkemizin, toplumumuzun ve çalışanlarını çıkarlarına uygun biçimde yönlendirmeliyiz"** diye konuştu. Budak, siyasi partilerin demokrasiyi içine sindirmediğini ve kendi içlerinde demokratik işleyişi gerçekleştiremediğini belirterek **"Lider saltanatı kıramamış siyasal kadrolar kısa vadeli çıkarlarını aşıp, ortak noktalar bulamıyorlar"**diye konuştu. Budak, şunları söyledi:

"Bu ülkede artık milletvekilliği için ön koşulun demokratik olduğunu herkesin açıkça anlamasını sağlamalıyız. Kendisinde hak gördüğü, örgütlenme, ifade ve eylem özgürlüklerini başkalarına tanımayanlara, milletvekilliğini yalnızca yakın çevrelerine çıkar, seçmenlerine imkân sağlamak sananlara artık oy vermeyeceğimizi açıkça anlatmalıyız."

Kamu Çalışanları Sendikaları Konfederasyonlaşma Kurulu (KÇSKK) Dönem Sözcüsü ve Eğitim-Sen Genel Başkanı **Yıldırım Kaya** da demokrasi mücadelesi uğruna şehit olanların anısı ve bilinci doğrultusunda Türkiye'nin sorunlarına çözüm aranması gerektiğini vurgulayarak **"Anayasa tartışmalarının temelinde, çürümüşlüğün yeniden yapılanması yatıyor"** dedi. Kürt sorununun barışçı yöntemlerle çözülmesi ve çatışmaların önlenmesi gerektiğini savunan Kaya, **"Gelecek çözüm, çözümsüzlüğü daha da derinleştirecektir. Toplum politikleşmekte ve çeşitli arayışlar içine girmektedir. Anayasa tartışmalarında nasıl taraf olunacağını, kamu çalışanları toplumu gösterdi. Emek cephesi, aydınlık, demokrasiden yana güçler olarak anayasa tartışmasında taraf olmak istiyorsak, bunun yolu kamu çalışanlarının açtığı yolu bütünleştirmekten geçiyor"** diye konuştu.

SBF Öğretim Üyesi **Doğu Ergil** de **"Gerçeklere karşı siyaset üretmek, rüzgâra karşı işemek gibidir. Siyaset kirlenmiştir. Siyasetin sifonu çekilmek zorunda"** dedi. Ergil, siyasetçilerin gözlerini kapatarak, sorunların yok sayma anlayışını, uygulamalarını eleştirerek **"Demokratikleşmiyoruz, vesayet altında yaşıyoruz"** diye konuştu. Türkiye'de hiçbir partinin yoksullukla mücadele programı olmadığını kaydeden Ergil, böyle bir programı olmayan partinin demokrat olamayacağını söyledi.

Demokrasi Bildirisi, bugün Türk-İş Genel Merkezi'nde düzenlenecek bir basın toplantısıyla kamuoyuna açıklanacak.

Bakan Menteşe

'Öcalan'ı Suriye saklıyor'

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu) - İçişleri Bakanı **Nahit Menteşe**, Suriye'nin PKK lideri **Abdullah Öcalan**'ı **"muhafaza"** ettiğini bildirerek, **"Biz defalarca Apo'yu verin dedik."**dedi. Menteşe, dün Esenboğa Havalimanı'nda düzenlediği basın toplantısında, PKK'nin Yunanistan'la temas içinde olduğunu belirterek tüm diplomatik girişimlerde bulunduklarını söyledi. Apo'nun Suriye'de olduğunu bildiklerini belirten Menteşe, şu açıklamayı yaptı:

"Maalesef Apo, Suriye'nin muhafazasında. Biz defalarca söyledik. 'Komşularla yaşamaz. Gelin Apo'yu teslim edin' **dedik. Bize verdikleri yanıt,** 'Apo burada yok.' **Suriye**, 'PKK'lileri, burada biz de cezalandırıyoruz. Elimizde 100 kadar PKK'li var.' **diyor."** Terörle ilgili olarak diplomatik girişimleri sürdürdüklerini belirten Menteşe, konuyla ilgili olarak Suriye İçişleri Bakanı'nın yakında Türkiye'ye geleceğini bildirdi.

Menteşe Kuzey Irak'a düzenlenen harekâtta, zaman zaman Suriye'de zaman zaman da Kuzey Irak'ta olayların sürdüğünü vurguladı. Menteşe, Celik Harekâtı'ndan sonra PKK'lilerin Suriye'ye kaçtıklarına ilişkin kanıt olup olmadığı yönündeki soruya da **"Biz gösteriyoruz, söylüyoruz, ama Suriye,** 'Biz onları topluyoruz, cezalandırıyoruz' **diyor"** yanıtını verdi

TEKZİP

Gazetenizin 29.4.1995 tarihli nüshasında **"Petrol Ofisi'nde Yolsuzluklara Prim"** başlığı altında yayımlanan yazı ile şirketimizin ticari itibarının ve manevi şahsiyetinin sarsılmasına sebebiyet verilmiştir.

Mülkiyeti Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri A.Ş.'ye ait olan Hopa Deposu'nun 1991 yılında Iskurt Şirketi'nden kiralanması konusu, kiralama dönemi devam ederken ve kiralama döneminin sonunda Teftiş Kurulu Başkanlığı'nca incelenmiş, neticede sorumlu bulunan personel hakkında Ankara Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı'na suç duyurusu yapılmış ve Ankara 9'uncu Asliye Ceza Mahkemesi'nde 1995/361 Esas ile dava açılmıştır.

Bu arada Memurlar ve Diğer Kamu Görevlilerinin Disiplin Cezalarının Affı Hakkında Kanun gereği 7.7.1992 tarihinden önce işlenmiş bulunan kusurlu fiil ve hareketlerden dolayı personel hakkında disiplin cezası uygulanması söz konusu olamamıştır.

Kamuoyuna duyurulması hususunu bilgilerinize sunarız.

Petrol Ofisi Anonim Şirketi Genel Müdürlüğü
Recep Izgi
Genel Müdür Yardımcısı
M. Korel Aytaç
Genel Müdür

Ortakoy Tea Gardens

In the 1980s and 90s, Ortaköy beach was one of the main haunts of those involved in the leftist opposition. With the OKM on Ortaköy Dereboyu Street, the bookstores on the beach, shabby restaurants and cafes, Ortaköy was a center of culture and socialization. The tea gardens on the beach are remembered by the witnesses of the period as a place where revolutionary students met, spent long hours, and even communicated with each other at a time when there were no cell phones. After important protests, police operations, etc., revolutionary students who wanted to find their friends, get news or somehow convey news, or learn about the situation of other groups would talk to those they saw in the tea gardens, sometimes waiting there. Ortaköy changed its identity over time. Especially after the square arrangements made on the beach, it experiences a kind of gentrification and ceases to be frequented by Istanbulites with oppositional identities and revolutionary students. Although the tea gardens on the beach continue to exist, they lose their old function and atmosphere.



Ortaköy. Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



90'lı yıllarda Ortaköy çay bahçeleri

Gayrettepe Branch 1 / Political Branch

Until the mid-1990s, it was the police building where revolutionary students were detained and known for its torture practices. Revolutionary students who were working on establishing a student association and participating in protests were often detained here. Before and after September 12, it was known as a center of torture, as well as the site of many disappearances/forced disappearances. It has become a symbol of Turkey's dark period after September 12.

During the oral history interviews recently conducted as part of the Museum of Memory for Historical Justice Project, many testimonies about the place were recorded. After the building ceased to function as a political branch, human rights defenders demanded that it be turned into a museum of shame.

The Gayrettepe Political Branch ceased to function when the Security Directorate in Vatan Street came into service and the Anti-Terror Unit began to operate there. Today, it is used as the Istanbul Security Directorate Traffic Registration Branch Office.



Gayrettepe Emniyet Müdürlüğü / 1. Şube yıkım sonrası görüntüleri, 2024. Tarihsel Adalet için Bellek Müzesi Görsel Arşivi.



Gayrettepe Emniyet Müdürlüğü / 1. Şube yıkım sonrası görüntüleri, 2024. Tarihsel Adalet için Bellek Müzesi Görsel Arşivi.

Bogazici Campus

Boğaziçi University traces its roots to Robert College, founded in 1863 by two American intellectuals and philanthropists. The Rumeli Hisarüstü campus, built in 1871, has been one of the vibrant spaces of the student movement from past to present. In the 1960s, the Robert College Student Union was one of the dynamic subjects of the ‘68 movement. In this period when anti-imperialism was on the rise, revolutionary students carried out intensive protests for the nationalization of the College, like other private schools, and for its liberation from US rule. In 1971, with a legal regulation, the College was transformed into Boğaziçi University.

In the 90s, the campus of Boğaziçi University was experienced as an environment of relative freedom by those involved in the student movement. In addition to numerous, highly institutionalized club activities, cultural and academic events, it is also a place where many left-wing political groups continue their activities. In December 1990, a convention to regroup and unite the student associations under one roof was held in the Albert Long Hall on South Campus.



Üniversitelilerin zam protestosu

İstanbul Haber Servisi - İstanbul'daki üniversitelerde okuyan öğrencilerden bir grup, dün Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nde toplanarak paralı eğitimi protesto ettiler.

Bundan sonra üniversite öğrencileri olarak suskun kalmayacaklarını söyleyen öğrenciler, harçların gelişigüzel ve keyfi olarak zamlanmasına karşı herkesi eylem yapmaya çağırdılar. İETT biletlerine yapılan zamlara da karşı çıktıklarını belirten öğrenciler, **"Adil düzeni getireceğiz"** diyenleri de sahtekârlıkla suçladılar. Kuzey Irak'a yapılan operasyonun maliyetinin, özelleştirmeden elde edilecek gelirden fazla olduğuna dikkat çeken öğrenciler, operasyonda harcanan paranın kendi ceplerinden çıktığını söylediler. En kısa sürede operasyonun sona ermesi ve barışın sağlanmasını isteyen öğrenciler, **"Yeni 5 Nisanlar değil, barış istiyoruz"** diye konuştular. **"Tansu Amerika'ya", "Tansu'nun kahrını sermaye çeksin", "İETT zammı geri alınsın", "Paralı eğitime hayır"** sloganları atan öğrenciler olaysız şekilde dağıldılar. **(Fotoğraflar: KEREM ILGAZ)**



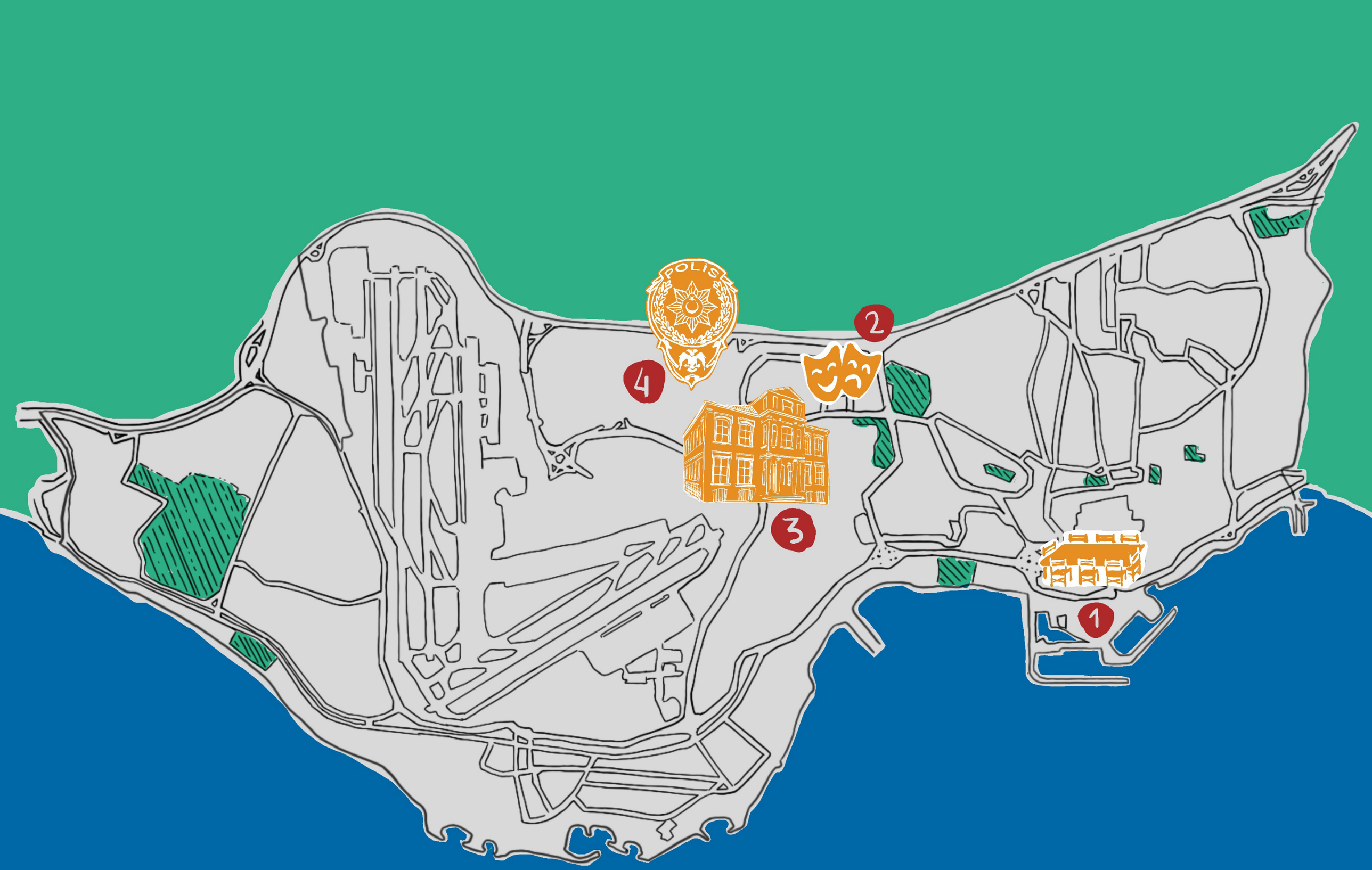
Boğaziçi Direnişi,
8 Ocak 2024, Medyascope.

The “Central Canteen” on the campus is remembered as the main hangout and discussion place for left-wing students.

On March 9, 1992, the Young Communards circle (today’s Alınteri circle) occupied the Rectorate Building to protest the mining accident that killed 400 workers in Zonguldak-Kozlu. The three-day occupation ended with police intervention and the arrest of 27 occupiers. In 1994-95, a boycott was organized against the privatization of the cafeteria. The dynamic that emerged in this process led to the formation of the Boğaziçi Left Platform and she was among the founders of the Coordination. In addition to being one of the schools where the Coordination was influential, Boğaziçi Campus was also a place where political intellectual activities took place most intensely. On the other hand, the cultural richness of the campus is remarkable, as can be seen in formations such as the Boğaziçi Performing Arts Ensemble, which also includes Kardeş Türküler.

Today, the months-long resistance against the trustee rector who was forcibly appointed to the university and his practices is a remarkable product of the democratic accumulation on Boğaziçi Campus over the years.

5 https://vimeo.com/503395619 (Video: Can Candan)


POLIS
2
4
3
1

Kadikoy Neighborhood

Sogutlucesme Kadikoy Municipality - Bull, Altiyol, Iskele line

Since the mid-1990s, Kadıköy started to become one of the protest sites of the social opposition. The May Day rally, which had previously taken place in Şişli and Çağlayan, was moved to Kadıköy for the first time in 1995. The aim was to be more visible in a central point of the city and to meet with the masses. In these years, the social opposition was also experiencing a rising wave. In 1995, one of the mass marches organized after the Gazi Massacre took place in Kadıköy. The May Day Rally of 1996, which was extraordinarily massive, turned into a bloody massacre in which 3 workers lost their lives as a result of the clashes that broke out after the demonstrators were fired upon at the start of the march and the police attack that followed.

On March 26, 1996, about 2 thousand university and high school students participated in the march organized by the Student Coordination from Kadıköy Municipality to İskele against the tuition hike and the privatization of education. The “foreign powers” banner unfurled during this march, which was one of the most massive and enthusiastic actions of the Coordination, was a satire on the headlines used in the mainstream media at the time to denigrate the rising student movement and was remembered as an example of festive opposition with humor.



Kadıköy, Altıyol, 2024.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



1 Mayıs 1995.
Fahrettin Erdoğan Arşivi



Kadıköy, Altıyol, 2024.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

BEKSAV

It is the cultural center of the Atılım circle located in Kadıköy bazaar. It was founded in 1995. In addition to film screenings and cultural and artistic activities, it became a meeting place for revolutionary students.

BEKSAV has carried out activities with a socialist perspective around the slogan “art for society, science for humanity, politics for freedom”. The Foundation, which produces products in various fields of art, especially music, theater, cinema and literature, has also opened courses in many fields such as instrument, dance, photography and painting.

In 2006, BEKSAV moved to another building in Kadıköy, and in 2010 it continued its activities in Ankara for a short time. The Foundation, which has been closed for a while, continues its activities where it left off and in Kadıköy again.



BEKSAV, 2024.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir



BEKSAV’ın kurulduğu Kırtasiyeci Sokak, 2024. Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Kadikoy Straws

In the 1990s, Kadıköy gradually becomes one of the neighborhoods where social opposition intensifies. Some of the places in the neighborhood transformed into socializing spaces for the leftist masses. One of these is the place known as Kadıköy Hasırlar. The series of glass-fronted shops next to the Beşiktaş Pier in Kadıköy, which were first built as aquarium shops, gradually transformed into tea houses with wicker stools around them and became frequented by leftists. A dissident space was formed right near the pier where leftist music was played, revolutionaries met, drank tea and spent time with each other, with wicker stools gradually spreading over a wider area. When the shops were demolished by the municipality in 2005, Kadıköy Hasırlar remained only in the memory of the witnesses of the period.



Kadıköy iskele meydanı, 2023.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir

Marmara University Göztepe and Haydarpaşa Campuses

Marmara University traces its roots back to the Hamidiye Trade School founded in 1883. During the Republican period, the school was transformed into the Higher School of Economics and Commerce and renamed as Istanbul Academy of Economic and Commercial Sciences (İİTİA) in 1959. Istanbul Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences was transformed into Marmara University with the establishment of YÖK in 1982. The university, where different colleges were merged within its body, has been operating in Göztepe Campus since 1987.
Since its establishment, Marmara University Göztepe Campus has had a strong nationalist-conservative texture among both the teaching staff and students. News of attacks on revolutionary and democratic students and even on those who do not fast frequently by attackers organized in the Ülkü Ocakları (Grey Wolves' Hearths) around the school has become a routine on campus.
In spite of everything, a strong anti-fascist student movement existed both in the Göztepe Campus of Marmara University and in the campuses of Haydarpaşa, Nişantaşı and other campuses in different districts of Istanbul. While resisting the attacks of the school administration on the one hand and the nationalist and political Islamist attacks on the other, the struggle for an autonomous-democratic university and free education was continued.

List:
Freedom and Solidarity Party - Kadıköy
Labor Party - Kadıköy
Republican People's Party- Kadıköy
Social Democratic Populist Party - Kadıköy
Moda Tea Garden
Güğüm Türkü Bar
Livane
Reks Movie Theater
Moda Movie Theater







**Marmara Üniversitesi,
eski Haydarpaşa Kampüsü Binası, 2024.
Video - Fotoğraf: Çağrı İşbilir**



**Marmara Üniversitesi Göztepe Kampüsü.
Marmara Üniversitesi websitesi.**

Bakırköy and the Surrounding Area

1- Söğütlüçeşme Kadıköy Municipality - Bull, Altıyol, Iskele line
2- BEKSAV
3- Kadıköy Straws
4- Marmara University Göztepe and Haydarpaşa Campuses



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