ACADEMICS FOR PEACE:
A BRIEF HISTORY

HRFT Academy
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Preface

This report is part of a broader research project currently in progress.* Conducted by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (HRFT), the research is meant to explore the recent crackdown on Turkish universities and the destruction of the academic environment. The present report focuses on a special episode of that story, namely, the case of Academics for Peace.

Turkish government declared a national state of emergency immediately after the failed coup in June 2016. Yet, universities were already in a de facto state of emergency that started with the case of Academics for Peace and the by now internationally well-known “Peace Petition,” released on January 11, 2016. What came to happen after the petition was a lynch campaign that lasted for months to silence and oppress its signatories. Academics who signed the petition were exposed to a variety of rights violations by political authorities and with the involvement of various agents, including university administrators, colleagues, public prosecutors, security forces, pro-government press and aggressive nationalist groups. Some of the signatories were detained and arrested, a good many of them were expelled from their academic positions, and many are currently tried for engaging in terrorist propaganda.

Adopting a documentary approach, this report aims to offer no more than a brief history of what happened in the course of three years since the release of the petition. The brief history presented here draws on the records meticulously hold by Academics for Peace, and the daily news of reporters, especially those affiliated with the Independent Communication Network (https://bianet.org/english), who have consistently followed the case by adhering to principles of good journalism. We owe them more than we can acknowledge in the citations. To avoid an excessive number of footnotes, most of the citations are mentioned in the appendix.

Dr. Serdar Tekin
Human Rights Foundation of Turkey
March 15, 2019

* The slightly different Turkish version of this report was released on January 11, 2019, and is available at http://www.tihvakademi.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Barisicinakademisyenlervakasi.pdf.
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1. Background of the Petition

Following the failure of the 2-year long peace talks in Turkey’s longstanding Kurdish issue, violence resurged between Turkish security forces and the outlawed Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) in July 2015.¹ Deadly armed clashes took place in a number of towns and residential areas throughout the southeastern provinces of Turkey. As part of the military operations by security forces, local administrators systematically imposed curfews for specific or indefinite periods on the grounds that it was necessary to enforce security and track down armed militants. In the meantime, human rights activists documented cases of severe violations and reported how the curfews affected civilians.

According to a fact sheet by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, from August 16, 2015 to January 21, 2016, at least 58 open-ended and round-the-clock curfews were imposed in at least 19 districts of seven cities (Diyarbakır, Şırnak, Mardin, Hakkâri, Muş, Elazığ and Batman), affecting a total of 1,377,000 civilians. During these curfews access to health services by numerous civilians were blocked, and at least 198 civilians (including 39 children, 29 women and 27 persons over the age of 60) lost their lives. 133 of these deaths took place within the period of five weeks from December 11, 2015 to January 21, 2016.²

Another report, released by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, described the human rights situation in the region as follows:

Between July 2015 and December 2016, some 2,000 people were reportedly killed in the context of security operations in South-East Turkey. According to information received, this would include close to 800 members of the security forces, and approximately 1,200 local residents, of which an unspecified number may have been involved in violent or non-violent actions against the State. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) documented numerous cases of excessive use of force; killings; enforced disappearances; torture; destruction of housing and cultural heritage; incitement to hatred; prevention of access to emergency medical care, food, water and livelihoods; violence against women; and severe curtailment of the right to freedom of opinion and expression as well as political participation. The most serious human rights violations reportedly occurred during periods of curfew, when entire residential areas were cut off and movement restricted around-the-clock for several days at a time.³

This was the background against which Academics for Peace (AfP), an informal group of pro-peace academics and researchers, released the public petition “We will not be a party to this crime!” on January 11, 2016. It was originally signed by 1,128 academics from Turkey, some of whom are affiliated with universities abroad. Upon its release, new signatories joined the petition, which was eventually submitted to the Parliament with a total of 2212 signatures on January 21, 2016. When submitted, the petition had been supported by an additional list of 2215 scholars from across the world.

The petition reads as follows:\(^4\)

We will not be a party to this crime!

The Turkish state has effectively condemned its citizens in Sur, Silvan, Nusaybin, Cizre, Silopi, and many other towns and neighborhoods in the Kurdish provinces to hunger through its use of curfews that have been ongoing for weeks. It has attacked these settlements with heavy weapons and equipment that would only be mobilized in wartime. As a result, the right to life, liberty, and security, and in particular the prohibition of torture and ill-treatment protected by the constitution and international conventions have been violated.

This deliberate and planned massacre is in serious violation of Turkey’s own laws and international treaties to which Turkey is a party. These actions are in serious violation of international law.

We demand the state to abandon its deliberate massacre and deportation of Kurdish and other peoples in the region. We also demand the state to lift the curfew, punish those who are responsible for human rights violations, and compensate those citizens who have experienced material and psychological damage. For this purpose we demand that independent national and international observers to be given access to the region and that they be allowed to monitor and report on the incidents.

We demand the government to prepare the conditions for negotiations and create a road map that would lead to a lasting peace which includes the demands of the Kurdish political movement. We demand inclusion of independent observers from broad sections of society in these negotiations. We also declare our willingness to volunteer as observers. We oppose suppression of any kind of the opposition.

We, as academics and researchers working on and/or in Turkey, declare that we will not be a party to this massacre by remaining silent and demand an immediate end to the violence perpetrated by the state. We will continue advocacy with political parties, the parliament, and international public opinion until our demands are met.

\(^4\) Academics for Peace, January 11, 2016, [https://barisicinakademisyenler.net/node/63](https://barisicinakademisyenler.net/node/63). For the original text in Turkish and Kurdish, see [https://barisicinakademisyenler.net/node/62](https://barisicinakademisyenler.net/node/62).
2. The Long Week of Academics for Peace: January 11 – 21, 2016

The petition was met with furious reactions by Turkish authorities. Over the first 10 days, President Erdoğan severely targeted the petition on various occasions, and accused its signatories for treason and terrorist propaganda, while at the same time calling on public prosecutors and university administrators to take action against the signatories. Immediately after the President’s call, at least 39 universities publicly denounced the petition and/or launched disciplinary investigations against those who had signed it. In the meantime, at least 33 academics were detained by the police either at home or on campus. Nationalist groups publicly threatened the signatories, some of whom were also individually harassed. An indefinite number of signatories residing in small towns had to leave the town for safety reasons. In what follows, we offer a chronicle of the first 10 days after the release of the petition.5

Day 1: Tuesday, January 12

The pro-government daily Yeni Şafak had its headline “PKK’s accomplices,” referring to the signatories.

President Erdoğan made his first statement about the petition, and argued that human rights violations in the region were being committed by terrorists, not by security forces. He lashed out at the signatories of the petition as “so-called intellectuals” and “pseudo academics,” and accused them not only of distorting the facts but also of treason.

Erdoğan’s accusations spread rapidly through online and social media, which triggered a lynch campaign against the signatories. Particularly those living in small towns were pointed out by local press that publicized their names and pictures.

The Council of Higher Education, an institution holding supreme authority over all Turkish universities, made a press statement, claiming that the AfP petition is “irreconcilable with academic freedom,” that “supporting terrorism cannot be tolerated in any way,” and that “necessary steps will be taken according to law.” It was also mentioned that the Council of Higher Education would immediately convene university reectors.

A group of academics, calling themselves “Academics for Turkey,” released a counter petition. Supporting the military operations, it maintained that the AfP petition was intended to disrupt the fight against terrorism and to demoralize the security forces.

It was reported in the media that Sivas Cumhuriyet University launched a disciplinary investigation against a professor who had signed the declaration, and that the rector went to Ankara to confer with the Council of Higher Education.

5 Online sources relevant to this section, including daily news and institutional statements, are cited at the end of the report in order to keep the number of footnotes within reasonable bounds.
**Day 2: Wednesday, January 13**

President Erdoğan’s accusatory remarks hit the headlines.

Inter-University Council made a statement about the petition, stressing that “academic freedom cannot be abused so as to pose a threat to the existence, security and survival of the country.”

Devlet Bahçeli, the leader of the ultranationalist MHP (The Nationalist Movement Party), accused the signatories of acting in treason.

Sedat Peker, a mafia leader and a convicted criminal with ultranationalist leanings, posted a written statement on his website. “We’ll shower in your blood,” said Peker, directly addressing the signatories of the petition.

Several signatories in Eskişehir Osmangazi University, Gazi University, Selçuk University and Kırıkkale University had their office doors marked in red, and received anonymous threat and insult messages. Under such threats, some of the academics later withdrew their signatures from the petition.

Education and Science Workers’ Union (Eğitim-Sen) released an urgent call, drawing attention to threats against the signatories and calling the authorities to ensure their safety.

The Prosecutor’s Office in Kayseri launched a judicial investigation against a professor in Abdullah Gül University. The university administration asked the professor to resign and local nationalist groups made a threat statement in public.

The Prosecutor’s Office in Bartın started an investigation against a signatory, who was serving as a department chair in Bartın University. The faculty member was suspended by the university.

Düzce University launched a disciplinary investigation against a faculty member and suspended her indefinitely.

Abant İzzet Baysal University, Akdeniz University, Hacettepe University and Ondokuz Mayıs University announced that they had started administrative investigations regarding the signatories in these universities.

Adnan Menderes University, Atatürk University, Bahçeşehir University, Onsekiz Mart University, Erciyes University, Pamukkale University, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University and Van Yüzüncü Yıl University made public statements denouncing the AfP petition.

Seven academics from Fırat University filed a criminal complaint against all signatories of the petition.

A group of academics from Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University released a counter declaration, entitled “No to Academic Treason.”
Day 3: Thursday, January 14

Academics for Peace released a press statement and reiterated their commitment to the petition despite the reactions.

President Erdoğan spoke the second time about the petition. He argued that the signatories “openly took side with a terrorist organization,” and that this had nothing to do with freedom of speech. He also called on the prosecutors to take action against “this treason, which clearly constitutes a crime under the constitution and the laws.”

Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, a former university professor, remarked that he was “ashamed of” the petition, and that “the provocative language of the petition cannot be considered within the scope of the freedom of opinion.”

Metin Feyzioğlu, the president of the Union of Bar Associations of Turkey, criticized the petition, and likened its signatories to the Ottoman intellectuals who had called for the mandate of foreign powers in the wake of World War I.

The Terror and Organized Crime Section of the Chief Prosecutor’s Office in İstanbul launched an investigation against İstanbul based signatories with charges of “overtly insulting the Turkish nation, the Turkish Republic, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the government and the judicial organs of the State” (Turkish Penal Code, Article 301) and “engaging in propaganda for a terrorist organization” (Anti-Terror Law, Article 7/2).

The first detention took place. An instructor working at Hakkari University was detained on campus and released the same day after having given her testimony.

The Prosecutor’s Office in Düzce issued an arrest warrant for the sole signatory in town on the ground that the police could not reach her at home.

The İstanbul 29 Mayıs University terminated the contracts of two academics. Signatories were suspended from duty in Giresun University and İstanbul Ticaret University. Kırıkkale University, Kocaeli University, Muğla Sitkı Koçman University and Munzur University announced that they started disciplinary investigations against their faculty members who had signed the petition. The President of the Board of Trustees of Nişantaşı University publicly asked signatories to resign. The senate of Uludağ University released a denouncement against the petition.

Day 4: Friday, January 15

President Erdoğan lashed out at Academics for Peace for the third time.

Police detained 30 signatories in Kocaeli, Bursa, Bolu, Erzurum, Düzce and Zonguldak. In some of the cases academics were detained on campus, in others at home. Some of the police operations involved house and/or office searches. While the Prosecutor’s Office in Erzurum demanded the arrest of the detained academic, the court released him. Yet, he was banned
from leaving country. The detained academic in Düzce faced a similar ban. All detainees were released either the same day or the day after.

The Chief Prosecutor’s Office in İzmir started a criminal investigation against 37 signatories residing in İzmir.

New universities joined earlier ones in taking action. İstanbul Arel University suspended signatories. Anadolu University, Batman University, Bingöl University, Çukurova University, Erzincan University, Gaziantep University, Gediz University, Eskişehir Osmangazi University, Mersin University, Selçuk University, Trakya University and Yalova University started disciplinary investigations. The senate of Uşak University made a statement denouncing the petition.

One academic in Akdeniz University withdrew his signature, allegedly with a personal written statement denouncing the petition. The statement reads as follows:

In this extraordinary period, when traitors and foreign forces strive to divide our country, I signed a petition as an academic who has always stood for peace, with the assumption that it was a peace petition. However, unable to read and thoroughly examine the content of the petition due to my intensive work at the time, I later found out, upon reactions, that the petition characterized the fight against terrorism and separatism — a fight conducted by our security forces at the cost of their own lives — as a “massacre.” I respectfully inform the public that I withdrew my signature since I cannot possibly agree with the opinions and claims held in the petition concerning the ongoing efforts of security forces to ensure the safety of our people and to protect the indivisible unity of the Republic of Turkey currently exposed to grave dangers and threats. I stand ready for any judicial or administrative investigation to be conducted due to this incident.

In May 2016, however, it turned out that this statement was not personal at all but ready-made, and that the other signatories at the same university were also asked to sign it, but they refused to do so.

**Day 5: Saturday, January 16**

Bekir Bozdağ, Minister of Justice, made a statement denouncing the petition. According to Mr. Bozdağ, “it seems as though the petition was devised by the terrorist PKK, and the signing was organized by related circles.” Bozdağ added: “Opinions in the petition are fully those adopted by the terror organization, by the circles supporting that organization. Only the terrorist PKK and its voluntary supporters can write down such a petition.”

**Day 6: Sunday, January 17**

The Office of the Rector at Marmara University released a statement denouncing the petition and expressed gratitude to the security forces. The statement also claimed that “it is a primary responsibility of the academic community to pay due attention for the protection of national unity and integrity.”
**Day 7: Monday, January 18**

611 academics (other than AfP signatories) from various universities in Turkey made a public statement in defense of freedom of expression, and declared that they found the reactions of the government and the Council of Higher Education “wrong and worrisome.”

**Day 9: Wednesday, January 20**

President Erdoğan publicly targeted the petition for the fourth and last time. He reiterated his argument that academics were engaged in propaganda in support of a terrorist organization and said “both those who hold a gun in their hands and others who support them will pay for this treason.” It was also reported in the press that Professor Yekta Saraç, the President of the Council of Higher Education, briefed President Erdoğan concerning the measures taken against signatory academics.

Two research assistants and a graduate student in Sakarya University were detained.

Signatories affiliated with Marmara University made a grievance complaint to the university administration and demanded a disciplinary investigation against an ultranationalist student group targeting them both on campus and in the social media.

**Day 10: Thursday, January 21**

The signature campaign came to a close. The petition first announced to the public with 1,128 signatories on January 11 was submitted to the Parliament with 2,212 signatories in total. The file also included the additional support signatures by 2,215 academics and researchers from abroad as well as a list of national and international institutions supporting Academics for Peace.

**3. Standing against Lynch: Supporters of the Petition**

The lynch against Academics for Peace stimulated from the outset a strong reaction both in Turkey and abroad. Various academic organizations, student groups, citizen initiatives, national and international institutions raised their voices high against the political, administrative and judicial harassment targeting the signatories of the petition.

In general, supportive actions and statements were of two kind: (1) those taking a principled stance against the suppression of the freedom of speech, and (2) those defending the content of the petition and its call for peace. While some statements laid emphasis only on the first, others touched upon both. Also, many citizen initiatives not only supported the AfP petition, but declared their own peace petitions.
The following is the list of institutions, organizations and groups that publicly supported the petition and/or stood for freedom of speech during the first 10 days.6

**Students**

On January 13, a group of students launched a support campaign on [www.change.org](http://www.change.org). The number of supporters exceeded 36,000 within a week.

On January 18, students from seven private universities in İstanbul made a press statement in support of Academics for Peace.

**Academics**

A group of emeritus professors, who had been dismissed from their posts after the military coup in 1980, launched a campaign to support the signatories of the petition.

The Association of University Professors, Istanbul Technical University Faculty Association, and Graduate Assistants’ Solidarity at Koç University released support statements.

611 academics from various universities in Turkey signed a declaration in defense of freedom of speech, stating that they found the reactions of the government and the Council of Higher Education “wrong and worrisome.”

**Citizen Initiatives**

Self-organized civic groups in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir publicly read out the AfP petition, and declared that they stood ready to undertake any legal liability. They also reported themselves to the Prosecutor’s Office.

8,355 citizens and 86 institutions signed a national petition entitled “We, too, will not be a party to this crime!”

Citizens from various occupations and segments of society got organized over social media and released their own peace petitions. Among these groups were the Alawite Initiative for Peace, Journalists for Peace, Authors for Peace, Artists for Peace, Actors for Peace, Film Makers for Peace, Photographers for Peace, Feminists for Peace, Women’s Initiative for Peace, Architects for Peace, Publishers for Peace (55 publishing houses), Lawyers for Peace, Psychologists and Psychological Counsellors for Peace, Health Workers’ Initiative for Peace, Pharmacists and Students of Pharmacology for Peace, The Unemployed for Peace, Bleachers for Peace (supporter groups from 16 soccer teams), Tour Guides for Peace, White Collar Workers for Peace, Teachers for Peace, and Engineers and Architects for Peace. Their declarations were supported by over 10,000 signatories.

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6 The list is not exhaustive. It is based upon the list of support statements submitted to the Parliament as an appendix to the petition. The appendix is in file with HRFT Academy.
Associations, Foundations, and Trade Unions

The following organizations released statements supporting the content of the petition and/or criticizing the lynch against Academics for Peace: Ankara Bar Association, Contemporary Lawyers Association (ÇHD), Democratic Judiciary Association, Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DİSK), Eastern Mediterranean University Union of Academic Staff (DAÜ-SEN), Education and Science Workers’ Union (Eğitim-Sen), Foundation of Journalists and Writers, Human Rights Academy, Human Rights Association (İHD), Association for Supporting Women Candidates (KA.DER), Kaos GL, The Confederation of Public Employees' Trade Unions (KESK), Lambdaistanbul, Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for the Oppressed (Mazlum-Der), Faculty of Political Science Alumni Association (Mülkiyeliler Birliği), Association of Film Critics (SİYAD), Association of Graduates in Sociology (SOMDER), Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV), Union of Chambers of Architects and Engineers of Turkey (TMMOB), Association of Psychologists for Social Solidarity (TODAP), Turkish Medical Association (TTB), Turkish Criminal Law Association, and Union of Judges and Prosecutors (YARSAV).

Platforms and Solidarity Networks


International Support

EU authorities stated that the prosecution of academics is an “extremely worrying” event. Similar statements were made by the spokespersons for the US Secretary of State and French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The US ambassador to Turkey, John R. Bass, criticized the crackdown, saying it would have a “chilling effect on legitimate political discourse across Turkish society.”

Amnesty International criticized the detention of signatories as a “new assault on the imperilled right to freedom of expression.” PEN International called for the immediate release of detained academics, saying that it was an “unacceptable violation.”

Academics from Germany released a support statement, symbolically with 1,128 signatories, though the total number of supporters was higher. Numerous academics in Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Switzerland, UK and US signed and announced support petitions. Likewise, a variety of scholarly and scientific institutions across the world—including, among others, American Political Science Association (APSA), Canadian Association of University Teachers, École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), International Human Rights Network of Academies and Scholarly Societies, Middle East Studies Association (MESA), and Scholars at
Risk (SAR)—announced that they stood in solidarity with Academics for Peace and/or sent letters of criticism to Turkish authorities.


The crackdown on Academics for Peace aggressively continued in the period of about six months from January 21, when the petition was submitted to the Parliament, to July 15, when the abortive military coup took place. While physical threats and individual harassments gradually and relatively declined, forms of institutionalized oppression—including disciplinary and penal investigations, suspensions, dismissals, and informal practices of “civil death”—systematically increased.

Table 1: Rights Violations against Academics for Peace as of May 30, 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rights Violations</th>
<th>Number of academics in public universities</th>
<th>Number of academics in private universities</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preventive suspension</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplinary investigation</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resigned / forced to resign</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced retirement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dismissed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judicial investigation</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detention</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrest*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Three academics were arrested for 40 days and one for 22 days.

Source: Academics for Peace

Disciplinary Action by Universities

The number of universities taking disciplinary action against the signatories continuously increased. Among them were some of the major public universities in which numerous signatories were employed: Ankara University, Dicle University, Ege University, Istanbul University, Istanbul Technical University, Mardin Artuklu University, and Yıldız Technical University.

In launching disciplinary investigations, university administrations referred to a written directive by the Council of Higher Education. The directive, signed by Professor Yekta Saraç, the President of the Council, was composed of two sentences:

7 The records of “Rights Violations against Academics for Peace” are continuously updated. For the current records, see https://barisininakademisyenler.net/node/314. The table as of May 30, 2016 is in file with HRFT Academy.
Releasing a petition, a group of academics described the state’s fight against terrorism as massacre and slaughter. Please take due action regarding the signatories of the petition among your institution’s academic staff, and inform our office accordingly.8

The directive did not clarify what was meant by “due action.”

Although the same directive was sent to all public and private universities, the reaction of the institutions varied immensely. A small number of universities did not take action at all, but many did so. Some launched investigations only against the first round of signatories (i.e., those who signed the petition before January 11 and were among the 1,128), others included the second round as well (i.e., those who signed the petition after January 11). Some institutions suspended the signatories from office, others did not. Imposed penalties were also immensely different. In some of the institutions, signatories were issued a “warning” or a “denouncement,” whereas in others they were imposed the severest penalty, i.e., “dismissal from public service.”

According to the AFP data in Table 1, a total of 513 signatories (449 from public, 64 from private universities) faced disciplinary investigations by their own institutions as of May 30, 2016.

In fact, all disciplinary actions taken by university administrations were unlawful. When the petition was released, the Constitutional Court had already invalidated the Council of Higher Education’s disciplinary regulation, but the relevant authorities did not issue a new one in due course. Therefore, there was no applicable legal arrangement regarding disciplinary action against academic staff.9

**Dismissed and Forced to Resign**

Dismissals first took place at private universities. İstanbul 29 Mayıs University fired two faculty members within a week following the release of the petition. Two courses of action were followed by private universities that dismissed signatory academics. (1) Some institutions terminated the contracts unilaterally on the ground that the signatories made a press statement without the permission of the administration and mentioned their institutional affiliation in the petition, thereby damaging the reputation of the university and failing to comply with their duty of care. (2) Some other private universities waited a while instead of swiftly terminating the contracts, and did not renew them by the end of the academic year.

The first case of dismissals from a public university took place in Mersin University on February 8, 2016. The university administration did not renew the contracts of two assistant

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professors despite the fact that they had fulfilled the academic requirements and the faculty committee had approved the renewal. The administration of Mersin University sustained the same course of action against all signatory academics whose contracts expired in the following months. The same procedure for dismissal was used by a number of other public universities as well.

According to the AfP data in Table 1, a total of 37 signatories (26 from private and 11 from public universities) were already dismissed as of May 30, 2016.

Alongside dismissals, there were also cases of forced resignation in both public and private universities. The case in Bingöl University, as reported by Academics for Peace on March 21, 2016, is particularly telling with regards to the background of such resignations. The sole signatory at Bingöl University, who was a faculty member, faced an additional disciplinary action within a few days after the release of the petition. 

A comittee examined the security camera footage on campus from December 14, 2015, to January 15, 2016, and established that she occasionally arrived to work late, which brought along a salary cut. Besides, a colleague in the same department reported her earlier public statements to the university administration, and she was also harassed by a group of ultranationalist students and staff. Subjected to both formal and informal practices of intimidation for about six weeks, she resigned and moved abroad for safety reasons.\textsuperscript{10}

According to the AfP data in Table 1, a total of 11 signatories (7 from public, 4 from private universities) resigned or were forced to resign as of May 30, 2016.

\textbf{Changes to the Lecturer Training Program}

The Lecturer Training Program (known as ÖYP in Turkish) is a competitive national program for graduate students, run by the Council of Higher Education. Graduate students admitted to the program hold a full-time post in a young university (usually under 10 years old) as their “home institution,” and are employed during their graduate studies in a well-established university as their “host institution,” thereby trained as prospective faculty. Upon the completion of their degrees, they are obliged to return to their home institutions and serve as faculty members for a specified period no less than they spent in the host institution.

Council of Higher Education amended the regulations of the program on February 4, 2016. The amendment allowed home institutions to call back graduate assistants immediately, i.e., before the completion of their doctoral studies. Education and Science Workers’ Union (Eğitim-Sen) made a statement on February 9, arguing that the amendment would undermine the purpose of the program. In addition, the Union claimed, the amendment was intended to recall especially those graduate assistants who were among the signatories of the AfP

\textsuperscript{10} Report by Academics for Peace, March 21, 2016, \url{https://barisinacakademisyenler.net/node/141}.
petition, so that they would be sent back to young institutions located in small towns, where they would be more vulnerable to administrative and social harassment. Against the amendment, the Union appealed to the Council of State, which then decided for stay of execution on May 11, 2016.

**Two Faculties Taking a Stance**

Amidst the crackdown on Academics for Peace, only two academic units — the Faculty of Political Science and the Faculty of Communication, both at Ankara University — took a public stance against disciplinary action. The Academic Assembly of the Faculty of Political Science made a statement as early as January 25, 2016, which emphasized the significance of freedom of expression. The Assembly stated that disciplinary and penal actions against the signatories were unacceptable, that the petition was an exercise of freedom of expression, and that the Assembly would stand behind the faculty members who had signed it. The Academic Assembly of the Faculty of Communication released a similar statement on February 9, 2016.12

**Criminal Investigation**

Criminal investigations by various prosecutors across Turkey were combined into a single investigation conducted by the Terror and Organized Crime Section of the Chief Prosecutor’s Office in Istanbul. Starting from March 2016, the first round of signatories were called in as “suspects” to give their initial testimonies against the charge of engaging in propaganda in support of a terrorist organization.

14 questions were addressed to academics under investigation. The first one was about whether they considered PKK as a terrorist organization, and the last was whether they felt remorse. Some questions in-between were related to the signing of the declaration, such as how the suspect was informed about it, whether she fully read and understood it, and if so what was the motive for signing. Finally, another group of questions had to do with the clarification of some phrases in the petition — phrases that the prosecutor underlined in view of his own semantic considerations: For instance, what was meant by “crime” in the phrase “We will not be a party to this crime”?

The indictment was completed after a year and a half, and the court cases started in December 2017 (for the trials, see Section 6 below).

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The Press Meeting on March 10 and the Arrest of Four Academics

On March 10, 2016, Academics for Peace in Istanbul made a press meeting. They informed the public about the rights violations so far committed against the signatories, denounced these violations, and insisted on the main demand of the petition: namely, the restart of the peace negotiations.

The statement was read by four academics: Esra Mungan (assistant professor in Boğaziçi University), Kivanç Ersoy (associate professor in Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University), Muzaffer Kaya (assistant professor, dismissed by Nişantaşı University), and Meral Camcı (assistant professor, dismissed by Yeni Yüzyıl University). They were arrested on March 15, except Dr. Meral Camcı, who was abroad at the time. She was arrested two weeks later, on March 31, upon her return to Turkey. The arrested academics were initially charged for conducting terrorist propaganda.

Upon the arrest, 1406 academics from 62 countries released a new public letter, calling the international community and elected representatives to take a principled stance against the persecution of academics in Turkey.13 Academics for Peace started the Freedom Watch in front of two prisons in İstanbul, where the arrested professors were kept. Numerous colleagues, citizens, and NGO's visited the Freedom Watch to express their support.

The first court session was held on April 22, 2016. Changing his earlier legal opinion, the prosecutor asked for the application of Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code (“degrading the Turkish Nation, the Turkish Republic and the institutions of the State”). Since court cases under this article required the permission of the Ministry of Justice, the court decided to ask for the permission of the Ministry and to release the arrested academics.14

Civil Death and Academic Refugees

In the course of six months from January 11 to July 15, 2016, signatories of the petition also faced informal practices of “black listing” and “civil death” in various ways. To name a few recurrent practices: papers accepted to academic conferences were rejected upon review; academic promotions were denied; ongoing research projects funded by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) were cancelled. For the PhD candidates and junior PhDs among the signatories, it became virtually impossible to find a post at public or private universities in Turkey.

Many signatories left Turkey within the first six months. Global organizations extending support to academics under threat, such as Scholars at Risk (SAR), Scholar Rescue Fund (SRF) and Council for At-Risk Academics (CARA), faced a drastic increase in the applications made.


14 Ministry of Justice granted the permission. As of March 15, 2019, the trial continues.
from Turkey. Some universities in Europe and North America granted fellowships for the signatories or started to allocate quotas for Turkey in their scholarships.

5. State of Emergency and the Purge

Turkish government declared state of emergency after the failed coup on July 15, 2016. Extended successively in three-month periods, the emergency lasted for two years. Over this period, a total of 406 AfP signatories among other academics were expelled without due process from their institutions through State of Emergency Decrees (known in Turkish as KHK), which cannot be appealed in a court of law. Their passports were cancelled indefinitely, and they were denied for lifetime the right to work in any academic institution and the public sector in general. As of March 15, 2019, their conditions are the same.

The signatories were dismissed from 64 institutions in total, of which 56 were public universities (391 dismissals), four were private universities (eight dismissals), four were ministries (seven dismissals). When the emergency officially ended, approximately 40% of the signatories in public universities had been dismissed.

In some universities, dismissed academics were not allowed to collect their personal items; anti-terror police squads searched their rooms, and seized their books and computers.

Table 2: Dismissed AfP Signatories by Dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decree No</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Dismissed Academics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>672</td>
<td>September 1, 2016</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>673</td>
<td>September 1, 2016</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>675</td>
<td>October 29, 2016</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>677</td>
<td>November 22, 2016</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>679</td>
<td>January 6, 2017</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>686</td>
<td>February 7, 2017</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>689</td>
<td>April 29, 2017</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>692</td>
<td>July 14, 2017</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>693</td>
<td>August 25, 2017</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>695</td>
<td>December 24, 2017</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701</td>
<td>July 8, 2018</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures below are exclusively about Academics for Peace. For an overall picture of academic purge during the state of emergency, see our newsletter Academics for Human Rights, no. 2 (July 2018), http://www.tihvakademi.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/BULTEN02.2108ENG.pdf.

Prepared by author on the basis of data from Academics for Peace.
### Table 3: Dismissed AfP Signatories by Titles<sup>17</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Dismissed Academics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Professor</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Professor</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructor</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialist</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Assistant</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Student&lt;sup&gt;18&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4: Dismissed AfP Signatories by Institutions<sup>19</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Universities</th>
<th>Dismissed Academics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abant İzzet Baysal University</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adıyaman University</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adnan Menderes University</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ağrı İbrahim Çeçen University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akdeniz University</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anadolu University</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankara University</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atatürk University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartın University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batman University</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bingöl University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celal Bayar University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumhuriyet University</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Çukurova University</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dicle University</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dokuz Eylül University</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumlupınar University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Düzce University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ege University</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erzincan University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eskişehir Osmangazi University</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firat University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazi University</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>17</sup> Prepared by author on the basis of data from Academics for Peace.

<sup>18</sup> Five graduate students were employed in and dismissed from ministries.

<sup>19</sup> Prepared by author on the basis of data from Academics for Peace.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaziantep University</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giresun University</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakkari University</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harran University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatay Mustafa Kemal University</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İğdır University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İstanbul Bilim University</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İstanbul Technical University</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İstanbul University</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İzmir Institute of Technology</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kağkastan University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kastamonu University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirikkale University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kocaeli University</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardin Artuklu University</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marmara University</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mersin University</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Münzur University</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muş Alparslan University</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevşehir University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niğde University</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondokuz Mayıs University</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordu University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamukkale University</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trakya University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish-German University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uludağ University</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Yüzüncü Yıl University</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yalova University</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yıldız Technical University</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Private Universities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beykent University</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doğuş University</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İstanbul Yeni Yüzyıl University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İstanbul Ayvansaray University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ministries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ministry Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Science, Industry and Technology</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Labour and Social Security</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of National Education</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Suicide of Dr. Mehmet Fatih Traş

As the emergency measures were implemented with full force, Dr. Mehmet Fatih Traş, a junior PhD and one of the signatories of the petition, committed suicide on February 25, 2017. Following his death, a private correspondence with a senior colleague and a statement of intent recently submitted for a scholarship in France were uncovered. These two letters provided details about the process leading to his suicide, while at the same time shedding light on how practices of “blacklisting” and “civil death” actually worked.20

Dr. Traş had signed the petition as a graduate student in the Department of Econometrics at Çukurova University. Having completed his PhD in June 2016, he started teaching as a substitute lecturer in the same department. However, he was targeted by a senior faculty member, who accused him of being a PKK sympathizer in a Faculty Board meeting. The university administration swiftly terminated his contract.

In the meantime, Dr. Traş made two job applications, one at Mardin Artuklu University, the other at İstanbul Aydın University. The former, a public university, turned him down, informally stating that they could not hire him as he was “blacklisted.” The latter, a private university, first offered a full-time 2.5 years contract, but then withdrew it on the pretext that the position itself had been cancelled.

Shortly before his death, Dr. Traş applied for a scholarship abroad. The last sentence in his letter of intent reads as follows: “So long as I do not give up my moral values, I cannot foresee [in Turkey] any academic future for myself, based on objective criteria such as research and teaching performance.”

6. Trials

Trials against Academics for Peace started on December 5, 2017. Prepared by the Chief Prosecutor’s Office in İstanbul, the indictment charged the signatories with “making propaganda for a terrorist organization” (Anti-Terror Law, Article 7/2).21 Signatories were indicted individually, even though the indictment was almost the same in each case. The cases were initially distributed among 18 high criminal courts in İstanbul, currently extending to other cities as well.22

21 For the English translation, see https://afp.hypotheses.org/documentation/bill-of-indictment.
22 For an overview of the judicial proceedings, see our newsletter Academics for Human Rights, no. 3 (December 2018), http://www.tihvakademi.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/BULTEN03.2108ENG.pdf.
As of March 15, 2019, a total of 666 signatories have been put on trial. In the 150 cases so far concluded, all defendants were found “guilty” and sentenced to imprisonment, varying from 15 to 36 months without any reasonable explanation about the variation of sentences.

When the predicted prison sentence is less than 24 months, the courts offer to “defer the announcement of the verdict” (known in Turkish as the HAGB). Should the defendant accept the offer, she cannot appeal the sentence, but in turn does not serve time in prison unless she commits another “crime” within five years. In the 150 cases concluded as of March 15, 2019, a total of 119 signatories accepted the deferral offer. Of the remaining 31 signatories, some refused the offer, while others were already convicted to sentences exceeding 24 months. Currently, they are waiting to appear before the court of appeal — except Professor Füsun Üstel, whose sentence was recently approved by the higher court.

Professor Üstel, a political scientist retired from Galatasaray University, is the first academic who refused the deferral offer. In April 2018, she was sentenced to 15 months in prison, and appealed the verdict. Having concluded her case on March 1, 2019, the court of appeal approved the sentence. As of March 15, Professor Üstel might be imprisoned any time.

Table 5: Cases Concluded as of March 15, 2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Announcement of the verdict deferred</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 months in prison</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 months in prison</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 months and 22 days in prison</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 months and 15 days in prison</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Execution of the sentence suspended</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 months in prison</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 months in prison</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be executed, pending the court of appeal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 months in prison</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 months in prison</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 months in prison</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 months in prison</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 months in prison</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 months in prison</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court of appeal approved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 months in prison</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 Prepared by author on the basis of data from Academics for Peace.

24 Suspending the execution of the sentence is a different legal practice from deferring the announcement of the verdict. In the latter no conviction occurs because the verdict is not legally announced but kept in reserve, whereas in the former the defendant is convicted and has a criminal record with all consequences except serving time in prison, which is conditionally suspended.
Among the convicted signatories is the Chair of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, Professor Şebnem Korur Fincancı. On December 19, 2018, she was sentenced to 30 months in prison, currently pending the decision of the court of appeal. “It is not a crime to demand peace, I reject your accusations,” said Professor Fincancı in her final response to the accusing opinion.

Court cases are going on, so is the struggle of Academics for Peace.

25 For the statements of Academics for Peace in court sessions, see https://bianet.org/bianet/ifade-ozgurlugu/200980-baris-akademisyenlerinin-beyanlari.
Appendix: Online Sources for Section 2

In documenting what happened in the first 10 days after the release of the petition, we drew on the following online sources.

**January 12, 2016**

First statement by President Erdoğan:

Statement by the Council of Higher Education:

Counter petition by Academics for Turkey:

Disciplinary action at Sivas Cumhuriyet University:

Instances of libel in local newspapers:
https://www.bolununsesi.com/haber/150936/o-bildiriye-aibuden-4-imza

**January 13, 2016**

Statement by Inter-University Council:

Statement by the leader of the ultranationalist MHP:

Threat statement by a mob leader:

Threats and harassments at universities:

Urgent call by Education and Science Workers’ Union (Eğitim-Sen):

Formal and informal harassments against a faculty member at Abdullah Gül University:
Disciplinary actions by university administrations:
http://www.bartin.info/asayis/bolum-baskanligi-gorevinden-alindi-h22423.html
http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/171070-aibu-de-bildiriyi-imzalayan-3-akademisyene-sorusturma

Statements by university administrations against the AfP petition:
https://www.adu.edu.tr/tr/duyuru/14279.html
https://www.comu.edu.tr/duyuru/14279.html
http://haber.erdogan.edu.tr/?p=7035

Criminal complaint by seven academics against the signatories of the AfP petition:
https://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/171065-akademisyenlerden-akademisyenlere-suc-duyurusu

A counter statement by a group of academics, entitled “No to Academic Treason”:
http://www.yenihaberden.com/akademik-ihanete-gecit-yok-162386h.htm

January 14, 2016

Statement by Academics for Peace:

Second statement by President Erdoğan:

Statement by Prime Minister Davutoğlu:
https://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/171090-davutoglu-akademisyenlerin-bildirisinden-hicap-duydum

Criminal investigation by the Prosecutor’s Office in İstanbul:

First detention:
Warrant in Düzce:

Statement by Metin Feyzioğlu, President of the Union of Turkish Bar Associations:

Disciplinary actions and Statements of denouncement by university administrations:
http://www.uludag.edu.tr/haber/view/719
https://kku.edu.tr/Anasayfa/Slayt/Index/15
http://www.kocaeli.edu.tr/haber
http://www.birgun.net/haber

January 15, 2016

Third statement by President Erdoğan:
https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/37580/zalimlerle-sorusturma/haber
http://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/kocaeli-4

Detentions and criminal investigations across Turkey:
https://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1181578
https://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1181578

Disciplinary action by university administrations:

Statement by Uşak University:
https://eski.usak.edu.tr/icerik/669/2

The case of alleged “remorse letter”:

January 16, 2016
Statement by the Minister of Justice:

January 17, 2016
Statement by Marmara University:

January 18, 2016
Statement by 611 academics defending freedom of expression:

January 20, 2016
Fourth statement by President Erdoğan:
https://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/171323-cumhurbaskani-lumpen-yarim-porsiyon-aydin-musvedde

Council of Higher Education briefed the President:

Detention in Sakarya:

Grievance against the threats at Marmara University:
https://m.bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/171300-akademisyenleri-tehdit-eden-ulkuculer-icin-disiplin-dilekcesi