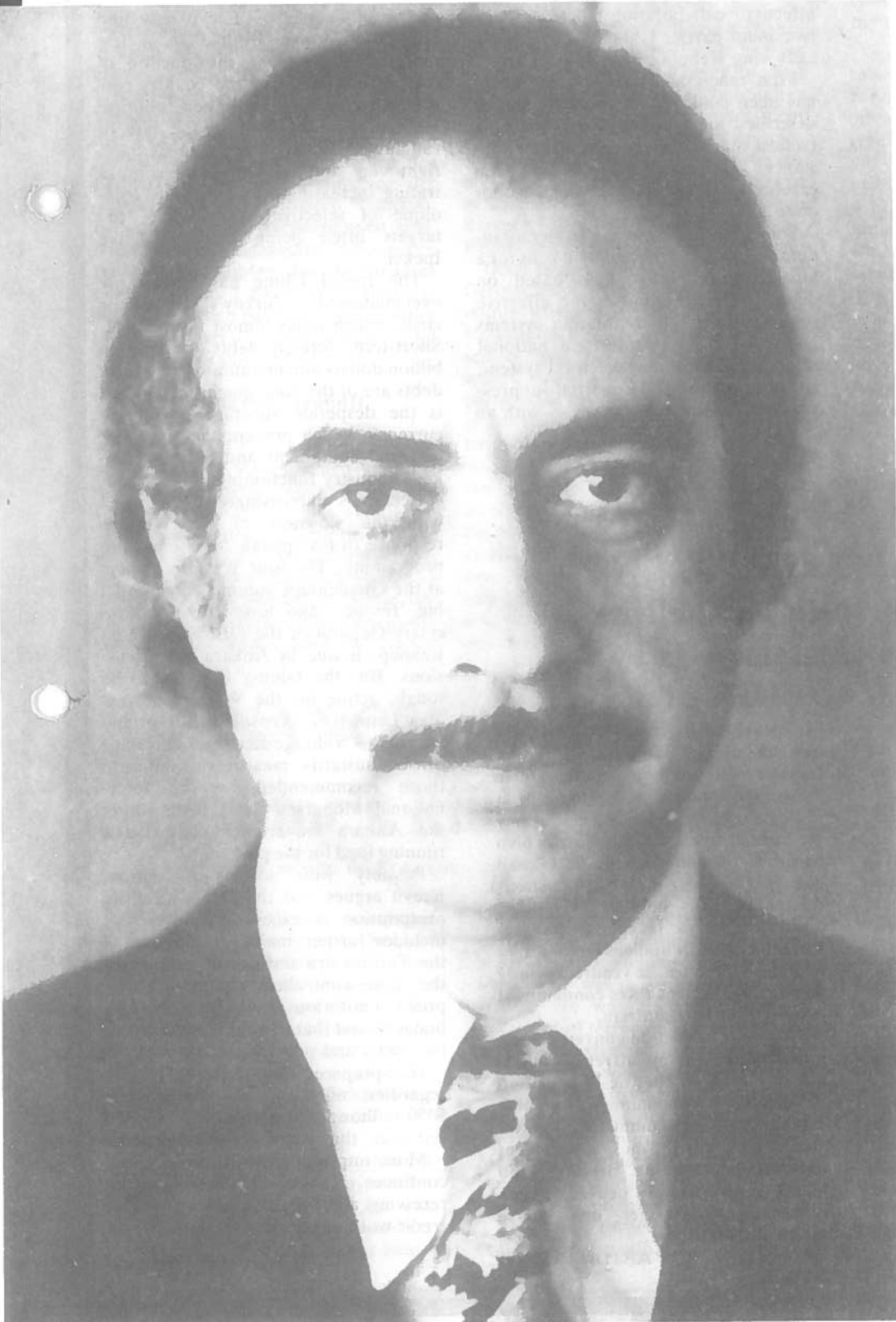


Tribute **ABDI IPEKÇI** 1929-1979

to a great editor



Abdi İpekçi was born in Istanbul in 1929. After graduating from the Galatasaray High School he attended the law faculty of Istanbul University. His aptitude for journalism started when he was a student. He contributed to the school paper with cartoon and sport reports. He started his career as a reporter on the daily **Yeni Sabah**, later worked in the **Yeni İstanbul** and joined **İstanbul Ekspres**, where he served as managing editor. İpekçi became the editor-in-chief of **Milliyet** in 1954. He was then the youngest editor of any Turkish daily newspaper. **Milliyet** was newly established and İpekçi put all his energy and creativeness in it, making it not only successful but also most influential. His leading article *Durumsv* (The Situation) had a tremendous impact on public opinion and the government and always kept a moderate and balanced line on domestic and foreign affairs. He strongly opposed violence. He advocated reconciliation and compromise — both at home and abroad. He took an active role in promoting such understanding. A recent example of this was his role in bringing together the Greek and Turkish journalists, under the IPI's auspices. İpekçi was also very active in professional activities. He assumed the posts of president of the Istanbul Journalists Union and secretary of the Press Court of Honour. He was a member of the IPI executive board from 1964 to 1976 and was vice-chairman from 1971 to 1976. He was also a lecturer at Istanbul University's Institute of Journalism. He was the author of five books, compiling his analytical series of articles and features published in **Milliyet**. İpekçi had travelled extensively and interviewed leaders in five continents of the world. His progressive ideas coupled with his penetrating and yet balanced approach and style aroused general admiration. His death is an irreparable loss not only for Turkey but also for the free world. IPI expresses its deep sympathy to his wife, Sibel, his daughter Nuket, 22, and his son Sedat, 18.

THE OBSERVER

Murder sparks moves for unity

from KENNETH MACKENZIE in Ankara

MOVES to form a Government of National Unity to tackle Turkey's two gargantuan problems — rampant terrorism and economic chaos — gained sudden momentum in Ankara last week.

Prime mover is President Fahri Koturk, who has been in close contact with Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, the leader of the opposition Justice Party, Suleyman Demirel, and the Chief of the Turkish General Staff, General Kenan Evren. There are now prospects of a meeting between Ecevit and Demirel — dubbed Turkey's two Kilkenny Cats because of the bitterness of their feud.

The catalyst was the assassination 10 days ago of Abdi Ipekci, the highly respected editor-in-chief of *Milliyet*, Turkey's most influential daily newspaper. This stunned the nation and not least Ecevit and Demirel, both close

friends of the murdered journalist.

Last Wednesday Demirel's Justice Party submitted an 11-point memorandum as a basis for a coalition, or at least effective collaboration, between the two main parties (the JP and Ecevit's Left-wing Republican People's Party).

First reaction of Ecevit's entourage has been cool; one senior RPP source described the Demirel document as 'a tactical manoeuvre devoid of real substance.' But so far Ecevit has been careful not to reject it, leaving the door open to talks.

Some of the points in the memorandum are indeed nebulous — it calls for a bipartisan foreign policy 'based on dignity.' But it proposes the effective suppression of all totalitarian systems 'particularly Communism,' a national referendum on a new electoral system; and the ruthless and impartial suppression of all subversive forces — with an

end to discrimination in religion, race and region.

If the initiatives to form a 'National Government' come to nothing — as may well happen — Ecevit may find himself in grave trouble in a few months. Despite the introduction of martial law in 13 of the country's 67 provinces on 26 December, political killings are continuing at the rate of roughly one a day. The terrorists, both right-wing and left-wing, are concentrating increasingly on the grisly technique of selective assassination, the targets often being moderates like Ipekci.

The Ipekci killing has temporarily overshadowed Turkey's economic crisis, which looks almost insuperable. Short-term foreign debts total seven billion dollars and medium-or long-term debts are of the same magnitude. Worst is the desperate shortage of foreign currency, which prevent the import of essential equipment and machinery to keep industry functioning.

Ecevit is increasingly exasperated with the slowness of the Western response to his appeals for a crash aid programme. The four Western leaders at the Guadeloupe summit agreed on a big 'rescue', and tomorrow the Secretary-General of the OECD, Mr Van Lennep, is due in Ankara for discussions. But the talking is likely to be tough; acting for the Western powers Van Lennep — according to informed sources — will urge Ecevit to introduce drastic austerity measures, similar to those recommended by the International Monetary Fund, with whom the Ankara Government has had a running feud for the past year.

Possibly with some justification, Ecevit argues that the IMF's austerity prescription is excessively severe (it includes further major devaluation of the Turkish lira and drastic pruning of the State-controlled economic enterprises, a notorious drain on the Turkish budget), and that it would only increase the social and political unrest.

He prepared to defy the IMF, regardless of the consequences. The \$450 million loan, pledged by the IMF last year, thus remains in suspension.

More important, while this impasse continues, Turkey has no hope of receiving an IMF endorsement of her credit-worthiness.

ARTUN UNSAL.

(11 February)

Le Monde

Turquie

Le directeur du quotidien « Milliyet » a été assassiné

De notre correspondant

Ankara. — M. Abdi Ipekci, directeur-rédacteur en chef du quotidien « Milliyet », l'un des journalistes turcs les plus influents, a été assassiné jeudi soir 1^{er} février, à 50 mètres de son domicile, dans un quartier résidentiel d'Istanbul. L'assassin, selon les témoins, profitant de l'arrêt de la voiture, prise dans un embouteillage, a pu — après avoir tiré cinq balles, — courir vers un parc voisin et s'échapper avec l'aide de complices qui l'attendaient dans une voiture garée à proximité.

Le meurtre n'a pas été revendiqué. M. Ipekci, cinquante ans, issu d'une grande famille bourgeoise d'Istanbul, personnalité sociale-démocrate, membre du comité directeur de l'Institut international de presse, était rédacteur en chef de « Milliyet » depuis 1954. Il a réussi à faire de ce journal un quotidien réputé et solide: avec 400 000 exemplaires, il vient en quatrième position en Turquie. Les éditoriaux de

M. Ipekci étaient lus avec intérêt par tous les milieux politiques du pays; l'auteur était un homme du « juste milieu », démocrate, et défenseur de la justice sociale. Il jouissait de l'estime générale et avait des amis aussi bien parmi les républicains de M. Ecevit que parmi les grands industriels d'Istanbul, sans oublier les milieux diplomatiques de la capitale turque. Les principaux quotidiens de toutes les tendances ont paru, ce vendredi, bordé de noir avec de gros titres condamnant le meurtre de leur confrère.

M. Ecevit, le chef du gouvernement, a dénoncé ce « crime affreux » tandis que M. Demirel, chef de l'opposition de droite, a condamné « l'ignoble assassinat » tout comme M. Turkes, chef du parti du mouvement nationaliste (extrême droite) selon lequel ce meurtre est l'oeuvre de ceux qui veulent propager une guerre fratricide en Turquie.

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Die Ermordung von Abdi Ipekci

Tod eines türkischen Liberalen

A. H. Die Ermordung des wahrscheinlich zurzeit bedeutendsten türkischen Journalisten, Abdi Ipekci, am vergangenen Donnerstag vor seiner Wohnung in Istanbul, ist ein grosser Verlust für den türkischen Journalismus und gleichzeitig eine **ernste Bedrohung** für das gesamte politische Leben des Landes. Es dürfte sich um eine der schmerzlichsten Mordtaten handeln, die in der Türkei vorgekommen sind, obgleich es im vergangenen Jahre gegen **tausend Todesopfer des Terrorismus** dur extremen Linken und extremem Rechten gegeben hat und obgleich unter ihnen Universitätsprofessoren und Juristen von Rang gewesen sind.

Stimme der Vernunft

Ipekci war in der Türkei die Stimme der kühlen und abgewogenen Vernunft gewesen. Er hatte seine Zeitung, « **Milliyet** », zu einem der wichtigsten Blätter des Landes gemacht; sie war, wie er selbst in seinen Leitartikeln, durch kühle, distanzierte Beurteilung der so oft überhitzten politischen Szene des Landes hervorgetreten. Dahinter spürte man ein verhaltenes, aber im Grunde

leidenschaftliches Eintreten für die Freiheit des Geistes und die **echte Demokratie**, wie man in der Türkei sagt, « europäischen Stiles ». Dieses in dem Land der leidenschaftlichen politischen Passionen zurückgehaltene, aber nicht fehlende Engagement hatte Ipekci nach Jahren des Beobachtens und Abwägens ins Lager von **Ministerpräsident Ecevit** geführt und ihn dazu gebracht, seinen Versuch eines sozialdemokratischen Regimes zu stützen.

Doch Ipekci war nie ein Partei- und Gefolgsmann; aus seiner Feder sind immer wieder **scharfe Kritiken** an der Volkspartei Ecevits geflossen, wenn ihm schien, dass Fehler begangen worden waren. Seine Kommentare waren viel gelesen und wurden vielfach zitiert. Was er zur türkischen Innenpolitik zu sagen hatte, zählte immer und erwies sich als stets informiert. Die Politiker pflegten ihn zum **Zeugen und Vertrauen** zu wählen, wenn sie etwas Wichtiges, Neues zu sagen hatten und wenn sie gewiss sein wollten, verstanden zu werden. Mit seinem Tod ist das politische und das geistige Klima am Bosphorus um eine bedeutende Persönlichkeit ärmer geworden.

FINANCIAL TIMES

Editor's killing threatens Ecevit

BY METIN MUNIR IN ISTANBUL

MR. ABDI IPEKCI, the newspaper editor gunned down by terrorists last Thursday, was buried here yesterday. The funeral coincides with concern that unless Mr. Bulent Ecevit, the Prime Minister, takes a tougher line with terrorists, independent members of the national assembly, on whom his majority depends, will withdraw their support, thereby causing the fall of the Government.

Mr. Ipekci was the most prominent Turk to have lost his life in political violence in the past decade. He was the country's most respected and best known journalist, editor of the Istanbul

daily *Milliyet* (Nationality) for the past quarter of a century.

Mr. Ipekci upheld social democratic ideas and was a supporter of Mr. Ecevit. He was also an outspoken opponent of terrorism and made sharp attacks on extremist factions, particularly the right-wing. His death came as a severe shock from which, three days later, Turkey has not recovered.

Mr. Ipekci's murder has underlined Mr. Ecevit's failure to contain terrorism despite martial law in 13 of the country's 67 provinces.

Thousands turned out for his funeral despite the rain, Mr. Ecevit, Mr.

LA LIBERTÉ

L'assassinat d'Abdi Ipekci à Istanbul, le 1^{er} février, montre que dans certains pays le journalisme est devenue une des professions les plus périlleuses. Non seulement pour les reporters envoyés en « première ligne » mais aussi pour les directeurs de journaux et les éditorialistes. Directeur de quotidien « *Milliyet* » dont il rédigeait la plupart des éditoriaux, le défunt était l'un des journalistes les plus écoutés de son pays. Il était connu pour ses opinions libérales et modérées, sa tolérance envers les communautés minoritaires, son souci d'une réconciliation avec la Grèce. Des fanatiques ont fait laire sa voix.

Abdi Ipekci fut durant plusieurs années vice-président de l'Institut international de la presse (avant son transfert de Zurich à Londres en 1976) et la nouvelle de sa mort nous est arrivée quelques jours seulement après le rapport annuel de cet institut sur l'état de la liberté de la presse à travers le monde. Or ce qui frappe le plus dans ce rapport c'est le grand nombre de cas où des journalistes ont été victimes de la violence politique.

A Bilbao, Jose Maria Portell, directeur de journal « *Hoja de Lunes* », est tombé sous les balles d'un commando basque.

A Londres, Georges Markov, exilé bulgare qui collaborait à Radio Free Europe, a été victime d'un coup de parapluie empoisonné.

Youssef El Sebai, directeur du quotidien caïrote « *Al Ahram* » et confident du président Sadate, a été assassiné à Chypre. C'est en Amérique latine, toutefois, que les cas sont les plus nombreux et l'Argentine en détient le triste record.

Ce n'est pas un hasard si en une année tant de journalistes, et non des moindres, sont tombés au champ d'honneur de leur profession. Tous ces exemples montrent combien reste considérable l'influence de la presse, combien le pouvoir de verbe demeure inquiétant pour certains. Ceux qui incarnent la liberté d'expression deviennent ainsi la cible privilégiée des fanatiques de tout bord.

ARMAND GASPARD, FRIBOURG

Suleyman Demirel, the main opposition leader and many cabinet ministers were among the crowd who attended the funeral in the courtyard of a mosque near Mr. Ipekci's home. The street's between the old and new parts of Istanbul were lined with hundreds of troops and policemen to safeguard the cortege.

No one has claimed responsibility for the assassination as is usual in Turkey in such events. Some 130 people have been detained by police in raids but no clues appear to have been uncovered as to the identity of the assassins. (5 February).

I DEEPLY appreciate the IPI's gesture of publishing a commemorative issue for Abdi Ipekçi. In the eyes of his colleagues Abdi Ipekçi was a symbol of responsible journalism. In the eyes of the Turkish people he was a staunch defender of democracy and a relentless campaigner for peace at home and peace in the world. To help bring about an atmosphere of confidence and lasting friendship between the Turkish and Greek peoples was one of his life-long ambitions. Only those who were against democracy, freedom and peace could have wished ill of him. His stand against terrorism and his contribution to international efforts to go to the roots of terrorism and to save the world from terrorism, alas, made him a target for terrorists. Sometimes strict adherence to principles may clash with a tolerant attitude but in Abdi Ipekçi boundless tolerance was combined with unshakeable adherence to democratic principles and to moral values. That together with his lucid thinking and style was perhaps the main reason for his great influence on public opinion in Turkey. The whole nation mourned for his tragic death. But his influence went beyond the boundaries of Turkey. The respect that he inspired in all who knew him around the world is a sign of his great merits. It is gratifying to observe that the International Press Institute, of which I had the honour of being a member during my years as a journalist, pays due homage to him.

Bulent Ecevit, Prime Minister of Turkey

Die Ermordung des Chefredakteurs der grossen und wichtigen türkischen Zeitung Milliyet, Abdi Ipekçi, hat mich tief betroffen. Noch unmittelbar bevor ich für mehrere Monate aus der politischen Arbeit ausscheiden musste, konnte ich — Mitte November — in Bonn ein ausführliches Gespräch mit ihm führen. Die Sachlichkeit und Sachkunde, die jenes Gespräch kennzeichneten, werden mir immer in guter Erinnerung bleiben.

Abdi Ipekçi hat sich gerade auch für die Aussöhnung zwischen der Türkei und Griechenland eingesetzt und Gespräche zwischen türkischen und griechischen Journalisten erfolgreich eingeleitet.

Der sinnlose Akt der Gewalt, der sein Leben ausgelöscht hat, wird seine Bemühungen um Frieden und Gerechtigkeit nicht töten können.

Ich hoffe und wünsche zutiefst, dass sein Werk verstärkt fortgesetzt wird.

Willy Brandt, Bonn.

Abdi Ipekçi had two passions in his life: his newspaper and his love for democracy. His unshakeable belief in the democratic principles, that he advocated in Milliyet, probably made him a target for the horrible murder.

I am very proud to have been a close friend of such a distinguished journalist, with whom I had the honour of working for 25 years. I think very few publishers have had the privilege of having their newspapers edited by not only a great authority on the technique of journalism but also a man of great integrity. The world has lost a great journalist.

Ercument Karacan, Publisher, Milliyet, Istanbul.

The senseless murder of Abdi Ipekçi is shocking and saddening. He was a brilliant and courageous voice of moderation in an often immoderate world. His tragic death is an irreplaceable loss to journalism, which will be felt far beyond the borders of his native land. We extend to you our most sincere sympathy and condolences at the loss of this great man.

John Reinhardt, Director, US International Communication Agency, Washington.

The death of Abdi is a grievous loss, not only to his family and Turkey, but to the International Press Institute and to all who are dedicated to press freedom. Abdi was a valued and energetic colleague; he was also a key figure late last year in IPI-sponsored talks held in London aimed at improving understanding between Greece and Turkey. In paying warm tribute to a fine newspaperman and brave colleague, it is important to say that his murder must not intimidate those who continue the fight for press freedom.

Ronald Macdonald, Chairman, IPI.

Abdi Ipekçi was not only a great journalist but also a determined fighter for peace, international understanding and the freedom of the press. I knew Abdi for over 20 years and was always grateful for the friendship, support and help he showed towards the work of IPI.

In 1964 IPI had its general assembly in Istanbul which Abdi brilliantly organised. He

ABDI — as his friends remember him best



ABDI IPEKÇI and Helen Vlachos at IPI's 25th anniversary Assembly in Philadelphia 1976

Abdi est mort. Assassiné Incroyable.

Le soir où j'ai entendu le malheur j'avais encore sa voix dans mes oreilles. Il était à Ankara. Il était venu pour fixer le programme de la visite de nos collègues grecs qui devaient venir en Turquie le 2^e Février. Il avait parlé au Directeur Général de la Presse et de l'Information, à Demirel et à Ecevit. Il m'avait donné les détails des recontres que la délégation grecque aurait dans la capitale turque. Il était 2 h. de l'après midi. Il allait prendre l'avion de 4.30 pour Istanbul. A 8 h. un collègue me téléphone: On a fait feu sur Abdi. Un quart d'heure plus tard on apprendait qu'on n'avait pas pu

sauver le grand journaliste. On avait préparé un guetapens au coin de la rue où il habitait et où, à l'autre coin, à dix metres de sa maison il y avait un commissariat de police.

Organisation parfaite, préparation sans faute, exécution de professionnels.

Mais mon Dieu, pourquoi Abdi? Parce que Abdi était l'un des plus grands journalistes de la Turquie, avec une renommée internationale. Les terroristes dont le but est actuellement de semer la panique dans la société turque ne pouvaient choisir mieux. La mort, l'assassinat de personne n'a créé un remou et une douleur pareille dans le pay entier, ni dans la

presse mondiale.

Abdi avait quelque chose d'exceptionnelle pour un très grand journaliste politique: Il était aimé et respecté par tous, y compris ceux qui ne partageaient pas ses idées. Il n'était pas doux, mais calme. Il était persévérant dans ses convictions, mais ni têtue, ni bagarreur. Il avait une manière d'exprimer ses vues qui désarmait même les plus féroces de ses adversaires. C'est rare qu'un grand journaliste n'ait pas d'ennemi. Abdi n'en avait pas. Il ne comptait que d'amis. Son coeur était plein de bonté et je n'ai pas vu dans ma vie une autre personne capable de tant de tolérance.

Caractères qui l'avaient fait

choisir comme une cible idéale.

J'ai toujours admiré ses capacités de travail et ces capacités là, ils les avaient aussi pour sa vie privée dans laquelle il était le meilleur des copains, un homme charmant qui formait un couple idéal avec sa jeune femme, bon vivreur qui prenait un plaisir, un goût immense de la vie.

Cher Abdi, peut être parce que tu savais, peut être que tu te doutais que cette vie là, cette vie à toi ne serait pas de longue durée.

Cher Abdi, on ne t'oublira pas de ci-tôt. Ni la presse turque, ni la presse internationale, ni tes amis qui sont un peu partout dans le monde entier.

METIN TOKER, Ankara

gave advice and counsel to the board of the institute, of which he was a member for many years. It was a privilege to have him serve in 1971 as one of our vice-chairmen. When he retired from the board because the IPI constitution does not allow a member to serve for more than eight years, he still carried on invaluable help and advice.

In the last two years he took part in many meetings which we had organised. He attended a meeting organised by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, took part in our conference on terrorism and the media and, last but not least, was instrumental in arranging a Greek/Turkish meeting in London last November. This was the first meeting between Greek and Turkish editors for 17 years. It was due to his efforts that as a result of this meeting Turkish editors visited Greece in January where they met the Greek Prime Minister and Abdi had arranged for a return visit to Turkey, where Mr

Ecevit, the Prime Minister and former member of IPI, personally addressed them. Abdi had also been engaged in setting up, with our help, an international meeting in Istanbul on terrorism and the media. It is tragic that he should now have fallen victim to such a senseless terrorist attack.

But I would like to remember Abdi for his intelligence, his enthusiasm and as a personal friend in addition to his professional skill. On many occasions I had the privilege of seeing him with his family at his home in Istanbul and at my home in London with his wife Sibel and the children. There are few people in his position who remain calm, modest and liberal in outlook. IPI has lost one of its closest friends, supporters and advisers. He will not be forgotten.

Peter Galliner, Director, IPI.

I WILL always remember Abdi Ipekçi not only as an outstanding journalist, but also, as a smiling man full of understanding, wise and humorous. His death was a triple loss. We all lost a distinguished colleague, I personally a long-time friend and Greece one of the most valuable believers in the possibility of sincere peace between our two countries.

Helen Vlachos, Athens

Passionate and forceful personalities are often divided ones. It is therefore rare to find a man of action who retains even during the most strenuous struggles his tolerance and equanimity. Abdi Ipekçi was such a man. I had the occasion to meet him for the first time, nearly two decades ago, during a period of strained relations between Greece and Turkey, and until his tragic end as a victim of political hatred, I often had the chance to co-operate with him and to admire his unwavering moral strength and his professional qualities.

Abdi was a friend and a colleague in whom one sensed a deep-rooted respect of human values, a stubborn refusal to let himself be drawn into the vortex of intolerance. His goal had always been to promote understanding and allow for clear-headed discussion of even the thorniest problems. And this is one of the many reasons we are now mourning an irreplaceable personality and an invaluable friend.

Christos Lambrakis, Athens

Mit Abdi Ipekçi verliert nicht nur die Türkei, sondern die Presse der westlichen Welt einen ihrer engagiertesten und fähigsten Journalisten. Er wird in die Geschichte des IPI als Vorbild und als Vorkämpfer für Demokratie und Gerechtigkeit weit über die Grenzen seines Landes hinaus eingehen. Abdi Ipekçi zeigte sich in jeder Hinsicht ebenbürtig seinem grossen und unvergessenen Vorgänger im IPI, seinem Landsmann Emin Yalman, der auf ganz andere Weise für seine hohe Überzeugung bitter zu leiden hatte. Abdi Ipekçi's schrecklicher Tod ist nicht nur ein Symbol für seinen journalistischen Wagemut und seine hohe Gesinnung, sondern genauso ein Hinweis auf die Gefährdung in unserer Welt, ein Aufruf, die Bedrohung der Demokratie, der Gerechtigkeit und der Brüderlichkeit besser zu erkennen. Ich verliere mit dem Tod von Abdi Ipekçi nicht nur einen Kollegen, mit dem ich eine Wegstrecke innerhalb des IPI gemeinsam gehen durfte und dessen Geist ich stets bewunderte, sondern auch einen persönlichen Freund.

*Alfred Neven DuMont, Köln
Präsident, Deutsches Nationalkomitee, Internationales Presseinstitut*

After the shock of hearing of his brutal murder in Istanbul, my compassion and sympathy went out to Abdi's wife, Sibel, and to his family. I remembered the happy days when we had all met at various IPI board meetings and assemblies. I remembered, too, Abdi's visit to Sweden and our own to Turkey.

As vice-chairman of the IPI, Abdi chaired the 1975 assembly in Zurich when chairman Paul Ringler was absent due to illness. Abdi's firm and modest ways of handling difficult press problems and administrative questions gained the admiration and respect of the entire assembly.

Abdi was an idealist. As editor-in-chief at home, he was an idealist in his visions toward a better future for mankind. His personal engagement in our common cause — the free flow of information and news — was deeply linked to his belief in democracy. But Abdi was also a realist, understanding that the solution of such problems required time. His involvement in the effort to reach an understanding between his country and neighbouring Greece was only one example of combining a humanitarian aim with peaceful patience and constructive thought.

One could always rely on his good judgment. When Abdi left the IPI board, he was greatly missed by all of us. He would have been a great chairman. I salute Abdi Ipekçi Ipekçi and his paper Milliyet. His death is an irreplaceable loss for IPI.

Olof Wahlgren, Malmö

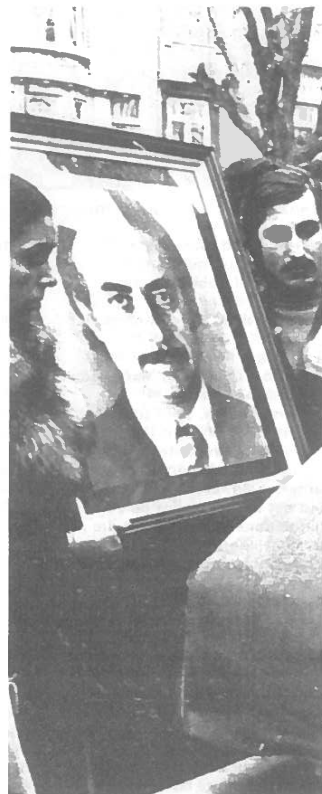
When I last met Abdi, during IPI's meeting on Unesco communications policy in London last October, we chanced to talk about his personal security in a country where political conflict so often resulted in personal assault. There was a somewhat sad smile on his face when he said that you could not really take sufficient precautions against such eventuality. He was probably right: even heavily-guarded people are shot regularly or kidnapped. But I also think that he would not have accepted bodyguards because there was such a strong belief in him in people's reasonableness.

I have often thought, when he told me about the political strife and the violence in Turkey, that his responsibility as an editor meant so much more than the formal responsibility for the content of our papers of so many of us in relatively quiet western European countries. He, for instance, had to be at his office during election campaigns, not only out of a sense of duty, but because he felt that his moderation, translated in his editorials, was a matter of national interest. I must confess that I have sometimes been jealous of him, for being in that position. It gave weight to his views whenever he expressed them in meetings, be it in the executive board or in larger gatherings, particularly because it was moderateness with a firm basis. He would not budge from his stand for freedom of expression or for the essential of democracy.

I am proud of having been close to him on those few occasions in the last six years of his life that we met. And his memory will be a source of inspiration and of dedication to keep fighting the spirit of intolerance that was the cause of his undeserved death.

Max Snijders, Utrecht

Idealist, editor, mediator, patriot: a man incapable of an unkind deed . . .



Abdi's widow, Sibel beside her husband's portrait as it was carried behind the coffin.

EULOGIES are customary when a well-known personality passes from the scene. Only seldom are they deeply felt and sincerely and fully meant. This is one such occasion. Abdi was a dedicated and articulate defender of a free press as an expression of the basic rights of man. Long struggles brutalise people, but his graciousness and charm never left him, not even in the thick of battle. His quiet confidence was infectious. May this infection spread all over the world in tribute to his memory.

Cushrow Irani, Calcutta

Abdi's violent death is a great loss for the cause of free and public expression of opinion to which he was uncompromisingly dedicated. IPI has lost one of its outstanding leading personalities. Those who worked with Abdi on the institute's executive board knew him as a loyal man of deeply-rooted democratic convictions, of firm but carefully balanced judgment and a strong commitment to justice. His contribution toward solving the institute's problems was essential. And in his person he set a brilliant example of what a journalist, of what our profession could be.

Fred Luchsinger, Zurich

The terrorists of Istanbul succeeded in silencing one of the most distinguished and courageous voices of the free press in Europe. They will, however, not succeed in stopping the continued fight for the ideals for which Abdi Ipekçi died. To me as to others the tragedy will be a commitment to expose and fight terrorism in all its forms with increased vigour.

Abdi was a man of modest ways but of firm conviction. Although he lived and worked at the other side of Europe, he felt very close to the social democracies of Scandinavia. With his infectious smile and soft spoken manners he always created an atmosphere of goodwill and affection around him. As the champion of a more humane society, he became at the same time, because of his unwavering attitude, a formidable adversary of authoritarian ideologies and methods. In spite of adverse conditions he never gave up. He was indeed an inspiration to many colleagues and he will remain so after his death.

Per Monsen, Oslo

Abdi and I worked together during eight years on the IPI executive board. He was vice-chairman of IPI during my chairmanship from 1974 to 1976. He never refused an extra assignment; shouldered many burdensome tasks; was ever ready with wise counsel. I have never met an IPI member who did not admire, respect and like Abdi Ipekçi. All the qualities that make up "the good man" were in him. He was thoughtful, understanding, compassionate and possessed of a deep inner strength. He was dignified and gentle and kind. His dedication was absolute to the ways of justice, human freedom and peace. One satisfying reward of IPI assemblies and board meetings was to meet anew with Abdi and Sibel, to talk family affairs and simple everyday matters, and to get Abdi's perceptive views on this "time of troubles" in the world. In Abdi's unseemly death, the cause of human freedom has lost a valiant fighter. IPI has lost one of its most loyal supporters. The world has lost a noble spirit. I, alas, have lost a dear friend.

Paul Ringler, Solana Beach, California

The circumstances which led to the murder of Abdi Ipekçi show us clearly in what dangerous conditions independent and free journalists and editors pursue their profession. Abdi believed in true democracy, he fought for a better and more developed society in Turkey. In this he showed a remarkable courage and fighting spirit despite grave unrest in his country and fierce opposition from extremists from right and left.

Abdi developed *Milliyet* into a leading newspaper. His editorials were strong, honest and always on the pulse of the problems and issues of the day. Abdi was equally well-known and respected outside the borders of his country. He followed the great Dr Valman — one of IPI's members — on the board of IPI, where he served the journalistic aims of IPI with great distinction. He devoted much energy and thought for a better understanding in the world, notably between his own country and Greece. In IPI he not only gained the unconditional respect of his colleagues, but also their friendship. Abdi served also as vice-chairman of IPI and he should have been the obvious choice for chairman.

Journalists and editors around the world lost in him a friend and leader. The example of his courage and integrity should be the guiding light for journalists pursuing the truth regardless of country and conditions.

Aatos Erkkö, Helsinki

Abdi Ipekçi was two things which are not contradictory: a patriot and an internationalist. In our IPI meetings he was always totally concerned with the freedom of the individual and this was paramount for him, but he could speak with eloquence when the facts appeared to warrant it, or whether a particular member's report or statement had been far too critical of Turkey. He took, I know, a particularly creative part in meetings between the Greek and Turkish editors to relieve the endless aggravation caused by stereotyped reporting. His sense and compassion will be greatly missed by his colleagues.

Harold Evans, London

On behalf of the Israel Newspaper Editors Committee and of the Israel IPI Committee, we are shocked and grieved at the senseless slaying of our friend and colleague. We shall always remember his outstanding character, his humane attitude and his liberal and broad-minded views. The family of IPI and of editors who uphold the freedom of the press will be much poorer by his tragic death. Please convey our heartfelt condolences to his family and colleagues in Turkey.

Shalom Rosenfeld and Ari Rath, Jerusalem

Three days before he was killed, Abdi called me. He was going to Ankara for two days to discuss with government officials the preparations concerning the visit of our Greek colleagues to Turkey. He told me that he was expecting my help too, on his return to Istanbul and he would give me information about the programme.

Abdi was one of the most distinguished journalists of our country. In domestic or foreign politics he always evaluated the events objectively without being a slave to his emotions and always following his common sense tried to enlighten the public. His indomitable determination to fight for peace inside and outside the country, was one of his outstanding virtues.

He was a liberal colleague of ours who defended democracy and freedom of thought throughout his life and had no personal hostility to anyone or any party. He always obeyed the rules of the press council of which he was one of the founders.

He was always polite in his replies, even to some of his critics who were insulting in their comments. And from this point of view one would think that Abdi Ipekçi should be the last writer to be assassinated in Turkey today. The aim of the people who have killed him is to destroy the democratic system of Atatürk's Turkey and throw the country into the arms of fascism. We shall all try to prevent such a happening.

Nadir Nadi, Istanbul

When the forces of violence struck down Abdi Ipekçi, they destroyed a man who was dedicated to reason and goodwill. His opinions on vital issues were clearly expressed in *Milliyet*. He never lacked the courage of his honest and informed convictions. At the same time, he approached all problems as human dilemmas capable of sane solutions. His gentle manner and ready wit won friends wherever he went. Years of service with him on the executive board of the International Press Institute gave me a strong admiration for his character and a deep affection for his friendly nature.

Abdi was a devoted family man. To his bereaved wife and children he leaves a record of integrity of which they can feel proud, even in the face of their overwhelming sorrow.

Barry Bingham, Sr. Louisville

It was a great shock to hear the tragic news of the death of our old friend, Abdi Ipekçi, who devoted a good part of his life to defending freedom of the press and to promote international understanding as a leading member of IPI. It is a great loss not only in his own country but also in the pressdom of the world. On behalf of all members of IPI in Japan and his many friends

here and as Vice-Chairman of IPI Executive board, President, Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association and Chairman of the Board of Asahi Shimbun, I would like to ask you to convey our deepest sympathy to his bereaved family.

Tomoo Hirooka, Tokyo

Abdi was a very good journalist and a brave fighter for the cause of freedom in his own country and all over the world. But Abdi was also an intellectual, with a wide sociological and political culture whose conversations illuminated the vision of those with whom he was talking about the major themes concerning both Europe and the world. After our first meeting in Zurich, at one of our institute's assemblies, I felt deeply interested in getting to know the political and social economical problems of his Turkey a little better. I looked for specialised books and I was very glad to find from the beginnings Abdi's name mentioned in their footnotes, not only as an evidence but also as an authority. The same happened in the editorials of his journal *Milliyet*, maybe writing by himself or at least based upon his inspiration.

He was also a real friend of Spain: he helped us during the difficult times of the previous political regime, backing and enforcing our fight for press freedom. He accompanied us, by means of his collaboration and friendliness, on the last years of the establishment of democracy. We had a meeting here in Madrid and out of this Abdi wanted to prepare a big report about the new Spanish monarchy.

Abdi Ipekçi has been murdered by anonymous and cowardly hands who have tried to attack liberty. But the important cause for which Abdi worked will continue to have its defenders. For those of us who believe in those major values in which Abdi believed, his absence is a further encouragement for our work and our commitment to defend and promote liberty.

Antonio Fontan, Madrid

Abdi was a man without malice and hatred struck him down. Those forces would triumph if his death did not increase our dedication to mildness and reason, those qualities for which Abdi lived. He was a journalist of outstanding ability and of great courage in the fine tradition of Turkish journalism which I have known at first hand and which I admired in him. In the international counsels of his profession he commanded respect for himself and his country and through his personal qualities made friends wherever he went. His loss is a bitter one which we could ill afford. I join his many friends in mourning him. I will remember him in affection and respect.

Gerald Long, London

I would be grateful if you would convey on behalf of myself and fellow IPI members in Kenya and all Kenyan journalists, deep shock and sympathies to the colleagues and family of Abdi Ipekçi on his foul assassination.

Joe Rodrigues, Nairobi

From the day he began his career as a 20-year-old reporter working to finance university studies until his death 30 years later, an admirable combination of objectivity, moderation and tolerance was the hallmark of Abdi Ipekçi. Both in his editorials and his actions as an individual, he worked at home and abroad to reconcile those with sincere differences. The dialogue Abdi engineered between Turkish and Greek journalists is a splendid example. His death is a loss to journalism everywhere. He dies a hero in the eyes of all of us.

Keith Fuller, New York

Abdi was my good friend and journalistic colleague for more than 30 years. In a confusing world, his was a life of unique clarity — of continuing values, quiet but awesome dedication to honest journalism and the unquestioning courage of one who knows his cause is just.

Even in this era of violence, only a completely twisted mind would have slain Abdi. His was a voice of sanity. In Turkey he called for reconciliation among political parties whose feuds have weakened his nation. As a Turk he spoke for a balanced Turkish foreign policy. As a journalist he worked to resolve harmful antagonisms. During his term as vice-chairman of the International Press Institute it was Abdi, a Turk, who conceived the dialogue between Greek and Turkish journalists which

softened the tone of shrill rhetoric. The day of his death, Abdi was returning from Ankara, where he had met Premier Ecevit in an effort to organise a visit of Greek journalists to Turkey.

His political views were those of a moderate Social Democrat. His ideas were forward-looking. He was a man of objectivity, moderation, tolerance.

Journalists of the stature of Abdi Ipekçi walk this earth far too infrequently. The lessons of his life and the savage nature of his death should lead all of us to rededicate ourselves in his name to the high goals of our profession.

Stan Swinton, New York

I was deeply shocked by the news of Abdi's passing away. His devotion to human and press freedom was a shining sample to all colleagues. Both the Turkish and world press will miss his presence for a very long time.

Mochtar Lubis, Jakarta

Très ému à la nouvelle de la mort tragique de notre confrère Abdi Ipekçi, le comité de l'Institut International de la Presse s'associe au deuil de sa famille des ses collaborateurs et de la presse Turque. Le comité Français tient à souligner en quelle estime ses confrères Français qui le connaissaient tenaient Abdi Ipekçi journaliste de talent et homme de courage. Il reste un exemple pour tous ceux qui doivent combattre pour la liberté de la presse.

P. M. Dessinges, Paris

Abdi was known for his great human qualities. He was an idealist and a progressive in the best sense of such terms. He fought for the rights of all and was a fervent supporter of free flow of information, knowing how essential knowledge of each other is to understanding. He is indeed missed by our profession.

R. W. Beaton, and Frank Tremaine, New York

To Abdi's widow, to all staff of *Milliyet*, and to his bereaved family goes my deepest sympathy and sense of loss on the senseless murder of one of the great men of our profession, liked and admired by all who knew him.

Julius Humi, London

I WAS surprised and distressed at Abdi Ipekçi's death. He was a most conscientious worker and a dependable friend. Abdi was my vice-chairman for two years and served with me on the board for several years. My sincere condolences go to his wife and to the Turkish IPI committee.

Lateef K. Jakande, Lagos

This act of terror was not the first and probably not the last one committed against freedom of information and opinion. Individual journalists are quite often in the forefront, exposed to personal danger wherever society is still laboriously groping for democracy and press freedom. Turkey has been such a country for a long time.

Abdi Ipekçi was known as an energetic, skilled, fighting journalist — not only in his own paper and country but also in international activities. His personal contribution was crucial in negotiations recently initiated by representatives of the Greek and Turkish press to normalise the relations between journalists and papers of the two countries. In these contacts Ipekçi was the main representative of his country's press. He was guided by a will to genuine detente between two traditionally hostile nations. If the motives for Ipekçi's murder are to be found in this context, he fell defending peace.

Simopekka Nortamo, Helsinki.

He dies a hero in the eyes of us all