

# **Nationalisms and Politics in Turkey**

Political Islam, Kemalism and the  
Kurdish issue

*Edited by*  
**Marlies Casier and  
Joost Jongerden**



Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics

# Nationalisms and Politics in Turkey

This book examines some of the most pressing issues facing the Turkish political establishment, in particular the issues of political Islam, and Kurdish and Turkish nationalisms. The authors explore the rationales of the main political actors in Turkey in order to increase our understanding of the ongoing debates over the secularist character of the Turkish Republic and over Turkey's longstanding Kurdish issue.

Original contributions from respected scholars in the field of Turkish and Kurdish studies provide us with many insights into the social and political fabric of Turkey, exploring Turkey's secularist establishment, the ruling AKP government, the Kurdistan Workers Party and the institutions of the European Union. While the focus of concern in this book is with the social agents of contemporary politics in Turkey, the convictions they have and the strategies they employ, historical dimensions are also integrated into the analyses. In its approach, the book makes an important contribution to a widening investigation into the making of politics in the contemporary world.

Incorporating the importance of the growing transnational connections between Turkey and Europe, this book is particularly relevant in the light of the ongoing negotiations over Turkey's membership to the European Union, and will be of interest to scholars interested in Turkish studies, Kurdish studies and Middle Eastern politics.

**Marlies Casier** is research affiliate of the Middle East and North Africa Research Group at Ghent University, interested in (trans)nationalism, political mobilization, Kurds and Turkey. She has published on the transnational politics of Turkey's Kurds in *Ethnicities* and on the institutionalization of human rights protection in Turkey in the *European Journal of Turkish Studies*.

**Joost Jongerden** is Assistant Professor in the Social Sciences Department at Wageningen University, the Netherlands. He is a sociologist by training, and mainly interested in development and conflict studies, with a focus on Turkey and Kurdistan.

# Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics

**1 Algeria in Transition**  
Reforms and development prospects  
*Ahmed Aghrout with Redha M. Bougherira*

**2 Palestinian Refugee Repatriation**  
Global perspectives  
*Edited by Michael Dumper*

**3 The International Politics of the Persian Gulf**  
A cultural genealogy  
*Arshin Adib-Moghaddam*

**4 Israeli Politics and the First Palestinian Intifada**  
Political opportunities, framing processes and contentious politics  
*Eitan Y. Alimi*

**5. Democratization in Morocco**  
The political elite and struggles for power in the post-independence state  
*Lise Storm*

**6 Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey**  
The making of the justice and development party  
*Ümit Cizre*

**7 The United States and Iran**  
Sanctions, wars and the policy of dual containment  
*Sasan Fayazmanesh*

**8 Civil Society in Algeria**  
The political functions of associational life  
*Andrea Liverani*

**9 Jordanian-Israeli Relations**  
The peacebuilding experience  
*Mutayyam al O'ran*

**10 Kemalism in Turkish Politics**  
The republican people's party, secularism and nationalism  
*Sinan Ciddi*

**11 Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey**  
The case of the AKP  
*William Hale and Ergun Özbudun*

**12 Politics and Violence in Israel/Palestine**  
Democracy versus military rule  
*Lev Luis Grinberg*

**13 Intra-Jewish Conflict in Israel**  
White Jews, black Jews  
*Sami Shalom Chetrit*

**14 Holy Places in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict**  
Confrontation and co-existence  
*Edited by Marshall J. Breger, Yitzhak Reiter and Leonard Hammer*

**15 Plurality and Citizenship in Israel**  
Moving beyond the Jewish/Palestinian civil divide  
*Edited by Dan Avnon and Yotam Benziman*

**16 Ethnic Politics in Israel**  
The margins and the Ashkenazi center  
*As'ad Ghanem*

**17 Islamists and Secularists in Egypt**  
Opposition, conflict and cooperation  
*Dina Shehata*

**18 Political Succession in the Arab World**  
Constitutions, family loyalties and Islam  
*Anthony Billingsley*

**19 Turkey's Entente with Israel and Azerbaijan**  
State identity and security in the Middle East and Caucasus  
*Alexander Murinson*

**20 Europe and Tunisia**  
Democratization via association  
*Brieg Powel and Larbi Sadiki*

**21 Turkish Politics and the Rise of the AKP**  
Dilemmas of institutionalization and leadership strategy  
*Arda Can Kumbaracibasi*

**22 Civil Society and Democratization in the Arab World**  
The dynamics of activism  
*Francesco Cavatorta and Vincent Durac*

**23 Politics in Morocco**  
Executive monarchy and enlightened authoritarianism  
*Anouar Boukhars*

**24 The Second Palestinian Intifada**  
Civil resistance  
*Julie M. Norman*

**25 Democracy in Turkey**  
The impact of EU political conditionality  
*Ali Resul Usul*

**26 Nationalisms and Politics in Turkey**  
Political Islam, Kemalism and the Turkish issue  
*Edited by Marlies Casier and Joost Jongerden*



# **Nationalisms and Politics in Turkey**

Political Islam, Kemalism  
and the Kurdish issue

**Edited by Marlies Casier  
and Joost Jongerden**



**Routledge**

Taylor & Francis Group

LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2011  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada

270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2010.

To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge's collection of thousands of eBooks please go to [www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk](http://www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk).

© 2011 Editorial selection and matter, Marlies Casier and Joost Jongerden;  
individual chapters the contributors

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Nationalisms and politics in Turkey : political Islam, Kemalism, and the Kurdish issue / edited by Marlies Casier and Joost Jongerden.

p.cm. — (Routledge studies in Middle Eastern politics ; 26)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-415-58345-9 (hardback) — ISBN 978-0-203-84706-0

(e-book) 1. Turkey—Politics and government—1980-. 2. Kurds—Turkey—Social conditions. 3. Nationalism—Turkey. 4. Islam and politics—Turkey. 5. Turkey—Ethnic relations—Political aspects. I. Casier, Marlies. II. Jongerden, Joost.

JQ1805.N38 2010

320.5409561—dc22

2010003758

ISBN 0-203-84706-7 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 978-0-415-58345-9 (hbk)  
ISBN 978-0-203-84706-0 (ebk)

# Contents

<i>List of contributors</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiv
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xv
Introduction	1
MARLIES CASIER AND JOOST JONGERDEN	
<b>PART I</b>	
<b>Political Islam and Turkey's Secularist-Nationalist Project</b>	11
1 Turkey's present <i>ancien régime</i> and the Justice and Development Party	13
MENDERES ÇINAR	
2 Democratization, clashing narratives, and 'Twin Toleration' between Islamic-Conservative and Pro-Secular Actors	28
MURAT SOMER	
3 'Nationalist' reconstructions in the light of disappearing borders	48
FERHAT KENTEL	
<b>PART II</b>	
<b>Facing the Kurdish issue</b>	65
4 The Kurdish question in Turkey: denial to recognition	67
MESUT YEĞEN	

5 Turgut Özal and the Kurdish question	85
MICHAEL M. GUNTER	
6 The Justice and Development Party and the Kurdish question	101
TOZUN BAHCHELI AND SID NOEL	
<b>PART III</b>	
<b>Challenging the state</b>	121
7 Born from the Left: the making of the PKK	123
JOOST JONGERDEN AND AHMET HAMDI AKKAYA	
8 The PKK in the 2000s: continuity through breaks?	143
AHMET HAMDI AKKAYA AND JOOST JONGERDEN	
<b>PART IV</b>	
<b>Calling upon Turkey: agents of long-distance nationalism</b>	163
9 Constructing communities in the Turkish diaspora: a quest for politics	165
AYHAN KAYA	
10 Bringing the organization back in: pro-Kurdish protest in Europe	182
OLIVIER GROJEAN	
11 The Politics of solidarity: the Kurdish question in the European Parliament	197
MARLIES CASIER	
<i>Index</i>	218

# Contributors

**Ahmet Hamdi Akkaya** is a PhD Candidate in the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences at the Ghent University, Belgium, and affiliated with the Middle East and North Africa Research Group (MENARG). His master thesis addressed the impact of the nation-building process in Iraqi Kurdistan on the Kurdish diaspora. He has worked as a correspondent and news editor for the daily newspaper *Özgür Gündem* and for the first Kurdish satellite channel, MED TV. Akkaya edited a documentary series on the history of the Partiya Karkêren Kurdistan (PKK; Kurdistan Workers Party) released to DVD as *Ateşten Tarih*. His doctoral research deals with the development of the PKK and the reconstruction of the Kurdish identity.

**Tozun Bahcheli** is Professor of Political Science at King's University College at the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. He has written widely on ethnic conflict, Turkish foreign policy issues, Greek-Turkish relations and Cypriot politics. During 1995–6 he was senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace in Washington, DC. He is the author of *Greek-Turkish Relations Since 1955* (1990) and co-editor of *De Facto States: The Quest for Sovereignty* (2004).

**Marlies Casier** is research affiliate of the MENARG at the Centre for Third World Studies, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of the Ghent University, Belgium. The author is PhD candidate, researching the influence of immigrant's transnational political mobilization on homeland conflicts, with particular emphasis on the transnational political organization of Kurds in the Turkish-Kurdish conflict. The author has previously researched the freedom of partner choice and marriage among Muslim girls and women in Belgium. She is the author of 'Turkey's Kurds and the quest for recognition: transnational politics and the EU-Turkey accession negotiations', *Ethnicities*, 10/1, (2010); 'Grenzeloos thuisland, eindeloos conflict? Transnationale politieke mobilisatie en conflict' (Borderless homeland, endless conflict? Transnational political mobilization and conflict), in R. Doom (ed.), *Conflict en Ontwikkeling. Overleven in de grensgebieden van de Globalisering* (Conflict and Development. To survive in the borderlands of Globalization) (2008) 'Contesting the "Truth" of Turkey's Human Rights Situation: State-Association Interactions in and outside of the Southeast', *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10, (2009).

**Menderes Çınar** is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations of Başkent University, Ankara. He is a former Giorgia La Pira Research Fellow at the Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence. His research areas and publications cover Turkish politics; Islamism; republican and liberal political traditions; and political economy. Recent publications include ‘The specific evolution of contemporary political Islam in Turkey and its “difference”’, (co-authored) and ‘The Justice and Development Party and Kemalist establishment’, both in the edited volume *Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey* (2008); the Working Paper by International Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI), Milan, February 2007, ‘Turkey between secularism and Islam: the Justice and Development Party experience’ (co-authored); and ‘Turkey’s transformation under the AKP rule’, *Muslim World*, 96/3 (2006). Past works include: ‘Modified Orientalism’, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 30 (2004), ‘Turkey 2002: Kemalism, Islamism and politics in the light of “the February 28 Process”’, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 2/3 (2003) (co-authored); ‘Kemalist Republicanism, Islamist Kemalism’, in *Islamism* (İletişim: 2004, in Turkish); ‘From shadow-boxing to critical understanding: some theoretical notes on Islamism as a political question’, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 3/1 (2002); and ‘An Islamic critique of modernity in Turkey: politics of difference backwards’, *Orient*, 40/ 1 (1999) (co-authored). A collection of his articles is published as *Islamism as a Political Question* (2005) (in Turkish).

**Olivier Grojean** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Aix-Marseille 3 University, and was involved in the CONFLITS-TIP Project on the cultural conflicts in Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, financed by the National Research Agency. He holds a PhD in political sociology from the EHESS. The title of his doctoral thesis was ‘La cause kurde, de la Turquie vers l’Europe. Contribution à une sociologie de la transnationalisation des mobilisations’ (The Kurdish Cause, from Turkey to Europe. Contribution to a Sociology of the Transnationalisation of Mobilizations). His research focuses on the political commitment of the Kurds in Turkey and Europe, on the phenomena of radicalization in political movements and on sacrificial violence. His publications include ‘Violence against the self : the case of a Kurdish non-Islamist group’, in A. Blom, L. Bucaille and L. Martinez (eds.), *The Enigma of Islamist Violence* (2007) and ‘Les réertoires du conflit kurde’ (Repertoires of the Kurdish conflict), in G. Dorronsoro (ed.), *La Turquie conteste. Mobilisations sociales et régime sécuritaire* (Turkey contests. Social mobilizations and the security regime) (2005).

**Michael Gunter** is a professor of political science at Tennessee Technological University in Cookeville, Tennessee, and teaches during the summer at the International University in Vienna, Austria. He is the author of six critically praised scholarly books on the Kurdish question, the most recent being *The Kurds Ascending: The Evolving Solution to the Kurdish Problem in Iraq and Turkey* (2008); *Kurdish Historical Dictionary* (2004); *The Kurdish Predicament in Iraq: A Political Analysis* (1999); and *The Kurds and the Future of Turkey* (1997).

In addition, he is the co-editor (with Mohammed M. A. Ahmed) of *The Kurdish Question and the 2003 Iraqi War* (2005) and *The Evolution of Kurdish Nationalism* (2007). He has also published numerous scholarly articles on the Kurds in such leading periodicals as the *Middle East Journal*, *Middle East Quarterly*, *Middle East Policy*, *Current History*, *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* and *Orient*, among others, and was a former Senior Fulbright Lecturer in International Relations in Turkey.

**Joost Jongerden** is Assistant Professor at the Social Sciences Department of the Wageningen University & Research (WUR). Key words characterizing his research are urban–rural transformation (the production of space/place), the social construction of technological artefacts and the social construction of identities. Recent publications include ‘Crafting Space, Making People: The Spatial Design of Nation in Modern Turkey’, EJTS 10, (2009), *The Settlement Issue in Turkey and the Kurds: An Analysis of Spatial Policies, Modernity and War* (2008); ‘Environmental destruction as a counterinsurgency strategy in the Kurdistan region of Turkey’, *Geoforum*, 39/5 (2008) (in co-authorship with J. van Etten, H. de Vos, A. Klaasse and E. C. E. van Hoeve), ‘Forest burning as counterinsurgency in Turkish-Kurdistan: an analysis from space’, *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies*, 21/1 & 2 (2007) (in co-authorship with J. van Etten and H. de Vos) and *Turkey’s Alevi Enigma: A Comprehensive Overview* (2003) co-edited with Paul White.

**Ayhan Kaya** is Professor of Political Science. Lecturer at the Department of International Relations, Istanbul Bilgi University; Director of the European Institute, specializing in Euro-Turks in Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, the Circassian diaspora in Turkey, and the construction and articulation of modern diasporic identities. Recent publications include *Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization* (2009), co-written with Ferhat Kentel, *Euro-Turks: A Bridge or a Breach between Turkey and the EU* (2005); *Sicher in Kreuzberg: Constructing Diasporas*, published in English (2001) and Turkish (2000); and has various articles on Berlin-Turkish youth cultures, ethnic-based political participation strategies of German-Turks, Berlin-Alevi, historians’ debate in Germany, identity debates and Circassian diaspora in Turkey. He has translated *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* by Fredrik Barth and *Citizenship and Social Classes* by T. H. Marshall and Tom Bottomore; co-edited a book *Issues Without Borders: Migration, Citizenship, Human Rights, Global Justice, Gender and Security* (in Turkish, 2003); co-edited *Majority and Minority Politics in Turkey: Citizenship Debates on the Way to the European Integration* (2005). His latest edited work (with Bahar Şahin) is *Roots and Routes: Migratory Processes in Turkey* (Kökler ve Yollar: Türkiye’de Göç Süreçleri) (2007).

**Ferhat Kentel** is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Sociology at Istanbul Şehir University. His articles on modernity, new social movements, religion, Islamic movements, intellectuals and ethnic communities have been

published in different journals and books in Turkey and abroad. Publications include: *Ermenistan ve Türkiye Vatandaşları. Karşılıklı Algılama ve Diyalog Projesi* (Turkish-Armenian Citizens Mutual Perception and Dialogue Project), with Gevorg Poghosyan, (2005); *Euro-Türkler: Türkiye ile Avrupa Birliği Arasında Köprü mü mü Engel mi?* (Euro-Turks: A Bridge, or a Breach, between Turkey and the European Union?), with Ayhan Kaya (2005); ‘*Milletin bölünmez bütünlüğü: Demokratikleşme sürecinde parçalayan milliyetçilik(ler)*’ (‘Undivisible unity of nation’: Dividing nationalism(s) in the process of democratization) with Meltem Ahiska and Fırat Genç (2007); *Belgian-Turks: A Bridge, or a Breach, between Turkey and the European Union?*, with Ayhan Kaya (2007). *Undomesticated, Unflattened, Resisting* (2008), *Armenians in Turkey – Community, Individual, Citizen*, with Günay Gösku Ozdoğan, Füsun Üstel, Karin Karakaşlı (2009).

**Sid Noel** is Senior Fellow in Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict Studies at King’s University College, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada. He has written widely on federalism and consociationalism in multinational societies. Among his publications are ‘Making the transition from hegemonic regime to power sharing’ in *Northern Ireland and the Divided World*, ed. J. McGarry (2001); ‘Leaders’ entourages, parties and patronage’, in *Canadian Parties in Transition*, ed. A. G. Gagnon and A. B. Tanguay (2007); ‘Imposed and proposed federations: issues of self-determination and constitutional design in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, Sri Lanka and Iraq’, *Cyprus Review* (2005); and ‘The rise of the AK Party and the changing role of Ankara: paving the way for the Yes’, in *Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond*, ed. A. Varnava and H. Faustmann (2009), the latter two co-authored with Tozun Bahcheli. His most recent book is *From Power Sharing to Democracy: Post-conflict Institutions in Ethnically Divided Societies* (2005).

**Murat Somer** is an Associate Professor of International Relations at Koç University in Istanbul. Somer’s research on ethnic identities and conflict, religious politics, public and private polarization, social discursive shifts, the Kurdish conflict, and political Islam have appeared in book volumes and journals such as *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *The Middle East Journal*, and *Third World Quarterly*. These include: ‘Moderate Islam and secularist opposition in Turkey: implications for the world, Muslims, and secular democracy’, *Third World Quarterly*, 28/7 (2007); ‘Resurgence and Remaking of identity: civil beliefs, domestic and external dynamics, and the Turkish mainstream discourse on Kurds’, *Comparative Political Studies*, 38/6 (2005); and ‘Why aren’t Kurds like the Scots and the Turks like the Brits? Moderation and democracy in the Kurdish question’, *Cooperation and Conflict*, 43/2 (2008).

**Mesut Yeğen** is Professor of Sociology at İstanbul Şehir University. His research has focused on Turkish nationalism, the Kurdish question and citizenship in Turkey. His publications include ‘Turkish nationalism and the Kurdish

question', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30, (2007); 'Citizenship and ethnicity in Turkey', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40 (2004); 'The Kurdish question in Turkish state discourse', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34 (1999). He is the author of *Devlet Söyleminde Kurt Sorunu* (Kurdish Question in State Discourse) (1999) and *Müstakbel-Türkten "Sözde Yurtaşa": Cumhuriyet ve Kürtler* (From Prospective-Turks to Pseudo-Citizens: Turkish Republic and Kurds) (2006). He has also written articles and book chapters on the ideology of Turkish modernisation, citizenship and Turkish nationalism.

# Acknowledgments

The idea for this edited volume originates from the lecture series organized by the Middle East and North Africa Research Group (MENARG) of Ghent University (Belgium), entitled ‘Turkish and Kurdish Nationalisms and Political Islam in Turkey’, held in autumn 2008. We are very grateful for the support of the Ghent University, without which it would have been impossible to bring together this interesting group of scholars from inside and outside Turkey. In particular we are thankful to Professor Sami Zemni, coordinator of MENARG, for his enthusiasm and continuous support for this book project. We are also indebted to the Foundation for Scientific Research, Flanders, which provided financial support for the PhD-scholarship of which this series was part of and made possible the research of Marlies Casier on transnational political mobilization. Personal gratitude goes to all the colleagues who have contributed to this edited volume through their writings and the sharing of their thoughts. Their efforts have turned this volume into a collection of articles that will enhance our understanding of the contemporary turmoil in Turkey’s political and social life.

Special thanks go to Andy Hilton for his language editing and useful comments, and Pascal Debruyne and Saadet Tücer for their continuous patience, love and support.

# Abbreviations

ADYÖD	Association for Higher Education in Ankara (Ankara Demokratik Yüksek Öğretim Derneği)
AKP	Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)
Ala Rizgarî	Flag of Liberation
ALDE	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
ANAP	Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi)
ARGK	Kurdistan People's Liberation Army (Arteşa Rizgarîya Gele Kurdistan)
ASALA	Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia
ASKD	Anti Colonial Cultural Association (Anti Sömürgeci Kültür Derneği)
ATÖF	Federation of Turkish Students in Germany (Almanya Türk Öğrenci Federasyonu)
ATTF	Federation of Turkish Socialists in Europe (Avrupa Türk Toplumcular Federasyonu)
AYÖD	Association for Higher Education in Ankara (Ankara Yüksek Öğretim Derneği)
Bahoz	Storm
Bir-Kom	Common Committee (Birlik Komitesi)
Birleşik Kuvvetler	United Forces
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CHP	Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)
CIA	Central Intelligence Service
CPT	Committee for the Prevention of Torture
Cumhuriyet	Republic (Turkish newspaper)
DABK	East Anatolia Region Committee (Doğu Anadolu Bölge Komitesi)
DDGB	Revolutionary Democratic United Force (Devrimci Demokratik Güç Birliği DDGB)
DDKD	Revolutionary Cultural Associations of the East (Devrimci Doğu Kültür Derneği)

DDKO	Revolutionary Cultural Hearths of the East (Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları)
DEHAP	Democratic People's Party (Demokratik Halk Partisi)
DEP	Democracy Party (Demokrasi Partisi)
Dev Sol	Revolutionary Left (Devrimci Sol)
Dev-Genç	Revolutionary Youth (Devrimci Gençlik)
Devrimci Karargah	Revolutionary Headquarters
Devrimci Savaş	Revolutionary War
Dev-Yol	Revolutionary Road (Devrimci Yol)
DHKD	Revolutionary People's Cultural Association (Devrimci Halk Kültür Derneği)
DHKP/C	Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front, Devrimci Halk Kurtuluş Partisi/Cephesi
DHP	Revolutionary People's Party (Demokratik Halk Partisi)
DTH	Democratic Society Movement (Demokratik Toplum Haraketi)
DTP	Democratic Society Party (Demokratik Toplum Partisi)
EC	European Commission
ECHR	European Court of Human rights
Ekim	October
EMEP	Labor Party (Emek Partisi)
EP	European Parliament
ERNK	Kurdistan National Liberation Front (Enîya Rizgarîya Netewayî Kurdistan)
EU	European Union
EUTCC	European Turkey Civic Commission
Fazilet Partisi	Virtue Party
FKBDC	Unified Resistance Front Against Fascism (Faşizme Karşı Birleşik Direniş Cephesi)
GAP	Southeast Anatolia Project (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi)
Greens/EFA	Green/European Free Alliance
GUE/NGL	Gauche Unitaire Européen/Nordic Green Left
HADEP	People's Democracy Party (Halkın Demokrasi Partisi)
HAK-PAR	Right and Freedoms Party (Hak ve Özgürlükler Partisi)
HEP	People's Labor Party (Halkın Emek Partisi)
Hevra	Together
HPG	People's Defense Forces (Hêzêن Parastina Gel)
HRK	Kurdistan Liberation Units (Hêzêن Rizgarîya Kurdistan)
HRK	Military forces of eastern Kurdistan (Hêzî Rojhelati Kurdistan)
Hürriyet	Freedom (Turkish newspaper)
IDF	Israeli Defense Forces
IRA	Irish Republican Army
Inkilap	reform
KADEK	Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress (Kongreveye Gele Kurdistan)
KA-DEP	Participative Democracy Party (Katılımıcı Demokrasi Partisi)

KAWA	Kurdish mythical figure and name of a Kurdish Political Party
KCDK	Coordination of Democratic Communities in Kurdistan
KCK	Association of Communities in Kurdistan (Koma Civakên Kurdistan)
KDP	Kurdistan Democratic Party (Partiya Demokrat Kurdistan)
KDPI	Kurdistan Democratic Party Iran (Partiya Demokrat Kurdistan Iran)
KHRP	Kurdish Human Rights Project
KJB	Community of Assertive Women (Koma Jinen Bilind)
KKK	Association of Associations in Kurdistan (Koma Komalan Kurdistan)
KNK	National Congress of Kurdistan (Kongra Netewiya Kurdistan)
Komala	Association (Kurdish political party in Iran)
Kongra-Gel	People's Congress (Kurdish political organization)
Köy Korucu	Village Guards
KRG	Kurdistan Regional Government (name of the regional government in Iraqi Kurdistan)
KSSE	Kurdistan Student's Society in Europe (Komeley Xwendikarani Kurdistan li Ewrupa)
KUK	National Liberators of Kurdistan (Kurdistan Ulusal Kurtuluşcular)
Kurtuluş	Liberation
KYKB	Union of Patriotic Women in Kurdistan (Kürdistan Yurtsever Kadınlar Birliği)
MDD	National Democratic Revolution (Milli Demokratik Devrim)
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MGK	National Security Council (Milli Güvenlik Konseyi)
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)
Milliyet	National (Turkish newspaper)
MIT	National Intelligence Organization
MLSPB	Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Forces (Marxist-Leninist Silahlı Propaganda Birlikleri)
Mucadele Birlik/ Emeğin Birliği	Unity in Struggle/Labor Unity
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	non-governmental organization
NUKSE	National Union of Kurdish Students in Europe
ÖDP	Freedom and Solidarity Party (Özgürlik ve Dayanışma Partisi)
OHAL	state of emergency (Olağanüstü Hal) Özgürlik Yolu/

Riya Azadî	Freedom Path (journal of the TKSP and name under which the TKSP was also known)
PAJK	Party of Free Women in Kurdistan (Partiya Azadiya Jin a Kurdistan)
PÇDK	Kurdistan Democratic Solution Party (Partiya Çareseriya Demokratik a Kurdistan)
PDS	Party for Democratic Socialism (Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus)
Pêkanîn	Realization (Kurdish Political Party)
PFLP	People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PJAK	Free Life of Kurdistan Party (Partiya Jiyana Azad a Kurdistan)
PKK	Kurdistan Workers Party (Partiya Karkêren Kurdistan)
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PSE	Socialist Group in the European Parliament
PSK	Kurdistan Socialist Party (Partiya Sosyalîsta Kurdistan)
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (Yekîti Nîstimanî Kurdistan)
PWD	Patriotic Democratic Party (Partiya Welatperez Demokratik)
PYD	Democratic Union Party (Partiya Yekitiya Demokratik)
RAF	Red Army Fraction (Rote Armee Fraktion)
Rizgarî	Liberation
RP	Welfare Party (Refah Partisi)
SDP	Socialist Democracy Party (Sosyalist Demokrasi Partisi)
Serxwêbun	Independence
SHP	Social Democratic People's Party (Sosyaldemokrat Halk Partisi)
Stêrka Sor	Red Star (Kurdish Political Party)
SVP	Socialist Fatherland Party (Sosyalist Vatan Partisi)
TBMM	Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi)
TDP	Revolution Party of Turkey (Türkiye Devrim Partisi)
Tekoşer	Fighter (Kurdish Workers and Student' association of Belgium)
Tekoşîn	Struggle (Kurdish Political Party)
TEP	Laborist Party of Turkey (Türkiye Emekçi Partisi)
THKO	People's Liberation Army of Turkey (Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu)
THKP/C	People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey (Turkiye Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi)
THPP/C-Acilciler	People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey-Urgency (Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi-Acilciler)
TİKKO	Workers and Peasants' Liberation Army of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Köylü Kurtuluş Ordusu)
TİP	Workers Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Partisi)

TKDP	Turkey Kurdistan Democratic Party (Türkiye Kurdistan Demokratik Parti)
TKEP	Communist Labor Party of Turkey (Türkiye Komünist Emek Partisi)
TKP Kıvılcım	Communist Party of Turkey-Spark (Türkiye Komünist Partisi- Kılçım)
TKP/İS	Communist Party of Turkey/Workers Voice (Türkiye Komünist Partisi/İşçinin Sesi)
TKP-ML	Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (Türkiye Komünist Partisi/Marksist-Leninist)
TKSP	Turkey Kurdistan Democratic Party (Türkiye Kurdistan Demokratik Partisi)
TMMOB	Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği)
TOBB	Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey
TRT	Turkish Radio and Television (Türkiye Radyo Televizyon)
TRT6	Channel of the TRT broadcasting in Kurdish
TSİP	Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (Türkiye Sosyalist İsci Partisi)
TÜSİAD	Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
USSR	Union of Socialist Soviet Republics
YDK	People's Democratic Union of Kurdistan (Yekîtiya Demokratîk a Gelê Kurdistan)
YJA-STAR	Free Women Units
YÖK	Higher Education Board (Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu)



# Introduction

*Marlies Casier and Joost Jongerden*

Turkey has been attracting growing interest from scholars, policy-makers and the public in the Western world. Once mainly the playing field of international relations theorists, Turkey and its social and political changes are today the subject of an increasing amount of interesting scholarly work in sociology, anthropology and the political sciences. This book is an engagement with respected scholars in these fields, who provide us with many insights into the social and political fabric of the country. In particular, this volume engages with the ideological contestations in the country, stemming from the presence of political Islam and rising forms of Kurdish and Turkish nationalisms. However, rather than merely assessing the ideological fault lines, most of the contributors focus on the political and social agents of these competing projects. Different chapters therefore engage with Turkey's secularist establishment, the ruling AKP government, the Kurdistan Workers Party, (the PKK) and the Institutions of the European Union, with which Turkey, after being on a waiting list for long, has since 2005 finally started negotiating its future membership. In this respect, there is a growing consensus that Turkey's reforms, which were far-reaching during the early 2000s, have tended to stagnate since accession talks formally commenced, in 2005. Comprehending the difficulties of Turkey in meeting the conditions for membership to the European Union necessitates an understanding of its internal dynamics.

In order to understand the developments inside Turkey, however, requires also that we extend our vision beyond the boundaries of the country. Not only does internal competition and conflict affect its EU negotiations, they in turn impact greatly on the internal political discussions. What is more, approximately 3.5 million people from Turkey are currently living in Western Europe, outside of their homeland or the country of origin of their ancestors. Around one million of them are from Kurdish descent and are considered amongst the most politicized diaspora living in Europe, and their engagement with political contestation has also had a major affect on the political agenda inside Turkey. Through the presence and the organization of Turkey's primary political advocate of Kurdish demands, the PKK, many of the Kurds residing in Europe have extended their boundaries of belonging (Migdal 2004) and have formed an imagined community (Anderson 1991) of Kurds.

Many of the discussions that mark Turkey today are still intimately connected to Turkey's project of state-building that started in the 1920s. This volume does

not intend to recount the story of the Turkish Republic, which has already been thoroughly covered elsewhere (Kasaba 2008; Zürchner 2006; Taspinar 2005). However, in order to present a historical context for this work it is imperative that we address very briefly some of the main features of this state-building project – through which we will also be able to introduce current discussions and the ways in which the contributions to this volume engage with them.

Turkey's founding fathers wanted to break away from the Ottoman state-form, whose political structures had been deemed inappropriate insofar as they had not prevented the secession of many of its former territories (this regardless of the demise of empire and loss of land to foreign powers). The Ottoman state system, which was less concerned with engineering population than with expanding its territory, was replaced by a cultural one, holding that the borders of the political unit (the Republic) and cultural unit (the nation) should coincide – what Foucault refers to as the passage from 'territorial state' to 'state of population' (Foucault 2007). The spatial binding of polity and culture in the 'state of population', a benchmark of nationalism, has modelled politics in Turkey, but also accounts in large measure for the many crises with which the political system has been, and continues to be confronted.

The (January) 1923 Convention signed at Lausanne – which paved the way for the more widely known (July) Treaty establishing the independent Republic of Turkey – provided for a shuffling ('exchange') of populations between Greece and Turkey aimed at a culturally homogenization of the two countries' populations. Out of what had been a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-religious territory the government and its administration of the new republic set about to building a nation of Turkish citizens. A variety of policies were designed to turn these populations into Turks, starting with the naming of the country, '*Türkiye Devleti*' (the 'State of Turkey'), in the first (preparatory) Constitution of 1921, and repeated mention, in the second (first full) Constitution of 1924, of '*Türkler*' ('Turks') even though this was supposed to be understood as 'a political term, without distinction of, or reference to, race or religion' (Earle 1925). Part of the rationale in establishing a national army and a national educational system was to promote the official language, Turkish, as unifying tool by which was deemed necessary to imbue a sense of loyalty of the citizenry towards the governing elite. Settlement policies were also enacted, planned to Turkify sensitive, mostly border areas (often Arab, sometimes Christian) and disperse non-Turks (mostly Kurds) in order to accelerate assimilation. In the first decades of the newly established republic, the equation of citizenship with Turkishness virtually turned non-Turks into non-entities. In terms of number and inhabited territory the Kurds in the southeast of the country were the most important population thus neutralized (Barkey and Fuller 1998). Kemalist pressure to assimilate the Kurds led, conversely, to an increased awareness amongst the Kurds of their own ethnicity (Taspinar 2005: 65–6).

Furthermore, the Kemalist elite believed that Turkey could only succeed in the stated, revolutionary aim of modernization and become part of the Western, 'civilized', world by secularizing the political system and excluding religion from the public sphere. Under the 1924 constitution, the caliphate was dissolved. Religious

(clerical) legal, medical and educational institutions (Sharia, madrasa) were done away with, to be replaced by secular systems styled after those of Switzerland, Italy, Germany and so forth. Muslim brotherhoods and sects were closed down and the political influence of sheikhs – particularly keen in the more rural areas and in the Kurdish provinces – was formally called to an end. Headwear laws were employed to literally divest religious scholars of their authority, and religion came under state control through its institutionalization into the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

In today's Turkey we are constantly reminded of the need for a thorough revision of the decisions taken during this foundational period. The place of religion in politics and society is questioned, with the growth of Islamic capitalist enterprise (e.g. Asya Holding) under the umbrella of business organizations (like Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği) establishing an Islamic bourgeoisie which provided the socio-economic base for the rise (during the 1990s) and coming to power (during the 2000s) of political Islamic parties (Maigre 2006). Since 2002, the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) has run the government, which has lead to increased tensions in Turkey's political and social life, given the fearfulness and distrust over their true intentions by the Kemalist secularists in Turkey, as well as a real shift in the traditional power balance of the country.

In this volume, Menderes Çınar offers an account of the growing cleavage between the AKP and its followers on the one hand and the secularist establishment on the other. When the AKP came to power and took the lead in the pre-accession reform process, there was great optimism amongst many observers as to the party's role in the democratization of the country. Çınar argues that the AKP might indeed have had the potential to further democratize Turkey, but has been failing of late to deliver upon its promises. It is the author's argument that the AKP is currently facing an *ancien régime* in Turkey, a sneer to the Kemalist establishment's innate conservatism, and that the AKP is consequently suffering from an anti-political reformism that expresses itself in a failure to raise public awareness of the reasons why reforms serve democracy, political unity and economic prosperity. These and other reasons that account for the current status quo are subjects of analysis. Murat Somer similarly engages with the discussion over the democratization of Turkey. He gives an account of the ways in which both sides in the conflict have envisaged and caricatured the other in a dichotomous opposition, while negating historical engagements of the secular Turkish political system with Islam and Islamism, and vice versa. This has greatly obstructed the emergence of a space for the 'twin tolerations' and mutual trust between Turkey's two sets of political players that would allow for a thorough democratization of the country.

The political demands that have come from the European Union and from a part of Turkey's civil society and its liberals involve a plea for measures that would end the discrimination of minorities and promote an expanded definition of the minority concept, so as to clearly establish the full rights of ethnic and religious minorities which make up Turkey's still rich cultural tapestry, such as Kurdish Sunnis, Zaza Alevites, Zaza, Yezidi, Armenian Orthodox Christians, and so on and including, as fundamental, a reconceptualization of the definition of Turkish

citizenship in the Constitution. Heated, protracted and (thus far) ultimately fruitless debates have taken place, though, when real propositions to replace the old definition were made, of which one of the best examples was the prosecution – private, but under the Constitution (Article 301) – of Baskin Oran and Ibrahim Kaboğlu in proposing the concept of '*Türkiyelilik*' ('Turkishness'), meaning 'Being from Turkey', as an umbrella concept under which various identities could find shelter (such private prosecutions are now prevented, but the offending article has not been repealed or revised).

The endorsement of the idea that Turkey is constituted by different ethnic and religious groups is enough to invoke the history of Ottoman disintegration and the Western attempt to carve up Anatolia (formally, with the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres), and create alarm over the future territorial integrity of the country. This is very well illustrated in the chapter by Ferhat Kentel in his psycho-sociological account of how Turkish nationalism has affected the mental maps of its citizens, particularly in a globalizing world in which the old boundaries become increasingly superfluous. Kentel shows that while many of the projected ideas and fears are incorporated in the ways individuals and groups construct their relations to the state and conceive of the relations between self and others, their anxious identities are, nevertheless, reconstructions of the grand narratives of trauma and thus testify to a constant tension between loyalty and resistance. Particular attention is drawn to the circulation of intrigue theories in Turkey and the ways in which the threats coming from without are projected onto the internal Others of the country, Armenians, Christians, Alevis and Kurds.

The chapter by Mesut Yeğen lends more insight into the particular approach of the Turkish Republic in relation to the Kurds as internal others and the Kurdish question more generally. He demonstrates that at first, during the few years prior to the foundation of the Republic, state officials declared they would recognize Kurds as an ethnic group with cultural and political rights – following which, from the mid-1920s to the 1990s, the state continually denied not only the cultural and political rights of the Kurds, but even the very fact of their existence. Their very identity, as well as their rights, was rendered invisible and nullified. It was only at the end of the century that the state finally began to concede the validity of this ethnic dimension. Concomitantly, Yeğen argues, in the last two decades the strategies employed by the state in tackling – or avoiding – this issue have morphed into an amalgam of old and new, blending the assimilation and oppression of the past with a new discrimination and recognition.

The Kurdish question has indeed been central in the political agenda of Turkey, with political actors using both bullet and ballot to deal with it. Several uprisings among the Kurds have been met with military force, and the south-east of Turkey – the Turkish part of the Kurdistan region – has been ruled under a state of emergency or martial law imposed from Ankara until 2002. Even so, from the beginning of the (post-World War 1) multi-party period, Turkish political parties actively searched for alliances with Kurdish tribal leaders and notables as 'bulk vote generators' (Barkey and Fuller 1998: 77). Their integration in the political system pacified, one might say, the Kurds as Kurdish political agents. And participation in the