

The Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe  
Harvard Kennedy School of Government

## Western Impact and Turkey

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# Historical, Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

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## Western Expansion: Trigger for Turkey (+ The Balkans + The Middle East)

	1st Expansion (1490s and onw.)	2nd Expansion (1870s and onw.)	3rd Expansion (1970s and onw.)
Driving Force	Mercantilism	Industrial Revolution	Information Age: 1) <u>Economic dimension</u> : MNCs of the 70s, 2) <u>Technological d.</u> : Communications Revolution of the 80s, 3) <u>Political d.</u> : Unrivalled supremacy after '90s.
Result	Colonialism	Imperialism	Globalization

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## The West: Internal Dynamics of Religion and Nationalism

Focus of Supreme Loyalty	<b>God</b>	<b>Nation</b>	<i>Working Class</i>	?
Cohesion Ideology	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Nationalism</b>	<i>Proletarian Internationalism</i>	?
The Market (Fatherland)	<b>Manor</b>	<b>Nation-State</b>	<i>People's Republic</i>	The Globe
Mode of Production	<b>Feudalism</b>	<b>Capitalism</b>	<i>Communism</i>	International Capitalism (Globalization)

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## Western and Turkish Processes: Main Differences

The Preceding table is different for Turkey (and her neighborhood):

- 1) Religion maintains its importance; the main component of national identity/nationalism is not ethnicity but Religion/confession
- 2) The main actor is not "national" upper middle class (bourgeoisie) but the lower middle class (petty-bourgeois) intellectuals
- 3) The "revolution" is not made from below but from above
- 4) The "revolution" does not stem from within but from outside; the driving force is not internal but external dynamics
- 5) At least part of the whole process takes place under strong impact of Globalization

Result:

Forced transition from Religion to Nationalism (and to beyond) creates as large a reaction as the actual action itself.

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## Nation & State Building: Western and Turkish processes

The Western process can be described as:

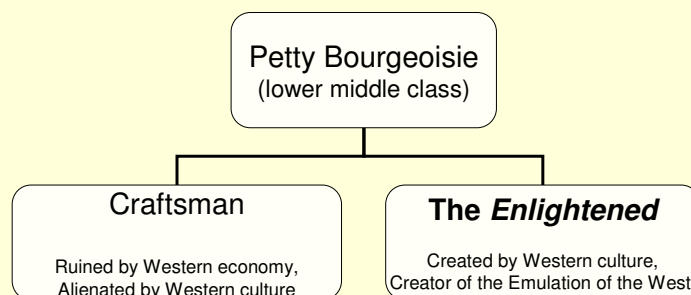
Bourgeoisie + King ⇒ Centralized State ⇒ Law & Order ⇒ Trade ⇒ "National"  
Market ⇒ Common Culture, language, etc. ⇒ Nation (end 16th C.) ⇒ Nationalist  
Ideology (end 18th C.) ⇒ Nation-State (19th C) ⇒ Assimilation inside, Imperialism  
abroad

- **The Turkish (etc.) process is as follows:**  
... Imperialism ⇒ Western education ⇒ The *Aydın* ("Enlightened") ⇒ Independence  
⇒ Nationalist Ideology ⇒ Nation-state ⇒ Nation-building ⇒ "Nation"
- And, if you inquire any further:  
Nation-building ⇒ Assimilation ⇒ Minority nationalism ...

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## The "Enlightened" : Class Background

"A product of modernization  
before modernization reached the country – J. Kautsky



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## Dissection of the “Enlightened”

- A between-classes stratum ⇒ Very gifted, yet full of own complexes
- An above-classes stratum ⇒ Relative Autonomy
- Attitude concerning:
  - People: Because of his education isolated from the society at large, despises people, uses State pressure,
  - Superstructure: Against Ottoman Empire and Islam, but bows to the Millet System,
  - Infrastructure: A partisan of capitalism (petty bourgeois, single model, strong notables), with shades of Marxism in some areas and eras,
  - The West:
    - Identifies himself with the West, his creator  
» **But which West?**
    - Identifies himself with the Nation-State, his creature  
» **But what kind of State?**
- Therefore, a dual direction depending on how he interprets the West and the State:
  - “Contemporary Civilization” : Driver & Engine of Modernization
  - Deification of the State : A brake against Contemporary Civilization.

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## Gas Pedal or Brake? Different Attitudes of the Enlightened towards Two Modernization Waves

Ottoman Empire	Kemalist Reforms (1920s)	EU Reform Packages (2001-2004)
Semi-feudal empire	Nation-state (monist)	Democratic state (pluralist)
Sultan’s subject	Citizen (compulsory)	Citizen (voluntary)
Umma	Nation (homogeneous and secular)	Individual
Supra-identity: Ottoman (Muslim)	Supra-identity: Turk (Muslim Turk)	Supra-identity: <b>Türkiyeli</b>

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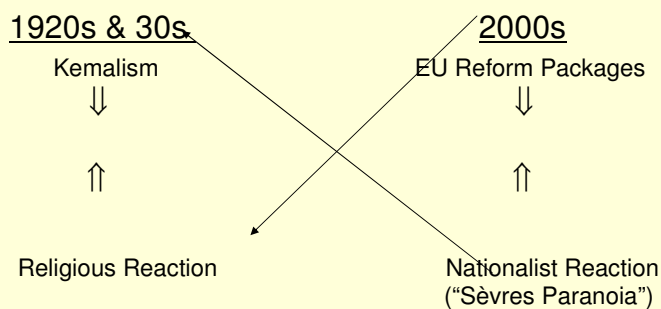
## Two Carriers of the Second Modernization Movement: The Civil Society and the “Islamists”

- Kemalist monism ultimately created its antagonists
- These two are now carrying Turkey towards the ultimate aim of Kemalist Modernization: Contemporary Civilization
- Civil Society, because it is in its nature.
- “Islamists”, because of seemingly conflicting reasons:
  - 1) They want to send the Army to its barracks,
  - 2) They want to “import” legitimacy,
  - 3) They are rich now; they have economically become upper middle class people; it will now be the turn of political transformation.

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## Analysis of the Present Situation Despair and Hope

- The struggle in Turkey is not between: Kurds & Turks; Sunnis & Alevis; Islamists & Kemalists; Progressives & Reactionaries, etc.
  - It's between the two modernization waves: The Clash of Modernizations



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## Main Sources

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- Also see several related documents: [www.baskinoran.com](http://www.baskinoran.com) / Other Languages / Important Documents, the last four documents
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