

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

Western Impact and Turkey

Seminar series by Baskin Oran

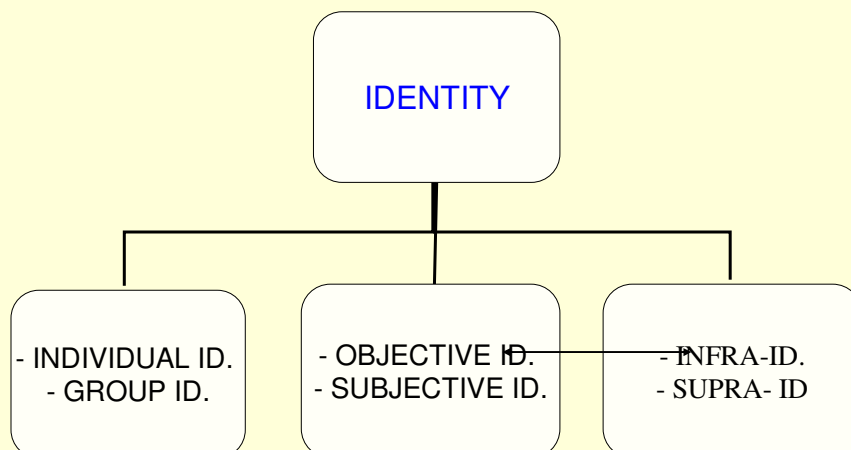
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Identities, Identity Conflicts, and Clash of Modernizations

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Identities - Classification



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The Individual and the State			
	The Individual	The State	Result
Situation -1	Adopt Supra-id. as subjective id.	Satisfaction	VOLUNTARY ASSIMILATION
Situation -2	Reject the Supra-Id.	Violent reaction	TRAUMA (secess./massacr)
Situation -3	Accept the Supra-id. but insist on the Infra-id.	Respect the Infra-id., and adopt a territorial Supra-id.	HARMONY
		Insist on: 1) Assimilation, 2) A Supra-id. based on E/R	CONFLICT

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"Turk": Nation's Name or an Ethnic Group's Name?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1934 Settlement Law: "Turkish race" 6 times • 2006 Settlement Law art. 4 – "Not to be admitted as immigrants: Aliens who are not from Turkish descent (Türk soyundan) and not attached to Turkish culture" • 1979, Mr. Ş. Elçi, then a Minister: <i>"There are Kurds in Turkey, and I am one of them"</i> - 4 years and 7 months. • In 1997, Ms. M. Akşener, then a Minister, for Mr. A. Öcalan: <i>"Armenian sperm"</i>. No investigation. Penal Law art. 301: "Anyone who openly denigrates the Turkish Nation... from 6 months to 2 years". <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Could it then be said that the term "Turkish Nation" encompasses all ethnic groups in Turkey? – Could it then be then that this article 301 precludes the denigration of Turkish citizens of Armenian or Kurdish descent? <p>Last minute news: Court of Cassation: 1) "Any Turkish citizen can sue Orhan Pamuk"; 2) "5 Kurds against 1 soldier" acquitted.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are Kurds, Turk? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – If "yes", what is "Kurdish Problem"? – If "no", what is "Turkish Nation"?

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“Turk”: Nation’s Name or a Religious Group’s Name?

- The Court of Cassation in 1971, 74, 75: “Foundations founded by non-Turks cannot acquire real-estate in Turkey”
- 1988 - By-laws for Prevention of Sabotages, citing dangerous categories: “Domestic Foreigners (Turkish citizens) inside the country”.
- 1996 - Istanbul Administrative Court, for a non-Muslim citizen: “Foreign subject Turkish citizen”.
- Until 2007, Law no. 625, art. 24: “Vice principal to be appointed to foreign [and minority] schools will be a Turkish citizen of Turkish descent”
- Could it then be said that the term “Turkish Nation” encompasses all **religious** groups in Turkey?
 - If “yes”, how to explain all these laws and cases cited above?
 - If “no”, what is “Turkish Nation”?
 - How can all this happen in a very laicist country? .

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Minds Are Very Confused: Cases from Political and Judicial Life

- 2004 official Minority Report: “Supra-identity should be ‘**Türkiyeli**’ instead of ‘**Türk**’ – 5 years for “openly inciting people to hate and enmity”.
- 2007: Three Protestants tortured and killed by youngsters for “missionary activities”. The indictment is composed of 32 folders: 8 for the case proper, 24 for missionary activities.
Is spreading one’s religion prohibited in Turkey?
 - If “no”, that indictment is supposed to indict who? The murderers or the victims?
 - If “yes”, what is then the General Directorate of [Muslim] Religious Affairs?
- 2008: Court of Cassation acquitted an MP who insulted the responsables of the Minority Report by saying: “Let them ask their mother to find out who their father is”
- 2008: Mr Alınak, former MP, has spent several sentences of 6 months in prison for using the letters: q, x, w. In this case, how many years should be inflicted on the Ministry of Interior and on Turkish Armed Forces for: www.icisleri.gov.tr and www.tsk.gov.tr ?
- On the other hand, two last minute news: 1) Parents who named their daughter “Hevi Jiyan” (hopeful life) are under investigation; 2) Parents officially named their daughter: “Helin Kurdistan” (the nest of K.)
- Under these circumstances:
 - Does “Turk” have an anti Kurdish and anti non-Muslim meaning?
 - Is “Turk” an ethno-religious concept?
 - Is “Secular Sunni-Hanefi-Muslim-Turk” (LAHASÜMÜT) the definition of WASP in Turkey? .

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Two IDs



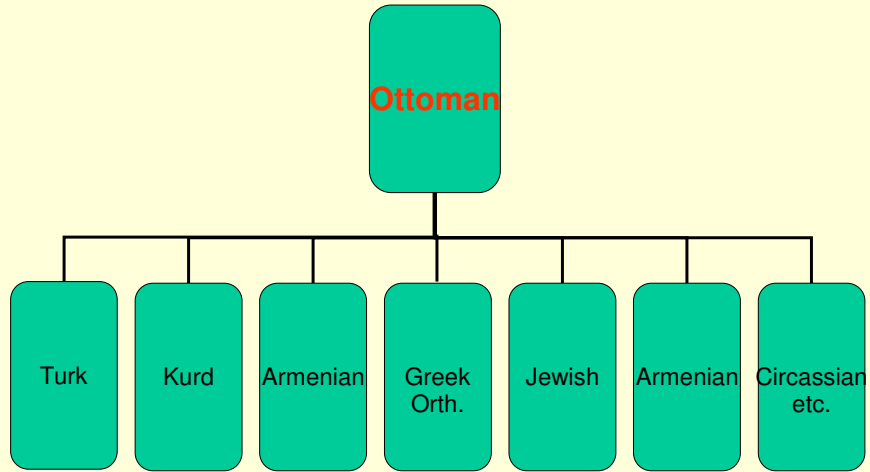
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Why Such a Confusion?

- 1) Supra-identity and Infra-identity relations,
- 2) The “Sevres Paranoia” and its Zombies,
- 3) The “Dominant Nation” ideology,
- 4) The rattling rate of the modernization process.

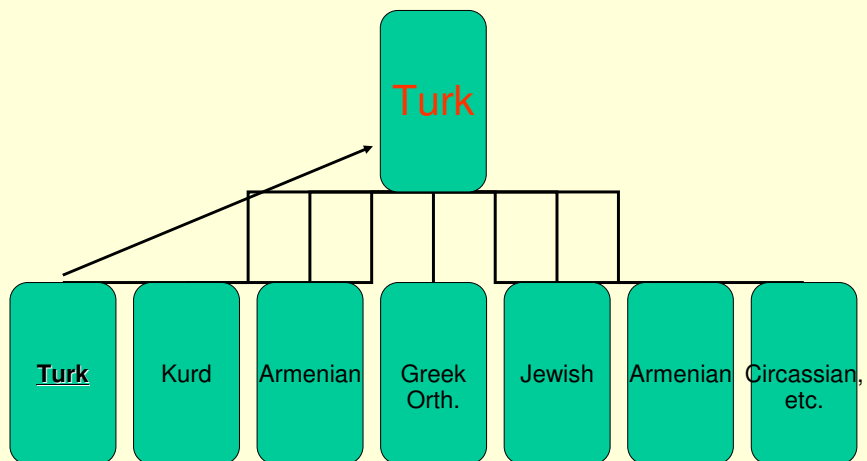
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1) Supra and Infra Identity Relations
(Ottoman Empire)



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1) Supra and Infra-identity Relations
(Turkish Republic)



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2) The Sevres Paranoia

- Summary of the Paranoia:
 - “Christian and imperialist West wants to colonize us again”,
 - The Kurds want to dismember Turkey,
 - “The Islamists will force our daughters to wear the veil”,
- Reasons of the Paranoia:
 - Reaction to globalization (EU Reforms)
 - Fear of the four Zombies: Kurdish, Armenian, Islam, Cyprus questions
 - Fear of losing privileges
 - Reaction to Islamophobia in the EU
 - Actual developments: A Kurdish “State” in N. Iraq, PKK ends cease-fire, etc.
- The Result: “Chosen Trauma”
 - Prescriptions of '30s are only inflaming the problems of 2000s,
 - New prescriptions would be just the opposite of '30s'
 - Everything that people were taught and sure of is fading.

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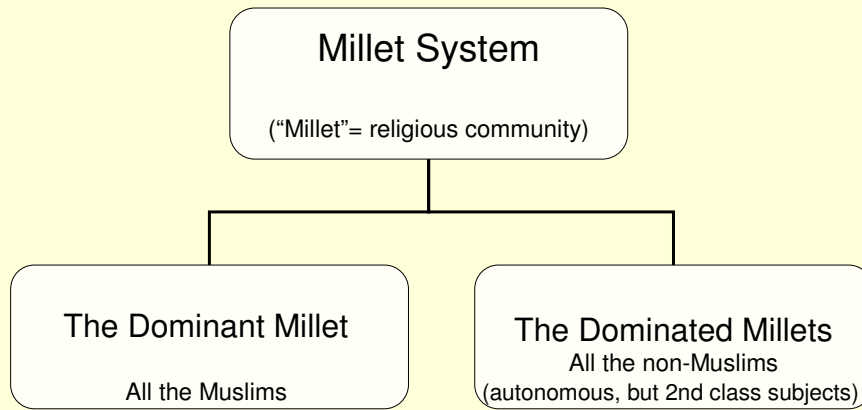


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3) The “Dominant Nation” Ideology



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The Millet System Is Transferred to the Republic

- The Dominant Millet:
Muslim → Muslim Turk
- The Dominated Millets:
Non-Muslims
- Very deeply rooted. Kurds and Alevis:
“We are not minority; we are essential and founding element”
- The System has re-produced itself twice under the Republic:
 - 1923 Lausanne arts. 37-44 (1923), definition of minority: “Non-Muslims”.
 - 1980 Turkish-Islamic Synthesis: “Muslim Turk”.

Ottoman Empire	Turkish Republic
2nd Class	2nd Class
Autonomous	---
---	Traitor
---	Divider

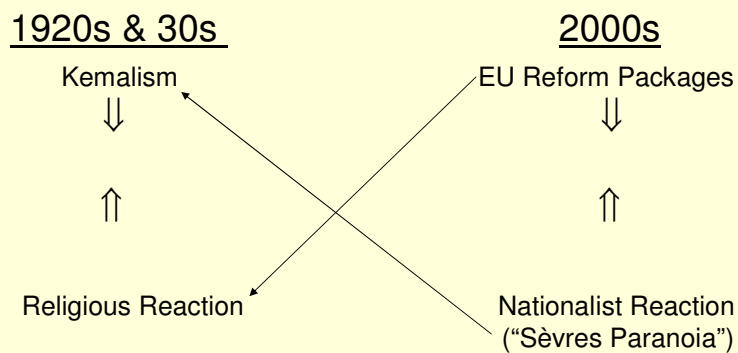
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4) The Rattling Rate of the Modernization Process

Ottoman Empire	Turkish Republic 1st Wave of Mod. (1920s et 30s)	Turkish Republic 2nd Wave of Mod. (2001-2004...)
Semi-feudal Empire	Nation-state (National Security State)	Human Rights State
Umma	Nation ("indivisible and without classes")	Individual (civil society)
Subject of the Sultan	Citizen (compulsory)	Citizen (voluntary)
Supra-identity: Ottoman (Muslim)	Supra-identity: Turk (Muslim Turk)	Supra-identity: Türkiyeli

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Analysis of the Present Situation Despair and Hope, Together



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Conclusion

- In Turkey the real conflict is not between:
 - Turk and Kurds
 - Left and Right
 - Sunnis and Alevis
 - Muslims and non-Muslims
 - Laicists and Islamists
 - Progressives and Reactionaries, etc.
- The conflict is between the Two Waves of Modernization: Clash of Modernizations.

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Main Source

- B. Oran, *Türkiye'de Azınlıklar, Kavramlar – Teori – Lozan – İç mevzuat – İctihat – Uygulama*, 5th printing, İstanbul, İletişim Publishers, 2008, 280 p. (**“Minorities in Turkey – Concepts, Theory, Lausanne; Legislation, Case-law, Implementation**).
- Also see several related articles: www.baskinoran.com / Other Languages / Academic articles

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