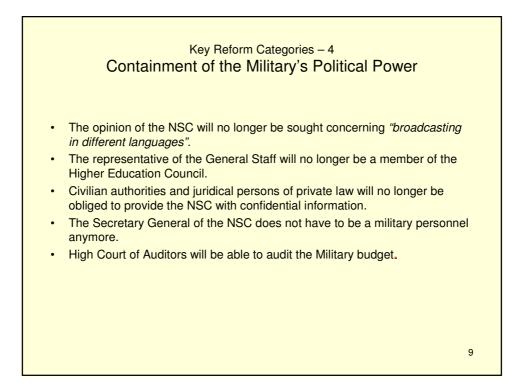
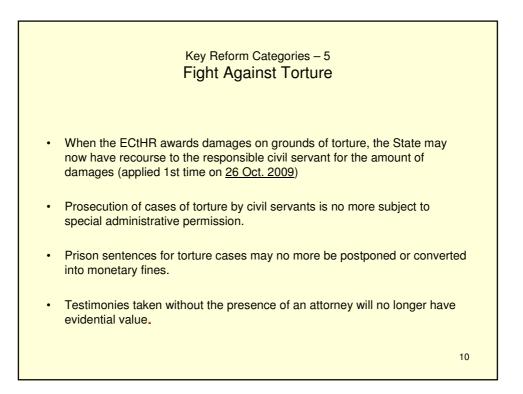
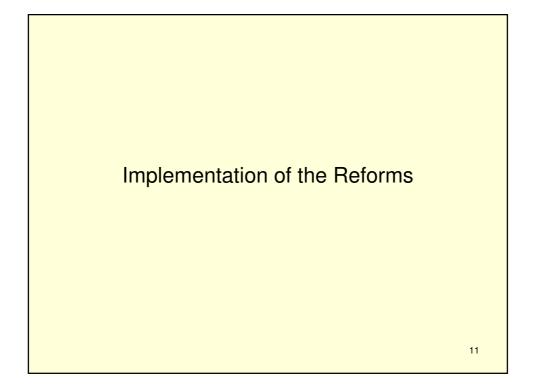
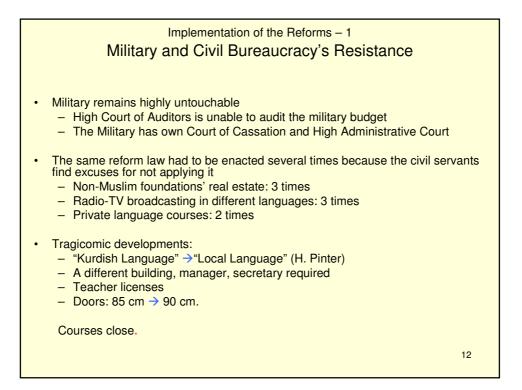


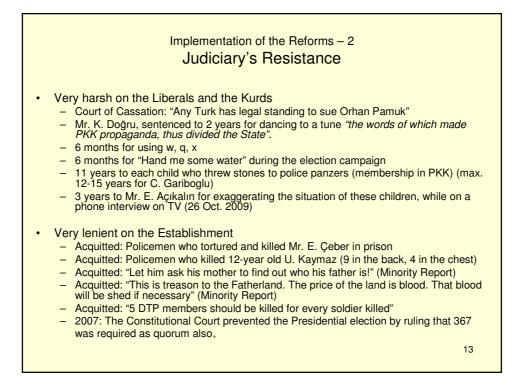
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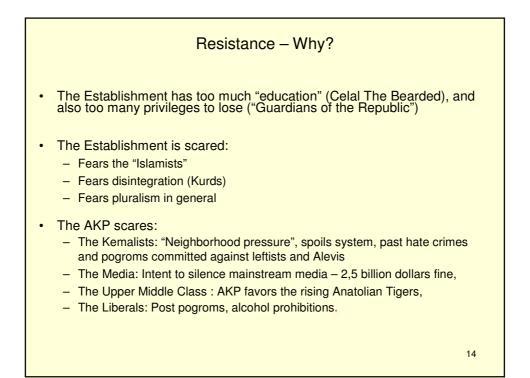












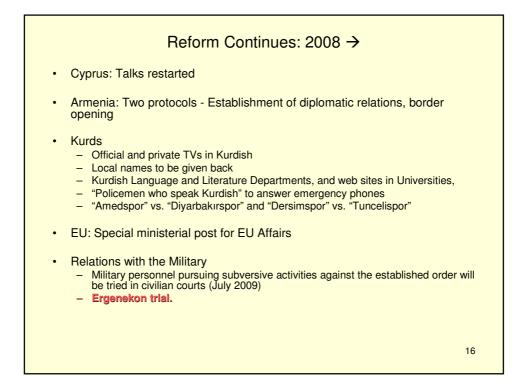
2005: The Reform Stops

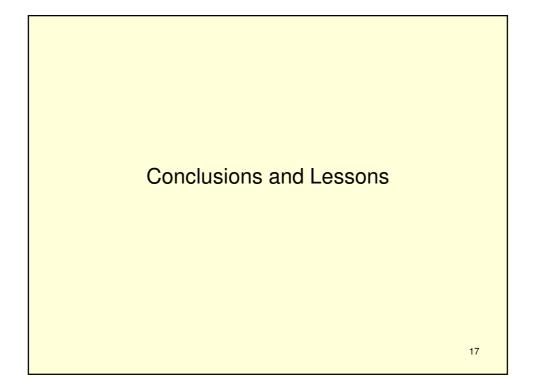
- The Kurds: Independence starts
 - 2005 Kurdistan Regional Government legislative elections in N. Iraq
 - PKK ends cease-fire
- European Union: Islamophobia starts
 - Apr. 2004. Cypriot Greeks who say "no" are in, Cypriot Turks who say "yes" are out
 - Sept. 2005. Danish cartoons crisis
 - Nov. 2005. ECtHR declares veil ban legal
 - Jan. 2006. Nick Griffen: "Wicked, vicious faith"; "Let's show these ethnics to the door".
 - Sept. 2006. The Pope: "Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new, and there
 you will find things only evil and inhuman"
 - Turkish candidacy: Since 2005, new conditions in every new EU report (Islamophobia, no money)

The Turks: Sevres Paranoia starts

- 2003-04. Deep State coup attempts: Yellowgirl, Moonlight, Seasparkle, Glove
- Apr. 2005. General Staff: From "Prospective Turks" to "Pseudo-citizens"
- Nov. 2005. Bookstore explosion in Şemdinli: "Deep State"
- 2003-2008. A Black Sea region governor prohibits Kurdish seasonal hazelnut pickers
- 2004-2007. Lynching parties against Kurds or leftists
- Jan. 2007. Hrant Dink murdered
- Apr. 2007. Three protestants murdered under torture in Anatolia.

15





The Second Wave	Is More Difficult - 1	
The First Wave (1920s, 30s)	The Second Wave (2001→)	
M. Kemal, charismatic national hero	T. Erdoğan, "Islamist", too many mistakes	
No Islamist counter-elites in 1920s	Preacher school graduates	
No freedom of expression	Multi-party democracy	
Kurdish issue local and invisible	A very visible national, regional, and international problem	
M. Kemal was emulating a "vanquished West"	The West "dictates rules to Turkey"	

The Second Wave Is More Difficult - 2		
Europe today	Turkey today	
To be sentenced, a speech: - Insult, incitement to violence, hate- speech, + The perpetrator must be an influential person, + The milieu must be liable to affect other people,	Any of these is sufficient	
+ The act must be accomplished in a way to influence the public.		
Largest freedom belongs to those who criticize: - State & Government officials, - Public institutions, - Politicians & bureaucrats, - The man in the street	Reverse order	
Prosecutors & Judges apply the laws	They "save the country": State > Justice	
	19	

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Lessons To Be Drawn	
 Revolution from Above may change the laws overnight, but not the mentality. Especially, that of the Judiciary 	
 Democracy / Western normative values cannot be <u>exported</u>: Cover for imperialism (Iraq). 	
 But they can be <u>imported</u> if there is a good importer/general distributor: <u>The Enlightened</u>. 	
 Import is faster than production but in the short run the price is higher (speed = more gas & risk) 	
 Popular reaction: Support for the EU in 2004: 58 %, in 2006: 22 % Military reaction: Four coup attempts in 2006-7 Civil elites reaction: Sevres Paranoia 	
• In the longer run, however, the result is worth the high price.	
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This particular level that Turke had started in 1215 (Magna Ca Turkey had started this proces		result of a European process
Ottoman Empire	Turkish Republic 1st Wave of Mod. (1920s et 30s)	Turkish Republic 2nd Wave of Mod. (2001-2004)
The State: Semi-feudal Empire	Modern National Security State	Modern Human Rights State
The Society: Umma	Monistic Nation	Individual (civil society)
The People: Subjects of the Sultan	Citizen (Compulsory) (because his/her infra identity is denied)	Citizen (Voluntary) (because his/her infra identity is respected)
The Supra-identity: Ottoman	Turk (Ethno-religious supra identity)	Türkiyeli (Territorial supra identity)

