

NOTES

Introduction

1. The full title was: *2000'li Yıllara Girenken Türk Ordusu* (Turkish Military Into the 2000s). It was prepared by Mehmet Özel, the Director for Fine Arts in the Ministry of Culture, and published by the Ankara Chamber of Commerce. A note on the first page reads: "This book has been reviewed by the General Staff."
2. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the Turkish texts are mine.
3. For instance, in a speech in 1996, the Minister of Culture and Spokesperson for the government, Agah Oktay Güner, had also defined the Turkish nation as a military-nation (*Yeni Yüzyıl*, 29 March 1996).
4. A growing number of intellectuals and academics have started writing on various aspects of militarism in recent years (see Insel and Bayramoğlu 2004; Cizre 2003; Şen 1996). Tanel Demirel (2002) points to the need to examine the processes of internalization of the importance of the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) among social actors, instead of explaining the existing social legitimacy of TSK with reference to "coercion." Journalist and writer Çetin Altan is also a rare exception. He has been writing about militarism periodically in his columns for many years.
5. 12 March 1971 and 28 February 1997 did not result in military regimes. The first is the date of an ultimatum given to the government, the second is the day of a meeting of the National Security Council at which decisions were made about the specific kinds of legislation that the government needed to pass in order to "protect the regime." The tension between the military high command and the government resulted in the resignation of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan (of the religious-oriented Refah/Welfare Party) and a change of government.
6. See Fidel 1975; Heper and Evin 1988; Özdemir 1989; Hale 1994; and Heper and Güney 2000; Cizre-Sakallıoğlu 1993; Cizre 2003. For recent critiques of the costs of such intervention in Turkey's relations with the European Union, see Rouleau 2000 and Frantz 2001.
7. Such an analysis would require a different kind of research, one that looked into the multifaceted "military system," which is composed of conscripted soldiers as well as professional officers; the barracks as well as the General Staff headquarters; differentiated interests of the officer corps as well as the mechanisms of their common seclusion from the society at large; military academies as well as field training sites; the families of the officers as well as the workers of ammunition factories. The relations between the "military system" and the "political system" would be central to such research.
8. "The state" was discussed in relation to "political organization" in early social-anthropological works, e.g., Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940. Pioneering studies on the anthropology of the state were conducted by Pierre Clastres in the 1970s. More recent works include Abélès 1990; Coronil 1997; Gupta 1995; Herzfeld 1996; Navaro-Yashin 1998 and 2002; Ong 1999; Taussig 1992 and 1997; Verdery 1991; and Williams 1991.

9. Anthropologist Laura Nader has been urging anthropologists to “study up” since the late 1960s (see Nader 1969; Starn 1999).
10. Cynthia Enloe (1989, 1993, 1995, 2000) has transformed the ways in which national and international politics are analyzed through her work on militarization and gender. Betty Reardon (1985) has drawn attention to the intricate links between sexism and “the war system” since the 1980s. Anthropologist Catherine Lutz (2001) has done an outstanding ethnography of Fayetteville, a military town in North Carolina, pointing to the prevalence of war and war preparation in shaping our “homes,” self-understandings, and everyday practices. Recent ethnographic work on military service in a variety of contexts, from Bolivia (Gill 1997), to Israel (Helman 1997); South Africa (Cock 1991); South Korea (Kwon 2001); and the United States (Feinman 2000) has shown the centrality of this practice in defining gender relations and the state alike. Carol Cohn (1993) has examined the discourse of defense intellectuals and pointed to the gendered discourse(s) that shape the way we view militaries, wars, and defense. There are many others who have problematized wars and their impact on women, as well as their relationship to men and masculinity. Several dense and insightful collections on the relationship between women and war have come out in the past decade: Elshain and Tobias 1990; Cooke and Woollacott 1993; Lorentzen and Turpin 1998 and Giles et al. 2003.
11. I borrow this term from Cynthia Enloe’s (2000) compelling and insightful book *Maneuvers*.

Chapter One The Myth of the Military-Nation

1. There is no difference between these two formulations in terms of meaning, although *ordu-millet* is the more popular one. *Ordu* means “military.” *Asker* is literally “soldier,” but is also used to mean “military.” The term *ulus* is the Turkish equivalent of the Arabic *millet*, and means “nation.” Both terms are in use in today’s Turkey. Certain people prefer *ulus* because the term *millet* had a specific connotation in the Ottoman state system: it referred to the religious groups in the Empire (Muslim millet, Jewish millet, etc.).
2. The term used for “combatant” in this translation is “*mücahid*,” which has Arabic and Islamic origins and means “the one who is engaged in *jihad* (holy war).” With the secularization of the polity and the language during the Republican years, words of Turkish origin were preferred to refer to the same phenomenon. For instance, for “combatant,” the term “*savaşçı*” was used.
3. During this time there was a great deal of military cooperation between Prussia and the Ottoman Empire. A number of German commanders were invited by the Ottoman Sultan to train soldiers, set up the curriculum in military schools, and teach, as well as lead armies. Baron de Tott, Helmuth von Moltke, Liman von Sanders, and Colmar von der Goltz (or Goltz Pasha, as he is known in Turkey) were among these commanders. Goltz was killed in Baghdad in 1916 and buried in Istanbul (see Kayalı 1985 and Karabekir 2001).
4. Throughout the book, the names written in parenthesis refer to the surnames that the mentioned individuals adopted after 1934 when everyone became obliged to choose a surname. Before 1934, many people used their first name and middle name (and occasionally their father’s first name in addition to their own). For instance, Afet Inan’s early publications were signed “Afet” and Atatürk was known as Mustafa Kemal.
5. Hasan Ünder (1999a) underlines the traces of social Darwinism in Atatürk’s ideas beyond his thinking about the military and suggests that this influence might have originated from his military education, which was based on curricula designed by German officer-teachers.
6. See Lewis (1961, 208) and Berkes (1978, 419–425). Sociologist Şerif Mardin (1997, 68) suggests that “nineteenth-century Ottoman officials, regardless of their generation or specific worldview, seem to have had the salvation of *devlet* [the state] as a uniform goal

and bent their minds to this ideal." Anthropologist Yael Navaro-Yashin (1998) has shown how this preoccupation of the elite with "saving the state" has remained a crucial aspect of the political culture of Turkey to this day.

7. On the modernization of the education system between 1839 and 1908, see Somel 2001.
8. For a more detailed analysis of the different strands of thought on issues related to identity and the state, see Mardin 1985.
9. Historian Halil Berktaş suggests that between Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp, it was Akçura who contributed to the scientific study of Turkish history and to the development of history as a discipline in Turkey. Berktaş claims that some of Ziya Gökalp's historical arguments were unfounded (see Berktaş 1985). My aim here is not to judge the historicity of the various claims made about the "Turkish nation." My discussion in this chapter is limited to the development of the discourse on Turkish nationhood and, more specifically, to the tension between the concepts of "race" and "culture" in the various formulations of Turkish nationalism.
10. See also Murat Belge's (2001) discussion of Gökalp's status as the ideologue of Kemalist nationalism.
11. The Turkish interpretation of the relationship between state and religion is based primarily on the French concept of "laicism," which involves state-control over religion, rather than an absolute separation of state and the religious realm. This "control" has been institutionalized in Turkey in the *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı* (Directorate for Religious Affairs), a centralized body that administers all mosques, imams, and a variety of religious practices and organizations. For a discussion of the relationship between the Turkish and French interpretations of laicism in relation to the constraints put on the freedom of religious practices in the two countries, see Ewing (2000). According to Andrew Davison (1998, 133), Gökalp advocated the "complete disestablishment" between the realms of politics and religion. "He demanded the complete autonomy of political and religious spheres for the sake of both."
12. The Erzurum Congress, which was organized by *Şarki Anadolu Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti* (Society for the Defence of the Rights of Eastern Anatolia), met on 23 July 1919. The Sivas Congress, which was organized by the *Anadolu Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Milliyet Cemiyeti* (Society for the Defence of the National Rights of Anatolia and Thrace), met from 4–11 September 1919. Mustafa Kemal was elected president of the representative committees formed after both of these congresses (see Zürcher 1994, 156–157).
13. The original text is as follows: "Efendiler, bu hudut sırf askeri mülahazat ile çizilmiş bir hudut değildir, hududu millidir. Hududu milli olmak üzere tesbit edilmiştir. Fakat bu hudut dahilinde tasavvur edilmesin ki anasını islamiyeden bir cins millet vardır. Bu hudut dahilinde Türk vardır, Çerkes vardır ve anasını saire-i islamiye vardır. İşte bu hudut memzuç bir halde yaşayan, bütün maksatlarını bütün manasıyla tevhitetmiş olan kardeş milletlerin hududu millisidir (hepsi islamdır, kardeşler sesleri). Bu hudut meselesini tesbit eden maddenin içerisinde büyük bir esas vardır. Fazla olarak o da bu vatan hududu dahilinde yaşayan anasını-ı islamiyenin her birinin kendine mahsus olan muhitine, adatına, ırkına mahsus olan imtiyazatı bütün samimiyetle ve mukabilen kabul ve tasdik edilmiştir" (*Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri I* [1997], 30). This text is only partly intelligible with today's Turkish, which has gone through seven decades of change including an extensive "clean-up" of all Arabic and Persian words which were a part of the Ottoman language. On the web site of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tarihce/ldlyyl.htm>), this speech is presented with today's Turkish. It is interesting to note that, in the translation from Ottoman Turkish to contemporary Turkish, the term "*kardeş milletler*" (sibling nations) has been changed to "*kardeş unsurlar*" (sibling elements) while the term *millet* has remained the same in the remainder of the text.

14. “Efendiler . . . Burada maksut olan ve Meclisi âlinizi teşkil eden zevat yalnız Türk değildir, yalnız Çerkes değildir, yalnız Kürt değildir, yalnız Lâz değildir. Fakat hepsinden mür-ekkepe anasır-ı islâmîyedir, sâimimî bir mecmuadır . . . Binaenaleyh muhafaza ve müda-faasiyle iştilal ettiğimiz millet bittabi bir unsurdan ibaret değildir. Muhtelif anasır-ı İslâmîyeden mürrekkeptir. Bu mecmuayı teşkil eden her bir unsur islâm, bizim kardeşimiz ve menfaîi tamamiyle müşterek olan vatandaşımızdır ve yine kabul ettiğimiz esasatın ilk satırlarında bu muhtelif anasır-ı islâmîye ki: Vatandıdır, yekdiğerine karşı hürmet-i mütekebile ile riayetkârdırlar ve yekdiğerinin her türlü hukukuna, ırkı, içtimai, coğrafi hukukuna daima riayetkâr olduğunu tekrar ve teyidettik ve cümlemiz bugün samimiyetle kabul etik. Binaenaleyh menafimiz müşterektir. Tahsiline azmettiğimiz vahdet, yalnız Türk, yalnız Çerkes değil hepsinden memzuç bir unsur-u islâmdır” (*Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri-I* [1997], 74–75).
15. As Kemal Kirişçi (2000) shows in relation to the immigration law and related citizenship practices, Turkish citizenship was not only ethnicist in theory, but also in practice. He concludes that Turkish citizenship is in need of “disaggregation.” Ayhan Aktar (2000) provides a detailed analysis of the various state practices (such as employment practices, tax laws, and forced migration) that have discriminated against non-Muslim citizens.
16. The “caliph” was the name given to the supreme leader of the Muslim community after the death of the Prophet Muhammed. This title was claimed by the Ottoman sultans starting in the sixteenth Century when the possessions of the Prophet were appropriated in the conquest of Egypt. The Ottoman Sultans carried this title until the caliphate was abolished by the Grand National Assembly in 1924.
17. *Nakşibendi* is a major Sunni orthodox sect that still has a substantial number of followers in Turkey.
18. This was a nationalist organization established in 1912, during the Balkan Wars. In the transition from empire to nation-state, it became an important cultural and political site for the development of Turkish nationalism. In 1931, as Turkish nationalism turned into state ideology, the organization was closed down, only to be reestablished in 1949. As Füsün Üstel (2002a) notes, after 1949, the Turkish Hearths distanced themselves from official/bureaucratic nationalism and began identifying with a more conservative (and after 1980s, more Islam-defined) version of oppositional nationalism. For a more detailed study, see Üstel 1997.
19. The debate between Afet (Inan) and historian Fuad (Köprülü) during the First History Congress was emblematic of how this process was taking shape. Fuad (Köprülü)’s questioning of the methods used in the advancement of the Turkish History Thesis and his concern about the lack of primary sources available to discuss the accomplishment of the Turks in prehistoric Central Asia met with fierce criticism on the part of Afet (Inan). By the end of the Congress, Fuad (Köprülü) had assumed a defensive position; he made sure that he was not in opposition to any of the arguments proposed by this thesis and took back some of his criticisms (see Ersanlı-Behar 1992).
20. Her dissertation was first published in Geneva (Inan 1941) and, six years later, in Ankara by the Turkish Historical Society (Inan 1947).
21. Afet Inan’s choice to work with Eugène Pittard in Geneva was not coincidental. Pittard’s race-based anthropological work had provided one of the main references of the Turkish History Thesis. He was also the guest of honor at the Second Turkish History Congress in 1937.
22. To give a few examples: Şevket Aziz Kansu, the first scholar to hold an anthropology chair in Turkey, was one of the contributors to the race theories that provided the backbone of the Turkish History Thesis. In 1936, he wrote: “Anthropological study, instruction, and dissemination in our country means the analysis of our [bodily] constitution through bio-sociological anatomy and morphology” (Kansu 1936, 40). In 1937, he elaborated on the centrality of eugenics: “When we assert that the Turkish population issue is a

bio-sociological issue, we are trying to explain how we embrace all of its cultural, hygienic, eugenic, economic, and social aspects. The conquest of the Turkish land by the enlightened and technically minded children of the homeland; the colonization of the country for the country! This grand and lively issue is closely tied to the issue of bio-sociological culture. . . . It should not be forgotten that nations progress with their higher children. The decadence of nations begins when birth rates in select families fall below the average” (Kansu 1937a, 410). For other writings on race, culture, anthropology, and eugenics, see Kansu 1934a; Kansu 1934b; Kerim 1934; Toksöz and Köyden 1936; Kansu 1937b; Kansu 1939; and Şenyürek 1940. Nazan Maksudyan’s (2003) insightful M.A. thesis *Gauging Turkishness: Anthropology as Scientific-Fiction in Legitimizing Racist Nationalism (1925–1939)* demonstrates the extent to which anthropology was used as an instrument for translating “ideological myths into scientific truths.”

23. Yusuf Akçura continued to play an active role in the development of Turkish nationalism until his death in 1935. As the President of the Turkish Historical Society, he chaired the First History Congress in 1932.
24. It was suggested that Armenians had never established their own state. In the current textbook used in the high school National Security Knowledge course, it is suggested that “Armenians are after the ‘Big Armenian State’ which they believe existed in history, but which in reality never did” (*Milli Güvenlik Bilgisi* 1998, 94).
25. The number of Turkish states established in history is officially regarded as 16, although in unofficial histories this number has steadily increased over time. In 1994, Ibrahim Kafesoğlu, a prominent nationalist historian, suggested that Turks have established close to 100 states throughout history (Kafesoğlu 1994, 450).
26. Historian Andreas Kazamias, among others, finds it paradoxical that “non-Moslems were being recruited and trained to become the guardians and rulers of a Moslem Empire” (Kazamias 1966, 28). In Turkish nationalist sources, the size and significance of the Janissaries is often downplayed, with the emphasis being placed on the fief-holding “Turkish” soldiers (see İlhan 1989).
27. See Gülsoy 2000 for a detailed analysis of the conscription of non-Muslims in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.
28. This increase is also a reflection of the increasing anxiety in the wake of the Second World War and the need to keep more citizens in arms.
29. Certain parts of the country, particularly the Kurdish provinces in the East, were more resistant to sending young men to the military. As discussed in chapter two, one of the reasons cited by the government for the Dersim Operation in 1937 was their refusal to comply with the compulsory military service law. Kurds had not been a part of the regular army during Ottoman times either. They had mainly contributed to the war effort as “irregular cavalry units” (Zürcher 1996, 232).
30. One of the most tragic events that marked this era was the deportation (*tehcir*) and massacre of a large part of the Armenian population in Anatolia. Estimates of the number of people killed during the deportation of Armenians from their homes in various parts of Anatolia to Zor (a location in the desert in today’s Syria) range from 300,000 to 1.5 million. The debate over whether these killings constitute a “genocide” (planned by the Ottoman state against all Armenians) or a “necessary war measure” based on the atrocities caused by Armenian nationalists and their collaboration with Russia against the Ottoman state continues to be a source of major conflict amongst scholars and between Turkish and Armenian diaspora communities in the U.S.A. and Europe, and strains the diplomatic relations between the Turkish and Armenian Republics as well (see Akçam 2000).
31. The same year (1931), Atatürk expressed this belief in a talk: “The Turkish nation loves its army and considers it the guardian of its ideals” (quoted in Parla 1991b, 169–170). In 1938, a publication of the Ministry of Culture used a more threatening version of this statement: “The Turkishness of anyone who does not love our soldiers and military service should be suspect” (Yalman 1938, 38).

Chapter Two Women and the Myth: The World's First Woman Combat Pilot

1. Sabiha Gökçen died on 22 March 2001.
2. The quotation is from the Airport's English website. The Turkish website has the same introduction (<http://www.sgairport.com/havaalani/eng/start.asp>).
3. "Kissing someone's hand" is a way of paying respect and stands for kissing the outside of the hand and then touching it to the forehead. It is usually young people who (are expected to) kiss the hands of the elderly in this fashion.
4. In her 1956 interview, Gökçen gives a slightly different story of her first encounter with Atatürk. In this version, she shouts from among the crowd that she wants to see Atatürk and is able to attract Atatürk's attention. The rest of her encounter story is the same in the two versions.
5. Atatürk had five adopted daughters, including Sabiha Gökçen and Afet Inan.
6. Unless stated otherwise, all quotations from Halit Kıvanç's 1956 interview with Gökçen are Fred Stark's translations in the 1998 book.
7. Although this was the "predominant" picture (and certainly how Dersim was perceived by outsiders), the Dersim population was quite diverse in itself. There were Kurmanji speaking Kurds and Zaza speaking Kurds, each group belonging to a variety of Muslim sects, including Alevi, Sunni, and Şafi.
8. Alevis are a minority denomination among Muslims in Turkey. Their eclectic and heterodox creed and practices have often led the majority Sunni to view them as quasi heretics.
9. *Kızılbaş* literally means "redhead." It is a derogatory term used for Alevis.
10. To give a counterexample: In an encyclopedia entry he composed on the history of the Air Force (*Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*), retired Colonel Enver Günsel (1985, 2630) notes the international recognition of "our woman pilot Sabiha Gökçen," without mentioning the Dersim Operation. Despite the significance of this operation as the first bombings undertaken by the young Turkish air force, it is written out of this detailed encyclopedic entry.
11. Arif Dirlik draws attention to the historical relationship between colonialism and nationalism: "There were . . . close parallels between colonization at home and abroad. The paradigm of colonialism may have much to tell us about state building projects, especially with the emergence of the nation-state: in the state monopolization of the instruments of violence, in the use for the control of the population of new techniques of surveillance and inventory, and in the efforts to create homogeneous national cultures that erased local differences, to cite some of the most important" (Dirlik 2002, 256).
12. Even after 1991, state policies on the use of the Kurdish language in public media have been contradictory. RTÜK (Radyo Televizyon Üst Kurulu—The Higher Board of Radios and Televisions) has penalized radio stations and TV channels for broadcasting in Kurdish or for playing Kurdish songs. One of the central debates in relation to Turkey's accession into the European Union has been the question of whether broadcasting in all languages, including Kurdish, would result in an increased threat of disintegration for Turkey. Many people have expressed the view that it would damage Turkey's "unitary structure of government." In 2003, the ruling AKP (Justice and Development Party) passed legislation legalizing the instruction of "all mother tongues" (including Kurdish) in private courses and allowing limited radio and TV broadcasting (See *2003 Regular Report on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession*, European Commission 2003).
13. In June 1998, I coordinated a four-day program hosted by three women's organizations based in Istanbul, *Cin.net Collective*, *Anakültür*, and *Women for Women's Human Rights*, and sponsored by the Heinrich Böll Foundation-Istanbul Office. Twelve women who worked in local community centers for women in different part of the Southeast were invited for visits to feminist organizations, the Women's Library and Information Center,

- and NGOs specializing on women's issues, as well as a meeting with feminist magazines and a full-day workshop with NGO representatives. The community centers, called ÇATOMs (*Çok Amaçlı Toplum Merkezleri*-Multi-Purpose Community Centers), were established in 1995 by a governmental organization, Southeastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration, in collaboration with a non-governmental organization, TKV (*Türkiye Kalkınma Vakfı*-Development Foundation of Turkey). The exchange mentioned above took place during one of our meetings with women lawyers.
14. In the *Year-In-Review 2001* of the Committee on Women in NATO Forces, it is said that, in Turkey, "Starting in 1992, together with recruitment from other sources, women cadets were allowed to enter military academies" (77). The 2001 figures for the total number of woman officers in the Turkish Armed Forces is given as 918, out of a total force of more than 800 thousand (92). Turkey has the second largest military in NATO (after the United States), and one of the lowest ratios of women personnel (together with Italy and Poland). One can speculate that the recruitment of women into the military academies after the 1990s could have been a result of pressuring on the part of NATO, particularly the Committee on Women. The *Year-in-Review 2001* can be accessed at <http://www.nato.int/ims/2001/win/win-2001.pdf>.
 15. For an insightful reading of Edib's autobiography in relation to Atatürk's *Nutuk* (The Speech), see Adak 2003.
 16. We first explored Edib's treatment of Fatma Çavuş in *The Turkish Ordeal* and the relationship between women and war in the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic in a graduate paper with Nilgün Uygun (see Uygun and Altınay 1996).
 17. See, for instance, *Yeni Yüzyıl*, 9 January 1999, and *Anadolu Ajansı*, 11 September 1998.
 18. On the development of second wave feminism in Turkey, see Ş. Tekeli 1986 and 1998, Sirman 1989. Şirin Tekeli notes that one reason behind the time lag between the first wave and the second was, much like in the West, the "illusion that the goals of the movement, such as suffrage, had been achieved" (Ş. Tekeli 1998, 338). Added to this "illusion" was the authoritarian Republican regime which promoted the single idea that gender equality was achieved thanks to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (338). This was done at the same time as women's independent organizations were closed down by Atatürk and his government. The result was new generations of women who felt "indebted" to Atatürk for their rights and would do anything to protect "his" Republic. It was only in the early 1980s with the emergence of second wave feminism that this framework began to be challenged by women.
 19. For an insightful review of the development of women's studies from Kemalism in the 1930s to feminism in the 1980s, see Y. Arat 1993.
 20. For an insightful analysis of "silences" in the construction of gender ideologies in Turkey, see Sirman 2002.
 21. Alakom's projection has recently been proven right. In 2003, historian Yavuz Selim Karakışla published a detailed analysis of the Kurdish Women's Organization, in which he reminds us that in the same year, 1919, another ethnic women's organization was founded by the Circassians, but that the two organizations were quite different in nature (Karakışla 2003).
 22. In this context, looking at the relations between different groups of women is particularly important. Have women found ways to work against the ethnic divides, act in solidarity, and empower one another? (cf. Cockburn 1998 and 2004) Or have they been active agents of the processes of "othering"? In this case, we most likely would find examples of both. To my knowledge, no study has yet been done on this particular issue.

Chapter Three Becoming a Man, Becoming a Citizen

1. In the last six years, I have had conversations, short and long, with more than 100 men and women of all ages (from early twenties to late seventies) about their experiences of and

- ideas regarding military service. The analysis in this chapter is informed by these conversations and the sixteen in-depth interviews I did between 1997 and 1999.
2. All the names used in this chapter are pseudonyms. Some of my interviewees chose their own pseudonyms, otherwise, I assigned them myself.
 3. The first conscription law in Britain was passed in 1916.
 4. In the next section and in later chapters, I will talk about the relationship between military service and education, two major institutions of nationalized discipline.
 5. According to Foucault, corporal punishment as public spectacle was a characteristic of pre-modern penal forms that started dying out by the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. It was then that punishment became “the most hidden part of the penal process” (1979, 9).
 6. One exception to this rule seems to be the experience of the soldiers who do the shorter term of one month by paying a compensation. These soldiers not only serve shorter terms, but are treated very differently by the military as well.
 7. Let me remind the reader that the first use of this term in the English language that I have been able to identify was in an 1803 British publication about the French conscripted army, *The French Considered as a Military Nation Since the Commencement of Their Revolution*.
 8. Sara Helman talks about a similar understanding of military service in Israel: “The construction and perception of military service as a community that overlaps society—rather than the state—has blurred the boundaries between state and society. Moreover, it has blurred the difference between membership in the state and membership in the associations of civil society. It has turned opposition to the state’s war practices into opposition to the life-world itself” (Helman 1997, 326).
 9. Mehmet Ali Birand suggested in 1991 that the number of soldiers in literacy training programs in the military was ten thousand.
 10. One stark consequence of this attitude in relation to military service was the special treatment of non-Muslim men during World War II. Those who were in the military in 1939 were not given weapons, and in 1941, all non-Muslim men between the ages of 25 and 45 were recruited to the military to be kept in overcrowded camps. They were released a year later. This practice (called *yirmi kura askerlik*) not only disrupted the lives of thousands of non-Muslim men (Muslim men were not recruited), but also created fear and anxiety, particularly among the Jewish population, that they would be sent to concentration camps (Bali 1999).
 11. Abdullah Öcalan is the leader of the PKK (Kurdish Workers’ Party) that has been fighting against the Turkish government since 1984. He was captured in Kenya in February 1999 and sentenced to death after a one-month trial. During the EU-accession reforms of 2002, the Turkish parliament lifted the death sentence from the constitution. Öcalan now serves a life term in a special prison on the island of Imralı. In 1999, when this incident took place, there were intense debates about whether Öcalan should be hung or not.
 12. Men become eligible for service at age 20. There is usually an age difference between regular conscripts and university graduates. When they enlist, all men are made to take a test and fill out forms that detail their characteristics and choices. University students are asked to choose between these two categories of service. The ultimate decision, however, is made by the military itself, depending on its needs which means that university students are not always assigned their choice of term.
 13. The 1999 earthquakes in Izmit and Adapazarı had put serious burdens on the state and the economy.
 14. Regular term for military service dropped to fifteen months (from eighteen months) in July 2003. For those with university degrees, regular term is twelve months and the short term is six months.

15. See the policy changes proposed by women's groups and feminist lawyers regarding the ammendment of the Turkish Penal Code so that "honor" can no longer be used to discriminate against women in the laws: *Kadın Bakış Açısıyla Türk Ceza Kanunu: TCK Tasarısı Değişiklik Talepleri* [2003].
16. The full declaration was published in *Kaos GL*, January 2003, 8.
17. "Eşcinseller Neden Savaşa Karşı?" (Why are Homosexuals Opposed to the War?), 20 December 2002, published on www.savaskarsitlari.org, 2 January 2003.
18. In Turkish, "adam olmak" or "erkek olmak."
19. Turkey's troops were part of the UN forces in Korea from 1950 to 1953.
20. As pointed out in the previous chapter, there are only about 1,000 women officers in the military, many of them stationed in the headquarters, military schools, and hospitals. Very few of my interviewees mentioned having had contact with women officers.
21. One notable exception is the publication of the book *Mehmedin Kitabı* (Mater 1999), which publicized the critical responses of those who had fought in the Southeast to the war and military service. Although the book became a bestseller, the public debates around it remained limited. Serdar Şen's (1994) insightful book on the connections between military service, nationalism, and modernization was another important effort in problematizing the nature of military service.
22. One can argue that Kurdish nationalists were also against military service to the Turkish state during this time. Their resistance, however, was unidirectional: joining the PKK was not problematized.

Chapter Four The Road Less Traveled: Challenging Military Service

1. Originally published in *Sokak*, 11 February 1990. Reprinted with the title "Vicdani Ret Açıklaması-Vedat Zencir" in www.savaskarsitlari.org, 1 January 1998.
2. Osman Murat Ülke has been using the name Ossi both in his personal and public life for many years now. The other activists, too, prefer using their first names in their interactions with people. I follow the same convention in this chapter.
3. Details of the meeting, as well as summaries of some of the presentations, can be found in the publication *ICOM 93—Documentation: International Conscientious Objectors Meeting 1993*, n.d.
4. The report blames the government for "heavy-handed response to an escalation of the conflict in southeastern Turkey," while also blaming the PKK for human rights violations. See http://www.hrw.org/reports/1995/WR95/HELSINKI-16.htm#P655_198257 for details of this report.
5. See *Bakaya*, October 1993, the irregular periodical of the War Resisters' Association.
6. Aytek Özel and Menderes Meletli were interviewed by Ali Tevfik Berber in a program produced by Erhan Akyıldız.
7. This was changed only in 2003. The seventh reform package included amendments ruling that military courts would no longer be able to try civilians (see *2003 Regular Report on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession* [2003], 20).
8. See brochure titled *Izmir Savaş Karşıtları Derneği*, n.d.
9. See brochure titled *Vicdani Ret Kavramına İlişkin Belirlenimler*, published by ISKD, n.d.
10. See brochure titled *Izmir Savaş Karşıtları Derneği*, n.d.
11. See *Turkey: Osman Murat Ülke—Conscientious Objector Imprisoned for Life* [1998].
12. A marginal, reactionary Muslim sect.
13. It is illegal to employ anyone without registering them with SSK (*Sosyal Sigorta Kurumu*—Social Security Institution) and paying the applicable taxes. Because SSK has an updated list of all conscription evaders, they cannot be employed legally.

14. This is a shortened version of his declaration. The declaration as a whole can be read electronically at www.savaskarsitlari.org, "Mehmet Bal ile Dayanışma Komitesi'nin Basın Açıklaması," 31 October 2002.
15. A War Resisters' International report defines "total objectors and total objection" as follows: "These terms are used for COs who refuse to perform either military service or any form of substitute service. In countries where substitute service has not been instituted, certain COs may consider themselves total objectors, as they would refuse to perform any substitute service required of them" (Horeman and Stolwijk 1998, 16).
16. See T.C. *Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Askeri Savcılığı*, Ankara, 2002. A scanned version of the document can be accessed electronically at www.savaskarsitlari.org/images/karar1.jpg, www.savaskarsitlari.org/images/karar2.jpg, www.savaskarsitlari.org/images/karar3.jpg, and www.savaskarsitlari.org/images/karar4.jpg.
17. Murat Çelikkan is a columnist in the prestigious national daily *Radikal*. He mentioned Mehmet Bal's case in his column on 14 November (see Çelikkan 2002a).
18. The independent online news service, www.bianet.org, gave regular updates on Mehmet Bal's case. National dailies *Cumhuriyet* and *Radikal* ran short news stories, as well as long opinion pieces. Kurdish newspaper *Yeniden Özgür Gündem*, radio station *Özgür Radyo*, and the news agency *Dicle Haber Ajansı* also followed Bal's case closely. *Radikal* reported that a Socialist Member of Parliament in the Netherlands had asked the Dutch Foreign Ministry to inquire about Mehmet Bal's case and ask Turkey whether they planned to institute any legal measures to bring their military service law in line with the Copenhagen Criteria (*Radikal*, 28 November 2002).
19. Their names were Mustafa Şeyhoğlu, Erkan Ersöz, Sertaç Girgin, and Emir Üner.
20. Their statement, titled "Hiç Kimsenin Askeri Olmayacağız!" (We Will Not be Anybody's Soldiers), had a joint signature and was distributed to those attending the meeting.
21. The declarations were distributed to the audience as hand-outs. My translations here are from those handouts. They can also be viewed electronically at the War Resisters' website: www.savaskarsitlari.org.
22. The first was soon after his release in October at a meeting in Istanbul. He looked weak after more than a month of hunger strike, but also very content and calm.
23. The 2001 documentary *Ret 1111* (Objection 1111, referring to the Law no. 1111, which defines military service) by Cüneyt Şekerci and Hasan Çimen ends with this statement by Uğur, "İstemiyorsanız, gitmeyin!" (If you don't want it, don't do it!).
24. He was interviewed by reporter Hamza Aktan soon after his declaration of objection. See Hamza Aktan, "Sinek Kadar da Olsak Mide Bulandırıyoruz," www.bianet.org, 1 February 2003.
25. Mehmet Bal, interviewed by Hamza Aktan (see Aktan 2002).

Chapter Five "The Army is a School, the School is an Army"

The Nation's Two Fronts

1. A significant exception to this rule is the administration of the military schools, which is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense. Hasan Ünder has drawn attention to the tense discussions that took place in the Grand National Assembly and among educators in the early 1920s around the issue of whether the military schools should be tied to the Ministry of Education or to the Ministry of Defense. For the first year after the Law of Unification of Instruction had been passed, military schools were tied directly to the Ministry of Education; however, on 22 April 1925 another law (no. 637) was passed that transferred their administration and control to the Ministry of Defense. As such, the military schools have remained the only exception to the "unity of instruction" in Turkey (see Ünder 1999 for an excellent discussion of this process).

2. See *The Law of Higher Education*, Law Number: 2547, Date of Enactment: 4 November 1981, Published in the *Resmi Gazete* (Official Gazette) No: 17506; Date: 6 November 1981. (<http://www.yok.gov.tr/webeng/law/content.html>).
3. See İsmail Kaplan's (1998) detailed analysis of education policies throughout Republican history.
4. After the "Surname Law" was passed, the surname "Atatürk" was given to Mustafa Kemal by the Grand National Assembly on 24 November 1934.
5. The second part of this list has changed slightly over the years. The current law (passed in December 1979, published in the *Resmi Gazete* (Official Gazette) in February 1980 and modified in 1998) states that after staff officers (of ranks Colonel, Major, and Captain), priority should be given to officers (in the same ranks) who have graduated from the combatant classes of the Military College. Third on the list are graduates of other classes, and fourth are all other officers. See *Milli Güvenlik Bilgisi Öğretimi Yönetmeliği* (Regulations Regarding the Instruction of the National Security Knowledge Course) in *Resmi Gazete*, 2 February 1980, R. Gazete No. 16888, Karar No. 8/37 and modifications of the article in question in *Resmi Gazete*, 4 November 1998, R. Gazete No. 23513, Karar No. 98/11868.
6. Article 7 of the current regulations is as follows: "As a rule, National Security Knowledge courses are taught by regular officers who are graduates of Military Colleges. In the absence of such officers, or in cases where their numbers are not sufficient, other regular soldiers, retired soldiers, or soldiers who have resigned from their posts can be commissioned. If none of these soldiers are sufficient in number, then secondary school teachers who have performed their military service as reserve officers can be commissioned" *Resmi Gazete* (Official Gazette), 2 February 1980, R. Gazete No. 16888, Karar No. 8/37.
7. In my research, I have not been able to find an example of this practice. In fact, the notion that a civilian teacher could teach this course was foreign to both the teachers and the students I interviewed. Even in Turkey's Southeast where officers were engaged in active warfare between 1984 and 1999, they seem to have found the time to perform their teaching functions in high schools instead of relegating this role to civilian teachers (see chapter six).
8. It is strictly forbidden for them to teach in civilian clothes unless they are retired.
9. See <http://www.meb.gov.tr> for annual statistics.
10. Nationalism is one of the founding "Principles of Atatürk," others being Republicanism, Populism, Etatism, Laicism, and Reformism. These principles, known as the "Six Arrows" (*Altı Ok*), were first formulated in the 1927 and 1931 programs of the Republican People's Party (of which Atatürk was the "eternal leader") and were put into the constitution in 1937. The 1937 amendment was the addition of the statement "The Turkish Republic is Republicanist, Nationalist, Populist, Etatist, Laicist, and Reformist" in Article Two of the constitution, which remained in effect until 1961. These principles continued to inform the 1961 and 1982 constitutions, although they were given different interpretations and were not always referred to explicitly (see Parla 1992 and 1991c).
11. "Race" has been a much-debated category in the past century. It is now agreed upon by scholars that "racial difference" understood as "natural" "biological" difference is a cultural and political construction. As explained in the "American Anthropological Association Statement on 'Race,'" race is "an ideology about human differences" and that "evidence from the analysis of genetics (e.g., DNA) indicates that most physical variation, about 94%, lies *within* so-called racial groups" (<http://www.aaanet.org/stmts/racepp.htm>, Saturday, 10 February 2001). Nevertheless, "race" as an "ideology of human difference" and as a social marker of inequality exists in many societies. In Turkey, although it has been central in the construction of national identity, the term "race" does not have a popular usage. In other words, physical differences between

people are not necessarily associated with the idea of “race” or even “ethnicity.” One possible exception to this rule is the general understanding that the “Kurds” have a darker complexion and only black hair. Although this understanding simplifies a complicated reality (e.g., there are many blond people among the Kurds and many people with darker complexion among people of other ethnicities), even in its extreme form, it signifies a relative difference and not an absolute one, as in “black” and “white.” Another exception is the “racist” ideology promoted by certain ultranationalists; in the case of this ideology, the Turkish History Thesis has been taken to its logical conclusion to assume that Turks represent a homogeneous race. One alarming episode during the 17 August 1999 earthquake, where more than 30,000 people died, was the unwillingness of the Minister of Health, Osman Durmuş, to accept donated blood from Greece. His approach met with immense criticism and he had to back down and accept “Greek blood” (see Atay 1999 for a critical discussion).

12. This construction also silences the existence of a small community of Turkish Orthodox Christians, i.e., Christians who identify themselves as “Turks.”
13. My usage of the term “strategic” throughout this text should be taken to imply military strategy.
14. For a discussion of the development of the national security state in the American context, see Hogan (1998).
15. *Türban* is the name that has been given to a special form of headscarf that is large and is worn in such a way that it completely conceals the hair and neck of the woman. This form of covering has become popular with the rise of the Islamist movement in Turkey, although not all women who wear the *türban* have been associated with Islamist groups or parties. The *türban* controversy has marked the politics of the 1980s and the 1990s, particularly in the universities of big cities. Several amendments in higher education laws have been made either allowing woman students to wear the *türban* or prohibiting them from doing so. The current law prohibits the covering of the hair and face in any form (see Göle 1991; Çakır 2000; Arat 2001).
16. For an insightful discussion of the xenophobic aspects of Turkish nationalism, see Belge (2002).
17. The report was written by the officials of the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Publications, the General Staff, and two officer-teachers. Six out of the eleven members of this committee were active or retired military officers (see *Millî Eğitim ile İlgili Millî Savunma Komitesi Çalışmaları ve Raporu* [1961]).
18. In 2003, the History Foundation (*Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı*), the Turkish Academy of Sciences (*Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi*), and the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (*Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı*) coordinated a project whereby they examined a wide range of textbooks based on human rights criteria. In a report that I authored, the *National Security Knowledge* textbook was also examined and problematized as part of this project (Altınay 2003).
19. Anthropologist Sam Kaplan (1996) has shown that since the 1980 coup, the military has made a special effort to control the institutions of education, sometimes going as far as using slightly modified military laws and regulations for schools, teachers, and students.
20. The Higher Education Council is a national body that governs all higher education in Turkey. See *The Law of Higher Education*, Law Number: 2547, Date of Enactment: 4 November 1981, Published in the *Resmî Gazete* (Official Gazette) No: 17506; Date: 6 November 1981. According to Article 6, the Higher Education Council consists of twenty-two members, seven of whom are appointed by the President of Turkey, seven by the Council of Ministers, seven by the Inter-University Board, and one member by the Chief of the General Staff. Article 8 determines the number of appointees to the Higher Education Supervisory Board as ten, one of whom is appointed by the Chief of the General Staff.

Chapter Six Silencing the Present:
Student-Soldiers and Officer-Teachers
Meet in the Classroom

1. I participated in two *National Security Knowledge* classes during my research and listened to the stories of about 75 young people from 40 different high schools in 12 cities and several small towns. The cities were: Ağrı, Ankara, Balıkesir, Cizre, Diyarbakır, İstanbul, İzmir, Kahramanmaraş, Kayseri, Kütahya, Mersin, and Siirt. All interviews took place in Diyarbakır, İstanbul, and İzmir. My research was mainly comprised of in-depth interviews with individual students and focus group discussions with groups of two to ten. About one-third of the students were from private high schools and two-thirds from public high schools. One-third had gone to high school in Diyarbakır, one-third in İstanbul, and the rest in other cities or small towns. The students were distributed evenly among lower-, middle-, and upper-class socioeconomic backgrounds (based on their own declarations of family income). About 40% were female and 60% male. During my interviews, I asked students to choose a pseudonym for themselves. About half of the names that appear in this chapter are self-designated names. I have assigned pseudonyms to the other half. No real names have been used. The age range of my interviewees was 16–35. All have gone to high school in the 1980s and the 1990s.
2. “Apo” is the short form of Abdullah, used here to refer to Abdullah Öcalan.
3. See Özyürek 2000 for a detailed and insightful discussion of the events surrounding the Merve Kavakçı incident.
4. It was thanks to a coincidence and to the openness of one of the officer-teachers I interviewed that I was able to participate in these classes. He was teaching on the day of our interview and asked me if I wanted to come to his classes. I was introduced to the students as a researcher who was interested in the *National Security Knowledge* course as part of her Ph.D. work in the United States.
5. Several students talked to me about having faced disciplinary measures for articulating controversial views.

Epilogue

1. See Parla 1998 for a discussion of what he calls “mercantile militarism.” Anthropologist Sam Kaplan has explored the military’s role in shaping education policies in his doctoral thesis (S. Kaplan 1996). Political scientist Ismail Kaplan has also done a comprehensive study of education policies in Turkey, pointing to its militarizing aspects (I. Kaplan 1998). Researcher Serdar Şen has written on the role of the military in shaping society. Şen conceptualizes the Armed Forces as an “ideological apparatus” and points to conscription as an important component of this apparatus (see Şen 1996). Ümit Cizre has been problematizing the role of the military in politics in novel ways (see Cizre-Sakallıoğlu 1993; Cizre 2003). A recent collection by Ahmet Insel and Ali Bayramoğlu (2004) provides an insightful set of articles on the role of the military in shaping political discourse, the economy, and other aspects of life.
2. Political scientist Nur Vergin addresses this second assumption in a 1997 op-ed: “The Turkish Republic has been founded by the military. This is correct. So what? I think and think, and force my memory, but I cannot find a single state (including the United States of America) that was not founded by the military. I cannot find it, because it does not exist. All states, always, are founded by people who possess arms; not by artisans, traders, or magicians” (Vergin 1997).

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INDEX

- Abrams, Philip, 1, 3, 5
Abu-Lughod, Lila, 4
Adak, Hülya, 49, 171n.15
Adivar, Halide Edib, 49–50, 53–54,
171nn.15 and 16
Afet, *see* Inan, Afet
Ağlagül, İnci, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115
Ahmad, Feroz, 27, 120
Akçam, Taner, 169n.30
Akçura, Yusuf, 16–18, 24, 167n.9,
169n.23
Alakom, Rohat, 56, 171n.21
Allison, Anne, 25, 84
Alvarez, Sonia, 114
American Friends Service Committee
(AFSC), 108
Amnesty International
on conscientious objectors in Turkey,
96, 98–99, 101, 113
Anderson, Benedict, 5, 7, 31, 70, 161
anthropology, 1, 3–4, 61, 62, 98, 103,
166n.9
feminist, 3–4
Marxist, 3
post-modern turn in, 3–4
of the state, 3–4, 165n.8
and Turkish History Thesis, 21–22,
168–169n.22
antimilitarism/antimilitarist, 87–116
anarchists, 87, 89, 97, 101–102, 107,
112–114
civil disobedience, 95, 97, 114
and feminism, 95, 99, 106, 110, 111,
115: Antimilitarist Feminists
(ANFEM), 109
and gender, 95, 106, 115
and heterosexism, 115
and human rights, 88, 93–94, 98–99,
105, 106, 108, 113, 114–115
international movement, 94
Istanbul Antimilitarist Initiative
(IAMI), 102
Izmir War Resisters' Association
(ISKD), 89, 92–93, 95–96, 98,
100, 105, 109, 114, 173n.5
and the left, 91, 92, 93, 112
movement in Turkey, 88, 89–96,
98–102, 105–116
nonviolence, 92–94, 95, 107, 108,
109, 112, 114, 115, 116
political language of, 91–95
and sexism, 108, 115
virtual organizing, 101–102, 105–106,
113
War Resisters' Association (SKD),
89–90, 92–93, 94, 109, 114
War Resisters' International, 90, 174n.15
see also antiwar movement;
conscientious objection
Antimilitarist Feminists (ANFEM), *see*
under antimilitarism
antiwar movement(s), 106
and antimilitarism, 93, 94, 103, 108,
112, 116
and gay movement, 80–81
Arat, Yeşim, 34, 52, 56, 171n.19, 176n.15
Arat, Zehra, 55, 56, 120
Armenia, 24, 136, 146, 169n.24
Armenian(s), 20, 23, 24, 73–74, 129, 150,
154, 155, 162, 169n.24
deportation of, 154, 169n.30
feminists, 56–57

- Armenian(s)—*continued*
 and military service, 73–74, 77, 162
see also Hay Gin; Mark
 army, *see* military service
 Asad, Talal, 12
Askerlik Vazifesi, 15–16, 29, 30
 Atan, Yavuz, 92, 107
 Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal
 Adıvar, Halide Edib, 49, 53, 171n.15
 adopted children, 7, 13, 14, 22, 36,
 38–40, 45, 56, 170n.5
 principles and revolutions, 9–10, 55,
 119, 121, 122, 131, 133–139, 144,
 147, 149, 154, 161, 175n.10
 and nationalism, 19, 20–21, 22, 24,
 119, 127–130, 149, 167n.13,
 168n.14, 169n.31, 175n.10
 and education, 14–15, 28–29, 70, 119,
 121, 122–123, 127–130, 131–139,
 144, 147, 149–150, 156
 historiography, 14–15, 16, 20–21, 22, 24,
 31, 128: *see also* Turkish History
 Thesis
 and the military, 1, 14–15, 28–29, 37,
 38–39, 45, 46, 47, 51, 70,
 122–123, 127, 132, 149, 150,
 166n.5, 169n.31
 surname, 36, 166n.4, 175n.4
 and women, 37, 38–39, 43, 45, 46, 47,
 52–53, 54, 55–56, 171n.18
see also *Askerlik Vazifesi*; Gökçen;
 People's Party under political
 parties
 Atatürk High Council for Culture,
 Language, and History, The, 1
 Ayaz, Nevzat, 119, 138
- Bakhtin, M. M., 16, 30, 31
 Bal, Mehmet, 96, 97–98, 100–106, 108,
 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115,
 174nn.14, 17, 18, and 25, *see also*
 conscientious objection
 Balkan Wars, 16, 17, 28, 168n.18
 women in and against, 48–49, 53
 Barthes, Roland, 25
 Bartlett, Lesley, 139
 Barnes, Teresa, 163
 Bayramoğlu, Ali, 165n.6, 177n.1
- Belge, Murat, 167n.10, 176n.16
 Berghahn, Volker, R., 2
 Berkes, Niyazi, 27, 166–167n.6
 Bertay, Fatmagül, 57
 Bertay, Halil, 24, 167n.9
 Bilal, Melissa, 57
 body
 Foucault on, 63
 and military, 30, 62–63, 68–69
 and nation, 18, 30, 68–69, 79
 women's, 79
 Bora, Tamlı, 121–122
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 9
 Bulca, Fuat, 41
- census, 27
 Chatterjee, Partha, 57
 Chenoy, Anuradha M., 2
 China
 New Life Movement, 69
 citizen army, *see* military service
 citizenship, 129
 and education, 14–15, 20, 71, 120–121,
 138–139, 144
 and gender, 6, 7, 32, 33–34, 54, 57, 58,
 62–63, 77, 80, 123, 138
 and militarism/militarization, 8, 58, 69,
 139
 in Ottoman Empire, 20
 and race/ethnicity, 129, 168n.15
see also military service; Turkey
 Cizre, Ümit, 138, 165nn.4 and 6, 177n.1
 (Epilogue)
- Clastres, Pierre, 165n.8
 Clifford, James, 4
 Cock, Jacolyn, 2, 67, 139, 166n.10
 Cockburn, Cynthia, 171n.22
 Cohn, Carol, 166n.10
 Cold War, 5, 130, 131, 133, 138, 156
 Collins, Jane, 141
 colonialism, 3
 as paradigm for state-building, 161,
 170n.11
 Connell, R.W., 80
 conscientious objection, 3, 8, 58, 80, 86,
 87–116
 and anarchism, 87, 89, 97, 103, 107, 108,
 112–113, 114

- court cases, 89, 93, 94–95, 96, 100–101, 105–106, 173n.7
- and education, 110
- family reactions to, 88, 110
- and feminism, 87, 95, 109, 110, 115
- gays, 80–81, 97, 107, 115
- International Conscientious Objectors Meeting (ICOM) (Izmir), 90–91, 173n.3
- International Conscientious Objectors' Day, 87, 101, 110
- in international law, 98–99, 113
- in Israel (Yesh Gvul), 90
- media coverage of, 88–89, 94, 104, 105–106, 111–112
- and religion, 88, 97, 102–103, 106, 108
- vs. total objection, 104, 107, 113, 174n.15
- in Turkish law, 8, 89, 94–95, 96, 101, 105, 113
- and women, 95, 99, 109, 110, 111, 115; *see also* Ağlagül; antimilitarism; Ülker
- see also* Amnesty International; antimilitarism; Bal; education; Gönül; Human Rights Watch; Ülke; Üsterci; Zencir
- Conscription, *see* military service
- Copeaux, Etienne, 21–22, 23, 24, 130, 155
- Coronil, Fernando, 165–166n.8
- Corrigan, Philip, 5, 7, 71, 74
- Coşkun, Suna, 105, 106
- Council of Higher Education (Yüksek Öğrenim Kurulu-YÖK), 107, 140, 176n.20
- culture
- definitions of, 3, 4
- and the military, 1–2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 16, 25, 28–30, 32, 34, 58, 62–63, 71, 77, 85–86, 88, 127, 139, 160, 169n.31
- and nationalism, 1–2, 3, 5–6, 8, 18, 22–25, 27, 28–30, 32, 57, 58, 62–63, 70–71, 85–86, 127, 129–130, 139, 160, 161, 167n.9, 168n.22, 169n.31, 170n.11
- political culture in Turkey, 92, 95, 112, 156, 166–67n.6
- and race, 18, 19, 23, 25, 28, 30, 127, 130, 167n.9
- and the state, 1–2, 3–6, 8, 13, 20–25, 27, 28–30, 32, 57, 58, 70–71, 129–130, 139, 166n.6
- study of, 3–5, 25, 28–30, 23–24, 160, 163, 168n.22
- and the Turkish History Thesis, 20, 22, 23–24, 25, 29–30, 127, 130
- see also* Turkey
- Cyprus question, 91, 136–137
- Çağlar, Behçet Kemal, 40
- Çaha, Ömer, 53–54
- Çakır, Serpil, 54
- Çakmak, Fevzi, 39, 41
- on women in the military, 46–47
- Çakır, Ruşen, 176n.15
- Çelikkan, Murat, 106, 174n.17
- Çimen, Hasan, 106, 108, 174n.23
- Davison, Andrew, 167n.11
- Delaney, Carol, 78, 83
- Demirdirek, Aynur, 54
- Demirel, Taner, 165n.4
- Dersim, 42–44, 170n.7
- Dersim Operation, 7, 13, 35, 38–45, 58, 169n.29, 170n.10
- Dewey, John, 69
- Dirlik, Arif, 69, 161, 170n.11
- discipline,
- and military, 62–70, 75, 81, 87, 123, 131, 132, 144, 172n.4
- and education, 63, 68–70, 87, 125, 131, 132, 143, 172n.4
- Foucault, 62, 63, 64
- and women's bodies, 80
- Diyarbakır, 74, 150, 151–153, 157, 177n.1
- Durakbaşa, Ayşe, 49, 53
- Edib, Halide, *see* Adivar, Halide
- education
- and Atatürk, 14–15, 28–29, 70, 119, 121, 122–123, 127–130, 131–139, 144, 147, 149–150, 156
- and conscientious objection, 110
- and gender, 10, 55–56, 138, 150–151, 154, 176n.15

- education—*continued*
- Higher Education Council (YÖK), 107, 140, 176n.20
 - Junior Reserve Officer Training Corp (U.S.A), 139
 - language revolution, 120
 - Law of Higher Education, 121, 175n.2
 - Law of Unification of Instruction, 19–20, 120
 - military officers as teachers, 123–127; 143, 152–153: *see also* National Security Knowledge course
 - military schools, 9, 10, 14, 174n.1
 - and nationalism, 3, 14, 16, 18, 19–20, 27, 69–70, 71, 73, 119–140, 18, 69–70, 119–122, 124, 125–126, 138–140, 147, 150–151, 161–162, 172n.4
 - and the state, 15, 27, 69, 71, 119, 120–126, 129, 137–140, 144, 161
 - Youth Preparedness Program (South Africa), 139
 - see also* China; citizenship; conscientious objection; discipline; militarization; military service; National Security Knowledge course; National Security Council
- Ekmekçiöğlu, Lerna, 57
- Enloe, Cynthia, 2, 6, 31–32, 34, 50, 58, 79, 115, 134, 166nn.10 and 11
- Ersanlı-Behar, Büşra, 21–22, 168n.19
- Ersöz, Erkan, 106, 108, 174n.19
- Escobar, Arturo, 3, 64, 65
- ethnicity
- ethnic identities, 9, 16, 17, 20, 23, 42–43, 57, 71, 77, 129–130, 150, 160–161
 - and nationalism, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 57, 73, 74, 128–130, 168n.15, 175n.11
 - and race, 18, 19, 20, 23, 128, 130, 175–176n.11
 - and the state, 43, 74, 129–130
 - and women, 34, 171nn.21 and 22
- ethnography, 1, 3–6, 62, 141, 142, 162, 166n.10
- of the state, 4–5
 - multi-sited, 6
- Europe/European, 20, 26, 145, 169n.30
- antimilitarism, 90
 - Council of Europe, 99, 136
 - European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 99
 - and nation-state, 17
 - expansion of direct rule, 27
 - militarization, 69
 - as model for Ottoman and Turkish armies, 32
 - race/ethnicity, 17, 22–24
 - women, 49, 55
- European Union
- in National Security Knowledge course, 136, 137, 148, 149
 - and Turkey, 160, 165n.6, 170n.12
- Ewing, Katherine, 167n.11
- Fahmy, Khalid, 31
- Feinman, Ilene Rose, 2, 32, 58, 166n.10
- femininity/ies, 6, 7, 33, 48
- feminism/feminist, 82, 87
- International Women's Union conference in Istanbul (1935), 54–55
 - and militarism, 2–3, 6
 - and nationalism, 44, 50, 52–58
 - scholarship, 6, 49, 50, 52–58: *see also* Cynthia Enloe: anthropology, 3–4; Armenian-Turkish, 56–57; historiography, 7, 34, 52–58
 - first wave movement (Ottoman Empire-Turkey), 48–49, 52–57, 171n.19: *see also* Hay Gin; Kurdish Women's Organization; Mark
 - second wave movement (Turkey), 34, 54, 79, 170n.13, 171nn.18 and 19, 173n.15
 - sexuality, 79, 115
 - see also* Adivar; antimilitarism; conscientious objection; honor (*namus*)
- Fox, Richard, 114
- Foucault, Michel, 2–3, 8, 62, 63, 64, 67, 68, 123–124, 141, 172n.5
- Frantz, Douglas, 165n.6
- French Revolution, 7, 31, 68, 161
- influence on Ottoman Empire, 16–17

- Gandhi, Mahatma, 114
- gays, 97
 and conscientious objection, 80–81, 97, 107, 115
 in Turkish military, 80–81, 97, 103
 gay activists, 80–81, 107, 115
- gender
 and citizenship, 6, 7, 32, 33–34, 54, 57, 58, 62–63, 77, 80, 123, 138
 and education, 10, 55–56, 150–151, 154, 176n.15
 as factor in interviewing, 84–85
 and militarism, 3, 6, 7, 32, 58, 80, 160
 and militarization, 3, 5–6, 7, 58, 79, 82, 85–86, 115, 160, 166n.10.
 and military-nation(hood), 7, 32, 34, 40, 46–48, 50–51, 58.
 and military service, 3, 6, 7–8, 32, 33–34, 50, 54, 58, 62–63, 70, 77–85, 123, 138
 and nationalism, 3, 6, 7, 32, 33–34, 44, 47, 48, 54–55, 58, 77, 79, 123, 160, 166n.10, 171n.18
 and the state, 6, 7–8, 32, 33–34, 44, 48, 50, 52–53, 55, 57, 58, 77, 79–80, 82, 166n.10
 study of, 3–4, 6, 56, 171n.20
see also antimilitarism; femininity; feminism; Gökçen; masculinity; National Security Knowledge course; women
- geopolitics,
 in National Security Knowledge course, 133, 136
- Girgin, Sertaç, 107, 108, 174n.19
- Goltz, Baron von der, 14–15, 29, 30, 31, 64, 126, 166n.3
- Gökalp, Ziya, 18
 defining nation, 18, 23–24, 130, 167nn.9, 10, and 11
 national education, 120
- Gökçen, Sabiha, 170n.1
 and Atatürk, 7, 13, 35–36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 46, 47, 51–52, 56, 170n.4, 170n.5
 Dersim Operation, 13, 35, 38–45
 gender identity, 34, 38–39, 46–47, 50–51, 79
- Inönü, Ismet, 39–40
Memoirs, 51–52
 and military, 7, 13, 32, 34–47, 48, 50, 51, 58, 79, 170n.10
 and nationalism, 7, 13, 32, 34, 35, 39–41, 44–45, 46, 50–51, 58, 79
- Göle, Nilüfer, 176n.15
- Gönül, Tayfun, 88–90, 91
- Gramsci, Antonio, 31
- Greece, 91, 175n.11
 in National Security Knowledge course, 136, 137, 145, 146, 154
- Gupta, Akhil, 165–166n.8
- Günaltay, Şemsettin, 22, 22–23
- Günay, Şenay, 55
- Gürevin, Server Ziya, 50
- HADEP (*Halkın Demokrasi Partisi* / People's Democracy Party),
see under political parties
- Hakkı Tarık Bey, 33, 34, 54
- Halk Fırkası, *see* People's Party under political parties
- Hamilton, Sir Ian, 62
- Hanioglu, Şükrü, 18
- Haraway, Donna, 142
- Hay Gin, 56–57, *see also* Armenian; feminism; Mark
- headscarf (*türban*) controversy, 135, 140, 146, 149, 150, 156, 176n.15, 177n.3
- Helman, Sarah, 7, 63, 166n.10, 172n.8
- heterosexism, 80–81, 115, *see also* antimilitarism; gays; masculinity heterosexual(ity), 77, 80, 85
- honor (*namus*), 48, 79–80, 125, 173n.15
 Gökçen, Sabiha, 38–39, 43
- Howard, Michael, 69
- human rights, 9–10, 88, 93–94, 98–99, 119, 121, 173n.4, 176n.18
- Human Rights Association (Turkey), 105, 106, 108, 113
- Human Rights Foundation (Turkey), 105, 176n.18
- Human Rights Watch, 93, 113
- Ilhan, Suat, 1–2, 169n.26
- Inalcık, Halil, 13, 30

- Inan, Afet, 14, 15, 21, 22, 24, 28, 29, 132, 166n.4, 168nn.19, 20, and 21, 170n.5, *see also* Askerlik Vazifesi
- İnönü, İsmet, 39–40, 44
on Dersim Operation, 41, 42
- Insel, Ahmet, 165n.6, 177n.1
- International Conscientious Objectors Meeting (ICOM) (Izmir), 90–91, 173n.3
- Iran
in National Security Knowledge course, 136, 146, 154
- Islam
and nation, 19, 20, 23, 24, 40, 129, 167n.13, 168n.18
political Islam, 16–18, 73, 130, 136, 150, 162, 166n.2, 176n.15
see also headscarf controversy
- Israel
and military, 166n.10, 172n.8
and conscientious objection, 90, 91
- İttihat ve Terakki Partisi, *see* Union and Progress Party under political parties
- Izmir War Resisters' Association (*Izmir Savaş Karşıtları Derneği*), *see* antimilitarism
- janissaries, 26, 169n.26
- Japan
and militarism, 2
male sexuality in, 84
- Jayawardena, Kamari, 52–53
- Jews
as minority in Turkey, 56, 57, 73, 74, 129, 150, 155, 172n.10
- Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, *see* Republican Women's Party under political parties
- Kai-shek, Chiang, 69
- Kandiyoti, Deniz, 78
- Kansu, Şevket Aziz, 168–169n.22
- Kaplan, İsmail, 70, 120–121, 175n.3
- Kaplan, Sam, 176n.19, 177n.1 (Epilogue)
- Karabekir, Kazım, 166n.3
- Karakışla, Yavuz Selim, 49, 171n.21
- Kavakçı, Merve, 146, 156, 177n.3, *see also* headscarf controversy
- Kemalism, 167n.10
and women, 52, 55, 171n.19
see also Atatürk
- Kemalova, Gülsüm, 48
- Kıvanç, Halit, 35, 36, 37, 43, 170n.6
- Kıyat, Atilla, 160
- Kızılay, Timuçin, 107
- Kiernan, Victor Gordon, 8
- Kirişçi, Kemal, 43, 168n.15
- Koçoğlu, Yahya, 73
- Koloğlu, Orhan, 14
- Korea, 35, 166n.10, 173n.19
- Korean War, 84
- Kurdish Women's Organization (*Kürt Kadınları Teali Cemiyeti*), 56, 171n.21
- Kurds, 19, 20, 23, 24, 35, 38, 42–43, 44–45, 56, 128–129, 146, 151–154, 159–160, 162, 170n.12
Alevi, 159–160, 170n.7
and antimilitarism, 92, 93, 95, 99, 173n.22, 174n.18
denial of Kurdish identity, 43, 44–45
ethnicity vs. race, 128–129, 155–156n.11
Kurdish language, 43, 44, 72, 77, 79, 159–160, 170n.12
leftist responses to Kurdish movement, 92
in the military, 72, 73–74, 77, 169n.29
Nakşibendi uprising, 20
in National Security Knowledge course, 128, 130, 136, 142, 145, 146, 151–154
Öcalan, Abdullah, 74, 144, 145, 172n.11
self-censorship of, 159–160, 163
self-hatred, 154, 159
war in southeast Turkey, 75, 91, 92, 93, 95, 111, 160, 162–163
women, 56, 79, 171n.21
see also HADEP; Rohat Alakom; Dersim operation; Diyarbakır
- Kwon, Insook, 166n.10
- Langdon-Davies, John, 69
- Latin America, 4
- Lausanne Treaty
minorities, 74, 129
- Lerner, David, 27–28, 64–65, 71
- Lucassen, Jan, 25, 27, 28

- Lutz, Catherine, 1, 56, 134, 139, 141, 166
- Mahmud II, Sultan
 reforms, 17
 elimination of Janissary troops, 26
- Maksudyayn, Nazan, 168n.22
- Marcus, George, 4, 6
- Mardin, Şerif, 166–167n.6, 167n.8
- Mark, Hayganaş, 56–57; *see also* feminism
- Masculinity/ies, 6, 58, 78, 80, 166n.10
 and military/militarization, 1, 3, 6, 7–8, 31, 32, 33–34, 48, 58, 62, 77–85, 86, 166n.10
 and nationalism, 1, 3, 6, 7–8, 31, 32, 33–34, 48, 53, 58, 62, 77, 79, 115
 and sexuality, 77, 80–81, 85
- Mater, Nadire, 8, 76, 77, 83–84, 99, 162–163, 173n.21
- McClintock, Anne, 44, 53
- media/press, 14, 111–112, 122, 147, 157
 censorship, 20, 151
 Gökçen, Sabiha, 7, 40–43, 57
 minority language broadcasting, 170n.12
 war in southeast Turkey, 75–76
see also conscientious objection
- Mehmed Ali Pasha, 31
- militarism
 definition of, 2–3, 31
 and education, 69
 and feminism, 2–3, 6
 and gender, 3, 6, 7, 32, 58, 80, 160;
see also Gökçen
 and heterosexism, 80–81, 115
 of leftist political culture, 91–92
 and media, 111–112
 and nationalism, 58, 62
 and patriarchy, 80–81, 115
 study of, 2–3, 31, 62, 74, 160, 165n.4, 177n.1 (Epilogue)
 in Turkey, 2, 3, 32, 58, 91, 92, 94, 104, 106–107, 111, 112, 115, 177n.1
see also antimilitarism; citizenship; conscientious objection; military-nation(hood)
- militarization
 of academia, 2, 9
 and capitalism, 92
 definition of, 2–3
 de-militarization, 9, 109, 113, *see also* antimilitarism
 and the economy, 64–65
 education, 8–10, 69–70, 111, 120, 139, 160–162, 177n.1 (Epilogue)
 and gender, 3, 5–6, 7, 58, 79, 82, 85–86, 115, 160, 166n.10; *see also* Gökçen
 and nationalism, 6, 30, 31, 43, 58, 69–70, 160–163, *see also* military-nation(hood)
 as progress, 45
 in Turkey, 6, 8–10, 30, 43, 58, 69–70, 79, 82, 85–86, 111, 120, 139, 156–157, 160–163, 177n.1 (Epilogue)
see also antimilitarism; citizenship; conscientious objection; military-nation(hood)
- military culture, 1–2, 127
- military-idea, 3, 6, 10
- military intervention, 2, 92, 107, 132, 133, 140, 150, 156, 165, 176
- military-nation(hood), 1, 3, 6, 7–8, 13–14, 25, 29, 30–32, 50–51, 58, 88, 96, 116, 139, 140, 151, 161–163, 165n.3
 Atatürk on, 40, 47, 51
 the French as, 14, 172n.7
 and gender, 7, 32, 34, 40, 46–48, 50–51, 58; *see also* Gökçen
 military service, 13, 16, 31–32, 34, 68
 in National Security Knowledge course, 124–127, 161–162
- military service/conscription, 6, 8, 61–116, 171n.1, 172n.14, 173n.22
 Atatürk on, 15–16, 28–29
 alienating people from, 94, 105
 beating during, 67–68
 and capitalism, 65–66
 celebration of, 76, 86
 China, 69
 and citizenship, 6, 7, 8, 16, 30, 32, 33–34, 58, 62–63, 68–69, 70, 77, 80, 85–86, 107, 123, 138–139:
 citizen army, 6, 16, 30, 80
 as civilizer, 67, 71–72
 and class, 74–75, 76

- military service/conscription—*continued*
 compulsory, 2, 6, 7, 8, 25–26, 29, 31,
 33–34, 50, 58, 99, 113, 132, 161
 and culture, 6, 7, 8, 16, 25, 30, 32, 34,
 58, 77, 85–86, 88
 desertion, 28
 and development, 64–65
 and disability, 82
 and education, 3, 8, 9, 15–16, 28–30, 65,
 66–67, 68–72, 73, 75–77, 79, 120,
 123, 124, 138–139, 172n.4: National
 Security Knowledge course, 70, 72,
 85, 125, 127, 131–132, 134, 142,
 144, 154, 175n.6
 and ethnic/religious difference, 72–74,
 77, 79, 162–163, 172n.10
 evasion, 8, 31–32, 85–86
 French Revolution, 14, 31, 68–69
 and gays, 80–81, 97, 107
 and gender, 3, 6, 7–8, 32, 33–34, 50, 54,
 58, 62–63, 70, 77–85, 123, 138
 and heterosexuality, 77, 80
 Israel, 166n.10, 172n.8
 and marriage, 67
 and militarism/militarization, 6, 9,
 31–32, 58, 62, 68–69, 162–163
 Military Service Law (1927), 33, 50, 77
 and motherhood, 48, 50–51, 66, 84, 88,
 115, 162
 and nationalism, 3, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15–16,
 25–27, 28–30, 31–32, 33–34, 42, 54,
 58, 62, 68–74, 76–79, 123, 162–163,
 169nn.29 and 31, 173n.21
 in Ottoman Empire, 26–27, 169n.27
 paid service (*bedelli askerlik*), 76, 83
 race, 7, 16, 30, 34
 scholarship on, 166n.10, 173n.21
 sexuality, 79–80
 stories of, 81–85, 86
 Tolstoy on, 31
 and war, 8, 28–30, 31, 75–76, 83–84, 86,
 115–116, 173n.21
 of women, 41, 47, 50, 58, 82
see also conscientious-objection;
 discipline; military-nation(hood)
- Mitchell, Timothy, 10
- modernization
 of education system, 167n.7
 in First World vs. third World, 161
 and the military, 26, 27, 64–65, 173n.21
 and nationalism, 18, 42, 44–45, 56, 161
 Ottoman period, 26, 27
 and women, 56, 79–80, *see also* Gökçen
- Mosse, George, 69
- motherhood, *see* military service;
 nationalism; women
- Muhittin, Nezihe, 54
- Mumcu, Belinda, 57
- Mustafa Kemal, *see* Atatürk
- Nadi, Yunus, 40
- Nader, Laura, 166n.9
- Nagel, Joanne, 33–34, 58
- Napoleon, 17, 31, 68
- nation-state, 20, 21, 27, 53, 110, 120, 124,
 161, 170n.11
 and culture, 5–6
 and education, 15, 69, 124
 empire vs., 16, 57, 168n.18
 and military service, 6, 7–8, 30, 68, 69,
 70, 124
 and modernization, 44
 system, 4, 6
 and women, 6, 79–80
see also state
- national security, 138, 142, 157, 160
 in National Security Knowledge
 Course, 126, 127, 131, 135,
 148–149, 150, 155, 157
see also National Security Knowledge
 Course
- National Security Council (Turkey), 2,
 107, 132, 165n.5
 and education, 133, 140, 149, 150
- National Security Knowledge Course,
 8, 70, 72, 85, 119–120, 124, 127,
 128, 130, 133–135, 138, 141–157,
 162, 169n.24, 175n.5, 177n.1
 (Chapter Six), 177n.4
- enemies, internal and external, 129, 136,
 138, 144–147, 150, 153, 155, 161
 and gender, 138, 147–148, 150–151
 and the military, 85, 127, 138
 minority experience of, 150, 154–155,
 161
 Muslim experience of, 150, 154

- and nationalism, 126, 127–128, 134, 155
 officer-teachers in, 124, 127, 133–134,
 135, 137, 138, 139–140, 142,
 145, 146, 147–149, 150, 151,
 152–153–155, 157, 176n.17, 177n.1
 political discussion in, 135–136, 142,
 143, 144–147, 148–155, 157
 student experience of, 141–157
 students from eastern Turkey, 147–148,
 150–154
- national security state, 133, 176n.14
- nationalism
 Atatürk's nationalism, 127–129, 133,
 167n.10, 175n.10
 from below vs. above, 161
 and culture, 1–2, 3, 5, 8, 18, 22–25,
 27, 28–30, 32, 57, 58, 62–63,
 70–71, 85–86, 127, 129–130,
 139, 160, 161, 167n.9, 168n.22,
 169n.31, 170n.11
 and education, 3, 14, 16, 18, 19–20,
 27, 69–70, 71, 73, 119–140, 18,
 69–70, 119–122, 124, 125–126,
 138–140, 147, 150–151, 161–162,
 172n.4
 and ethnicity/race, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23,
 57, 73, 74, 127–130, 152, 167n.9,
 168n.15 and 22, 175n.11, 176n.16
 and feminism, 44, 50, 52–58
 and French Revolution, 17
 and gender, 3, 6, 7, 32, 33–34, 44, 47, 48,
 52–53, 54–55, 57, 58, 77, 79, 115,
 123, 160, 166n.10, 171n.18
 and language, 73
 and military service, 7, 25–27, 29, 68–69,
 73, 79, 124, 145, 162–163, 173n.21
 and motherhood, 34, 47, 48, 55, 115
 and nation-state formation, 4, 6, 13, 14,
 18, 32, 34, 47, 52, 53, 57, 138, 161,
 168n.18, 170n.11
 Ottoman, 14, 16, 20
 and race, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22–23, 24–25,
 28, 29, 30, 125–126, 127–129, 130,
 136, 139, 167n.9, 168–169n.22,
 175–176n.11
 and religion, 73
 state-led vs. state-seeking, 20
 study of, 5–6
see also military-nation(hood); National
 Security Knowledge course; French
 Revolution
- nationalist historiography, 6–7, 18–25,
 29–32, 34, 52–58, 160
 vs. feminist historiography, 7, 34,
 52–58, *see also* feminism; Gökçen
 Navaro-Yashin, Yael, 76, 86, 137, 165n.8,
 166n.8, 166–167n.6
 Neyzi, Leyla, 155–156
- nonviolence, 92, 94, 95, 107, 108, 109,
 112, 114, 115
 vs. pacifism, 114.
- North Korea, *see* Korea
- Ocak, Esma, 74
- Olağanüstü Hal Bölgesi, *see* State of
 Emergency Zone
- Ong, Aiwa, 4–5, 165n.8
- Orientalism, 4, 45
- Ortaylı, İlber, 27
- Ottoman Empire, 8, 13, 14, 16, 17–18,
 20, 23–27, 35, 48, 57, 73, 129,
 166n.3, 171n.16
see also feminism; Mahmud II; women
- Ottoman nationalism, 14, 16–17, 20
- Ottomanism, 16–18
- Özel, Aytekin, 94, 173n.6
- Özyürek, Esra, 177n.3
- Parla, Ayşe, 79–80
- Parla, Taha, 2, 18, 19, 53, 122–123, 132,
 169n.31, 175n.10, 177n.1 (Epilogue)
- patriarchy, 79–81
- patriotism, 21, 28, 33, 40, 50, 125, 132, 153
- Pittard, Eugène, 22, 168n.21
- PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), 8, 73,
 75, 83, 86, 93, 145, 152, 153, 162,
 172n.11, 173n.22, 173n.4
- political parties
 Justice and Development Party (*Adalet
 ve Kalkınma Partisi*), 170n.12
 People's Democracy Party (*Halkın
 Demokrasi Partisi*), 72, 151
 People's Party (*Halk Fırkası*), 18, 54,
 175n.10
 Republican Women's Party (*Kadınlar
 Halk Fırkası*), 54

- political parties—*continued*
 Union and Progress Party (*İttihat ve Terakki Partisi*), 18
 Virtue Party (*Fazilet Partisi*), 146
 Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*), 165n.5
 Proudhon, Pierre, 2
- race
 and culture, 18, 19, 23, 25, 28, 30, 127, 130, 167n.9
 and ethnicity, 18, 19, 20, 23, 128, 130, 175–176n.11
 and military spirit, 29, 125–125, 127, 139
 and nationalism, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22–23, 24–25, 28, 29, 30, 125–126, 127–129, 130, 136, 139, 167n.9, 168–169n.22, 175–176n.11
 and Turkish History Thesis, 22–23, 24–25, 28–30, 127, 130, 168n.21, 168–169n.22, 175–176n.11
- racism, 95, 127–129, 130, 146, 168–169n.22, 175–176n.11
- Radway, Janice, 141
- Reardon, Betty, 166n.10
- reforms
 Ottoman, 16, 26–27
 Turkish, 19–20, 42, 43, 48, 52, 55–56, 120, 121, 122, 133, 172n.11, 173n.7, 175n.10
- Republican Women's Party, *see* political parties
- Robinson, Richard D., 27–28, 64–65, 71
- Saktanber, Ayşe, 55
- Sayer, Derek, 5, 7, 71, 74
- Scarry, Elaine, 163
- Schöpflin, George, 30
- Scott, James, 86
- Scott, Joan, 56
- Second Republicanists, 148, 149–150
- security studies, 5
- Selim III, Sultan, 26
- sexual orientation, *see* gays; heterosexual(ity)
- sexuality, 39, 43, 79–81, 84, 115, *see also* gays; heterosexual(ity); honor; masculinity/ies
- Sheik Sait, 20
- Sitki, Cemal, 77
- Silva, Neluka, 53
- Simmons, Michael, 108
- Sinclair-Webb, Emma, 75, 76
- Sirman, Nükhet, 54, 80, 171n.18, 171n.20
- social movements, 114–115
- Society for the Study of Turkish History (Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyet), *see* Turkish Historical Society
- Somel, Akşin, 167n.7
- South Korea, *see* Korea
- Stern, Orin, 4, 114, 166n.9
- state
 and antimilitarism, 90, 93–95, 97, 101, 106–108, 110, 113, 114
 control/censorship, 72
 and culture, 1–2, 3–6, 8, 13, 20–25, 27, 28–30, 32, 57, 58, 70–71, 129–130, 139, 166n.6
 and education, 15, 27, 69, 71, 119, 120–126, 129, 137–140, 144, 161
 and ethnicity, 43, 74, 129–130
 and gays, 107, 115
 and gender, 6, 7–8, 32, 33–34, 44, 48, 50, 52–53, 55, 57, 58, 77, 79–80, 82, 166n.10
 and military service, 6, 7–8, 15–16, 25–27, 30, 31–32, 33–34, 50, 65–66, 68, 69, 70–71, 76, 79, 80, 82, 95, 101, 107, 113, 114, 122–123, 124, 138, 140
 and minorities, 42–44, 72, 74, 151, 159–160, 162, 168n.15, 169n.24, 169n.30, 170n.12, 173n.22
 Ottoman, 16–17, 20, 26–27, 42, 57, 166n.1, 166–167n.6, 167n.8, 169n.30
 and religion, 146, 167n.11
 state-idea, 1, 3, 6
 state-making as cultural revolution, 5, 6, 7
 state-led vs. state-seeking nationalisms, 20–21
 state-system, 1, 3
 study of, 3–5, 9, 10, 165n.8, 167n.8
see also nationalism; nation-state
- State of Emergency Zone, 151, 152, 153

- strategic analysis
 in National Security Knowledge
 course, 130–140, 142, 144–145,
 146, 155, 157, 160–161, 176n.13
- Sun Language Thesis, The (*Güneş-Dil Teorisi*), 21, 22–23, *see also* Turkish History Thesis
- Surname Law (Soyadı Kanunu), 36, 175n.4
- Syria
 in National Security Knowledge
 course, 136, 146, 169n.30
- Şeyhoğlu, Mustafa, 107, 108, 110, 174n.19
- Talay, İstemihan, 1
- Tanör, Bülent, 26
- Tanzimat, *see* Ottoman reforms
- Tarhan, Mehmet, 80, 107, 115
- Taussig, Michael, 151, 165n.8
- Tek, Ahmet Ferid, 18
- Tekeli, Şirin, 171n.18
- textbooks, *see* education
- Tilly, Charles, 20, 27
- Tolstoy, Leo, 31
- Toprak, Zafer, 54
- Toska, Zehra, 54
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, 3
- Tunceli, *see* Dersim
- Tunçay, Mete, 54
- Turkey
 constitution(s), 80, 88, 120, 128, 132,
 133, 149, 150, 172n.11, 175n.10
 constitutional citizenship, 129
 depoliticization vs. controlled
 politicization of youth, 155–156
 honor (*namus*), 38–39, 43, 48, 79–80,
 125, 173n.15
 Lausanne Treaty and minorities, 74, 129
 military intervention, 2, 92, 107, 132,
 133, 140, 150, 156, 165, 176
 Ministry of Culture, 1, 8, 70, 119,
 165n.1, 169n.31
 Ministry of National Defense, 1, 119,
 148, 149, 124–125, 148–149,
 174n.1, 176n.17
 Ministry of National Education, 15,
 69–70, 119, 120–121, 124–125,
 132, 174n.1
see also, education; feminism;
 military-nation; military service;
 national security council;
 nation-state; nationalism
- Turkish Bird (aviation society), 36–37
- Turkish Hearths (*Türk Ocakları*), 18, 20
- Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*), 20–21, 22, 25, 168n.20,
 169n.23
- Turkish History Thesis (*Türk Tarih Tezi*),
 6–7, 14–16, 18, 20–25, 30, 40, 71,
 125–128, 130, 168nn.19 and 21
 and anthropology, 21–22, 168–169n.22
 and culture, 20, 22, 23–24, 25, 29–30,
 127, 130
 Atatürk, 21, 22, 31
 First History Congress, 21–22
 and military service, 29–30, 71
 and race/racialization, 18, 20–25,
 28–30, 127, 128, 130, 168n.21,
 168–169n.22, 175–176n.11
 criticism of, 21, 168n.19
 Second History Congress, 21–22
 in textbooks, 21, 29, 125–127, 130
- Turkish Linguistic Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*), 21
- Turkish nationalism, *see* Atatürk;
 Gökçen; nationalism; Turkish History
 Thesis; Yusuf Akçura; Ziya Gökalp
- Turkish Woman's Union, 54–55
- Türker, Yıldırım, 106, 112
- Union and Progress Party (*İttihat ve Terakki Partisi*), *see* political parties
- United States of America
 AFSC (American Friends Service
 Committee), 108
 American Anthropological Association
 Statement on Race, 175–176n.11
 Armenian community in, 169n.30
 educational assistance, 71
 JROTC (Junior Reserve Officer
 Training Corp), 139
 military assistance, 64, 65, 71
 as military-state, 177n.2 (Epilogue)
 in National Security Knowledge course, 146
 national security state, 176n.14
 Turkish relations with, 64, 65

- United States of America—*continued*
 Vietnam syndrome, 160
 war on Iraq, 92, 102, 106, 108, 148
- Uyguç, Nüveyre, 37, 171n.16
- Uzunçarşılı, Prof. İsmail Hakkı, 20, 21
- Ülke, Osman Murat (Ossi), 89, 94, 95,
 96–101, 103, 105, 109, 110, 113–114,
 115, 173n.2, 173n.11
- Ülker, Ferda, 92, 96, 100, 109, 112, 115
- Ünder, Hasan, 14, 15, 166n.5, 174n.1
- Üstel, Füsün, 168n.18
- Üsterci, Coşkun, 88–89, 90–91, 92,
 93–94, 99–100, 112
- Vagts, Alfred, 31, 69
- Velidedeoğlu, Hıfzı Veldet, 54–55
- Verdery, Katherine, 52, 68, 165–166n.8
- Vergin, Nur, 177n.2
- Visweswaran, Kamala, 56
- Volk in Waffen, Das (Goltz), 14, 15
 vs. Askerlik Vazifesi, 15
- Walby, Sylvia, 33, 52, 58
- War Resisters' Association (*Savaş Karşıtları
 Derneği*), *see* antimilitarism
- Weber, Eugene, 31, 68, 69, 161
- Weldes, Jutta, 5, 138
- women
 agency of, 52–53
 as antimilitarists, 95, 99, 109, 111, 115,
see also Ağlagül; antimilitarism; Ülker
 and education, 138, 150–151, 154
 and ethnicity, 34, 171n.21, 171n.22
 and the military, 6, 7, 13, 32–34, 35,
 38–40, 45–51, 54, 58, 77–79,
 80–82, 85, 86, 115, 126, 138,
 151–152, 154, 166n.10, 171n.14,
 171n.16, 171–172n.1, 173n.20
 of minorities, 44, 48, 56–57, 79, 171n.21,
 171n.22, *see also* Hay Gin; Kurdish
 Women's Organization
 and motherhood, 34, 47, 48, 50–51, 55,
 66, 84, 88, 115, 162
 and nationalism, 6, 18, 32–34, 39–40, 46,
 47, 48, 51, 52–53, 54–56, 57, 58,
 126, 151, 171n.16
 organizing, 55, 170–171n.13, 171n.18,
 171n.21, 171n.22, 173n.15, *see also*
 Hay Gin; Kurdish Women's
 Organization; Republican
 Women's Party under political
 parties; Turkish Woman's: Union
 in Ottoman Empire, 48–49, 53–54,
 56–57
 virginity examinations, 80
 and war, 48–50, 53, 95, 111, 126,
 166n.10
 “womenandchildren”, 79
 women's rights, 52–53, 53–57, 77–78,
 171n.18, 173n.15, 176n.15
 women's studies, 6, 56, 171n.19, *see also*
 feminism; Women's Library and
 Information Center
see also conscientious objection;
 discipline; feminism; femininity;
 gender; Hay Gin; Gökçen;
 headscarf controversy; honor;
 Kemalism; Kurdish Women's
 Organization; masculinity; military
 service; modernization; patriarchy;
 Turkish Woman's Union
- Women's Commission of the Society for
 National Defense (*Müdafaa-i Millî
 Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyeti*), 48
- Women's Library and Information
 Center, 58
- “Women and War” panel (Adıyaman), 111
- Woolf, Virginia, 33
- World War I, 16, 28, 69
 Dardanelles campaign, 28
 First Women's Worker Battalion (*Kadın
 Birinci İşçi Taburu*), 49
- World War II, 64, 132, 172n.10
- Yaman, Kadri, 70, 119
- Yeğen, Mesut, 19, 43, 72
- Yelda, 56–57, *see also* feminism
- Yorulmaz, Uğur, 87–88, 106, 107, 108, 109,
 110, 113
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, 52
- Yücel, Hasan-Ali, 13
- Zencir, Vedat, 88–90, 91, 99, 173n.1
- Zihnioglu, Yaprak, 54
- Zürcher, Erik Jan, 8, 17–18, 19, 20, 25, 27,
 28, 31, 167n.12, 169n.29