Classification of War

Akgun B.
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Çağla Gül Yeşevi

Abstract

War will be defined in broader perspective. War between nation-states will be disregarded. War comprises organized psychological pressures, all kinds of restraints, physical and psychological abuses, usage of aggressive terminology, strict and dogmatic political and social thoughts. In that sense, first category of war is war against women especially in my own society, people living in Turkey including both Turks and Kurds. Women have been facing religious pressures as veiling. Some other women have demanded the freedom of veiling in the official life. They haven’t been educated as men. They have been beaten, forced to do all households. They have been forced to get married in their early ages. The arranged marriages and polygamy have been other problems of women. It was settled in the minds, myths, terminology, narratives, and customs, social, economic and political life of people. Secondly, terrorism will be investigated. The history and activities of terrorist organization, Kurdistan Workers’ Party against Turkey will be revealed. Thirdly, the state’s war against its own citizens will be explained. This war could also be defined with the war between the government and the people. Both democratic and authoritarian states through party in the power could wage war against their own citizens by creating Fear Empire. Governments could use their legislative powers against citizens who have antagonistic ideas. Economic support has been given to supporters of government. The causes of judicial case related to Ergenokon Crime organization will be stated. Allegedly, this organization comprising nationalist and secular intellectuals and members of high military command tried to form coup d’état against government of Justice and Development Party. Many people were detained, long trial process has been continuing.

Key Words: War, classification, women, Kurdistan Workers’s Party (PKK), Ergenokon Crime ¹Organization

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1. Introduction

War has been a very difficult concept to define. Hannah Arendt stated that technological developments could lead communities to wars.²Thomas

More suggested equality and abolition of private property and money within society to reach happiness. Thomas Hobbes indicated in his famous book “Leviathan” that individuals should cede their rights to the powerful state to acquire security. Thereby, there was no safety in state of nature; they have given some of their rights through social contract to end wars. As Keegan stated war has been the indicator of culture. There has been widespread liberal literature that liberal states don’t wage war against liberal states. They are imprudent in their relations with authoritarian states; they wage war against them to disseminate liberal values. War comprises organized psychological pressures, all kinds of restraints, physical and psychological abuses, usage of aggressive terminology, strict and dogmatic political and social thoughts. War has many dimensions; it doesn’t only comprise war among states. It has been a social phenomenon which has emerged due to the cultural and historical reasons. War within a society reveals the main cultural features of this society. Thus, I will deal with war within my own society.

The first category of war is war against women among people living in Turkey including both Turks and Kurds. Although there has been a democratic republican type of administration, in Republic of Turkey, the administration of the state has revealed some authoritarian features. Turkish society is patrimonial and traditional. Some women have been living just like their European counterparts as having good education, working, living equally side by side men. Some women have been choosing to use headscarves by their own decisions. Some others have been imitating their role-models as their mothers and sisters. Nonetheless, some have been facing non-verbal, traditional, so-called religious pressures for veiling especially in rural areas of central, eastern and southeastern Anatolia. This pressure has been continuing even they moved to bigger cities. The other side of the coin has been that women were forbidden using head scarves in official places and primary schools, high schools and universities. Nowadays, they have been permitted to wear their headscarves at the universities. They haven’t been educated as men. There has been ongoing campaign called as “dad send me to school” which has been supporting by the state. There has been a division of labor that a woman could work outside; however, she should do all the households, too. It was settled in the minds, myths, terminology, narratives, and customs, social, economic and political life of people.

Beating, raping and murdering women have been serious problems in Turkey. It is unbelievable to note that nearly a thousand women were murdered in 2009. The gender inequality, rising violence, traditional,
conservative society were considered as the causes of these murders. Some of these murders were done in the form of patriarchal violence known as “honor killings”. Honor killings have been widespread among Kurds. A woman hasn’t been permitted to choose her own partner to marry in Kurdish community. This behavior shames his family. Patriarchal Kurdish culture has been resulting with oppression and violence. Patriarchal features have been present in the family, educational system, state, religion, media, language. The fathers and the brothers kill their daughters and sisters. In the rural areas, both Kurdish and Turkish women faced with enforced early marriages. The fidelity of the women to her husband and virginity of women before marriage have been strict rules of the communities. Tribal and traditional authority has been powerful; the institutions of the state have been rather weak.

The second category of war is related to terrorist organization, the PKK. There have been two dimensions of this war. There has been violent structural organization within the PKK towards its own members. Also, the PKK has been pursuing armed struggle against the Republic of Turkey.

The Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923. The definition of concepts of minority and minority rights in Turkey was based on the Lausanne Peace Treaty made after the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922). It was signed on 24 July 1923. According to the Treaty of Lausanne, the minorities in the Lausanne Treaty were defined as “non-Muslims” living in Turkey. All the Muslims were seen as founding members of the Republic. The nation-building process was pursued. “Standardized citizenship” was implemented; the denial of Kurdish identity was seen. Kurds were seen as the parts of the general term “Turkish”. It was stated that all the people of Turkey were depended each other within the framework of “Turkish citizenship”. It was pointed out that the Republic of Turkey wasn’t based on ethnic and kinship ties. It should be noted that our country’s name is the Republic of Turkey, not the Turkish Republic. The legacy of multicultural nature of the Ottoman Empire was considered. Kurds have risen to all high ranks of the state as generals, cabinet ministers and presidency of the republic, however, majority of them didn’t imply their ethnic origin. After 1980 coup, the military administration banned the usage of Kurdish language, altered the names of villages. Moreover,

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6 “Murder a fact of life for women in Turkey”i Hürriyet Daily News, 20 February 2011
8 PKK: (Kurdish) Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan: Kurdish seperatist group.
9 Bakın Oran, Türkçe ’de Aznliklar, İletişim Publishers, 2004
11 Ibid., pp.123-124
families were forced to give Turkish names to their children. The ban on Kurdish language was removed in 1991.

The alleged geographical territory of Kurdistan has comprised some lands of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. It should be taken into consideration that Kurdistan was never inhabited only by Kurds. There were dozens of semi-independent Kurdish emirates until early 19th century. These emirates were integrated into multiethnic empires. In the sixteenth century, these entities were divided among Ottoman and Iranian empires.¹²

The PKK is separatist, armed, terrorist organization which has been fighting against the Republic of Turkey to create an independent Kurdistan. It was founded in 1978. Its leader was Abdullah Öcalan till 1999. He was captured, arrested and imprisoned in 1999. The exact number of Kurdish people living in Turkey hasn’t been clear. It has been stated that half of the Kurdish population has been still living in their ancestral region in the southeast of Turkey. The other half of Kurdish people has been living in other parts of Turkey. It was officially stated that 30,000 people lost their lives due to the activities of the PKK.

The PKK has been supporting not only Marxist-Leninist ideology but also Kurdish nationalism. It is an illegal, terrorist organization. It has many violent methods. Suicide terrorism, bombing, kidnapping people, burning villages, killing government officials as teachers, soldiers, engineers and also civilians have been some of the methods of the PKK. The PKK has been against both the authority of the Republic of Turkey and also the traditional Kurdish elite. It aimed to unite all Kurds in a larger Kurdistan. Moreover, disobedience to the rules of the organization has resulted with execution. The PKK has been a hierarchical organization. The ruler acquired the omnipotent role. Furthermore, it based on secular rules. It has rural character. The PKK revealed its war against the Republic of Turkey occurred because Turkey has been oppressive, colonial¹³ and cruel, anti-democratic.

The PKK members have been making permanent wars, escaping, hiding in caves and crossing borders into foreign lands. The PKK prohibits any violation of group norms. An individual could easily be sacrificed for the aims of the organization. It was known expelling from the group had been more severe than dying. Suicide bombers were assigned and convinced by the PKK leadership.¹⁴ They were convinced that they were chosen, honored to handle this assignment and they wouldn’t be forgotten, they would be remembered and called as a hero. This suicide attack will be

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¹² Martin van Bruinnessen, “Trannational Aspects of the Kurdish Question”, Working Paper, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, 2000, p.2


¹⁴ Ibid., pp.42-43
done for the liberation of their people. Most of the suicide bombers have been females. The refusal has been responding with excommunication and execution.\textsuperscript{15} As Schumpeter stated international pacifism could be attained through international free trade. He also mentioned that whenever a war machine began, it has been impossible to stop it. The war industry and also the war related economy make many people richer. They don’t want to lose this revenue and they demand the continuity of the war. The support given to the PKK by the Kurdish party, the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) and Kurdish community reverted the war between the PKK and the Republic of Turkey to war between the Kurds and Turks. Kurds have been celebrating the birthday of terrorist leader Ìcalan by eating and kissing the soil of his house. They have been celebrating the New Year (Newroz) with Ìcalan posters and by projecting his older speeches. All this civil initiatives have been severing the relationship between these two people.

Thirdly, the state’s war against its own citizens will be explained. This war could also be defined with the war between the government and people. Both democratic and authoritarian states through party in the power could wage war against their own citizens by creating Fear Empire. Governments could use their executive powers against citizens who have antagonistic ideas. The economic support was given to the supporters of government. The causes of judicial case related to so-called as Ergenokon Crime organization will be explained. Ergenokon refers mystical birthplace of the Turkish race. Allegedly, this organization has comprised nationalist, secular intellectuals and members of high military command, retired generals journalist, academicians, party leader. It was stated that they tried to form coups against government of the Justice and Development Party. The Ergenokon Crime Organization including ultranationalists were accused of plotting famous author of Turkey, Nobel prize winner Orhan Pamuk, journalist Fehmi Koru, Kurdish politicians, the death of Armenian-origin Turkish journalist Hrant Dink, two Italian priests, three Protestant missionaries\textsuperscript{16}, bombing of leftist newspaper Cumhuriyet, the murder of the Council of the State. Many people were detained, long trial process has been continuing. It was stated Ergenokon Crime Organization was charged of extortion, narcotics trafficking and it had been controlling the PKK, Marxist Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C) and Islamist groups and organizations.\textsuperscript{17}

The problems related to the so-called “deep state of Turkey” began

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p.51
\textsuperscript{16} Pinar Gökçek, “The Stay-Behind Organizations and Turkish Deep State”, unpublished M.A. thesis, Vienna University, May 2009, p.113
\textsuperscript{17} Gareth H. Jenkins, Between Fact and Fantasy: Turkey’s Ergenokon Investigation”, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Roads Studies program, August 2009, p.9
in the past. It became publicly apparent with the Susurluk affair. The Susurluk affair of 1996 was considered as the existence of the deep state. A road accident happened. The underworld boss, ultranationalist Abdullah Çatlı high-ranking police officer and a Kurdish tribal leader and also a parliamentary representative were all in the same car. Only, Kurdish tribal leader and parliamentary representative Sedat Bucak survived. This affair hasn’t been totally enlightened and solved. It was rather complicated that Interior Minister of the time, Mehmet Ağar signed Çatlı’s false documents and his gun permit. The investigations of parliamentary committee were obstructed. Erol Mütercimler, political analysis, former soldier and strategist appreciated the Susurluk accident and he mentioned about Ergenkon. He stated that it was a Gladio-type gang hidden in the state and he argued that it was above the General Staff, the national intelligence organization and the Prime Minister. Mütercimler mentioned that Ergenkon was founded with help of the CIA and the Pentagon after 1960 coup. It was indicated that the coups and military interventions were approved and supported by the NATO and the US. There has been widespread understanding that the Turkish deep state has been the Turkish Gladio, The Turkish Army’s Special Warfare Department. (Özel Harp Dairesi) It was stated that the department was headquartered in the US Military Aid Mission building in Ankara. This Department helped nationalists like Çatlı.

The Ergenkon scandal erupted in 2007. Turkish judiciary with the help of the government of the JDP moved against the “deep state” This investigation began in 2007 after finding arms hidden in Istanbul. Many academicians, politicians, ultra-nationalist lawyers, businessmen, high-ranked military officials were arrested. The indictments contained linkage between Ergenkon gang and unresolved crimes, incidents called as activities of the “deep state”. It was stated that Ergenkon crime organization has been both a militant body within state and civil Kemalist organization trying to protect the foundations of the Republic.

Military-civil bureaucracy founded the Republic of Turkey. Thereby, the higher status, the powerful position of the Turkish military was apparent.

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This historical development could explain the present situation. The former officer of the Turkish intelligence officer Prof. Dr. Mahir Kaynak rejected that there was a deep state in Turkey. He maintained that if there was such a structure everything would be easier in Turkey. However, he explained that Turkey hasn’t got an efficient deep state, there has been inner, illegal organizations which arrange complicated crimes.

It has been debated that whether Ergenekon case has begun a democratic judicial renaissance or it is official punishment against anybody who have antagonistic ideas against the government. The main result of this case could be common fear created within the society. There has been war between the government and the people opposing its policies and its ideology. These people also called themselves as nationalist coming from both left and right side of the political thought. The definition of the acts realized in the name of the national interest has been difficult. Also, it has been difficult to explain which state’s national interest, Turkey or the others.

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22 Pınar Gökçek, op.cit., p. 101