

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Debating Turkish Modernity

Debating Turkish Modernity explores how Turks spoke about the prospect of joining the European Economic Community between 1959 and 1980. It argues that these debates created deep, bitter divides among Turks by bringing up long-standing questions about Turkey's past and its ambivalent relationship with Europe. The prolific literature on Turkish–European Union relations focuses on the contemporary period (1993–present), but this book is the first English-language account of how Turks initially approached the predecessor to the European Union, exploring a time when they were able to talk about themselves and Europe on their own terms.

Mehmet Döşemeci is currently an assistant professor of history at Bucknell University. He received his PhD in history from Columbia University. Döşemeci served as a Postdoctoral Fellow in the International Network to Expand Regional and Collaborative Teaching (INTERACT) program at Columbia University in 2011 and as a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute in 2010. He has received grants from the Fulbright IIE Program and from the Middle East Studies Summer Fellowship at Columbia University. His work has been published in *Contemporary European History*, *South European Society and Politics*, *European Review of History*, *South East European and Middle East Studies*, and the *EUI Review*.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Debating Turkish Modernity

Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

MEHMET DÖŞEMECİ

Bucknell University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107044913

© Mehmet Döşemeci 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Döşemeci, Mehmet.

Debating Turkish modernity : civilization, nationalism, and the EEC / Mehmet Döşemeci.
pages cm

Originally presented as the author's thesis (doctoral), Columbia University.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-04491-3 (hardback) 1. European Economic Community – Turkey.

2. Nationalism – Turkey. 3. Turkey – Civilization – 20th century.

4. Turkey – Relations – Europe. 5. Turkey – Politics and government – 1960–1980.

6. Turkey – History – 1960– I. Title.

HC24I.25.T9D67 2013

337.1'4209561–dc23 2013016823

ISBN 978-1-107-04491-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

*To my parents, Ayşe and Mustafa,
who believed, in their own way,
that another world was possible.*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	page ix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xi
Introduction	1
<i>The Civilizational and Nationalist Logics</i>	2
<i>Matters of Time and Space: Why 1959–1980? Why the EEC?</i>	7
<i>Situating the History of Turkish-EEC Relations</i>	16
1 Joining Civilization (1923–1963)	25
<i>The Civilizational Logic</i>	28
<i>The Civilizational Logic and the EEC</i>	37
<i>Kafka’s Parable: Before the Law</i>	52
2 The TİP of the Iceberg (1963–1968)	56
<i>Modernist Nationalism and the Civilizational Logic</i>	58
<i>Atatürk Revised: TİP and the Reformulation of Turkish Nationalism</i>	69
3 Voices from a Threatened Nation (1968–1980)	77
<i>The Institutional and Epistemic Birth of the Nationalist Logic</i>	80
<i>The Three Tongues of the Nation</i>	91
4 The Additional Protocol: A “National” Problem (1968–1971)	118
<i>The Emergence of the Anti-EEC Movements</i>	120
<i>Treason, Treason, Everywhere!</i>	127
<i>Instituting Turkey: The SPO and the TGNA</i>	132
<i>... And Then the Coup</i>	154

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii		<i>Contents</i>
5	Intervention, Invasion, Isolation (1971–1974)	157
	<i>Martial CPR: Resuscitating the Additional Protocol</i>	158
	<i>Hard Lessons Abroad, Crisis at Home</i>	169
6	From Periphery to Core (1974–1980)	175
	<i>The Great Westernization Debate</i>	177
	<i>Resituating Party Politics</i>	190
	<i>Impasse, Icing Over, Interpellation</i>	196
	Conclusion	210
	<i>Synthesis by Castration: Atatürkism and the 1980</i>	
	<i>Military Coup</i>	210
	<i>The Stipulatory Logic and the Erasure of History</i>	214
	<i>Index</i>	229

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

This book owes a great debt to a large number of people without whom neither I nor the author would have been what they are today. A special thank you to the numerous librarians and archivists at the Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, T. C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, T. C. Cumhuriyet Arşivi, and the Milli Kütüphane for all their patience and assistance, and one in particular for letting me rummage through the closed stacks. I also wish to thank the Max Weber Programme at the European University Institute and the INTERACT Program at Columbia University for their generous assistance. The space, funding, and collegiality provided by these institutions were invaluable to the timely completion of the manuscript.

As far as individuals go, a proper list is beyond the scope of these pages, so a partial one will have to do. First and foremost, I would like to thank Victoria de Grazia, who guided me to the intersection of culture and capital and taught me that when it comes to historical writing, theory is best kept just beneath the surface. She has seen me through many a dark hour, a second mother I am infinitely grateful to have had. Above all else, she has, for better or worse, made me the historian I am today. Then there is Stathis Gourgouris, mentor, brother, and friend. He is the one person, living or dead, who has had the greatest impact on my intellectual development and whose mode of questioning, in altered form, is forever ingrained in these pages.

Special thanks are also due to Samuel Moyn, who expanded the field of intellectual history before my eyes, and in so doing eased my transition into this project; to Kiran Klaus Patel, who helped me see the early EEC for what it really was; and to Dominique Reill, Ellen Boucher, and Anne-Isabelle Richard, fellow travelers of academia and the European imaginary.

To my parents, Ayşe and Mustafa, who have been as supportive and critical as all good parents should be, whose own stories have put much of my research into perspective, and to whom this book is dedicated. I very much wish both of

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x

Acknowledgments

you could read this now. Thanking a two-year-old may seem odd, but Willow has, through the simple yet awesome fact of her existence, given me a fresh set of eyes with which to view our past. A very solid nod is also due to Alex Toshkov, Aaron Windel, Sarah Lopez, and Yetkin Nural, whose late-night conversations have kept me honest well into my thirties.

But above all, this book belongs to Jennifer Thomson. You have left the deepest of marks on both my life and the pages of this manuscript, deciphering one and keeping the other as mysterious as ever. If I had the stars from the darkest night and the diamonds from the deepest ocean, I'd forsake them all for your sweet kiss, for that's all I'm wishin' to be ownin'.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-04491-3 - Debating Turkish Modernity: Civilization, Nationalism, and the EEC

Mehmet Döşemeci

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Abbreviations

POLITICAL PARTIES

DP	Democrat Party (Demokrat Partisi)
JP	Justice Party (Adalet Partisi)
NAP	National Action Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)
NOP	National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi)
NSP	National Salvation Party (Milli Selâmet Partisi)
RPP	Republican Peoples Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)
WPT	Workers Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Partisi)

TURKISH STATE INSTITUTIONS

MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Dışişleri Bakanlığı)
NSC	National Security Council (Milli Güvenlik Kurulu)
NUC	National Unity Committee (Milli Birlik Komitesi)
SPO	State Planning Organization (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı)
TGNA	Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi)

EUROPEAN ORGANIZATIONS

EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development