

The Political Economy of the Kurds of Turkey

In recent years, the persecution of the Kurds in the Middle East under ISIS in Iraq and Syria has drawn increasing attention from the international media. In this book, Veli Yadirgi analyses the socioeconomic and political structures and transformations of the Kurdish people from the Ottoman era through to the modern Turkish Republic, arguing that there is a symbiotic relationship between the Kurdish question and the de-development of the predominantly Kurdish domains, making an ideal read for historians of the region and those studying the sociopolitical and economic evolution of the Kurds. First outlining theoretical perspectives on Kurdish identity, socioeconomic development and the Kurdish question, Yadirgi then explores the social, economic and political origins of Ottoman Kurdistan following its annexation by the Ottomans in 1514. Finally, he deals with the collapse of the empire, and the subsequent foundation and evolution of the Kurdish question in the new Turkish Republic.

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The Political Economy of the Kurds of Turkey

*From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish
Republic*

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CAMBRIDGE
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Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-18123-6 — The Political Economy of the Kurds of Turkey
Veli Yadirgi
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

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/9781107181236

DOI: 10.1017/9781316848579

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First published 2017

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Yadirgi, Veli, author.

Title: The political economy of the Kurds of Turkey : from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic / Veli Yadirgi.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom : Cambridge University Press, 2017. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017026039 | ISBN 9781107181236 (hardback) | ISBN 9781316632499 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: Kurds – Turkey – Economic conditions. | Kurds – Turkey – Politics and government. | Kurds – Turkey – Social conditions. | Kurdistan – Economic conditions. | Kurdistan – Politics and government. | Kurdistan – Social conditions.

Classification: LCC DR435.K87 Y326 2017 | DDC 330.9561/008991597–dc23
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017026039>

ISBN 978-1-107-18123-6 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-316-63249-9 Paperback

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To My Parents

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Preface

This book examines the linkages between economic development in the predominantly Kurdish provinces in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia (ESA) and Turkey's Kurdish question. In so doing, it adopts a historical, structural and political-economic approach, which entails that socioeconomic and political developments, structures and transformations in ESA are analysed in juxtaposition with those of other domains within the context of the larger geographical area and political entity of which these territories have constituted a part: the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.

This study is comprised of three main parts. The first part discusses the key theoretical foundations of the research: theories on Kurdish identity; theoretical perspectives on the Kurdish question in Turkey; and theoretical approaches to socioeconomic development in ESA. The second part explores the social, economic and political alterations, formations and events in Ottoman Kurdistan after 1514 when the bulk of the Kurdish territories largely located in ESA came under the administration of the Ottoman Empire. The final part deals with issues pertaining to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent foundation and evolution of the Turkish Republic and Turkey's Kurdish question.

The central argument of this book is that there is a symbiotic relationship between the Kurdish question in Turkey and the peculiar form of underdevelopment witnessed in ESA, which is accurately captured by the notion of de-development. De-development is an economic process generated by a hegemonic power to ensure that there will be no economic base to support an independent indigenous existence (Roy, 1995). Underlying de-development in ESA as well as Turkey's Kurdish question is the Turkish elite's paramount political-national objective of maintaining Turkey's national unity and territorial integrity.

Acknowledgements

It took nearly six years to complete this book. Indubitably, it was an extensive, incredible journey – by far the greatest task, as well as the most exciting and educative process I have hitherto experienced. I was fortunate enough to begin this voyage surrounded by many altruistic and encouraging people, and to meet many more along the way. I am unable to acknowledge everyone, but must mention those who have played the most central roles.

I would never have been able to write this thesis without the constant support of my family, especially my mother, Maviş, my father, Hüseyin, my brother, Güney and my partner, Devrim, who has been a true helpmeet. I felt their unwavering and inexhaustible support throughout this journey.

I am also especially grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Gilbert Achcar, whose guidance and experience has played a defining role in the completion of this study. Additionally, I would like to thank Prof. Şevket Pamuk for his very helpful and instructive suggestions in the early stages of this journey. I cannot pass without expressing gratitude to my PhD examiners, Prof. Hamit Bozarslan and Prof. Özlem Onaran, for their enlightening, constructive and supportive comments during and after my viva. I should be most ungracious if I were to omit expressing my appreciation of Maria Marsh, Commissioning Editor, for her instrumental guidance, time and labour.

I also wish to thank individually (in alphabetical order) Chloe Barget, Çiğdem Esin, Cengiz Gunes, Roman (Pach) Pawar, Haldun Sonkaynar, and Kahraman Yadirgi, as they all contributed, in different ways, to the development and completion of this project. I finally would like to acknowledge all the selfless, edifying and exemplary people (unfortunately too many to mention here one by one) whom I met during my fieldwork. Thank you for your time, labour, knowledge, hospitality and assistance.

Abbreviations

A&P:	Great Britain: Parliamentary Papers, Account Papers
AKP:	Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)
AMMU:	General Directorate for Tribes and Immigrants (Aşair ve Muhacirin Müdüriyet-i Umûmiyesi)
ANAP:	The Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi)
AP:	Justice Party (Adalet Partisi)
BDP:	Peace and Democracy Party (Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi)
ÇATOM:	Multi-purpose Community Centres (Çok Amaçlı Toplum Merkezi)
CHP:	Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)
CKMP:	Republican Peasants' Nation Party (Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi)
CUP	Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress
DDKO:	Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Hearths (Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları)
DEHAP:	Democratic People's Party (Demokratik Halk Partisi)
DEP:	Democracy Party (Demokrasi Partisi)
Dev-Genç:	Federation of the Revolutionary Youth of Turkey
DİSK:	Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey (Türkiye Devrimci İşçi Sendikalar Konfederasyonu)
DP:	Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti)
DSİ:	Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (Devlet Su İşleri)
DTP:	Democratic Society Party (Demokratik Toplum Partisi)
EC:	European Council
ERP:	Economic Recovery Plan

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ESA:	Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia
EU:	European Union
FO:	Great Britain, Foreign Office
FYP:	Five-Year Plan
GAP:	Project of Southeastern Anatolia (Güneydoğu Anadolu Project)
GAP-GIDEM:	GAP-Entrepreneur Support and Guidance Centres (GAP-Girişimci Destekleme Merkezi)
GAP-RDA:	Project of Southeastern Anatolia-Regional Development Administration
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GNAT:	Grand National Assembly of Turkey
GNI:	Gross National Income
GNP:	Gross National Product
HCPP:	Great Britain, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers
HDI:	Human Development Index
HDP:	Peoples' Democratic Party (Halkların Demokrasi Partisi)
HEP:	Peoples' Labour Party (Halkın Emek Partisi)
İAMM:	Directorate for the Settlement of Tribes and Immigrants (İskân-ı Aşâir Muhacirîn Müdüriyeti)
IDPs:	Internally Displaced Peoples
IEA:	International Energy Agency
İHD:	Human Rights Association (İnsan Halkları Derneği)
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
ISI:	Import Substitution Industrialisation
ISIL:	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
Kawa:	Kurdish mythical figure and name of a Kurdish political party
KDP:	Kurdistan Democratic Party (Partiya Demokrat a Kurdistanê)
KHRP:	Kurdish Human Rights Project
KRG:	Kurdistan Regional Government (Iraq)
MBK:	National Unity Committee (Milli Birlik Komitesi)
MGK:	National Security Council (Milli Güvenlik Kurulu)
MHP:	Nationalist Action Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)
NAPP:	National Programme for Adopting the Acquis Communautaire
NF:	National Front Coalition Governments
NGOs:	Non-governmental Organisations

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OECD:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHAL:	State of Emergency (Olağanüstü Hal)
PDRs:	Priority Development Regions (Kakinmada Öncelikli Yörelere)
PKK:	Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan)
PSK:	Kurdistan Socialist Party (Partiya Sosyalista Kurdistan)
PYD:	Democratic Union Party (Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat)
SEEs:	State Economic Enterprises
SHP:	Social Democratic Populist Party (Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Partisi)
SPO:	State Planning Organisation (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı)
TBB:	Association of Banks of Turkey (Türkiye Bankalar Birliği)
TCBIUM:	The Maiden Turkish Statistical Institute (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü)
TESEV:	Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
TİP:	Workers' Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Partisi)
TKAE:	Research Institute on Turkish Culture (Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü)
TKP	Turkish Communist Party (Türkiye Komünist Partisi)
TMMOB:	Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (Türkiye Mühendis ve Mimar Odalar Birliği)
TOBB:	Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchange of Turkey (Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği)
TPAO:	Turkish Petroleum Corporation (Türkiye Petrolleri Anonim Ortaklığı)
TR:	Turkish Lira
TRL:	Old Turkish Lira
TRT:	Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurulu)
TRY:	New Turkish Lira
TMO:	Office for Soil Products (Toprak Mahsulleri Ofisi)
TÜİK:	Turkish Statistical Institute (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu)

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TÜSİAD:	Turkish Industrialist and Businessmen's Association (Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği)
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
US:	United States
USARM:	Union of Southeastern Anatolia Region Municipalities (Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi Belediyeleri Birliği)
VAT:	Value-Added Tax
WB:	World Bank
YTP:	New Turkey Party (Yeni Türkiye Partisi)