

Table of Contents

Fragments from a Century: A History of Republican Turkey, 1923–2023 <i>Alp Yenen and Erik-Jan Zürcher</i>	11
1923–1932	29
1 A Lasting Legacy: The Proclamation of the Republic <i>Alp Yenen</i>	31
2 Anxious Inquiries: The League of Nations on the Population Exchange <i>Gözde Kircioğlu</i>	36
3 Echoes of Modernity: Nazım Hikmet’s “Machinisation” of Turkish Poetry <i>Petra de Bruijn</i>	41
4 “Foreigners with their Fake Turkish and Muslim Masks”: A Public Debate about <i>Dönmes</i> <i>Didem Yerli</i>	46
5 “Stricken by Illness”: Political Plagues of the New Capital <i>Onur Ada</i>	51
6 “Empowered to Prohibit”: The Law on the Maintenance of Order <i>Erik-Jan Zürcher</i>	56
7 “The Congregation of Civilisation”: Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s Speech in Kastamonu <i>Remzi Çağatay Çakırlar</i>	60
8 A Step Forward, a Step Back: Women’ Rights and the Civil Code of 1926 <i>Nicole A.N.M. van Os</i>	65
9 “Citizen, Speak Turkish!”: A Jewish Appeal for Turkification <i>Deniz Tat</i>	69
10 An Unusual Letter, an Unusual Opposition: The Free Republican Party <i>Uğur Derin</i>	74

1933–1942	79
11 Geography of a Nation in the Making: The Settlement Law of 1934 <i>Çiğdem Oğuz</i>	81
12 A Glimpse into Policies on Spirits: Alcohol Percentages in <i>Rakı</i> Production <i>Emre Erol</i>	85
13 Defining Kemalism: The Program of the CHP in an Age of Ideologies <i>Remzi Çağatay Çakırlar</i>	91
14 Language, Nation, and their Enemies: Linguistic Nationalism <i>Emmanuel Szurek</i>	97
15 “Treacherous and Insidious”: Turkey’s Southern Border <i>Ramazan Hakkı Öztan</i>	102
16 Modernising Attire, Modernising the Nation: Reflections of Kemalist Clothing Reforms <i>Sevgi Adak</i>	106
17 Mapping Nomadism: The Construction of the Nation-State <i>Reşat Kasaba</i>	110
18 “The Lament of Laç Valley”: Mourned Memory of the Dersim Massacre <i>Uğur Ümit Üngör</i>	115
19 Nationalisation of the Banking System: The Increase in General Deposits <i>Y. Doğan Çetinkaya</i>	119
20 Steering the Economy: Turkey in the Second World War <i>Alexander E. Balistreri</i>	124
1943–1952	129
21 A Precarious Offer: The Dodecanese Islands and Turkish Neutrality in the Second World War <i>Onur İşçi</i>	131
22 “I am a Victim of the Capital Tax”: The Voices of İstanbul Greeks <i>Alexandros Lamprou</i>	136
23 “Enlightening” the Turkish Countryside: The Village Institutes <i>Sacit Yarmoğlu</i>	141
24 Inspecting the East: The CHP Secretary General’s Views on the Kurdish Provinces	145
25 Planting the Seeds of Multiparty Politics: Memorandum of the Four <i>Alexander E. Balistreri</i>	150
26 The Future of an Ancient Capital: Henri Prost’s Master Plan for İstanbul <i>F. Cânâ Bilsel</i>	155
27 “What Is to Be Done?”: The Legacy of Leftist Minority Artists in Turkey <i>Nicholas Kontovas</i>	161
28 The Language of Religion: The Reversion of the <i>Ezan</i> from Turkish to Arabic <i>Ömer Kocyiğit</i>	166
29 “The Sincerest Feeling of all the Peace-Loving Turkish People”: Pacifism and the Korean War <i>Nadav Solomonovich</i>	171
30 Beekeeping, Agriculture, and Democracy: The Debate over Cold War Modernity <i>Nicholas Danforth</i>	175

1953–1962	179
31 “Male Beauty Kings”: Gender, Biopolitics, and Pageantry in the Annals of İstanbul <i>Müge Özoğlu</i>	181
32 “Religion is Bound to the State”: Ali Fuat Başgil’s Critique of Secularism <i>Umut Azak</i>	186
33 Symbol of Turkish Modernity and Bastion of the West: The Hilton Hotel in İstanbul <i>Hans Theunissen</i>	190
34 The Beginning of an End: The Pogrom of 6-7 September 1955 <i>Stefo Benlisoy</i>	195
35 Politicised Suffering: On Being an Albanian Migrant in Turkey <i>Nathalie Clayer</i>	201
36 “Actions in the Middle East Are Only a Beginning”: Turkey and the Syrian Crisis of 1957 <i>Onur İşçi</i>	205
37 An Early Announcement of the 1961 Constitution: Calls for Reforms by the Opposition <i>Ahmet İnsel</i>	209
38 Mobilising Youths for Political Change: Codeword 555K <i>Çimen Günay-Erkol</i>	213
39 Opening Pandora’s Box: The 1960 Military Coup d’État <i>Mogens Pelt</i>	218
40 “The Era of Planned Development”: The Founding of the State Planning Organisation <i>Erwin Dekker</i>	223
1963–1972	227
41 From Temporary Migration to the Struggle for Equal Social Rights: Turkish Workers in Germany <i>Ahmet Akgündüz</i>	229
42 Dreams of Development: Peasantism, Cadrism, and a Disciplined Society <i>Engin Kılıç</i>	234
43 Deviating from the National Narrative: The Workers’ Party of Turkey and Cyprus <i>Nikos Christofis</i>	239
44 The Making of a National Symbol: Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and Hagia Sophia <i>Umut Azak</i>	244
45 The Turkish Queen of the Hippies: Remembering Perihan Yücel <i>Yavuz Köse</i>	249
46 A Fragile Liberal Democratic Moment: Demirel and the Turkish Centre-Right <i>Tanıl Bora</i> <i>Translated by Salih Işık Bora</i>	255
47 Contesting Family Planning: Birth Control as a Conspiracy <i>Heinrich Hartmann</i>	260
48 Political Islam in the Turkish Parliament: The National Order Party <i>İlker Aytürk</i>	265
49 Appreciating Turmoil: The Autonomy of Universities and the Military Intervention <i>Funda Soysal</i>	270
50 Imperialism, Colonialism, and Oligarchic Dictatorships: Mahir Çayan’s Revolutionary Theory <i>Erol Ülker</i>	276

1973–1982	281
51 A Growing İstanbul: The Opening of the Bosphorus Bridge <i>Gözde Kircioğlu</i>	283
52 Cinematic Imagining of the Nationalist Soldier-to-be: Little Mujahid in Cyprus <i>Güldeniz Kıbrıs</i>	288
53 Between Modernisation and Class Struggle: <i>Arabesk</i> Music <i>Kadir Dede</i>	294
54 A Forgotten Wave: Socialist Women’s Activism and the Struggle for Gender Equality <i>Sevgi Adak</i>	299
55 Mothers with Sons: Sevgi Soysal’s Critiques of Masculinity <i>Çimen Günay-Erkol</i>	304
56 Revolutionary Martyrdom: The Death of Haki Karer and the Emergence of PKK <i>Joost Jongerden</i>	308
57 Civil War Strategy of the Turkish Far-Right: The Maraş Massacre <i>Ahmet İnsel</i>	314
58 Capitalism after Military Intervention: Vehbi Koç and the Military-Industrial Complex <i>Kaya Akyıldız</i>	318
59 Leftists from Turkey, Unite! Behice Boran in Brussels <i>Oğul Tuna</i>	324
60 When Generals Do Etymology: On the <i>Kart-Kurt</i> Myth of Kurdish <i>Deniz Tat</i>	328
1983–1992	335
61 Active State Participation in the Manufacture of Denialism: “The Armenian Issue” <i>Uğur Derin</i>	337
62 “My Body, My Choice!”: Conceptions of a Contemporary Feminist Slogan in Turkey <i>Sevil Çakır Kılınçoğlu</i>	342
63 A Challenge to the Military Junta: The Petition of Intellectuals <i>Cangül Örnek</i>	347
64 The Intersection of State and Religion: National Unity and Religion on Television <i>Güldeniz Kıbrıs</i>	352
65 “The United States Will Be Buying our Textile Exports!”: Özal, Reagan, and Neoliberalism <i>Howard Eissenstat</i>	357
66 The Intellectuals’ Hearth: A Republican Generation? <i>Zeynep Bursa-Millet</i>	362
67 Three Days in Bekaa Valley: An Interview with Abdullah Öcalan <i>Serhun Al</i>	367
68 Turkish Pop: The New Urban and Neoliberal Culture of Turkey <i>Kadir Dede</i>	371
69 “Mafiacity Ümraniye”: Irregular Urbanisation and the İstanbul <i>Gecekondu</i> <i>Jan-Markus Vömel</i>	377
70 On the Possibility of a Liberal Islam: The Resurrection of the Constitution of Medina in Turkey <i>İlker Aytürk and Anıl Kahvecioğlu</i>	381

1993–2002	387
71 In Between Invisibility and Recognition: The Sivas Massacre <i>Besim Can Zırh</i>	389
72 The State’s Informal Organisations: Paramilitaries in the Turkish-Kurdish Conflict <i>Ayhan Işık</i>	394
73 For the Liberation of Women: Three Kurdish Women’s Periodicals <i>Nicole A.N.M. van Os</i>	399
74 Reckoning with a Life Lived Like a Storm: Repatriating Enver Pasha <i>Michael A. Reynolds</i>	403
75 Finding Nowhereland: Totalitarian Nightmares as a Utopian Vision <i>Engin Kılıç</i>	408
76 Of Minarets and Bayonets: The Poem that Landed Erdoğan in Jail <i>Petra de Bruijn</i>	412
77 “Turkey in our Hands”: Polemics and Protest against the Headscarf Ban <i>Jan-Markus Vömel</i>	418
78 “Turkey’s Birthright”: The Promises of Turkish EU Candidacy <i>Müge Kınacıoğlu</i>	422
79 The Return to the Village: Turkey’s State-Building in Kurdistan <i>Joost Jongerden</i>	427
80 The “Marlboro” Law: A Turning Point in the Neoliberalisation of Rural Turkey <i>Zeynep Ceren Eren Benlisoy</i>	432
2003–2012	437
81 Another Period of Hope and Disappointment: Yearning for Inclusivity and Diversity in Turkey <i>Ohannes Kılıçdağı</i>	439
82 Towards New Ways: Gendering the New Turkish Penal Code <i>Nicole A.N.M. van Os</i>	445
83 Barbecues, Invaded Beaches, and White Turks: Cultural Wars in Turkey <i>Doğan Gürpınar</i>	449
84 A High-Rise on Cement: The Turkish Construction Boom <i>Murat Gül</i>	453
85 Darbukas against Dozers: 40 Days and 40 Nights to Save the Sulukule Neighbourhood <i>Danielle V. Schoon</i>	458
86 Tutelage’s Terminus: The E-Memorandum by the General Staff <i>Berk Esen</i>	463
87 Contested Power, Weaponised Memoirs: The “Diaries” of Admiral Özden Örnek <i>Fatma Müge Göçek</i>	468
88 Turkey’s Moment in the World: Davutoğlu and Neo-Ottomanism in Turkey’s Foreign Policy <i>Kerem Öktem</i>	473
89 “Not Good Enough but Yes”: The Long Shadow of the 2010 Referendum <i>İlker Aytürk</i>	477
90 Towards Peace or Further Troubles? The People’s Democratic Congress <i>Özgür Mutlu Ulus</i>	482

2013–2023	487
91 Solidarity and Diversity: The Gezi Protests <i>Emre Erol</i>	489
92 Puppies, Vegans, and Cheese: Culture Wars in the Age of Populism <i>Dođan Gürpınar</i>	495
93 The End of the Peace Process: The Cizre Massacres <i>Gözde Kırcıođlu</i>	500
94 “An Insurrection Instigated by the Parallel Structure”: The Night of the Attempted Coup <i>Berk Esen</i>	505
95 “How’d I Transition?”: Turkish Queer Slang out of the Closet and onto the Stage <i>Nicholas Kontovas</i>	510
96 The Return of Local Democracy: The CHP and the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality <i>Kerem Öktem</i>	516
97 A Pandemic, a Curfew, and a Resignation: The Politics of COVID-19 in Turkey <i>Einar Wigen</i>	522
98 The Decade of Migration: A Politics of Death or Life? <i>Sibel Karadađ</i>	528
99 “Long ago, Enemies Raided Turkish Lands”: Nationalism and Militarism in TV Series <i>Petra de Bruijn</i>	533
100 That’s Nobody’s Business but the Turks’: Rebranding “New Türkiye” for the New Century <i>Alp Yenen and Erik-Jan Zürcher</i>	537