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## **From socialism via anti-imperialism to nationalism : EDA-TIP : socialist contest over Cyprus**

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## Propositions

1: The Workers' Party of Turkey and the United Democratic Left emerged after years of pervasive state repression which targeted not only the left but all groups opposing conservative nationalist policies. Because the left was deemed to be "non-patriotic" and "an enemy of the nation," it had to adapt to rigid resistance, including undemocratic measures. Cyprus, which was an issue of national importance, became a "safe haven" for the left because it provided the means for proving its patriotism.

2: The appropriation of the Cyprus Question by the left, which helped it achieve its political goals and fulfill its agenda, demonstrates that nationalism, while filtered through different channels (anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, and so on), was an embedded element of leftist parties' ideologies; an element that literature has failed to acknowledge arguing in favor of an interpretation of leftist politics that shuns nationalist tendencies. However, nationalism was employed by the left both as a tactic and an ideology.

3: During the 1950s and 1960s and amidst the extreme Cold War environment, the left in Greece and Turkey was found struggling to incorporate itself into society, especially at a time when *ethnikofrosyni* and Kemalism were the dominant ideological concepts in the two respective countries. To secure a place within that exclusionary political landscape, both parties drew heavily on the established national pantheon. Although the parties never refrained from referring to and promoting a communist/socialist revolution in general, they "nationalized" their discourses and dressed them up in the colors sanctioned by the dominant ideologies.

4: Periods of national pride, e.g. the Greek Revolution of 1821 and the War of Independence (1919-1922), were used to construct a counter-memory and challenge the official narratives of the nation, and hence they served as a means of promoting the left agenda for Cyprus.

5: Left policies interact with the official narratives of the bourgeois parties, on some occasions by re-constructing, re-shaping, even adopting ideological elements of the bourgeois parties.

6: The politics of the Greek and Turkish left, especially their inclusion and usage of nationalism, cannot be fully understood in isolation from the international environment, the developments brought about by the Cold War, and the changes taking place within the international communist movement and in the Third World.

7: This study has demonstrated that the ideologies of socialism and nationalism can be combined within a leftist framework, especially at times when the "nation is at risk." This demonstrates the strength, longevity, and, most importantly, the impact that nationalism exerted upon other ideologies, including communism/socialism.

8: The incorporation of nationalism in the parties' ideology forced the left to adopt a Manichean scheme of "good vs. bad", "we vs. them", and argue in favor of its nationalism being the "right" kind of nationalism vis-à-vis the "bad" nationalism of the other, the right.

9: The Gezi resistance movement in Turkey revealed the authoritarian character of the Justice and Development Party in its most complete form, which since 2002 has managed to revitalize neo-liberal hegemony by absorbing Islamism into secular neoliberalism, and at the same time it has managed to consolidate its hegemonic project by acquiring the consent of the dominant classes and representing groups that in the past felt excluded.

10: The increasing popularity of Syriza, the party of the Greek radical left, alarmed the Greek bourgeois parties, which revived past discourses and repressive practices that are reminiscent of the politics of *ethnikofrosyni* prevalent in the 1950s and 1960s.

11: Privatization of education is a worldwide phenomenon that leads to education becoming a systematic form of indoctrination into the neoliberal ideology.