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The Discursive Construction of War and Peace in the Books of Three Turkish Commanders on the "1974 Cyprus Peace Operation"

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Abstract

The article analyses the construction of war and peace in three books, so-called ego-documents, written by soldiers who themselves fought in the Cypriot 1974 war. In order to better understand these constructions, we first develop a theoretical model on war and peace discourses, supported by Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, which has been cross-fertilized with the empirical analysis. War discourses are seen to have five nodal points: 1/An Enemy-Self dichotomy; 2/The Army as war assemblage; 3/Destruction and death (of the Enemy); 4/Legitimations and aims of war; 5/A spatially and temporally restricted arena of intensified reality. Peace discourses have two variations: The photo-negativistic articulation of peace (with these nodal points: 1/The absence of the Enemy, 2/The non-combatant or non-existent Army; 3/The absence of death and destruction, with the emphasis on life, 4/The absence of legitimations (and aims) of war; 5/Continuity of space and time, as everyday life) and the more autonomous articulation of peace (with two nodal points: 1/Social harmony, economic equity and social justice; 2/Desire for, and the desirability of, peace). Our discourse-theoretical analysis demonstrates how these three books mostly articulate war discourses, but the books are also seen to contain two important characteristics from a democratic-humanist perspective: They still contain articulations of the peace discourses, and they demonstrate the dislocations of the war discourses.

Keywords

Constructionism; Discourse; War; Peace; Enemy; Cyprus; Ego-documents

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Üç Türk Komutanın "1974 Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı" üzerine Yazdıkları Kitaplarda Savaş ve Barışın Söylemsel İnşası

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Özet

Makale, 1974 Kıbrıs savaşında savaşmış askerlerin yazdığı, kişisel yaşantı belgeleri de denilen, üç kitapta savaş ve barışın inşasını analiz etmektedir. Bu inşayı daha iyi anlamak için öncelikle savaş ve barış söylemleri üzerine Laclau ve Mouffe'un söylem teorisince desteklenen teorik bir model geliştirdik. Bu model, ampirik analizle karşılıklı olarak beslendi. Savaş söylemlerinin beş düğüm noktası olduğu görüldü: 1/Bir Kendi (Self)-Düşman ikiliği; 2/ Savaş bileşimi olarak Ordu; 3/ İmha ve (Düşmanın) ölüm(ü); 4/ Savaşın meşrulaştırılması ve amaçları; 5/ Zamansal ve uzamsal olarak sınırlı alanda yoğunlaşmış gerçeklik. Barış söylemlerinin ise, iki çeşitlemesi var: Savaşın negatif imgesi olarak eklemlenmesi (şu düğüm noktalarına sahip: 1/ Düşmanın yokluğu, 2/ Savaşkan olmayan ya da var olmayan Ordu, 3/ Yaşam üzerindeki vurgu ile imha ve ölümün yokluğu, 4/ Savaşın meşrulaştırılmasının ve (amaçlarının) yokluğu, 5/ Gündelik hayattaki gibi zaman ve uzamda süreklilik) ve barışın daha özerk eklemlenmesi (iki düğüm noktası mevcut: 1/ Toplumsal uyum, ekonomik eşitlik ve toplumsal adalet; 2/ Barış arzusu ve barışın arzu edilirliği). Söylem-teorik analizimiz, bu üç kitabın çoklukla savaş söylemlerini eklemlediklerini göstermektedir. Ancak kitapların demokratik-hümanist perspektiften iki önemli nitelik taşıdıkları da görülmektedir: Halen barış söylemlerini de eklemlemeleri ve savaş söylemlerinin yerlerinden oynatılmalarını göstermeleri.

Anahtar Sözcükler

İnşacılık; Söylem; Savaş; Barış; Düşman; Kıbrıs; Kişisel Yaşantı Belgeleri

Introduction

War and peace are concepts that are vital to human civilization and capture both its darkest and lightest aspects. They both are objects of desire, and relate to an immensely wide variety of social practices. As is often the case with these kinds of concepts, we sometimes forget that they are also social constructions, and that there are different (and competing) ways to attribute meaning to them. It is one of the fallacies of our thinking about war and peace (and many other phenomena), that we tend to forget that they are thought, in always particular ways, and that these discourses actually matter in how we think, experience and organize war and peace.

These war and peace discourses are themselves organised in particular ways, and individuals identify with them (or not) in equally particular ways. The condensations of these discourses can be found in a wide-variety of formats, some more institutionalized than others. They range from every day conversations, social media postings, monuments, gover nment statements, graffiti, literature, films, performances, art installations, newspaper articles, television series, podcasts, exhibitions, and many more.

Our article on the construction of war and peace focuses on a particular genre and a particular conflict. This analysis concerns three books, so-called ego-documents, written by soldiers who themselves fought in the Cypriot 1974 war. Out of a considerable number of books on this war, we selected three books originating from soldiers who had different ranks and duties during this war: (1) 20th July 1974 Cyprus. Unending Night, written by Muzaffer Sever (2012), who was a lieutenant-colonel and a 6th Corps intelligence staff officer; (2) The 1st Commando Battalion, 1974 Cyprus: Break-out on Beşparmak/Kyrenia Mountains, by Haluk Üstügen (2015), who was a first lieutenant and a commando squadron commander; and (3) The Cyprus Peace Operation and Beyond, by Ali İhsan Gürcan (2013), who was a second lieutenant in a parachute battalion.

In order to better understand these interventions, all written at least three decades after the 1974 war, we have performed a discourse-theoretical analysis, supported by an extensive discourse-theoretical re-reading of the literature on war and peace. Developed through an iterative research process, this article first reports on a theoretical model of war and peace discourses, and then on the analysis about how these discourses are materialized in the three books.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Discourse Theory and the Discursive Construction of War and Peace

Although the materialist perspectives on war dominate the field of conflict studies, Keen (1986), Jabri (1996), Mansfield (2008) and Demmers (2012) have recognized the importance of the discursive dimension of violence, conflict and war (Carpentier, 2017: 160-162). These authors have pleaded for taking this discursive dimension seriously, because, as Keen (1986: 10) wrote: "In the beginning we create the enemy. Before the weapon comes the image. We think others to death and then invent the battle-axe or the ballistic missiles with which to actually kill them." Or, as Jabri (1996: 23) wrote: "[…] knowledge of human phenomena such as war

is, in itself, a constitutive part of the world of meaning and practice." Of course, the psychological and linguistic dimensions of war have received considerable attention, even in some of the key theoretical conflict models, as is exemplified by Galtung's conflict triangle model (Galtung, 2009). But the discursive—used here in the macro-textual and macro-contextual meaning it receives in discourse theory (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 105; Carpentier, 2017: 16-17)—brings in another dimension, which is located at the epistemological level.

Discourse theory allows us to argue that we construct knowledge about war and peace through discursive-ideological frameworks, which are not so much located at the individual-interactional level, but at the social level. Discourses of war and peace are frameworks of intelligibility—ways of knowing war and peace—which are available to individual subjects for identification (or disidentification), but that are also inherently contingent and fluid. This does not mean that there is a multitude of ever-changing discourses, with meanings neurotically floating around. It means that there are several, always particular, ways of thinking war (and peace), which are in themselves never perfect copies of the Real, but imperfect representations, bound to always somehow fail. In some cases, this failure to represent—to incorporate events or ideas—can threaten the integrity of a discourse, and can, to use a discourse-theoretical term, dislocate it. Moreover, these discourses also engage with each other in struggles, and sometimes become dominant (or hegemonic) and sedimented through these discursive struggles. Hegemonic articulations of war—for instance, the idea that war is considered a legitimate tool for resolving conflict in the last instance—are indeed very rigid, and difficult to change. They have accompanied human kind for centuries and more. Still, no hegemony is total and can necessarily last forever; hegemonic discourses can become politicized again and dragged into a new political-discursive struggle, which might alter or destroy them.

Individual voices and signifying practices do matter in the construction of discourses, although one should be careful not to overestimate the capacity of one individual to create a new discourse, or to change an existing discourse with a simple utterance. Discourses are located at the social level, and are created through articulatory iterations. They are—keeping Foucault's (1972: 36-37) words in mind—characterized by a regularity of dispersion, which often exceeds the capacity of one individual. They originate from a non-directed and finally unpredictable interplay between thousands (if not millions) of signifying practices that produces particular equilibria around which one or more discourses originate. Of course, we do not want to argue in favour of a hyper-spontaneous omnipotent multitude (à la Negri & Hardt, 2004), as we want to simultaneously acknowledge the power positions of authoritative institutions, that can coordinate, synchronize and harmonize signifying practices, validate and authorize them, and then distribute and defend them. In the case of war discourses, we can easily point to the role of the army in policing particular signifying practices that support the construction of the Self and the Enemy-Other, for instance, by labelling some signifying practices as 'defeatist' or 'treacherous'.

Still, individual signifying practices do matter. They are the raw material which

constitute discourses, they are seeds that can grow, and they are the nutrition that discourses desperately need to ensure their survival. Even more importantly: The social does not consist out of a one-discourse reality, but out of series of competing discourses, with which individuals align themselves, engaging in these discursive struggles through their participation in public spheres and spaces where they can perform their signifying practices. Pacifism and militarism are, for instance, two different discourses that give meaning to war and peace. These two discourses co-exist and are supported by different signifying practices, originating from many different individuals, often being supportive to one, and critical towards the other. As these signifying practices refer to particular discourses, through the logic of identification, they are also the finding place and locus of study for these discourses, as, for instance, the books that are analyzed in this article.

The deployment of discourse theory has yet another advantage, as it is built on the negative-relationalist principles of meaning construction, which were originally developed in semiology. This immediately brings us to the significatory relationship between war and peace. In particular peace has proven to be difficult to be conceptualized without reference to war. Biletzki (2007: 347) raises this point in the following terms: *"'War and Peace' is the ultimate posit which grounds the concept of peace in a dichotomous definition. In the effort to define, explain, explicate, illustrate and finally understand peace it is natural to ask what peace is not. […] This binary, even exclusionary, use of both terms, 'war' and 'peace', constitutes their meaning, almost of necessity […]."*

She continues with the question "Can one talk of peace without talking about war?" (Biletzki, 2007: 347). A few pages later, Biletzki (2007: 353) provides two answers to this question: "For the essentialist philosopher the question would be –what is peace 'in itself'? For the Wittgensteinian philosopher the answer would be a rendition of a specific language-game of peace that attempts to track the uses of the word itself (and seeing if the rules of use obligate us to also and always use 'war' in such games)." Although we sympathize with Biletzki's second answer, and definitely do not want to discredit her quest to construct a language-game of peace without the signifier war, we need to acknowledge that the signifier war is often used in peace discourses (and the other way around).

Basic definitions of war and peace, used in academic literature, often do set up these two signifiers in an oppositional relationship, allocating a primary defining role to war. While war is considered as the "armed conflict between organized political groups" (Howard, 2001: 1), peace does—first and foremost—refer to "the absence of war" (or, of armed conflict) (Matsuo, 2007: 16). This negative definition of peace is related to the comprehension of war as "the universal norm in human history" (Howard, 2001: 1), whereas the concept of peace in an international order is relatively new. Howard (2001: 1-2), for instance, argues that the prominence of the peace discourse dates back to the Enlightenment and has become desirable by political leaders only for the past two centuries.

Even though there have been attempts to map out the origins of the concept of peace in different civilizations such as Ancient Judaism, Greece, Rome, China and India (Ishida, 1969: 135; Matsuo, 2007: 15) and from the late Middle Ages to

the nineteenth century modern Europe (Kende, 1989), even the academic field of peace studies is only about six decades old. In this field of peace studies, ample attention has been spent on developing a more autonomous definition of peace, where, for instance, Galtung (1964; 1969)—one of the founders of this field—uses the concept of structural violence, which includes such conditions as poverty, humiliation, political repression and the denial of self-determination that limits human potential for self-realization. 'Positive peace' then becomes defined as the transcendence of these conditions to assure non-violence and social justice. The significance of positive peace, which has become predominant in peace studies, should not be underestimated.

However, the importance and the wide reach of the negative definition of peace, as war's opposite, should not be underestimated either. From a discourse-theoretical perspective, we can argue that the signifiers war and peace often feature in both discourses of war and peace, as each other's constitutive outsides. Although, at the same time we should acknowledge that war and peace discourses are constituted out of many other signifiers (the Enemy, for instance), that are articulated together into one discourse. And, even if the signifier war often features in peace discourses, and peace in war discourses, this is not, strictly speaking, a necessity, as other signifiers can be used (and suffice) to articulate either discourse. Nevertheless, this logic of mutually constitutive outsides frequently occurs, and, moreover, can also be used in analyses to better understand how war and peace are defined by particular actors, through a photo-negativistic articulation, where a discourse is (partially or largely) constructed through what it is not.

War Discourses

Taking the literature on the discursive construction of war as a starting point, the signifier of the Enemy is seen to play a crucial role in war discourses. One of the authors of this article, Carpentier (2011; 2015), has extensively argued that in war discourses the identities of the Self and the Enemy are set as a dichotomy based on the key binary opposition of good and evil (see also Galtung and Vincent, 1992), which has many embodied variations: "just/unjust, innocent/guilty, rational/irrational, civilized/barbaric, organized/chaotic, superior to technology/part of technology, human/animal-machine, united/fragmented, heroic/cowardly and determined/insecure." Not only the identities but also the violent practices of the warring parties are constructed through this Self/Enemy dichotomy, creating another series of pairs: "necessary/unnecessary, last resort/provocative, limited effects/major effects, focused/indiscriminate, purposeful/senseless, unavoidable/avoidable, legitimate/illegitimate, legal/criminal, sophisticated/brutal and professional/undisciplined" (Carpentier, 2015: 3). In short, war discourses rely on a Self that claims and feels to be good, just and civilized, in an antagonistic relation with an Enemy that is constructed as evil, unjust and uncivilized.

In what Carpentier (2011; 2015) has called the "ideological model of war", there are also other (discursive) subject positions present. Four are mentioned in this model: the Victim, the Supporter, the Passive Ally, and the Bystander. Figure 1 gives an overview of these different subject positions, and the meanings attributed to the

violent practices of the warring parties. It is, in particular, the subject position of the Victim that plays an important role in war discourses, as this position strengthens the antagonistic relation between Self and Enemy. The Enemy is constructed as evil because they produce the Victim, and the Self becomes constructed as good (and heroic) as they (aim to) save the Victim. Of course, the subject positions of Self and Victim can, and often do, overlap.

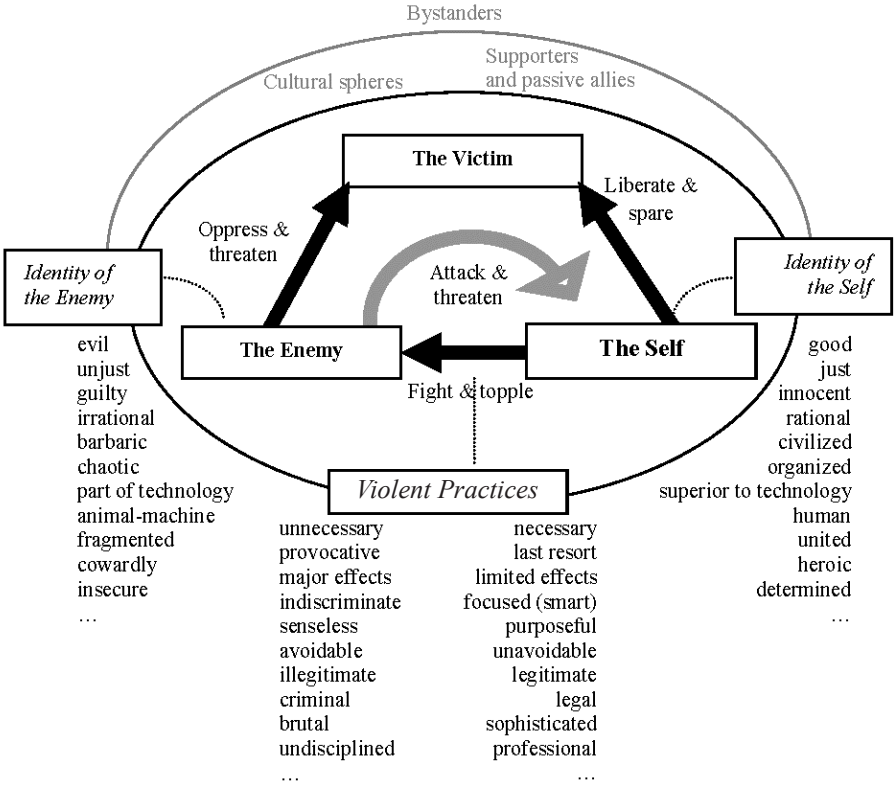

Figure 1: The ideological model of war (Carpentier, 2015: 5)

Arguably, the Enemy is not the only key signifier in war discourses, and other–what Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 113) call–nodal points of war discourses can be distinguished. Apart from the (1) Enemy/Self dichotomy, with the many affects linked to that dichotomy, we would like to argue that there are four more nodal points (or key signifiers) of war discourses: (2) Present or future activities of a privileged part of the Self, the Army, an assemblage of war–or a war machine (Pick, 1993)–that has been delegated the responsibility for waging war, and envelops another set of subject positions (e.g., the Soldier) with their own codes of conduct, rationalities and affects, rules, power relations and symbols, (3) The need for the death and destruction of the Enemy, in varying degrees, (4) The legitimacy of this destruction of the Enemy, translated in particular aims, and the sacrifices made

by the Self to achieve these aims. These legitimations can include a suspension of responsibility of the Self, which is forced to act by the evilness of the Enemy and (5) A spatially and temporally restricted arena of intensified reality, or, as Oktay (2014: 23) writes: "In a sense, war is a parenthesis between two periods of peace."

To illustrate these nodal points, we want to use the critical review that Benjamin (1979–originally 1930) wrote on the book War and Warrior, a collection of essays written by soldiers that fought in the First World War, and edited by one of the German nationalist and militarist intellectuals of the time, Ernst Jünger. In Benjamin's short book review[1], written almost ninety years ago, he demonstrates how some of the above-mentioned nodal points operate, in particular when it comes to the role of the Army and the subject position of the Warrior. Even if Benjamin's review is a critical—almost sarcastic—deconstruction of the War and Warrior book, his text still contains the nodal points of the war discourse, also because he quotes some of the soldier-authors in detail. Benjamin (1979: 120) starts the review by referring to the "destructive power of war", which he–at the end of the review–describes in the following terms, clairvoyantly writing about a future war: "millions of human bodies will indeed inevitably be chopped to pieces and chewed up by iron and gas" (Benjamin, 1979: 128). In his introduction, he then quickly moves on to the crucial role of the Army, referring to the soldier-authors as the "trailblazers of the Wehrmacht [the German army]", who "almost give one the impression that the uniform represents their highest end, most desired by all their heartstrings", and for whom the "new warfare of technology and material […] appears to some of them as the highest revelation of existence" (Benjamin, 1979: 120). Benjamin also refers to the affects that are articulated in the Army assemblage, discussing the "boyish rapture" and the desire for "the eternally aristocratic elements of the soldier's trade" (Benjamin, 1979: 122). Also the nodal point of legitimation/aims features prominently, with a strong nationalist articulation, as the First World War was "said to be the highest manifestation of the German nation" (Benjamin, 1979: 122). A few pages later, Benjamin (1979: 125) refers to the sacrifice made: "'The dead,' we are told [in the book], 'went in their death from an imperfect reality to a perfect reality, from Germany in its temporal manifestation to the eternal Germany.'" As the book that Benjamin was reviewing was published after the German defeat, military victory could no longer be claimed; it was translated into a moral victory and then into the need for a new victory (demonstrating that the aim of victory is still a key feature of war discourses): "To win or lose a war reaches so deeply, if we follow the language, into the fabric of our existence that our whole lives become that much richer or poorer in symbols, images and sources" (Benjamin, 1979: 123). The last nodal point, the temporal-spatial restrictions, plays a more complicated role in Benjamin's review, also because the book's soldier-authors are already mobilizing for the next war (and are engaged in a Nachkrieg—an 'Afterwar'), and Benjamin expresses concern for an "endless war" (Benjamin, 1979: 121), but he also—albeit implicitly—contrasts the battlefields of 1914-1918 with the permanent everyday of

1) In fact, his other writings (on German Baroque and on history) and his correspondence with Carl Schmitt that disturbed many within the left circles also show his interest in "the state of exception" and in Schmitt's understanding of "friend and foe", which was later elaborated by Mouffe (2005: 14-16) for her conception of antagonism and exclusion in the political.

peace, when he, at the end of his review, expresses the wish that "the habitués of the chthonic forces" will find the sobriety to "refuse to acknowledge the next war as an incisive magical turning point, and instead discover in it the image of everyday actuality" (Benjamin, 1979: 128).

War discourses may refer to the signifier peace in different ways. Benjamin's (1979: 120) review actually critiques the abuse of "pacifism's cliched ideal of peace" in the war discourse mobilized in War and Warrior, by the volume's editor, Ernst Jünger. This type of instrumentalist use of peace in war discourse is described in the following terms by Biletzki's (2007: 347) statement which refers to a (conscious or unconscious) instrumentalization of peace: "The double-play between war and peace, their obvious opposition, the consensual presupposed preference for peace, and mostly the practical realities of the human race's need and desire for war have come together in a discourse which pays lip service to peace while advocating war." Another articulation of peace in war discourse is the peace-as-objective-of-war articulation, illustrated by Aristotle's sentence in the Nicomachean Ethics (Book 10, p. 7), when he writes: "And happiness is thought to depend on leisure; for we are busy that we may have leisure, and make war that we may live in peace." Oktay (2014: 23—our translation) also makes this argument: "The real aim of war is to establish peace. […] As the main aim of war is to create a peaceful period again, victory is an end to provide peace, not a phase to destruct the enemy, to destroy it altogether."

Finally, we should not overestimate the stability of war discourses. They too, as any other discourse, can become dislocated, or, in other words, disrupted by material events that the discourse in question is unable to give meaning to and incorporate. For instance, war discourses construct military action as rationally planned and executed, by well-trained soldiers that 'keep their heads cool' and fight in equally rational ways, only driven by noble affects, such as camaraderie and love for the nation. Time after time, this rational articulation of war, supported by endless rituals, is dislocated by the unpredictability of combat, and the intervention of affects considered much less noble (e.g., intense fear). This unpredictability is present in many accounts of war written by diverse authors, ranging from Carl von Clausewitz, a Prussian general writing after Napoleonic Wars, to the anarchist Proudhon (Oktay, 2014: 23, 29).

Peace Discourses

As our theoretical introduction already argued, there are two distinct ways of constructing peace discourses: On the one hand, the constitutive outside of war can take a central place in the peace discourse, or, on the other hand, peace discourses can have a more autonomous articulation (without the signifier war necessarily becoming totally disarticulated). In the first, the photo-negativistic structure, peace becomes defined through the absence of war, and (thus) through the absence of the nodal points of the war discourses.

This, firstly, implies that peace discourses are articulated by the absence of the Enemy. It is important to stress that this does not mean that there is no conflict. To echo Webel's (2007: 8) words: "The antithesis of peace is not conflict. Conflicts

appear historically inevitable and may be socially desirable […] Conflicts may perhaps paradoxically, promote and increase peace and diminish violence […]."This also implies that the Other can still be present, but that the Other-Enemy subject position becomes re-articulated into a different Other (with, for instance, the Other-Neighbour, the Other-Adversary, the Other-Friend, the Other-Ally, …), or (even) as part of the Self, allowing to live with conflict in non-violent manners (McGregor, 2014: 160-162). One example of this type of re-articulatory practice is Mouffe's work on agonism, a concept that is characterized by a "[…] we/they relation where the conflicting parties, although acknowledging that there is no rational solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents" (Mouffe, 2005: 20). This re-articulation also brings about different affects, which move away from the good/evil dichotomy, where love is only one option. For instance, Žižek (2008: 59) (following Freud) labelled the Other-Neighbour "[…] a thing, a traumatic intruder, someone whose different way of life." He continues: "[…] a Neighbour is one who per definition smells" (Žižek, 2008: 166—emphasis in original), but—as we would like to add—a smelly neighbour is still not an Enemy.

A second nodal point is the absence of legitimations (and thus aims) of war. War discourses are grounded in rational and affective arguments that call for war, often combined with a war-as-last-resort idea. There is a long tradition of reflecting on the justness of wars, and—what is of particular relevance here—about the nature of the so-called jus ad bellum (the right to go to war). The inverse of this war discourse nodal point has two variations, where the first variation allows to see peace as the absence of legitimate reasons to engage in war. Support for this idea can be found in a citation that is accredited to Joaquim Chissano, the second President of Mozambique, who is claimed to have said that "peace isn't only the absence of war. It's above all the absence of reasons for war."[2] The second variation is stronger and more active, as it consists out of the de-legitimation of war. This brings us to the (radical-)pacifist discourse, which articulates the use of violence as undesirable, and provides a utopian perspective on a peaceful future, as Victor Hugo's capitalist-pacifist words spoken during his opening address of the Peace Congress in Paris, on 21 August 1849, exemplify: *"A day will come when there will be no battlefields, but markets opening to commerce and minds opening to ideas […]. A day will come when a cannon will be a museum-piece, as instruments of torture are today. And we will be amazed to think that these things once existed!" (Hugo, quoted by Wodiczko, 2012: 39)*

The photo-negativistic articulation of peace also implies the absence of death and destruction. Again, there is a disclaimer to make: This does not imply the absence of violence, as collective violence is only one form of violence, and, for instance, also personal violence exists. However terrible personal violence is, it does not feature in the construction of war, at least not in most cases. Here we should keep in mind that the articulation of the elements (and nodal points) of a discourse affects the meaning of a discourse and all its elements (see Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 105), which means that the nodal point of (the absence of) death

2) http://www.1maomz.com/2017/07/27/debates-do-balanco-do-meio-termo-poder-de-ideias-ou-ideias-do-poder/.

and destruction refers to Enemy-destruction, which still incorporates a wide variety of modes of destruction, include the destruction of enemy bodies and minds, enemy properties and landscapes, in the present and in the future (e.g., by health implications and traumas). The articulation of (violent) death in the war discourse, has given prominence to the articulation of life with peace. An example of this articulation is Kristeva's (2007) speech-essay, "Can We Make Peace?", in which she argues for the desire for life to be renewed—life as "a violent desire susceptible to imaginary sublimation" (Kristeva, 2007: 124). Starting and ending her speech with a quote from the prophet Jeremiah (8:11)—"For they have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, / Saying 'peace, peace!' / When there is no peace"—Kristeva (2007: 117, 125) calls for the establishment of a discourse of life, while criticizing both the religious (and humanistic) logics of co-existence: *"Like the prophet Jeremiah, I do not say to you, that it is impossible to make peace. Rather, peace is inaccessible here and now, because it is futile to impose by moral will an imaginary harmony that requires justice for universalism to be realized in the public realm, and requires, just as imperatively, a new discourse on the love of life, bio and not zoea[3], for intimacy to regain its serenity. […] More than the peaceful coexistence of religions, it is a radical analysis of their logic of life that can still save us" (Kristeva, 2007: 125-126—original emphasis).*

A fourth nodal point of the photo-negativistic articulation of peace is the non-combatant or non-existent Army. An illustrative articulation of this nodal point is the concept of 'peace tasks' that are entrusted by an Army during 'peace-time'[4], but here we should also add the absence of antagonistic signifying practices originating from Army representatives. Of course, the absent Army is even more a nodal point of the peace discourse, as this strictly limits the capacity of a particular country to engage in war, and frees resources that can be used for more constructive means. Moreover, the absence of an Army also contributes to the weakening of (the damaging components of) the affects associated with soldiering, such as the glorification of the soldier-hero-martyr. One small example of this can be found in Webel (2007: 13), when he says, "peacemaking is and ought to be heroic. Peace is and must be the heroic quest […]"

The fifth nodal point is the continuity of space and time, not interrupted by manoeuvring armies and localized frontlines, and not having clearly earmarked time zones of intense conflict. This brings us to the theories of everyday life, which stress the repetitive, the un-purposeful, the unnoticed and the routine-based as the main characteristics of the everyday. One illustration is Felski's (1999/2000: 18) seminal definition of the everyday as: "[…] grounded in three key facets: time, space and modality. The temporality of the everyday […] is that of repetition, the spatial ordering of the everyday is anchored in a sense of home and the characteristic mode of experiencing the everyday is that of habit." While war is seen as the exceptional and the noticed, and sometimes as the sublime, peace becomes ordinary and part

3) Kristeva (2007: 121) profits from Arendt's distinction between "zoea" (biological life) and "bio" (recounted life-biography), and the "miracle of natality", seeing human plurality as the ontological foundation of liberty and love of life.
4) These tasks are part of what is sometimes called "Military Operations Other Than War", or MOOTW, which involves humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (see Bonn and Baker, 2000).

of the everyday. Here, we can briefly return to Benjamin's (1979: 125) review, when he asks the following (rhetorical) question to the soldier-authors whose work he is reviewing: "We will not tolerate anyone who speaks of war, yet know nothing but war […] Did you ever encounter peace in a child, a tree, an animal, the way you encountered a patrol in the field?"

This photo-negativistic version of the peace discourse has provoked negative responses. For instance, in war discourses, war "[…] is capable of defining precisely what it is to be human, because it involves giving up the supreme 'self-interest', life itself" (Pick, 1993: 15). In Van Creveld's (1991: 184) words, war is about distinction and self-realization: "From the time of Homer on, there has always been a sense in which it is only those who risk their lives willingly, even joyfully, who can be completely themselves, completely human." Following the photo-negativistic logic, this turns peace into quite an ordinary, and even boring, part of life. Shields (2017: 7) captures this discursive process perfectly: "Militaries and soldiers prepare for war knowing armed combat requires strength, courage, valor, and self-sacrifice. If peace is viewed as the inverse of war, it becomes associated with weakness, cowardice, spinelessness, and self-serving behaviour." A second example of negative responses relates to the temporarily undefined nature of peace, which brings about the articulation of peace as a liminal space, caught in-between wars, which structurally de-validates it, or which risks endlessly postponing peace into the future. As Webel (2007: 6) writes: *"Like happiness, peace remains so near … and yet, like enduring love, so far. …"*

In the more autonomous articulations of peace discourses, which do not place war at the centre of the peace discourse (as constitutive outside), we can first of all return to Galtung's (1969) notion of the absence of structural violence, and its conditions of possibility, which together form the first nodal point of peace. For Galtung (1969: 175) inequality is "the general formula behind structural violence", although in other parts of his article, Galtung also mentions social injustice as a defining element of structural violence (Galtung, 1969: 171). Peace—or positive peace, as Galtung calls it—then becomes a state of equality and social justice. There are other authors that make a similar argument. Webel (2007: 5) describes peace, as "a linchpin of social harmony, economic equity and political justice", and Ishida's (1969: 135) attempt to go beyond the traditional concepts of peace through cultural comparisons foregrounds similar meanings, with the "will of God, justice", "prosperity", "order" and "tranquility of the mind". While Ishida's endeavour takes us to the religious and spiritual meanings of peace both at the individual and social levels, Kende's (1989) later attempt moves from the religious and humanistic conceptions to the political and economic signification of peace at a global level. Kende tracks the traces of peace in Western history, starting from Christian peace in the late middle ages (from Dante) to the peace societies and movements, as well as the workers' and bourgeois movements of the nineteenth century. The Renaissance, then the Enlightenment and the French Revolution are located at the centre of his narrative, obviously highlighting France, Germany and Great-Britain. For Kende (1989: 240), Kant's conception of perpetual peace amalgamates the features of the English and French approaches: *"[Kant's] basic concept is a federation*

of states in which the countries would retain their sovereignty […], but in which the citizens would also be equal. This is the idea of world citizenship, as Kant claimed that such a federation can only be established when people were free, the citizens would live in republican states –showing that Kant has accepted the ideas of the French Revolution. Unlike certain French revolutionaries Kant was no dreamer. He argued that it was not the 'springs of moral' but of 'trading spirit', the hope for profits that could help to prevent wars –and this proves the effect of the English approach."

These more autonomous articulations of peace also have strong affective dimensions, where love plays a crucial role. In fact, Webel (2007: 6) refers to spiritual and religious leaders like Buddha and Gandhi who equate peace with love; to Freud who explains our conflicted inner worlds via intermingling of Eros and aggression, love and hate; and to Kant who sees peace as a regulative principle and ethical virtue, thus showing the historical constitutive aspects of peace both as a normative ideal and a psychological need. From there he furthers his dialectical determination of peace, "both an historical ideal and a term whose meaning is in flux" (Webel, 2007: 6), but also foregrounds the affective desire for peace: "Peace is, like all desired and desirable human ideals and needs, always potentially within us, even if difficult to discern and seemingly impossible to accomplish. The quest for peace may seem quixotic, but that is part of its allure" (Webel, 2007: 13). Arguably, this desire for peace, and the desirability of peace, constitutes the second nodal point of the peace discourse (in its more autonomous articulation).

An overview of all nodal points (of war and peace discourses) can be found in Figure 2, which will be used to structure the analysis of our Cypriot case study.

War Discourses	**Peace Discourses**
-Enemy-Self dichotomy -The Army as war assemblage -Destruction and death (of the Enemy) -Legitimations and aims of war -A spatially and temporally restricted arena of intensified reality	The photo-negativistic articulation of peace -The absence of the Enemy -The non-combatant or non-existent Army -The absence of death and destruction, with the emphasis on life -The absence of legitimations (and aims) of war -Continuity of space and time, as everyday life
	The more autonomous articulation of peace -Social harmony, economic equity and social justice -Desire for, and the desirability of, peace

Figure 2: An overview of the war and peace discourse nodal points

Context and Methodology

A Brief Historical Account of the 'Cyprus Problem'

Before turning to the three books, we need to provide, at least briefly, some of the historical context of the Cyprus Problem. Cyprus is an island in the Eastern Mediterranean, with a strategic position, and a troubled past of military conflicts. The first settlers on Cyprus arrived from Anatolia and the Levant, later from the

Aegean, and the island went through many hands before becoming part of the Ottoman Empire in 1571. This brought more Ottoman settlers to Cyprus, which, by then, had a large Orthodox Christian population (Carpentier, 2017: 203-4). Later, in 1878, Cyprus changed hands again, and became controlled by Great-Britain. Annexed at the start of the First World War, Cyprus became a British crown colony in 1925.

The early nineteenth century was crucial in the change of currents for Cyprus. The Greek war of independence, which started in 1821, resulted in the creation of the Kingdom of Greece in 1832, gaining its independence from the Ottoman Empire. Already during the Greek war of independence, a contingent of Greek Cypriots fought with the Greeks, and the intellectual-cultural exchanges between Greek Cypriots and Greeks, grounded in a shared language and religion, drove the desire for enosis, or the unification of Cyprus with Greece. The Greek nationalism on Cyprus was further strengthened by the Greek 'Megali Idea', first articulated in the mid-1800s, which consisted out of a programme for the integration of all territories inhabited by historically ethnic Greeks, into the Greek state (Kızılyürek, 2002: 49-53).

Turkish nationalism was more complex and appeared later, complicated by the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into its (partial) successor-state, Turkey. Turkish nationalism could be found, in the early twentieth century, in the writings of Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp, and with the Young Turks, it moved—articulated as Pan-Turkism—onto the political scene, especially after the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 (Kızılyürek 2002: 154-7). After the establishment of Turkey in 1923, by Mustafa Kemal, Pan-Turkism was not taken as the state doctrine. Instead, a top-down policy aimed at producing a secular, modern Turkey was set in motion, supported by, among other reforms, the writing of a new Turkish history and the adoption of the Latin alphabet for the Turkish language (Kızılyürek 2002: 170-1, 176).

In Cyprus, the first inter-communal clashes erupted in 1912; later, in 1931, the "October riots" took place, aimed against British rule and supportive of enosis with Greece. The riots brought about a severe response from the British side, with the imprisonment and deportation of those implicated, bans on several organizations, including the Communist Party, media censorship, etc. This only further strengthened the desire for enosis. Similarly, nationalism was on rise in the Turkish Cypriot community in the late 1920s and 1930s, both because of their admiration of the developments in Turkey and as a reaction to the Greek community's demand for enosis (Kızılyürek 2002: 221-2).

Only after the Second World War, the conflict fully erupted. In a plebiscite organized by the Orthodox Church, the great majority of Greek Cypriots voted for integration with Greece, which led to demands for Greece to raise the issue in the UN General Assembly in 1954. In the very same year, Turkey also changed its detached attitude and became involved in Cyprus, even directly in setting up the "Cyprus is Turkish Committee". The early 1950s also witnessed the foundation of the Greek-nationalist and right-wing EOKA, by the Greek army officer Grivas—supported by archbishop Makarios (the later first president of the Republic of Cyprus). EOKA started, in April 1955, an armed struggle against the British rule,

for self-determination and enosis. As EOKA not only targeted the British, but also left-wing Greek Cypriots, and Turkish Cypriots (Carpentier 2017: 209-211; Kızılyürek 2002: 96-102, 234-241; Stelya 2013), the internal conflict quickly escalated. For instance, in 1957, the newly established Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT) started its counter-attacks, driven by the demand for taksim, or partition of the island.

With the Zurich and London agreements of 1959, Cyprus became an independent state in 1960, with Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom as the guarantors of the Republic of Cyprus. Violence between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots erupted again at the end of 1963, and continued throughout the rest of the 1960s, forcing the Turkish Cypriots to withdraw into a series of military protected enclaves. When, on 15 July 1974, the Greek junta, supported by right-wing Greek Cypriots, organized a coup against the Greek Cypriot president Makarios, Turkey intervened and invaded the island, as this coup generated a new and severe security threat for the Turkish Cypriots.

The "Cyprus Peace Operation" (Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı), "Operation Peace" (Barış Harekâtı) or "Cyprus Operation" (Kıbrıs Harekâtı) as it was/is called in Turkey, was launched on 20 July 1974. In a first stage, the Turkish Army landed near the northern Cypriot city of Kyrenia/Girne[5], and established a corridor, linking this bridgehead with the large Turkish Cypriot enclave of North Nicosia, and gaining control of about three percent of the island's territory. A ceasefire was established on 22 July 1974, but in a second stage of the invasion, initiated on 14 August 1974 and concluded two days later, Turkey gained control of more than 1/3 of the island. The new ceasefire line became consolidated in the Buffer Zone, guarded by UN troops, and dividing the entire island. Large numbers of Cypriots became displaced in the process, abandoning their houses and fleeing to 'their' part of Cyprus, resulting in two largely homogeneous parts of Cyprus. This divide, despite many attempts for a negotiated peace, continues to exist until today. Only in 2003, the first crossings through the Buffer Zone opened up, right before the Republic of Cyprus joined the European Union. Before, in 1983, the Turkish Cypriots had established the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), which exercizes the de facto control in the north, but which is only recognized by Turkey.

Data and Methodology

Our analysis focuses on three books written in Turkish, by Turkish soldiers, all of whom fought in the 1974 Cyprus war, albeit in different capacities. The first book, The 20th July 1974 Cyprus. The Unending Night, is written by lieutenant-colonel Muzaffer Sever (2012). He was an intelligence officer with the staff of the 6th Corps during the 1974 war. He had worked in Cyprus before, in 1970-1971, for 18 months. In 1971, he was involved in preparing the operational plans for 1974. He also visited Cyprus after the war. The second book, The 1st Commando Battalion, 1974 Cyprus: Break-Out in Beşparmak/Kyrenia Mountains, is written by Haluk Üstügen (2015),

5) In this article, the Cypriot places names are indicated, when possible, by their Greek name in Latin spelling, and their Turkish name. One exception is Nicosia, where we only use the English name of the city.

who was a first lieutenant and a commando squadron commander during the 1974 war. His name was given to a hill after the battles for St. Hilarion, a battle which was crucial for the Turkish Army to gain access to north Nicosia, during the first stage of the war (see Figure 3). Finally, The Cyprus Peace Operation and Beyond is written by Ali İhsan Gürcan (2013), who was a second lieutenant in the 1st parachute battalion during the 1974 war. Gürcan's book focuses mostly on the situation after the 1974 war, defending his battalion against different allegations and demanding to be honoured (with medals). This book contains more than 100 photographs and several short interviews with Turkish Cypriots (with Gürcan as interviewer).

Figure 3: Haluk Üstügen Hill sign, Photograph by Nico Carpentier

These three books are analysed using a discourse-theoretical analysis (DTA – see, Carpentier, 2017). As a method, DTA relies on the core principles of qualitative analysis. This firstly implies a strong emphasis on the cyclical-iterative nature of research, with the development of the theoretical framework and the analysis cross-fertilizing each other (even if this article reports on both in a linear way, with the theoretical framework coming first). Secondly, this also implies a strong presence of so-called sensitizing concepts, theoretical concepts which guide the analysis, without foreclosing it. In DTA, discourse, as a theoretical concept, functions as the main sensitizing concept, strengthened by other discourse-theoretical concepts (e.g. nodal points, dislocation, …). In addition, theoretical concepts from outside discourse theory—in this particular case originating from the field(s) of war and peace studies—serve as additional sensitizing concepts, through a re-reading practice that integrates them more into a discourse-theoretical framework.

The Construction of War and Peace in the Books by the Turkish Commanders who Fought in Cyprus: Analysis and Results

The War Discourses in the Three Books

The nodal points of the Self vs the Enemy, and the centrality of the Army

In all three books, the Turkish nation, the Turkish army and Turks in general are constructed as the Self. As Turkish Cypriots are considered to be Turks by the authors of the books, and as they are seen fighting with the Turkish army against 'the Greeks', they too are articulated as part of the Self. To indicate this chain of equivalence, we cannot but use the signifiers 'Turks' for Turks and Turkish Cypriots, and 'Greeks' for Greeks and Greek Cypriots, in this article, even if this conflation serves a nationalist agenda. This conflation is not complete, though. For instance, Turkish Cypriots are singled out as Helpers, assisting the Turkish commanders with finding their way in unknown territory, or to communicate with Greek captives. And Turkish Cypriots are also constructed as the Victim, to be saved from the Greeks.

In particular, the Army takes a privileged role in representing the Self, as an assemblage of war that consists out of many materials and signifying practices, military strategies and rationalities, hierarchies, rules and traditions; all of these constitute the Self rationally organized for war. Sever (2012), who was involved in preparing the operation's plans before and in 1974, includes a multitude of sketches of land, naval and air operations, general and regional daily attack plans, the positions of TMT and Greek Forces, photographs of the operations, information on military staff meetings and even the copies of three written operational orders (Sever, 2012: 235-237). Gürcan's (2013) book includes lists of military units, of places and targets as well as a summary and an outline of the "plan for the 1st operation"; and Üstügen's (2015) book has air and land movement plans, and military sketches, together with documents of tactical decisions made during the battles (e.g., Üstügen, 2015: 63).

This wealth of visual and written materials shows how the Turkish Army was organized for war; how it was indeed an assemblage characterized by rationality; how the orders were issued in a hierarchical manner and how the strategies and plans were developed. Üstügen's (2015) continuing emphasis on the relationship between the commander and his soldiers also constructs the Army in terms of hierarchy, respect and obedience. This book, more than the other two, emphasizes military traditions and rules. He, for instance, writes: "It is one of the pitiless rules of war that you have to leave a person dying. Because there are a lot of people in front of you waiting for your orders and need to complete their tasks without being killed"[6] (Üstügen, 2015: 129). His duty comes first: "My duty was to hoist the flag on DOĞRYOL HILL and in order to do that I had to clear all hurdles, be them enemy or friend" (Üstügen, 2015: 124).

The Army assemblage not only contains rationality but also affect. War is considered as a monumental success/victory, because of the self-sacrifice, heroism and courage of the soldiers and commanders (of the Self). Sever (2012: 123) refers to the memoirs of another commander, Zeki Doğdu, who relates the success of the

6) All citations from the three books have been translated from Turkish into English by D. Beybin Kejanlıoğlu.

Cyprus war to "the sacrifices and heroism of the air forces" and to a commander who was "so cold-blooded and brave that one could not help but admiring him" (Sever, 2012: 123). Gürcan's (2013: 36, 37) narrative also includes such affectionate descriptions as "PRIDE [and] GLORY" and "fearless, dare-devil military officers", while Üstügen (2015: 27, 37) describes the Turkish commandos as "dauntless, fearless", where a "tombstone is his pillow and leaves are his cover" (Üstügen, 2015: 11, 13). This heroic construction is sometimes racial—"Having strength, austerity, commitment to law and heroism in his nature and in his genes, […] Mehmetçik [the Turkish soldier] can be successful [with] extremely limited resources within a limited time" (Üstügen, 2015: 154)—and nationalist, as the sacrifice is for the honour of the Turkish nation (Üstügen, 2015: 22, 61, 115). All three books extend the image of the fearless, courageous, heroic Turk soldiers to the Turkish Cypriots, of the Mehmetçik to the Mücahit (the Turkish Cypriot soldier). While Sever (2012: 135) describes their strength in the following terms: "Greeks must have regretted that they had come against them (Mücahits in ERENKÖY/KOKKINA[7]). ERENKÖY still stands there as a flag", Gürcan (2013: 91) makes an historical reference to the Turkish independence war: They were "Crazy Turkish Cypriots. Their spirit was the spirit of the National Forces [the Kuvayı Milliye of Turkey] in the Turkish war of independence." In addition to courage-related affects, there is also compassion, towards civilians and Enemy-soldiers. Üstügen gives details about how he helped and/or displayed kindness towards a British couple (Üstügen, 2015: 372), a very poor Greek, Nikola, in a village (Üstügen, 2015: 362-363), an old Greek man on a bicycle, who was lost and otherwise would have surely died (Üstügen, 2015: 327), and his captives (Üstügen, 2015: 368-369, 386-389), explicitly stating: "My enemy is also a human in the last instance" (Üstügen, 2015: 373).

In the three books, we find constructions of the Enemy, in a dichotomous relationship with the Self. The Enemy is here the Greek nation, the Greek army and Greeks in general, with again Greek Cypriots included in this chain of equivalence, as the latter are striving for enosis after all. Still, in some occurrences, the Greek Cypriots are also articulated as Victims, in particular of the Greek junta but also of the Greek Army that puts Greek Cypriots in the frontlines during battles. There is a wealth of enmity towards Greeks in all three books, with many historical and biological references. Sever (2012: 11-13) characterizes 'the' Greeks as having a passion for party politics and plots, being unreliable, instable, xenophobic and boastful. Three characteristics stand out: pride, deceitfulness and lust. Sever (2012: 174), for instance, formulates this as follows: "Greeks, as a result of their blood and genes, broke their promise." Üstügen (2015: 263) also presents the Greeks as deceptive, situating this character trait in a religious context, narrating how Greek soldiers tried to lure the Turkish army into destroying a sacred (Christian) place (by speaking Turkish on the wireless). Deception and immorality of Greeks are even seen to be used against their fellows, as the Greek military commanders place the Cypriots in the frontlines (Üstügen, 2015: 209). Gürcan (2013: 51) adds cruelty and barbarism to the Enemy construction, referring to events in the town of Lefka/

7) Kokkina/Erenköy was a Turkish Cypriot enclave in the north-west of the island, fiercely defended by Turkish Cypriots in the 1960s, as its small port was a lifeline to Turkey. It is now an exclave of the TRNC.

Lefke: "Greeks behaved in enmity toward innocent people." Üstügen (2015: 6, 143 and 116 original emphasis) also used the cruelty signifier, writing how "the cruelty and barbarity of Greeks" could be witnessed in the Cypriot villages, together with their "FEAR FROM TURKS", which originates from historical events: The "Turkish slap that the Greek received in the war of [Turkish] independence must have absolutely been told [and transferred] from generation to generation. Are not those we meet now the grandchildren of those who had this slap?" The lack of military capacity (or competence) is also demonstrated through the mistakes the Greek (Cypriot) Army is said to have made. Üstügen (2015: 91) and Gürcan (2013: 114) point to strategic mistakes, for instance, of mistaking the main landing for a diversion, while Gürcan (2013: 114) also mentions the tactical error of not opening fire on the paratroopers while they were still in the air.

In a number of cases, the Enemy is extended to a number of Western countries, or to the West in general, with the UN Peace Forces sometimes seen in collusion with the West. This positions the Greeks in two distinct ways. Gürcan (2013: 112) sees the Greek Enemy as being used by the West, which again discredits the Greek. He refers the 1919 landing of Greek troops in Smyrna (now Izmir), which was then part of the Ottoman Empire, and their evacuation, three years later, after the Greek armies were defeated by the Turkish forces, when he writes: "This war was similar to the one in 15 May 1919 in Izmir/Smyrna, which was the result of wrong calculations of the Greeks, supported and provoked, in particular, by France and Britain […]. Their motive in this war was the idea that they could take revenge for the slap of 9 September 1922." Sever places more emphasis on the collusion element, using the word 'crusader' when he protests against the easy forgetting of Greek atrocities by the Western press, "because the crusaders have behaved like this also in the past. […] I don't want to use the word Westerners. Because this word primarily brings the word CIVILIZATION on one's mind" (Sever, 2012: 214-215).

Death and destruction, and the intensified real, limited in time and space

Along with dichotomous construction of the Self vs the Enemy and the privileged role of the Army, another nodal point of war discourses is destruction and death. In particular Gürcan's narration of war often refers to destruction and death. He writes: "Bullets were fluttering in the air" (Gürcan, 2013: 31) and "There was really a blood bath in Doğruyol. […] Blood flew here as if it were a stream […]. Staying alive under such fire was a miracle and miracles are sometimes real" (Gürcan, 2013: 35). In the morning "there were corpses everywhere" (Gürcan, 2013: 36). As Üstügen (2015: 5, 84, 277) was in the battlefield, also his narration of war includes more detailed scenes of the battles for St. Hilarion and the control of an important pass between North and South Cyprus: unending nights, parts of bodies, "being at each other's throat", a mountain "burning like hell", and while leaving St. Hilarion and crying for the fallen ones, seeing the bitter panorama from more nearby—destroyed houses, cars, roads, etc. Death is a threat, and a reality: "Bayonets were fixed, grenades were raining, screams were being echoed. There was threat of death in front of us." (Üstügen, 2015: 130). Sever (2012: 7, 227), in turn, repeats twice that "war is a reality." And "reality" means fire, destruction, death and corpses lying around (Sever, 2012: 98, 195, 213).

Talking about a fallen comrade to the latter's wife is only one instance of how the construction of war as destruction and death is articulated with masculinity. In Üstügen's (2015: 18, 40-42, 77) book, the commander-soldier relationship is often presented as a father-son relationship. The idea that war is waged by males also becomes manifest in his description of the commando and his wife (who is not a commando) (Üstügen, 2015: 13, 37). Moreover, Üstügen uses the metaphor of the rooster, when referring to Greek and Turkish soldiers taking stock of their losses and regrouping their units during a ceasefire: "Daunted by the battle, we resemble roosters getting puffed up vis-à-vis each other, without bringing detriment to our masculinity" (Üstügen, 2015: 222). War and warriors as male, with women allocated a supportive role, appear in Sever's (2012: 134) book too: "In village groups, men from 16 to 60 years old were engaged in the armed conflict. Girls, women and kids were next to the men and elders, supporting this deadly struggle."

The destruction and death related to war is also subjected to temporal and spatial restrictions, which brought about heightened intensity. All the books mention the 21st July 1974 as "an unending night" and a "nightmare", which had—for the Turkish soldiers—a happy ending. The actual war, for them, only took 25 hours and 40 minutes, after establishing the bridgehead, the military engagements that came after were mostly aimed at enlarging the controlled territory (Gürcan, 2013: 36, 144; Sever, 2012: 219; Üstügen, 2015: 137). The ceasefires, in between the two stages and after the second stage, play a particular role, as they created liminal time zones and spaces. Formally, a ceasefire is a suspension of the fighting, but in this case, after the first stage of the war in July, the fighting continued, at least for a while (Sever, 2012: 149, 151, 161; Üstügen, 2015: 248, 260, 302-303), and the Turkish Army used the ceasefire to prepare for the second stage. Even if the ceasefire temporarily suspends the intensified reality of fighting, allowing the soldiers to eat hot and tasty food, clean themselves up and sleep (Üstügen, 2015: 248-250), the expected end of the ceasefire produces the (risk of the) return to arms: "There was the enemy there, the ceasefire did not provide security" (Üstügen, 2015: 252).

Legitimations and Aims

A final nodal point of the war discourse is the cluster of legitimations and aims. The Turkish military intervention was legitimated through the threatened security of the Turkish Cypriots, which is why the invasion is labelled a "peace operation". In Gürcan's book (2013: 29), the announcement of the Turkish military intervention by the then Turkish Prime Minister, Bülent Ecevit, first on the radio (at 6:10),[8] and a few hours later (at 12:00), at a press conference,[9] are quoted in length. Üstügen's (2015: 159) book includes a quote from a sergeant, who had been told the following by pilots: "We are going there for peace." Whenever Gürcan refers to Turkish Cypriots, he repeats their intent of saving them, stressing its affective dimensions: Turkish Cypriots were crying of out mere happiness, because they were at last saved. They were full of admiration and joy, and they had regained their self-respect. Üstügen writes about his contemplations, for instance, about whether he wants to go to war

8) See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4RXcAa425NI, for the recording (between 05:37 and 07:07).
9) See https://www.msn.com/tr-tr/haber/diger/ecevitin-kıbrıs-barış-harekatı-konuşması/vp-BBPnku0.

or whether he would prefer a peaceful solution. The former is for him necessary to save "our children from problems with the Greeks" (Üstügen, 2015: 33). His narratives vary but they have the same theme: During the battle he, for instance, shouted out, in anger, to a Mücahit: "We came to save you!" (Üstügen, 2015: 160), and he could read from the eyes of another Mücahit, who admired the Turkish soldiers and served them food: "HEY MEHMETÇİK! WHAT TOOK YOU CENTURIES LONG?" (Üstügen, 2015: 250 original emphasis). Üstügen (2015: 338) recounts how a slim woman with two children shouted: "Your father died but Mehmet came. […] They came from Turkey to save us. No more fear."

Even if the war discourse articulates war as legitimate, there is also the uncontrollable beginning. The responsibility for the war is outside the agency of the Turks and their Army. This lack of agency was actually implied in PM Bülent Ecevit's radio announcement, his speech at the press conference and his Turkish Parliament speech about the operation. In the latter, he said that "The operation we started in Cyprus is apart from a war, is a peace operation. […] an operation, in a sense, to bring peace, to bring freedom and peace to an island […] It is our heartfelt wish that this operation would stay within this frame. However, this is not in our hands only […]" (Ecevit, 1974: 10). Gürcan (2013: 29) provides ample room for the announcement in his book and Üstügen (2015: 105) also writes that when listening to PM Ecevit's radio announcement, he did not guess that there would be fighting. Because Ecevit said, "Our army came to Cyprus for peace. If you do not open fire to our soldiers and do not harm our cognates, then our soldiers will not commence fire."

These legitimations were translated into particular aims, often explicitly featuring peace, as the previous citation from Üstügen exemplifies. Still, there is also the more practical objective, which is victory. When we look at how this is expressed in the three books, we can first of all find Sever's calm evaluations, saying "in the end, they lost" (Sever, 2012: 201) or the "Cyprus peace operation was a successful operation in its general structure despite some general flaws in its implementation" (Sever, 2012: 232). These are mixed with more glorifying statements, such as: "The second conqueror of Famagusta was met with ceremony. The first was in 1571, Lala Mustafa Pasha [the Ottoman commander who conquered Cyprus]" (Sever, 2012: 197). In practice, victory is translated into territorial control, and/or control over the Enemy. Gürcan's (2013: 144) book includes a quote from Neşet İkiz, a marine forces battalion commander, to which Gürcan adds the following comment between parentheses: "Actually, the Cyprus Peace Operation ended on 22 July 1974. Then was played the extra time. The overtime was to enlarge the territory, to gain more land for the Turkish region." Üstügen (2015: 272, 340) writes that during the ceasefire their duty was not to defend the territory, but to control the environment and the Peace Force, and to continue the hunt for the Enemy. Of course, victory also has an affective dimension, which we can find, for instance, in Üstügen's descriptions of the rituals of the victorious: "Our Glorious Flag was hoisted on the hill." He then called his commander via the wireless and said: "MY COMMANDER, DOĞRUYOL IS YOURS." (Üstügen, 2015: 136 original emphases).

Dislocations of the War Discourse

War discourses are prone to dislocations, which can de-stabilize or even destroy discourses, and in many cases require discursive repair. Also these dislocations can be found materialized in the three books. One type of dislocations of the war discourse relates to the rationality and smoothness of the war machine of the Self. The books extensively show that military strategies and tactics fail. Sometimes these failures are situated at the more practical level: Sever (2012: 64) describes how the busses and trucks for the 1st commando battalion did not arrive in time, which forced them into a long, tough and tiring walk. Gürcan (2013: 33) and Sever (2012: 68) point out that the landing of the Turkish troops was two hours late, which Sever considered a "fiasco"; new uniforms for the Turkish commandos caused confusion and a helicopter loading/embarkation zone was more like a "funfair" (Gürcan, 2013: 35, 41; Sever, 2012: 106, 108). Moreover, cases of mistaken identity occur, sometimes with deadly consequences. The 1974 war was no exception, as the Turkish air force accidentally sank the Turkish destroyer D354 Kocatepe, killing in this case of friendly fire 54 crew members (Gürcan, 2013: 60-62) and 13 marines.

Also the leadership structures of the Army fail. Sever (2012: 59, 91) talks about commanders of the 1st and 2nd parachute battalions who failed to obey orders, with heavy consequences. He also describes how a "Mortar platoon leader left the field because of a lack of missiles, without informing anybody. As there was no evaluation of victories, such actions were not questioned either" (Sever, 2012: 116) Yet another example is when a commander returned to the corps command post, leaving his soldiers behind fighting, and told the staff that his battalion had been destroyed (Sever, 2012: 101). Gürcan (2013: 38) mentions a similar critical note, when he writes: "If the 61st Regiment waits and joins the war whenever it wants […], then I would not say the regiment is good […]."

A second dislocation originates from the contradiction between the constructions of the Enemy, on the one hand, and professional army culture, which produces professional bonding, on the other. In the books we can find many expressions of hatred launched against the Enemy-Other, but we also find expressions of mutual respect. Sever (2012: 118) expresses appreciation for the Greek military planning in Fyllia/Serhatköy, where minefields were covered by heavy artillery, so that they could not be cleared. Üstügen's narrative (2015: 199) also complements the Greeks for being well-organized in terms of their mastery in war, their coordination, their fire support and accuracy, their high levels of training and their good command system. One example of praise is included in Sever's book: "In today's combats, the GREEK Regiment's determination to fight and resist should not be denied. They, too, waged war with courage, with heart and soul, heroically committed to their part of the task" (Sever, 2012: 201). Gürcan (2013: 36, 113) explains how the Greeks soldiers did not flee in Doğruyol, but fought until the last soldier standing. In other words, the Enemy is sometimes—just as the Self—constructed as courageous and heroic.

Peace Discourses in the Three Books

The three books are written by Turkish soldiers, about their experiences with the

1974 war. It hardly comes as a surprise that these books offer strong condensations of the war discourse, and that are only faint traces of the peace discourse. Nevertheless, these traces are clearly visible, and can (and will) be analyzed (see below). But we should start by pointing out that the dislocations of the peace discourse are also explicitly present in the books. This, first of all, relates to the idea that "living in peace is impossible for the two communities" (interview with Sümer Aygın, the Mayor of Girne/Kyrenia, in Gürcan, 2013: 137). Üstügen (2015: 6) raises the same concern, writing that "in this war, we saw the impossibility of Greeks and Turks living together." This argument is also linked to the history of conflict in Cyprus: "Greeks and Turks cannot live together as is obvious from their past" (Üstügen, 2015: 389). This past, for instance, relates to the short period of relative peace right after the independence of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, which lasted for about three years: "At last, peace/tranquillity (huzur) returned to the island. Rather, it seemed so. Those days with blood and tension were left behind, forgotten, happy days started […] However, it did not last long" (Sever, 2012: 23). Gürcan (2013: 112) takes this a step further, when he addresses the Greek Cypriots with the statement "You were in peace for 400 years, in the Ottoman times", which not only omits key events, such as the execution of almost the entire Orthodox/Greek Cypriot elite in 1821, but also blames the Greek (Cypriots) for the Cyprus Problem, thus reverting again to a war discourse.

This tenacity of the war discourse, in books that were written more than three decades after the actual 1974 war ended, is already in itself a dislocation of the peace discourse, but this is further strengthened by the demands for recognition and remembrance, which we also find in the books. In both Sever's (2012) and Gürcan's (2013) books, there are criticisms against the Turkish state for doing injustice to the veterans. Gürcan's (2013) whole book, in particular, is very much a well-documented argument for receiving more recognition, translated into a call for medals from the Directorate of General Staff and the General Assembly. He also provides space to interviews with Turkish Cypriots, in order to recall the idea of the saved Victim and to show the difficulty of establishing peace between the two communities. The authors are also concerned about the conflict being forgotten. Sever (2012: 224) deploys the frequently used metaphor of the Babyland to refer to Cyprus (and the Motherland to refer to Turkey), in order to express his concern about remembrance: "How could Baby[land] citizens and Mother[land] citizens, after gaining independence and freedom through a war of salvation/independence, change later, forget the past? I am unable to understand." He exemplifies this forgetfulness by referring to a building that was used as a headquarters, and that was later turned into a cowshed. When he first went there, after the war, there was "at least" a sign which read "this building was used on 20 July 1974 as a corps command post for 3 days." When he visited the building for a second time, the sign had disappeared (Sever, 2012: 71).

Of course, given that war has the ability to function as the constitutive outside in peace discourses, the books still contain (limited) references to the peace discourse. The Enemy, even if s/he always has the potential to strike back, even after the war ended, ceases to be the Enemy. Üstügen (2015: 386-9) narrates, for

instance, how, after the war, he looked for one of his former captives, sergeant Hristo, and found him in 2015 in London. They met in Cyprus and Üstügen returned the sergeant's photographs and other belongings. Also the Self is affected by these changes, as the unity between Turks and Turkish Cypriots is weakening. The above-mentioned complaints about the Turkish Cypriot forgetfulness are indicative of this change. Also Üstügen (2015) observes that, when he had returned to Cyprus, ten years after the war, for him, the spirit of the Mücahit was disappearing. Turkish Cypriots and Turks were not getting along as well as before, and the "fidelity" was lost (Üstügen, 2015: 385).

Secondly, the nodal points of life (contrasted to death) and everyday life (as routine) are also present, constructed through the references to home, family and nature, and sometimes the feminine. Üstügen (2015: 56) writes how he—on his way to Cyprus—ponders about his life in the Turkish city of Bolu in summer. He thinks back at how he, together with family or friends got into his new Pontiac car, to go to a picnic, or to go fishing or swimming, contrasting this peaceful everyday life to the war he went to. In 2011, when Gürcan (2013: 39) visited the old battlefields, he noticed that "There were colourful flowers where soldiers had become martyrs. Each flower was 20-21 years old, from us and from them. If these wars hadn't occurred, these people wouldn't have died. From time to time, I ask myself why we were fighting. I wish there were no deaths, neither from them nor from us."

The traces to the peace discourse also contain more autonomous articulations of peace. The previous citation from Gürcan already shows the presence of the desire-for-peace nodal point. Even if peace is considered unreachable, it is still desired for. It is, for instance, a wish of Gürcan (2013: 39) that "from now on, governments would solve problems in a peaceful way." Also the nodal point of social harmony makes a modest appearance in the books. Gürcan (2013: 112) is quite explicit in his call, addressed to the Greeks, about sharing the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean, to then exclaim: "We are your best friends. Let's put an end to enmity and become friends!" There are also more practice-based narratives: Üstügen (2015: 377), for instance, recounts an event after the ceasefire, which occurred on two hills opposite to each other, one under Greek control, the other under Turkish control. The Turks played Greek music, all sang the songs and enjoyed themselves together. And Sever (2012: 216—original emphasis) recalls his family's past, when dealing with captives: "I had no authorization to release them. I guess, I did what was possible as a human being (My mother was among those who came from Thessaloniki via exchange after the treaty of LAUSANNE). Those people, like other Greeks, were sent to the south, to their regions from the barricades of NICOSIA."

Conclusion

The three voices have become in Turkey an integral part of the remembered history of the 1974 war in Cyprus, even if they were published many decades after the war took place. They are part of a multitude of voices about this war, which still has a very contested history. In this article, we are not so much concerned about the historical accuracy of their narratives, but we mostly wanted to understand how

these books construct war and peace, or—in a discourse-theoretical language—how these documents contained particular materializations and condensations of war and peace discourses.

These voices not only participate in the construction of the history of the 1974 war, but they also participate in a much broader debate, about how to think war and peace, about how to define them and how to appreciate and evaluate them. These voices are not always pleasant to read, as they deal with one of the darkest sides of human behaviour, and because there is an inherent militarism in them, which poses a potential risk for democracy. Understanding this rational and affective identification and affiliation with war discourses, and how they constructed through a series of nodal points thus becomes important in its own right, also enabling for later deconstructions.

Understanding these voices also becomes relevant from a democratic-humanist perspective. From a substantive democratic perspective (see Shapiro, 1996: 123), which transcends democracy as mere procedure and articulates democracy with a series of values (including respect for the Other, and human rights), war discourses become deeply problematic, as they lead to the suspension of democracy. From a humanist perspective, which values human beings, individually and collectively, we find the same type of problematization, given the destructive force of war, which pitches people against each other. But at the same time, there is also something to be said in defence of these three books, still from a democratic-humanist perspective, in two ways. Firstly, these books also contain (gentle) articulations of peace discourses, allowing us to think peace, and to desire for it, even if peace sometimes only becomes visible through the photo-negativistic articulation of war. Secondly, and arguably more importantly, these books also contain dislocations of the war discourse, showing (again) that the army, as assemblage of war, often fails, and is characterized by structural irrationality, despite the plurality of rituals that claim rationality. In this sense, these books might still require more and louder counter-voices, but their self-dislocatory capacities should be welcomed as well.

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