

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY  
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY**

**A REPRESENTATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN  
FILMS: *BREATH: LONG LIVE THE HOMELAND* AND  
*FUTURE LASTS FOREVER***

**Master's Thesis**

**DAMLA ÇAVDAR**

**ISTANBUL, 2015**



**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY  
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY**

**THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
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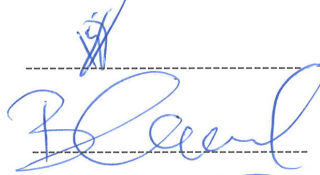


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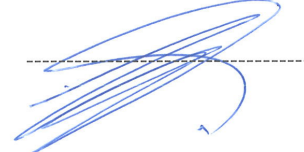
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## ABSTRACT

### A REPRESENTATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN FILMS: *BREATH: LONG LIVE THE HOMELAND AND FUTURE LASTS FOREVER*

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The notion of political violence has been debated over and over again within the concept of power and subject because of its bond with government and ethnic groups. That concept also become an important subject in political surfaces and constantly being pushed to be legitimized for the sake of the motives of “right to self-defense” and the efforts of “self-justification” of the power. Thus, the reasons of political violence getting even harder to realize for the parties that left on the edges of violence. At the base of this study, the difference between violence and power concepts and their essences were aimed to be analyzed and the relation between them was tried to be shown with two films that were considered with political violence in mind. To better understand political violence, ideas of Hannah Arendt, Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben are studied. Arendt states that violence is not merely an expression of political power and that to understand and use the concept of “violence” correctly the essence of violence should be mentioned. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the essence of violence in order to debate the effects of it on different layers of the society. The majority and the power otherize individuals or communities, who are excluded from society for various reasons. This otherization turns into a ‘quest for significance’ - the desire to be somebody-. According to the ideology stimulating the process, the ‘quest for significance’ could turn to political violence acts or not. People, who are appearing or identifying themselves as freedom fighters, may cause to reproduce the power again and transport it to different areas away from its goal in mutual conflict. At this point, people, who are defined as political fighter, hero or sacred-victim by society or justification of counter violence, help us to understand the complicated strategy of power, which is scattered in different areas as Michel Foucault emphasized. In this respect, Foucault and Giorgio Agamben, who address the notion of power from a different perspective, have an important place in theoretical background of thesis. As stated by Foucault, the power is scattered everywhere. The communication as a medium of the power, is another factor causing the otherization. Two examples of Turkish films, *Breath* and *Future Lasts Forever* offers the opportunity to discuss the reasons, the instrumentalization and the legitimization of violence.

**Keywords:** Turkey Cinema, Political Violence, Communication, Power, Otherization

## ÖZET

### *NEFES: VATAN SAĞOLSUN VE GELECEK UZUN SÜRER* FİLMLERİNDE POLİTİK ŞİDDETİN TEMSİLİ

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Politik şiddet söyleminin devlet ve etnik gruplar ile olan bağlantısı, bu kavramın iktidar ve özne gibi kavramlarla tekrar tekrar tartışılmasına neden olmaktadır. Politik alanda önemli bir olguya dönüşen bu kavram “kendini savunma” gerekçesi ve iktidarın kendini haklılaştırma çabası içinde meşrulaştırılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Bu yüzden şiddetin ucunda kalan taraflar için politik şiddetin nedenlerinin anlaşılması daha zor bir hal almaktadır. Bu açıdan, bu çalışmanın temelinde şideet ve iktidar kavramları arasındaki fark ve özlerine ilişkin bir analiz yapılması amaçlanmış ve aralarındaki bağ politik şiddet kavramıyla ele alınan iki film üzerinden gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır. Politik şiddet olgusunu daha iyi anlayabilmek adına Hannah Arendt, Michel Foucault ve Giorgio Agamben’in düşünceleri ele alınmaktadır. Arendt şiddetin sadece iktidarın bir dışavurumu olmadığını, şiddet kavramını doğru anlamak ve kullanmak için şiddetin özü üzerinde durmanın gerekliliğinden bahsetmektedir. Bu yüzden şiddetin özünü anlamak, toplumun farklı kesimlerini nasıl etkilediğini tartışabilmek açısından önemlidir. Çeşitli nedenlerle toplumdaki dışlanan birey ya da topluluklar örneğinin azınlıklar ya da farklı inanç, kültür ya da ideolojiye sahip kişiler, çoğunluk ve iktidar tarafından ötekileştirilmektedir. Bu da bireyin yaşadığı kimlik kaybına yani anlamsallık arayışına neden olmaktadır. Elbette ki her anlamsallık arayışı politik şiddet eylemine neden olmaz, bunun asıl nedeni o süreçte benimsenen ideolojinin niteliğidir. Bu açıdan özgürlük savaşçısı olarak gözüken ya da kendini öyle tanımlayan birey, karşılıklı çatışma içerisinde amaçlarından uzaklaşıp, iktidarın tekrar üretilmesine veya farklı alanlara taşınmasına neden olabilmektedir. Bu noktada toplumun politik mücadeleci, kahraman ya da kutsal-kurban diye tanımladığı kişiler ya da karşı şiddetin haklılaştırılması, Michel Foucault’un vurguladığı gibi farklı alanlara dağılmış karmaşık bir iktidar stratejisini görmemize yardımcı olmaktadır. Bu açıdan tezin teorik arka planında iktidar kavramını farklı bir açıdan ele alan Foucault ve Giorgio Agamben önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Foucault’un da belirttiği gibi iktidar her yere dağılmış durumdadır. İktidarın bir aracı olan iletişim de bu ötekileştirmeye neden olan ayrı bir etkidir. Türk sinemasının *Nefes* ve *Gelecek Uzun Sürer* örnekleri şiddetin nedenleri, araçsallaştırılması ve meşrulaştırılması üzerine tartışma imkanı sunmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Türkiye Sineması, Politik Şiddet, İletişim, İktidar, Ötekileştirme

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

*... let alone works of ideological self-deception, assumptions of a kind of stupidity in a society and making for more of it, propaganda of traditional kinds, and governmental lying by official vocabulary and by obfuscation (Honderich 2003, 2).*

“...it must be admitted that it is particularly tempting to think of power in terms of command and obedience, and hence to equate power with violence.” “...it looks indeed as though violence were the prerequisite of power and power nothing but a façade...” (Arendt 1970, 47) More often than not violence is conceptually reminiscent of physical abuse, yet, essentially, it is not necessarily concrete. Violence which has become an indicator of using force over others, has also turned into an instrument that the power structure needs. In this way, violence could find itself a place within the political area. Genocide, war, human right abuses and political violence show the face of violence. In short, it is a political usage of hatred. With this terms violence, created from the idea of justice and it can be change because of different purposes. In this study, violence is considered in its application to government by groups and to groups by government. This kind of violence is exemplified by state violence and political struggles of (ethnic) minorities. A minority is the opposite of majority, as a word “minority” refers to a group of people who are ostracized by the majority in a state because of their ethnicity and their disagreements with the majority. As such, this kind of violence is considered political violence due its political ends. The concept of “terrorism” is intentionally avoided in this discussion. Definition of “terrorism” is problematic because it is a subjective concept. Using this government fabricated concept forces one to participate in the fabricated perception. Who are those called terrorists? Even this causes a dangerous discourse by itself.

Famous social scientists such as Walter Benjamin, Jacques Derrida, Robert Cover, Hannah Arendt, Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben, punctuated on this issue and criticized common ideas about violence. In this respect, discussions such as ‘At what point does act turn into violence or can violence be justified?’ renders the definition

violence almost impossible. Violence is born, it grows and destroys groups and individuals but it never disappears. It may have risen due to various reasons and the same stands for political struggle, too. Political violence might have derived from various purposes. Therefore, study of political violence cannot be defined in terms of a single discipline, such as political science. Political violence is an inter disciplinary term which is related to communication theory, crime science, sociology, psychology, etc. This thesis should be kept in neither the outside nor the inside of the political reading. Because it does not belong to only one discipline.

Political violence is generally shaped around ideologies in Turkey. Violence is reflected in radicalism, nationalism and struggles against them. Government creates enemies who are trying to disrupt the integrity of their nation, through the idea of preserving national unity, which is imposed onto society as a matter of life and death. In such a way, the nation provokes people against itself to maintain and increase its own power in this way. And thus, power makes a distinction *us versus them*. (Paunksnis 2011, 33)

*National identity, then, can be formed along many lines in theory, but in practice it always results in alienating different groups that form society. This results in violence too often to be regarded as sporadic. For this reason, a national identity is constructed on violent tendencies.*

This system requires enemies and makes tools from society for itself and therefore, acts of power legitimize the necessary violence and spread into the society. In the end the idea turns, “an innocent ‘us’ under attack by an evil ‘them’.” (Jung 2010, 17) In Turkey, minorities are presented as enemies for the sake of specific purposes and violence has become a tool for the sake of these purposes too. Mesut Yeğen, in his study on Kurds living in Turkey, stated that “Kurdish issue whenever it was uttered in government discourse was mentioned as an issue of ‘reaction’, ‘tribal resistance’, ‘banditry’, ‘foreign agitation’ or ‘areal backwardness’; never as an ethno-political problem.” (Yeğen 2015, 222)

Ethnic political struggles can be seen as a struggle between identities; cultures and minority rights, which are transformed into the political violence against the state, who

try to deprive them from their origins. These acts emerged with various but similar reasons as in many other countries and these include acts of violence, carried out against the state. When speaking of a struggle, the aim of the act and who the action is carried out against bear importance. For instance, human rights struggles, class struggles, societal struggles etc., while aimed at a political end, are also structures that bring together different goals. Most of the time these goals are intertwined. Ethnic struggles are forming people that have been ostracized, forced into different identities, groups whose culture and freedom have been attacked. As can be understood from this definition, it is also situated under the structure of human rights as ostracized people are in question (section 3.2). There is a need on part of the state to repress these movements. “State effectively manage against the disobedience of governed people and according to Max Weber, it is a form of organization which have the authority to use of violence as a tool.” (Vergin 2011, 100) State violence is perceived as violence – legitimate authorization of the state–, which is a response to ethnic political violence. This. in turn, legitimizes violence and causes it to be applied via laws.

The state itself, which is a part of the power, does not hesitate to show its strength with acts of violence, if its ideology conflicts with other ideologies or if others don't share the same opinions with it. But here, the purpose is different from genocide, which is based on annihilation; its main intention is to suppress masses with fear. Therefore, society will take a deep breath from the threat, which is taken from them. However it is not just a solution, which is carried out on others/minorities by power. It, also allows people to obey them by keeping the element of threat inside its own society. In other words, it leaves the fear inside but at the same time it shows people how it excludes fear. It is the *exceptio (preclusion by internalization)* of the fear. “This fear is generated by the security discourse. This is a fear, which are reminiscent modern people to being at risk at any time. Power of the fear has become one of the apparatus of governmentality in modern states.” (Kaya 2006, 123) In *Leviathan*, Hobbes defines fear as “aversion, with opinion of hurt.” (Hobbes 1996, 41) Fear is a major factor that causes acts of violence. At this point, it might be possible to explain state violence by its fear of losing political power. Fear and degree of fear is created by power and despite that individual creates their thought and meanings inside of this situation. And because of

the people afraid to get hurt, they start to call people whom are dangerous for themselves, as an enemy, monster, villain and the people whom are protect them from this situation become a hero even if afraid or hurt another nation. Sometimes people can see it as a necessary condition. At times, violence can seem like a necessity for political structures, the government, the army, penitentiaries or individulas (with fear of losing power or fear for their lives). This is an opportunity for the state to legitimize its violent acts. In critique of violence, Benjamin emphasizes how governments tented to claim monopoly of violence with threats.

In *Leviathan*, Hobbes states that natural rights entitle everyone to do as they wish. One of these rights is to deprive one of his right to live. This causes people to be in a constant state of war as it. In order to protect themselves, people give up their rights to *Leviathan*, the government. Hence, the state acquires the monopoly of violence. The trust that the state will ensure security and fear of people for their lives that pushed them ton peace in the first place continue in a not so peaceful manner. Fears grow increasingly; it doesn't displace each other's so for society, obedience becomes an unavoidable. With the relief of loosing to taking someone's life right from own monopoly, deaths and violence doesn't see as crime. It starts to see as a sacrifice/devotion in a path, which is going to peace. Under this perspective, one side lives in a pseudo peace and quietly but the other side, which continues fears and deaths, lives with a big question. This handover doesn't cause to peace, it just takes violence from micro to macro. So to speak (in a way) fear of death is the greatest fear for humanity, but ironically people solve this problem with killing each other. (Arıboğan 2005, 20)

*It is not shocking that there has always been someone supporting all political violence<sup>1</sup> acts throughout the history and that even those that are seen as the most unacceptable ones, have been adopted and appreciated by someone. All Sicars, Hashasins, Narodnicks, Nazis were loved or at least found reasonable by someone. Let's ask about Robin Hood, the Saxon bandit of the Sherwood forest, who steals from the rich and gives to the poor, to Normal aristocrats if you may. Was the famous "brave heart" William Wallace a soldier of independence or an enemy of the state, making trouble for collapsing the British Kingdom internally?*

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<sup>1</sup> The word "terrorism" is used in the original text.

Sometimes genres like literature and cinema, which address masses, become effective in the forming and chiseling of probable views. It needs freedom of style that is independent of the dominant view and benefits from certain small areas that stay out of power, to forming alternative opinions. And cinema is one of these small areas. In this thesis, the reason for choosing cinema is to see how social and political representation and representation of problems in daily life are visualized, to analysis of political violence in Turkey diplomacy. The audience struggles with the reality of representation of life in works of fiction in front of these visuals, dramas and effects, and they are stuck between exploding bombs, conflicts or elegies. “Whatever makes a subject interesting, worth photographing - including, when that is the interest, another person's pain or misfortune.” (Sontag 1977, 12) Therefore, an alternative area aiming at identifying various perspectives and explaining how these perspectives are perceived is created. “Personal narrative, this way, stands in for a narrative of a group, be it a country or a nation.” (Jameson, qtd. in Paunksnis 2011, 34)

The issues such as political violence, ethnic separatism are used as main topics in cinema by many countries. However, there are few films, which address the political violence through political struggle - one of today's active and large-scale problems - as a main issue in Turkey, for instance, *Jin* (Reha Erdem, 2013), *Dağ* (*The Mountain*, Alper Çağlar, 2012), *Fotoğraf* (*Photograph*, Kazım Öz, 2001), *Işıklar Sönmesin* (*Let There Be Light*, Reis Çelik, 1996), etc. This study gives the center stage to Levent Semerci's film *Breath: Long live the Homeland* (2009) and Özcan Alper's film *Future Lasts Forever* (2011) to analyze political violence.

*Breath: Long live the Homeland* tells the story of a group of soldiers who struggle with themselves and political fighters in the mountains. Commander Mete, the protagonist of the film, comes in the Karabal Gendarmerie Station together with soldiers under his command in the border of South Eastern Anatolia. When Commander Mete hears all soldiers, including the lieutenant are asleep, he goes to the lieutenant. After waking up the soldier and him, he starts to tell what he has been through – battles and casualties – when he was trying to go there to protect the station and the wireless set. After that, he summons all the soldiers in station and speaks with each soldier, telling them if they

sleep, they will all die and talks about how their life and the lives of people they leave behind are important. Afterwards, we see the discipline and system improve in the station. One day, a few soldiers including a close friend of Commander Mete are shot while conducting expedition. Commander Mete rages with anger when they return. Soldiers speak with relatives from the radio station when available some of the soldiers speak with their mothers, fathers and some of them speak with their lovers and wives. We witness the different lives and their own stories. One day, while Commander Mete talks with his wife on the radio, a fighters who is nicknamed the Doctor, interrupts the communication between them. Commander Mete wants his wife to hang up without her knowledge and starts talking with the Doctor. Their conversation is full of anger; they constantly blame each other in psychological conflict. The Doctor frequently interrupts Mete's conversation with his wife while they are talking. One evening, sounds of bombs and yells come from the very same radio. The radio on the other side is at a different station, which is raided by fighters. Everyone in the station hear those voices from speakers. In the film, soldiers often talk about death, organ donation, martyrdom and etc. among them. Because Commander Mete thinks that the Doctor is hiding somewhere nearby, he ambushes with his soldiers after their research. Finally they kill a fighters and capture a female fighter alive. When they return to the station, Commander Mete believes that the woman is the Doctor's lover and he tortures her in order to acquire information. And the quarrel emerges between the doctor – who is a soldier and tries to rescue the woman- and Commander Mete's attitude. Mete walks over to the soldier. Eventually they took away the woman safely with a helicopter. However, Commander Mete uses provocative language when he talks with the Doctor and their dialogue becomes completely vengeful. As a result, one day fighters raid the station and the raid results in the bilateral loss of many lives.

The other film, which I analyze, is *Future Lasts Forever*. The film revolves around a character named Sumru, who ventures on a journey to Diyarbakır with the curiosity bestowed upon her by her thesis topic and with the aim of self-exploration. This journey later turns into our witnessing of the stories of other characters in the film. The film begins with bird tweets and ambient sounds. However, suddenly we hear the sound of a helicopter, which does not belong there at all. The screen gets dark and the people's

shouts start to come in. After that we see a loose horse, hear the sound of gunshot and heartbeat. The horse gets shot, despite that it tries to stand up and it gets shot again. Rain starts to fall with an elegy in background. This first scene is important because it has the quality to summarize this research. Throughout my study, you may analyze these samples in the chapters you are reading. You will find the opportunity to compare your point with the point made in the thesis, which is reached in the conclusion. Later in the film, the elegy scene leaves its part to a song, which is sung by people who travel on the train. Sumru who is the protagonist of the film passes the other vagon between people and she sits to talk with Harun. He gives her a letter to open up later. Afterwards, he disappears leaving behind a letter. In the letter, we understand that there is a special relationship between the two and Harun talks about how he must go. He leaves his favorite book behind to her. And he talks about how they will walk to future in the lake of Siyasümbül – where he is going. The name of the film is important at this point, because the future takes too long to reach. During this period, losses and experiences are based on the unpredictability of future as in real life. Sumru gets off the train in Diyarbakır. While she was talking on the phone with her mother, we hear that Sumru has been doing a research about elegy collation for the music department thesis of the university and we learn that she sets out to Southeastern Turkey because of this purpose. In this lonely journey, Sumru meets someone named Ahmet, the other important character of the film. In the next scene, we see women who are looking at pictures in front of a wall covered with black and white photos. They are the relatives of unknown killings and look for the photos of their relatives. Sumru starts to interview, record these people. Meanwhile we hear their stories and witness their lives throughout the film in front of that wall. Sumru hears the voice of an elegy in her room that comes from the outside and she goes out to record that, too. She tries to record it while she runs between poor buildings and white and flower-patterned sheets. Sumru talks with Mesopotamia Association who lost their relatives to find someone who can interview. They are set to interview someone whose name is Ahmet Doğan, a DVD seller. When Sumru promenades in the street, she sees a signboard that says ‘Sinamatek’ representative Ahmet Doğan, CİNAMED. Sumru realizes that he is the person she needs to talk to. In some scenes, we see people who buy films and Ahmet and his friend watch films on socialism. Then the other day, Ahmet and Sumru talk and they go to Musa Anter Visual

and Auditory Memory Center in the library. Ahmet shows her their archive. We see the voice records and videos of political violence. Sumru sees a church while she is walking in the streets. And she meets uncle Antranik who is the watchman of the church there. She shares her story with him. Meanwhile we learn that Sumru is Armenian. One day, while Sumru is listening to audio recordings, she hears that a young man is found dead in Siyasümbül, Hakkari. Description of young man shows that the man is Harun. During this journey, she faces her own delayed suffering and she makes a decision to travel to Hakkari. Ahmet does not leave her alone in this journey even if he can not understand it. During the journey, they lie down in the side of a river putting their heads together. Rain begins to fall over them. When they arrive in Siyasümbül, she finds the grave of Harun in the snow. We see a horse freely galloping in the mountains. Sumru walks away in the edge of the Siyasümbül Lake.

## **1.1.METHODOLOGY**

The relationship between political violence discourse and government and ethnic groups forms the main frame of this thesis. At the base of this study, the difference between violence and power concepts and their essences were aimed to be analyzed and the relation between them was tried to be shown with two films that were considered with political violence in mind. Sometimes, cinema can make a political criticism with visual narratives more precisely than literary or critical texts. “Said (1994) views an intellectual, be it writer or filmmaker, as someone who speaks truth to power.” (Paunksnis 2011, 34) So films that are used in this thesis, has actually touched upon many sensitive points and prepared the critical ground for this work. The complex structure of violence and its two faces in the political area can be better observed in the two films studied in this work. The difference between two films with respect to both their narratives and visual styles provides room for an analysis from a broader perspective. First, *Breath*, is situated directly in political violence and reveals its story from a militarist perspective. It invites its audience into the scene by its first person shoots, eliminating the sense of distance and enables the audience to take a look at a life so far away from city life. *In Future Lasts Forever*, the opposite takes place. This film employs a societal perspective to look at events surrounded by impressions of political

violence and stories of people left behind. It keeps its distance from the audience both by way of minimizing visuals of violence and its usage of examples of Cinéma Vérité. Just as Sumru is looking at people from behind the camera or as she listens to them from the voice recorder, most of the times the audience are looking at the events from without a second camera. Because most of the scenes take place in the city, these people that the mountains left behind become identified with the audience, the reflections of political violence in the city are shared with the audience in this way. The differences between the two films provide a single focus to two perspectives which is political violence itself.

Because of these two films that represent suppressed facts are from contemporary, I find them more suitable to my analysis. They clearly contain the subject of the thesis and subtitles –communication problem as a reason of violence, the representation of power and the *other* as a result of this. The characteristics of the films’ heroes, which are shaped with the experience of trauma, loss of something or somebody and traveling, are described internal to the violence theme. Both films are the story of personae that lose a precious thing –like culture, folk and belief– and become lonely in life like trees, which lose foliage after strong winds. Directors leave open the windows to enter people’s leaky criticism like a furious storm, sad rain or hot sun. So cinema provides a convenient area to tell the strength of power and the impact of violence.

To better understand political violence, ideas of Hannah Arendt, Michel Foucault (with help from Stuart Hall) and Giorgio Agamben are studied. Differences and similarities between theoreticians are compiled under a single subject (political violence) with ideas borrowed from each theoretician are used to study a different part of political violence. Lastly, in light of their theories, an attempt at analysing two examples of Turkish films, *Breath* and *Future Lasts Forever* has been made.

Confusing explanations about the definition of violence have resulted in misuse of the concept most of the times. “Violence” which constitutes the first chapter of second part of this study is based on the ideas of Hannah Arendt. Arendt states that violence is not merely an expression of political power and that to understand and use the concept of “violence” correctly the essence of violence should be mentioned. She emphasizes the

importance of political arena, speech, thought and action in doing this. She explains how banal evil can be with Eichmann example. The necessity of the existence of political human is to take place in political violence. She points out that pluralism and participation are important in this respect. Only then a healthy and accurate analysis of power would be possible. The era Arendt lived in called for a consideration of totalitarian regimes in her approach to subjects. Foucault, on the other hand, moved beyond Arendt in his conceptualization of political power in his endeavours to explain how the complex form of political power changed toward today. Accordingly, analysis of political power will be made using Foucault's concept of political power.

"Power" and "Human With His Bare Life" which constitutes the second and third chapter of second part aims to make a political violence reading in light of Foucault and Agamben, and it focuses on the resulting concept of the "other". Foucault focuses on a model of political power from everywhere as opposed to a model of all inclusive political power in his analyses. As such, the analyses in this part requires a look at different political power strategies from many areas. Foucault's approach that explains how government/political power preserves its power and how it regulates people with the help of various power strategies termed biopolitics and anatomo politics becomes an important resource in explaining political violence and the concept of "other". In this part of the chapter, my main goal to reveal and to explain Foucauldian power theory over *Breath* and *Future Lasts Forever* films. At this point Foucault's term of governmentality takes over. In this context, regulation of population and control of body with different strategies provides a different perspective for analysis of political violence, which wants to create various negative or positive effects on society. (Demir 2011, 61)

*The state occurs from the codification of a number of power relations, which enable its own functionality (Foucault 2005a, 73). The state, which is the result of a combination of financial relations and practices, is seen as the field of strategic action. Therefore, we must take into consideration not the general, global form of the state but the ways the state is implemented at multiple points.*

For this reason, when we are analyzing these films, we have to look at not only a government but also all intersection points with government and all styles of these relationships. There is a separated wide area in question like military, school, physic,

etc. In other words the bodies of individuals and societies constitute notional and spatial frame of violence of politics those highlighting 'political struggle' is not fighters but the West and its exhibitions.

“Every time there is serious violence, the gap between the thought and action grows since for many of us the evolutionary, psychological, cultural and ethical concerns forbid tormenting other people.” (Cover 2010, 191) For this reason, society doesn't want to or hesitate to embrace violence with pure form, even though they alienate some part of the population. At this point violence turns to implicit, hidden violence. Society, or power doesn't want to give overwhelming burden (weight) so they choose to justify or deny violence (like genocides situations or manipulate to truth). “Western mass media regularly hushes up the witnesses of primary political violence<sup>2</sup>, causing the responses of victims look as if they are provoked and incomprehensible evil actions.” (Herman and O'Sullivan 1999, 97) At this step, Stuart Hall's approach to the communication field provides a different perspective on manufacturing of the “other” and representation of violence in screen. Complexity of political power relations and the complex path communication takes within a hegemony that is never wholly dominant makes the communication field a complex structure according to Hall. This path intersects with Foucault's complex political power strategies and emphasizes Hall's ideas. In that respect, communication apparatus, power and its extensions (police, military or school) step in and start to affect the society and they give the fake impression that there is a threat for society. In this process, a language that feeds political violence might form and/or certain groups can be ostracized within power relations. Under these circumstances, society can start to support government/power because they feel they are under pressure. And they allow counter attacks to political violence and struggle.

Foreign, or in other words, ‘other’ is part of nationalism and it can refer to minorities, which is lives, and share the same cultures with the majority. At this point “...just the language barrier focalizes the viewer with one side, and frames the enemy as the unintelligible “other.” (Jung 2010, 64) “...etymological origin of term of nation is

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<sup>2</sup> The word “terrorism” is used in the original text.

*nascere.*” (Kaya 2006, 104) In that case, having been born as a Turk is being part of a nation and if you outside of it, you will be rejected. (Kaya 2006, 104)

*Nation-state concept is generally built on objective elements such as an ethnical identity, a common history, common discourses and index of memories, a national anthem, a territory that ancestors died for, a unity of legal rights and duties with a national economy.*

In short, ‘other’ is not one of us who leaves with ideas from us. “Exception is kind of exclusion.” (Agamben 1998, 28) “...something that cannot be internalized by the whole it is a member of or something that has never be a member of the whole it is a part of.” (Agamben 1998, 36) In this case minority takes as an exception itself. Like a fighters action, other turns into an ‘exception’ when, ideology of others conflicts with powers ideology. At this point, Agamben describes person who is exception like a homo sacer. Sacrets are forgotten in time. However, it must not be forgotten that “regardless of who uses it, ‘if violence is used somewhere, there is always someone who is suffering from it.’ It must not be expected that, those, who are suffering, shall accept violence as legitimate.” (Arıboğan 2005, 23)

## 2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON POLITICAL VIOLENCE DISCOURSE

### 2.1 VIOLENCE

*What difference does it make to the dead,  
the orphans and the homeless, whether  
the mad destruction is wrought under the  
name of totalitarianism or in the holy  
name of liberty or democracy?*

*Mahatma Gandhi*

Hannah Arendt states that “the problem of violence still remain very obscure” is a correct judgment for her times (Arendt 1970, 35). The complex structure of the concept of violence, difficulties in its description and the different ways of its expression in the political field make it difficult to study. The thinker maintains that “violence is nothing more than the most flagrant manifestation of power.” (Arendt 1970, 35). At the same time, in *On Violence*, she corroborates this idea by political power definitions of various theoreticians. One of these is the definition of Max Weber mentioned in the introduction section of this study. Weber defines government as “The rule of men over men based on the means of legitimate, that is allegedly legitimate, violence.” (Arendt 1970, 35). According to Arendt, political power becomes equated with “organized violence”. However, she argues that Marx’ analysis of government should be reinforced to make this meaningful. This conjecture assumes that government is an instrument of dominance in the hands of ruling class. These definitions are more reminiscent of an intertwined relationship between violence and power than the two as distinct entities. As Bertrand de Jouvenel stated “To command and to be obeyed: without that, there is no Power –with it no other attribute is needed for it to be... The thing without which it cannot be: that essence is command.” (Arendt 1970, 37). However, Arendt states that interchanging key political science terms like violence, political power, strength, power and authority causes insensitivity to the real meanings of these words and reduction of the situation to “issue of political dominance”. In contrast, these words (power and violence) are different because they refer to different features. Understanding this is important both in order to create authentic concepts and to provide a reason for these concepts to exist. For instance, political power and violence should be considered

independent of each other to understand the issue of violence in totalitarian regimes. Because, initially, violence is merely an instrument for a political power that aims to form a repressive regime. The goal is to form a government and state structure that are in accordance with the ideology of the political power. However, after gaining control over the society and the power structure, violence destroys everything surrounding it including the government. According to Arendt, Alexander Passerin d'Entreves is the only author with the awareness of the necessity to discern political power from violence. She states this with an excerpt from his book *The Notion of State*: (Arendt 1970, 37)

*We have to decide whether and in what sense 'power' can be distinguished from 'force', to ascertain how the fact of using force according to law changes the quality of force itself and presents us with an entirely different picture of human relations..."*

However, Arendt believes that there is not an author including Passerin d'Entreves that inquires what lies at the base of the issue. Everybody agrees on violence being the most explicit expression of power. Arendt, departing from this point, redefines these two seemingly synonymous concepts.

*Power* belongs to a group, for Arendt, and it can continue its existence so long as the group exists. By this she implies that a person in power has been elected by and representative of a group. For this reason, if a group or a people has gone out of existence or has been destroyed, naturally there will not be a power to talk about or the person in power loses his "power". Arendt states that the word "power" is used metaphorically in this context. What is emphasized by being in power is that the person in power has a strong personality. And when the metaphor is removed, we see that what is implied is "strength". *Strength* belongs to an individual, it refers to a unique feature of an object or an individual. It is under threat from most people due to its authenticity and independence and strength – even that of the most powerful person – can be defeated, this is due to the nature of the group or its power. *Force*, in its colloquial usage, – if violence is used as an instrument of suppression – has the same meaning violence (brute force) has. However, for Arendt, the term force means energy set free by physical or social movements. These are called "forces of nature" and "forces of circumstances"

and they should be used for this purpose. *Authority* is the most frequently misused term according to Arendt, authority can belong to people or to a position. Relationship between parent – child or teacher – student; or hierarchical structures like the church are meant by this. Most important characteristic of this term is the submission of the subject without a need for repression or persuasion on the part of the domineering party. Authority follows from merely respect at this point, if respect is taken lightly authority can be at stake. For this reason. Arendt argues that authority should have a place in human relations so that a person can have a coherent and consistent life. *Violence* is distinct from others with respect to its instrumental nature. Its instrumentality is the main difference from political power that it is always confused with. Power always needs plurality (a crowded structure), violence can exist without the power of numbers. (Arendt 1970, 44-46) Today the continuous increase observed in arms industry or technological advancements reinforces the instrumental nature of violence. From this perspective, power and violence do not mean the same thing but this does not mean they are completely different. Arendt states that “Still it must be admitted that it is particularly tempting to think of power in terms of command and obedience, and hence to equate power with violence, in a discussion of what actually is only one of power’s special cases –namely, the power of government.” “It looks indeed as though violence were the prerequisite of power and power nothing but a façade...” (Arendt 1970, 47)

Violence is always instrumental, power, on the other hand is a goal in itself. In this goal-instrument relationship, instruments are always in need of guidance of goals and legitimacy (Arendt 1970, 51). This is the analysis of the relation between power and violence. In this respect, it is impossible to arrive at the conclusion that power is a result of violence because an instrument can’t exist without a goal. Arendt states that a lack of power feeds violence. If violence replaces power or it spreads its influence too much in the sphere of power, eventually instrument – violence – starts to determine the goal and aims at destroying power completely. According to thinker “Politically speaking, the point is that loss of power becomes a temptation to substitute violence for power...” (Arendt 1970, 54) The distinction between these concepts can be understood better by the example of social movements. All these concepts can be embodied in a social movement. There is an authority in such a group and the group obeys their

representative, such obedience is not dependent on violence, suppression or persuasion. Instead, it depends on the independent contribution and judgment of individuals. And such social movements can have power structures within themselves or can oppose power. In this structure individuals have their own strengths, they can make their own judgments and voice their opinions, it can be said that they have a strong personality in the metaphorical sense. Force is result of the togetherness of the group in a social movement. Repression when aimed at a social movement or toward an end applied by the agents of social movement can transform to violence.

Political sphere develops with the political power's use of force. Living together is made possible in this sphere. However, while force is employed to prevent violence at times, now instrument (force) starts to replace goal (prevention of violence) (see Arendt 2006). At this point, the concept of force can be equated with use of violence. Because goal oriented interventions involve violence. At this point, violence that is applied to prevent violence becomes the goal aside from its instrumentality. Nevertheless, it can never continue its existence as the goal. There can be violence within power but one cannot talk about a government that is based merely on instruments of violence. This shows that the opposite of violence is not lack of violence. As Arendt stated a political power at the hands of violence is bound to be destroyed by violence after a while. Violence is not capable to create power. In other words, it is not true that political powers become stronger with arms. Because just as violence is inept at creating political power, it is bound to be destroyed. (If violence has taken hold of power.) "The practice of violence, like all action, changes the world, but the most probable change is to a more violent world." (Arendt 1970, 80) Here, Arendt states that in order to understand violence as it is and not merely as an expression of power, its essence should be investigated (Arendt 1970, 56).

Power is intrinsic to the existence of groups and society (For an analysis of power section 3.1). As Hobbes stated power formed to meet the needs of societal structure and it is in need of a group of supporters in order to exist. For this reason, power never needs justification. However as stated by Arendt, it needs to be legitimized. At this point, Arendt once more emphasizes the need to use the words correctly. She states that

it is misleading and confusing to use the words justification and legitimization as if they have the same meaning. The act of justification is related to a goal in the future. In other words, violence can be justified with excuses. Arendt mentions the self defense example and states that violence when used to defend one's life is not questioned by anyone. Because here the goal that motivates the violence (instrument) is obvious. However, the act of legitimizing is caused by the initial togetherness and not by what is brought about by coming together. And this situation is based in the past (Arendt 1970, 52). For instance, government states that its use of violence aims to defend itself against minority violence and in so doing tries to justify its violence. For most of the minorities, this justification is a form of struggle that is caused by disrespect to their freedom of thought and their cultures. There is a need to legitimize this reciprocal political struggle. Because it is unclear who is carrying out the action and who is making self defense. And this situation is traced to the past and is based on the initial coming together. For this reason, violence will never be legitimate for both sides. The continuous legitimization efforts of state violence is supported by the law. Intervening with individuals has been enabled by laws because law is considered superior to everything else. For this reason, government retains the right to use and inspect instruments of violence as the law maker and executor. Another legitimization is speech that forms an excuse for violence. A speech infused with ideology has the potential for violence. Because a group that has behaved within certain norms up until this point has been formed. In this respect as Arendt stated "...to believe in violence as a life-promoting force is at least as old as Nietzsche." (Arendt 1970, 74)

As Arendt states, political power resembles organic life in its desire to develop and expand (population) starting from its formation. But this process ends in death in natural circumstances. This has transformed into an element that helps the government – shaped on life and death – to force the society to perceive death as a natural prerequisite and to justify its violence. (section 3.2) This use of death is found in the manufactured perception of eternity. The belief in life after death, and the thought that people will find peace after death makes the struggle and violence in life seem ordinary. This causes people to overcome fear and forms the belief in necessity of violence for life after death. Eternal peace can only be obtained in this way and death will be justified. "...as long as

commands are obeyed and the army or police forces are prepared to use their weapons” government will provide this power structure (Arendt 1970, 48). Because, in the direction of this obedience, it will be able to expand its power and legitimize criminal acts in his name.

In the Obedience to Authority by Milgram, (Cover 2010, 193)

*The principal subjects included in Milgram's experiments believe that they administer painful electric shocks on individuals who they think are the subjects of the trial. This experiment was conducted under the management or upon the order of the experimenters. Principal subjects -those administering the shock- showed obedience to the authority at disturbing levels despite the seeming pain demonstrated by the fake subjects. Based on the result of the experiment, Milgram came up with a theory with rough edges regarding some aspects. The most advanced part of the theory is essentially based on his separation of acting 'autonomously' and acting in the role of a 'mediator'.*

This is a probable result when an individual does not use his judgment in an order of things where he is involved in violence and is instrumentalized. Because the applier of violence has done so under the right given by government within legal boundaries. This is a sufficient cause for an individual to consider himself just. The real issue is the manufactured hero, criminal or evil, good distinction departing from this point. Army, police and other instruments of power are parts of this. However, in this step where thinking is an activity belonging to everyone, individuals preferred merely not thinking. This deprives them of judgment. What Arendt means by ‘the banality of evil’ is exactly this: the state of not thinking and not judging. This situation as observed by Arendt in *Banality of Evil* in Eichmann is in fact representative of a social situation from past to present. This is the probability of another individual residing within an individual. This is the not thinking, not judging and obedient, accepting individual. In other words, evil is banal enough to reside in anyone. The thinker has shown how banal evil is by using statements of Eichmann who was imprisoned and tried for helping mass killing of Jews. Although he was involved in events that resulted in death of many people, he stated in the trial in Jerusalem that he had nothing to do with the deaths of Jews. Because Eichmann believes that he was merely following orders. And the crimes he was accused of are not crimes in Nazi law. In fact, at this point, Eichmann was emphasizing the virtues and vices of blind obedience (Arendt 2009, 142). He was hoping he would be successful and promoted if he considered his tasks as decisions given by his own will.

For this reason, he performed his deeds with a belief beyond obedience: Without thinking, without judgment and taking the orders as they are. "...to be law-abiding means not merely to obey the laws but to act as though one were the legislator of the laws that one obeys." (Arendt 1964, 66) This was a way for Eichmann to legitimize what has happened in his eyes and to soothe his conscience. What Eichmann did was to adopt to the new power for his idealism. Arendt, when talking about the complex structure of his conscience, gives the example of a German general who was tried in Nuremberg. During the trial, when asked (Arendt 1964, 72)

*'How was it possible that all you honorable generals could continue to serve a murderer with such unquestioning loyalty?', replied that it was 'not the task of a soldier to act as judge over his supreme commander. Let history do that or God in heaven.'*

Eichmann's defense shows him to be beyond a murderer or a psychopath as evil and at the same time very banal. This is worse than the possibility of him being a murderer or a psychopath. Because lack of thought and judgment on part of an individual makes the situation more grave. Eichmann with his idealism that could send his own father to death did not dwell on the consequences for a moment.

Another situation that should be considered in the action is the process of bringing Eichmann. Israel Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion who was informed that Eichmann was in Argentina kidnapped him to be tried in Jerusalem District Court for his involvement in the Jewish issue. The legitimacy of his arrest was based on Eichmann being called 'enemy of the Jews'. Because Israeli government believed that it wouldn't be blamed by other governments for bringing someone that offended their race to court. Additionally, since his return with legal means did not seem possible, Arendt stated that legal sphere didn't allow for any other option than kidnapping him. Here, a process of arrest that is in conflict with laws and a legitimization based on laws take place. Arendt brings attention to Eichmann being *de facto* stateless as the reason why Israel could get away without a penalty (Arendt 2009, 269). Eichmann being without a state means that he is deprived of all the laws of Germany. He, like many others, immigrated to other places after the fall of Hitler. The exile of non-German Jews is an example of leaving

someone stateless which is a part of a totalitarian regime. There is an irony in the Eichmann trial, Eichmann who was involved in other people's exiles (becoming stateless) later became stateless himself. And as emphasized by laws, he becomes a man devoid of laws and as such he becomes killable. A man who is left out of law does not belong to a society and does not have the protection of laws behind him, he becomes a target for violence. (section 3.2) Arendt while explaining this situation with the example of immigrants (Jews), states that the reason immigrants are in a bad situation is caused by a lack of laws concerning them and not by their unequal stature with respect to laws. And according to Arendt, what's worse is not their repression but that no one wants to repress them (Arendt 1998b, 303). Here the thinker refers to the blind eye turned towards these people and their life circumstances.

In the example of Eichmann, action is considered together with speech, thought and judgment. People follow the orders of other people who are of a higher stature without thinking or judging. As a result of this it can be observed that they do not feel responsible for the consequences of the action. At the base of this is the thought that in the case if him failing to fulfill the orders someone else will do it or that the action in consideration will be done to him. For this reason, Eichmann's defending himself by saying if it wasn't him it would be someone else completing the orders corresponds to the most basic reason of violence in our day. And that is if I didn't kill, he would kill me defense. Arendt explains why Eichmann is guilty with a quote from the trial in Jerusalem: (Arendt 1964, 130)

*...no matter through what accidents of exterior or interior circumstances you were pushed onto the road of becoming a criminal, there is an abyss between the actuality of what you did and the potentiality of what others might have done. We are concerned here only with what you did, and not with the possible noncriminal nature of your inner life and of your motives or with the criminal potentialities of those around you. ...in politics obedience and support are the same.*

For this reason, preventing evil is possible by taking responsibility of actions and using judgment to make a decision. For Arendt Anton Schmidt is a good example of this. Because he does not directly accept orders merely because they are given by power like Eichmann does, he passes judgment. As a result of this, he helped Jewish guerillas and has left an imprint with his awareness. Judgment requires thinking and afterwards this

becomes observable as action and speech –communication–. However the speech here is needed to make the actions of the person meaningful rather than for purposes of communicating.

Action is the real element and real political activity in Arendt's *Vita Activa*. For this reason, Arendt uses the term *Vita Activa* to illuminate the common confusion between action and work and labor, which are separate from action. This concept refers to three fundamental human activities (*labor, work, action*). According to her *labor* defines the person's biological –natural– life process and a desire to be freed from “pain and agony” is always included in labor. According to Arendt “The human condition of labor is life itself.” (Arendt 1998a, 7) *Work* is the objective definition of people's deeds in the World. “Work provides an ‘artificial’ world of things, distinctly different from all natural surroundings.” (Arendt 1998a, 7) “*Action*, the only activity that goes on directly between men without the intermediary of things or matter...” (Arendt 1998a, 7) This is the meaning in the plurality created by different individuals. Because one of the most prominent political qualities of people is their plurality, this makes perspective change and formation of new activities possible. (Canovan qtd. in Arendt 1998a, xiii)

*Only the experience of sharing a common human world with others who look at it from different perspectives can enable us to see reality in the round and to develop a shared common sense. Without it, we are each driven back on our own subjective experience, in which only our feelings, wants, and desires have reality.*

These three human activities are also related to birth and death –being mortal-. Especially action is closely related to birth The reason for this is that birth is a beginning. In other words, a newborn has a new beginning and a capacity for action. Arendt mentions that this idea can take place at the center of political thought (Arendt, 1998a, 9). (section 3.1)

For Arendt the most important need is a community where different people are together. This is formation of public sphere from togetherness. This is a place where thoughts can be expressed as speech and action. And this makes the public sphere a political domain. Because there is a thinking and acting community. Speech is superior to violence and gives meaning to action. “Wherever the relevance of speech is at stake, matters become political by definition, for speech is what makes man a political being.” (Arendt 1998a,

3) The most basic feature that makes political man is him being an acting and talking man. Generally, violence takes place where words have come to end or couldn't be spoken to begin with. Arendt emphasizes this by stating that "only sheer violence is mute." (Arendt, 1998a, 26) For this reason, it can be said that violence is a phenomenon that damages dialog, this in turn. For the political sphere to exist (and for dialog to take place) people need to come together. As such, a community is a prerequisite for the coming together of people and it is the source of participatory democracy. In this way and in this way only, they can attach meaning to things for others and themselves. Arendt in her book *The Human Condition* explains this with the table anecdote. She mentions that the world has a capacity to bring together different communities –made of different people– like a table. In this way, it can hold them together and separate simultaneously. Here keeping separate refers to the distance created between people when they are seated at a table. But existence of the table provides a ground for sharing between people. (Arendt 1998a, 176)

*If men were not distinct, each human being distinguished from any other who is, was, or will ever be, they would need neither speech nor action to make themselves understood. Signs and sounds to communicate immediate, identical needs and wants would be enough.*

Differences between people, as it is used here, does not refer to "otherness". It refers to authentic features of people. For Arendt, speech and action reveals the uniqueness of each person and this creates plurality of humans (Arendt 2006, 259). When we look at the world, we see an area constituted of different cultures, here distances and spheres require people to get to know each other and communicate. This *pluralism* is the condition that provides meaning to the world and gives validity to our ideas and judgments. Our ideas and judgments become valid as they are shared. Arendt states this clearly: "...whatever men do or know or experience can make sense only to the extent that it can be spoken about." (Arendt 1998a, 4) The ability to talk and act in a crowd allows people to talk about themselves and be seen. This setting, which enables communication as in the table example, is a ground for people to share their identities with each other. Arendt cares about who people are rather than what they are and who people are can be revealed by action. While expressing himself, a person individualizes himself and as he shares this with others he plays a socializing role. In modern societies,

the departing away of individuals from traditional talking and action capabilities means he is fragmented in the crowd and the public sphere. This is largely due to technological advancements. According to the thinker, this breaking down is also caused by the decrease of distances between private and public spheres. Arendt sees the cause of this in societal rise. "...the rise of the social coincided historically with the transformation of the private care for private property into a public concern." (Arendt 1998a, 68) As a result of the destruction of private and public spheres societal sphere has formed. And here individuals have become a part of mass culture and lost their individuality. A societal structure that produces to consume and that exists with what they consume has formed. This gives way to use of mass culture as a means for repression. Production and consumption are artificial things beyond addressing natural needs. Arendt defines this as "the unnatural development of the natural". Moving of this structure out of the private sphere –home– to the center of public sphere and people defining themselves within increasing consumption and starting to be perceived by their desire to consume are circumstances that make the world a bad place to live. Additionally, with the intertwining of private and public spheres, violence in private sphere extended into public sphere. This brought about a violence structure, where personal gain is predominant. *Lack of thought* reveals itself here as well. Public sphere necessitates the common good not personal good. This is similar to the lack of communication observed when pluralism couldn't take hold and in the absence of public sphere.

Arendt emphasizes the importance of thinking about our deeds. Thinking forms the bridge between self and identity. For Arendt, conscience is a part of individualism and is effective in preventing violence. These tell people to behave in a certain manner, people do not take on more than they can handle. In this way, a certain template for behavior and responsibility in actions forms. For this reason, there is a need to think ahead of the possible consequences of actions and to decide using judgment and not following behavioral customs. According to Arendt, a person can't be free unless he knows why he is subject to obligations and trying to set himself free from obligations won't ever set him free (see Arendt 2006). Even the smallest of actions has the tendency to be boundless in their nature. Arendt relates this to freedom. However this boundlessness causes actions to be unpredictable and brings about unforeseen consequences. (Canovan

qtd. in Arendt 1998a, xix)

*In principle, if we can all agree to work together we can exercise great power; but agreement between plural persons is hard to achieve, and never safe from the disruptive initiatives of further actors.*

Another course of action can be taken when people can face the situation or forgiveness and promises can solve the issue. Here the thing that needs to be forgiven or people who forgive are those that think of taking revenge due to mistakes in the past. These inferences include only consequences about people. Eichmann was given the right to defend himself in court. However, in fact, all this process became an unforeseen consequence of action together with “taking revenge”. Violence revealed itself in death sentence. Some actions are beyond forgiveness. But Arendt’s point is that people are not animals without options (Canovan qtd. in Arendt 1998a, xix).

Violence, in that era, owing to its instrumentality, took on masks to help attain its goal and was in accordance with the political structure. The relation between Arendt’s *The Human Condition* with totalitarianism is a good example of this. Violence showed its ugly face in these government styles and eras. A new society idea is to use violence as a means for control and repression. For instance, the idea of “human” or “single” race presented in Totalitarianism can push political structure to wrong places. Because political sphere needs pluralism due to its structure. However, totalitarian governments have a structure that undermines people and denies their right to live, in these kind of structures violence is not avoidable. Mussolini when expressing his admiration of the Bolshevik Revolution said “Lenin is an artist who has worked in men as others have worked in marble or metal.” (Bullock qtd. in Arendt 1998, xii). An intervention to pluralism damaged the structure of public sphere. And the destruction of public sphere had a big effect on the formation of totalitarianism at the same time. The control totalitarianism obtained over people carried on this characteristic of it in the 21st century covertly by using instruments of political power and with its political quality. (section 2) From this point on, in the modern era, violence became a biological mechanism that takes place via control and discipline. This new kind of power is not mentioned by Arendt because it can’t be thought together with totalitarian regime, it is Foucault’s biopower.

## 2.2 POWER

Like the Pinocchio living without knowing that it is a puppet...

Foucault, in place of a traditional ‘repressive power’ idea, thinks of a diffused and different power model that emphasizes subject and freedom. According to the thinker, this power structure is different in that it does not merely prohibit and destroy but it repeatedly reproduces and is not focused on consistent rejection. For this reason, he paints a complex, hard to understand power concept in his works. However, this complexity is due to the fact that many fields related to people are included in his picture of power. Foucault’s approach to power is more useful to this thesis, the analyses in this theses can’t be done using a merely repressive power model. While working with power concept, Foucault keeps away from approaches that claim economy is the main determinant of power and those that claim it to be a merely repressive and prohibitive system. However, this does not mean that power is not repressive or that it is totally independent of economy. For this reason, Foucault, when talking about power, emphasizes the focus on relationships between many fields. The thinker, in *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews & other writings 1972-1977*, writes these sentences about power, “What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse.” (Foucault 1980, 119)

The thinker, in his analyses, emphasizes that power was born within relations of force and domination in history and changed constantly. For this reason, in Foucault’s writings, three different eras are observed. These are dominant power from before 17th century that is familiar from textbooks, disciplinary power that was specially shaped with national states in later times and biopower that became influential after the second part of 18th century. All three will be studied in detail later in the thesis. These three processes can’t be thought separately from each other (see Foucault 2005, 2013). For this reason, even today there are traces of the prohibition focused power model that is born from force and domination relations and that emphasizes to the people what needs

to be done. At the root of the intertwining of these different models is the management of force imbalances. There is a need to apply different method to bring order to fields ranging from economy to politics. For this reason, according to the thinker "...power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society." (see Foucault 1978, 93) As was stated by Foucault, power is not a concept or an institution that can be simply defined, rather it's a complex strategical structure that is related to many areas. For this reason the thinker, in order to analyze power, takes into consideration many micro institutions that are different, small but related in his works such as *The History of Sexuality*, *The History of Madness* or *The Birth of The Prison*.

This power model tending to subjectify the individual must be understood as a single structure that is dominant in every field. The philosopher argues that there is a power not covering everything but coming from everywhere. In this context, the power comes out not only as the state or an economic structure but also as a complex strategic structure. (Foucault 1982, 786)

*For let us not deceive ourselves: if we speak of the power of laws, institutions, and ideologies, if we speak of structures or mechanisms of power, it is only insofar as we suppose that certain persons exercise power over others. The term "power" designates relationships between "partners" (and by that I am not thinking of game with fixed rules but simply, and fort he moment staying in the most general terms, of an ensemble of actions that induce others and follow from one another).*

As I just mentioned based on Foucault, the power is not limited to the state or an economic structure. In this way, power shows that it does not belong to a certain group, that it does not have a homogeneous structure. However, as stated before, according to the thinker at certain times different areas can become more dominant, however this does not mean that the power becomes homogenized at those times. It would be wrong to try to understand power starting from the idea that a group/individual has dominance over another group/individual. For Foucault, power has a structure that is distributed as a network (see Foucault 2013). This network structure shows that power is not structured as a top-bottom hierarchy. Foucault claims that this hierarchical order works in a reverse fashion, in other words that power goes from small sized structures to large

sized structures. According to Foucault, these micro mechanisms, in time, combined with larger power mechanisms but preserved their authentic characteristics.

Foucault in his 1978 *Collage de France* lectures emphasizes many times that his analysis of power is not a general theory of power. According to Foucault, his aim is to discover “the paths taken by power, how it works, between whom and whom, between which two points, by which methods and with what effects”. After stressing this point, he emphasizes that power does not build upon itself. According to the thinker, for instance, “There are no power mechanisms on family relations that are next to or beyond sexual relations. Power mechanisms are intrinsic to all these relations, they are both the cause and effect in a circular fashion.”

In following years, Foucault’s inclusion of “administrativeness” and “administration” into his analyses shouldn’t be taken to mean that he stopped focusing on the concept of power or that he defined power completely (Senelart 2013, 338). Contrary to this, inclusion of the issue of administration should be seen as a result of Foucault’s efforts to place government in his analyses. Foucault, with this concept, explains roughly how the paths of power and government institutions met (Senelart 2013, 338). For this reason, biopower, anatomo-politics and administrativeness shouldn’t be thought of as distinct concepts.

### **2.2.1 Anatomo-Politics and Biopower**

A power model, which emerged after the second half of the 17th century as an addition to the biological processes of the body, has started to rule over our life. This new strategy of power evolving from disciplining the body to taking under control the population through various dispositives presents a complex structure articulated to the ruling power that is familiar to us, according to Foucault. The philosopher suggests that this strategy has been developed as a solution to a problem that cannot be overcome by the ruling power as a result of increased population, urbanization and industrialization, as we have seen many similar incidents throughout the history. This power strategy, called by Foucault as Anatomo-politics, has been evolving to the discipline of body, or

unification (for rendering them more effective) and individualization (e.g. wakeup time in the morning or method of production of an object) of behaviours based on norms previously defined by the power, which is briefly normalization of the society (Taylan 2013, xx). The power executes this structure basically through various governmental institutions like schools, jails or hospitals. This system, which at first sight might seem to standardize people or make them a copy of one another, in fact divides people into segments that will sustain the power, so the power processes people by individualizing them under its institutions, as Foucault argues. In Foucault's words, the primary target is establishing a mechanism dividing the majority into segments rather than building a majority all the time (Foucault 2013, 13). However, one must stop and think for a moment here and remember that the anatomo-politics added on top of the ruling power and the biopolitics to follow the same are not irrelevant, historical power strategies yet a complex structure of strategies piled up on top of one another. Therefore, the first examples I will be addressing in the analysis will be based rather on the discipline of body while the second part will focus on controlling the influence through dispositive. In both films addressed in this study, soldiers are individuals from disciplinary state organizations, which will make the situation more interesting. In this context, the disciplinary power strategy not only trains the soldier/individual automatically by means of military training, the hierarchical structure within the institution, and the daily routines, uniforms, etc. to render them more productive but also breaks them and put the pieces back together to reproduce those outside the power as the other. These details intervenes to many details in life that range from planning of daily routines to use of time. Individual who starts to be shaped in this way becomes a more functional device. Individual who starts to be shaped in this way becomes a more functional device.

According to Foucault, a second type of power with a focus on the biological processes of body has started to emerge after the mid-18th century and this new power has been centered around the regulation of body based on biological processes such as birth, death, and health status (Sennelart 2013, 324). This structure, named by the philosopher as 'biopolitics' comes out as a kind of power strategy that highlights only the biological attributes of human. According to the philosopher, the power considers human only as statistical data after this point, turning into a structure that is interested in details like

lifespan, birth rate, etc., which are neglected by previous powers, and that treats humans as biomasses that can be managed. In this respect, the refugees deprived of basic human rights or minorities who act upon different principles are easily defined by the power just as humans rather than their purest identities as citizens or individuals. This structure, which seems ordinary at first glance, may cause each person conflicting with the power in politics to be deprived of their most basic rights instead of taking advantage of such rights. This structure of power that works in reverse for some part of the population will be touched upon in more detail in the next section. (section 3.2)

According to Foucault, the power particularly focuses on making individuals subjective. The philosopher states that this power strategy is represented by a method called as the “separating practices” that separate the subject from others. This situation turns person into objective instead of making person subjective with separation from others. Taking advantage of the impact of scientific discourse, the power may indirectly make people adopt various patterns of behaviours. Today the behaviours demonstrated by the individual turn into an ordinary part of daily life, into a normal type of behaviour thanks to the risk factor and scientific authority. From this perspective, the power produces its capacity by allowing individuals creating from themselves, rather than directly imposing itself. (Foucault 1982, 781)

*This form of power that applies itself to immediate everyday life categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and others have to recognize in him, It is a form of power that makes individuals subjects.*

Thus, Foucault focuses on the subject instead of directly focusing on the power in his studies (Foucault 1978, 58). The thinker emphasizes that power does not impart its effect from top to down but from micro to macro structures. For this reason it makes more sense to focus on subjects instead of power. In this context, a power strategy that subjectifies the individual on top of a power model that feeds on institutions (schools, penitentiaries, army, etc) shows that power operates via institutions but are not born of them. In this respect, Power flows *through* institutions, it does not emanate from them. Indeed, the institution is merely an assemblage of various power relations. (Newman

2006, 78) With this approach, Foucault drives attention to expressions that have started to shape individuals' own subjectivity. In this sense, they all differ from one another but they support a common power. The primary reason for this is "The power may only be executed through free subject and as long as they are free." (Keskin 1997, 41) As we emphasized before, although the power has the influences of a disciplinary and ruling capacity, it allows individuals who have passed into a new phase form their own subjectivity, turning into a power that addresses them only with their biological attributes. Another situation driven by the fact that vessels feeding the power connect to any direction is that the state seems no longer to be a means of pressure. These are produced by many subgroups like family, sexuality, and religion. Such micro examples help strengthening the power like capillaries feeding the artery. Individuals who have already adopted the ideology of nation state through education are forced towards protecting the ruling power with the impact of the religious belief, on top of the training they receive, which advises them to sacrifice themselves for the state. Individuals may support the same power with different speeches and in different ways without even knowing. The point here is what those speeches are. In that respect, micro powers create power again with staying out side of the government's boundaries trough to their own subjectivity, besides that they make possible governments authority with that power strategy which they create (see Foucault 2005-2013). At this point, the power strategy model called as the Anato-mo Politics by the philosopher, adopting the discipline of individual's body (quote from the history of sexuality) by the power in order to be rendered more productive. However, attention should be given to understand how power operates via free subjects and it should be noticed that, specially in our day, power turned its gaze to a different area. The point of focus for the power is the sustainability of collective body of the society. By the collective body of population, Foucault means that "its own processes and phenomena, such as birth and death rates, health status, life span, and the production of wealth and its circulation." (Lemke 2011, 36-37) For this reason, according to Foucault each crime and deviation, which try to damage to unity, "hence capital punishment could not be maintained except by invoking less the enormity of the crime itself than the monstrosity of the criminal, his incorrigibility, and the safeguard of society. One had the right to kill those who represented a kind of biological danger to others." (Foucault 1978, 138) In this context,

a common system is required to manage this disciplinary mechanism and to manipulate the expressions I mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph. According to Foucault, managing this structure in an organization like the state with a complex network. Therefore, the concept of modern state takes priority, which is a very different structure from those in the middle age or in ancient ages. This structure, owing to its systematicity and its contact with many areas, makes it possible for dominant power, disciplinary power and biopower to operate together. Thinker, at this point, uses administrativeness concept to explain how the paths of government and power strategies meet. For power to operate systematically, there is a need for a structure that can manage a complex network that is the government, this structure needs to have expanded into many fields. Government, in taking on this role, helps in the smooth operation of power strategies. For this reason, power interacts with many areas through government. But this shouldn't be taken to mean that power extends through institutions (specially government institutions). Power, on the contrary, because it operates on free subjects and minimizes its direct interventions, causes government to seem as if government is unrelated to all this even though government helps power to operate.

### **2.2.2 Dualism in Communication**

According to Stuart Hall, it is impossible to consider analyses of media separate from societal relations. Just as power strategies, ideology, even details from daily life are interrelated, communication field and process has a similar complex structure. The thinker finds linear, one-sided communication theories up to his time problematic and rejects the idea that communication proceeds from sender to receiver only. According to the traditional approach, the party that sends the message can shape the message to their will and deliver it when they desire to. The receiver accepts it passively, in other words is under influence of media. Hall at this point states that the receiver can be in different processes while interpreting this message. He can perceive it directly, can accept or reject it to certain extents or can altogether reject it. "This is in fact an in-built 'asymmetry between the codes of "source" and "receiver" at the moment of transformation into and out of the discursive form.'" (Hall 1980, 131) In short, he is not wholly passive and always develops a strategy to resist in accordance to the circumstances he is in. In this

context, according to thinker, “the text makes an appeal to the audience as a ‘meaningful discourse’ (Hall 1980, 130). However, the ‘meaning structures’ within the text require the action of the audience: in isolation, without an audience, the text is meaningless.” In spite of this situation of the receiver, Hall draws attention to some dominancy based cultural codes (Davis 2004, 64).

*The different areas of social life appear to be mapped out into discursive domains, hierarchically organised into dominant or preferred meanings. New, problematic or troubling events, which breach our expectancies and run counter to our ‘common-sense constructs’, to our ‘taken-for-granted’ knowledge of social structures, must be assigned to their discursive domains before they can be said to ‘make sense’.*  
([Hall’s emphasis] 1980: 134)

Hall’s readings of Gramsci and Louis Althusser helped to add a new dimension to the thinker’s works on dominant culture and communication relations. Gramsci and Althusser’s works on hegemony and ideology helped Hall to understand how people internalized different ideas and how this relation effects their lives. Hegemony concept as accepted by Hall is a struggle “that is ever completely won”; it needs to be won over and over again and points to a constant process of negotiation, implication and compromise (Procter 2004, 26). Ideology is not a situation that is sharply defined in eras and that replaces those before them wholly. As Gramsci stated it is an intertwined structure that communicates constantly (Hall 1997, 98).

*He defends that politics, specially in a modern class democracy, is a struggle given constantly in a field structured between different positions. The issue is not when a series of positions will destroy another but what the game score, power relations and balance of power between them are, at any given time.*

This approach contradicts with Foucault’s perspective on power strategies. Foucault when taking power concept in consideration, states that a dominant structure that is effective only at a single point can’t be talked of, instead, talks of a complex, intertwined and communicating, if not interrelated, structure. For this reason, when considering the relation between media and dominant culture, Stuart Hall formed an interconnected theory. According to the thinker, the receiver can follow different paths when interpreting the transmitted message. Talking of a completely dominant structure for the receiver does not explain the relationship completely. (Davis 2004, 65)

*In speaking of dominant meanings, then, we are not talking about a one-sided process which governs how all events are signified. It consists of the 'work' required to enforce, win plausibility for and command as legitimate a decoding of the event within the limit of dominant definitions in which it has been connotatively signified ([Hall's emphasis] 1980: 135).*

Hall, by including power concept in these analyses, draws attention to there not being an understanding of media independent of power strategies.

### **2.3 HUMAN WITH HIS BARE LIFE**

*When a man is denied the right to live the life he believes in, he has no choice but to become an outlaw.*

*Nelson Mandela*

When Agamben talks about segregation, he said “The central binary relationship of the political is not that between friend and enemy but rather the separation of bare life (*zoé*) and political existence (*bíos*)—that is, the distinction between natural being and the legal existence of a person.” (Lemke 2011, 54) Bare life here is evaluated as what is the natural existence, the one that stays farthest away from the political and legal entity. These bodies, which have transformed into an exception with de-individualization by leaving them disidentified and damaging their origins and cultures, sustain their existence with their bare lives (Lemke 2011, 79). Immigrants are the best examples of this but the minorities in Turkey are also good examples. These people can't live with their Kurdish identities, nor can they assume Turkish identities. Minorities are reduced to their biological bodies and are left in the center with their bare lives. “Bare life becomes both subject and object of the conflicts of the political order.” (Agamben, 2008, 10) And this center, for Agamben is the camps.

The thinker cites Hannah Arendt and interprets camps not merely as a gathering place for people in exile but also a place where “bare life” is produced (Lemke 2013, 81). According to the thinker, what makes this possible is excluding a person from being a legal subject and making him an exception. Arendt who wrote on Hitler and the Jewish issue –a part of totalitarian regime– writes in *Origins of Totalitarianism III*: (Arendt 2014, 291)

*Crime and innocence become meaningless concepts. ...terror executes these judgments and all parties are innocent as subjects in the eyes of the court: Those that were killed because they didn't oppose to the system, killers because, in fact, they didn't kind anybody and they were merely executing a death sentence ordered by any high court.*

Agamben, considering this point mentioned by Arendt in depth, interprets this situation as 'bare life'. According to Agamben, all bare lives get to gather in a one common point. (Lemke 2011, 55)

*These apparently unrelated "cases" have one thing in common: although they all involve human life, they are excluded from the protection of the law. They remain either turned over to humanitarian assistance and unable to assert a legal claim or are reduced to the status of "biomass" through the authority of scientific interpretations and definitions.*

This correspond to idea of Agamben's *homo sacer* "This is a person whom one could kill with impunity, since he was banned from the politico-legal community and reduced to the status of his physical existence." (Lemke 2011, 54-55)

What defines *homo sacer* is being excluded from both sides and being subjected to violence. Here, violence is the act of killing for the government that put law on hold and made an exception by ending its existence as a political entity. While defining *homo sacer*, Agamben gives the example of the werewolf, which is a mythological figure. Here the reason to use werewolf, instead of wolf, is because it is a human figure that was forced out of the city because of his crimes and afterwards carried a wolf head on his shoulders. This situation is reminiscent of *homo sacer*. At this point, the thinker explains Hobbes' concept of war of all against all by stating that everyone is a wolf-headed man, in other words that everyone is bare life and *homo sacer* for everyone else. And this situation is interpreted as government internalizing bare life by excluding it, rather than as transferring a contractual right to violence. Here, the exceptional situation of the undefined area between exclusion and internalizing should be inferred. According to the thinker, just as law loses its validity in an exceptional situation, *homo sacer* is included in society because he is killable and he belongs to God because he can't be sacrificed. "Life that cannot be sacrificed and yet may be killed is sacred life." (Agamben 1998, 82) Here it is true that the person that is explicitly in an empty place

between two sides and is killable is not sacrificed for government. However, *homo sacer* is a victim of his own community or ideology.

Immigrants' revelation of their bare lives was made possible by its revelation of the differences between birth and nation, human and citizen (Agamben 1998, 131). (Agamben 1998, 128)

*Birth immediately becomes nation such that there can be no interval of separation [scarto] between the two terms. Rights are attributed to man (or originate in him) solely to the extent that man is the immediately vanishing ground (who must never come to light as such) of the citizen.*

Here birth (natural life itself) starts acquire a place in power. Nationalism is transformed into a threat through the concept of belonging. In fact, the nature of cultural identities adopts many structures in essence, rather than one that belongs to a constant place. Cultural identities “shaped through differences and discontinuities, cultural identities are not eternally fixed in some essentialized past, but subject to the continuous play of history, culture, and power.” (Hall, qtd. in Suner 2010, 68). The essence of societal sphere and political presentation is shaped, better said should be formed around these differences. Differences surface not to make differences but to raise awareness are this point. However nationalism excludes cultural diversity as if it damages its culture. (Kaya 2006, 99) (Paunksnis 2011, 36).

*Contemporary citizenship is an institution that has the nature of supporting nationalist ideology, which determines the inclusion of individuals in the same national culture on the basis of ‘similarity’ and/or excluding the so-called ‘foreigners’ from this national culture on the basis of ‘difference’ (Kaya 2006, 99).*

*In our case a nation is in the process of crystalizing itself, and the eruption of violence as an outcome of crystalizing identities of a citizen and his enemy, his Other, his double, clearly shows not only the inevitability of violence, but violence as a basis for forging a nation, for erecting a State, and a constant need for the Other as a perpetual enemy, because without an enemy, without the Other it would not be possible to perceive a Self, and exist as a Self.*

A speech that defines itself via the other, however peaceful it may be, continues to feed discrimination. Legitimizing one's political existence over other's cultural differences causes good/bad concepts to become a fundamental adjective used to define minorities. All living culture is an unstable equilibrium between two poles: on one hand, concerns

of preserving heritage from difference, and on the other, dissolving in the other culture which, in a similar will to auto-protect, affronts and menaces (Kattan, qtd. in Bachand 2013, 9). Every political violence act incorporates the predominance of its ideology and tries to suppress those that are outside its culture, rather than adopting them. When it fails to accomplish this, it accuses them of destroying its culture and repels them in order to harm counter culture. At this stage, it does not make a fuss about harming the other for protecting its own people and it justifies its violence by causing its own citizen to feel under threat within the idea of nationalism. In other words, it covers violence with nationalism thought.

The individual starts to perceive the person shown to him/her as a threat, as an enemy on the territory where they have adopted as their homeland, with the fear that others may occupy these lands or harm his/her home. In this case, communities with different cultures are seen as people who should be afraid of, who respond tolerance with ingratitude to the attempts to change their identities under the national identity as part of an intervention that is tried to be made to their cultures and beliefs. In fact it is the power itself, which has never interiorize them. They live as minorities among the majority, which makes them the 'other'. According to Dixon, " 'fear of the other' is a shaping force, which divides "the world's populace neatly into two opposing camps – 'them' and 'us'." (Dixon, qtd. in Jung 2010, 45). (Kaya 2006, 123)

*...Immigration, foreign and ethnic groups can be identified as threats to national security by the political decision makers. Others amongst us, the different ethnic groups and immigrants are subject to a process of a continuous 'alienation' by frequently being referred to with human smuggling, drug trafficking, crime, violence and terror concepts and may be defined as "elements that threaten our national security.*

Shifting of the bare life from the borders of politics, where it used to be, gradually in to the center of the political area, is important to operate power in biopolitics through bodies. (Agamben 1998, 139-140)

*Every society sets this limit; every society-even the most modern-decides who its "sacred men" will be. It is even possible that this limit, on which the politicization and the exceptio of natural life in the j juridical order of the state depends, has done nothing but extend itself in the history of the West and has now- in the new*

*biopolitical horizon of states with national sovereignty- moved inside every human life and every citizen. Bare life is no longer confined to a particular place or a definite category. It now dwells in the biological body of every living being.*

For this reason, according to Agamben, bare life, as we approach our day, becomes more ambiguous (Agamben 2008, 10).

### 3. FILM ANALYSIS ON *BREATH* AND *FUTURE LASTS FOREVER*

#### 3.1 VISUALIZATION OF VIOLENCE

Complex structure of violence and its two faces in political area are reflected in state violence and political struggle, at the same time violence intertwines with power notion. However, it should be remembered, as Arendt stressed, that violence and power are different concepts. This section of the thesis is based on the notion of violence. *Breath* film shows how violence operates with a militarist perspective and within events. *Future Lasts Forever* film, on the other hand, deals with violence from the perspective of the society and aims to explain violence covertly from a perspective of the people left behind. In both films, violence is depicted as an expression of power and simultaneously as political struggle. State repression and violence by minorities within their political struggle and struggle for freedom reveals itself as political violence. In both films, different societal perspectives in a system that needs various justifications are presented.

Using Arendt's terminology violence has an instrumental position in these films. When we consider both films, we see that the goal is based on various factors such as needs, fears, freedom and promises. The root cause of state violence on minorities is based on the fear of loss of power, a need to prove its strength, discrimination, territorial integrity and various ideological backgrounds. For instance: nationalism. For this reason, state violence is usually reflective of ambitions of power. State utilizes violence in a structure that aims to instill fear and repress. In the film *Breath* the rationale behind the violence done by soldiers, according to them, is their belief that those who struggle reject power of the government and that they are evil people. In the eyes of the soldier, the other side is a traitor that harms even his own people. It is considered a treason against the government by Commander Mete that the Doctor is a soldier of this country and that later he went up to the mountains. Army is, in any case, an institution where soldiers serve to defend the integrity of government and where they are instructed with this ideology. For this reason, soldiers repress and frighten people to impose on those people

the idea that where they live is Turkish land. In the film *Future Lasts Forever*, this is the reason behind the burning down of houses in villages in Diyarbakir and the reason behind the killing or disappearance of husbands and relatives. In the film *Breath*, Doctor's question "tell me how many villages did you burn down?" reveals the extends of violence. Some dialogs between Commander Mete and Doctor openly exemplify this.

*C. Mete —You are the one who kills his own people.*

*Doctor —Don't speak out the name of my people, who you have suppressed for years.*

*C. Mete —When were you suppressed, Doctor? What did you want and this state didn't give you?*

*Doctor —You did not give my freedom, Commander! You banned my language and my people from their own land.*

Here violence is considered as they are seen in different power structures. For instance, powers in government institutions and organizations. (Section 3.2)

Arendt states that the notion of authority is confused with power. The distinction between the two can be observed clearly in the film *Breath*. As was defined by the thinker, authority shows itself in a hierarchical order. And here army is at the center of authority. There is a submission without questioning. This is called the chain of command. As stated by the thinker, authority has its foundations on respect. In the film *Breath* tells the doctor in the health center to help the seriously wounded woman who he caught by a trap. Doctor stresses that they need to ask for a helicopter and that she needs to be hospitalized. After commander's negative sentences and repeated order he starts helping the woman. Doctor asks that the soldiers get out of the room, since the patient is female and that the TV is turned off because its distractive. Commander refuses and later interrupts the doctor and throttles the woman. His aim is to learn where the Doctor (Commander Mete's enemy) is. The station doctor intervenes (the psychological factor there caused violence). The commander yells at the doctor and throws him to the ground. After the woman is taken with the helicopter, commander drops by the doctor and talks to him. And the doctor needs to show respect to his superior. This continues as part of the chain of command. In fact, this is one of the times in *Breath* when the boundaries of authority are extended even surpassed. Another time is when Commander Mete leaves the station, contrary to orders of his superiors, and

lays an ambush. As Arendt states, authority is in danger when the respect that keeps authority intact is lost. And, in fact, this results in destruction of authority eventually. Commander Mete's decision to act contrary to the orders of his superiors can be considered an example of strength.

Force is born of togetherness here, for example it can be said for those gathered under the struggle for freedom. This concept is often equated with violence. However, the instrumentality of violence separates it from other concepts. Force, resides not in the instrument but in 'the idea of togetherness' as it shows itself in a struggle. Here the aim is to defend the rights of the minorities and to denounce the violence towards the minorities. However, they carry on these tasks by violence, which shows that violence can't be the goal. Some struggles for freedom or political struggles given by non-state actor in Southern East Turkey turn to acts of violence, this opens the way for the government to misuse its force. This shouldn't be thought of as a strategy towards minorities only. Because the government doesn't refrain from using violence against those who it suspects to be threats to itself – to the society in general. In the film *Future Lasts Forever*, the stories of the relatives of victims of unsolved murders are examples of this. For instance, in one of the interviews, a woman after pointing to his husband in the picture on the wall, starts telling about the dead and what she's been through:

*Fahri is my husband. He was 7 years older than me. He was 31. They were blindfolded and dragged behind the armored, personnel carrier from village to village. They were later taken to the Lice. Someone saw that they were dressed in military uniforms and taken on board a helicopter. Taken to Kulp. We looked for them a very long time but we couldn't find them. We went to the district attorney, but they didn't even let us to see him. They kicked us out. They didn't give us their funerals ...Finally, the three death bodies of them found in Kulp. Ekrem, Ramazan, Ali. Ekrem and Ramazan were Fahri's brothers. They were my brother-in-laws. This is not something that can be forgotten. If they don't give an explanation to us today, they will answer to our children or to our grandchildren. But we will never forget it. ... No one accept this as a 'justice'. Turkey has a minister of justice. There are laws. If there are laws, we want the bones that belong to us.*

This situation after a while can turn into revenge. In time, these people that were killed and the unpaid dues related to their deaths can turn into large scaled societal movements like minority rights or freedom fights. This evolves into revenge in a societal scale rather than an individual one. In both films, there is justification done both by the government and minorities in political struggle. However, this can't be legitimized in

any way. Because in a judgment based on the past, the aim and the instrument are not clear. Justification, for both parties, has relative reasons. Political violence by state has its foundations in the society as was stated by Hobbes. For this reason, if we are to think that society gave the monopoly of violence to state in order to be protected, political violence can be justified in this way. Because, this shows that government has the right to use violence on minorities that it sees as a threat in order to protect society and itself. Alternatively, it might not feel any guilt for any crimes committed under orders as was observed in Milgram's experiment. Refusing to take responsibility can even be used to justify the action due with the excuse of following orders. In the film *Breath*, the obligation of the soldiers to follow orders and in connection to this their lawful right to kill helps to legitimize murders committed by soldiers.

*C. Mete — This is war. Either you are a murderer or a victim.*

Torturing of a woman caught during the fight by Commander Mete is justified in the name of revenge of killed soldiers and to find the Doctor. Another aspect of justification is the thought that it is kill or be killed. This can be observed in the dialog between Commander Mete and the doctor (in the health center).

*C. Mete — Would you treat the man who shot Orhan...?*

*Doctor —Yes, I would.*

*C. Mete —Equal treatment for everyone, right?*

*Doctor —Yes, Commander.*

*C. Mete — We've taught wrong. And if that man killed your brother? What would you do?*

*Doctor —I would still treat him.*

*C. Mete — And what would you have told your mother?*

In another example, in a radio communication between a soldier and his girlfriend, his criticism against the army, which is a state institution, is shown. This example can be seen as a criticism of an institution to justify itself.

*The girl —You are there so that I can sleep at peace right? I'm sorry, of course, you are in the army.*

*Soldier —Yes I am.*

*The girl — So I need to be thankful for every quiet night. I get it.*

Eternal peace – a general notion – shows itself here. This notion enables the justification of death within political violence roughly because it promises peace after death. (Section 3.3) In this way, death and violence are made necessary for ideological goals. What makes people or communities in minorities sacrifice themselves in their political struggles is the necessity of death to reach their goal. This belief is, at the same time, part of the belief in eternal peace that will come after death. In the film *Future Lasts Forever*, Harun is aware of the possible danger of being killed when he enters political struggle in accordance with his ideology but he sees this as a small sacrifice for his beliefs. Similarly, in the film *Breath* the blood sacrificed for the struggle for freedom for the Doctor is a part of this struggle. For the soldiers, the belief in eternal peace is apparent in the dialogs that follow the organ donation in *Breath*. One of the soldiers thinks organ donation is wrong. And he tries to convince İbo (another soldier).

*Sergeant —If anybody wants to donate his organs, write it down...*

*İbo —Organ donation?*

*Soldier —Is that an order?*

*İbo —No, I won't donate anything. That just won't work.*

*Sergeant —Why not?*

*İbo —Won't my heart die when I die?*

*Sergeant —No it won't. They cut it out, put it into a box... and take it to the hospital. And you do something good.*

*The other soldier —It's an easy thing to say, but you incur the sin of these boys. Do you think that's a good thing to do?*

*Sergeant —I don't incur the sin of anyone.*

*The other soldier —Suppose they die, shall they enter the afterlife without arms and legs, even without a heart?*

*İbo —He's right. If we die tomorrow, we enter the afterlife without our donated organs.*

*The other soldier —That's the word of God, that's how it's written down.*

*İbo — God Forbid, if we step on a landmine and our arm or leg is shattered, what then?*

*The other soldier —Then you're a martyr and you'll go straight to heaven. Your place will be directly below the prophets. No one will ask you about your missing organs.*

*İbo —But you just said it. I'm becoming a martyr if I die here?*

*Other soldiers —Right.*

*İbo —So if I'm a martyr anyway and therefore not accountable in heaven then I'll donate my heart!*

*Other soldiers —That's right. That's the spirit. Right on, donate!*

Justifications in line with ideologies create heroes and enemies in societal perception. In government politics, freedom fighters that are considered as enemies and minorities that are giving a political struggle are shown to be threats to the society. For this reason, society can keep silent about or turn a blind eye to violence to others for the sake of its

own good. In this process, people that remove the threat are mentioned as heroes. In a similar way, young people that go up to the mountains for freedom struggles can be heroes of minorities. Government that makes an excuse of this danger or the army and threatens the minorities can be perceived as enemies. In both films, there are similar examples for this. In the film *Breath* the manufactured image perception of an enemy can be observed in the news in television or the Daily conversations of soldiers. However, Commander Mete's definition of soldiers is the most obvious example of this.

*C. Mete: Every single one of these boys is different. Their hands, faces, their loves and fears... You don't notice them. They don't even understand why you can't. They come here because of you, to become your heroes. They run and don't know why. We make them run so it will be easier for them to walk. ...They leave their warm beds and start their march to the mountain. Fate looks for its hero. These boys keep walking no matter what. And these boys who carry their hearts in their hands become distance to you. Their distance to you grows as the distance to the peak diminishes. Now they can't understand you anymore and you can't understand them either.*

In societal perception military service is considered as the proof of manhood. Being a veteran or a martyr means to be a hero. For this reason, sacrificing one's life for the motherland is the most sacred duty for most. The belief that "martyrs are immortal, our land is indivisible" is the clearest example of this. At this point, the real issue is heroes and enemies are separated or the problem of telling apart those who threaten the integrity of the land. The perception that is manufactured by the language of the majority can at times cause this difference to expand and can even cause legitimization of the violence between two sides. In this context, according to Arendt, everyone can simply state that violence is an expression of the state. However, according to the thinker, understanding the essence of violence is crucial. Within general perception, a man or a woman who has given his life for freedom is –as the government states– a fighter. Of course, a man that is considered a fighter by someone can be the freedom fighter for someone else. In *Future Lasts Forever*, Harun is considered a hero by Sumru or someone else, however he is an enemy for the state. Also, in the scenes Sumru watches, soldiers coming to town in military vehicles and pulling a boy into the vehicle by force or finding of her husband and brother-in-law after they were taken from their homes by force can make others consider soldiers as enemies. As Commander Mete's story, we can't hear the story of others and its meaning to others. However, in *Future*

*Lasts Forever*, there are stories about the traces of the events. The story that Commander Mete tells is understood as the story of innocent men. In a similar way, stories told by the relatives of victims of unresolved murders are taken to be about innocent men. If we did not know who Commander Mete is and who he is talking about, his statements would hold for the victims of political struggle. As Isak Dinesen, every suffering can be bearable when it is told as a story (Arendt 2006, 257). In this context, when looked from different perspectives, all stories can be innocent, as such; it is worth attention that there is a need for heroes and enemies. Like Bertolt Brecht's warning: 'Pity the land that needs heroes.'" (Habermas, qtd. in Borradori 2003, 43)

In state violence and violence caused by political struggle there is a lack of questioning of motives. For Arendt, lack of speech and action is pointed out by this. According to the thinker the change that took place in the public sphere is the real reason behind this. It is 'lack of thought' as Arendt states. In *Breath* the environment and circumstances in the location (mountain) hinder the formation of this. In *Future Lasts Forever* there is a search for meaning in city rather than the countryside or an isolated place. And these circumstances make sharing thought possible. A thinking man has the ability to judge and he should take responsibility of his actions. As in Milgram's experiment, an individual that does not think and lacks the capacity for judgment does not feel responsible for his actions. Within the framework of Arendt, violence resorted to by soldiers or by freedom fighters in the political struggles between government and minorities can be seen as decisions taken without thinking by individuals who lack judgment. A soldier, even if his order is to kill someone he doesn't even have the slightest idea about, can execute this order without using his judgment and giving it any thought. This is an act of a person who doesn't use judgment and does not give the action any thought. In similar lines, in a political struggle, the situation calls for taking revenge from a soldier, and it results in deaths of others and this is another decision made by a person lacking judgment. Thoughts of revenge sometimes result in unforeseen consequences. For this reason, action should be thought together with thought and speech. In the film *Breath* when the Doctor kills Orhan, a close friend of Commander Mete, and causes Commander Mete to want revenge. And this leads Commander Mete, who is a soldier that lost his ability to judge, to decide against

authority and attack the other party with a feeling of revenge. In turn, the Doctor lets it be known that he will take revenge for the murders by Commander Mete. And these people that lack judgment do not feel responsible for the deaths of those killed by them or around them because for them this is a necessary sacrifice. Choosing to kill is their decision. Arendt's Eichmann example is important from this perspective. Eichmann believed that he was following orders and his following orders blindly are precisely the condition that made him guilty. Eichmann rather than being a murderer or a psychopath is an ordinary soldier, a banal evil. Arendt talks about not only Eichmann but everyone that acts violently and kills without thinking and that has the capability of turning a blind eye to all these. This is why evil is so banal. In *Future Lasts Forever*, one of the stories talks about the story of an elderly woman.

*The dawn was breaking. It was around 8:00 am. Soldiers surrounded us. It was snowing heavily. They said we had an hour to empty our houses. They said that after one hour, they'd start burning the houses down. We were shocked. What can we take out in one hour? We took out supplies and put them under the almond tree. Because of the rain they got wet, too. We just wanted to save our lives. Our belongings, our cattle and sheep were all left inside. My daughter-in-law had a three-day old baby. We said, let's get the baby and others out. First, they set the house on fire from the inside. Our beds, all our belongings burned. The barn was right next to the house. We couldn't save the animals. The soldiers didn't let us move a muscle. They were right in front of us, they all burned. The animals shrieked in terror.*

In this story, people ask for permission to rescue their animals, the soldiers do not respond and throws people out of their homes without listening to them. This is not merely a decision taken in line with orders, it is one of those moments where the individual does not need to use his own judgment and does not consider it worthwhile to think about it. Here, however big the evil is, the individual participated in it. Eichmann's failure to face the consequences of his action, even in the name law, applies in the case of soldiers as well. Violence done by transgressing the law by those in political struggle and violence carried out by soldiers within law without a second thought about the violent act does not change the scale of the evil. Here, evil is not only those that obey but also those who keep silent about it. In the story above, the indifference of the public prosecutor's and the justice system to the request of the woman to collect the bodies of her relatives who were lost all of a sudden is a reflection of banal evil. In *Future Lasts Forever*, what kind of a justification can account for collecting of people from their homes headlong? Seeing the deaths of people in political

struggle as just without knowing which party started the battle or turning a blind eye to the people, repressing another nation within nationalism are all parts of evil.

*Vita Activa*'s two elements labor and work find their meaning in the dialog between Commander Mete and Hakan (soldier) in *Breath*.

*C. Mete —Hakan you are a banker, right?*

*Hakan —Yes, Commander.*

*C. Mete —Kamil, look at these men; their salaries are five times more than yours and mine. Isn't it true?*

*Hakan —Depends on the bonus. We have commissions too. But it may change.*

*C. Mete —Well, what would I need to show you to get credit for a house?*

*Hakan —I'm not in the credit department, but securities I guess.*

*C. Mete —My securities are these mountains.*

*Hakan —You would need papers to prove this.*

*C. Mete — I don't have papers so these mountains mean nothing to the bank.*

In Another speech, Commander Mete says, “After I die, they will throw my wife out of the mass housing. And they will put her on salary... She can't even buy a house with that money.” Labor always carries the desire to be rid of pain and suffering. Work exists to make this desire of labor a reality, it creates an artificial world of things: such as product and money. In *Breath*, the discussion between the soldiers about the reasons behind the Doctor's going up to the mountains instead of doing his job also takes place in this artificial world. One of the soldiers makes this assessment of this situation: “Is this man crazy, if he works at a hospital, he will earn a fortune. What the hell he is doing at the mountains.” In a way, others have a life or a chance for a life. This shows that started to be worthy with jobs. In the film there is constant discussion about whether they get anything in return material or otherwise for their labor. For instance, in a scene they mention inheritance petition. In this example, the material worth of their lives (labor, work and actions) is shown.

*Sergeant —Guys, write what I'm reading. If I die, my personal benefits...*

*Soldier —What personal right is?*

*Sergeant —They are the rights that you have in essence, which are soldiering benefits as you are a soldier now.*

*Other Soldier —God forbid but if we are martyred, the state pays compensation to us.*

*Soldier — How much money will be paid?*

*Sergeant —It will be reasonable I guess but I don't know exactly.*

Whether there is any moral consideration or not is told in the similar dialogues between the soldiers and with the question “if we die while we are asleep, shall we become a martyr too?” asked by one of the soldiers to his father via the radio.

“Action” which is the most basic element of Arendt’s three basic human actions can be seen very clearly in these films. Action takes place without ‘things’. And it finds its meaning in plurality. In *Future Lasts Forever*, Sumru’s meeting Ahmet and many other people and stories who become involved in her life provide a ground for sharing in this plurality. Ahmet’s confrontation with his past with the help of Sumru or Sumru’s efforts to find Ahmet after she listened to a woman’s story and getting asked by her “who are you looking for?” are all the changing of perspective and creation of a new events. Both Sumru and Ahmet changed the direction of their lives with action. The need for thinking and speaking for action to take place shows itself in the conversations between people and stories. Here, there is a situation similar to Arendt’s table example. Sumru, as a music student and with her Armenian identity, Ahmet, with his philosophy degree, interest in cinema and Kurdish identity and many other people with their identities and stories take their seats around the table. They look at each other both from a distance and close proximity. People make up a plurality with their differences. However, most important of all, to constitute a part of this plurality there should be a relation between self and identity. The first prerequisite of freedom is having awareness. Judgment and thinking is important in this aspect. As Jean-Jacques Rousseau stated “People’s freedom is not freedom to act as they wish but freedom from doing anything they don’t wish to do.” How free can Commander Mete be in the mountains he felt free? Arendt talks about how birth brings about a new beginning and a capability to act with it. Metaphorically, Commander Mete trying to have a baby with his wife, in fact, shows his need of a new beginning. However, the pills Commander Mete takes to cure infertility reveal his lack of conditions and force for a new beginning and a capability to act. For this reason, he chooses the path of death, which is the other end of existence, where he considers himself strong. In the following parts of the film, his tendency for violence reveals itself as a result of this choice of his.

### 3.2 POWER ON LIFE AND DEATH

In order to understand the effects of power on society and violence, an analysis of power through films was aimed. The tension between soldiers and fighters, which was the subject of these films, is not merely a tension caused by the government or even the political power at the time. Alienation and reproduction of discourse expanding from smaller and larger (family, sexuality, etc.) can be seen in various areas of the society. Institutions such as schools and the army where the effect of disciplinary power model is bigger play a more important role in the creation of this tension because they make use of scientific language. For example, homosexuality is still considered as a disease from the perspective of Turkish Armed Forces (TAF). In *Radikal* newspaper, Piotr Zalewski, in his article, mentioned Selma Aliye Kavaf's – Government Minister for Women and Family– statements that homosexuality is a disease and should be treated, it was also stated that this approach was Turkish Army's formal stance on the subject (see Zalewski 2010). Or there are examples like turning a blind eye to people who went up to mountains, by basing this on theories like Sun Language Theory and their being removed from textbooks by the use of dominant history writing. In this context, it can be said that the power continues to exist through institutions. As can be clearly seen in both films, figures with the help of the information given to them by the institutions they are in touch with produce the other and power. (This is production of power by army for the soldier and government institutions for the public prosecutor.) However both in real life and in the investigated examples institutions never show up as focusing individuals in a single point rather they operate by leaving them to be. For this reason, instead of arguing that power is born via these institutions, it is necessary to see institutions as a focal point of power relations (Newman 2006, 133).

Foucault draws attention to a kind of power that interacts with and subjectifies individuals (Foucault 2005, 63). According to the thinker, the discourses that start to shape the characteristics of individuals should be paid attention to. For example, in the film *Breath*, soldiers come from different professional groups like doctors or bankers as well as those unemployed. Although individuals seem to come together under one role as military service, they are subjects who complete the whole and sustain the power, as Foucault defines. Some as teachers and some as fathers support the expression as an

important part of their life as underlined by Foucault. In this perspective whole as specific, thus sustain different but common power. As it was stated before in the theoretical part, this is fundamentally because power can be applied only over free subjects (Keskin 1997, 41). Moving away from a dominant and disciplinary power model, in other words a commanding and limiting power model and the formation of a power model that allows individuals to shape their subjectivities, removes the repressive image of government. The dispersion of power to many subareas like family, sexuality and religion and its movement from a micro perspective to a macro one through these subareas increases this invisibility further. In the film *Breath*, some dialogues between the soldiers can be shown as examples to this. Examples from the film include a religious soldier speaking to his father on the radio and asking, “If we die in our sleep, will we be considered as martyrs?” or the reaction of İbo (another soldier) to a soldier asking those who want to donate organs to make an entry. (Section 4.1) Examples similar to this condition, like little arteries feeding power helps keep power alive. Individuals that are involved in the wheel of power with the help of extensions of disciplinary power (schools, hospitals, army, etc.), because of religion and dominant discourse in line with it, in addition to their education, can devote themselves wholly to the ideals of power. Individuals generally without realizing and with different paths. Under the influence of different discourses (and so powers) can feed the same power. In that respect, micro powers create power again with staying out side of the government’s boundaries trough to their own subjectivity, besides that they make possible governments authority with that power strategy which they create (Foucault 2005-2013). In this way, individuals think they make their own decisions, that their decisions are wholly subjective and that they act accordingly. From Foucault’s perspective, at this point, one is reminded of the power strategy termed anatomo-politics by him, which asserts that bodies of individuals should be disciplined by power in order to make them more productive.

In this model the individual is disciplined like the soldiers in the films I analyzed in order to be rendered more functional/productive in a certain organization from the perspective of the power (other examples of this may be seen in boarding schools, or in the initial periods of prisons. see rise of prisons and rise of sexuality). These details

intervene in life in many aspects from planning daily routines to use of time. Thus, the individual who is being worked within this mechanism turns into a more functional device. For example, having the bust of Atatürk cleaned, or the flag restored regularly, or the soldiers called together for inspection, as seen in the film *Breath*. These details may seem to be usual at first sight, but when matched with examples like our oath read every day in schools, the effort of power to discipline the body/individual and the power strategy become evident. In *Future Lasts Forever*, Sumru hears the voices of students who are reciting ‘Student Oath’. Even though the majority is Kurdish in Diyarbakir, the power structure that operates under the nationalism ideology shows itself here. In this context, there is a need for a complex structure to manage interrelated power strategies and institutions and to combine these areas in order to continue the discourse manufactured by power. According to Foucault, in order for this structure to be managed in an organized manner, there is a need for a wide network structure like government. This theory by Foucault is underlined by the doctor in the film *Breath* who says in a radio talk with Commander Mete, “You did not give my freedom. You have left my people as expatriates on their own land.” This scene comes out as a setting where a power strategy managing the individual by setting them free conflicts with the disciplinary power strategy of the past. At the places where the approach of the disciplinary power to restructure the individual for rendering them more productive for the power starts to collapse, it faces oppositions like the one by the doctor. Another example of this opposition is the woman in one of records taken in *Future Lasts Forever* for people taken away, “If they do not account before us today, they will account before our children, and if not, before our grand children. We will never forget this. ...No one would agree to this as justice.” This example explains the transformation of resistance into violence with minorities on which the power structure struggles to stand.

Communication media turns into instruments of propaganda in the hands of power and has a directing effect on people’s lives. In a similar way, various institutions of the government aims to have the same effect on individuals that interact with them. Media representing the East as a center of violence and as dangerous, its definition of the of minorities with certain templates produces a minority image that is determined by the

media which is a tool of the power and by formal rhetoric “The mass media play a crucial role in defining the problems and issues of public concern. They are the main channels of public discourse in our segregated society.” (Hall qtd. in Davis 2004, 56) This can be exemplified over two films. First of all, looking at the film *Breath*, in the scenes soldiers get in touch with their families on the radio, the other side is always featured in fear. And we see the reactions of families against the presence of a threat from what they watch on TV -bad news-. For example, we hear mothers crying, “we hear some news, news about martyrs, we get thrilled every time.” Of course, no one can ignore that there is a risk but like we talk about a disrupted and manipulated communication taking part in the creation of that risk, the same applies to the use of such risk to threaten the society. In the film *Future Lasts Forever*, the talk between Sumru and her mother when she arrived in Diyarbakir can also be shown as an example for this situation. Sumru's mother also speaks about her fears by mentioning the news about the events happening there and how dangerous it is as in the film *Breath*. The comment by Sumru that here it is even safer than there, pushes the manipulative boundaries of the risk society which is created. Because the media features the South Eastern Anatolia as a region of ethnic political violence and threat by those going up the mountains. The representation of immigrants or different ethnic groups in mass media takes place through a study of actors or through certain patterns. These patterns (cultural backwardness, violence, civil war, lack of democracy) point to these people mainly as ‘problematic people’. They are also depicted as threatening factors that occupy our houses, workplaces, education and streets. In their studies on the relation between racism and press, Hartmann and Husband with their study on the British press and similarly Van Dijk with their analyses in the Netherlands state that they reached the same or similar results. (Küçük 1999, 372)

*Noteworthiness hierarchies of the descriptions, headlines, news reports that are not biased and racist but ethnocentric can be found in all levels of textual organization, including the tone and rhetoric. However, it must be drawn attention that, expression of discourse group powers may be pretty proficient and indirect in qualified press and television. Apparent racial abuse is an exemption.*

As Stuart Hall stated “Meaning of a text is not in itself but in its reading.” For this reason, As Hall stated, however the news or the thought is given, what gives meaning to

is the thought and judgment of the individual himself. In this way, acceptance of power as it is or its production will be hindered. . Specially, when schools and the army are considered, the effect power wants to impose on the people involved in these institutions can be seen clearly. In both films considered in the thesis, there are many examples that are about the army and school. Through these institutions, individuals that have been filtered in a way and have been disciplined as well as bodies that are instruments that reflect the ideology of the power come into being. The Doctor's leaving college, Sumru's study about Anatolia or Ahmet's going back to his hometown after studying philosophy and taking an interest in cinema are all examples of ways to run away from the reach of power.

Any person who receives military training, is disciplined through the ideology of the power and they define the person taught to them as the other within the bloody stories of the history. Soldiers are raised with the knowledge that the one they left behind are in danger. Conflict comes to the forefront when they are given a reason to fight for and allowed to killed by their father/the power raising them. We see a frozen bust of Ataturk and a destroyed flag before the scene of soldiers mustered by the Commander Mete in the film *Breath*. The very scene showing that the power is far away, yet where the power is not present, it is executed over the individual. This power shows itself when the Commander Mete orders his soldiers to clean the bust and replace the flag. At the beginning of the film, Commander Mete arrives at the Karabal Gendarmerie Station and sees everybody is sleeping from soldiers to the third lieutenant, and the next morning his speech to the soldiers shows what the system has taught them, what it expects from them, normalizing the death at this point.

Commander goes to the soldier:

—*At ease. Name?*

—*Communication Sergeant Kamil Ateş, at your command.*

—*Kamil Ateş, you are dead! Are you married?*

—*Yes, Commander.*

—*Is she living in the barracks?*

—*Yes, Commander.*

—*Give her a call; she needs to look for another flat. She won't be able to stay there anymore. Why? You are dead! Are your parents still alive?*

—*Yes, Commander.*

—*Good. We'll send your coffin to them.*

Commander goes over to the other soldiers and shouts “You! You died!” After that he continues to talk:

—*Your mother cries her heart out and the neighbors try to calm her. They are rubbing her wrists with cologne. She's crying when she says “my son... My one and only!” Your father is crying as well, silently inside, in one corner. On his lips only one sentence remains: “long live the Motherland! Long live our Nation! If I had another son I'd send him too.” Your mother cries and says, “Long live Motherland.” They ambush the station. They kill all of you. We'll send your families your corpses. They wash your bullet holes. Wash off the blood. Then they cover your coffin with the flag. That's the way how they do it, right Tugay?*

*Tugay —Like you command, captain.*

—*If you sleep, you die. You all die! If you sleep, you die! If you fall asleep everybody dies! I won't send your corpses, your coffins to your families! I forbid you to die.*

The power sustains its existence/power over soldiers. On the top of mountains as in the example of *Breath* where we believe there is no power, soldiers turn into individual powers. They take their own decision to live and kill.

According to Foucault, the focal point of power moved from the body of the individual to the collective body of the society with biopolitical power strategy. By the collective body of population, Foucault means that this is a though “its own processes and phenomena, such as birth and death rates, health status, life span, and the production of wealth and its circulation.” form as a unitary (Lemke 2011, 36-37). Especially with statistics, which is termed government statistics, control of these proportions and processes became easier and more important for government. The collective body rather than the bodies of individuals has become more important for the biopower which has continued its force over free subjects and has kept an eye on change owing to tools like statistics. For his reason, every crime and deviation that tries to break the whole apart will be considered a ‘biological’ threat on other people and as such any punishment is legitimate to such actions. At this point what is important according to Foucault is not the size of the crime but that the collective body of the society is in danger. In this sense, the ‘soldiers’ I analyzed in the thesis do not make an issue of sentencing to death or punishing any factor that may damage the integrity of this body. An example to this is a scene in the film *Breath* where the Commander Mete captures a heavily wounded

female fighter who needs urgent intervention but Commander Mete prevents intervention and tortures her. Both with the uniforms they wear and through speech beside the uniforms, they serve as a maintainer for the power.

However, a change that took place mainly in the legal field after the 18th century started to change the way things works. The power has to fix the steps it takes since this period resulted in the rise of individual as a legal subject. According to Foucault, this situation that "...is intended to apply the law not so much to a real body capable of feeling pain as to a juridical subject, the possessor, among other rights, of the right to exist." (Foucault 1995, 13). This change emphasized by the philosopher caused people who were transformed into legal subjects to be intervened only by laws. Accordingly, the power is required to find a legal basis for conflicting circumstances in any way whatsoever even if they are based on wrong foundations in theory. The film *Breath* proposes an interesting example to this. After two soldiers are shot to death, a few people arrive at the scene on a helicopter for writing a report. A soldier says, "I made an official report Mr. Prosecutor." Photos are taken and the death incident is explained in detail using a typewriter. The prosecutor notices that he has stepped on the bloody snow and tries to wipe off his shoes. There, he slips off and falls. Soldiers lift him up saying, "Be careful Mr. Prosecutor, we're on slippery grounds." Here you might think that they say this because the ground is covered with ice, but the point is the reality of death and that the area has been a grave for many. This may come out as an irony behind the rational mind of the government, although a recent incident is still caught in the heat of the moment.

When a power model is trying to manage, in the most productive way, individuals turning into legal subjects, "the violence and war that keep going on the background seem like an act that melts the value of individual's own life in a kind of 'negative' game." (Bataille, qtd. in Tuğrul 2010, 10) For Foucault, the power always involves an inner resistance. That means there is no ultimate sovereignty. However, the power tries to take under control this inner resistance by managing the situation, or briefly by allowing a limited level of resistance. This keeps alive the risk factor for the power and helps the power to ensure those resisting stay outside the border in a society borders of

which are legally defined by the power. The clearest example of this is the struggles of minorities. When the resistance which is expected to a certain level is replaced by political violence acts –Harun returns the village to join the guerrillas in *Future Lasts Forever* or the Doctor climbs up the mountains for his freedom in *Breath –*, or when resistance emerges within the territories, the solution for the power is to annihilate. The ethnic, cultural, lingual, etc. differences from the past strengthen the hand of power to produce the other in case of any little resistance, especially considering the disciplinary power model (the period of military coups can be regarded as one of the most clear examples to this). “History according to Foucault, circumscribes us and sets limits, it doesn’t determine what we are, but what we’re in the process of differing from; it doesn’t fix our identity, but disperses it into our essential otherness. History, in short, is what separates us from ourselves and what we have to go through and beyond in order to think what we are.” (Patton 1995, 95- 69) As emphasized by Deleuze, the key point when we create the ‘us’ and the ‘other’ is to how we separate ourselves from others in the process of change, rather than how our past was used to be. The most clear example to this is that the change process experienced by the Commander Mete brings death for him, while the change experienced by Sumru brings a new future to her.

It is Commander Mete's own decision to torture, and almost kill, to make the woman talk after they captivate her as a result of the combat engaged with the fighters by Commander Mete and soldiers, and it is also his own decision to allow her to live. The control is established over Commander Mete’s body when there is no power. This example is actually a part of another area of control. Commander Mete asks the doctor (soldier) at the beginning of the film, “What do you have to do when the enemy is wounded?” and the doctor says, “I treat him.” The commander asks the same question after Orhan, a soldier, is shot. The doctor gives the same answer. Then Commander Mete tells that it was taught wrong and asks what he would do if that guy shot his brother. The doctor gives the same answer again. The commander continues to push the doctor asking, “What would you say to your mother?” Then with a teasing voice he says, “Because you sworn an oath to your Uncle Hippocrates,” and ends the conversation, “But the oath of mountains is different.” Commander Mete tries to impose his own ideology on someone else through manipulation, just like the power does. And

when he fails like the power or when some rebel against him, he chooses to show his strength through violence -with political struggle as a wing of political violence. In *Future Lasts Forever*, this is the very reason that the houses are burnt down or people are massacred. “Whenever the Greek gods were angered by human arrogance or bad judgment they would mercilessly take it out on individuals, entire cities, and even the progeny of the culprit.” (Derrida qtd. in Borradori 2003, 141) In the film, *Breath*, the aforementioned example ends in an act of violence, which is more clearly demonstrated after the scene where the woman (fighter) is captivated. As the doctor tries to intervene for the injured woman, who was captivated, Commander Mete makes things difficult and prevents treatment, and finally tortures the woman to make her talk. The Doctor tries to intervene saying, “Commander, you're gonna kill her.” But the commander stands up and says, “The doctor is here,” and he chokes him until he falls to the ground. He bends over and speaks to the doctor's ear, “Orhan had a wife, two kids, and a car he just bought.” This example shows the loss of meaning experienced by the other in the presence of individual's own power and ideology. It can also be shown as an example of Commander Mete's inner conflict. Within ethical rules and his current ideology, the acts of protagonist turn into political violence and struggle when he is alienated from his own identity like the fighters in quest for significance. This conflict does not prevent a man, who would protect his wife, from torturing a woman, -a wife of another- when that woman becomes the other. Commander Mete conflicts with himself and the other party with an eye to eye mindset, by adopting revenge as his tool like his enemy. In the subsequent scenes, this is clearly reflected in the radio talk between Commander Mete and the fighters.

*Doctor —Kaya, I will avenge the death of my comrade.*

*C. Mete —Then come and ask.*

*Doctor —I'll take revenge for them.*

*C. Mete —I'll take revenge too.*

*Doctor —I will raise a statue in there for her.*

*C. Mete —Come here as a brave man.*

Here the commander acts stubbornly and makes a misleading and manipulative talk instead of a calming one, and as a result he puts his soldiers also at risk. This talk and the status of both sides take place in a silent and blind manner. While Commander Mete describes the enemy as leeches sucking the blood of his own people or as traitors killing

his own men, he causes his own soldiers and people experience the same pain under the current circumstances. In the film, *Future Lasts Forever*, the example includes people turning into warriors of freedom against a state that burns down villages and kills men in the name of fighting for human rights, the same rights they violate with its own people, without seeing that they harm their own people in their fight against the other side.

*Doctor —You killed thousands of youth! You murderers!*

*C. Mete —We fight against the leeches that dwell among your own people.*

*Doctor —Did you manage to defeat them in all these years?*

*C. Mete —You are rat, who kills his own people.*

*Doctor —Don't speak out the name of my people, who you suppress in years.*

It becomes impossible to mention that speaking, thinking, action and judgment are lacking and to talk about the possibilities of identification with each other. This condition has turned into political violence. At that moment the rebel can seem like a creature that deserves any kind of treatment to Commander Mete, however, the Doctor who is just doing his job can also be subjected to the same violence and threats merely because he doesn't share the same opinions with Commander Mete. This shows the effect of not only the ethnic differences but also the ideological differences in the conflict. And if ideology is along the same lines with a high power, for instance government power, it shows its reasons and effects to be just both within itself and to others. Milgram's Obedience to Authority is an example of this.

Today, all institutions that have become instrumentalized in the presence of the hierarchy of power carry out actions that they don't consider themselves responsible for. As Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno stated, he talks about the alienation of the individual from the system and the consumer perfection that formed. The individual is no longer a subject, he has become objectified. Mass communication tools, which are a part of this, multiply and reinforce certain thoughts and try to spread them in cultural industry (see Adorno 2003). Media as a means far from an independent mindset does not care about providing misleading or false information even though this causes a great misunderstanding, anger and violence because it does this for the power, for which it believes to be an apparatus of power. After all, how wrong a power can be? This is already the case that Arendt discusses this issue in the notion of 'banality of evil' and

Eichmann's trial process. There are other similar examples including whether information provided in educational institutions reflects the truth or dictates a certain ideology to the individual or whether soldiers accept killing those shown by the power as individuals with attempts to disrupt the national integrity or as a threat for the country. And it is resulting in injury or death of many people after disproportionate use of force. It can also be concluded that social restrictions must be eliminated in order for the aggression inside individuals to be unleashed. Anna Freud suggests that when the individual cannot turn into an intermediary, they leave their own unfulfilled aggressive demands to the state, police, soldier or legal authorities, which they see at a higher level in the society hierarchically (Cover 2010, 194). And like in the example of political violence, this justifies the state-organized violence against violence by an ethnic group (ethnic violence) that you regard as the other, opposing to their ideology.

The reason why snow capped mountains look beautiful from far away might be the fact that they are far from the power. But what we actually see on those mountains is not cerement but snow, we may not see much when we look to the east with the same eyes. A person who is the enemy of the government does not turn into your enemy. There are many reasons for that including nationalism, national integrity, alienation, militarism, radicalism, and many others. At these stages, the power on life continues to be imposed over individuals. The fear of loss and threats got into us due to political violence also get into minorities in the film, *Future Lasts Forever*. Because they are people who live with and fight against political violence, not just individuals living in cities who are caused to feel the fear and threat of a non-existing political violence. For example, we saw a wall covered with pictures of people in the film. Losses and deaths... People stood in front of this wall and told their stories to the camera. They talked about their houses burning down, their children or husbands taken away by soldiers, about people with their hands tied and faces covered who were thrown from helicopters to the sea, to the mountains and about the hope they had inside them while they were running. At this point, our disciplined bodies often cannot take any criticism and shows itself in denial or anger. Then why do our beliefs run into contradiction while we are pretty sure that the impact of ethnic political violence is much bigger? This is related to our own area of power, like self-censorship. Thus, we do not avoid intervening.

There is a deep hole filled with bodies both in ethnic political violence and state violence. At this stage, there is a simple answer of how the body sustains its power when the person is dead. Because the power is maintained over the bodies of dead people. It does this by instrumentalizing these deaths for other political violence acts. An example to this is when Commander Mete feels free to torture, and even kill, the other side when his fellow soldier is dead. Another example is the TV news about martyrs or political violence acts. The tears shed for the martyrs or the joy of hearing news that a fighter has been killed make the individuals forget about asking why somebody has to die. For example, in the film *I Saw The Sun* (Original name: *Güneşi Gördüm*, 2009) by Mahsun Kırmızıgül, one of the two sons of a family living in the South East Anatolia takes the hills and is involved in political violence acts, while the other son is a soldier. A photo of their son who was a soldier was hung on the empty wall of the family's house. The woman says her other son is dead for her because of the choice he made. One day a military vehicle brought the dead bodies of fighters and unclaimed corpses to the solitary cemetery. When the woman saw that her son had died she realized that no matter what death hurts both ways. She then hung a picture of her other son next to the picture of her soldier son. Not just as a mother, the reality of death is more real than an illusionary ideological conflict –because the individual is not aware of the situation s(he) is in-. The life must gain meaning when alive, not after death. Like in the real life, the film *Breath* also proposes a nice example on this subject. Commander Mete says, “After I die, they will throw my wife out of the mass housing. And they will put her on salary...” A soldier is a martyr when he is dead, he becomes sacred for the government and the society as he trivializes his life as required by his job, and he turns into sorrow, into wind when he becomes a war veteran. When he returns safe and sound, he is manful and courageous. But for that person, it stays as traumas.

Government as an institution of power, by refusing the minorities that couldn't have been assimilated on the grounds that they refuse to acknowledge their political ideas and goals, managed to spread ostracization to a societal perspective. These exceptionalized people are left out of law most of the time. Minority in contrast to majority, seems included by law but it is outside it. Here, what is meant is that a person has certain rights but can't use them. *Future Lasts Forever* film, mentions that a relative of an

unsolved murder was found dead after her husband and brother-in-law were detained. They want to take their bodies, however they even couldn't speak with the public prosecutor. In another story similar to this, a woman that lost her husband states that she wants her husband to at least have a grave. She, too, was not handed her husband's body. Another person says that her house was burned down and another that her child was taken away. These examples show that the rights of minorities are taken from them. Arendt emphasizes that government is no longer an instrument of law and that national interest became predominant. This condition proves that government has become a national tool. In *Breath*, Commander Mete's telling of how the dead are handed wrapped in Turkish flag shows the importance of nationalism in the eyes of the government. The failure of the minorities to get the bodies of their dead back is an example of the structure of government and its operation.

Government that separates different ethnic groups from the society in general by defining them as minorities with the nationalism ideology, is at the center of the ostracization politics against minorities. As required by the ideal government structure that it imposes on the society, it shows itself as an innocent power that has received evil in return for the good it's done. However, in both films there is a politics that aims to change people by force and violence. The interventions to language, culture and the community are indicators of this. In the dialogues between Commander Mete and the Doctor in the film, *Breath*, the question "What was the thing that you wanted but this country did not give to you?" asked by the commander emphasizes the belief for the tolerance shown and freedom provided and the counter party is shown as the one that is unhappy, ingratitude and dangerous despite all of this. However, the statements of the Doctor explaining why he resorted to violent acts, such as "You banned my language, you did not give me my freedom" are not considered as a sufficient and realistic reason. Because he accepted the government ideology without question and is moving in the direction of orders. Commander Mete does not realize this reality within the precocity of ideology, which shows how deep the perception of 'others' created by the power, has gone. In fact, what the Doctor wants to say is that, he turned to a violent act to remark the existence of the counter party and their rights in a place where you are not allowed to express yourself.

Characters like the Doctor in the film *Breath* are exceptionalized. Because these people have been ripped off from their political and legal existences and are pushed outside of power to an area to exist merely with their bare bodies. For the Doctor, this area is the mountains. This place, at the same time, produces bare lives. Because this area is left out of laws and excludes humans from being a legal subject and turns them into killable exceptions. For this reason, the killers, in the film *Breath* these are the soldiers, because they did not kill anyone in fact, are not considered murderers, they merely followed orders to kill. In the same manner, in *Future Lasts Forever*, the soldiers taking people away from their homes and fields is an example of this. Because these people are removed from political legal existence and moved to an area outside of power where they are killable. In this way, these people can exist only with their bare lives (biological bodies) and killing them won't constitute a crime. For Agamben, those people whose killers are exempt from punishment are "homo sacer" or *sacred humans*. What makes them sacred is their being ostracized and subject to violence. In their being exceptionalized, the government is involved by internalizing bare life by externalizing it. Because these people exist in the society as a community, however, they are excluded. It is possible to see a clear example of Agamben's *Homo Sacer* in the film *Future Lasts Forever*. In the film, while Sumru is going over the video recording at Musa Anter Visual and Audio Memory Centre in the library with Ahmet, it is shown that a military vehicle is driven towards children, a man, with a mask on his face, grabs and forces the child to get on the vehicle and the word police is on the vehicle. The stories we hear during the interview like meetings made with the minorities -relatives of the suspected murders- living in Diyarbakir show that, no one has ever been judged for killing those people and deaths have been easily covered and justified. . In one of the stories in *Future Lasts Forever*, a relative of the victim of an unsolved murder asks for the bodies of her husband and her brother-in-law but the justice system ignores her plea. Because this relates to an area outside of law and a bare body. This, in turn, means that there is no guilty or innocent to talk about. Even though this bare life of people, which remains bare not only metaphorically, but also, literally, transforms them into a murderer, it also depicts them as 'homo sacers'.

Forms of “illegal protest” might sometimes be the only resource people have “[a]t times when government is truly ‘remote’ and unresponsive” (Parenti, qtd. in Jung 2010, 46). The women’s words that demands justice finishes like that: “This will never be forgotten. If they don't give an explanation to us today, they will answer to our children or to our grandchildren. But we will never forget it. ...Nobody can’t accept this kind of 'justice'.” When this situation is extended to a general process against the unresponsive attitude of the state, it can cause illegal protests like the struggles in the mountains. Both Harun and the Doctor chose this path to resist disidentification and exceptionalization. Sumru’s path is, in fact, witnessing the exceptionalization process and realizing that she is a part of this. As Sumru listens to the stories of people she meets, she understands how cultural differences of people are used for racism as well as the power of the government to take the right to live of the other -one that is not on its side- and how this is justified. She realizes that she is a party of the minority that has been alienated and her desire to see her lost ones, even as a dead body, in somewhere that belongs to her just like the others, constitutes an internal part of Sumru’s journey. In one of the dialogues in the film, another women cries and tells to Sumru:

*I want him to have a grave. I already know they killed him... burned him, threw him away... but I still want his bones. I want to be able to tell my daughter where her father lies. Holidays come and go. Everyone visits the cemetery. This is a human being, a missing person. You look at those pictures every day... And who are you looking for?*

Sumru is not only the other as an Armenian but also she is one of those who are marginalized with their experiences. In addition, she is a character that has been marginalized like Ahmet, who became a part of the journey at a later time, that is trying to understand for herself but listens others unlike Mete. The process of realizing their existence and questioning it, takes place both for Commander Mete and Sumru, when they face with the ‘other’. Nations and feelings of belonging are social constructs. For a nation to exist, there has to be created an enemy, who would make people see themselves as themselves. (Paunksnis 2011, 38) However losing someone like the other accompanies this process of self-discovery. Commander Mete had lost his close friend Orhan and Sumru had lost Harun and they were making their decisions based on these loses. As the result of this, Commander Mete reveals the revenge and ruling power accumulated in him and decides that the place he belongs to is a mountain. Sumru, on

the other hand, has shaped herself with her pain during the self-discovery process and she found herself at Siyasümbül village while seeking for the place where she belonged. Both film “seems to suggest that it is impossible to achieve an undisturbed sense of belonging without facing loss and mourning for it.” (Suner 2010, 67)

People, who are watching these films, choose a side with or without knowing. “The audience identifies with the hero, who performs violent actions, thereby gratifying the audience’s own aggressive wishes, conscious or unconscious.” (Cawelti, qtd. in Saunders 2001, 37) For a moment, Sumru can be an ‘other’ for us. Harun may be seen as an enemy since he participated in a violence attack against the state, women may be seen as sacred since they sacrifice their child to political violence and Commander Mete may be seen as a hero. Virgin Mary who was in the first place considered as an indecent women who got pregnant from an unknown person may suddenly transform into a sacred person that carries a piece of God. Divinity of life gains value through meaning attributed to the word “divinity” by individuals. We may look into the picture from our perspective by thinking that the people killed by Commander Mete only had dirty political aims and that if he did not took action, then they would have killed Commander Mete first. Thus, we may perceive him as a person sacrificing himself just so that we can sleep safe. At this point soldiers become sacred to the society. Even though the Doctor character that we see presented us as an enemy, who is an enemy for us, can easily be seen as a freedom fighter for his own society. He was not allowed to express his culture, his identity and beliefs; he was divested of himself and his other, therefore he tried to express himself with violence as an individual. When he dies for this cause, he will be sacred for his society. But it must not be forgotten that both sides are victim of power/ideology.

The vigilante and the criminal are both “victims of the same social forces, the same ‘structural flaw,’ and vigilantes are the victim of a flawed society in the same way a criminal can be considered a victim of society” (O’Connor qtd. in Jung 2010, 46). The distinction of us and them is no more valid at this point since the result is the same for both sides: dead bodies and the soil where they are buried. Families of the Martyr’s want to reclaim the bodies of their children back, so as the families of the others whom we seen as the enemy. However, burying dead bodies into soil is like a dead flower, you

cannot expect them to blossom again. Therefore death is the reality for both, even more real than all ideologies asserted. Other than that, there are also innocent victims of political violence; those we may or may not hear on the news. People dying or getting injured when a bomb explodes on the street or Children taken away from their homes, villages with the idea that they will eventually become a fighter and their families left behind with pain. “Bombs injure, disfigure, maim and kill. They end or devastate the lives of their victims, and they bring agony or ruin to the lives of their second victims, those who suffer through others being disfigured, injured, maimed or killed.” (Honderich 2003, 14) The film, *Future Lasts Forever*, shows us these victims clearly. These are the living victims – such as the relatives of the unidentified murders- as well as those whose dead bodies could not be found and they are the ones, who were taken hastily from their villages. For example, in one of the video recordings used in the film, there is footage of a kid who is dragged and taken into a tanker by force. On the other hand, in the film *Breath*, there are soldiers who are not fully aware of what is being a soldier as their response to the statement “they are saying that fighters<sup>3</sup> will attack today” is “then they’ll attack today” and those that are left behind like the Commander Mete’s wife. Those people “make a political sense as victims even though they do not have any political identity as a human” (Arıboğan 2005, 44). Death happens everywhere and the others continue to be a part of it even though they cannot put a certain meaning to it.

*... My son was taken twenty-seven days after his father was taken. My son was in the melon field. He was watering the field. He had one shoe on his feet when they took him. Soldiers surrounded him... and wrapped the keffiyeh around his head. He had a visual impairment. He was handicapped. He couldn't see the soldiers shouting at him very well. They wrapped the keffiyeh around his head and made him walk around. Later, we found his other shoe in the mountain. ...They took three people alive from the house. I wonder what they did. (The story from Future Lasts Forever)*

“Moving beyond common sense, we must start at the very beginning and consider how notions of self are related to what we are as individuals and how we behave politically.” (Chabal & Daloz 2006, 100) For our bodies and minds that are locked in a cage, other things -which we do not see yet but have heard about- appears as a shadow of a huge monster reflected to the wall just like in the Platoon’s cage. It is just like the appearance

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<sup>3</sup> The word “terrorist” is used in the original text.

of the Doctor's shadow that looked like a huge body on a stone while the fighters were moving to invade the military outpost in one of the scenes from the film, *Breath*. The fighters, who we have never seen but we have dehumanized by alienating him, is actually an ordinary man like us. We can only see the reality when we break the walls surrounding us and manage to see not through the shadows, but our eyes.

The stranger or 'the other' presented as threatening to the religious, political and ideological values that are important to one's own identity will, consequently, be perceived as an enemy. (Usluata, qtd. in Burçaoğlu 1997, 109) Communication medium -televisions and media as part of it- of the authority, which I mentioned previously in the "communicative deprivation" chapter, create this alienation and hostile perception with fixed stereotyped judgments. These judgments incorporate our individual or social perception of good and evil. Thinking that there is a continuous conflict in the East and saying that we should perceive that place as somewhere dangerous and people on the mountains as fighters, and this creates the idea that the Kurds are dangerous and hostile people. Under the skin of all those lays the idea of "an innocent 'us' under attack by an evil 'them'." (Jung 2010, 17). That ideology has achieved by using the media as a tool. "Most definitions of the 'enemy image' are in fact, the modifications of the same idea: an enemy image is the belief of a certain group that the group's security and basic values are directly and seriously threatened by some other group." (Usluata, qtd. in Burçaoğlu 1997, 109) For example, in both films this attitude of the media is considered, and a framework that otherizes minorities is observed to exist. Sumru's mother getting anxious for her daughter from what she heard in the TV news or soldier families getting anxious by the continuous conflict news clearly depict the fear and danger created through the other. Risk society creates this fear and ally-enemy deadlock for the sustainability of the power (Beck 1999, 146). Both films show how this risk is created and incorporated the differentiation of concepts such as "...'us versus them', 'victory versus defeat', 'our people versus the others,' (Suner 2010, 74)" just like many other films in which their main topic of discussion is the subject of political violence. And this also shows how the use of an alienated, racist language leads to violence. In the film *Breath* the dialogues between Commander Mete and the Doctor shows the otherisation through language very clearly. He is telling the Doctor that "instead of

roaming the mountains like a pig you should have come down to the village” and repeated this exact same dialogue later again and “you have been living like pigs in the mountains for the last ten years” are few examples of that. On the other hand in the film *Future Lasts Forever* where the dialogues are far from being racist, language has used as a tool of construction and negotiation. Sumru has trying very hard to understand and help people even though she doesn’t speak Kurdish in the interviews. In another scene Sumru repeats that particular sentence from Yaşar Kemal’s book “Martyrs” (Ağıtlar): “I wish all martyrs in different languages in Anatolia has been recorded with their own voices”, “Martyrs must be recorded in their native languages”. Then, she mentions that this sentence is her life’s goal. What makes individuals, cultures and their history relevant is that their heritage in their own ethnic language. Just because you don’t understand them and therefore cleanse them from their ethnic tongue and try to translate and read them that way, you make them alienated and robe them from their meaning. Every language has its own beauty, different words and pronunciations. Even though you don’t understand the lines of a Kurdish martyr, you need to feel the passion behind it since it carries a piece of life inside. Only then we can see that person within the frame of his/her own culture as an individual and not as the other. This pureness is the life of the person, which is cleared from political.

## 4. CONCLUSION

The children of mountains wear white and that is why the hills look snowy to distant ones.

Political violence is the consequence of an action that was immaturely taken without having access to the whole picture resembling a jigsaw puzzle with missing pieces. This use and definition of violence, the vagueness in the perception of violence shows itself in the social perception. The violence is not only a use of physical force that is instrumentalised in the path towards the target of power but also a factor that causes psychological deformation. Traumas from the military service or families affected from unsolved murders still living with the agony of the past are a part of this. Arendt stated that it is important to understand the essence of violence. According to the thinker, even evil is banal, contrary to the common opinion. Both these films touch upon the relation of violence with the ability to think, talk and act and show how violence becomes political in a political structure. Violence follows a destructive path not a constructive one and this holds for the agent of violence as well. Arendt while stating that power can't exist where there is violence, she refers to a consequence of these films. In both films, as political violence takes hold of the characters (Commander Mete, the Doctor, Harun) deaths start to take place. In the case of Commander Mete and the Doctor's power, when anger and the violence it brings with it becomes dominant, they lose their power. As Arendt aims, it is important to understand the essence of violence in order to prevent another act of violence from forming. For this reason, to understand the place and expansion of violence in political area, an attempt to read political violence through films has been made. As a result, it can be said that political violence loses sight of its aim due to repressive use of instruments and becomes a repetitive action. This repetition is made possible by birth and death existent in every action.

Commander Mete's death or destruction of Karabal Station is not an end. The notion of war has for years gained a place in life in various ways. As Arendt states the most possible outcome of use of violence is a world with even more violence (Arendt 1970, 80). In the film *Future Lasts Forever*, a relative of the victim of an unsolved murder,

states that an account of dead and lost people should be given and continues: "...This will never be forgotten. If these accounts are not given to us today, they will have to give it to our children, and if not to them, to our grandchildren. We are not forgetting this. ... This kind of justice is unacceptable." This injustice causes the anger to expand and increase. The inability to provide justice in the cities can cause the new generation, as seen in the example of the Doctor, to look for justice in the mountains. Arendt utters the following about the Jewish genocide and totalitarian regimes: she states that if the number of people that were capable of thinking, acting and judging like Anton Schmidt was bigger, this process would go down a different path. This situation also applies to violence towards minorities. If the society or the army that have been silent in the formation or propagation of these processes, use their own judgment, the process can take a different path. Doctor's (in the health center) standing up to Commander Mete's violent toward the captured woman changed the flow of events. The woman is saved as a result of the doctor making his own judgment call. Although, Commander Mete has a similar chance to end conflict by using his own judgment, chose not to do so and together with many other people fell victim to this situation.

What is criticized in this thesis is the state violence that is justified by the society to protect itself from danger. Not only the power causing this war but also the society giving this right to the power -like in Leviathan- is guilty as well. Thus, there is no right side in a war because for both sides the fight reaches the level of violence and even death. Thus, the primary reason and purpose of war turn into anger and grudge. The struggle on the mountains is deemed necessary not only for social peace but for suppressing the existing unrest on both sides. If we had the chance to see the bodies sent to fight -to die or to kill- by carrying on shoulders, during that process, like the chance given to us in *Breath*, or if the reason they die for were created by the lands they sacrificed themselves for, could we still justify the deaths, tortures, the decisions made or like them? But the question to ask here is who these people are. More importantly, how can it is shown to be justified to take someone's right to live on the grounds that they are a threat to own safety? On the other hand, the most clear picture is that the political violence legitimates counter violence while violence invites political violence. Films addressed here show us clearly the story of deaths and losses, giving answers to

these questions: does it matter who is right? Everyone die eventually. Yes, this is the most evident fact and it is the reality where people will remind one another to reality of existence when they are out of the cinema.

At this point, these kinds of readings and analyses should be considered important steps toward understanding violence. The losses in real life are common ground for the parties, which are otherized by the power and the violence just like in films. If everyone believes what they say is right and don't see others who are not a part of this, violence and death becomes inevitable. As told by a soldier in the film, *Breath*, the belief asking whether they become martyrs if they die in their sleep and not during a fight and the value we give to holiness must not make us forget about the importance of life. While the film *Breath* tells how this is forgotten, *Future Lasts Forever* reminds us the importance of this. In *Breath*, death is seen as a necessity for continuity of action, in *Future Lasts Forever*, on the contrary, life is the necessity for continuity of action in addition to sharing the ideology to keep it alive. What is the right thing to do? Killing other for the sake of our lives or sacrificing ourselves for the belief we think is right? Because no "truth" is the single "reality" that is valid at all times and all places. For this reason, a decision that seems right to someone that has blind obedience to government ideology is not necessarily right. Arendt states that Eichmann decisions were right and needed in that era, however, for Arendt and many others. This situation is evil enough to be seen just with naivety. If we are to think that the ending of the film *Future Lasts Forever* is vague as its title and takes place in a long process, the truths of Sumru and Ahmet become undefined. "Balibar and Wallerstein (1991, p. 60) note that 'the fact that the 'false' is too visible will never guarantee that the 'true' is visible enough'." (Paunksnis 2011, 37) (Young, qtd. in Kaya 2006, 113)

*In a society where some groups are privileged while some other groups are ostracized, asking the alienated groups to leave behind their own cultural bonds and experiences will do nothing but increase the privileges of privileged groups - in such a society that is tried to be rendered homogeneous will marginalize and assimilates other groups.*

The fear, which is occurred by violence – political struggle – and felt by individuals and society, takes place the basis of this perception or definitions. People need to be protected against the others/enemies because they are portrayed as a clear threat. For

the power and majority their motives can be defined as making domestic trouble and disrupting national integrity. Because the media as well as the schools, military organizations and many other governmental institutions present it this way, creating their desired perception. At this point we can witness that the state as a wing of power believes that it has right to alienate, assimilate, and if it see necessary, destroy others to protect its *own* people. In the film *Breath*, it is a decision made in line with one's own capacity and power as the Commander Mete does not listen to the orders given to him and goes outside the police station to ambush the fighters, which will accelerate the clash. However, this power is a process of decision-making coming from and shaped by the government. This turns into a fight for freedom in *Future Lasts Forever*. In fact, the power sustains itself from the beginning over the freedoms of people. On the mountain, where you think you are free, the reason of violence is the government itself. It is just that it does not sustain its existence from a platform but in the military uniforms or in the fields like history writing. The two film analyses as the basis of the study show that the driver of ethnic conflicts/struggle and the counter violence stems from the mentality of violence for humanity. In fact it is the power we resort to that causes fears. It uses the disrupted communication structure and ideological differences as a tool to create a false image of threat or create a non-existing threat to sustain its power over a so-called threat. Thus, it is not enough to listen, we must have mutual discussions, and we must see things not look at things. Like the way our thoughts make us feel we exist, we need to listen to the opinions of others to feel their existence and we must not close our eyes and must look at it from others' perspective. When summarizing the film *Future Lasts Forever* in the introduction, the scene with horses at the beginning of the film was mentioned. That scene actually represents the body of society that is ruled by the power. This covers ourselves and the others we alienate. This symbolic figure is a part of those whose freedom is taken and who we avoid contacting with since we do not speak the same language, who the power sustains itself through, who are destroyed or eliminated/assimilated in some way whatsoever when they attempt to shake off their ropes. Like in the *Leviathan* by Hobbes, the experience of human against the power ends as the ruling power, which you agree with to protect you against the threat as in the story of Asimov, takes control of your freedom and body. (Asimov 2004, 119)

*As the story: A horse having a wolf as a powerful and dangerous enemy lived in constant fear of his life. Being driven to desperation, it occurred to him to seek a strong ally. Whereupon he approached a man, and offered an alliance, pointing out that the wolf was likewise an enemy of the man. The man accepted the partnership at once and offered to kill the wolf immediately, if his new partner would only cooperate by placing his greater speed at the man's disposal. The horse was willing, and allowed the man to place bridle and saddle upon him. The man mounted, hunted down the wolf, and killed him. "The horse, joyful and relieved, thanked the man, and said: 'Now that our enemy is dead, remove your bridle and saddle and restore my freedom.' "Whereupon the man laughed loudly and replied, 'Never!' and applied the spurs with a will.*

Power dominates not only over the society but also over communities (that are ostracized). This horse figure symbolizes those that lost their freedom, or better out, those that transferred it to another power. The people that have been exceptionalized and left to live with their bare bodies are a part of those people that have been shot and annihilated in their struggle for freedom or have been wiped/repressed in some way. As in Asimov's example, society represents those that turn themselves over to the power and have been roweled, minorities, on the other hand, represent those that removed themselves from their shackles and made it to the mountains or have been shot on their way as in *Future Lasts Forever*. Even 'the mountain' that seems far away from the power, where the individuals think they have their own freedom, is one of the areas which the power is sustained through life. Therefore, the fight for freedom up there is not finite, because the freedom of Commander Mete does not lie within the Doctor's freedom, or vice versa. Their freedom is used by the power, and thus it cannot be said that they actually own it. At this point, their conflict does not win through. Like the bureaucracy part of the power does not notice or care about that it steps on blood on the snow, it is the same for the society - they do not notice that the snow melts on snow-capped mountains. Because the cerement covering dead people makes us think the mountain is always snowy.

Both films give voice to the lives and silent truth. In the film *Breath*, Levent Semerci makes us look at the military service, the East, struggles, traumas, fights for freedom, deaths and mourning without blinking the eye and introduces the audience to a different reality of life with Commander Mete, the soldiers and the Doctor. And in the film *Future Lasts Forever*, Özcan Alper gives us the opportunity to look from other's

perspective to deaths, losses, alienation and different cultures with Sumru, Ahmet and relatives of unsolved murder victims. Both films address the creation process of the other and the attempt to intervene in the identities of people. In these films we cannot establish a close relation with those featured as freedom fighters but defined as fighters or guerrillas. The reason that such a close relation is not allowed may result from the distance and alienation we impose on them in real life. Thus, the dialogues with the Doctor in the film *Breath* are held via a two-way radio. Similarly, dialogue with Harun in *Future Lasts Forever* is only possible on the train. And this is before he becomes a guerrilla. Both directors accept the minority as the other for the society with their own culture and language. Therefore, in both films the people are featured as they speak in their own language like Kurdish or as Sumru speaks in Armenian. The communication, which is normally disrupted and use of language as a threat is featured in the films as a means of expressing oneself. Therefore, the analyses of the films problematize mainly the issue of lack of communication and the problematization of power, which are the reason of political violence. And alienation comes out as the result of these. Like in the real life. “There are very few societies that do not subject their minorities, all the poorly integrated or merely distinct groups, to certain forms of discrimination and even persecution.” (Girard, qtd. in Bachand 2013, 219)

A major cause of alienation and discrimination between the minority and majority in Turkey based on the mentality of nationalism. The sense of belonging is also a part of this as a reason for the individual to shelter under the title of nation. Because they need the power of a greater authority to feel safe against the other which is deemed as a danger. The reasons for Eichmann not feeling guilty, power not taking responsibility and exceptionalizing minorities from another nationality are ideologies like nationalism. (Chatterjee, qtd. in Paunksnis 2011, 39)

*It is only possible to be a nation's Self when there is nation's Other, and the conflict between the two needs to be always present so the people would understand who they are and what they stand for. Fictional identities, ethnicities and artificial walls that are erected in the process can only mean one thing: the diminishing culture of humanity and the 'annihilation of freedom'.*

Those whose identities are rejected by others or who are forced to adopt different identities embrace the ideologies they face in their search for meaning. This

embracement encourages the individual emotionally to fulfill the motives of the ideology. And this is the essence of political violence. These people justify deaths of themselves and others by the greater humanity. In the film, the people that participated in political struggle are the characters that had these motives and dared to die for them. Government ideologies and the ideologies of ethnic struggles try to justify violence and death for the sake of freedom and various political aims. Eventually, thousands of nameless people whether it be Commander Mete, the Doctor or Harun are placed on the coffin of nature like we see in both films. This system, which internalizes the saying, “Man came from soil and goes to soil” demonstrates its power as the destroyer against the creator. Calling the dead people as martyrs, enemies or the inglorious does not change the fact that they are the victims of certain ideologies and the power. State violence destroys individuals for species, sacrifices ‘parts’ for ‘the whole’ (Arendt 2014, 292).

“...such a process of being a victim gives a new meaning to their existence. It carries a political message delivered to the target.” (Arıboğan 2005, 44) And this shows that the extreme of the policy of violence executed over bodies by the power is not death but beyond death. Yet what we fail to recognize is how similar both films and many other films are. Thus, it is clearly seen that political violence acts are built upon the mentality that it is for humanity but will result in the extinction of humankind and the end of films will always be dead or lost people. Looking from outside, the state violence seems like a policy for suppression, however, it is actually a war. Therefore, both sides believe that deaths are necessary and normal like in every war. Commander Mete explains the situation with the following sentences:

*You guys sent me here. The Turkish soldier is the bravest. Martyrs never die; no one will ever divide this country... Your uncle shouted this. Your aunt did. Neighbours did. You did. And I came. This is war. Either you are a murderer or a victim. In between there's only dishonour. Do you think I don't know that we can't win this war like that? Do you think I'm a stupid? I know that. What you don't know is that if I fail here, you lose in Istanbul and Ankara as well. Do you get that? You don't. Nobody is ever right at war. You don't ask yourself in the longest night who is right or wrong, murderer or victim. There is only your breath. You breath in or out. That simple. You get that? If you would've only liked me a little. Go your bed and sleep now. Don't worry. Every war has got an end. Even this one...*

This condition, at the same time, shows the reaction to the vagueness of the necessity of war and to the unawareness of its dangerous consequences. Victims are the sufferers of a war that we are not fully aware of and we try to compensate by sanctifying them for this lack of consciousness. During this process we assume that it will be over. Commander Mete says the same thing: There is no war without an end. However, it is surely possible to find out at the end of the films or to read or learn from history books whether anything remains when the war ends or if the seeds, which is scattered around, trigger other wars. Of course, it's possible to change its consequences even it takes long time.

“If we don't end war, war will end us.” (H.G Wells)

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