

Tribhuvan University
The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

**Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*: The Conflict between Secularism and Religious
Fundamentalism**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Central Department of English
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Degree of Master of Arts in English**

By
Janak Vikram G.C.

Central Department of English
Kirtipur, Kathmandu
November, 2009

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Approval Letter

This thesis entitled “Orhan Pamuk’s *Snow*: The Conflict between secularism and Religious Fundamentalism” Submitted to the central Department of English, Tribhuvan University by Janak Vikram G.C. has been approved by undersigned members of the research committee.

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Letter of Recommendation

Mr. Janak Vikram G.C. has completed his thesis entitled “Orhan Pamuk’s *Snow: The Conflict between Secularism and Fundamentalism*” under my supervision. He carried out his research with great diligence and enthusiasm. I hereby recommend his thesis be submitted for vive voce.

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Abstract

Pamuk's *Snow* portrays the very strong response of author to the conflict of sacred and secular world views. Ka, the western minded facing Islam, deliberately attempts to understand the conflict and confrontation with-in the Muslim society. Beyond the parameter of his world view, Ka explores the tension in Muslim society in face of secular modernity. Kars Muslim protests Turkish secularism that destabilizes Muslim identity. Secular nationalism in form of secular military imposes uniform national identity that has homogenizing and hegemonizing effect at cost of authentic identity because of the secular revolution of the country. People panic at loss of Turkish dream returns to Islam to avoid ill of modernity. Furthermore, fundamentalism, today fights to restore the Islamic caliphate and the symbolic structure of Muslim society which Kemalism abolished. They question and protest Turkish modernization, therefore, challenge authorized version of Turkish statehood. Thus the conflict of polar forces, one for secular modern state and other committed to islamize the state, stand against each other with brutal hostility. One rejects existence of other. Ka, the central character is trapped in malign labyrinth with no way out but to self destruction that is metaphoric to Kars people who are being buffeted with in kemalism and fundamentalist Islam. So the 'snow bound Kars' stands itself for suffocating reality of Kars as prison cell where peoples' free will comes freezing in severe cold. In reality, they are boiling and melting inside pressure cooker that needs whistling to get outward attention but remains unheard being buried in cold peace created by counter conflict. Thus, conflict creates tragic ends of unity, peace and freedom that result in disintegration of love, married life and happiness. People are divided.

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I. Secularism Vs Fundamentalism

The conflict between secularism and religious fundamentalism is the conflict of different worldviews regarding religion. Secularism celebrates the worldview exclusive of religion whereas religious fundamentalism, as the reaction against secularism, insists on religious absolutism. The fundamentalist quest of pristine aura of religion and its strict authority over spheres of public and politics is in hostile opposition, theoretically and practically, against secularist notion of separation of religion from public and political spheres for human good, freedom and prosperity. It is a burning problem at present.

Secularism, a philosophy of non-religious construction, emerged as reaction against the subjugation and authoritarianism of religion, ecclesiastical bodies or religious dogmas, seeks human betterment and well being independent of religion. It replaces religion as the controlling factor in giving shape to the way of life, political system and free thought of man. It does not combat with postulates of religion rather it maintains its own path and secular truth. Secularism defies religious codification of human life and the world view, hence sustains a new stance towards life improvement, enrichment and human happiness that is impassioned by reason, experience and scientific-knowledge. It encourages people to shatter dogmatic religious shackle and fundamentalist frenzy and hysteria.

Religious fundamentalism is a theological and religious reaction against secularist outlook of deconstructing religious supremacy and blind adherence to religion in human life and public mechanism. As a trend of militantly opposition to erosion of traditional religious creed, it maintains its strict affirmation to literal interpretation of religious gospel and sacred scripture as supreme authority to life and liberty. It rejects liberal political cultural development and innovation, and individual

freedom rather imposes religious codes and doctrine regulating human life and destiny. Such clumsy conservative movement defies evolutionary teaching and scientific knowledge, hence, strongly opposes secularism considering it as corrupt and atheistic trend that creates crisis in modern man and their moral bankruptcy. Hence fundamentalism sees religion as only source of salvation of self and soul of human being.

Secularism, though not directly intended to hostile antagonism, excludes religious legitimacy and authority from public life and political institution, and others religious body declining to consider religious impact in human life. It advocates liberation of human life and politics from religious ghettoization. That is the real cause of booming resentment of religious conservatives who want to neutralize, as they claim, such anti-religious, immoral and atheistic interference over sacred-creed that deploys religious legacy and harmony in modern society.

The conflict between secularism and fundamentalism has a severe impact on human life, their relation with state and vice versa. The tension of centuries now has gone to be aggressive after the revival of religious orthodoxy and paramount consciousness to dogmatic creed. The sense of identity threat intensifies the flow of religious resurgence and its violent explosion.

Secularism as non-religious or anti-religious outlook undermines closed fundamentalist worldview. Fundamentalist inclination to politics for a legacy of religious autonomy and supremacy is unjust and barbaric to secular dynamics of delinking religion from state whereas fundamentalist regards secularist antipathy to religions as moral decadence and atheistic tragedy of modern man. The polarization increases the possible antagonism in coming year.

I.1 Secularism

Secularism as a philosophical system formulated beyond religion, emphasizes human good in present life. It seeks human improvement without religion and exclusively by means of reason, experience and dynamic social organization in material base. As a political doctrine, it implies separation of religion from the state.

Originally, secularism was a protest against the stolid dogmatism of theology, brutal opposition to liberal life style and conduct and, coercive interference and strict control of religion over people and state. It provided people an alternative way to happy and prosperous life, freedom, free expression of thought, and glory of humankind. It attempted political- social liberation from religious burden.

George G. Holyoake, estranged from church's antipathy to society and inspired from social-political conviction founded philosophy of secularism at the period of fierce dispute between science and religion that helped to rebel against outdated doctrine of life and conduct in mid nineteenth century. Secularism, in harmony with nation, proclaimed independence of secular truth and knowledge founded upon experience of life and can be tested by experience. It saw possibility of secular theory life and conduct seemingly with natural sciences. Secularism, though exclusive, is not hostile to religion. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethic* says:

The relation of secularism to religion was . . . mutually exclusive rather than hostile. Theology professes to interpret unknown world.

Secularism is wholly unconcerned . . . neither offers nor forbids any opinion regarding another life. Neither theism nor atheism enters in to secular scheme . . . it offers morality wholly independent of Christian belief. It submits that complete morality is attainable by and can be based upon secular consideration alone. (348)

Though Holyoake always insisted that secularism and atheism are different but historically the first seems intermingled with last. He labeled theism and atheism as extreme or over belief whereas secularism is a humane, rational and independent.

Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethic further says:

. . . it's principle could be . . . sustained by the intellect as principle of reason and intelligence equally applicable to all humanity. . . material condition will eradicate depravity and poverty. . . science will teach law of happiness equally with law of health . . . secularism fulfills functions which it regards religion imperfectly serving. It takes truth for authority, not authority for truth. (349)

Secular as political doctrine rests on principle of separation of religion from politics. As B.L. Fadia says, "the conceptual delinkage of religion from state constitutes the core philosophy of secularism" (115). Therefore, the essence of secularism is the separation of religion from states and acceptance of religion strictly into private realm of individual that have nothing to do with state affair. Secularism, in it's western meaning, relates separation of church from the state, giving the state a position of neutrality among religions but providing right to profess any of them. So, secularism seemingly opposed to religion, is not opposed rather divorced from religion.

Although, it is a positive attempt but it is limited and narrow outlook that does not consider religious implication in life rather offers instrumental reason irrespective for doing any work. Many scholars comments it's nature. Karan Singh emphasizes the adaptation of secularism in national relevance. R.S. Misra criticizes secularist trend of disregarding existing value system. He says:

The ideology secularism, the product of western culture has disrupted the integral value . . . culture and way of life of people from the time immemorial . . . secularism which claims to have kept politics and religions apart from each other does not allow them to be bold enough to speak truth. (34)

Secularism, here, has lost it's original spirit because of it's collision with eastern spirituality, hence, makes departure from western sense of non-religious rather relates to religious tolerance and brotherhood maintaining protection of minorities and co-existence of religious with mutual respect and understanding for pursuit of truth.

Secularism smoothly runs in west but the east faces trouble and sharp reactions. Bangladesh, Iran, Afghanistan, India, Turkey etc. are examples of fundamentalist resurgence. Abrupt secular intervention may be counter productive; hence, national sensibility should be regarded including minority identity and their existence.

I.2 Religious Fundamentalism

Religious fundamentalism is a doctrine strictly adopting the very essential rules and teaching of religion written as in books of religions and scripture like in Vedas, Bible and Quran that denies secularism or modernism or any trends that inclines to loosen religious control. The exceptionally conservative movement advocates for religious orthodoxy, pristine cult and its autonomous supremacy over people often with militantly violent manifestation.

Fundamentalism, different from religious belief, forcefully emphasizes an absolutist interpretation of religious dogmas, rejects free expression of thought regarding religions. As John O. Voll says, "At it's simplest; fundamentalism implies the activist affirmation of a particular faith that defines that faith in an absolutist and

literal manner” (135). Fortunately recent scholarship has offered a more nuanced interpretation of fundamentalism than accompanied the earlier, polemic usages. Bhikhu Parekh clarifies fundamentalist goal of capturing state to maintain religious legacy and their denial of exclusion of religion from state. He says:

The fundamentalists accepts no separation of politics and religion; aims to capture and use the state; rejects authority of interpretive tradition, but nonetheless reads the text in light of political objectives, seeking in the process to challenge and remake the world. (110)

Fundamentalism differs radically from non-modernist ultra-orthodox disposition in religion, since the latter retreat from the world, leaves God to rectify it's evil and denies all dynamic reading of scripture. Fundamentalism has certain characteristics traits that make it distinct from others. George D. Marsden says:

The most wide-spread of these distinctive traits is a conspicuous militancy in defending the traditional protestant gospel against it's major twentieth century competitors . . . fundamentalism has always been coalition of militants. Fundamentalism's most distinguishing trait emphasized the necessity of fighting-secularizing forces at the level of ideology . . . fight for the fundamental of the faith against doctrinal erosions and compromise. (947)

The concept of fundamentalism, now, has transcended it's origin in scholarly as well as in ordinary usages, refers to anyone insists that all aspects of life, including the social and political, should conform to a set of sacred scripture believed to be an inerrant and immutable, hence, to all militant religionists such as Jews Fundamentalism, Muslim or Hindu or Mormon fundamentalism. Now after Iranian Islamic Revolution, fundamentalism has been popularly or rhetorically and most often

strategically used to resurgent Islam, political Islam or radical Islam, therefore, Muslim fundamentalism has been subject of searching criticism in term of both of it's coherence and it's political potency.

All fundamentalisms are equally dangerous to communal harmony. Islamic fundamentalism is a drive back to core Islamic values and laws in the face of concept of secularism and atheistic western modernism. But the Iranian and it's Taliban version in Afghanistan labeled of as fundamentalist including other Jihadist insurgence cannot be considered as intolerant conservatives only rather the more violent manifestation of the angst of cultural oppression and hostility of Christian west over Muslim culture and civilization. The west, Muslim feel, disestablishes pristine Quoranic values even subordinating Muslim government; hence, it is militantly resistance against western secular modernity and imperial and colonial legacy for cultural identity.

So, now fundamentalism is in constant clash with nation supported secular humanism; a belief that human beings are ultimate and that this life, on it's own term is of utmost importance where as fundamentalism rejects human supremacy and demands religious primitivism and strict adherence. Therefore, it is severe blow to humanity, freedom of expression and modern life. Scopes case, Fatwa on Rushdie, and exile of Taslima Nasrin, and the more savage assault upon her in Hyderabad recently, shows fundamentalist savage brutality, madness and barbarity.

I.3 State, Secular Modernity and Muslim Fundamentalism

A state has vital role either for promotion or relegation of religious legacy. Fundamentalist states regard religion as supreme authority that guides rule whereas secular states excludes religion, and paves an alternative path beyond religion.

Secular modernity conceptually is a western export but a milestone for social-political development orienting life style towards modern open world. Religious fundamentalism, in other hand, constitutes hindrance for peace, harmony and democracy. Modernity and secularity are complement constituents, the very important key for social political development. Secularization regarded as a sign in-qua for modernization, that includes politics too. Political development includes, as one of the basic processes of the secularization of politics, the progressive exclusion of religion from political system.

The very crucial question is that every fundamentalist opposition often valorizes at utmost pristine religiosity combined to cultural authenticity and identity with in religious nationalism in opposition to external offence and liquidation of traditional social-religious order. Neither of fundamentalisms bears exception of that spirit. Religion, despite it's illusory and contradictory existence, provides identity, symbol for emotional ties and common sharing, therefore, the forceful reification, of that fortune, creates void and identity crisis. In such situation of mass frustration, fundamentalism may enhance.

Now fundamentalism seems synonymous to Muslim revivalism which is different. The tendency of defining Muslim activism as fanaticism, extremism, irrational, counter cultural terrorism is stereotypical. Where as Muslim fundamentalism is the obstacle and active danger to modern face of life, welfare state and freedom. The policy of state supported secular modernity, though liberates people from religious tutelage but creates it's own; homogenizing all religio-cultural identities into secular cultural ghetto. Scholars and urban elites support such phenomena since they regard religion as hindrance for social political change but majority of people lay behind in race of modernization and secular development

because of their reluctance to adopt secularism, only minority of urban elites and those educated in west accompany secular motto. John L. Esposito points:

Modernization as westernization and secularization remained primarily the reserve of small minority elites of the society. Most important, the secularization of process and institutions did not easily translate into the secularization of minds and culture. While majority of Muslim population did not internalize a secular outlook and value. (9)

Throughout the turbulent politics of the post colonial and post independence period, Muslim countries oriented toward par excellence of modernization and development of the west but such imitation disestablishes Muslim tradition, political system, law, education life style and the more Muslim religion. Such phenomena hurt Muslim religio-cultural sensibility that becomes counter-productive making a way for fundamentalist resurgence with orthodox, anti-secular stance. Islamic fundamentalism is not only a product of dogmatic religious impulses but a historical product of disturbing socio-politico-eco cultural context too. It is the abrupt manifestation of long suppressed angst and frustration from failure of their countries maintaining Muslim nationalism rather their subordination to the west, western domination and exploitation, their backwardness and poverty. The Western imperial-colonial interest, despite political independence always suffocated authentic Muslim cultural identity and their quest for dignified Muslim nationality. So, Muslim fundamentalism not only militantly counters lumpen elites and puppet secular government but also western infidels too. They, in their view, are in just war against satanic imperialism, Zionism, atheist and reactionaries in the way of constructing a free monolithic and classless society. Strong resentment against external oppression and exploitation is revealed in public address of Imam Khomeini. He said:

My Muslim brothers and sisters . . . the superpower of west and east are plundering all our . . . resources and have placed in situation of political, economic, cultural and military dependence. Come to your senses, rediscover your Islamic identity! Endure oppression no longer, and vigilantly expose the criminal plans of international bandits headed by America. (qtd. in Khomeini, 276)

So, Muslim fundamentalism is the opposition of imperial -colonial ethos together with secular nationalism. Outraged by violation of traditional values, they complained secularism, cultural innovation and changed lifestyle and social evil for a long, yet their movement to create 'truly fundamentalist states and communities' became sporadically significant during this period. The quest for Muslim nationalism and cultural authenticity is unquestionably a major source of appeal of such strata of young educated because of their cultural and national consciousness and their knowledge of identity crisis.

Anyway, it is conservative monolithic propaganda for religious state that islamizes politics, defies interpretation of religion in light of human betterment but defines man in charge of religion. Henry Munson Jr. states, "The fundamentalist stress . . . the idea of fighting to create a single Islamic state to govern the entire world. They also reject modernist attempt to interpreter Jihad." (15).

This thesis seeks to study the conflict incited at the collision of secular nationalist ideas and brutal Islamic fundamentalism and it's resultant tragedy.

II. Nationalism

Nationalism implants national consciousness. Nationalism, a widely debated and controversial concept, sustains its resonant existence and roles despite the claim of spreading internationalism and the concept of global village. The hegemony of advanced digital media culture, despite the claim of building global consent, reversely manipulates nationalist consciousness. Nationalism, regarded both positive and negative, plays the roles of both unifying and separatist.

Nationalism works as talisman an instrument with man to assert his identity as an anthropological type. It inserts national consciousness, a sense of mutual attachment and willingness to pay sacrifice for country's identity, existence, independence and territorial integration. It strengthens peoples' sense of belonging together as sovereign nation by assembling the feeling of national loyalty and glory in their ancestral land. Religious, cultural or linguistic commonality plays significant role for collective attachment. Nationalism encourages such collective body to materialize their belief of self governance. *The World Book Encyclopedia* defines:

Nationalism is a political doctrine according to which people with same language and culture should be grouped together as a nation.

Nationalists believe that each nation should have it's own government, and should be free of interference from other countries. Nationalism differs from patriotism. (558)

Nationalism is a political creed that underlies the cohesion of modern societies and legitimizes their claim of authority. It centers on the supreme loyalty of overwhelmingly majority of the people upon the nation, either existing or desired. The nation is regarded not only as the ideal, 'natural' or normal form of political organization but also as the indispensable framework of social, cultural and economic

activities. Etymologically, nationalism stemmed out from Latin words 'nassi' and 'natio' both related to 'birthplace.' Love or attachment to the birthplace *conceived* as a homeland plays vital role for emotional binding among people along with other institutional, functional dynamics. Nationalism nurtures the feeling of national identity that integrates individual interests and identities attached with in national self. Carlton Hayes regards nationalism as a political philosophy that combined both patriotism and political identity. He says:

Nationalism was a modern emotional fusion of two every old phenomena-nationality and patriotism as well as the paramount devotion of fairly large nationalities and the conscious founding of a political nation on linguistic and cultural nationality.(6)

Nationalism foregrounds national consciousness on part of people or increases desire to forward national unity, liberty and prosperity that sprouts a feeling of loyalty to nation. Hans Kohn emphasizes man's supreme loyalty to his nation. According to him, nationalism articulates consciousness of large majority of people which constitutes a "nation-states as the real form of political organization and nationality as sources of creative cultural energy and economic well being" (10).

Since these scholars focus on common culture and history, they are not inclusive, hence, fails at maintaining politico-cultural pluralism and ethno-religious diversities of modern nation. So, nationalism now, needs 'as Ernst Renan says, "actual agreement, the desire to live together, the will to continue to make reality of the heritage . . . received in common"' (qtd. in Shafer 4).

A nation built on common religion or lingua-cultural nationality is strong, but the idea of single nationality can't be always a practical reality for feasible proposition since modern state clusters multi-cultural, ethno-religious and linguistic diversities.

Now the idea of common culture or language seems unreal and virtually impossible in the era of globalization and world wide mass migration. So at present, nationalism privileges indispensable task of maintaining pluralism and inclusive polity in accordance to people's desire. Labanes Mulsim Abd alhatif Sharara tries to meet current spirit of nationalism regarding nation as wider concept than state and people, therefore, not necessary to have single state or one nationality. He focuses on, "particular cultural links which binds it's members in two respects- the moral and economic . . . nationalism is the emotion and common interest combined into one feeling and one idea with-in the members of the nation" (Haim 228).

The nation is, thus, prime fact of present epoch and nationalism as dominant emotion of man. National sentiment has inspired contemporary movements in the sphere of national economy, politics, culture and security. A country through systematic education, army and political socialization consolidates and constitutes the modality of national self accumulating people of shared heritage and committed to future destiny as collective body that, Emerson says, "legitimizes the state" (95) in world.

Nationalism and nationalist ideologies have sought to interpret the occupation and control of the space both in the past and plan for safe future fortune. Therefore, it shows Janus like quality looking backward and forward. Controlling the past is means by which consciousness is structured and experiences are colonized. The knowledge of the past constructs a passion and dedication for political mobilization. Nationalism foregrounds national culture and religion not only for people's sense of attachment but for defense from external cultural infatuation.

At Soviet aftermath, the world seems polarizing into two sides-globalization and religious-cultural nationalism. In the state of ideological decline, sense of

alienation and identity disillusionment in post modern cultural mess, people ran after folk cultural religious root for emotional anchorage and for resistance against frustrating cosmopolitan pathology at the face of modernization. In non-western world, the search for religious cultural nation seems overriding other at present to resist western hegemony and domination. It is so because religion and culture have played vital historical role against colonial and imperial force for national liberation.

Nationalism works in two diverse ways. It unifies people for political identity, strength and national solidarity, in a hand, and in other, it separates people to consolidate and actualize group identity distinct from other. Therefore, it often manipulates power and tension, security and fear, hence, bears both positive and negative attitude. Of course, irrational glorification of nation, national aggression as many scholars claim, may pose threat of bloodshed, racial xenophobia and chauvinism and minorities can be victimized as in Hitler's Germany and Sinhalee Sri-Lanka. So many critics show its negative aspect. Partha Chatterjee complains its self destroying nature. It is seen as subversive answer to the malaise and alienation of European intellectual from tradition by bureaucratic absolutism due to their education. So Kundera sees nothing in nationalism rather than terror and fear, "Nationalism was a movement of alienated youth, a children's crusade. A doctrine . . . only bode ill . . . has brought nothing but terror and destruction in its wake, especially in ethnically mixed area" (qtd in Smith 63).

Contemporary theorists and scholars see nationalism as narrow and conservative creed in era of digital globalization and cultural amalgamation. But the concepts of internationalism and global nation are not likely as substitutes despite media manipulation and borderless business and E-commerce. EU despite its concept of Euro nation, the member countries do not cease to release national ego and

vehemence. Furthermore the mounting identity consciousness, search for religious cultural root and the movement of ethnic-cultural separateness disintegrates the notion of single polar nation.

In third world context, nationalism emerged as a general force of resistance against colonialism. Here, nationalism as anti-colonial force justified peoples' right to rule themselves in their land. And, now, it seems resisting functional and ideological dynamics of neo-colonialism. Contemporary stimulation toward cultural-religious nationalism is the articulation of anti-west sentiment against their evil design of ruling. In post Soviet era, nationalism lost its secular nature since religion became dominant factor at ideological decline. Muslim countries are troubled at revitalized religious orthodoxy and irrational glorification of Islam and its political manipulation through 'political Islam' and fundamentalism. Fundamentalism, to some extent, is the product at failure of secular nationalism to address religious identity, economic backwardness, and poverty and likewise lack of autonomous use of their resources.

Nationalistic indoctrination seems generally to involve the planting and nurturing of pride in the national culture, its historical background, the record of national achievement in various fields of human endeavor, and the national destiny. In theory, such pride seems wholly legitimate. It would seem capable of imbuing its possessors with a virtuous desire to live up to the splendid tradition of the nationality to cherish the national heritage and emulate worthy ancestors to carry forward the civilizing influences and the cultural unfinished business of forefather.

II.1 Nationalism as anti-colonial force

Nationalism was the most dominant anti-colonial force that played vital role for national emancipation and liberation. Years of colonial domination and exploitation in economic, political, religious and socio-cultural areas dehumanized the

rightful existence of ruled people. European power and mastery meant supposed inferiority, inability of colonized for self-governance and self determination of their fate. Therefore, the emergence of nationalism as an ideology and a motivating force to accumulate nationalities against colonizer marked their separateness from colonial ruler.

Nationalism, as a resistant idea ,become a means of channeling nationalist resent and pains against western-centrism, colonial-Imperial exploitation and brutality. It, revitalizing national identity, encouraged for national solidarity against outsider making them aware about their religio-cultural and politico-historical myth. So Nationalism, as Boyd Shafer realized, became a means of understanding colonial cheat, deceit and their own twisted identity, therefore, a consciousness to protest white and an emotional shelter for 'promised land' and happy fortune of people. In third world, Shafer found in nationalism, "the way to protest against their colonial masters and the vehicle for hope for better life, that is, the way to achieve the modernization they thought would accomplish their goal" (273).

Colonial authority marginalized rightful existence of ruled people as a member of political community in their own land. The detachment from free political, cultural and ethno-religious past, dehumanization and colonial exploitation grew a sense of emotional exhaustion. Colonialism reduced them as a category of means for colonial luxury and comfort. Such merciless cruelty, imposed inferiority and exploitation made their situation hellish a living death.

The brutal exploitation, oppression over colonized gained few years of joy and luxury that was not everlasting. Colonialism detaching ruled people from their root, resources and right enjoyed a witch-dance but frustrated and anguished people's growing consciousness of the colonial 'rule of difference' triggered their sense of

identity, nation, culture and religion. Nationalism anchored such dissenting phenomena valorizing the issue of national solidarity for national liberation and religious, cultural prosperity. Therefore, nationalism became a strong and all-incompassing vehicle march ahead in decolonization movement. Religion became defending shield. The colonial antipathy and othering attitude toward ruled people, their greed incited counter antipathy and hatred. Natives began naming the white with 'silly shylock, peeled man exuding- disagreeable 'rancid odor' (Shafer 240)

Nationalism, in third world context, remained a significant force against western imperialism and colonialism. In colonial aftermath, it became a tool for maintaining sovereign national regulation and autonomous use of its resources for national wellbeing. The west in name of civilizing the colonized forcefully imposed western Christian politico-cultural values destroying legal and actual socio-political arrangements and traditional native cultural traits, values and sacred legacies.

Anti-colonial nationalism deconstructs the notion and trends of linear concept of nationalist tutelage and its subjugative attitude. In third world, nationalism has been magnificent feature of decolonization struggle. The assertion of national identity and revitalization of religio-cultural lineage has played vital role to erase colonial instinct and effect and to resist neo-colonial interest. The anti-west stance has shown that feature of cultural nationalism the more religious especially in Muslim countries.

Anti colonial nationalism can be regarded as a theoretical resistance to the unifying amnesia of the colonial sub-ordination and its lasting effect. It is multi-dimensional project devoted to disown the burden of colonialism crucially questioning the colonial past that demands intellectual, cultural, eco-social and political engagement. The counter hegemonic anti-colonial nationalism either subverts or reverses the chronic opposition of colonial discourse and dismantles

ideological apparatus of colonialism. Nationalism responds the urgent task of rehumanization, of regaining wholeness a healing from fragmentation. It becomes the means of reshaping of subverted national-cultural identity which replaces the 'two-fold identity, of colonial culture. Fanon valorizes nationalism's capacity for healing the historical wounds inflicted by the repressive structure which confines the colonized to a liminal, barely human existence. Fanon privileges the energy of nationalism for mass solidarity despite vast diversity. He says, "This people that have lost birthright . . . living in narrow circles of feuds and rivalries, will now proceed in an atmosphere of solemnity to cleanse and purify the face of nation" (105).

Many post colonial critics question the authenticity of anti-colonial nationalism. Some independent nation states are seen exercising colonial structure. Frantically, the anxiety of inferior complex, in lack of so called proper cultural form, nationalism or national state might, what Llyod says, "recapitulate those of imperialism itself" (5) that can create a state of intrastate colonialism energizing dissenting nationalist rivalries.

Many post-colonial theorists and scholars show their ambivalent attitude toward nationalism. It is because of vexed discourse of nationalism. They, analyzing nationalism from various perspectives, vary in their opinion-some regarding it as revolutionary tool of third world emancipation and other labeling it nothing more rather a derivative discourse that has lineage in colonial creed. So they see necessity of a theoretical and historical engagement with in the issue of anti-colonial nationalism-scholars like Anderson, Percival Spear and DharamPal claims the endorsement of colonial structures in anti-colonial nationalist ethos. Anderson claimed that all third world nationalisms are the national assimilation of imported modular forms from west. Dharampal points the fixity of colonial belief in liberated

nation states: "it not only keeps intact the distrustful, hostile and alien stances of the state system vis-à-vis the people but also makes latter feel that it is violence alone which enables them to be heard"(ix). Likewise, Spear's historiography foregrounds the same view that anti colonial nationalism remains trapped with in structures of thought and attitude from which it seeks to differentiate itself, essentially, it takes Europe to invent the language of decolonization. Krappers sees "nationalism as an exported spiritual commodity which varies around same ideological theme . . . the creation of international and bourgeoisie . . . the product of European colonialism, an instrument in class dominative forms" (qtd. in Sjoberg 35). Likewise, Partha

Chatterjee comments:

Nationalism is nothing but a scrapple of sharing political power with colonial ruler, it's mass follows only the successful activization of traditional patron client relationships, it's interest debates the squabbles of parochial fraction; and it's ideology a garb of xenophobia and racial exclusiveness.(116)

The main problem is that even post-colonial state are seen investing the totalizing trend of alien ruling class ideology sometime tinged with racial attitude too. They seem ignoring earlier promised religious cultural revitalization. Such projection of colonial psyche created intrastate colonialism resulting oppositional protest and nationalist antagonism, because the religious and cultural mobilization has played vital role for national independence. But the failure of nationalism to provide rightful position to religion has resulted the quest for cultural or religious nation- the more emergences of fundamentalist resurgence and atrocities as counter-pathy to nationalist suppression.

II.2 Conflict nexus of Fundamentalism and Secularism in Flux of Nationalism

The denial of political statuesque is not only intended for political justice but also intended with mad desire of single cultural primacy of their own. Post-colonial politics though rejects any sorts of colonialism but creates it's own dominating center marginalizing other different and dissenting groups.

Secular nationalism, the dominant political trend, liberates politics from religious region. Its secular culture, divorced from all religious ethics, replaces traditionalism, obscurantism and cultural dogmatism, hence contributes for building modern nation. It believes in constitutional supremacy, freedom and conformity of law and order that rejects religious dictation over politics. It, therefore, faces confrontation from religiously constructed society. The mission of secular nationalism deliberately carries the promise of modern nation state through the process of modernization that plays the key role for modifying and transforming traditional fatalistic attitude, psyche and life style of people. Secular culture, considered as the expression of national self, embodies the soul and spirit of modern man. Secular nationalism keeps people's loyalty to their nation, irrespective of religious community where religion gets no mileage to be benefited. Religion is seen as unproductive not only in the process of building full fledged modern nation but also a threat for national security, unity, and integrity in secular Muslim countries. But it is equally appreciated and confronted in political arena of Muslim countries.

The secular quest that shadows religious passion labeling all in to secular stream has to contest and compete with religious fundamentalism and Islamic Ummas. The forceful imitation and implementation of western political structure rather delimits dissenting and resisting voices.

Islamic fundamentalism, the oppositional movement protests secular political ideologies of west and their policy of establishing lumpen government in Muslim periphery to maintain their neocolonialist interest where secular nationalism often works in form of secular militarism that takes hegemonic spirit of normalizing and homogenizing effect. Fundamentalism apparently antinationalist stands to be supra-nationalist but seems sweeping either supra-nationalist or aggressive religious nationalist poles however it echoes deep-seated resent at consciousness of denied recognition and suppressed Muslim identity. It works to counter secular nationalist antipathy to religion that is tinged, as it accuses, with western toxification and cultural prostitution.

The confrontational zone of sacred and secular is most troubled in lack of possible negotiation. The point, therefore, is no longer demarking and identifying domain of their own separateness rather analyzing the frustrated agonies and stimulating pathos of counter rejecting attitude. Muslim fundamentalist a strong resistant ideology committed with mad desire of breaking down the totalizing claim of secular nationalist historiography contests and incites antagonism declaring holy war against positivist effects of secular nationalism.

Secular nationalism is an aversion to the intrusion of religion in to politics. A secular state . . . "recognizes every citizen as equal and does not recognize any social and religious stratification for exercising political right" (Fadia 420) that has delinked from religion. Such ideologies are western imports in Muslim countries, therefore, intrinsically material in nature. They focus on material prosperity and socio-cultural modernization. Islamists defy such ideologies due to their asserted spirituality where in materialism is regarded as anti-human that leads bizarre recycling and retooling old

capitalist banality, greed and dishonesty. Irving Harowitz writes about fundamentalist perception of incompatibility to modern development. He comments:

economic development is a segmented activity . . . a phenomena that stimulates certain kind of growth . . . such asymmetry also creates wide disparities with in a national culture . . . Arguments from defender of western culture that such disparities are necessary to maintain invention, industry and innovation tend to fall on deaf ear, they confirm the belief that the developmental ideologies are hence evil . . . promotes wide array of dualism. It also isolates the spiritual life from political. (20)

Muslim fundamentalism declines to accept secular modernization and Europeanization of national structure. This thesis suggests that only religion not materialism can create solely the foundation of national solidarity. So, it is the strong ideological construction of Islam as answer to western modernist pathology and malaise imported along with secular nationalism, therefore, tries to uproot neo-colonialist evil, it claims, fortifying in Muslim countries through ruling class elites. So it carries unadorned anti west chiliastic vision too.

The polarization between national politics and religion limits people's participation in national building. People reluctant to assimilate into national self rather shift into opposite pole that over stimulates fundamentalist mission of mono-religious Muslim utopia based on Quoranic scripture. Fundamentalist framework protests social injustice and class differentiation because of material greed and so like excessive sexual liberation and personal freedom as evils of secular nationalist ideas. Now shifting parameter of fundamentalist from rural to urban seems using media and technology to react against merciless poverty, unemployment and failure of

nationalist allure to eliminate their subordination to west. Muslim anxiety of cultural reification intensifies their antipathy to secularism hence engages them toward militancy and so-called sacred violence.

At aftermath of Cold war, Islamic fundamentalism supplied itself to fulfill void as an ideology with quest of Muslim utopia that is in exercise as a reactive hegemony in parallel utopian philosophy in Europe. It strictly opposes the secular ideas of state as a free political unit founded on the notion of popular sovereignty and politics as independent field.

The west and Muslim suffer historical reality of counter-rejecting attitude. Colonialism, another brute reality, has tinged an unforgettable wound in Muslim heart. So, Muslim involved in national solidarity movement in saturated hope of real liberation at colonial aftermath which became mere fancy as Muslim countries inclined to western powers and culture. To them, it is difficult to link the thriving pang of past and anxiety of uncertain future in pitiable present. So, their anguish, being channelized as fundamentalist vehemence, falls on secular nationalism which, they accuse, marginalizes their rightful existence in western guidance. The unbridgeable historical fate manipulates their resent against state and west. Barry Rubin points:

The burning and agonizing problem for Muslim was how to explain and eliminate the gap between what is and what ought to be. Modern history has been a humiliation for them. If western history has been at fault, some regimes are perfidiously accomplices; the answer is revolution to throw out the traitor and solidarity in confronting the powerful foreigners and their remaining lackeys. (182)

Nationalism makes departure for modern culture that demands rapid

transformation of outmoded and unproductive socio-cultural and economic trends to build a full fledged modern state. It accepts neither religious dictation over politics nor state patronage to any religion. A secular nation assumes that its polity must be governed by true and self-evident principles, not by false and obscure dogmas, therefore, is divorced from religious coercion. The secular nature of state renders utterly dysfunctional in religious context. Secular nationalism needs modification of educational, cultural system to maintain modern culture.

Fundamentalists see secular nationalist mission as a Christian trick of liquidating Muslim heritage to make them always dependent to them and through which those 'lurking enemies outside and inside', Khomeini called, greater and smaller Satan await a chance to see their divisive doctrine manipulating Muslim for their cause. Fundamentalists incite the anxiety of terrifying condition. Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood thundered, "The alliance of united enemies . . . is working rapidly to gain positions within the Islamic existence by breaking, subjugating and smashing under a barrage of both open and malicious propaganda." (qtd in Rubin, 185) .

Secular nationalism denies God's sovereignty as controlling agency of state mechanism. It sees fundamentalist revitalization of Quranic literalism and imposition of Islamic law as anti-national spirit, hence, potential threat to secular life of country and its promised destiny. That's why it eulogizes nationalist fervor over religion to ensure national security, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Islamists neglect the idea of popular sovereignty that means majority as sovereign is meaningless to them rather Islamic law constitutes supreme authority. Rubin quotes: "The state in Islam obeys Divine law, not the people" (184). The rising 'Political Islam' is the fusion of politics and Islam designed for islamization of politics. Its movement of revival of wearing 'headscarf' works in double way- one is revival of symbolic structure of

society, therefore, keeps people responsive for cultural conservatism in a face and in other, as symbol of protest against secular state manipulating people's solidarity for Muslim utopia. It articulates their nostalgia and the sense of cultural pang at sorry plight of Muslim today that makes them hyperactive to fulfill their goal by violent means. 'Recognize your history' is their exhortation that creates dichotomies of we Muslim and other enemies to consolidate an authentic identity.

Secular Muslim countries began rapid modernization along with secularization of socio-cultural postulates. Modern education system and modern culture were adopted. Most important westernized elites abandoned their cultural religious values in favor of secular law, materialism, individualism and fundamentals of security oriented state. Rich became richer; poor were given platitude of social justice and national glory. But even the most modernized secular state failed to maintain basic needs of people. Instead, modernization detached them from their past and led to subordination of states to neocolonialism. People victim of powerlessness and alienated from ruling class began questioning the worth of the western mimicry. As nationalist promise utterly decreased in disappointment, thereby, creating potentially revolutionary situation, then Islamist urged that revitalization of Islam would address the severe stress and dissatisfaction with prevailing norms that permeated Muslim societies. Consequently fundamentalism became the only strong channel by which radical changes were possible and bad omens of secular nationalism and westernization was overthrown. Now fundamentalism began justifying militantly so called sacred violence.

In secular Muslim countries, the military often stood as safeguarding secular ideals of states. The paradox of military might and economic impotence played metaphysical character there, however, it played it's role to frustrate the collective

mission of fundamentalism. But secular nationalism sometime poses threat to national stability in lack of ethno regional, religio-cultural facilities in nation that creates germ of intrastate antagonism. Modernist thesis goes that far from ensuring structural assimilation of these communities into supra-national value system, universalizing and secularizing forces of modernization have had the dysfunctional effect of further alienating native societies who resent their limited participation in a highly centralized state center who are well aware of their backwardness vis-à-vis the core society.

Fundamentalist politicians are strongly willed to scatter a wave of purely socio-economic and political resent while mobilizing votes through manipulation of religious passion by saying and doing the things secular politician studiously avoid. Fundamentalist culture as a politics of imagery firstly conjures of besieged Muslim community under attack from enemy. Such projection of Muslim citadel just pristine and beneficiary under attack from merciless atheist evokes paralyzing anxiety that preferably works into violent ascertain that is physically mobilizing. Like Abdullah Khan Azmi who resents:

Our book is banned; our personal law is being prescribed. Our community's very life is being restricted. Quran taught the world that man does not became great on basis of birth, but on the basis of religious virtue, abstinence, and truth . . . To ban Quran means to ban reality, truth. The libertines want the honor of women to be violated ... banning the Quran shows that dangerous conspiracies are being hatched to damage our faith. Muslim will come out with the shroud tied to his head to protest the Quran. We will cut the tongues of those who speak against Quoran. We will tear the skin of those who look askance at the Quoran. (qtd. in Kakar 23)

Fundamentalist nostalgia reverberates ancient purity, therefore, exhorts Muslim to shun contamination inflicted by secular cultural infidelity and moral bankruptcy. It forcefully urges to keep Islamic symbol and cultural identity intact and pure. It is because identity is “believed to create a state rather than a state consolidating identity” (Rubin 181). Fundamentalism, tactfully designed and militantly induced to combat with secular nationalism, creates a strong resistance that is of cultural-religious and political intermix. So now 'headscarf' with new meaning and new spirit is an anchoring that is symbolic to political Islamist agenda of islamization of politics. So, it reject secular nationalism because of it's pact with colonial west. Hence, by suffering the narcissistic enhancement of self-esteem and collective identity fractured by working of historical fate, it builds a ground to resist secular nationalism.

III. The Conflict between Secularism and Fundamentalism in *Snow*

Pamuk's novel *Snow* uncovers the pathetic reality buried in silence of snow in Turkish city Kars. The conflict between the secular state and the Islamic fundamentalism over rids people's voice and buries them in silence of snow. The 'snow' is therefore metaphoric to deadly peace created by destructive terror of conflict. So, the very 'snow' deconstructs its self-beauty rather marks ugliness, hence, symbolic to destructive fortune of Kars. Ka the central character who visits the snow bound provincial city of Kars, finds it lacking its promised innocence and purity rather "The snow here was tiring, irritating and terrorizing. It had snowed all night. It continued snowing all morning" (9). The snowbound Kars resembles prison cell where everything is in loss. The ever going conflict limits the sense of unity as crude fancy. Kars always becomes the land of dispute, rivalry and destruction. It suffers the misery of ever shifting nationality:

After endless wars, rebellions and massacres and atrocities, the city was occupied alternately by Armenian, and Russian Armies; even briefly, by British. For the short time, when the Russian and Ottoman forces had left the city following the First World War, Kars was an independent state; then in October 1920, the Turkish Army entered under the command of Kazim Karabekir. (20)

The nationalist movement of Turkish state legitimizes its sovereignty in Kars. People eluded in nationalist allure are happy in that period. In westernizing period, Kar's people enthusiastically receive to Theatre Company of Ankara who played nationalist drama. They enjoy games, music, literature and freedom. "In summer time, girl could wear short sleeved dresses and ride bicycles through the city without being bothered. Many lycee students who glided to school on ice-skates expressed their

patriotic fervor by sporting bow ties" (21). Kemalism became a means of uniting people. They involve them in nationalist movement. But present makes different twist. People have neither nationalist zeal nor peace and freedom. They are divided. Now Islamic fundamentalists question the secular nationalist ethos and its policy of western imitation. They are much more concerned to religious-cultural pursuits. They revitalize their religious symbol to revolt against state. Headscarf becomes their symbol of protest in defiance of state. The girls of Kars protest against the banishment of headscarf girls from the Institution of Education in state order that incites confrontation:

When the authority has outlawed the wearing of headscarf in educational institute across the country, many women and girls refused to comply. The rebel at the institute of education in Kars had been barred from classroom, and then following the edict from AnKara, from the institute. Regarding the headscarf . . . the school friend's are running the campaign against the banishment of covered women from institute. (16)

Fundamentalist mission collides with secular nationalist policy of westernization Islamist are fighting against their sub-ordination to shape their authentic identify that was molded in nationalist furnace. Muslims are conscious of their root. Kars, once free of headscarf, is now full of women with scarves. Muzaffer Bay points the changing way of life in Kars. "Now the streets of Kars are filled with women in headscarves of every kind . . . And because they have been bared from their classes for branding this symbol of political Islam, they have begun committing suicide" (22).

The headscarf girls reject to bare their head. Political Islamists make a fusion of politics and Islam in headscarf movement. The rebel girls believe in headscarf as their identity, their credo, and therefore life. So they begin a new form of rebellion-suicidal martyr instead of their surrender to state. Teslime, one of the leading headscarf girls ends her in odd way: "When she had finished her ablutions, she knelt and prayed then tied her headscarf to the lamp hook from which she hanged herself" (17) to mark her loyalty to faith and protest against brutal military who see them as dangerous enemy of secular Turkish state.

Turkish state sees people returning into Islam as bad omen to its secular spirit, so it adopts strict measures to preserve it. In other hand, people frustrated at failure of Turkish dream see Islam as only means of hope. Moreover fundamentalists focus on people in misery and pain. In his meeting with Ka, Sardar Bay, the editor of the Border city Gazzet narrates:

They go from door to door in groups paying house visits; they give women pots and pan, and the machines that squeeze oranges, and boxes of soap, cracked wheat and detergent. They concentrate on poor neighborhood. They win the trust of angry, humiliated and unemployed, give them hope and promise vote in return. Even people with jobs ... tradesman respect them because these Islamist are more hardworking, more honest, and more modest than anyone else. (26)

Islamic fundamentalist concerns more on socio-economic problems like poverty, unemployment, social injustice because western development, instead of solution, is a problem. They claim western materialism increases class difference and social injustice.

The conflict incites tribal- cultural consciousness at cost of harmonious unity. Fundamentalists work to destruct the totalizing claim of secular nationalism. Likewise cultural pride loosens nationalist tie. Now, Kemalism is in decay. So, Turkish center cannot control its margins. Sardar Bay comments on growing tribalism. He contrasts past vs present:

In old days, we're brothers. But in last few years, everyone started saying I'm Azeri, I'm kurd, I'm Terekeman, of course we're people here from all nation . . . the Turkmen, the Pasaf Los, the German, we'd them all but non took pride in proclaiming different. Now everyone is prouder and poorer. (27)

Ka flees Germany after 1980's military Coup. During his twelve years exile, he preserves his Turkishness. "The thing that saved me is, was not learning German language. My body rejected the language and that was how I was able to preserve my purity and soul"(33). His nationalist prejudice rejects German language. Language is a easy means through which culture, ideologies transmit. His rejection of German language keeps him safe and pure as he is in his home.

Ka visits Kars to cover news on suicide girl and mayoral election. He has secret hope of meeting beautiful Ipek. But Kars is the battle field of the nationalist violence and Islamist encounter. The state is in clean-up operation against fundamentalist and vice versa. Islamic fundamentalist targets secular, western and government officials. When Ka and Ipek are talking in New Life Pastry Shop, the director of Institute of Education is shot down, "The tiny man, still standing in the same spot was pointing the Gun straight at the director, who lay still on the ground . . . moments after pumping three more bullets in his victim, the tiny disappeared " (37).

Fundamentalists challenge state legitimacy. They reject state order over Gods decree. They disobey constitutional law and order contrary to scriptural supremacy. The tiny man finds the director guilty of perpetrating injustice on headscarf girls, therefore, on Nisha versa of Koran. The director makes clear: "We live in secular state. Its the secular state that banned covered girls from school as well as class room "(40) that is not his order. The tiny man claims that the state denies their right to education and religious freedom in name of secularism. He valorizes god's decree far more important than state laws. The state, Islamists accuse, marginalizes the headscarf girls by denying them to their education. The state wants to destabilize Muslim by destroying their culture and religion. The man forcibly compels the director with gun to accept his own denunciation: "I confess of being pawn in a secret plan to strip the Muslim of secular Turkish Republic of their religion and their honor thereby to turn them in to the slaves of the west" (47).

Fundamentalist barbarity is very common there. Ka troubled to be eye witness of the cruelty visits his university fellow Muhter Bay, the mayoral of candidate of prosperity party. He is terrified and suspicious of it as state design to prosecute them: "We are going to win, so the state is knitting a sock to pull over our heads. It's prepared to say anything to bring us down. All across Turkey, our support to covered girls is the key expression of our political vision" (52).

Ka and Muhter, not to their surprise, face interrogation from police. The state threatened at rising Islam sees all as fundamentalist. Every time, the state sees violence as only means to settle the problem. The police beat Muhter enough to frighten him telling the truth in connection to the murder. Ka finds "Muhter hunching on a stool, his nose was bleeding and one eye shot with red. Muhter made one or two shameful gestures and hide his face behind handkerchief" (67).

In Turkey, military often represents itself as guardian of Kemalist secular ideals of building prosperous well modernized Turkey in western fashion. Kemalism dismantled and destabilized institutional form of Islam and its way of living. It imported western ideas of individual freedom, democracy and free life style. Their desire of being Europeanized became panic at the face of rising fundamentalist Islam that strongly denies secularism. But Islamist, despite their political concern, rejects western definition. Necip express his discontent with Ka about it: "Political Islamist is just a name that westerner and secularist give to Muslims who are ready to fight for our religion"(69). The west and secularists have derogative outlook toward Muslim. It is 'he claims' the mischief of secular press that gives political connotation to covered girls with terrorism and barbarity. The secular press tries to demonize Muslim girl who have faith. "It's the secular press that calls them 'covered girls'. For us, they are simply Muslim girls, and what they do to defend their faith is what all Muslim girls must do" (85).

Necip-the student from religious high school, who tells Ka the story of science fiction, strongly rejects Eurocentric interpretation of Muslim. The state is nurturing such colonial positivist attitude to it's urban class elites who, the fundamentalists accuse, are no more but maroon of the west designed and taught to undermine native culture, therefore, to destabilize Muslim identity and cultural authenticity. It is their faith, they believe, that saves them.

Secularists who believe in modernism fear of changing Turkey whether it is in path of destruction because of undergoing conflict to be end in barbarity, injustice and savagery. Now, they see the political Islamists in campaign to build another Iran. Serdar Bey points supra-national character of fundamentalism working to destabilize

Turkey. He says, "this is the work of international Islamist movement that wants to turn Turkey in the Iran. They say that the infamous Islamist Blue is in our city" (27).

Islamic fundamentalists can't tolerate anyone speaking against Islam. They reject the interpretation of Quran. They are more humble and modest to poor. They can't see any sorts of insult upon these unprivileged. Blue-the celebrated Islamist sends a death threat to T.V. exhibitionist Guner Bener a penchant of indecent remarks on marginal when he made fun about Prophet Mohammed unless he makes a formal apology. Guner Bener who refuses to formal apology is found murdered:

Guner Bener, appeared on his daily live T.V. show to defy would-be-assassins, proclaiming on one occasion with unexpected vehemence that he was 'not' afraid of Ataturk hating anti-republican perverts. Next day, in his luxury hotel room in Izmir . . . the police found him strangled with same loud tie festooned with beach balls; he'd been wearing during the broadcast. (72)

After returning from police head quarters while Ka is wandering in the street Necip persuades Ka to make an appointment to Blue in his hiding. To his surprise, he finds Blue unlike secular press depict monster like caricature of the truculent bearded provincial fundamentalist with a gun and a string of prayer beads. Blue's appearance itself dismantles the secular western stereotypical representation of Islamists. He is extra-ordinarily handsome, cleanly shaved, decisively self-confident young man. He very satirically concerns the issue of Muslim's sense of inferiority complex because of the invasion of western culture and educational system that taught them think 'European as superior', "I grew used to feeling degraded and I came to understand how my brother felt. Most of the time it's not the European who belittle us. What happens when we look at them is that we belittle ourselves" (75).

Blue despises the secularist and western psyche representing Muslim. . He satires westernized intellectual who have forgotten their own old heritage because of their obsession with western literature. So" now, because we've fallen under the spell of the west, we've forgotten our own stories. They've removed all old stories from our children's text books" (81). He condemned the state plan secular education system.

Ka, a westernized solitary man feels of being puzzled by Blue's morality tales. He is in search of meaning of the tale with in himself. But still he is divided- his mind is in confrontation of God loving and God hating. In such state, Ipek, his hope, requests him to visit sheikh Saddettine. Ka who grew up in secular culture of Istanbul, thinks religion as an obstacle to modernize Turkey like European countries as nationalist thought to be. His desire to be European goes contrary to Islamic values. In sheikh's secret lodge, he out bursts:

I was always wanted this country to prosper, to modernize . . . I've wanted freedom for it's people . . . But . . . our religion was always against all this. I grew up in Istanbul . . . wanted to be like European. But how can I reconcile my becoming a European with a god that required woman to wrap themselves in scarves, God of the bearded provincial reactionaries. (98)

Ka a secular man, the state desired, don't believe in God with his hole heart rather wants to confirm his beliefs with reason and logic. Secularists mark the religion a shelter of poverty. To them headscarf represents backwardness, illiteracy but radical Islamist imposes to wear to preserve their faith. As they believe in Islamic literalism and scriptural supremacy, rejects any mortal man question Gods supremacy. Ka's vision of rational god faces a big bang from Kadife's vision of God. She confirms:

The Holy Koran is the word of God, and when God makes a clear and definite command, it's not a matter for ordinary mortals to question . . . I'm not prepared to discuss my faith with an atheist or even a secularist And I'm not one of those Islamist toadies who go around trying to convince secularists that Islam can be a secular religion. (144)

These fundamentalists are in defiance of state order "Take off those scarves, because that's what state wants you to do" (117) Kadife's father Turget Bey, an old revolutionary communist finds the headscarf as "a special new form of rebellion" (116) against state military which Kadife makes clear of him: "What I was doing was worth while not as a defense of Islam but as defiance of the state" (116). These headscarf girls bold enough to denounce state order, are ready to sacrifice for their faith and honor. Handle recalls Teslime with due respect, "It's forty days exactly since our friend Teslime's suicide for her the headscarf did not just stand for God's love it also proclaimed her faith and preserved her honor" (121).

As fundamentalists are raising their head, the state suppresses them. The state imposes it's strong measures to control by any means to save the state from being buried in tyranny and barbarity of middle age. In lack of enough facility to assimilate cultural-religious system, Islamists become stridently violent and barbarous. In Kars, they target anyone looks secular or westerner. They search enemies of God to get rid of them. They can't tolerate any sorts of offences against their faith. Turget Bey makes Ka aware of the fact that it's necessary to believe in God in Kars to save skin:

Poor fool, he said. Then he fixed his eyes on Ka. "The Islamist embarked clean up operation. They're taking care of us one by one. If you want to save your skin, I would advise that you increase your faith

in God at the earliest. It won't be long, I fear, before a moderate belief in God will be insufficient to save the skin of old atheist. (134)

Ka becomes an unwilling witness of series of nasty political crime, violence and brutal no-hold struggle between the security forces and Islamic fundamentalist for their asserted goals. Sunay Zaim and his company are here to perform nationalist drama 'the headscarf' or 'my fatherland'. Sunay Zaim thinks that it is his ardent duty to support nation's dream through dramatic effect. The play, desperately old fashioned typical drama popular with westernizing official willing to free woman from the scarf and any forms of religions coercion, was demand for ardent patriotism of kemalist period. Now it's secular theme and sound dramatic form is enough to heighten fundamentalists rage. Necip thinks it “. . . to belittle headscarf girls” (139).

Now, Kars Muslim opposes the kemalist policy of totalizing effect that produced uniform nationality repressing multi-diversities of Turkish society. Political Islamists intensifying the issue of religious-cultural revival, protest the nationalist mission of secular transformation of social cultural life. Now many Muslim women wear headscarf to mark their faith and identity. Therefore, Muslim woman removing the headscarf is unexpected. When Funda Esar in drama do so that creates negative impression of scarf as a type:

So when she appeared, they took the headscarf to be of the type that has become the respected symbol of political Islam . . . as she removed her scarf, the audience was at first terrified ... the fear of political Islamist was so great . . . not even in their sleep could they have imagined the state forcing woman to remove their headscarf as it has done in the early years of the republic. (151)

The very drama is a drama that is serious. The audience watching live performance feels offended. Fundamentalists suspect that the whole thing has been staged to provoke them. They protest with throwing half an oranges, cushion on the stage. Even rich and high rank official doubt: "Ankara had planned the whole thing in advance. (157) Then, Sunay Zaim in Army dress comes to save Funda Easar from fanatics to present state army as guardian. Meanwhile, the armies fires bullets on shouting religious high school boys as it is an experimental drama killing in many. Necip-a moderate student who loves Ka "stood to say, stop! Guns are loaded" (160) is cooled down forever with bullets through an eye and head.

The audience mournful tries to believe that it is just a dream they saw in the world of theatre art. It's their consoling desire to escape from reality or an illusion in void. It comes to abruptly end when Sunay proclaims his conspiratorial plot, "This is not a play it is the beginning of the revolution . . . we are prepared to go any length to protect our fatherland. Put your faith in the great and honorable Turkish army! Soldiers bring them over" (163).

Sunday's words make us feel that he has burden to protect fatherland that is in danger. He points the potential excessive use of force as an excuse to protect the fatherland from enemies. He valorizes army to fulfill this sacred task. To him it is the revolution to liberate the country from rising tide of fundamentalist Islam. As a man in stage chants nationalist slogans like long live the republic, long live the army, long live Ataturk that makes them it is the nationalist revolution. The city of Kars sees the naked presence of state with army trucks, tanks and Machine guns. Z. Demirkol and his special operation team enjoy the witch dance of power raiding high school with death and arrest in many. Their brutality struck on even Recei Bay, the manager, of telephone office. Demirkol maddened with power threatens him to death if he does

not agree to cut off lines. He is the state, sovereignty and any thing, "So, you are afraid of the state, well, hear this: we are the state you fear! . . . open the door or what ? He took out his gun and fired two shots in the air. "Take this man and spread him against the wall . . . if he makes any more trouble, we will execute him" (168) .

The secular military sees power and violence as every solution of problem. But Ka the dervish poet wants to forget the nasty politics even if it is impossible to him. He is being entangled with in this riddle. Next day of the very 'revolution', an army truck comes to pick Ka from The Snow Palace Hotel. They use him in search of the murder of the director of Education Institute among the line of arrested young man waiting for interrogation, "They're hand cuffed to each other, and it was obvious they had badly roughed up; their faces were covered with bruises" (182). Ka himself faces interrogation enough to accept his meeting with Blue the most wanted, as claimed, Islamist conspirator against Turkey in pay of foreign countries panic at Turkish democracy. He is found guilty of meeting, "A dangerous terrorist and formidable conspirator . . . a certified enemy of the republic and in the pay of Iran . . . he had murdered a television presenter, so . . . for his arrest. He'd been sighted all over Turkey. He's organizing fundamentalists" (182).

These above lines express the Turkish concern over the issue of Iran which, Turkey thinks, propagates fundamentalist to unsettle Turkey that reveals disturbing relation between these countries.

Turkey is suffering the illness of west and east impulses. This divided soul and rationality has frustrated it's aim of building Europeanized Turkey. Despite it's long experience of modernizing and secularizing history, the result is minimal- that helps to justify fundamentalist notion of incompatibility of western materialist

developmental models to address the problems of Muslim countries. Sunay, a secular nationalist actor accepts the very misery of Turkey:

You see hundred of these poor jobless, luckless, helpless motionless creatures in every town . . . in hundreds of thousands if not millions. They have forgotten to keep them presentable . . . to button up their stained oily jackets, their power of concentration . . . so weak they can't follow a story to it's conclusion. They watched T.V. not because they liked or enjoyed the programs but because television help them out; what they really wanted was to die, but they didn't think themselves worthy of suicide. (198)

These pain stricken people find radical Islam as a way out that becomes a true means of optimism and courage. Fundamentalism becomes an appropriate medium to express their burden and their resent against state. They are aware that the secular state keep them detached from religious and cultural root, therefore, they are unhappy and wretched. And it is necessary to defend faith by fighting against their enemies. So, they think that it's the sacred violence that creates spiritual peace and eternal happiness. Fundamentalists are extremely merciless and brutal against their enemies. They think that it is their duty to fulfill what Koran states. The tiny man proclaims, "As the Holy Koran states, it is my duty to kill any tyrants who visits cruelty on believer. The freedom fighters for Islamic justice condemned you to death they reached their verdict in Tokat five days ago and sent me to execute the sentence" (46)

The 'violence' is the key means for both parties to enhance their presence. Like fundamentalists, the secular military also wants to silence the Islamist by brute violence to keep them still forever. Army is the guardian and the solution of the conflict. Sunay makes clear that the only way of controlling state authority is by terror

and violence-which saves Turkish fate from being doomed into barbarity and middle age as another Iran:

. . . the only way to run this country is by terrorizing, our fears will turn out to have been well founded. If we don't let army and the state deal with these dangerous fanatics, we will end up back in the middle ages, sliding into anarchy, traveling the doomed path already well traveled by so many tribal nations in Asia and the Middle East. (208)

Sunay Zaim does not regret the 'Bloody Coup' rather try to justify it's necessity to save the face of secular Turk is republic. Anyway, he reveals the troubled psyche of military authority at face of rising political Islamist. The state tries to legitimize violence and barbarity so does fundamentalist in the name of fighting for faith to mono-religious Muslim utopia. Suicide and headscarf are their means of subverting totalizing legitimacy of the secular Turkish state. The most important point is that the spirit of Kemalist ideology-secularism is being nullified rapidly by decreasing returns. Such result assists strength to fundamentalism.

Ka suffers the crisis of faith. He becomes victim of ambivalence because of his divided mentality. He is confronting with his self therefore uncertain to his faith to God. Sometime he thinks he is achieving God's grace therefore happy and writing poems. "When I sense poems coming to me, my heart is full of gratitude for the sender because I feel so happy, it's God who sends me poem. It comes from inside" (126). Ka who loves westerner sees religion as preserve of lower class. He says, "I want to believe in God you believe in and be like you, but, because there is westerner inside me I am confused" (100). Because of this nature he becomes a stock of suspicions. Sunay Zaim thinks religion and intellect are incompatible. He satires on divided mentality of intellectual like Ka. And now "what are we to do with this poet

of ours whose intellect belong to Europe, whose heart belong to religious high school militant and whose head is mixed up”(210).

His location gives space to be double agent of both state and militant. He seems divided into western culture and Muslim religion. Sunay Zaim despises Ka for his reluctance to support army. He wants to sacrilege army therefore revokes at the vanity of intellectual like Ka complaining army who saves their life. He says:

No one who is slightly westernized can breathe free in this country unless they have secular army protecting them, and no one needs this protection more than intellectuals who think they are better than everyone else and look down on other people. If it weren't for the army, the fanatics would be turning their rusty knives on the tot of them and their painted women and chopping them into little pieces.. But what do these upstarts do in return? They cling to their very little European ways and turn up their affected little noses at the very soldiers who guarantee their freedom. (207)

Westernized secularists think that religion is the asset of people living in suburb. It is inflicted with poverty, misery and uneducation. It has nothing to do with modernity and enlightenment. Urban elites always denigrate people having faith. Sunay Zaim denounces Ka's infatuation to God as self-deception. Westernized elites have nothing to do with God of poor man. Sunay represents religion as derogative that is in compatible to secular idea of God: He despises Ka:

You're deceiving yourself. Even if you believe in God, it would make no sense alone. You'd have to believe in him as poor do you'd have to become one of them. It's by eating what they eat, living where they live, laughing at the same jock and getting angry whenever they do that

you can believe in their God. If you're leading an utterly different life, you can't worship the same God they are worshipping. (208)

Fundamentalists feel offended from the secular idea of God as derogatory that is the burden of colonial attitude nurtured by the secular state, they claim, to label Islam as inferior religion. They claim that it is not poverty that brings them close to God, it is their faith that is shield to combat the evils of western pathology and it's misery. Islam is their identity therefore Islamic structure of way of living marks their separateness from the rest. Blue satires on secular idea of God as solitary matter that is illusion. They, like Ka, feel the God's grace from western romanticism.

I don't want to destroy your illusions, but your love for God comes out of western romantic novels. In a place like this, if you worship God as European, you're bound to be laughing stock. You don't belong to this country; you're not even a Turk anymore. First try to be like everyone else, and then try to believe in God. (334)

Sunay Zaim reveals secular nationalist psyche of looking at religion. Blue's statement shows fundamentalist bias to secular elites. Despite their bias and prejudice of their counter rejecting ideologies, they both resemble at structural way of Islam. Secularists mock at institutional Islam. Likewise fundamentalists laugh at idea of solitary God.

Ka, an utterly unhappy man, is walking a doomed path of self-destruction. Happiness for him is a rare thing for which he suffers too much. Every moment he is near of his ruin instead of his thought of happiness. He is being entangled in puzzle with no way out. As an unwilling double agent, he suffers from either side irrespective of his good will. Kadife, after coup, who invites Ka to meet Blue, dismisses him as state spy, therefore, search everywhere in his body whether he has

taken anything secretly. She threatens him to shoot down incase he makes anything funny. She menacingly comples him to pay respect to Blue. Ka obeys her like an obedient pupil in hand of cruel teacher. She grumbles:

Make sure you show Blue respect. Whatever you do don't try to belittle him by playing the conceited, foreign educated, European sophisticate. If you let this sorts of foolishness slip out by accident don't even think of smiling.. And don't forget you admire and imitate so lavishly couldn't care less about you . . . and they're scared to death of people like Blue. (229)

Fundamentalists hate any sorts of silly activities like, joking, mocking, and laughing at and so on as immoral. They have extreme homage to their creed as well as leaders. It is sinful to mock them. Kadife makes a sense of that. Fundamentalists feel pride of their faith and themselves. In his hiding, Blue reacts against military coup that took eighty lives, destroyed nine shanties, and raided several school and houses. He accuses that the state executed plot to stop Islamist winning municipal election. He claims, "The state had arranged for the mayor and director of the Education institute to be assassinated to provide a pretext for the coup. And the coup itself was designed to prevent the Islamist winning the election. The banning of all parties and associations proved this point" (232).

Blue exposes the tyranny and barbarity of secular military. He claims that the state has denied political right of citizens. He accuses that state is involved in sober conspiracy to frustrate Islamist victory. It is not different from colonial violence. The state of Turkey has forcefully involved to make it's citizen mimic west to make them slave forever. It carries the burden of colonialism. Fundamentalism thinks that secular nationalism of Turkey is Christian trick to destabilize Muslim identity and culture. So

they are extremely conscious of their identity. They reject western mimicry. Blue does the very same. He reacts against the superiority complex of the west and secular world, " . . . And I'm not going to abase myself at the door of westerner to make the Godless . . . world feel pity for us" (234).

Blue feels pride of what he stands therefore, refuses imitation to be like them. He feels offended of the big brother attitude of westerner showing sympathy to Muslim communities as they are inferior because they differs them.

Ka desperately dying for quenching his physical passion tries to stay out Turget Bey from the Snow Palace Hotel to make love with Ipek. He manages to make a joint statement of different groups against coup. The concerned parties meet in Hotel Asia. But it's the misery they divide because of their varied ideologies looking at Europe. Blue adamantly evokes his hatred against Europe:

We're not speaking to Europe . . . The people of Europe are not our friends but our enemies. And it's not because we are their enemies. It's because they instinctively despise us ... Europe is not my future ... As long as I live I shall not imitate them or hate myself for being different to them. (278)

Blue suffers the consciousness of historical reality of counter rivalry and hatred of west and Muslim. Fundamentalists mount anti-west hatred so does Blue. It's Muslim who carry the illness of colonial exploitation. To them Turkish nationalism instead of curing the wound of colonialism, forcefully imposes it's legacy to it's citizen. Blue strongly protests Euro-colonial positivist attitude of denigrating Muslim with connotation to barbarity, inferiority and savagery. He feels pride of being Muslim that shapes different identity. He opposes imitating west contrary to national spirit.

Pamuk rattles the happiness of Ka. He gets momentarily happiness with Ipek to be sad forever. Both state and fundamentalists use him for their cause. He works for them for nothing. Now it becomes compulsion to him. He hangs himself in tragedy of being double agent. The Border city Gazzett makes him devil in eye of both state and fundamentalist alike. It prints:

The so called poet who . . . robbed . . . happiness and peace by bombarding with joyless, meaningless poem, denying God's existence. You are ashamed of being Turk that you hide your true name behind fake foreign counterfeit name of Ka ? He wandered through the shanty towns knocking on the door of most wretched dwelling to incite rebellion against our state . . . and even at the Great Ataturk the father of republic. The youth of Kars knows how to deal with blasphemers who deny God and the prophet Mohammed. (302)

Ka thinks that his death is confirmed from either of state or fundamentalist. He feels utter unhappiness of what the press printed. He sees himself dying with bullets in the street. He remembers those victims shot dead by Islamist bullet:

The many writers killed in recent years by Islamist bullets paraded before his eyes: first the old Imam turned atheist who had tried to point out 'inconsistencies' in the Koran. Then the columnist who . . . refers girl wearing headscarf to cockroaches and . . . Investigative journalist who had tenaciously sought to uncover the links between the Turkish Islamist movement and Iran. (304)

Ka feels bore of city on way back from the office of The Border city Gazzett. He is full of shame and fear. He thinks he will share the same fate of so many other writers like poet Nurettin. When Islamist press uncovers and distorts his article written years earlier as insult in faith, then army backed secular press highlights him.

As Nurettine to save the face of being coward reasserts, "then, one morning, a device in a plastic bag hanging from the front tyre of his car blew him in to so many pieces that his ostentatious throngs of mourners had to march behind empty coffin. (306)

These fundamentalists leave no one found insulting Islam. They want to clean-up all government supporters, secular or westerners. Ka thinks that Sunay can protect him. Sunay in other side, stands as state representative is the mastermind of coup. He and his associates enjoy the intoxication of power. Z. Demirkol and his team raid every places they liked- several high school, shanties, masques with several death toll and arrests. Their barbarity leaves no one. Their desire to hang in power led them misuse of their power. Arrests, torture, beating are very normal things. The army sees violence as only means to be heard. On the way to army headquarter; Ka sees several inhumane blue prints of bloody coup destroyed houses, smoking, blood strips, and tanks. He still hears firing machine guns. On the Ataturk Avenue he sees "house with broken windows, a shattered door, a front doors riddled with bullet" (113). But Sunay Zaim justifies the necessity of so called revolution to save Turkey. He confirms the violence brings peace, happiness and freedom. The state wants to silence the Islamist by brute violence. Army is the only solution to make it reality. Sunay remains certain that, "The day will come when we will come to account on the worst day of all . . . no matter what suffering lay ahead . . . they would and could bring happiness to the people through the exercise of merciless violence" (193).

Terror rules Kars. The conflict only creates horrifying wave of torture, brutality and destruction. Humanity, peace, freedom can't be imagined. Peoples are like lambs await to be pounced in claws of ferocious tigers fighting for them. They are divided, destroyed and suppressed from either side. They are tested and questioned,

"The authority did not trust them and . . . refused to let them inside the provincial headquarters but they are still like cold little lambs at the main entrance" (222).

Sunay Zaim and his associates capture the most wanted Islamist Marlbro Blue after his meeting in Hotel Asia. Blue 'to our surprise' feels neither remorse nor pain. Fundamentalists never feel remorse of any sorts of crime they did, they are certain and dedicated for their goal. They feel happiness to sacrifice themselves to protect their faith. Ka surprises, "How could this militant Islamist who'd spent half his life railing against the merciless Turkish state, and who was now sitting in a prison cell because he was implicated in two separate murder inquiries, be so calm and cheerful?" (326). Blue is sure and confident of what he did. He is ready to be executed. He thinks he is just. He accepts his death in name of God.

Anti-state struggle accompanies suicide bombing. The Islamists train suicide bombers to kill their enemies. Sunay charges that Blue trains young Islamist to be suicide bombers to wipe out traitors of faith and state. Sunay Zaim, the coup master tells Ka of an attempted suicide bombing: "The poor man got his houses mixed of instead of coming here he attacked a building further up the hill. He blew himself into so many pieces; we don't even know whether he died for Islam or PKK" (313). So, the conflict takes the form of so wretched cruelty and naked barbarity.

Turkish nationalist victory over Kars fixed its sovereignty. Kemal Ataturk who defeated Christian invasion twice, mounted nationalist zeal in his people that helped lasting secular revolution that a Muslim society has ever gone. The secularization policy of Turkey legitimized state to control orthodox Sunni institution and religious functionaries. Binnak Toprak writes:

Kemalist reform was to substitute western culture for the
Islamic/Ottoman, and in doing so, Kemalism tried to break down both

the institutional strength of Islam and the symbolic structure of society.

The authoritarianism . . . was conducive to introducing reforms from above. (122)

The Kemalist began to modernize Turkey, Latinize its script, abolish male, female religious headgear, adopt western cultural traits, and in general erage the Islamic Caliphate that today fundamentalists try to restore. In other hand imposed nationalist mission created cultural detachment and powerlessness instead of its promised prosperity. So Muslim began restoring religious-cultural symbols to mark their identity and discontent to the state. Fundamentalist gave extreme mode and direction.

In the novel, political Islamists valorize headscarf as symbol of solidarity that has deeper meaning. Secular nationalists, aware of political emblem in headscarf, mark it as a bad omen in national spirit. They believe that the removal of headscarf is the symbolic victory of secular state. It is so because religious cultural system is means of controlling mass people. The state does not want it in hand of Islamist. Sunay thus, despite his knowledge of Blue's involvement in various crimes, exposes his plan of Blue's release if Kadife bares her head. Kadife is the leader of headscarf campaign. So removal of her scarf has greater significance than Blue's death. Sunay Zaim well aware of the fact lays condition "if she bares her head, I can have her Blue released at once. They can run off together to some foreign land and live happily ever after" (315) that has tremendous effect in mass populace.

Ka, a compelled mediator accepts Sunay's proposal to negotiate with Blue and Kadife. He, partially by his self-indulgence of getting happiness and partially by compulsion, tests himself in role to determine his destiny. Anyway he convinces

Kadife with brute intelligence. Then, he meets Blue to be damned as state spy and western slave:

You are the western agent . . . the slave of ruthless Europeans, just typical little European from Nisantas, . . . brought to look down on your traditions . . . to your kind ... moral life is not through God or religion or through taking part in life of common people. No, it's just a matter of imitating the west . . . you save one word or two reproaching the tyrannies visited on the Islamist and Kurd but in your heart you don't mind at all when military takes charges. (331)

Blue condemns all his enemies. He hates Ka of being agents of state. He shows his discontent to the hypocrisy of westernized secular elites like Ka. Fundamentalists opposes imitating west that makes them the maroon of west 'typical little European'. It is their own religion culture that makes them feel dignified and secure.

Blue boldly refuses Sunay's proposal of Kadife baring head in a play. He denies:

. . . to be European and . . . ape their ways. I am going to live out my own history and be no one but myself it's possible to becoming mock European, without becoming their slave. There's a word Europhiles very commonly used when they denigrate our people . . . well that's how I see my execution. I'm standing against the westerner . . . refuse to imitate them. (331)

Blue, aware of the burden of past, strongly rejects state proposal. He hates becoming mock- European. He is sure Muslim cannot be happy coping with western culture. Such cultural alienation produces neither peace nor prestige. Fundamentalist resent Turkey's solidarity with their enemy Christian colonialist west. Turkish state

recapitulates western colonialism in name of secular nationalism that denigrates, like west, Muslim and imposes them imitate west. It is urgent to glorify their culture to erase the agony of past and present. Religion, therefore, becomes soliciting shelter and a hallmark to reconstruct fractured identity. Blue a devout radical Islamist boldly accepts execution than becoming slave of his enemies. But Ka, as a general man, revokes against both state and fundamentalists. While trying to persuade Blue, very consciously makes a point. "All I mean it's stupid to let yourself be killed by those crazed blood thirsty fascists. Don't count on becoming a revolutionary icon too"(303). That he think, could not be materialized. He comments both army and Islamist for their nasty crimes. He does the same a mediator must do.

Anyway, Ka meets success to convince Blue and Kadife on Suny's proposal for Kadife play a drama that goes baring her headscarf for Blue's release. Ka feels lots of joy in his success. He thinks there would be abundant happiness in his path. But Ka, destined to be sufferer, the tide of happiness rather carries cruelty in his head. He faces sharp presence of state on his face that is enough to be nostalgic: "The salty taste of blood gushing from his nose took him back to childhood again . . . Ka cradling his bloody nose and sullen head was perfectly content to be sitting like a child in the corner" (263).

In chapter 38, Ka becomes a victim in Z. Demirkol's hand once again. He sees shadows in his eyes nevertheless the overriding passion to elusive happiness is still enough. Demirkol finds Ka guilty of negotiating traitor Blue who wants to build Islamic utopia. He teaches a lesson to Ka of savage barbarity of fundamentalist in name of cultural prostitution. He illustrates Iranian massacre of former allies:

They'd struck dynamite up their asses and blown them sky high, lined up all the prostitutes and homosexuals and gunned them down, banned

all non religious books and when they got their hands on intellectual poser like Ka, they would immediately shave their heads and as far their ludicrous books of poetry. (361)

Fundamentalist can't tolerate any sorts of immoral activities as obstacle to build sacred world. They brutally wipe out all infidels and immoral they think. They strictly believe on Muslim code and way of living. So, bare head is naked exposition of physicality 'they claim' that incites sexuality. Fundamentalism strongly condemns western sexual freedom and feminism as well.

The conflict became grotesque and fatally destructive. Kadife is in rehearsal of the play *The Spanish Tragedy* to be performed coming night in which she will play the role of rebel heroine who after baring her head revenge on hero with death and committee suicide. An announcement is made to the people to be present in 'suit and tie' and army trucks gather religious high school boys forcefully in theatre. Audiences terrified of the coup, make a unified whole of 'we', nationalism demand. Such deadly peace seems as if they had forgotten every sorts of feud and rivalry, therefore, buried in eternal silence that show the forceful imposition of brute nationalist country that makes people, "sink into a collective terror . . . that any citizen of an oppressive and aggressively nationalist country will understand only too well- the magical unity conjured by the word we"(401) .

As the drama begins in theatre hall, a parallel drama is exposed outside with naked reality. Contrary to the agreement made in Sunay's proposal, Z. Demirkol's special team "in less than one minute not just Blue and Hande but every wall of their safe house riddled with bullets" (401). The state loses it's creditability. Kadife struck with thunder at lose of her love, kills Sunay as determined revenge. "I kill you to rid our country of a microbe, an enemy of our nation, our religion and our woman. I kill

you with my clear conscience” (410). As a dedicated Islamist, she shoots Sunay who staged blood coup to death as cost of her headscarf and love though script demands that but could be dramatic death unlike real death in guise of experimental drama. She kills Sunay and becomes a rebel heroine.

Ka becomes another 'victim'. The conflict takes every ones hope and happiness. His over ridding quest far happiness ends in his eyes streaming on and alienation. Ipek refuses to go Frankfurt in belief of Ka's alleged denunciation of Blue. He is lost in loneliness and heart break far next four year with Ipek in his mind to be shot dead in Germany. Both state and fundamentalists suffer. People are brutalized between the crossfire of enemies and divided into east and west. Both parties are in lose including divided people. Humanity, happiness, peace are absent .life is in disintegration there.

Thus despite their willful dreams, the conflict as an evil eye, disintegrates their dreams, hope, humanity, life and happiness.

IV. Conclusion

Pamuk's *Snow* grapples the political subject of conflict between secular nationalism and fundamentalism. These anti polar forces suffer the anxiety of existential threat at the presence of opposite force, therefore, engage to delete other. This ideological contestation of secularization of politics versus islamization of politics translates in to violent assertion that is destructive.

The westernized secular poet Ka seeks vigorously to understand why a man ends up being what the secular world called fundamentalist terrorist. Pamuk makes the point that the so called fundamentalist is first of all a human being. Ka becomes the very embodiment of witness who becomes the scapegoat in tension between tattered forces of modernity and intermittent Islamic fundamentalism. He is immediately thrown in to emotional and political maelstrom of modern Turkey's city Kars being entangled between pro-western secular nationalist force and anti-west, anti-secular extremist Islam. In contrary of his dream as it is said that doing right thing does not always end in happiness, the conflict leads to the doomed path of destruction that snatches his love happiness and eventually life too. He becomes the metaphor to represent the fortune of Kars people's entangled into crossfire of anti forces. The conflict creates suspension and uncertainty of every thing that become the very reality of Kars.

The conflict is the result of differing world views of secular nationalist and stolid dogmatism of Islam. However fundamentalism is the result of hypersensitivity of Muslim panic at loss of authentic Muslim identity at face of state sponsored secular revolution of social, cultural and political postulates. Such imposed modernization detaches people from religio-cultural legacy and heritage. The failure of Turkish nationalist dream counter stimulates their agony, alienation and powerlessness. So, Turkish Muslim begin questioning on legitimacy of Turkish state authority and it's

authenticity. Fundamentalism Islam becomes means of expressing their frustration and hatred against states. They revive cultural symbols like headscarf to protest against state.

Kars suffers the misery of cultural differences where communal integrity and societal security becomes odd things in maelstrom of nasty political conflict. Humanity, life, freedom and happiness lose their values; rather a wave of horrifying torture, brutality and destruction overrules Kars. Turkish nationalists who rely on army to safeguard state from dogmatic shackle destroy the face of Turkish democracy. The way of ruling elites trying to modernize, to westernize and Europeanize by force is futile since it incites antagonism, violence and barbarity. The state wants forcibly to make them feel the power of revolution and state and its determination that creates absence of creditability in presence of counter conspiracy. Sunay and his associates performs theatre show as a pretext of military coup to eradicate state enemies and stop them winning election. Fundamentalists protest attacking state supporters. The conflict takes the form of savage barbarity as cost of life, peace and freedom that divides people into sacred and secular, therefore, being buffeted with ideas of west and Islam. These luckless people compelled to be swept in to asinine political hostility of the stupid city suffer threat of being erased from history and banished from civilization since all are sufferer. Sunay, Blue, Nicep, Hande, despite their feud and rivalry face the same fate of destruction. Kadife, Ipek, Funda lose their loved one. Ka, denied to love, is killed. Thus, the conflict makes Kars people think that they are poor and insignificant. Their wretched lives have no place in human history. One day they will be dead and gone with any trace of their existence. The conflict of counter rejecting forces creates tragic ends of humanity life and happiness.

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