



**University
of Victoria**

Graduate Studies

Notice of the Final Oral Examination
for the Degree of Master of Arts

of

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MASA (University of British Columbia, 2014)
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**“Scale and Exile: The Portrait of the Kurdish Question in the Theory of
Democratic Confederalism”**

Department of Political Science

August 25, 2017
9:30 A.M.
David Turpin Building
Room A318

Supervisory Committee:

Dr. RBJ Walker, Department of Political Science, University of Victoria (Supervisor)
Dr. Scott Watson, Department of Political Science, UVic (Member)

External Examiner:

Dr. Reuben Rose-Redwood, Department of Geography, UVic

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Dr. Warwick Dobson, Department of Theatre, UVic

Dr. David Capson, Dean, Faculty of Graduate Studies

Abstract

This research examines the relation of scalar arrangements of the statist political orders and the generation of the situation of exile, exemplified in the case of the statelessness of the Kurds, through a critical reading of Abdullah Öcalan's theory of democratic confederalism. I argue that Öcalan's understanding of this relation discloses the scalar implications of what I call the tyranny of the present of the state. The tyranny of the present refers to the tendency of statist formations to expand the domination of metaphysical presence through attempting to turn their present into the future of those who are considered less developed and aiming to prevent the perception of any unpredictable future that might interrupt their order. This temporal hegemony is imposed through centralized and hierarchical scalar order of the statist structures for what is at the center is also above; it is unattainable and yet desirable by the less developed subjects and communities below. Within this order, the subjects that could not or were not willing to attain independence by implementing a statist form are exiled from the present political order and the perceived future(s). Relying on the existence of an original communal life before the rise of early states in Sumer, Öcalan's solution to the Kurdish Question appears as a form of communalism, for only if the community is the main unit of the scalar arrangement the structure would warrant the inclusion of all and only if democracy is practiced at the grass root level of the community would it be able to protect humans against traditional and modern dogmas simultaneously. I will argue that while I appreciate Öcalan's diagnosis of the Kurdish Question, I believe that the administrative units he foresees in the structure to protect communal life internally and externally are likely to take statist forms due to the power they would gain to create and securitize communalism in a world order that is not based on communal values.