

The evolution of Turkish nationalism between 1904 and 1980

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## ABSTRACT

This study aims to look at the discourse and development of Turkish Nationalism. This is done through focusing on four well known thinkers of Turkish Nationalism. In this dissertation, works, actions, discourse and legacies of Mehmet Ziya Gokalp, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız and Alparslan Türkeş are looked at using textual analysis and an ethno-symbolist approach. Through this work the family relation between these thinkers and the boundaries of Turkish Nationalism can be understood.

Ziya Gokalp, as the “father” of the Ideological Turkish Nationalism, has laid the foundation for nationalists after him and his ideas have been instrumental in the setting up of the Republic of Turkey. Gokalp by setting up the three ideals; “To be more Turk, to be more Islamic and to be more modern” has set the tone for the rest of the century for Turkish Nationalism. Kemal Atatürk was the founder of Modern Turkey and was also a nationalist, as a result he implemented many policies that were highly nationalistic. His legacy continues to live on but can be interpreted differently by different people. Nihal Atsız affected Turkish Nationalism in a very different manner. Instead of having a long term ideological effect he gave “soul” to nationalism through his literary work and his rich usage of imagery. After him, Alparslan Türkeş’ struggle in a tumultuous time in Turkey and Turkish Nationalism as a competing ideology in Turkish politics is viewed.

This work also takes a look at mainstream political currents in Turkey and nationalists’ relations with them and the critique of Turkish Nationalism and Turkish Nationalists, and from the findings of this research, it can be speculated that there are three mainstream political movements, contrary to widely believed two. This can be best personified by the three pashas of the Turkish Independence War; İsmet İnönü, Kazım Karabekir and Fevzi Çakmak. The findings of this research shows that there is a family relation between the four thinkers and despite that there have been some

slight differences the discourse and the activities of Turkish Nationalism has stayed on one course.

## Contents

<b>Cover</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>2</b>
<b>Contents</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>Dedication</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>9</b>
Development of Turkish Nationalists.....	18
Reasons Behind Choosing This Subject.....	25
<b>Aims, Goals, Methodology, Theory and Literature Review</b> .....	<b>30</b>
The Aim of this work.....	46
Literature and the Sources.....	48
<b>Ziya Gokalp</b> .....	<b>54</b>
Yusuf Akcura's Three Ways of Politics.....	56
Ziya Gokalp's Life.....	59
Ziya Gokalp's Importance and Affect.....	60
Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak.....	66
Turkculugun Esaslari.....	70
Gokalp's Legacy.....	73
<b>Mustafa Kemal Ataturk</b> .....	<b>75</b>
Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's Life.....	78
State-Nation Relationship.....	92
<b>Nihal Atsiz</b> .....	<b>99</b>

Turkish Political Parties' Ideological Formations.....	101
Huseyin Nihal Atsiz.....	103
3 <sup>rd</sup> of May and the Turkists' Trial.....	105
Nihal Atsiz's Influence on Turkish nationalism.....	108
Nihal Atsiz's Political Positions.....	119
Atsiz's Affect.....	120
<b>Alparslan Turkes.....</b>	<b>123</b>
Alparslan Turkes.....	126
Alparslan Turkes' Ideology "The Nine Lights".....	128
Is Nationalist Movement offering a third way system?.....	133
Turkes' Work from the Discourse Analysis Perspective of Laclau and Mouffe.....	136
The Importance of Adana Congress.....	138
Troubled Times for Turkey and the Role of Turkes and the Nationalist Movement in the 1970s.....	140
<b>Critique of Turkish Nationalists and Its Challenges.....</b>	<b>148</b>
Nationalism as an Ideology.....	149
Islamists.....	153
Center Left.....	159
Center Right.....	163
Conspiracy Theory Approach.....	165
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>168</b>
Possible Expansions and Additional Work for the Future.....	169
Discussion about the Choices for the Research.....	170
Analysis.....	179
Three Mainstream Currents of Turkish Politics.....	201

Symbols.....	205
Bibliography.....	216

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To my mom,



## Introduction

*“Just as Mehmet the Conqueror broke through the walls of Istanbul, we will break the shackles around Nationalism!” – Devlet Bahçeli*

Nationalism is a political ideology that has been a subject for debate in academic circles for centuries. Although, many would describe nationalism simply as “someone’s love towards their nation” some thinkers have come up with more complex explanations. For example, Anthony Smith describes nationalism as: “Nationalism refers to an ideology, a sentiment, a form of culture, or a social movement that focuses on the nation.”<sup>1</sup> Gellner describes nationalism as “a political doctrine which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent.”<sup>2</sup> Despite Hobsbawm’s claims almost twenty five years ago that nationalism was coming to an end, saying; “the owl of Minerva, which brings wisdom, says Hegel, flies out at dusk. It is a good sign that it is now circling round nations and nationalism”<sup>3</sup>, this is not the case as we can see from the fact that many nationalist parties are getting stronger each day. Although, Umut Ozkirimli states that “The crisis of the nation state is one of the most worn out clichés of the last decade, and the future of nationalism appears to many to be more uncertain than ever under the twin pressures of globalization and identity politics”<sup>4</sup>, in contrast he also adds that; “Nationalism continues to be one of the major actors of the social and political landscape, and a central part of the fabric of our everyday lives.”<sup>5</sup>

Nationalism is a political ideology that is very much in existence in the world today. Even though, as stated earlier, some may be inclined to describe nationalism simply as “someone’s love towards their nation” many thinkers have formulated more complex and varied definitions which have affected daily politics in almost all countries

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, Anthony D., “National Identity”. Reno, University of Nevada Press, Nevada, 1993, pg. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Gellner, E, “Nations and Nationalism”, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983

<sup>3</sup> Hobsbawm, Eric J. 1990. “Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth, Reality. Cambridge” University Press, Cambridge, pg. 181

<sup>4</sup> Ozkirimli, Umut “Nationalism and Its Futures”, Palgrave and Macmillan, UK, 2004, p. 2

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, pg. 4

on the planet. In today's world, there are many nationalist parties existent and competing in electoral systems and under different regimes. They can appear in a democracy like the UK, in the form of the highly marginal British National Party, or in a semi-democratic country like Serbia with its Serbian Radical Party, or even in South East Asia as a successful party like the Golkar Party in Indonesia.

Anthony D. Smith, in his book *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, stresses the importance of myths, memories and symbols for nationalism, stating: "The myth of being ancestrally related, the idea of being selected, memories of communal experiences, religion and its institutions, and common cultural symbols created upon these things can generate a powerful sense of belonging."<sup>6</sup> So how these different thinkers are viewed by the people of Turkey bears a great importance to how nationalism is understood.

To introduce a subject that is as controversial and popular as Turkish Nationalism is quite an ordeal, to be blunt. The effect of Turkish Nationalism, in the past has not only been consequential for Turks and Turkey, but for the entire area of Post-Ottoman geography, as well as Central Asia and formerly colonized states such as India and Pakistan. To go into the theory of an ideology which has affected such a large geographical area is going to prove to be a difficult task.

This work mainly focuses on the works, lives and legacies of four Turkish Nationalist thinkers; Mehmet Ziya Gökalp, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız and Alparslan Türkeş. These four people were chosen because they represent their time and understanding of Turkish Nationalism in their time. Arguably, they are the four most important figures of Turkish Nationalism. In this work the aim is to elaborate more about the ideas of these thinkers and show the "family relation" between these four thinkers. As the work goes on, the comparing and contrasting will also be available. The relationship between their ideas and sometimes each other will be evident even though they come from different backgrounds and had quite different

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<sup>6</sup> Smith, Anthony D. "The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism", University Press of New England, Hanover, 2000, pg. 71

lives. Through this work a satisfactory understanding of the boundaries of Turkish Nationalism and how Turkish Nationalism is shaped can be formed.

Obviously, looking at language, identity, religion and the state structure are one of the most important aspects of the “Nation”. The works, especially the Kutad-gu Bilig gather a great knowledge of the Turkish oral traditions. Turks, have an oral tradition and which is, for example, unlike the Arabic tradition of memorizing and then reciting poems, but rather are like stories that are told by bards throughout the generations. The imagery of the Greywolf, Bluewolf, the Double-Headed Eagle, men wearing moustaches that are similar to the “Handlebar Moustache” of the West (because Turks of the past have traditionally wore this kind of moustache) have been repeated throughout the history of Turks and pictures of these “Symbol” animals can be seen on cave walls from two thousand years ago, as well as upon the walls of the Nationalist Movement Party’s offices. Today, the fairy tales, legends and stories (mostly known as the Dede Korkut stories) that were told to Turkish children 1500 years ago, are still told by grandfathers and grandmothers to their grandsons and granddaughters as bed time stories, all across the Turkic world, now.

The method of looking at Turkish Nationalism through the four thinkers, from four different eras and via four different people has been chosen to showcase the different aspects and the different roles that the elite have played. The contributions of all four thinkers have been unique and plentiful but due to the circumstances, their positions and the eras that they lived in, each has affected Turkish Nationalist thought in different ways. In this dissertation, by analyzing the discourse of four “elite” nationalists, “ideology” and “movement” are deconstructed and the effects of the elite can be viewed in a much clearer way.

The research question for this thesis is; “How has Turkish Nationalism evolved in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century?” While looking at its development after a brief look at the history of the Turkish people, the aim is to separate the Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish nation, the separation of the ideologues’ views and to look at how the Turkish people, themselves, view the “Turkish Nation”. This is bound to differ at certain points in history like with every nation. Especially in one, like the Turkish nation, which has spread and conquered so much and then lost a sizeable portion of it, then conquered it again.

Being a Turk and bearing the birthmarks of numerous historical events has proven to be traumatic enough. For example, one of the most important aspects of this discussion would be on how the roles played by Islam and Atatürk on the view of “the nation” affected the nation. Also, Atatürk’s, or more correctly the state’s, attempt to create a more secular view of nationalism are bound to have a great importance for one’s understanding of Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Nation.

The best way to look at the discourse of an ideologue is done through textual content analysis. Also, looking at how a thinker is perceived by others establishes an important factor in understanding the difficulties that an ideologue has to face. All the works of the four thinkers are in Turkish, so there are translation of some parts to English for the non-Turkish speaking reader to understand “some of the finer points” that might otherwise go unnoticed. This is particularly important as so many academic works have taken wrong turns because of translation mistakes, in the past.

The understanding of Turkish Nationalism also is important when viewing the state. As this research will mainly be focused on late Ottoman and the Republican Turkey, the research will mostly be conducted on these areas. The reason for choosing to conduct my research is simple; the rise of Turkish Nationalism started in late Ottoman times and Turkey has long been the only independent Turkic state, so enough maneuver room was given to Turkish Nationalism to grow. As a result, this thesis will mostly focus on the works of the four most prominent nationalist thinkers some of them also important political leaders in Turkey; Ziya Gökalp, Kemal Atatürk, Nihal Atsız and Alparslan Türkeş.

This dissertation starts with an introduction; where a brief overview of Turkish Nationalism is given. Then, the structure of the work is explained with brief explanations of the chapters and explaining why these elements are discussed. Then the goals and aims of the dissertation are put forward. In the second chapter, the work looks at the previous literature on the subject as well as discussing the reasoning behind the project and looking at its theoretical side of the work. With the next chapter the main body part of this thesis really begins, the spotlight turns to historical the events happening in Turkey (or Ottoman Turkey for the first one) like all the body

chapters. These brief summaries of events are added to the text in order to familiarize the reader with the Turkish “Zeitgeist”.

First, there is a brief intro discussing Yusuf Akcura and his work “Three styles of Politics” shortly (although, the chapter will focus primarily on Gokalp, Akcura’s work, as the first ideological text of Turkish Nationalism, is of paramount importance.), then Gokalp’s work and his discourse is analyzed as Gokalp attempts to formulate the basic tenants of Turkish Nationalism, his three components of nationalism namely, to be more Turk, to be more Islamic and to be more modern, and how his ideas have shaped Turkish Nationalism. After this chapter, the work focuses on the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the Turkish Independence War and the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. In this chapter, there are two different focus points. First is the reforms and changes that were conducted under Ataturk, as well as his legacy. As the founder and the first president of the state he held an immense power and as a staunch nationalist, he was certainly one of the most effective people in shaping not only Turkish Nationalism but also modern Turkey as well. Ataturk and his views have dominated the Turkish politics for almost two decades in this period. In the next chapter, this work focuses on a rather troublesome time for Turkish Nationalists the 1940’s. The leading nationalist figure of the time, Nihal Atsiz, is the focal point in this chapter, as his literary works are the special focus since he has provided a “soul” for the nationalists. The importance of his works can still be seen in Turkey today as the names he had Turkified (He was also a historian, so he turkified the Turkish names from foreign historical documents.) are still used in Turkey today. Also, the trials of 1944 are discussed in great detail as it has left a big scar on the nationalists and is an event of great importance in Turkish political history. When moved to the sixth chapter of this work, the focal point of this dissertation becomes Alparslan Turkes. Here his attempts to create a “movement” out of Turkish Nationalist thought is focused as his discourse is first introduced and then discussed in great detail. His formation of the Nationalist Movement Party (which is still the leading nationalist party in Turkey today) and the Nationalists’ struggle under civil war like conditions of 1970s are discussed at great length. Also whether this movement can be called a “neo-fascist” movement as

Poulton claims to be is another focal point in this chapter.<sup>7</sup> Then the critique and challenge chapter will illuminate the critique and the challenges that the nationalists have faced. It is vital to understand this in order to understand Turkish Nationalism. The final chapter is the analysis and conclusion chapter. After briefly looking at the events after the military coup of 1980, this chapter focuses on comparing and contrasting the discourse and actions of the “elite” of different times, and also aims to give a view of the “nation”.

There is a constant side theme in this work, although it is generally claimed by various writers and academicians<sup>8</sup> that there are two mainstream political movements in Turkey that can be simply considered “left” and “right, this work sets out to argue that there are in effect, three different streams of politics. As it has been speculated that the division came from Prince Sabahattin and Ahmet Riza or from Ataturk’s supporters and the second group in the first parliament of Ankara, or from Union and Progress and the Freedom and Alliance.<sup>9</sup> This work sets out to disprove this myth and establish that there are actually three mainstream movements in Turkish politics. Although evidences can be traced back longer, the best symbols of this divide are “the three victorious generals” of the Turkish Independence War. Instead of the dichotomy of an economically conservative, secular, patriotic, state oriented “left” and a decentralized, economically liberal, socially conservative “right”, this work advocates that the split is three ways. This work states that the nationalists are seen as the third stream in the politics. Hence, it is argued in this dissertation that best characterization of this split is the distinction between Ismet Inonu, Kazim Karabekir and Fevzi Cakmak.

Ismet Inonu was the prime minister of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk pretty much the entire time between 1923 and 1938 (Aside from a brief sickness period, when Ali Fethi Okyar took over for less than a year.). After the death of Kemal Ataturk, he took the positions of People’s Republican Party’s presidency and the Presidency of Turkey. At first he did not change a lot of the policies, but after solidifying his power he launched a scathing attack on Turkish Nationalists.<sup>10</sup> They were gathered and were put on a

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<sup>7</sup> Poulton, Hugh, “Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic Top Hat Grey Wolf And Crescent”, London, Hurst, 1997 Pg. 164

<sup>8</sup> Kucukomer, Idris, “Anilar ve Dusunceler”, Baglam, Istanbul, 1994, pg. 130

<sup>9</sup> Uyar, Hakki, “Turk siyasal yaşamında cephelesmelere bir ornek: Vatan Cephesi”, Boyut, Istanbul, 2012, pg. 19

<sup>10</sup> Bali, Rifat, “Tabutluklar, Sansaryan Han ve Iki Emniyet Muduru”, Libra, Istanbul, 2001, pg. 67

trial, although they were later acquitted, they were tortured and held in custody in horrible conditions.<sup>11</sup> In the 1970s, Inonu described his position in political spectrum as “left of the center”, especially with encouragement from Bulent Ecevit (People’s Republican Party’s general secretary at the time) who would later on be the leading figure of social democrat, secular “left”.<sup>12</sup> People’s Republican Party was replaced by Social Democrat Populist Party and Democratic Left Party for a brief period in the 1980s and 1990s but returned to prominence after the elections of 2002 as the leading party of “left”. Even if different parties became the party of the “left”, there were not significant differences in party politics.

However when looking at “right”, one would see a different set up and/or leaning. Although the origins of it can be traced back to Prince Sabahattin and/or to Freedom and Alliance Party, one of the best examples of people who followed this line of political thought was Kazım Karabekir. He was instrumental in setting up of the Progress Loving Republican Party. He also became the party’s president.<sup>13</sup> This party was closed later on however, “center-right” parties with similar ideologies have dominated Turkish politics for decades. Later on the center, right parties have changed (Most prominent ones being; Democrat Party, Justice Party, Motherland Party, True Path Party and Justice and Development Party) but the core set up and ideology have remained similar. “Center Right” have been traditionally made up of conservatives and liberals. Although these terms usually have opposite meanings in Western Politics, in Turkey, these two groups have joined forces against “the left” which is seen to be the “establishment”. In today’s Turkey, Justice and Development Party which is slowly trying to turn Turkey into a dominant party system is also a continuation of this stream of parties. When Justice and Development party is in question, obviously along with the “three streams” hypothesis questions are going to be asked; “What about the Islamist currents and/or movements?” or “How come there is no mainstream political stream reserved especially for the Islamists?” This seems like a valid question. However, it should be kept in mind that Islamists as a political force only were able to organize after 1970 and even then, they have managed to get more than ten percent of the vote only thrice (just by themselves). Their parties during this time were National

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid, pg. 69

<sup>12</sup> Turkan, Reha Oguz, “Turkculugun Esaslari Yukselen Milliyetcilik”, Pozitif, Istanbul 1997, pg. 232

<sup>13</sup> Findley, Carter, “Modern Turkiye Tarihi”, Timas, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 250

Order Party, National Salvation Party, Welfare Party and Felicity Party. The Islamists were led by their charismatic leader Necmettin Erbakan and after he was not healthy enough to join political activities, the political lifespan of the Islamists as a force in Turkish politics seems to be complete. Obviously, one might wonder, whether the Justice and Development Party is an Islamist party or not. This is also a valid question since a lot of the founders came from Erbakan's movement. However, long-time president of the party Recep Tayyip Erdogan stated that "He had taken the National View (The name for Islamist Movement) shirt off."<sup>14</sup> As a result, the political position of Justice and Development Party should be viewed with in the same lines of Democrat Party, Justice Party and Motherland Party tradition of "center right". As there is an obvious shift to "right" in Turkish electorate after 1980, combining the votes of "center right" and the Islamist movement into one party just like Adnan Menderes (President of Democrat Party) and Turgut Ozal (President of the Motherland Party) did prove very rewarding for the Justice and Development party. This resulted just like it did in Menderes' and Ozal's time as being able to form a government without needing a coalition.<sup>15</sup>

The third, and the most important regarding this work, political stream is the "Nationalists". Although, it has been argued to be on the side of "left" by "center right" and on the side of "center right" by left. It can be argued that it is the result of having traditionally (usually) the smallest electorate and from being seen as the middle ground between "center right" and the "left". Fevzi Cakmak who was the honorary President of the Nation Party can be considered the figurehead of this movement. Although economic perspective of this movement have slightly changed over the course of time, its key components of Turkish Nationalism, traditional conservatism and progressivism have stayed same. Even the actual party started by Fevzi Cakmak and his colleagues have managed to stay as the same party; Nation Party reopened as Republican Nation Party after its closure by Democrat Party, then the party merged with Turkey Villagers Party and was renamed Republican Villager Nation Party, then in 1969 the party changed its name to Nationalist Movement Party. After Nationalist Movement Party was closed as a result of the military coup of 1980, the party opened up was named

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<sup>14</sup> Gomlek Kavgasi, 2003, May 22, Milliyet retrieved from; <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2003/05/22/siyaset/asiy.html>

<sup>15</sup> Findley, Carter, "Modern Turkiye Tarihi", Timas, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 418



Conservative Party but it was vetoed so the new party set up was called Nationalist Work Party then the name reverted back to Nationalist Movement Party. Even with the closing of the party due to court decisions and/or military coups, “the party of the nationalists” have stayed the same since it was set up by Fevzi Cakmak, Yusuf Hikmet Bayur and Osman Bolukbasi. There hadn’t been a domination of the “nationalist” politics by different competing people and/or parties like in the case of Motherland Party (Turgut Ozal) vs True Path Party (Suleyman Demirel) in the 1990s for “center right” or Social Democratic Populist Party (Later People’s Republican Party) (Erdal Inonu and Deniz Baykal) vs Democratic Left Party (Bulent Ecevit) in the 1990s. Even the breakaway Great Union Party was never a threat to the dominance of Nationalist Movement Party in nationalist politics as the latter has always been much more successful electorally. The Nation Party started out as an advocate of a relatively liberal economy.<sup>16</sup> The party gradually became conservative economically and firstly became “Turkist-Socialist” and then “solidarist-corporatist” as advised by Ziya Gokalp decades before.<sup>17</sup> After the collapse of the Soviet Union however, the anti-capitalist views of the Nationalists softened somewhat and currently Nationalist Movement Party is advocating a social market economic system.<sup>18</sup> Although the attitude towards the economics have been undecided at first, it can be said that a third way or a centrist position has been prevalent for most of the time during the nationalist’s political journey. However, it must be noted that changes in the last fifty years have been really slight. For all these reasons, throughout this work there will be evidences of the struggle of the nationalists against electorally stronger groups of “left” and “center right”.

When looking at this work, it should always be kept in mind that “the nation” by its nature is bound to change. As a result, it should be kept in mind that “Nationalism” itself is bound to change.

The change is not only in nation and nationalism but also in the concept of “homeland”. For example, Turks as nomadic people for centuries “the land” did not

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<sup>16</sup> Zurcher, Erik Jan, “Modernlesen Turkiye’nin Tarihi”, Iletisim, Istanbul, pg. 325

<sup>17</sup> Findley, Carter, “Modern Turkiye Tarihi”, Timas, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 237

<sup>18</sup> Turkes, Yildirim Tugrul, (Tugrulturkes). “Sosyal piyasa ekonomisi hem üreticinin, hem de tüketicinin yararını gozetir.” “Social market economy look out for the interests of both the producer and the consumer”, 21th of October 2014, 04:52 am, Tweet

hold a huge importance (with a few exceptions) but after Turks stopped being nomads, land became one of the most important signifiers of homeland. The change is evident throughout this work as the timeline begins in a time when one of the biggest empires of history, Ottoman Empire, is on the verge of collapse. Timeline continues with a war of national liberation and setting up a new state, a republic. As it moves on we get to see the upheaval in a neutral country during the Second World War. Then a “border country” in the cold war facing near civil war conditions can be viewed. As Ottoman Empire and Turkey went through very tumultuous times during the timeline chosen for this study, the effects of the events are vital to understanding the thinking and the movements that have shaped today’s Turkish Nationalism.

### **Development of Turkish Nationalists**

To understand Turkish Nationalism better, it is a good idea to look at the background and have an idea about the events that Turkish Nationalists took part in. It is vital for understanding the situations in order to understand the symbolisms and discourse of Turkish Nationalism.

First appearance of “Turks” in history have been with the emergence of Xiongnu. Xiongnu was considered to be the superordinate identity up to the Gokturks according to Tasagil. Tasagil states that although the names have changed over time until the Gokturks, “Turks” kept a distinct identity living between the Altai and Ural mountains.<sup>19</sup> As a result, it can be stated that “Turks” have gained their identity as Altaic elements coming together because of their similar characteristics as a confederation of tribes and as the people of a “Steppe State”. With the new “supra identity” “Turks” have had a chance to feel belonging to a greater togetherness.

After this Turks have founded many different “Steppe States”, from the Western Huns to Gokturk Empire. Starting from the eighth century however, Turks have met Islam and have become Muslims in increasing numbers. This has caused a change in the attitudes of Turks and “Steppe States” have gradually turned into Turko-Islamic states which were much less nomadic than their predecessors. After Ghaznavids,

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<sup>19</sup> Tasagil, Ahmet. “Kok Tengri’nin Cocukları”. Istanbul, Bilge, 2013, pg. 42.

Great Seljuk Empire rose and conquered Anatolia in late eleventh century and until today, Turks have been ruling Anatolia.

Despite founding and being the fundamental element of the Ottoman Empire, Turks have never tried impose “Turkishness” throughout the rule of the Empire. After, the waves of nationalism (Serbian, Greek etc.) hit the Empire, Turkish Nationalism began to formulate itself as a political ideology. Even if he cannot be considered as the first thinker of the Turkish Nationalism, Namık Kemal has influenced the nationalists a lot. Through his works as a poet, writer and a playwright, he has helped to create a “nationalist sentiment” in the intelligentsia of the time. There have been many reform movements in the middle of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire in an attempt to curb these “waves” of Nationalism and to create an “Ottoman” identity. This has led to the first written Turkish constitution in 1876. Although, it was short lived and the constitution was scrapped from affect in 1878. There was a spread of “Islamism” in an attempt to at least keep “control” of the Muslim subjects of the empire.

The Party of Union and Progress (Ittihat ve Terakki), was founded in 1889 as an underground organization. This party aimed to re-establish the constitution. In 1904, Yusuf Akcura published “Three types of Politics” (Uc tarz-i Siyaset) this is the first written ideological piece of Turkish Nationalism. The idea of Turkish Nationalism was formulated as a full on ideology by Ziya Gokalp at the first and second decades of twentieth century. Also, Russia became more authoritarian during the same time and as a result there was a big migration of Turkic intelligentsia who have come to Turkey to introduce nationalist and Pan-Turkist ideas. In 1908, various “Freedomist” factions led by Party of Union and Progress finally achieved their goal of establishing the second constitutional monarchy. This has allowed the thoughts of nationalist thinkers such as Gokalp to flourish. The reactionary counter-revolution attempt was to be suppressed and the Party of Union and Progress became more powerful as a result of the elections in 1912. Though, with the loss at the Balkan war, the power of Union and Progress started to wane. This resulted in the military coup of 1913 and a triumvirate of Union and Progress members namely, Enver Pasha, Cemal Pasha and Talat Pasha took control of the Empire. This was important as ideological “Turkish Nationalists” had their first chance to come to power through Union and Progress. Until

the end of 1918, Union and Progress was in control of the entire Empire. However, seeing this time as “The first grand application of Turkish Nationalism” might be unfair since the state was in a state of war for pretty much the entire time.

Union and Progress should be credited for grooming the people who were the leaders during the Turkish independence war. Especially, the generals Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Fevzi Pasha, Kazım Pasha and Nureddin Ibrahim Pasha were prominent member of Union and Progress and were the most important commanders in the fight against the invading forces of Armenians, British, Italians, French and the Greeks. With the end of the First World War, Ottoman Empire met its long awaited demise, especially with the collapse of its allies Germany, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. Stepping up were the Turkish Nationalist officers of the time led by Mustafa Kemal. After gaining support through congresses in Anatolia, a new parliament was set up in Ankara in 1920. New elections were held and the representatives who won the elections with the representatives who were able to escape Istanbul in time to avoid getting arrested by the occupying British forces formed the new National Assembly. In this new assembly, which comprised of Islamists, Ottomanists and Nationalists, Turkish Nationalists managed to gain the upper hand in the parliament. However, it should be kept in mind that except the collaborators, people from various ideological and political backgrounds have helped the Independence war.

After the war was won, it was time for the Republic to be set up, but before elaboration about the Republic, a little mention to the Basmaci movement in Central Asia must be made. Basmaci movement was formed as a result of the power vacuum in Central Asia during the Russian defeat in the First World War and the Russian Revolution. The goal of that movement was to unite Turkistan under one banner. The Basmaci movement was successful at first but as the Red Army gained strength, the movement fizzled out. As a result, a lot of the thinkers behind the Basmaci movement who were Pan-Turkists had to flee to Turkey. This coupled with the Russification policies of the Soviet Union resulted in a massive migration of Turkish Nationalist thinkers such as Zeki Velidi Togan, Sadri Maksudi Arsal and Abdulkadir Inan to Turkey.

In 1920s, even though the newly established, Republic of Turkey seems to have dropped the Pan-Turkist narrative for the political realities of the time, in internal politics Turkish Nationalism was never given up on. People's Republican Party was established. It can also be easily said that ideas of secularism and enlightenment was an integral part of the Turkish Nationalists' agenda at the time. Nationalist symbolism was used frequently during this time, especially "Greywolf" imagery was used everywhere from government owned oil company to cigarette packs. The reforms undertaken in this time such as women's voting rights, standardization of Turkish Language and a move for industrialization finally brought Turkey into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This attempt at "rehabilitating" the country was conducted by Turkish Nationalists. Although some of the reforms were criticized most of them are still in existence today.

After the death of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the attitudes of the state towards the nationalists have begun to change. Most of the Turkish Nationalists (including the Prime Minister of Turkey Sukru Saracoglu) have supported the Axis in Second World War. This is often used against the nationalists in the media and the academia of today, however it should be kept in mind that during the war, no one was aware of the Holocaust, (at least the "final solution" gas chamber aspect of it) the Soviet Union which already ruled over millions of Turks outside and Turkey was eager to regain its land lost to Turkey after WWI and Germans were the allies of Turks in WWI. After the loss of the Battle of Stalingrad by the German army, the atmosphere in Turkey has changed and Turkish Nationalists (Turkists) started to get prosecuted. Many Turkists were arrested and charged with "racism and pan-Turkism". They were tortured using various method, the most famous one being put into "coffins" (coffin sized rooms). This led to the first rallies of the young Republic in 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1944. The Nationalists were charged with being pan-Turkists and they did not deny this, however after a few years the charges were dropped and they were let go.

The 1940s was the time where various journals dominated the Turkist political spectrum. Huseyin Nihal Atsiz and Reha Oguz Turkkan were the most famous of the publishers. The journals included; stories, historical research and political articles. These journals were mostly read by university students, so this allowed a well-educated cadre of young Nationalists to be active in Turkey.

After Turkey finally had a stable multi-party system starting from 1946, it took two years for a group of economically (relatively) liberal Turkish Nationalists to set up their own party called the “Nation Party” (Millet Partisi). The party included important political figures such as Fevzi Pasha (Cakmak), Osman Bolukbasi and Yusuf Hikmet Bayur. This party came third in its first election. This was the first open showing of the “three currents in Turkish Politics”. As the Nation Party was led by Fevzi Cakmak, People’s Republican Party was led by Ismet Inonu and Democrat Party, which acted as a “spiritual successor” to “Progress loving Republican Party” (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası) which was led by Kazim Karabekir. These parties would be the precursor for the most of the bigger political parties that will dominate the Turkish politics.

Nation Party was formed and supported by Turkish Nationalists and Osman Bolukbasi who became the chairman of the party two years after its formation has proved to be an enigmatic figure for the two “bigger” parties. He was a great orator, and was a very loud opponent of the two parties. This led to party’s closure by courts which were controlled by the increasingly authoritative Democrat Party, on the grounds of “being against secularism”. After the Nation Party party was banned “Republican Nation Party” (Cumhuriyetci Millet Partisi) was set up. Also, Kirsehir, the city, where the Nation Party was the most successful was demoted from a city to a town. Nevertheless, Bolukbasi managed to get elected into parliament by raising his vote share more than two percent. He had to take his oath in the jail because he was still imprisoned and in order to protest his arrest he took his oath wearing his pajamas instead of a suit.<sup>20</sup> Later on his party merged with the agrarian “Turkey Villager Party” (Turkiye Koylu Partisi) in order to increase its strength and renamed his party as “Republican Villager Nation Party” (Cumhuriyetci Koylu Miller Partisi).

The nationalists in the army were also organizing at the same time. After learning that there was going to be a coup attempt against the increasingly authoritarian Democrat Party, they decided to join and take control of the coup. The coup attempt was successful and the leader of the Nationalist group, Alparslan Turkes who was one

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<sup>20</sup> Bolukbasi, Deniz, “Osman Bolukbasi: Turk Siyasetinde Anadolu Firtinasi”, Istanbul, Dogan Kitap Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 99

of the Pan-Turkists to be trialed in 1944, achieved a position equal to the prime ministership in the junta. This shows that Turkish Nationalism was deeply rooted in the Turkish armed forces. These officers tried to impose nationalist policies. However, the nationalist group was outmaneuvered and its members were sent on exile-like missions to various different countries as military attaches.

After the military coup of 1960, there was a short time where Republican Villager Nation Party was a member of the coalition government, but until the middle of 1960s, there were not many changes, until the return of the nationalist officers to Turkey. They entered politics in the Republican Villager Nation Party and changed its name to “Nationalist Movement Party” (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi) in 1969. With these new changes, the party became an ideological party centered on the principles of “Nine Lights” (Dokuz Isik). This has drifted the party away from the socially conservative and economically liberal (relatively) position of 1950s and socially liberal (relatively) economically conservative position of 1960s. “Turkist Socialism” (Turkcu Toplumculuk) was denounced and Nine Lights became the doctrine that the party stood upon. This period also saw the party distance itself from the Turkists of the 1940s somewhat. The new rhetoric of the party was more open to religious conservatives as the party chose the three crescent as its party logo and the Greywolf only as its’ youth wing logo.<sup>21</sup> The formation of Nationalist Movement party and its openness to religious conservatives have finally changed the party from a nationalist conservative party to a “movement” party.<sup>22</sup> In this party nationalism became the driving force and the nine lights ideology was to be seen as the doctrine of the movement. Turkes and his friends attempted to take Turkish Nationalism from the “elites” to the “people”. Although, electorally relatively successful Republican Villager Nation Party and its predecessors were usually seen as the “third party” in a two party dominant system and its voter base was relatively shaky. Nationalist Movement Party aimed to represent and mobilize the youth and especially the youth who were not politicized previously. It can be argued that this move cost Nationalists vote in the short term but built a sturdy foundation for its constant growing voter base in 1970s.

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<sup>21</sup> Poulton, Hugh, “Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic Top Hat Grey Wolf And Crescent”, London, Hurst, 1997, Pg. 140

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, pg. 139

Starting from the second half of 1960's saw the rise of left wing extremism, soon the Nationalists were out on the street fighting against the radical left wing groups.<sup>23</sup> The entire decade of 1970s was in civil war like conditions in Turkey. Violent fights, shootings, attacking neighborhoods, divided towns and divided families were a common sight. In these conditions and after the transformation of the party to Nationalist Movement Party, the vote share of the party constantly increased. Also, during this time a new party "National Order Party" (Milli Nizam Partisi) was established. This party (and its successors) were advocating Islamist policies. This further fragmented "the right" and many coalition governments were formed during the 1970s in Turkey.

The Turkish army by showing the street violence as the reason conducted a military coup in 1980. Political activists from both camps (Left and Nationalists) were detained and tortured. Even some of them were hung. This coup also tried to change the political built of the country. The parties seen as "successors" to active political parties in the 1970s were not allowed to be opened and with a new electoral threshold of ten percent was introduced in order to stop the "radical" parties from gaining seats. Nationalists tried to organize under the name "Conservative Party" (Muhafazakar Parti), which can be viewed as a tongue in cheek reference to the Conservative Party of the United Kingdom as the generals stated that they wanted a Britain like two party system, but this party was vetoed by the junta. After the restrictions were loosened in time, the nationalists gathered under "Nationalist Labor Party" (Milliyetci Calisma Partisi). The vote totals of the party dropped to its levels in the early 1970s but it gradually started to increase. To avoid being left out of the parliament, Nationalist Labor Party had an electoral alliance with the Islamist "Welfare Party" (Refah Partisi).<sup>24</sup> This allowed nineteen Nationalists to be elected into the parliament in Welfare Party's lists. This alliance was dubbed as the "Holy Alliance" by the media. After getting elected, Nationalist members of parliament set up the "Democratic Movement Party" (Demokratik Hareket Partisi) and joined the Nationalist Labor Party. Turkes then tried to distance the Movement from Islamist politics. As a result, there was a split in the party with some of the more religiously conservative Nationalists broke off and formed

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid. pg. 139

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. pg. 151



“Great Union Party” (Buyuk Birlik Partisi). However, it should be noted that Great Union Party has never been electorally successful in its history up to today. Great Union Party was formed by a more radically Islamist faction of the part. The dissolution of the Soviet Union have caused a great deal of joy for Turkish Nationalists and have flared up Pan-Turkist feelings in Turkey. Especially, Ebulfeyz Elcibey in Azerbaijan had a great relation with Alparslan Turkes and Turkey. After only little over a year, he was overthrown by Haydar Aliyev in a military coup. Finally, with the revoke of the ban of “old party names”, Nationalist Labor Party returned to its old name Nationalist Movement Party. After closely missing out passing the threshold in 1995 and the death of Alparslan Turkes in 1997, it was expected that the movement will fizzle out, according to Poulton.<sup>25</sup> Actually, Poulton could not have been more wrong as in 1999 Nationalists or “The Nationalist Party” came second in the elections, for the first time. The new president of Nationalist Movement Party, Devlet Bahceli has been electorally successful. Despite the fact that the Nationalist Movement Party was absent from the parliament between 2002 and 2007, due to the abnormal elections of 2002 where only two parties were able to pass the electoral threshold, Since 2007, Nationalist Movement Party has been in the parliament and widely established itself as the “third power” (Coming behind “Justice and Development Party” [Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi] and “People’s Republican Party”) in Turkish politics.

### **Reasons behind choosing this subject**

Obviously when deciding to choose one’s topic for PhD dissertation the thought process takes a long time. This project’s subject has also has taken a lot of time to decide. The hesitations about studying and writing about Turkish Nationalism in a non-Turkish institution with a non-Turkish supervisor was certainly existent. However when all factors were weighed in it was the sensible decision.

Turkish Nationalism and Turkish Nationalists are usually not very well known or understood out of Turkey (or the Turkic world). There is an aura of mists and there are more stories than facts on the subject. Also, it is clear that after studying this subject for some years, there is certainly a lack of English language sources on this topic.

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid. pg. 167

Also, the most serious ones written are usually from the point of an outsider and while being an outsider sometimes gives a unique neutrality, other times it causes the author to miss some of the finer points intentionally or unintentionally depending on the author.

If one was to look at the book written by Hugh Poulton named “Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic Top Hat Grey Wolf and Crescent”, the book that has been advised to the writer of this work as the “go to book” by so many different people that it would lead one to think it was a perfect book in many way, it is unavoidable to see the obvious mistakes and biases. The author of this book, Poulton, for one reason or another apparently holds a grudge against the nationalists. The chapter dedicated to Nationalist Movement Party is named the “Greywolf: The Pan-Turkist Fringe”<sup>26</sup> referring to the Nationalists as a “fringe” where in reality as discussed earlier it is one of the electorally most successful political movement in Republic of Turkey’s political history. Poulton does the classical trick by accusing Turkish Nationalists (or Pan-Turkists as he refers to them) to be Nazi sympathizers during the Second World War. Without giving any detail why these people might be supporting the Nazis during WW2, it is unfair to judge them. Then, the Republican Villager Party is mentioned as “...a small conservative party” then it is mentioned that it got fourteen percent of the vote making it the third biggest party in the parliament.<sup>27</sup> Then there is also no mention to this party’s nationalist roots or the party’s founder Fevzi Cakmak, a great figure to this day for the Turkish Nationalists. Obviously, concepts of “small” and “big” are relative but in all honesty, calling a party which got fourteen percent of the vote and came third in the last election “small” is unjustified by all means. Then, there is the issue of translation of the party’s name. Unfortunately, this translation mistake is done in many different works. The party’s original name in Turkish is “Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi”, Poulton decides to translate it as “Nationalist Action Party”<sup>28</sup> which is simply wrong. The word “Hareket” in Turkish (its origins are Arabic) has two meanings one is “action” and the other one is “movement”. As a native speaker of Turkish, it is easily understood that here the word “Hareket” must be translated as “movement”, also Nationalist Movement Party, in its official English language website

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid, pg. 130

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, pg. 139

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, pg. 140

calls itself “Nationalist Movement Party”.<sup>29</sup> Whereas action in Oxford dictionary action is defined as “The fact or process of doing something, typically to achieve an aim.”<sup>30</sup> Movement is defined as “A campaign undertaken by a political, social or artistic movement.”<sup>31</sup> Then, Poulton goes on to accuse the Nationalist Movement Party of being a racist party, trying to prove his claim with “proof” from the martial law courts of the 1980’s military coup.<sup>32</sup> Basing one’s arguments on the accounts of courts of a military junta would not be viewed very objective, in today’s academic world. As the chapter goes on, Poulton attempts to label the Nationalist Movement Party as a “fascist” movement and tries to compare Turkes to Jean Marie Le Pen.<sup>33</sup> However, the quote he takes from J.J. Linz in order to prove the fascism of “Turkes” fails him and he tries to justify by stating “even here there is some doubt as to Turkes’ sincerity in Islam...”<sup>34</sup> Here, it is obvious that he is claiming to read minds and judging someone else’s sincerity in believing a religion or not. He finishes up his chapter by stating that the prospects of the Nationalist Movement Party look worse by each day.<sup>35</sup> Then he finishes up by stating that the Islamist movement in Turkey is going to be a bigger threat to the Nationalists by each passing day and the Islamists’ votes will increase so much that Nationalists would be pushed out of the political spectrum.<sup>36</sup> However, just two years after this book was published, there was a general election in Turkey in 1999 which proved all the predictions of Poulton wrong. In the elections in 1999, for the first time “The nationalists’ Party” came second and beat the Islamists by two and a half percent. Despite all these facts, Poulton’s book is still considered to be one of the best books on Turkish Nationalism in English language.

Apart from non-Turkish people like Hugh Poulton, there are few important Turkish political scientists who have worked on Turkish Nationalism and published in English language. One of the academics that I have viewed extensively before starting this dissertation was Tanil Bora.

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<sup>29</sup> Can be viewed at: [http://www.mhp.org.tr/mhp\\_dil.php?dil=en](http://www.mhp.org.tr/mhp_dil.php?dil=en)

<sup>30</sup> “Action”, Def. 1, Oxford Dictionaries Online, Oxford Dictionaries, n.d. 1.11.2014

<sup>31</sup> “Movement”, Def. 2, Oxford Dictionaries Online, Oxford Dictionaries, n.d. 1.11.2014

<sup>32</sup> Poulton, Hugh, “Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic Top Hat Grey Wolf And Crescent”, London, Hurst, 1997, pg. 153

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, pg. 164

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, pg. 164

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, pg. 166

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, pg. 167

Tanil Bora who has worked extensively on Turkish Nationalism and the Nationalist Movement Party, like Poulton is widely biased against Turkish Nationalism. In an interview he has given to Gorunum newspaper he has stated that “Nationalism is adolescence that does not pass.”<sup>37</sup> Obviously, as every academician Bora is entitled to his personal opinions, however being so condescending about an ideology and then working on it is unlikely to produce very neutral articles. Opposing an ideology so radical that calling it “adolescence” is bound to create problems for the researcher. It is obvious that this sort of an attitude would lead the reader to question the neutrality of the narrative prepared by someone like Tanil Bora.

As stated earlier that this work aims to fill a literature gap in English language academia in an attempt to “describe” and analyze Turkish Nationalism, its discourse and affects while separating “the elite” and “the nation”. This work sets out to be as neutral as possible, trying to avoid the biases and the mistakes of the discussed academicians. Also, this work covers a relatively long time frame in an attempt to cover around seventy five years of development in Turkey and Turkish Nationalism. Although, Turkish Nationalism is a subject that has been worked on, in Turkish language, “the family relation” of the “thinkers” have not been satisfactorily discussed. The evolution of the discourse has been usually disregarded by the academicians. Also, thinking “The Nationalists” as the third force in Turkish politics have not been extensively discussed, as this work aims to do so. This work sets out to tackle the problem of being under and misrepresentation of Turkish Nationalism (as an ideology) and Turkish Nationalists (Both as a part of “nation” and “elite [thinkers]”). This work sets out to be as objective as possible, trying to push aside stigmas and prejudices that are available in various works.

This work aims to address the deficiencies that are very visible in English language academic literature by attempting to introduce the English language world to the world and the journey of Turkish Nationalism and its evolution through various tumultuous times Turkey (and Ottoman Empire) has gone through.

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<sup>37</sup> Kose, Arife, “Tanil Bora: Milliyetçilik Gecmeyen Ergenliktir.”, Gorunum, Ankara, 15.3.2012, Gorunum Gazetesi, web, 1.11.2014

The importance of Turkish Nationalism both as an ideology and a movement is undebatable in the world of today, I think. Turkic world today is made up of seven different countries and a population over two hundred million shows the importance by itself.

Obviously, there were many challenges to be faced while looking at a subject, such as the ones stated earlier. The biggest challenge faced was that almost all of the primary sources are in Turkish and there is a constant need to translate from Turkish to English. As discussed above, wrong translations might tend to cause severe difficulties for the reader. So, in this work translations have been done meticulously to avoid mistakes and misunderstandings. Moreover, the fact that, work on the discourse of Turkish Nationalists in English language academic literature is rather few, is bound to create difficulties and limited the research somewhat. However, an attempt at an in depth analysis of some of the previously published works is carried out before the writing up of this dissertation in order to combat this issue was made. Naturally, any topic chosen for a PhD dissertation is bound have its challenges and working on the discourse of Turkish Nationalism is not exempt from this.

In this chapter, the aim was to give a little bit of background information about the work in general. While defining the aims and themes of the dissertation, the reasoning behind the choice of the subject and the method of approach was also discussed in an attempt to familiarize the reader with the dissertation's further chapters. So in total, there was an introduction to the topic, then it was followed by the aspects that should be taken into consideration. There was also a brief history of Turkish Nationalists. Finally the chapter ends with the reasons for choosing this subject and the obstacles one might face while looking at this topic.

## **Aims and Goals, Methodology, Theory and Literature Review**

*“Unity in Language, Thought and Labor!”*

*-Ismail Gaspirali*

The main aim of this work is showing the evolution of Turkish Nationalism between 1890 and 1980. While describing what Turkish Nationalism is through the works of four thinkers, which are focused on in this work, the work tries to separate the “movement” from the “ideology” two ontologically different concepts. In this work different aspects and trends of Turkish Nationalism would be discussed. Obviously, the role of different elements such as race, religion (Islam), economics etc. increase and decrease in different eras.

The reason for choosing this specific subject to work on lied under the fact that the study of this topic (especially in English) has been very limited. Except, Hugh Doulton’s book “Top Hat, Grey Wolf, Crescent” there has never been an extensive work covering the issues addressed in this work. Even the book by Doulton, as it is conducted by someone from outside of Turkey, misses to see some finer points (and sometimes very clear ones) that are very visible to a local’s eyes. The works of some “Turkish” academicians also suffer from an obvious bias and although one would have expect this bias to be one that favors the Turkish Nationalists and Turkish Nationalism, in reality it is the exact opposite. Unfortunately, the hatred towards Turkish Nationalism and Turkish Nationalists is so dense in some works that it has somehow evolved even into name calling. In today’s academia, unfortunately, when writing articles some authors tend to invent facts to serve their needs. I think this a point that needs to be elaborated. For example, Daniel Baracksay, the author of the book “The Palestine Liberation Organization; Terrorism and Prospects for peace in the Holy Land” in page one hundred and forty eighth page of his book states that “The Neo-Fascist Turkish Youth Organization known as ‘Grey Wolves’ became the first foreign terrorist group to attend PLO training in Lebanon.”<sup>38</sup> To set up a bold sentence like this, one would need

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<sup>38</sup> Baracksay, Daniel, “The Palestine Liberation Organization Terrorism and Prospects for Peace in the Holy Land”, Prager, Santa Barbara, California, 2011, pg. 146

to stand on solid ground. However, this sentence lacks to do so and therefore is very problematic to state the least. First of all, “The Grey Wolves” or more commonly known in Turkey as “The Idealist Youth” are the members of the youth wing of the legal and legitimate political party called The Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi – MHP). This party has been in Turkish political life for over four decades and has come second in elections once and has been a part of coalition governments numerous times in the past. Therefore, to call the youth wing of a “mainstream” political party, a terrorist organization is not very academic to say the least. Moreover, the main idea of the sentence claiming that the Grey Wolves trained in PLO camps in Lebanon is absurd, because there are no sources, citations or a witness. The bigger problem arises after the book gets published. Someone who is working in the area of Turkish Nationalism would be able to reach this sentence. If this person is to “badmouth” Turkish Nationalism, this “invented” sentence with made up facts is a gold mine. Then the sentence will be referred to by “Baracksay argues that...” then the sentence will be used by a third person as “Baracksay and ... agree that ...” which will cause the unfounded claims of Baracksay to “snowball” into “a reality widely accepted by academia”. This is what this work tries to stay away from. Another similar problem with regarding to the works on Turkish Nationalism is due to the biases of the authors again. This is revealing and concealing the facts as they please and see fit. A good example of this is the sentence that is usually mentioned, when a work is about Alparslan Turkes is the fact that he supported the Axis camp during the Second World War. Although, this may or may not be true, the truth is irrelevant. This sentence alone is shown to “illustrate” the tendency of Alparslan Turkes to have “fascist” and/or “neo-fascist” inclinations. However, a big portion of the truth is hidden. As it is very well known that Ottoman Turkey was an ally of Germany and together they fought against the Entente which signed the Sykes-Picot Agreement to divide the Ottoman lands’. As a result, a sizeable portion of the Turkish society, at the time, supported the Germans especially against the Stalinist Soviet Union which ruled over millions of Turkic people. Also, the Holocaust was unknown at the time and Turkes along with the rest of the world was unaware of it. If it is compared to anything, it can be best compared to watching a football match, that your favorite team is not playing, but your arch-rivals are. Obviously one tends to support the team which is playing against your arch-rival. For the reasons stated above, one can only find a sentence like “Turkes supported the Nazis during the Second World War” outside Turkey, because if one would try to state

the same in Turkey, it would certainly gain no negative reaction. In Turkey, general public's knowledge about the Holocaust was very limited at best.

The research in to both the "ideology" and "movement" of Turkish Nationalism is done through looking at the works of the four ideologues. The works of these thinkers obviously have affected the thought of the nationalist masses but also the nationalist masses and the situation of the nationalism of "the time" have affected their work.

One of the main goals of this research is to separate the Turkish Nationalist thought and the movement and give the context of it while looking at the effects of the discourse to the movement and the effects of the movement to the discourse. This is important because the theory and the movement of a thought system are always ontologically different. While the theory of the ideology has certainly changed over time, the movement has also certainly changed as it competed with rival ideologies of Socialism, social democracy, liberalism and conservatism etc. The gains and losses of Turkish Nationalism in the political sphere are also discussed on a period covering nearly a century. It is also an imperative element of this work to note the effect of the competing ideologies on the discourse of Turkish Nationalism. Turkish Nationalism and its discourse have constantly been affected by its rivals sometimes was positioned to be a reactionary force against another ideology who tried to hegemonize the political system in Turkey.

Moreover, in this work the reader gets a chance to see Turkish Nationalism in the driving seat of the country, during the presidency of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and see the effect it had on the society and how much of paradigm shift that Turkish Nationalism has caused not only in Turkey, but all throughout the world. Then, we see the Huseyin Nihal Atsiz who have become a public enemy and vilified by the state because of his nationalist thoughts. The work gets wrapped up with Alparslan Turkes competing in a fierce multi-party political system in a period of turmoil. This is important for the analysis of the discourse and the movement since as a result of different



conditions and historical realities, Turkish Nationalism's different sides and characteristics can be viewed as a result as well as how the ideas' and the movements' change from being in power to becoming vilified to becoming a competing political movement.

Along with these, obviously one question stands out "What is Turkish Nationalism?" Is it the romantic novels of Nihal Atsiz? Is it Kemal Ataturk's naming of the first nationally produced cigarettes "Grey Wolf"? Is it the fiery speeches of Alparslan Turkes or is it a million people gathering in Ankara to show support for the Nationalist Movement Party? Or is it a combination of all of them? This research aims to get the best answer it can. This attempt to look for what Turkish Nationalism is one of the main aims of this work.

Another important component of this dissertation is the principle that Ziya Gokalp set up for Turkish Nationalists, to keep Turkism, Islamism and Modernism as the three big goals. In this work, a demonstration of the roles that Turkism, Islam and modernism play in the works of the thinkers of Turkish Nationalism is discussed. As it can be seen throughout time the importance of one of the three elements have increased or decreased or one element out of the three have been completely deserted in favor of the other two. It also significant to look how the movement and the nationalist affected the thinkers in planning their ideas regarding these three elements set up by Ziya Gokalp.

The method of textual analysis was chosen as the first and foremost method of this dissertation because it is the best choice to serve the purpose of the aim of this work. Since the thinkers in question are subject to much debate (and sometimes criticism), it is best to view them from their own works. This is done in order to base this dissertation on hard evidence rather than speculation.

Although there have been many important thinkers of Turkish Nationalism in Turkey, this work is mainly focused on four individuals; Ziya Gokalp, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Huseyin Nihal Atsız and Alparslan Türkeş. Just like these figures have influenced others, they have also been influenced by others as well. Names like Dündar Taser, Müzaffer Özdağ, Reha Öğuz Türkkân, Zeki Velidi Togan, Fethi Tevetoglu, Yusuf Akçura and Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi have all played an important role in developing the Turkish Nationalist discourse. However, none of them gained neither the fame nor the influence that these four thinkers have. Moreover, these four thinkers also symbolize their time's spirit and understanding of nationalism as they have been the ones who were followed by the masses, the ones who were idealized and are the ones who are still remembered first when anyone is thinking about Turkish Nationalism. As discussed further in the work, the fact that all four of the thinkers had different lives from each other and this also contributes to the fact why these four were chosen to be deeply analyzed. Also worth mentioning is; Rıza Nur, a controversial figure to this day, stands out from the rest of the crowd and needs to be mentioned in this work to make this work a fair one. His books have been banned in Turkey for years, his complicated relationships with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Nihal Atsız, his role on the committee that signed the Lausanne Treaty, as well as his role in the Albanian Revolution to this day is still debated in many circles in Turkey.<sup>39</sup> However, most of his work is in a memoir format and accounts of events that he mentions are usually either argued to have happened differently according to many other witnesses or they are just discarded as being conspiracy theories without any real ground. Also his psychological condition is questionable as he has spent some time in the famous Turkish mental hospital in Bakırköy. As a result, although, he was a productive figure in the history of nationalist thought in Turkey, his memoirs put him in a hard spot and ended up with him being discredited in many accounts.

First we should keep in mind the words of Eric Hobsbawm: "...neither objective nor subjective definitions are thus satisfactory, and both are misleading. In any case, agnosticism is the best initial posture of a student in this field, and so this book assumes no *a priori* definition of what constitutes a nation."<sup>40</sup> Nationalism is defined

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<sup>39</sup> Poulton, Hugh, "Top Hat Grey Wolf and Crescent", Hurst, London, 1997, pg. 134

<sup>40</sup> Hobsbawm, Eric J. "Nations and Nationalism since 1780", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990. pg.9

by Smith as “an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity of a human population, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential nation.”<sup>41</sup> He goes on; “The nation, in the eyes of the nationalists, can be described as a community of history and destiny, or better, a community in which history requires and produces destiny – a particular national destiny. For nationalists, the nation’s destiny is always glorious, like its distant past; indeed, the golden past, hidden beneath the oppressive present, will shine forth once again, through the regeneration of the true spirit of the nation by the yet unborn.”<sup>42</sup> John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith have described “one of the most powerful forces in the modern world.”<sup>43</sup> Handler argues that when nation is accepted as a reality, nationalism is solely a natural thing: “Nationalism is an ideology about individuated being. It is an ideology concerned with boundedness, continuity, and homogeneity encompassing diversity. It is an ideology in which social reality, conceived in terms of nationhood, is endowed with the reality of natural things.”<sup>44</sup>

Anderson claims that the nation is limited: “The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. The most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all the members of the human race will join their nation in the way that it was possible, in certain epochs, for, say, Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet.”<sup>45</sup> This sentence claims that nations are imagined and as a result nationalism only limits the worldview of the nationalist. Renan tends to disagree with Anderson and claim that a nation is the only natural outcome out of a healthy man’s body and mind by stating: “Man is a slave neither of his race nor his language, nor of his religion, nor of the course of rivers nor of the direction taken by mountain chains. A large aggregate of men, healthy in mind and warm of heart, creates the kind of moral

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<sup>41</sup> Smith, Anthony D., “Nationalism; Theory, Ideology, History”, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2001 pg.9

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p.30

<sup>43</sup> Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D., “Nationalism”, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, pg.1

<sup>44</sup> Handler, Richard. “Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec. New Directions in Anthropological Writing: History, Poetics, Cultural Criticism”, ed. George E.; Clifford Marcus, James. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 1988, pg. 6

<sup>45</sup> Anderson, Benedict, “Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism” Revised Edition ed. Verso, London and New York: 1991, pg. 6

conscience which we call a nation. So long as this moral consciousness gives proof of its strength by the sacrifices which demand the abdication of the individual to the advantage of the community, it is legitimate and has the right to exist."<sup>46</sup>

Gellner argues that it is not right to think nations are a result of a nation building process conducted by the state despite the fact that this is usually the case: "Moreover, nations and states are not the same contingency. Nationalism holds that they were destined for each other; that either without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy. But before they could become intended for each other, each of them had to emerge, and their emergence was independent and contingent. The state has certainly emerged without the help of the nation. Some nations have certainly emerged without the blessings of their own state."<sup>47</sup>

Billig claims that even though nationalism is seen as declining in the world of today with globalization, it is very much still in existence in our daily life: "Because the concept of nationalism has been restricted to exotic and passionate exemplars, the routine and familiar forms of nationalism have been overlooked. In this case, 'our' daily nationalism slips from attention. There is a growing body of opinion that nation-states are declining. Nationalism, or so it is said, is no longer a major force: globalization is the order of the day. But a reminder is necessary. Nationhood is still being reproduced: it can still call for ultimate sacrifices; and, daily, its symbols and assumptions are flagged."<sup>48</sup>

As it can be seen, there is not a single agreed definition of a nation or nationalism. There are many variances of the views on nationalism in the literature. It can be thought that this was a very useful effort to understand the idea that there is no one "reality" on the definition and description of the concepts of both the nation and

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<sup>46</sup> Renan, Ernest. "What is a Nation?" in Eley, Geoff and Suny, Ronald Grigor, ed. 1996. "Becoming National: A Reader", Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1996, pg. 52-53.

<sup>47</sup> Gellner, Ernest, "Nations and Nationalism", Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1983, pg. 6

<sup>48</sup> Billig, Michael, "Banal Nationalism" Sage Publications, London 1995. pg. 8-9

nationalism. After seeing these different descriptions of a nation and nationalism, a new outlook can be achieved.

To look at the nationalism in a country where there are five different words (Milliyetçilik: Nationalism of the Nationalists and the Right-wing, Kavmiyetçilik: Racist-nationalism with usually a negative meaning, Ulusalçılık(Ulusculuk): Nationalism of the left-wing, Budunculuk: Nationalism with heavy reference to pre-Islamic Turks, usually with a unfavorable look towards Islam and finally Turkçuluk: Turkism, usually used by the followers of Atsız) for the word nationalism is a challenge to say the least. When it is compared with other works on Turkish nationalism, my aim is to give the ideas about what the nationalist thinkers said by going through the discourses of four of the most important figures in Turkish nationalism. In especially the English literature, most of the work (in academics) on Turkish nationalism is always on the critical side with attempts to put down Turkish Nationalism as a racist, assimilating type of ideology (obviously very biased) with a total disregard on the discourse of the nationalist thinkers. I think this work would prove to be a useful one, since there is really not much work on the discourse and the work of the nationalists. Especially with Turkey's proposed accession in the EU, it is vital for Europeans to understand the cornerstones of the Turkish political life and thought. Without having an objective understanding of one of the strongest political currents in Turkey (which is mostly against EU accession), it can be fairly said that understanding Turkey and the dynamics in the Turkish society is impossible. It is also important to understand one of the most problematic regions in the world, the Post-Ottoman geography, where with collapse of the Empire, there is such a power vacuum that there are still unresolved issues in the Caucasus, Middle East and the Balkans even today. As a result my research question; "How have the Turkish nationalism evolved in the 20th century?" would be a useful one to start with.

A study on Turkish Nationalism is bound to uncover a lot. In order to understand Turkey and the Turkic people all across the world it is important to reveal how do they view themselves a nation and as people. In this research, I will try to look at one current of "Turkish nationalism". This current is the main ideologues of Turkish Nationalism.

European-Turkish relations are very much affected by nationalism as with every nationalist all over Europe, Turkish Nationalists are very much opposed to the EU ideals. Also, this study is important to understand the nationalism that is not necessarily driven by post-French Revolution thoughts. Whereas the other studies on Turkey in the English Literature view the Turkish Nationalism (or the Nationalist Movement) only very briefly and/or is biased towards it (as explained above), this work is aiming to explain more about the roots and understandings of a proudly nationalist Muslim nation.

While looking at the development after a brief look at the history of Turks (Turkish Nation), my aim is to separate the Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish nation, the separation of the ideologues' views and to look at how the Turkish people view the "Turkish Nation". This is bound to differ at certain points in the history like with every nation. Especially in a one like the Turkish nation, which have migrated and conquered so much lost it, then conquered it again. Being a Turk and bearing the birthmarks of numerous historical events has proved to be traumatic enough. The most important aspect of this discussion would be the roles of Islam and Ataturk on the view of "the nation". How Islam influences the understanding of the nation and nationalism especially in a pious society like the Turkish is a vital point for my research. Also, Ataturk's (or more correctly the state's) attempt to create a more secular view of nationalism is bound to bear great importance to one's understanding of Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Nation.

Of course when looking at nationalism, there is a vital importance in looking at a wider literature of nationalism. Nationalism is a political ideology that is very much in existence in the world today. Although many would describe nationalism simply as "someone's love towards their nation" some thinkers have come up with more complex explanations. For example, Anthony Smiths describes nationalism as: "Nationalism refers to an ideology, a sentiment, a form of culture, or a social movement that focuses on the nation."<sup>49</sup> Gellner describes nationalism as "a political doctrine which holds that

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<sup>49</sup> Smith, Anthony D., "National Identity". Reno, University of Nevada Press, Nevada, 1993, pg. 72.

the political and national unit should be congruent.”<sup>50</sup> Whereas Hobsbawm states that nationalism is at an end: “the Owl of Minerva, which brings wisdom, says Hegel, flies out at dusk. It is a good sign that it is now circling round nations and nationalism”<sup>51</sup> Umut Ozkirimli states the importance of nationalism by: “Nationalism continues to be one of the major actors of the social and political landscape, and a central part of the fabric of our everyday lives.”<sup>52</sup> Billig is also disagreeing with people who claim that nationalism is coming to an end by stating that everyday nationalism has been overlooked because of the misconception of trying to look at certain flashy and obvious signifiers that many think are in the key role in deciding “nationalism”. He also states that the everyday role of nationalism is downplayed as a result of this misconception.<sup>53</sup>

Obviously, looking at the language, identity, religion and the state structure are one of the most important aspects of the “Nation”. The works, especially the Kutad-gu Bilig gather a great knowledge of the Turkish oral traditions. Turks, have an oral tradition and it is not like the Arabic tradition of memorizing and then telling poems, but rather are like stories that are told by bards throughout the generations. The images of the Greywolf, Bluewolf, the Double-Headed Eagle, men wearing moustaches that are similar to the “Handlebar Moustache” of the West (Because Turks of the past have traditionally worn this kind of a moustache) have been carried out throughout the history and pictures of these “Symbol” animals can be seen in cave walls from two thousand years ago, and can be seen in the walls of Nationalist Movement Party’s offices. The fairy tales, legends and the stories (Mostly Known as Dede Korkut Stories) that have been told to Turkish kids 1500 years ago, are still told by grandfathers and grandmothers to their grandsons and granddaughters as bed time stories, all across the Turkic world, now.

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<sup>50</sup> Gellner, E, “Nations and Nationalism”, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983

<sup>51</sup> Hobsbawm, Eric J. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.pg. 181

<sup>52</sup> Ibid,, pg. 4

<sup>53</sup> Billig, Michael, “Banal Nationalism” Sage Publications, London 1995. pg. 8-9

The understanding also is important in the view of the state. As my research is mainly focused on late Ottoman and Republican Turkey, I will mostly be working on these areas. The reason for choosing to conduct my research is simple; the rise of Turkish Nationalism has started from the late Ottoman times and Turkey has long been the only independent Turkic state, so it gave enough maneuver room for Turkish Nationalism to blossom. We see that especially with the early Republican time, the state has welcomed an “Ultra-Nationalist” approach, especially under the rule of Ataturk, legendary Grey wolf appeared on the money, high school kids were handed caps with pictures of Grey wolf, etc. After the death of Ataturk, many things have changed, Inonu had started an open war against the “Turkists” and had them tortured and trialed, after the 50s with Turkey embracing a multi-party system, and mostly moderate right-wing parties dominating the parliament, a rather soft but still nationalist approach has been taken by the state. Although, state favored nationalism, nationalists have been one of the groups which have suffered most from the policies of the state.

Apart from the development on the front of the intellectuals, the view of the people is going to be another important part of my research. Despite some claims, the views on nation were unorganized but existent in the society. The people knew that they were Turks as we can see it from the Orkhun Runes dating back to early 7<sup>th</sup> Century. As it can be seen from the writings of the Evliya Celebi (The Wanderer), on a trip to Beypazari, he has seen that, people refer to themselves as Muslim Oghuz Turks. Starting from the Republican times, we can see that despite many different attempts of the state, the people have kept their own view about nation and nationalism, despite being obviously influenced by the ideologues, intellectuals and the state. Even now the view of seeing nationalism as a “Turko-Islamic” nationalism and combining Turkic and Islamic elements together in order to form their understanding of nation and nationalism is rather significant. Especially, Turks lust for war (evident from pre-Islamic history with Atilla and Gokturks) and fighting has combined greatly with Islamic notion of l’la-yi Kelimetullah (Spreading the word of God). Turks calling their soldiers Small Mehmet (Small Muhammet’s-reference to the Prophet Muhammet) is an example of this. In the Ottoman Empire, Turks were



considered as only as a part of the Muslim Subjects of the Sultan.<sup>54</sup> This was seen as a will of Allah by the Sultans as it writes in Holy Quran: “Allah commands you that you restore deposits to their owners, and, if you judge between mankind, that you judge justly. Comely is this which Allah admonishes you. Allah is ever Hearer, Seer.”<sup>55</sup> Though that was the policy intended with the losses on the battlefield and the empire starting to crumble, this policy was no longer implemented. This caused various thinkers to look for alternative ways for a way out for the Ottoman Empire. One of the most popular ideas was nationalism led by Ziya Gokalp. Although, at first he believed that it was possible to create an “Ottoman nation”, according to Yavuz, the Balkan Wars shook his faith in the integrating power of Ottomanism.<sup>56</sup> According to Uriel Heyd, he tried to take Durkheim’s idea of a “society” and was explaining it as a “Nation”.<sup>57</sup> He is considered as the “Father of Modern Turkish Nationalism”. Things began to change radically.

As a result of these losses of the Empire, there was also a loss of national identity and pride in many of the Turkish subjects of the Ottoman Empire, but looking for a way out and being influenced by the waves of nationalism sent throughout the European continent, Turkish nationalism was reborn. From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, there were many ideologues that carried the “torch” of Turkish Nationalism. Maybe the four most influential ones were Ziya Gokalp, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Nihal Atsiz and Alparslan Turkes. Gokalp is considered by all the workers in the area to be the Father of Modern Turkish Nationalism. All of them wrote most of their work following each other. Their works cover the basis of the period starting with the end of 1890s and end with 1980s. It would be normal to ask the reasoning behind choosing these four thinkers. Gokalp represents the era at the end of the Ottoman times, and the intellectuals trying to find a way to save the crumbling empire. Ataturk represents the foundation of the nation-state (Republic of Turkey) and how the emphasis of Turkishness was seen while setting up a new state. Atsiz’s work would act as an

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<sup>54</sup> Kenanoğlu, Macit, “Osmanlı Millet Sistemi Mit ve Gerçek”, *Klasik, İstanbul*, 2004, pg 24

<sup>55</sup> *Holy Quran, Nisa 58*

<sup>56</sup> Yavuz, Kerim, “Der Islam in Werken moderner türkischer Schriftsteller”. Breisgau, Freiburg, p.56.

<sup>57</sup> Heyd, Uriel, “Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp”, Luzac, London, 1950, pg 45

important way to demonstrate the more raw elements of Turkish Nationalism and would show the points that are on the verge of racism which was a dominant element of the time (30s-40s). Finally, the work of Turkes bears a great importance to many things; the setting up of an ideological “Nationalist Party” which is seen by many as one of the biggest currents in the Turkish political party system, the doctrination behind one of the world’s most successful nationalist parties and seeing the discourse of a man who has lived a life with incredible ups and downs in order to put his country in a way that he believed was the right one. This work would be a useful one, because all we get to see (especially in the English academic literature) the critique of the Turkish Nationalism. This would be an attempt at trying to elaborate what these thinkers were writing and speaking about while viewing the evolution of the Turkish Nationalism in a period of nearly a century. I think one of the biggest goals of this work would be trying to tackle the issues on terminology, like Walker Connor, who thought that there was a commotion regarding the terminology. Also, comparisons between Turkish Nationalism and English Nationalism (in the era of each thinker) will be drawn to get a better understanding. As a result my research question is “How has the discourse of the Turkish nationalist thinkers evolved in the 20<sup>th</sup> century?”

To drive a complete sense from this research would be rather easy, as I will be following a chronological view on the Turkish nationalism starting from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century to 20<sup>th</sup> Century. As a result, togetherness will easily be formed in my research. Looking at the evolution of the Turkish Nationalism throughout time with special focus on various thinkers is the easiest way to formulate the research.

To put this work into a wider work in nationalism, I can say that, the aim is to show a new side of Turkish nationalism without the special stressing of certain “popular” points such as secularism, the minorities issue, the “Kurdish” question, the EU-Turkey relations and the military influence over politics. I am hoping that this would help a lot of people who will work on nationalism in the future, as it would certainly be an interesting point to view a nationalism that has started and developed in the “east”.

My dissertation is going to be formed by a qualitative study of a range of texts. In my dissertation, I will use different approaches but textual analysis and comparison will have the foremost importance. When looking to find out if the type of nationalism that Turkes is offering, a type of nationalism that cannot be seen in the “nationalist” parties of the west, I will try to elaborate more on his ideas about fascism and Nazism. While doing that, I will try to use the views of other authors who have worked on this subject as well. Secondly, I will try to define what can be a third way ideology and if the nine lights ideology can be considered as a third way ideology. And then, I will use the discourse analysis method of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe to conduct a discourse analysis of the Nine Lights with special emphasis on nationalism.

Since this work aims to separate “the nationalist elite” from “the nation” the discourse of the various nationalist elite had to be viewed thoroughly, as a result using discourse analysis through looking at texts, speeches etc. is the only viable method in formulating this work as an academic study. A comparative approach for instance would have made the focus less on Turkish Nationalism therefore would defeat the purpose of this dissertation in introducing the evolution of Turkish Nationalism between 1904 and 1908. As a result, discourse analysis which allows the reader to have the best understanding looking at the texts and the speeches seems to be the best option for this work. In order to counteract the possible shortcoming of this method in understanding “the nation”, every main chapter of this work begins with a brief summary of the events in the respective decades to familiarize the reader with the “the nation”.

As Anthony Smith claims, even though nationalism and ethnicity were coming from Europe, it had greatly impacted other parts of the world. Other parts of the world such as the Middle East, South America and Southeast Asia are great examples of how nationalism is effective in different parts of the world. Coming to the Middle East, Turkey is a great example on how nationalism affected an entire country. Although, the contemporary history books consist of many vicious examples that are ethnically-religiously motivated throughout the twentieth century in an attempt to make

nationalism look bad, it is fair to say that most of these books were published by globalist authors and publishers. The conflicts mentioned earlier have led nationalism to be seen in a negative light. Some scholars from the studies of nationalism and ethnicity argued that nationalism can be observed in different forms such as Ethnic-Civic, Eastern-Western nationalism in order to legitimize their national movements and identities or worse to put down certain nationalist mobilizations. Unfortunately, most of these authors have over generalized nationalist movements and have failed to see the uniqueness behind each different nation's nationalisms. It has almost come to the point that to call one's self a nationalist means that person is a racist.

Ethnicity is a concept which has been discussed thoroughly in academic circles. How ethnicity should be placed in the field of the study of nationalism has also been a hot topic of discussion. There have been many different definition for the term ethnicity however a vast majority of these definitions can be grouped in three groups.

Primordialists see ethnicity as a phenomenon which has appeared very long ago. For primordialists ethnicity is linked to nationalism very closely. Primordialists' understanding of ethnicity comes from the belief that the humans have been divided into existing groups pretty much from the start of humankind and by the kinship provided by these groups a cultural and/or biological group is formed.

Perennialist approach sees nation and ethnicity basically as a same phenomenon, although there are differing opinions in this approach as continuous perennialists tend to think that ethnic groups have existed all throughout the history of humankind whereas recurrent perennialists tend to think nations or ethnicities can die out and can emerge or re-emerge. Well known academicians Barth and Seidner, for example, argued that the boundaries of ethnicities (or nations) can change, increase or decrease, or vanish in time.

Advocates of the constructivist approach have argued that both the primordialists and the perennialists are wrong and that ethnicity is not a basic human condition. They argue that ethnic groups can only be maintained via social interaction between humans and only as social constructs. Eric Hobsbawm argues that anything related to ethnicity is an invention of modern period and was not prevalent before the modern times.

In addition to these three schools of thought, there have also been attempts to explain ethnicity with the rational choice approach. Rational choice obviously places emphasis on the choice of the individual therefore explains the formation of ethnicity is in line with the individual's interest.

Different academicians have described ethnicity and ethnic identity in different ways. For Example, Chandra defines ethnic identity as: "a subset of identity categories in which eligibility for membership is determined by attributes associated with, or believed to be associated with, descent."<sup>58</sup> However, Eifert et al see ethnicity as way to gain and consolidate as a power while identifying it as a self-decided phenomenon.<sup>59</sup> Anthony Smith describes ethnic groups with the borrowed word from French "ethnie" and he defines them as a group with six features: a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of common culture, an association with a specific 'homeland', a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population. This study uses as an ethno-symbolist approach to nationalism as pointed out earlier and as a result uses this definition of Anthony Smith as to describe ethnicity.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Chandra, Kanchan, "What is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?", American Political Science Review, vol 101, pg. 3

<sup>59</sup> Eifert, Benn, Miguel and Posner, "Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa", American Journal of Political Science, vol. 101, pg. 709-710

<sup>60</sup> Smith, Anthony D., "The Genealogy of Nations: An Ethno-Symbolic Approach", Routledge, London, 2005 pg.95-97

## **The Aim of the Research**

This project aims to demonstrate how modern Turkish Nationalism has developed throughout the twentieth century. As a result, this research seeks to understand how national and ethnic identities are reproduced among the members of the Turkish community and also roles of cultural components, the role of the certain “Nationalist Elite” and how certain images have been carried over time changing or staying the same. Moreover, daily practices and their roles in maintaining identities are also a part of this research.

In order to achieve this goal, one has to have a comprehensive knowledge about how ethnic, national and religious identities are seen in Turkey. Furthermore, the aspect of “Turkishness”, being a “Turk” and similar concepts are going to be discussed. Moreover, this research aims to provide the critical breaking points in Turkish Nationalist thought by using different nationalist thinkers from a span of seventy five years. Especially in the western literature and Turkish academia, ‘academic and original’ works are highly limited about Turkish Nationalism and its discourse. Unfortunately, most of the research that has been conducted on Turkish Nationalism was conducted by academicians who are mostly biased against Turkish Nationalism. Finally, this research seeks to put out there what the Turkish Nationalists were arguing all this time, instead of a plain assault on their views and actions.

The reason for choosing this type of an approach is really simple because over the years, the academicians who worked on the field of Turkish Nationalism have always tried to assess the actions of few individuals who claim to be nationalists Turks and tried find “justifications” for the acts committed in the discourse of the ideology, however discourse itself along with symbolism carried over from a state tradition that goes back at least two millennia have largely been ignored. Whether this is the result of a bias, laziness or simple deception tactics, no one can be certain, but a study regarding the discourse of nationalism in Turkey along with its ethno-symbolist implications and approach has been a dire necessity.

As the point to be proven in this work is the fact that Turkish Nationalism has evolved through transformation of symbolism from the past and that all the great thinkers of Turkish Nationalism are (despite their slight differences) a continuation of each other, using discourse analysis from primary sources have been the most logical option for this thesis. Going to the basic roots of Turkish Nationalism with Ziya Gokalp and Yusuf Akcura is followed by the setting up of the Turkish nation state with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, then how nationalism got romanticized by Huseyin Nihal Atsız and finally how it got concentrated and turned into a fully-fledged ideological political by Turkes is looking at a chronological development of Turkish Nationalism. This sense of a chronological timeline is used to give the reader to read about the events in the order that they developed. This also makes it easier for the reader to understand the similarities and the differences between the thinkers and see the effect of events on the ideology of Turkish Nationalism.

This work might not be very useful when trying to understand nationalism as a general phenomenon. However, Turkish Nationalism is actively in touch with other Turkic groups and might prove to be useful understanding nationalism in the Turkic context. Also, other Touranist movements are definitely interlinked with Turkish Nationalism. Obviously, there are some similarities with other nationalistic currents however, role of nationalism is so prevalent in the Turkish context that it is almost *Sui Generis*. Therefore, while it might prove useful as a starting point, generalizing a lot of the points in this work to the broader nationalism studies might prove unfruitful. However, learning more about an ideology that supersedes sectarianism in a region that has been torn apart, like the Middle East, is bound to provide some answers to the questions that is asked about the general region. However, it must be noted that, the evolution of the party system has also been a side focus of this research. Arguably, this can bear resemblances to formations of other mainstream parties in different countries. As a result this might prove to be useful in the field of comparative politics and political history. Also, the effect of the ten percent threshold which has been in existence since 1980 in Turkey has obviously affected the political party formations and should be taken into account when viewing the political party system in Turkey.

More studies can be conducted on the effect of thresholds and different type of electoral systems that Turkey has used during this times at the end seem to have a little affect except a couple of decades in the country's history. This is definitely an under researched in voting behavior studies. To sum up, maybe the main focus of this study might not be useful to help judge the evolution of nationalism in different countries however the side focus of the development of political parties certainly can be useful in various different studies.

It can easily be said that the Turkish Nationalists of today are not fully understood in the English speaking Western World. Understanding the discourse and some practices of this movement might prove fruitful in the future. This research can be used to break the walls between the Turkish Nationalists and the English language academia.

## **Literature and Sources**

When conducting the research, the aim was to use as much of the primary material as possible. To keep the assessment of the discourse, ideology and thought of these pioneers of Turkish Nationalism as objective as possible; using primary resource held the paramount of importance. Since almost none of the books are translated into English, most of the used books as primary resources are in Turkish. Although translating sometimes causes the "geist" to be lost, it is the only way to go forward with this research which aims to use the primary resources as much as possible. As most of the work has been conducted on Ziya Gokalp, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Huseyin Nihal Atsiz and Alparslan Türkeş, their own writings and speeches have been used.

The first important primary source is the piece written by Yusuf Akçura. This article is called "the Three Styles of Politics" (Üç Tarz-i Siyaset), this piece might be viewed as the first modern Turkish Nationalist text ever written. In this article, Yusuf



Akcura explains the three possible solution methods to the problems of the Ottoman Empire. This is important because it is a vital document to prove the spirit of the time as these three different ideas were being discussed in the elite circles of the Ottoman Empire; hence this is not only a very important document for political science but also a very important document for history. The ideas of Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism are discussed thoroughly in an explanatory manner in this article, stating the pros and cons of every argument.

The main writings used in discussing Ziya Gokalp are: “Essences of Turkish Nationalism” (Turkculugun Esaslari) and “Turkify, Islamicize, Modernize” (Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak). Gokalp’s book “Turkify, Islamicize, Modernize” is a collection of his various articles. This book was put published in 1919. His articles were put in an order so that Gokalp’s thoughts were easily understood by the reader. In this book he first starts off by stating different waves of ideological current in the Ottoman Empire which is looking for a way out of the imminent collapse. Then he goes on to identify the key concepts of a nation. At the end, he finishes off by underlining the importance of Islam for the Turkish Nation. In the book “Essences of Turkish Nationalism”, Gokalp was trying to write the political formation of the newly established Republic of Turkey. In this book, he tries the underline the importance of Turkism for Turkey. He first gives background information of how Turkism has developed in the Ottoman Empire in different fields such as art and history. Then, he gives a detailed account of the characteristics of Turkism and what Turkism is and should be based on. He goes on by the “program of Turkism”, how Turkism should be applied as policies in the newly set up state. He finishes his book by talking about how Turkism is active in real life in different fields such as morals, law, religion, economics, politics and philosophy. Also, a secondary resource, namely, “Birth of Turkish Nationalism and Ziya Gokalp” (Turk Milliyetciliginin Dogusu ve Ziya Gokalp) by Nevza Kosoglu, has proved used in my research since Kosoglu attempted go over Gokalp’s life and tried to apply Gokalp’s ideals for today’s Turkey. Kosoglu goes on by describing how Gokalp’s ideas were essential and have affected the policies of Republic of Turkey, especially under the presidency of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.

The main primary source regarding Ataturk is his famous speech which was immediately printed as a book as he delivered it, "Speech" (Nutuk). This speech was in the Turkish parliament between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> of October 1927. In this speech, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk talked about the time from his arrival to Samsun in 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1919 to the day of his speech. This is a very important document because it lets the people of the Republic see how Turkey was set up from the founder's own view. This is also an important document because this shows Ataturk's merits as a historian. The part regarding Ataturk was the one part that in order to conduct the research more secondary sources were needed, since Ataturk's actions were imperative as he held the most power compared to Ziya Gokalp, Huseyin Nihal Atsiz and Alparslan Turkes. Since he is a rather well known political figure all throughout the world, he was also the easiest to find resources in English.

Many of Nihal Atsiz's books were of paramount importance to this work. Especially, his novels "Death of the Grey Wolves" (Bozkurtların Olumu), "Grey Wolves Rise" (Bozkurtlar Diriliyor), "Crazy Wolf" (Deli Kurt), "Soul Man" (Ruh Adam), "The Night of the Sycophants" (Dalkavuklar Gecesi) and "Vitamin Z" (Z Vitamini). In the books of "Death of the Grey Wolves", "Grey Wolves Rise" and "Crazy Wolf" we see semi mythological historical novel where Atsiz tries to elaborate the lives, virtues, beliefs and struggles of the Turks of the past centuries. These books are all about heroism, self-sacrifice and love. These books also show Nihal Atsiz's intent to use "Pure Turkish" (Turkish without foreign words) in order to popularize the usage of Turkish rooted words instead of Arabic or Persian ones. In the stories of "The Night of the Sycophants" and "Vitamin Z" are of a satirical nature. While in the first one, an ancient civilization is likened to Turkey of late 1930s and 1940s in "Vitamin Z" we see a real dystopia in the eyes of Atsiz. Maybe, the book of Atsiz that stands out the most is "Soul Man" (Ruh Adam). In this book, story of Selim Pusat is told as the reincarnation of an ancient Uyghur tale. This book is significant because Selim Pusat shares similarities with Atsiz himself, like his expulsion from the army and like the newspapers' portrayal of him as a dissident. Maybe the most important part of the book is Selim Pusat's trial where a great deal of old emperors and rulers of Turks appear to testify against him in a manner in a Wagneresque fashion. As a secondary source, the book written by Hayri Yildirim was used. This book is titled "The Last Turkist Atsiz" (Son

Turkcu Atsiz). Although there is an obvious bias for Nihal Atsiz and favoritism for almost everything he did and every idea he had, it is still should be considered a valuable secondary source because it encompasses almost all of Atsiz's work (in summaries) and also discusses Atsiz's ideas on various issues regarding politics, literature, history and anthropology.

When discussing Alparslan Turkes and the Nationalist Movement Party, two of Alparslan Turkes' on books were used as main primary sources. These are "Nine Lights and Turkey" (Dokuz Isik ve Turkiye) and "Foundation Views" (Temel Gorusler). "Nine Lights and Turkey" is considered to be the manifesto around which the Nationalist Movement Party's ideology and worldview is shaped around. In this book Turkes gives the nine main points of his understanding of Turkish Nationalism these nine points are; nationalism, ruralism, industrialism, idealism, moralism, scientism, independentism, progressivism and populism. Around these nine pillars Turkes tries to inject his view of Turkish Nationalism as a doctrine in this book. The party program of Nationalism Movement Party is still based around these nine ideals today. The book "Foundation Views" is conducted like an interview where Turkes talks about various subjects ranging from Nationalist labor movements to nationalist foreign trade and from the importance of sports to "enslaved Turks".

Also in this work, before the beginning of every chapter that constitutes the body of this dissertation, events of that period in Turkey are briefly explained in order to set the scene and an extra dimension to the nationalists' work. Without being aware of the conditions that set up the conditions for the nationalist thought develop, flourish or decrease, an assessment made on the thinkers would not be a fair one. In order to help with the historical parts, "Modern Turkey History" (Modern Turkiye Tarihi) by Carter V. Findley was used as a secondary source. This book is about Turkish history from 1789 to 2007. Although, the nationalists are not viewed in a positive light, the book still manages to give a general idea of what happened in Turkey in the period between 1900 and 1980. Although this book covers a larger area of Turkish history is shows enough emphasis on the time period that this dissertation is based upon.

In this work, newspaper articles have been used sporadically, to prove the existence of events, locations and personalities. The articles are an invaluable tool to capture the events as they have happened and demonstrate the reactions and/or support to the events while offering some commentary showing the mindset of the writers and the newspaper editors of the time. Also, knowledge about various people's activities can be observed. Although, it is important to state that a certain degree of media literacy is required in order to get the "core" of the news and not be deceived by the biases that the media outlet or the author may or may not have.

The book, "Top Hat, the Grey Wolf and the Crescent" by Hugh Poulton is considered to be one of the most successful books in the English language for the study of Turkish Nationalism. However, this book has many failings, the biggest probably being Poulton's miscalculated assessment of the future of Turkish politics. When discussing the Nationalist Movement Party's future, he advocates that the party will become a fringe party and will be a small actor in the future of Turkey.<sup>61</sup> It is ironic that the book is written just a year and half before the Turkish General Elections of 1999, where Nationalist Movement Party has gained the most votes in its history to become the second biggest party in Turkey. The entire book seems to be based on the currents of the day and Necmettin Erbakan and his "National View" (Milli Gorus) Islamists are seen to be the up and coming dominant force in Turkish politics, however The political party ("Virtue Party" until 2001 and "Felicity Party" after 2001) of "National View" movement, started to decline after the elections of 1999 and became an increasingly marginal party not passing the electoral threshold of ten percent in the elections of 2002, 2007 and 2011. The falsehood of the Hugh Poulton's projection of the political future stems from his inability to calculate the vitality of Turkish Nationalists even though he wrote an entire book about them and is considered to be one of the leading experts of Turkish Nationalism in English language.

The usage of discourse analysis in order to gain more information about the subject in question also has its hardships, when looking at a work being proficient with

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<sup>61</sup> Poulton, Hugh, "Top Hat Grey Wolf and Crescent", Hurst, London, 1997, pg. 167

the language might not be enough, the reader should also be aware of the references, the tone and underlying meanings in a text in order to perceive what is really being said. In order to achieve that, the person who is analyzing the discourse should also be familiar with the culture to assess a text or an event fairly.

As a result, this study will be looking at if the different Turkish nationalists' discourse follows each other. This work sets out to prove that even though there are some differences, due to the difference of opinion, political and technological changes, a need to react towards an imminent danger or an urgent need, in its essence both with discourse and the movement similar symbolism have been carried from 1900 to 1980. Maybe not all the time three goals set up by Gokalp were reached, but still his influence did not wane, maybe not all the reforms Kemal Ataturk did are given the same adoring, as they were once given and maybe Atsiz's ideas are a bit too radical in today's world but still at the end, all of these thinkers have played a vital role in shaping the Turkish Nationalism understanding of today.

1904-1980

## **Ziya Gokalp**

*“To a Turk the homeland is neither Turkey nor Turkistan*

*But a Big and Eternal country that is Touran.”*

*-Ziya Gokalp*

As this work looks at how the understanding of Turkish Nationalism can be placed in mainstream Turkish political arena while how its discourse evolved. As in almost every study, one has to start by looking at Ziya Gokalp, “the Father of Modern Turkish Nationalism”, and then move onto Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who has set up the Republic of Turkey, and then to Huseyin Nihal Atsız, who has formulated his view of Turkish Nationalism in the period of Inter-War era and is considered as one of the leading figures of Turkism. Finally, it will come to an end with Alparslan Türkeş who is seen as the leader of the Idealist Movement.

The timeline for this dissertation begins in the Ottoman Empire of 1904. Ottoman Empire had returned to an absolute monarchy after Abdulhamid II closed the first Ottoman parliament at the end of 1877. The troubled Ottoman Empire was facing crisis in all fronts, many uprisings coupled with a very autocratic rule from Istanbul made the lives of the Ottoman subjects very dire. The entire Empire once ruling over three continents was on the brink of collapse and Abdulhamid II was trying to keep it intact in an adamant manner. However, by 1904 opposition to Abdulhamid’s totalitarianism has increased dramatically and secret societies began to emerge to bring back to constitutional monarchy and reopen the parliament. The leading society was the Progress and Union Society (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti). Eventually, in 1908 a rebellion led by the Progress and Union Society, with an army formed in the Balkans and led by Cemal, Talat and Enver Pashas, managed to enter the capital, Istanbul and declared the second constitutional monarchy. This was followed by Greece

announcing the annexation of Crete and Austro Hungarian Empire annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina. The parliament (Meclis-i Mebusan) reopened at the end of the year. However, in 13<sup>th</sup> of April 1909, there was a mass demonstration by Islamists asking for the abolition of the constitutional monarchy and the “return” of Sharia. This revolt was suppressed by an Ottoman Army coming from the Balkans led by Ismail Enver Pasha and Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Due to his inactiveness against the rebellion Abdulhamit II got deposed and was replaced by Mehmet (Resat) V. In 1910, Albanians revolted but were peacefully convinced. In 1911, Italians attacked Libya; however Libyans commanded by Ottoman Pashas who had to sneak their ways into Libya were thwarted and only managed to conquer some ports in Tripolitania. However with the start of the First Balkan War, when Montenegro, Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria formed an alliance to attack the Ottoman Empire, Ottomans had to concede Libya and the Dodecanese Islands to the Italians. As a result of the First Balkan War, Ottoman Empire conceded all of its territory in Europe except the capital Istanbul. The uneasy alliance between the allies of the Balkan War did not last long as they started to fight each other over the issue of splitting the spoils of the First Balkan War. In the ensuing war, namely the Second Balkan War, Ottoman Empire managed to liberate Eastern Thrace from Bulgaria. Victorious Ottoman Army entered its previous capital Edirne on 21<sup>th</sup> of July 1913. There were clouds of war on Europe at the same time and with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Black Hand member Gavrilo Princip in Sarajevo in 1914, the First World War has started. Although a neutral at first, soon the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers. During the war, Ottoman Empire was successful in every front (Dardanelles and the Eastern Front) except the Southern front against Great Britain (Though, it must be noted that even in that front Ottomans managed to give British military it's one of the worst defeats at Kut. In 1918, Mehmet V died and was replaced by Mehmet (Vahdettin) VI. In 3<sup>rd</sup> of May as a result of the Brest Litovsk Treaty Ottoman Empire gained much of the Caucasus, however with the collapse of Bulgaria and Germany, the Ottomans had to sign the Armistice of Mudros in 30<sup>th</sup> of October, 1918. This began the partitioning of the Empire and reduced the once mighty empire just to Central Anatolia. Istanbul was invaded by the Entente Powers in 13<sup>th</sup> of November 1918 whereas the Greek army invaded Izmir in 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1919 and started push its army forward for as much land grabbing as possible.

Although Ziya Gokalp is seen as “The Father of Turkish Nationalism”, he is not the person to first write about Turkish Nationalism neither in Turkey (or the Ottoman Empire) nor in the world as an ideology, so first Yusuf Akcura and his work “Uc Tarz-I Siyaset” (Three Ways of Politics) should be revisited.

### **Yusuf Akcura’s “Three Ways of Politics”**

“Three Ways of Politics” (Uc Tarzi Siyaset) written by Yusuf Akcura is considered to be the first modern manifestation of Turkish Nationalism.<sup>62</sup> Although a historian at heart, Akcura wrote about various subjects ranging from politics to economics. This article written by Yusuf Akcura is just thirty pages long but is considered to be the foundation stone of the policies later developed by Ziya Gokalp and conducted by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.<sup>63</sup> In this article, three different ideas put forward to save the collapsing Ottoman Empire from demise are discussed. Akcura starts with pointing out that Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism have been discussed at great length but discussion of the third alternative Turkism have been only limited to certain circles and have not been widely conducted, he points out that this a vital alternative to the other two that have been discussed thoroughly.<sup>64</sup> A great common misunderstanding is existent in today’s academia about this text. Many academicians have claimed this text showed that Akcura chose Turkism over the two other alternatives but in the text there is no such inclination. For example, Masam Arai claims that this text shows that Akcura picked Turkism over the other two alternatives.<sup>65</sup> However, this not true as in this relatively short text, Akcura only denounces Ottomanism and states the advantages and disadvantages of both Islamism and Turkism. This piece still is the first manifestation of Turkish Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire, because in this text Akcura discusses Turkish Nationalism as an ideology and tries to create an ideological basis, an ideological formation, for Turkish Nationalism.

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<sup>62</sup> Akcura, Yusuf, “Uc Tarzi Siyaset”, Turk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari, Ankara, 1976, preface, written by: Karal, Enver Ziya

<sup>63</sup> Akcura, Yusuf, “Turkculuk Turkculugun Tarihsel Gelisimi”, Ilgi Kultur Yayincilik, Istanbul 2007

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, pg. 21

<sup>65</sup> Arai, Masami, “Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era” in “Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia” vol. 43, Brill Academic Pub., 1992, pg. 18



In this text, three different ideas are discussed with their advantages but also the shortcomings or difficulties the Ottoman Empire would face if these policies were to be implemented. Ottomanism, according to Akcura aims to create an “Ottoman Nation” disregarding the racial, national, religious and sectarian differences. This will be formulated by redistributing the rights and duties of the citizens in such a manner that the any type of the background that the citizen has nothing to do with this allocation. This is believed by some to be the solution to the problems that the Ottoman Empire faces. Akcura dismisses this idea as a feasible hegemonic project, underlining the problems this might bring. He states that people will tend to act for the benefit of their own ethnic background and this will result in Arabs having the upper hand in the Empire and will cause a great unrest with the Turks the founding element of the Empire and will end up causing more problems than the already existing ones.<sup>66</sup> This will make the Turks who formed the backbone of the Ottoman Army to shy away from joining the army and might not be well received by especially foreign powers, especially the Russians who sought an expansionist Pan Slavism at the time. As a result he sees the idea of an attempt as an unnecessary tiredness.<sup>67</sup> Here we see the deeply rooted Anti-Russian sentiment that dominated Turkish politics for a very long time. Constantly, losing ground on the battlefield and decreasing in size whereas the Russian Empire expanded have created a substantial anti-Russian feeling in Turkish intelligentsia as well as the people in the Ottoman Empire and later in Turkey. This anti-Russian feeling is even going to be carried to the cold war era with constant expansion of the Soviet Union and Joseph Stalin threatening the borders of Turkey and the Bosphorus. Also Arabs outnumbering Turks in the Ottoman Empire combined with the rapid rise of nationalism, especially in the Arabic Peninsula, would have caused the Empire to be dominated by Arab National goals, instead of forming a real Ottoman identity.

The second idea that is discussed in this article is Islamism. Islamism is not dismissed by Akcura like Ottomanism and is seen as a hard way with many problems

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<sup>66</sup> Akcura, Yusuf, “Uc Tarzi Siyaset”, Turk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari, Ankara, 1976, pg. 27

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, pg. 31

but a viable hegemonic project. This idea is made especially easy since the Ottoman Empire's ruler, Sultan, is also the Caliph and normatively the ruler of all the Muslims. The Caliph has the right to many privileges that another Muslim ruler does not have, such as declaring Jihad, a holy war, if he wishes.<sup>68</sup> Also, the general culture of the Empire such as many people referring to themselves Muslims instead of their own their own "nationality" is another advantage of this course of action according to the author Akcura. On the other hand, there are many difficulties that Islamism would pose to the running of the Empire. Different sects, schools of thoughts, different interpretation of hadiths and Muslim's holy book, Quran is bound to create difficulties according to Akcura.<sup>69</sup>

Finally as the third alternative to "save" the Ottoman Empire, Turkism or Turkish Nationalism is brought forward by Yusuf Akcura. In this text the components of Turkish Nationalism is brought forward by Akcura and therefore this text is considered to be the first ideological text of Turkish Nationalism.<sup>70</sup> According to Poulton, although he did not specifically write which one he was favoring of the three choices, this was his choice and was well known at the time.<sup>71</sup> Akcura clearly states that up until that point Turkism has been active in the different fields of science (anthropology, history etc.) and art (theater, poetry etc.) and not as a fully pledged political ideology.<sup>72</sup> He sees Turkishness as a consciousness and sees Turkism as a way to unite all the Turks in a Pan-Turkist state.<sup>73</sup> Here it is clear that the ideological formation of Turkish Nationalism is not complete by a long shot, as repeatedly over the text Akcura complains that he has reservations on how the aims and objectives of Turkism will be formulated. He appreciated the "romantic" ideals that are put forward by the Turkists however, the problems that can be caused by the raise of Turkism are also stated in the text. He elaborated on how this might cause a rift between the Turks and other Muslims in the world if the Ottoman Empire sought a policy of Turkism and also argues that guidelines should be put forward and made a few suggestions such as aiming to

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<sup>68</sup> Must be added that did not work so well in the First World War.

<sup>69</sup> Akcura, Yusuf, "Uc Tarzi Siyaset", Turk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari, Ankara, 1976, pg. 33

<sup>70</sup> Poulton, Hugh, "Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic Top Hat Grey Wolf And Crescent", London, Hurst, 1997 Pg. 72

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. Pg. 73

<sup>72</sup> Akcura, Yusuf, "Uc Tarzi Siyaset", Turk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari, Ankara, 1976, pg. 23

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. Pg. 33

promote Turkism in Caucasus.<sup>74</sup> It must be stressed one more time that, even though Akcura finds problems in it the descriptions are clear and it makes this article the first ideological writing of Turkish Nationalism. Akcura can be seen as a strategist instead of ideologue in this writing because he is definitely trying to find a way out for the Ottoman Empire. However it should also be kept in mind that all these three “saving strategies” only include one group, Turks of the Ottoman Empire. Even though he does not clearly state whether Islamism or Turkism is better for the Empire, the fact Turks are the only group that all three ideologies include proves the point that he is actually maybe not looking a way out for the Empire but for the Turks in the Empire. This text, even with the confusion that Akcura is in describes two of the key components of Turkish Nationalism; Defining “Turk” not on race but a blend of culture and consciousness and setting the goal of Turkish Nationalism as uniting all the Turks under one banner (Pan-Turkism), still after over a century these key components remain the same in mainstream Turkish Nationalist thought. It is also well worth noting that sixteen years after this piece was written, the first Parliament in Ankara would consist of parliament members who favor one of these three strategies. Ottomanists, Islamists and Turkists would all come together on the face of extinction with Greek armies marching towards Ankara.

It must be noted that this article is the “baby steps” of Turkish Nationalism as an ideology. In a time when Akcura stated “although popular in some circles, a vast majority of Turks still identify themselves as a Muslim first and a Turk second...”<sup>75</sup>, it is really hard to dictate the direction of nationalism. For that to happen, Ziya Gokalp had to step up with the formulation of Turkish Nationalism as an ideology.

### **Ziya Gokalp’s Life**

Mehmet Ziya Gokalp was born in Diyarbakir in 1876. After getting his entire primary and secondary education in Diyarbakir, he had a personality crisis during a

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid. Pg. 34

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. Pg.31

time which he lost belief in religion which ends up in a suicide attempt. This suicide attempt left him with a bullet in his skull all throughout his life.<sup>76</sup> During his time studying to be a veterinarian in Istanbul, his letters criticizing the sultan Abdulhamit II were found and his studies were cut short. After serving a short sentence in which he found Islam again,<sup>77</sup> he joined groups that were looking to re-establish the constitutional monarchy yet again. After the establishment of the constitutional monarch he became the president of Diyarbakir branch of Union and Progress (Ittihat ve Terakki Partisi). Around the same time, he started to write articles and poems and continued his studies on sociology. With the establishment of Turk Furnaces (Turk Ocaklari), Ziya Gokalp started to publish and write more materials. After the First World War, during the trials set by the new government set up in the Ottoman Empire after the defeat, he got trialed but he won an adoring public for standing his ground and impressing the audiences.<sup>78</sup> After the trial, he was amongst the ones who were exiled to Malta for “war crimes”. He returned to Turkey just before the Turkish Independence War was over. He did not live very long to live in country he “inspired to establish” and passed away in 1924.

### **Ziya Gokalp’s Importance and effect**

Ziya Gokalp is not called “The father of Turkish Nationalism” for nothing. Although it is undocumented, it is widely claimed that founder of Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk has said “Father of my meat and bones is Ali Riza Efendi and father of my thought is Ziya Gokalp.<sup>79</sup> Being thought by the founder of Turkey to be the “father of his thoughts” would be considered by many to be a great achievement. Even if this is not a true quote, this alone shows the importance and effect of Gokalp on Turkish Nationalism as a whole. However, this is a subject that must be discussed at length.

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<sup>76</sup> Kosoglu, Nevzat, “Turk Milliyetçiliginin Dogusu ve Ziya Gokalp”, Otuken, Istanbul, 2005, pg. 79

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, pg. 81

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. pg, 104

<sup>79</sup> Kemal, Hasan Huseyin, “Ezberbozan Aciklamalar”, 09.12.2013, 32-33, print

After years of defeats the pride of Turks in the Ottoman Empire has diminished. Cooperated with the “Millet Sistemi” (Nation System), Turks were considered as only as a part of the Muslim Subjects of the Sultan.<sup>80</sup> This was seen as a will of Allah by the Sultans as it writes in Holy Quran: “Allah commands you that you restore deposits to their owners, and, if you judge between mankind, that you judge justly. Comely is this which Allah admonishes you. Allah is ever Hearer, Seer.”<sup>81</sup> Though that was the policy intended with the losses on the battlefield and the empire starting to crumble, this policy was no longer implemented. This caused various thinkers to look for alternative ways for a way out for the Ottoman Empire. One of the most popular ideas was nationalism led by Ziya Gokalp. Ziya Gokalp was born in twenty third of March 1876. He grew up in Eastern Anatolia where has been a historical conflict are having been ruled by Arabs, Persians and the Turks. He was influenced by the Jon Turk movement. He formulated his ideals in his writings especially in his two books “Turkculugun Esaslari” (Components of Turkism) and “Turklesmek Islamlasmak Muasirlasmak” (Turkify, Islamicize, and Modernize). He has been a member of the parliament in both the Ottoman parliament and the Turkish parliament. Although, at first he believed that it was possible to create an “Ottoman nation”, according to Yavuz, the Balkan Wars shook his faith in the integrating power of Ottomanism.<sup>82</sup> According to Uriel Heyd, he tried to take Durkheim’s idea of a “society” and was explaining it as a “Nation”.<sup>83</sup> He is considered as the “Father of Modern Turkish Nationalism”, as well as the founder of sociology in Turkey and because of this he is referred as “the Turkish Durkheim”. He passed away in 1924 and only saw the first steps of the Turkish nation state Turkey. His famous words; “To a Turk, homeland is neither Turkey nor Turkistan but an eternal country which is Touran (The unison of all the Turkic people under one roof.)” still is recited by many nationalists. He was the one of the first Turkish thinkers to talk about Touran which is uniting all the Turkic states.

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<sup>80</sup> Kenanoglu, Macit, “Osmanlı Millet Sistemi Mit ve Gerçek”, Klasik, Istanbul, 2004, pg 24

<sup>81</sup> Holy Quran, Nisa 58

<sup>82</sup> Yavuz, Kerim,” Der Islam in Werken moderner türkischer Schriftsteller”. Breisgau, Freiburg, pg.56.

<sup>83</sup> Heyd, Uriel, “Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp”, Luzac, London, 1950, pg. 45

Ziya Gokalp has undoubtedly left a permanent mark on Turkish history of thought. The only reason that he is not “officially” regarded as the ideologue of Republic of Turkey, might be his death in 1924. It can easily be said that his death at an early age has left him as a symbol that cannot easily be criticized. This has resulted with Union and Progress, first two decades of the republic and a long list of Nationalist parties culminating into Nationalist Movement Party should be considered as variations of the ideological framework he put forward, according to Findley.<sup>84</sup> It is really hard to argue with that statement, still today he is seen as one of the leading figures of Turkish nationalism by friend and foe alike, as evident from the fact that, during the Kurdist protests in 2013 in Diyarbakir his bust was attacked and damaged.<sup>85</sup>

One of the main reasons he still is seen as an important figure is his quest to answer two key questions asked by the Nationalists; what constitutes the “Nation” and how should it be run? He was as mentioned earlier was the first sociologist of Turkey, so he is also known as “Turkish Durkheim”. He did not think there was a conflict between sociology and ideology.<sup>86</sup> Gokalp managed to find a way to combine his own thought with prominent “western” philosophers of the time. His works were without a doubt affected by the work of Durkheim. According to Uriel, 19<sup>th</sup> century liberal economic policies dominated the Ottoman Empire, until Gokalp discovered Emile Durkheim’s work.<sup>87</sup> In a time when liberalism has been also questioned in Europe, Gokalp has found a way to find a “perfect” solution to the needs of the Ottoman Empire and the Nationalists. Gokalp has found a “third way (position)” in an era which main struggle was between “liberal individualism” and Marxist class conflict. This third position was Durkheim’s solidarist corporatism.

Corporatism, as a system, seeks to eliminate “the perils” of both Socialism and Liberal Capitalism. Corporatism acknowledges the fact that liberalism and liberal individualism has led to many problems in the society and results with a large portion of poor working class people, furthermore it advocates that the class struggle theory

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<sup>84</sup> Findley, Carter, “Modern Turkiye Tarihi”, Timas, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 237

<sup>85</sup> “Ziya Gokalp Bustu Tahrip Edildi”, Diyarin sesi, 12.11.2013, online journal, retrieved on 12.9.2014

<sup>86</sup> Findley, Carter, “Modern Turkiye Tarihi”, Timas, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 237

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. Pg. 238

of the socialists' is flawed and the only way to defeat the problems caused by capitalism would be to set up a structurally functional state system. Corporatism aims to divide the people into groups of their profession, rather than social class. It also looks to establish the state as the mediator of conflicts therefore creating a type of state which seeks to establish cooperation amongst different corporative interests. Anti-liberalism of this ideology which did not really fit well with in the Ottoman Empire was the main factor of this being adopted into the ideologies' of various Ottoman intellectuals at the time. Also, since it was openly Anti-Marxist and refused the Marxist paradigm of class struggle, it was popular amongst the masses, who were already scared of socialism and socialists. In time, two different types of Corporatism has emerged; fascist and solidarist. Fascist corporatism has been the influence for Benito Mussolini after WWI. Whereas fascist corporatism has a strong ant-democratic sentiment, solidarist corporatism seeks the state to be in conciliatory position between different groups. While fascism attempts to maintain order from the top, solidarist corporatism seeks to protect the individual from the state through his labor organization which both acts like a political party and a non-governmental organization at the same time.

Gokalp would divide the people into categories of "reformists" and "traditionalists".<sup>88</sup> With Gokalp's societal solidarism a need for a "revolution" was unnecessary but a reform, this pleased the Young Turks and Union and Progress Party circles greatly. This might also indicate the unwillingness of "the elite" for a total revolution. "Six Arrows", the basic tenants of People's Republican Party and "Kemalism" are all derived from Gokalp's ideas. While Gokalp underlined the fact that "nation" is based on a common culture, he was against racism and social Darwinism.<sup>89</sup> These thoughts of Gokalp would explain the later actions of the Republic of Turkey and how it stayed away from engaging in an alliance with the likes of Empire of Japan, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Hungary. The ideological presence of Gokalp has had a hand in helping out Turkey during the Second World War. His book "Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak" (To be more Turk, to be more Islamic, to be civilized) obviously influenced by Emile Durkheim has managed to address the issues of

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<sup>88</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, "Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak", Inkilap, Istanbul, 1949, pg. 17

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, pg. 43

“identity” as well. Along with “Turkculugun Esaslari” (Components of Turkism) it will be analyzed at great length in this work. With these two books, Gokalp had brought forward his ideas for a solution to the problems discussed in Akcura’s confused article. As Akcura sought to follow one of the three paths that are discussed at the time (Turkism, Islamism and Ottomanism). Gokalp is looking to unite Turkism and Islamism with “Modernism” in order to find a way out for the crumbling Empire. His words still echo today as a result of his wide perspective while looking at the position of Turks in the world. Gokalp, just like Durkheim, thought that there were structural differences between nations and cultures that populated the world.<sup>90</sup> The “three components” were the tools for Gokalp that signified being a Turk, therefore describing the identity: Turk. Obviously, the question of how the religion does play into this is bound to be asked. Gokalp, just like Durkheim viewed religion as a permanent reality.<sup>91</sup> He saw religion not as the defining part of identity in 20<sup>th</sup> century, but nationality. As a result he was willing to see the religion as a part of the component of the national identity. He stated that since all Turks are Muslim, there would be no problem in integrating Islam into the part of an identity of Turks (Obviously, it is known that not all Turks are Muslim but a quite overwhelming majority is).<sup>92</sup> By drawing comparisons with Egyptians and Albanians whom are mixed religion-wise, he expected Turks to face an easier time. He also wrote extensively on the importance of science and modernizing. Gokalp was of the opinion that modernization was the driving force behind a nation and replaced religion as the main catalyst. Although these might seem contradictory, Gokalp’s style allowed these to make sense as his books are written like collections of different articles. This allowed Gokalp to expand his views on different angles while keeping a cohesive and consistent pattern. Also in an attempt to distinguish his work from a purely theoretical one he used different examples of the events happening at the time such as the Balkan Wars.

Another important aspect of Ziya Gokalp was his poetry writing. Writing various Nationalist poems, he had sought to shy away from a dry political discourse, while trying to promote his ideas and ideals through a very popular median of his time. He

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid. Pg. 31

<sup>91</sup> Kosoglu, Nevzat, “Turk Milliyetçiliginin Dogusu ve Ziya Gokalp”, Otuken, Istanbul, 2005, pg 209

<sup>92</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, “Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak”, Inkilap, Istanbul, 1949, pg. 35



tried to use as many Turkish words as possible while writing his poems because he was also an advocate of “Pure Turkish” meaning that he wanted to get rid of the foreign based words in Turkish as much as possible.

Although he has been very influential for the early Republican period in Turkey, it must be noted that treatment of Islam under the new state was more based on scientific materialism rather than the works of Gokalp. However, without a doubt his solidarist corporatism allowed a constitutional, parliamentarian and somewhat democratic Turkey to exist and maybe seen as an obstacle to individualism and liberalism but it should be kept in mind that it also stopped Turkey to turn into a fascist state between the years of 1920 and 1940.<sup>93</sup> His belief in the ability of the concepts of being a Turk, being a Muslim and being modern not contradicting each other has allowed Turko-Islamic culture to make peace with various innovations at the time. Finally, it must be mentioned that the components of Ziya Gokalp being Turk, being Muslim and being modern still play a vastly important role in Turkish politics and look to play a more important role with each passing year.

Looking at Gokalp’s two most famous books, “Turkesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak” and “Turkculugun Esaslari” where he laid down the foundations of an ideology that will be quite vital in Turkish politics for years to come. It is also important to note that while the former is written in 1918, in the year that Ottoman Empire was defeated in the First World War and the latter is written in 1923 when (after the Turkish Independence War) Republic of Turkey was set up. The great change of political events are bound to impact these writings, as well as Gokalp’s adventurous life in the time between as discussed earlier. The amount of suffering he has endured in his life time without a doubt has proven to be an influence on his writings. Through his “fight” through life he has managed to put forward the basic tenents of Turkish Nationalism and Turkish Nationalist thought.

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<sup>93</sup> Findley, Carter, “Modern Turkiye Tarihi”, Timas, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 239

## **Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak**

Written in 1918 this book is set up as a collection of articles by Ziya Gokalp. In this book Gokalp aims to give his ideas about certain concepts, and discusses a way out for the dissolving Ottoman Empire.

It is also very important to note that this book was written in 1918 and the Ottoman Empire's control (even parts of Anatolia) on its land was waning rapidly. Therefore in this book Gokalp tries to find a rapid solution to stop the country from immediate collapse.

As a result of the losses during the First World War, Gokalp sees that project of Ottomanism has failed greatly. Especially, the Arab rebellions during the war where many Arabs have allied themselves with the English against the Caliph Mehmet V has led Gokalp to take out Ottomanism from the equation all together. As Akcura predicted over a decade ago Ottomanism proved to be an unfeasible project that did not reach the masses.

After putting Ottomanism out of the picture Gokalp immediately sets formula to be more Turk, to be more Islamic and to be more Modern. He wants to harmonize these three terms in order to find a solution to the deeply rooted problems in the Empire. Gokalp starts by explaining what being a Turk means at the time. While he emphasizes that in Istanbul and in the bigger cities of Ottoman Empire being a Turk is something to be proud of as a background, the more one moved to periphery this was not the case. He states his observations as a sociologist as he states that Turks, as the "founding group", accepted the "Ottoman" identity as a part of accepting the state. Also he points out that this led to some people thinking of themselves as others (Such as Lezgin if he lived in north-eastern Anatolia or as an Arab if he lived in Iraq)<sup>94</sup> then he proceeds by explaining what being modern means. This is vital in showing the

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<sup>94</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, "Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak", Inkilap, Istanbul, 1949, pg. 8

challenge that the nationalists face. At the time it has come to the point of being “ashamed” of being a Turk in some quarters of the society. It is really important here to understand that Gokalp being a sociologist is very important to identify the problems that nationalism had to overcome in order to succeed at keeping the Empire standing. Gokalp points out that Turks have stayed out of the science and trade communities of the Empire.<sup>95</sup> This will lead to Turks only being farmers, herders and civil servants (including the military), according to Gokalp. This is rather important because in order to become a Turk and set up a nation state of Turks, this precise observation is foretelling of the problems that Republic of Turkey will face in its years of formation; experts in various areas.

He sees Islam and being more Islamic (might be translated as Islamism as well but the connotations of “Islamism” are rather different today) as vital component of being a Turk.<sup>96</sup> He states that although Turks are of Altaic people, because of over a thousand year of being Muslim, Turks consider themselves more as a part of a great Islamic ummah. This view will be the opening of point of many discussions and will be one of the biggest issues in Turkish Nationalism. Throughout time, many differing opinions have formed on the role of Islam in nationalist thought, but the role of Islam as (at least) a cultural component of Turkish Nationalism never faded.

Gokalp defines the importance of modernism in this book. He claims that without modernism there cannot be the innovations that are needed to improve the Ottoman Empire.<sup>97</sup> His goal: creating a “Modern Islamic Turkishness” has become “the great goal” for many of the nationalists after him.

He was also an ardent advocate for the reform and standardization of Turkish. He saw Turkish language as the “source” of Turkishness and wanted to replace many of the foreign words with their old Turkish counterparts, however as with almost

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid, pg. 9

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, pg. 11

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, pg. 13

everything he favored balanced approach in this as well and wanted to keep some words which have become Turkified over time.<sup>98</sup> His apparent bias against words from “the West” can be considered as his reaction to the policies in the Ottoman Empire during the periods of “reorganization” and “improvement” because during those times the condition of the minorities have been improved and the minorities were given special privileges in an attempt to stop the Empire from disintegrating. Historically, these periods did not help the rise of nationalism of the minorities and Gokalp is obviously upset about the foreign (especially French) influence which was prevalent in the elite during those times. In his quest to “take only suitable ideas of the west” he sometimes even conflicts with Durkheim in order to fit his ideals to the Ottoman Turkish zeitgeist.

One of the key concepts of this work was Gokalp’s introduction of the concept “mefkure” (ideal). Gokalp himself came up with the word, producing through the Arabic word “fikir” (idea).<sup>99</sup> Gokalp has underlined the fact that usually this stems from a great tragedy. Kosoglu argues that this the focal point of Gokalp’s sociology.<sup>100</sup> It can be understood from Gokalp’s various writings<sup>101</sup> that ideal is “soul” of the nation. His emphasis on ideal however should be distinguished from aim or dream because Gokalp is not found of these concepts as too abstract. His intention is to point out that this is a “state of nation” one can almost reach out and touch. Therefore ideal is not only the focal point of Gokalp’s sociology, but also one of the most important components of the “nation”.

Then Ziya Gokalp explains the three biggest obstacles that the Nationalists have to overcome in order to achieve their aims. First one according to Gokalp is Socialism.<sup>102</sup> Undoubtedly, as this dissertation moves forward this will become a repetitive theme for nationalists, as the nationalist will clash with radical left elements up until 1980. However, Gokalp sees the “threat” of socialism as a future one because

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid, pg. 16

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. Pg. 42

<sup>100</sup> Kosoglu, Nevzat, “Turk Milliyetçiliginin Dogusu ve Ziya Gokalp”, Otuken, Istanbul, 2005, pg 149

<sup>101</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, “Makaleler-VII”, Rıza Kardas, 1981 pg.25-29

<sup>102</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, “Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak”, Inkilap, Istanbul, 1949, pg. 45

he argues that without an industrialized country, it is unlikely for socialism to gain supporters. The second threat pointed out by Gokalp is hopelessness.<sup>103</sup> This is very important at the time, because after years and years of losses, Ottoman Empire has shrunk to a very land mass, so from being arguably the most powerful force into world to a relatively small country is the shock that led to many people to hopelessness. This was the main problem at the time that Ottoman intellectuals were trying to solve. Gokalp also emphasizes that especially Western media was effective in creating this negative atmosphere, because they have been writing about the dissolution of Ottoman Empire for years. This is important to show that the western press held sway over many people at the time in the Empire. The third obstacle, according to Gokalp is the pressure on education by the foreigners. He criticizes especially Russians in doing so and “creating” different languages in an attempt to break the cultural bonds in Turkic world.<sup>104</sup> His suspicions have become reality in time and after being under control of Soviet Union for decades due to the education system in the Soviet Union the different Turkic dialects have become so different now, that they are considered to be different languages by many scholars.

Gokalp describes “homeland” (vatan) as a “holy country where lives are sacrificed for”<sup>105</sup> This is an important element which will be a recurring theme for the nationalists. Here, Gokalp is making a reference to Islamic and Turkish culture of battle. Turkish culture being a steppe culture has developed to include fighting wars and battles and this combined with the Jihad mentality of Islam, makes sacrificing life as the criteria to find out what homeland is.

This book is the definitely one of the most important works of Ziya Gokalp. The time that he has written this book is a very crucial time for Turkishness as Ottoman Empire was getting ready to be dismantled by the victorious Allies of the First World War. However, his next book and his masterpiece would be written under totally different conditions.

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid. Pg. 46

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, pg.47

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, pg.51

## Turkculugun Esaslari

“Turkculugun Esaslari” (Components of Turkism) is a book written by Ziya Gokalp in 1923. Just like “Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak” this book is a series of articles. However, instead discussing the problems and solutions, Gokalp focuses on creating an ideological manifesto for Turkish Nationalism and discusses how nationalism deals and/or should deal with various different subjects. It should be kept in mind that this book was written in the same year that Republic of Turkey was set up and only a year before the death of Gokalp and as a result definitely acted as a guidebook for the elite of young Republic.

Gokalp wrote this book in 1923 and this book was used as a “guide book” by the founders of the Republic.<sup>106</sup> As he has used this book to collect his ideas together in a bundle, he has tried to publish this book as an all-encompassing nationalist manifesto. He draw the lines of his life’s work and draw the borders of Turkish nationalism and Turkist thought.

First he describes how Turkish Nationalism has come to exist and looks at the historical perspective and the developments that have led to Turkish Nationalism being the founding ideology of Republic of Turkey. Certainly, this book should not be viewed as a sociological document but rather as a strategic program, a collection of guidelines. Throughout the entire book we see the emphasis on culture and the importance of culture as a defining element of the “nation”.

In as plain as possible terms, the “program” is defined in this book. Entire book is set out to discover what the fundamental element and ideal will be when building

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<sup>106</sup> Siddikoglu, Muharrem, 2009 “Ataturk’e yon verenler”, Ortadogu, 7 May, viewed 1.1.2015, <http://www.ortadogugazetesi.net/haber.php?id=12655>

the new state. This ideal is Turkism.<sup>107</sup> How Turkism is used as the catalyst is the main point of discussion in this book.

Gokalp sets out by criticizing the different approaches to nationalism. He states that this cannot be found in race, geography, tribe or religion as they fall short of being the efficient tools and/or bases for being the driving force for the nation. Hence culture is and should be the basis for the nation. This culture is the collective thoughts and ideals of every member.<sup>108</sup>

He concedes that at first “Turkeyism” creating a nationalist Turkey is the first and foremost goal as he sees the nationalist project as at first attainable in a limited geographical space. However, he adds on that Touran, the Pan-Turkist ideal, is and should be the driving force in creating the ideal. Gokalp states that after creating a “nationalist Turkey”, the second phase should be uniting the Turks West of the Caspian Sea which he names as “Oguzism”. He finishes up this point by stating that the final objective would have to be “Touranism” and uniting all the Turks under one state.<sup>109</sup> This is a paramount element of Turkish Nationalism and will become the divide as different short lived interpretations of Turkish Nationalism such as “Anatolianism”, “Ulusalcilik” etc. will appear in time to challenge the hegemonic nationalist discourse but will fail to do so. Gokalp’s astute observation which defines the will to unite all Turks under one banner will remain as one of the strongest notions that drive the Turkish Nationalist still after 90 years. His step by step project is also an important indicator to understand his methodological approach.

It is important to note that there might be a revolutionary even a “Leninist” characteristic in the manner how Gokalp is proscribing “cultural revolution” of sorts in order to familiarize the people with some aspects of the national culture that might be alien to some members. It is similar to Lenin’s arguments where he states that the

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid

<sup>108</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, “Turkculugun Esaslari”, Inkilap, Istanbul, 2009, pg. 37

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, pg. 41

working class is trade unionist by nature but socialist thought should be brought to them by the socialist intelligentsia.

It should be noted that in this book Gokalp also discusses the aspects of law practices, how economy should be run, how Turkist philosophy can and should be conducted and how the judiciary system should be set up. However, these are discussed very shortly. It is probable that Gokalp was planning to write more about these subjects in the future.

Further on Gokalp discusses the program for the cultural national project. There will be three main fundamental points where the building of nationalism will rise through education. These are; language, aesthetics and ethics. He states that Turkish ethics (obviously with a lot of it coming from Islam) is unique according to Gokalp and sets Turkish nation as a nation of its own aside from other nations.<sup>110</sup> Other issues such as law, religion, economy, politics and philosophy are also discussed.

Religion is an important aspect of this writing as it is still a matter of debate in Modern Turkey. Gokalp starts out by complaining about the lack of interest to the mosques and to religion in general in the society. In order to address this problem he proposes as much activity as possible in the mosque to be conducted in Turkish. He theorizes that if the religious obligations are conducted in Turkish instead of Arabic, more people will flock to the mosques and partake in religious activities.<sup>111</sup> This policy was conducted in the early days of the Republic.

So, Gokalp uses “substance” of Rene Descartes for the Turkish Nation as the judgement of the nation and argues that it is not in the blood but in the body that has come from the steppes of Central Asia. This is how he ties up the culture and the historical background of the Turkish Nation.

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid, pg. 133

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, pg. 158



In this book Gokalp distinguishes “culture” from “civilization”. Culture according to Gokalp is national, almost natural, original and democratic whereas civilization is international, unnatural, and conventional. It is important to note here the example of the difference between Anatolian Turkish of late 19<sup>th</sup> century with Ottoman Turkish of late 19<sup>th</sup> century might prove useful to understand the difference. Whereas Anatolian Turkish had developed naturally between the people, Ottoman Turkish was a form of Turkish which was operated on in the palace and was full of words borrowed from Arabic, Persian and later French. Therefore, Gokalp advises nationalists to look for the culture of the average people much like the German concept of “volk geist”. His idea is to combine the culture of Turks with the civilization of the West. It is implied that best parts of the civilization of different nations can be applied to Turks as the Western Nations have already done this amongst each other. Even the arts are viewed and many of these proposal were undertaken by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk during his rule as the President of Turkey between 1923 and 1938. It is really interesting to see how many of his ideas were put to use especially until 1940s.

Gokalp also mentions the importance of conscience in this work. He elaborates that families form the fundamental basis where the conscience is learned therefore family is the foundation stone of every nation according to Gokalp. Political structures are no exception to this according to Gokalp, as they receive the necessary conscience from the people who come from families. This forms the basis of ethics therefore is a key component of the nation as well as the state.

### **Gokalp’s Legacy**

After looking at Gokalp’s work, it can clearly be seen how influential he has been in defining Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Nationalist thought in general his affect can still be felt today. Especially in 1930s and 1920s many of his ideas have been implemented as policies by the founders of the Republic and have been used as a starting point for many of the reforms undertaken during the Republic, especially in the

early era. However, it should also be mentioned that when the founders of the Republic first met Ziya Gokalp, they thought of him as a bit too religious.<sup>112</sup> Islamism part of his ideas were used only sparingly and the new Republic and its founders seems to have omitted most of this part of his works. Except this exception however, most of his proposals have been implemented as policies and as his he prescribed the “fight” to set up a Nationalist Turkey has begun.

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<sup>112</sup> Kemal, Hasan Huseyin, “Ezberbozan Aciklamalar”, 09.12.2013, 32-33, print

1918-1938

### **Mustafa Kemal Ataturk**

*“One day if the painters cannot find the Turk’s visage, all they have to do is to look at a thunderbolt.”*

*-Mustafa Kemal Ataturk*

The Ottoman Empire signed the Mudros Armistice agreement in 1918. First Allied troops came to Istanbul in the same year. The occupation of the Ottoman lands had begun. According to the plans in the armistice and later in the Treaty of Sevres, Ottoman Empire would only be left with Western and Central Black Sea shores and Central Anatolia. Mustafa Kemal sought to gain a position in the new Ottoman Government to be able to fight off the invading Allies, but he was not able to achieve his goal and therefore set for Anatolia to organize a resistance movement from there. Coming to Samsun in the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1919, he quickly issues a decree and organizes congresses in Sivas and Erzurum; as a result a new election is called because the parliament in Istanbul was dismissed by the occupying Allied forces because the parliament accepted the “National Pact” (Misak-i Milli) which aimed to set up the borders of the Empire in a way that the Allied forces didn’t want. The new parliament opened in Ankara 23<sup>rd</sup> of April, 1920 and it was named “Grand National Assembly” (Buyuk Millet Meclisi). Mustafa Kemal was elected to become the speaker of the parliament, effectively becoming the head of the national struggle. In the parliament, there were three groups; The Turkists, who wore kalpaks, and were the biggest group, The Ottomanists, who wore fezzes and were the second biggest group, and finally The Islamists who wore turbans on their heads. In the meantime, the French, with the help of the Armenians brought to the region, have failed to invade cities in Southern Turkey (Maras, Antep and Urfa), were defeated by the local population of the cities and were pushed back to modern day Syria. Also the Armenians who were trying to set up a state in Eastern Anatolia were defeated by the Turkish Army led by Kazım Karabekir. However, the biggest threat to the national struggle was from the Greeks who have

invaded western Anatolia and started to march towards Ankara to end the war in Anatolia. First the Greek army was stopped in two defensive battles but with reinforcements from Greece arriving, the Greek army started marching again and managed to come within hundred kilometers of Ankara, however first they were stopped under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal and Field Marshall Fevzi Pasha. As the Greek defeat looked inevitable, the Italians who were not really happy with the part of Anatolia left Turkey. Then, the Turkish army beat the Greeks in one decisive battle in 30<sup>th</sup> of August, 1922 and liberated entire Western Anatolia. After that, the Turkish Army started marching north to the Dardanelles. When they came to Dardanelles, the occupying English force met them; there was a stand-off and the British fearing that the beleaguered soldiers of its occupation army were not willing to fight and support for war have dropped significantly in Great Britain asked for a cease fire meeting. In the cease fire agreement, the Turkish nationalists were able to get back Eastern Thrace in addition to what they have already liberated; however there wasn't a specific deal made for Istanbul. This also signaled the end for the sultan Mehmet VI who abdicated throne and boarded a British ship to leave the city.

Lausanne Treaty was signed in the July of 1923. This served as the founding agreement for Turkey. Republic of Turkey was declared 29<sup>th</sup> of October, 1923. After the setting up of the Republic huge reforms were put in place. Caliphate was abolished (technically, it was absorbed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly, so on theoretical terms the Turkish Grand National Assembly is the Caliph, however this has never been mentioned) along with the sultanate and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk was elected the first president. There was almost a complete overhaul of the system; the alphabet was changed from the Arabic script to the Latin alphabet, there was a mobilization for education, women were given their voting rights, Turkish History Institution and Turkish Language Institution were set up. These were followed by the reforms of dress, a language reform and a drastic change to the education system. The new state set up was a secular state and the state exerted control over religious issues via the ministry of religious affairs. Polygamy was abolished. The representatives of the parliament were elected through elections and a new constitution was drafted in 1924. The new capital was Ankara where the Grand National Assembly was established. Republican Peoples' Party (Cumhuriyet Halk

Partisi) was set up as the ruling party of the country. The Quran, the holy book of Islam, was translated into Turkish allowing everybody to read Quran firsthand. The penal code became a changed version of the Italian penal code, whereas civil code was became a modified version of the Swiss civic code. Model farms were set up and new technological advancements were encouraged in the area of farming. Factories were set up and the country went through a rapid industrialization, also many of the existing factories owned by foreigners were nationalized. Moreover, due to the corporatist economic policies of the Republic Turkey went through the Great Depression relatively undamaged. Finally, there was an effort to implement a land reform.

There were some discontent amongst some of the groups and there were three major uprisings during this time. First Sheikh Said, a Zaza landowner, unhappy with the attempted land reforms rebelled claiming that Islam was under direct attack from the new government. After lasting four about a month it was crushed. Sheikh Said and his co-conspirators were hung after a decision by martial court. Secondly, there was the Menemen Incident, a group of radical Islamists led by Dervish Mehmet, who claimed to be the Mahdi, attacked the town's garrison and killed the soldiers and took over the town, the Turkish Army quickly responded by taking the town back and setting up courts to punish the rebels. There was also a rebellion from the Tunceli province, this was led by people who did not want to be incorporated into the system of the newly setup nation state. This time Turkish Military was prepared and used airplanes and the latest technological weapons to fight the resistance. Although the rebellion lasted for two years it was sporadic.

Also during this time there were attempts to turn to country into a fully-fledged democracy with a multi-party system or at least a two party system, however both of these attempts ended up finishing unsuccessfully. First, the Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Firkasi) was set up by the important figures of the Turkish Independence War in 1924. Many important army officers and political figures were in the party such as; Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Kazim Karabekir, Refet Bele and Rauf Orbay. However the Progressive Republican Party was closed after six months of existence as some of the members were found to be in conspiracy to kill

President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. A second attempt was made in 1930 when Atatürk personally asked his close friend Ali Fethi Okyar to set up an opposing party to the Republican Peoples' Party. However, due to the tension created by this party's existence and the party attracting people who were against the regime (not against Republican Peoples' Party like Atatürk wanted), the founder of the party Fethi Okyar shut the party down after three months.

After retreating to Istanbul due to his declining health, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the first President of Republic of Turkey, died 10<sup>th</sup> of November, 1938. This led to İsmet İnönü, one of the famous commanders of the Turkish Independence War and the chief negotiator for The Lausanne Treaty getting elected to become the next president, even though he wasn't the prime minister of Turkey at the time.

### **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Life**

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was born in 1881 in Thessaloniki (Now, in Greece, Then in the Ottoman Empire). His father's name was Ali Rıza and his mother's name was Zübeyde, his father died before he was born. From an area where has traditionally produced the most commanding officers for the Ottoman Army, he was educated in the military schools and then became an officer in the Ottoman army. After fighting in the Balkan wars and taking an important part against the uprising of March the 31<sup>st</sup> (Which was a fundamentalist revolt against the constitutional monarchy), he actively fought in the First World War as an officer. That is where he has begun to rise quickly due to his successes in three different fronts, but especially in the battle of Dardanelles against the British troops, which was a huge success in the part of the Ottoman Empire when the invading British army was pushed back to the sea in Gallipoli.

After the loss of the First World War by the Ottomans, he gained popular support amongst some of the other Ottoman Generals became the leader of the Anatolian (Ankara) Movement and led the Turkish soldiers to victory against the countries

(Greece, France, Russia, and Italy) that occupied Anatolia. This war period between 1919 and 1922 is known as the “Turkish Independence War”. After the war, with the peace negotiations he was able to set up a new country, from the remnants of the Ottoman Empire; the Republic of Turkey. He is seen as the founding father of the Republic. He was elected to be the president by the parliament after the declaration of the Republic in 1923 and was the leader of many reforms that transferred the Turkish society dramatically. The reforms were aimed at many different places from rapid industrialization to how people dress, from sports to the railroads and from the literacy rate to women’s voting rights. He remained in office until his death in tenth of November, 1938.

As Celnarova also points out, it was widely known that Mustafa Kemal was an Ottoman Army officer who grew up with reading the works of Ziya Gokalp and was a follower of his ideals.<sup>113</sup> He was really inspired by Gokalp and always kept a bust of him on his working table. According to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder and the first president of the Republic of Turkey, nationalism was one of the most important things for a state as it was one of the six main ideas of his ideology (famously known as, “Alti Ok”, “Six arrows” is the ideology which Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi- Republican People’s party still, now.). Suat Akgul seems to agree as he points out that Atatürk has pointed out that Atatürk described the Turkish Nationalism’s first priority as “The independence of the Turkish Nation.”<sup>114</sup> Ugur Mumcu, a famous Kemalist writer, who was killed by terrorists by placing a bomb in his car, states in one of his articles that: “M. K. Ataturk should be counted as one of the leading figures in the history who has gone to choose nationalism in the way of anti-imperialism.”<sup>115</sup> This is due to the fact that he used Nationalism, in order to motivate the people of Anatolia and unite them, during the Turkish Independence War between 1919 and 1922. This war was against the imperialists who won the First World War and then conquered various parts of the Ottoman Empire. Even though many claim that Ataturk followed the footsteps of

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<sup>113</sup> Celnarova, Xenia, “The Religious Ideas of Early Turks From The Point of View of Ziya Gökalp”, *Asian and African Studies*, volume 6, Bratislava, 1997, pg 104

<sup>114</sup> Akgul, Suat, “Nutuk’ta Azınlıklar Meselesi ve Atatürk’ün Azınlıklar Hakkındaki Görüşleri”, *Atatürk Araştırma Mekezi Dergisi*”, Vol. 10, 1994, pg. 29

<sup>115</sup> Mumcu, Ugur, “Uyan Gazi Kemal”, *Cumhuriyet*, Ankara, 1979, pg 73

Gokalp<sup>116</sup>, Tanil Bora, a famous left-wing author, disagrees: “Ataturk nationalism,” the official nationalism of Turkey since the founding of the republic, is in a crisis due to the difficulty of balancing the tension between a “French-style” conception of nationalism, based on the principle of citizenship and territoriality, and ethnicist variations (“German-style” nationalism). Ziya Gokalp's synthesis, based on cultural identity, rested on an extremely delicate balance between a territorial conception of nationalism based on citizenship, handed down from Ottoman patriotism and the conceptions of nationalism that emphasize the nation's uniqueness and eternal existence.”<sup>117</sup> This was looked into in more detail in the previous chapter. It can be seen here, it has been argued by some that Kemal Pasha has taken nationalism on an ethnic level. This is a highly arguable claim since Mustafa Kemal described the Turkish Nation as “Turkish Nation is the people of Turkey who set up the Republic of Turkey.” Also, maybe his most famous saying was “How happy for one who calls himself a Turk!” Although there are debates about whether the term Turk only appeals to one ethnic group or many, I think these provide enough evidence for that it refers to the all the citizens. Also, in the founding agreement of Republic of Turkey, The Lausanne Treaty, it is clearly stated that the only minorities in Turkey are the religious minorities.<sup>118</sup> In Turkish language, there is a great difference between Turkish and Turk. While in English Turkish refers to someone from Turkey and can be used as an adjective for example in Turkish language Turk is used as a noun for someone from Turkey and also as an adjective for things from Turkey. As the columnist Ozkan puts it only radical groups use Turkish (Türkiyeli in Turkish) to describe themselves.<sup>119</sup>

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself was a Turkish Nationalist. His remarks on the Turkish Nation from his speech from the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Republic can still be listened on different digital platforms<sup>120</sup> “the Turkish Nation is hard working, the Turkish Nation is Intelligent!” (Türk Milleti çalışkandır, Türk Milleti zekidir!) He wanted to establish more modern state and a very nationalist one. In the time of the rule of the Ottoman Empire, the ethnic Turks were not a part of the ruling class, even though the

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<sup>116</sup> Ormeci, Ozan, “<http://ydemokrat.blogspot.com/2008/08/kemalizmin-yeniden-douu.html>”

<sup>117</sup> Bora, Tanıl, “Nationalist Discourses in Turkey”, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 12.2/3, 2002, pg. 437

<sup>118</sup>The full text can be viewed at: [http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty\\_of\\_Lausanne](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne)

<sup>119</sup> Ozkan, Abdulkadir, “Türkiye Halkı ya da Türkiyeli”, *Milli Gazete*, 16.04.09

<sup>120</sup> Can be viewed: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m3JBSzns8C4>



ruling class was taught and educated in the ways of Turko-Islamic culture. This was a result of the fact that all the collapses of the Great Turkic Empires of the history resulted from the power struggles between families or members of the same family. This was such a problem that has bothered the Ottoman Emperors throughout the founding period of the Empire. Finally, Mehmet II, with getting the necessary permissions from the religious authorities, has made a law that allowed only one heir to be alive in order to avoid these problems. At this time, the Empire has seen its golden age. Only at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century after at least one hundred and fifty years, this law was removed by Ahmet I. Then the decline of the Empire began. As a result of all this, the ethnically Turkish subjects were well protected and remained loyal most of the time, but their strength in affecting the politics of the Empire was very limited until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. They lived in the heart of a huge empire and constituted a portion of the army, but they were politically dormant. In an atmosphere like this, Mustafa Kemal tried to restore the pride of “Turkishness”. He constantly tried to emphasize his Turkishness.

Today, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk is commemorated by many memorials throughout Turkey, such as the Ataturk International Airport in Istanbul, the Ataturk Bridge over the Golden Horn (Halic), the Ataturk Dam, and Ataturk Stadium. Ataturk statues have been erected in many Turkish cities, and practically all towns have their own memorial to him. His face and name are seen and heard everywhere in Turkey; his portrait can be seen in all public buildings, in schools, in school books, on all Turkish lira banknotes, and in the homes of many Turkish families.

Anthony D. Smith, in his book *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, stresses the importance of myths, memories and symbols by stating: “The myth of being ancestrally related, the idea of being selected, memories of communal experiences, religion and its institutions, and common cultural symbols created upon these things can generate a powerful sense of belonging.”<sup>121</sup> So how Mustafa Kemal Ataturk is viewed by the people of Turkey bears a great

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<sup>121</sup> Smith, Anthony D. “The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism”, University Press of New England, Hannover, 2000, pg. 71

importance to how he is understood. Of course a distinction should be made here. How he is portrayed by the state and how he is viewed by the Nationalists (Keep in mind there are numerous groups in Turkey that call them Nationalist.). To understand how he is viewed by the people, it is best to look how different ideological groups view him.

As a result of this short but very active life, Atatürk has become a very important figure in Turkish Society. But the real question lies in the point, whether Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is really seen for all he is done, or he is referred to. His image in the collective memory of the nation is different in different political spectrums and is different on different displays, as it is clear from the different photographs of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk that people tend to hang on their walls.

His images and which ones are used in various places are a good indication of the hanger's political ideology. If the photograph of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on the wall is one picture where he is praying, it is a clear indication of the fact that the "hanger" of the painting is a conservative. If the photograph of Atatürk is one where he is in a military dress and a moustache, it is most likely that the owner of the photograph is a Nationalist. If the photograph on the wall is one of his photos in tuxedo and without moustache, it is a good indication of the person who hung it up has left-wing political ideas.

At the exact time of his death, on every 10 November, at 09:05 a.m., almost all vehicles and the people on the streets of the Republic of Turkey leave whatever they are doing for one minute and stand up in respect and remembrance for a minute of silence. In 1951, the Turkish Parliament issued a law namely the article 5816 outlawing insults to his reminiscence (Turkish: Hatirasi) or destruction of objects representing him. The demarcation between a criticism and an insult was defined as a political argument and the minister of Justice (a political position) was assigned in Article 5 to execute the law rather than the public prosecutor.

Although Mustafa Kemal Atatürk only lived for fifty seven years, he has done much in his lifetime. His rise to fame came slowly but surely. First, he was an active member of the “Movement Army” (hareket ordusu), which suppressed the pro-sultan revolt of 31<sup>st</sup> of March, this revolt was attempting to get rid of the constitution and was against the ruling party of the Union and Progress (Ittihat ve Terakki Partisi). After that, he was one of the army officials who secretly went to Libya to organize the local forces to fight against the invading imperialist Italy. Later, he took part in the Balkan Wars but was overshadowed by Enver Pasha who liberated Edirne from the Bulgarian army. In the First World War, he was active in a lot of fronts and he stopped the English expansion from South at nearly the point of today’s Turkey Iraq border. He also helped the Ottoman Empire to recover some of the cities in the Eastern front in Eastern Anatolia. But, undoubtedly his biggest success came in the Dardanelles as he commanded a very successful attack on the British and the Anzac troops, pushing the attacking army to the sea. The Battle of Dardanelles has become a celebrated event in Turkish culture and is seen as the foundation stone of the Turkish Independence War. After the First World War, Atatürk has led the Turkish army to victory and set up the new Republic of Turkey. He introduced many reforms in different areas, and gave great importance to the history, literature and changing the society.

Also an important factor is the difference of how Atatürk is viewed by different people with different political opinions. Some of the nationalist chants are “We are Turks! We are Turkists! We are Kemalists!” (Turkuz, Turkçuyuz, Atatürkçuyuz!) and “We are soldiers of Mustafa Kemal!” (Mustafa Kemal’in askerleriyiz!). These slogans can be heard in various nationalist rallies and he is usually referred as Kemal Pasha and/or as Basbug Atatürk (Basbug title is also given to Alparslan Türkeş) making most of the references to his military resilience and successes which are attributed to his military genius. Along with this in the Nationalist intellectual circles the references of that he made to the legendary grey wolf and his comments about “the enslaved Turks” (Other Turkic people who live under the rule of other states) are widely discussed.

Also in Nationalist circles Ataturk's saying "If the homeland is in question, everything else is just details." Whereas the left (secularist nationalists-Ulusalci or Ataturkcu-Ataturkist) look at him more as a reformer a revolutionary even, and refer to themselves as the guards of Ataturk's reforms. In the last decade, a new flag appeared on Turkey's streets which were first seen in the period of secularist rallies before the election in 2007, in this flag in addition to the normal flag of Republic of Turkey was a photograph of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and it was taken as a dear artifact by the secularist leftists. Also, the Turkish Armed Forces (The Turkish Military) has taken up side with the social democrats and the secularist nationalists and have pledged allegiance to his "revolutions". Whereas the newly emerged "center-right" coalition make references to his words about democracy, (due to their electoral support) such as "The sovereignty rests on the nation without any condition" (Egemenlik kayitsiz sartsiz Milletindir.) and also poke fun at the left by saying instead of praising Ataturk, the left should work just as they are doing by restating Ataturk's "Stop praising me, tell me what you are going to do about the future." (Benim ovmeysi birakiniz, gelecekle ilgili neler yapacaginizi soyleyiniz." Or "The one who loves the homeland the most is the one who does his job the best." (Vatanini en cok seven isini en iyi yapandir.) It is very clear from these examples that people from every different angle find Ataturk's sayings and tries to use them according to their agenda.

The nationalists see Mustafa Kemal Ataturk more as a war winning leader<sup>122</sup>, a warrior-leader in line with the highly militaristic Turkish traditions, since he won a great battle (The Turkish Independence War), he is viewed as the continuation of a legacy of Basbug's (Leader of Leaders) along with the likes of Oghuz Khan (The Semi-Legendary ancestor of the Southern Turkic people; the Turkish, Turkmens, Uzbeks, Azeris, Uyghurs etc.), Sultan Alparslan (Sultan of the Great Seljuk Empire, winner of the battle of Manzikert in 1071, which resulted in leading the Turks into Anatolia) and Mehmet II "The Conqueror" (The Conqueror of Istanbul in 1453). The Nationalist doctrine "The Nine Lights" was also greatly influenced by the six arrows of the Republican People Party of the time of Mustafa Kemal. According to Eric Jan Zürcher,

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<sup>122</sup> The message of the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party for 10th of November "Ataturk Remembrance day; <http://www.mhp.org.tr/gbk.php?content=323&cat=19>

“The Nine Lights” is six arrows adapted to the 1970’s.<sup>123</sup> Also, on trial after the military coup of 1980, the leader of the Nationalist Movement and the Nationalist Movement Party, Alparslan Turkes said that “You are accusing me of being a fascist, I am not a fascist! I am a Kemalist!” The Nationalists in Turkey are usually highly religious and pious as well and defend their position on Mustafa Kemal Ataturk by also looking at him from a religious perspective and giving example of his speeches on the beauty of Islam. His sayings about being a Turk and the importance of being a Turk are quoted by the Nationalist. One of his sayings sums it up for the Nationalists: “The only thing that is supernatural about my existence is being a Turk!”

The Kurdists view Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as someone who has turned them into the slaves of the Turks and who started so-called assimilation process of the Kurds. Of course these ideas cannot be spoken in public, because the public outcry would be too strict on already tense Kurdist political and terrorist activities. As a result, Kurdists don’t mention him in any way in public neither as positive nor negative.

The Non-Kemalist Left, the Marxists, (Feel free to use Anti-Kemalist instead) had to form a different and distinct entity in this work because although the traditional and overwhelmingly more popular left is traditionally secularist-Kemalist, this type of left certainly is not) although highly unpopular in Turkey (totaling up for a vote of less than 1 percent) has distinct views on Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and Kemalism. This ideology views Kemalism as a laborer hating bourgeoisie ideology and all the reforms that were taken during Ataturk’s time were in order to create a bourgeoisie class to create capitalist society. His failure to attempt the much planned land reform (or rather only partially implementing a land reform) also counts as a minus in the books of these traditional Marxists. They see Kemalist reforms as the biggest obstacle before the proletariat class in Turkey. Again it should be repeated that this group forms a tiny portion of the society, but admittedly they are the most open criticizers of Ataturk and his reforms. Also an important factor is that most of these Marxist still blame Mustafa

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<sup>123</sup> Zurcher, Erik J., “Review of Turkey: A modern History”, I.B. Tauris, London, 1993 pg. 257

Kemal for the death of three communists', led by Mustafa Suphi who is considered to be the first Turkish communists, questionable death in the Black Sea (Their rowing boat was overturned.).

The more traditional Left in Turkey (referred mostly as "Ulusalci" which when translated means Nationalist but has very different connotations to the word "Milliyetci" which also means Nationalist) to view Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as an idol, a savior, as an ideal statesman, almost as an over-human figure. This portion of the society mainly consists of the sympathizers of the Republican People's Party and mostly tends to lead more secular lifestyles. Ataturk and his reforms are seen as a great gift and it should be the duty of every citizen to be a vanguard of these reforms. Ataturk principles and reform lay in the foundation of the Turkish Republic and therefore should be protected. The Turkish Military (at least the most of the nerve center, as you go down the ranks it is much easier to find the traditional nationalist) is also a part of this political group and their stance towards Mustafa Kemal Ataturk is the same. Also people from this political point of view have carried their affection for Ataturk by supporting many different items on them that refer to Ataturk such as; I-phone covers with Ataturk's signature and/or his picture, wearing pins with Ataturk's picture on their coats and even some tattooing his signature on their arms. This is mostly the result of the electoral success of the AKP (The Justice and the Development Party) and the concerns of this secularist people have resulted in them attaching themselves more and more close to the memory of Ataturk. Coupled with the fear of an "Iranian Revolution" type of a revolution taking place in Turkey, these concerned people have begun to show their loyalty to Ataturk and the reforms he undertook openly and more colorfully each day.

The Conservatives' views on Mustafa Kemal Ataturk range from admiration to hatred. Though it must be said, whether be it out of fear or respect most of these ideas (both positive and negative) are kept hidden. It is obviously unclear what every individual thinks but while speaking, the conservatives tend to be respectful especially towards his military successes. In a TV show, two years ago, a conservative lady while discussing the issue about the entrance of hijab to the University.(which in Ataturk's

time was permitted, by the way) confessed that she didn't like Ataturk, by saying "If nothing bad is going to happen to me, I do not like Ataturk.". This type of conservative uproars against Ataturk is only very few and far between, at least in media or out in public. The only very radical Islamists are at the point of hating him. Most are thankful for his efforts and leadership during the war although most of them disagree with most of the reforms after the Turkish Independence War.

The Liberals and the Freedomist-Leftists ("Ozgurlukcu Solcu" –this is really the people who are usually formal leftists and refuse to admit that they have gone "right" and call themselves "Freedomist-Leftists" but in reality they are just pseudo-left and have almost identical views with the "right-liberals".) are against the "Kemalism today" and agree with most of the reforms that Ataturk did but argue that they were innovative for the time but these must be left at the time and Turkey is held back by the Kemalist ideals in the twenty first century. They argue that there must be more freedoms and Turkey should embrace its (so-called) cultural diversity. Some extreme liberals funded by unknown sources have gathered around to form the "Taraf" (Side) newspaper and have continuously asked for Kemalist reforms to be torn down. The editor in chief of this newspaper Ahmet Altan argued in his notorious "Atakurt" article that if Ataturk were a Kurd, most of the Turks would be calling themselves Kurds by now.<sup>124</sup> This article caused him to be fired from his column from the mainstream newspaper, ironically named "Milliyet" (the nationality).

Starting from 2005, there was a reform on Turkey's currency, the Lira. Because of high inflation rates and a few devaluations the money has lost its value and a can of coke cost about a million Turkish Liras. As a result, the six zeros were thrown away, by the ruling Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development Party). This process also saw an introduction of new banknotes. These banknotes contained new photographs of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. These new photographs have been the source of a new discussion in the Turkish society; all the photos of Mustafa Kemal were

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<sup>124</sup> Altan, Ahmet, "Atakurt", Milliyet, 17.04.1995

changed to bear a moustache similar to the one most of the Justice and Development Party's officials, like the President Abdullah Gul and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. There were a lot of articles on various internet sites criticizing the new banknotes because they printed a slightly distorted photo of Ataturk's moustache in order to make it look like a Justice and Development Party sympathizer.

When one looks at how different ideological groups view Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, one might get the idea that the groups which have had the most problems with the establishment might have the worst feelings towards the regime and therefore its founding father. This cannot be further from the truth. Most of the Kemalist Left and the Nationalists actually are the ones who have suffered most from the establishment but remain fiercely loyal to the establishment and to the Kemalist principles. Most of the Kemalist Left today actually derives from a more radical form of left from the 1970s, and they had to fight against the Police, the Army and the Nationalists in a quest to make a "revolution" in Turkey to create a Socialist state. After the military coup of 1980 many leftists were tortured and hung by the military junta. The Nationalists have suffered through even worse as during the 40s they had suffered persecution and torture from the left leaning Inonu regime, whereas after fighting amongst the police and the military in 1970s they were taken into custody by the military junta of the 1980 and were treated if not worse, same as the leftists. One Nationalist noted "Along with the Leftists we were forced to sing the National Anthem and I saw most of my *ulkudas* (ideal mate) cry, not because of the torture but because the National Anthem which we proudly sing were used as a tool against us to torture us. Even with these things in the past these groups have stuck with the establishment."

The Turkish State (and its various apparatuses) depicts an image of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk on different ways throughout the life of a normal Turk, though it is almost always faultless, different sides of Ataturk are shown according to the occasion or the place. For example, if a war victory is being remembered Ataturk photos wearing military uniforms are used whereas if a civil development like the establishment of the Republic is celebrated his photos wearing suits are used.



In all the primary schools and the high schools of Turkey, you can either see a mural, statue or an effigy of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. There is also a picture of him in every classroom, with his “Adress to the Youth” speech (Where he advises the Turkish Youth to fight against invaders if the country is attacked again). This is a way of educating the youth of Turkey about the importance of Ataturk and his reforms and how he is an important figure of the history of Turks. In the “Student’s Oath” (Ogrenci Andi), this is similar to the pledge of allegiance in the United States of America and is sworn everyday by primary school kids before starting the classes in addition to the National Anthem ceremonies conducted on Mondays and Fridays to open and close the week, there is a line about Ataturk: “O great Ataturk! I swear that I am going to walk to the goal that you have shown and through the way you have opened.” (Ey buyuk Ataturk, actigin yolda gosterdigin hedefe durmadan yuruyecegime and icerim.)<sup>125</sup> This shows the education system in Turkey’s intention to raise the kids as a follower of Ataturk.

The Turkish Military is an important figure in a Turks’ daily life. In line with Turkic tradition from time immemorial, the military has been very actively involved in politics. This much involvement might seem very strange to an outsider, but in a traditionally militaristic culture, the army is bound to affect a lot of things from the daily life to foreign affairs. Turks are proud of their militaristic culture and this didn’t lead to disaster like it did for the Germans or the Japanese. In fact, this militaristic culture has led to the survival of Turks in Anatolia after the First World War. Also coupled with Islamic beliefs of Martyrdom, this militaristic culture is highly accepted in Turkey. Ataturk is seen both as a commander and a statesman and it is seen as a duty to protect his reforms by the Turkish Army. In the 27<sup>th</sup> of April, 2007, in the upcoming elections for the President (which was supposed to be done in the Parliament, but since then there was a referendum and the people are going to choose the next one), there was a big political turmoil and the Army’s website has issued a statement<sup>126</sup> which is now commonly

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<sup>125</sup> The full oath can be found here: <http://www.ozelbilgiler.com/andimiz-ogrenci-andi.html>

<sup>126</sup> The full document is here:

[http://www.tsk.tr/10\\_ARSiv/10\\_1\\_Basin\\_Yayin\\_Faaliyetleri/10\\_1\\_Basin\\_Aciklamalari/2007/BA\\_08.html](http://www.tsk.tr/10_ARSiv/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_Basin_Aciklamalari/2007/BA_08.html)

referred as an “e-memorandum” (e-muhtira) stating that anyone who has problems with the principles of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his saying “How happy for the one who calls himself a Turk!” is enemy of the establishment in the eyes of the army. This has led to new elections to move to a couple of months earlier so that the Presidential elections can be done in the newly elected Parliament. This is a clear indication of how the Turkish Army views Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.

In every civil service building (police stations, civil registry offices, building of governors, etc.) there are pictures of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk hung on walls. This is the state implementation of Ataturk as the founding father figure of the Republic. Coupled with his last name “Ataturk” (given to him and only him by the parliament in 1934), meaning Ancestral Turk, Father Turk, this is used to strengthen the position of Mustafa Kemal in the eyes of the public by creating a “common ancestry”. Of course it should be kept in mind that most of the statues of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk were erected post humously, just like the laws protecting “memory of Ataturk” were passed after him.

Outside Turkey, Ataturk’s legacy has continued in various places across the world. In 1981, the centennial of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's birth, the memory of Ataturk was honored by both the United Nations and UNESCO, which declared it The Year of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in the World and adopted the Resolution on the Ataturk Centennial. There is a joint ANZAC memorial and Ataturk Memorial in Wellington, New Zealand. Also in Canberra Australia, a similar joint ANZAC and Kemal Ataturk Memorial is erected. There is also an Ataturk Forest in Israel and a square named after Ataturk in Rome. There are many roads named after him in several countries: the Kemal Ataturk Marg in New Delhi, India, Kemal Ataturk Avenue in Dhaka, Bangladesh, the Ataturk Avenue in the center of Islamabad in Pakistan, the Ataturk Road in the southern city of province of Sindh of Pakistan called Larkana where Ataturk visited back in 1923, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk street in the Naco district of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, and the street and memorial Ataturk in the Amsterdam-Noord borough of Amsterdam, Netherlands. The entrance to Princess Royal Harbor in Albany, Western Australia is named Ataturk Channel. The 44th President of the United

States, Barrack Hussein Obama, who visited his tomb and praised him, also expressed his view regarding Ataturk's legacy at his speech towards "the Muslim world" by stating Ataturk's "greatest legacy is Turkey's strong and secular democracy, and that is the work that this assembly carries on today."

From the discussions and findings in this part, there is an obvious continuity in the Turkish society and a big majority of the society still sees Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as a leader and the founding father of the Republic of Turkey. The differences on the minds obviously come from the ideological differences. Every different ideology has wanted to see some part of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk that is in line with their ideas. Although, not violent like the 70s, Turkey is a country that is going through a process of rapid political polarization again and this polarization process is starting to bring out very different views on Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.

The legacy of Ataturk lives on statues, road names, stadiums and many other places both in Turkey and outside of Turkey. Views on Mustafa Kemal Ataturk are different in the Turkish society and the views are mostly based on how a particular person aligned to an ideology feels towards regime are the main deciders on how they feel about Mustafa Kemal, the history of the hardships that their ideology has faced over the history of the Republic are generally not related towards their feelings towards Ataturk. Though it can be justly said that a clear majority of Turkey today like Ataturk (for sometimes different reasons) and are thankful for what he has done for the country. Moreover, the best indication of someone's feeling towards Ataturk can be understood from the photograph can be understood through the photograph of Mustafa Kemal they put up in their workplace. Although, this might seem like a small nuance to some, it is a big indication of the political leanings of the owner of the photograph of Kemal Ataturk.

## State-Nation Relationship

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's objective was to create a nation-state, after the Turkish Independence war.<sup>127</sup> With this goal in mind he sought to nationalize every aspect of the newly found republic.

First came the history writing process. The first goal in this area was the attempt to make the Turkish people discover their own past and identity. With this goal in mind the, research had begun in history in a great depth. This had relations with positivism as many of the early Republican historians were influenced by positivist thinkers. According to the thought at the time, history was almost a class for "citizenship" and was used as a great tool for the political learning process. As a result, national history was used as a tool to lead the "nation".

There were many congresses gathered in order to discuss the history research in the Republic of Turkey. In these congresses the importance of national history writing was emphasized greatly.

The most important milestone of the Turkish history writing process was the discovery of the Orkhon Inscriptions. After the discovery and the deciphering of Inscriptions in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was apparent that Turkish historians had a right to claim their roots in Central Asia. These roots were almost forgotten after the Turks became Muslim and the Ottoman historians mostly worked on the history of the Turks who were Muslim. With this new found Pre-Muslim Turkish roots, an array of eager Turkish historians discovered some important artifacts in Central Asia. Since most of the work on Turkish history was conducted by non-Turks, these new found discoveries proved a great opportunity for the Turkish historians to defend "The Glory and the

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<sup>127</sup> Findley, Carter, "Modern Türkiye Tarihi: İslam, Milliyetçilik ve Modernlik", Timaş, İstanbul, 2010, pg. 250

Civilization” of The Turks.<sup>128</sup> As a result, eager work has begun on this subject and in truth “a glorious past” has been discovered by the historians. The sixteen great empires of the Turks were added to the Flag of the Presidency as sixteen stars in order to show that the Turkish Republic was a continuation of the same tradition.

Along with the Turkist sentiments in Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s history writing policies there was a great deal of Anatolianist views and attempts to tie the Turkish history with the ancient tribes of Anatolia and the surrounding areas. These attempts were to stop the Armenians and Greeks from declaring that all through history Anatolia was their own land and that the Turks only came and conquered them through force in the late eleventh century. These attempts at researching the roots of ancient Anatolian civilizations have proved to be hard but some of them delivered surprising results. The roots of Hattians, Sumerians and the Etruscans<sup>129</sup> have been found to be related to Turks (Proto-Turks, to be exact), these new discoveries have caused quite a stir in the ancient historians all around the world.<sup>130</sup> Also the relationship with the Huns who have mastered the art of war in their time have proven to be encouraging results for the historians. With the mix of Anatolian heritage and a Central Asian heritage the history writing of Pre-Muslim Turks were ready and with the addition of the Muslim Turks’ history Mustafa Kemal and his followers have achieved a great length of history that stretched back over two thousand years and their attempt to prove the “greatness of the Turkish Nation” has seemed to have a real footing academically backed up. Although this was obviously vital in order to create “the modern Turkish conscience”, there were many more aspects that need to go through a phase of fast paced “Nationalization”. It must be said though the history writing process was the foundation stone for all the new reforms to come.

It should be noted that Anatolianism would catch on, later, in many different political groups. Not only in the center left, but also in the conservative right as many

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<sup>128</sup> Panel led by; Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, “Turk tarihinin ana hatlari”, 1931, Ankara, Kaynak, pg.77-88

<sup>129</sup>Although some historians still disagree.

<sup>130</sup> Topcubasi, Arslan, “Bati ve Sark Meselesi”, 2000, Ankara, Kultur ve Turizm Bakanligi, pg. 176

important Turkish intellectuals such as Nurettin Topcu and Dunder Taser were interested in a more conservative version of Anatolianism. Anatolianism is still existent in a lot of different political parties and movements however it should be noted that these strands are getting weaker each day. This is sometimes also referred as Turkeyism (Turkiyecilik) or as Turkey Nationalism (Turkiye Milliyetçiligi). Also an important nationalist thinker, Erol Gungor would be inspired by this wave of Anatolianism.<sup>131</sup>

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was aware of the fact that in order to develop the consciousness of nationality, it was essential that the Turkish language be standardized and literacy is widespread among the nation. When the Republic was established the literacy rate although unknown was thought to be between three and ten percent. Atatürk and his colleagues have realized that the Arabic script was harder to learn than the Latin script and therefore created a new Turkish alphabet from the scratch so the literacy rate became virtually zero percent. Starting from the Alphabet Reform in 1927, just in eight years the literacy rate increased to over twenty percent. The new language consisted of the old Ottoman Turkish words, some Turkish words that were taken from Middle Turkish and a great number of Arabic words. Over eighty six percent of the words in Turkish have Turkic roots whereas the Arabic language has the most number of words loaned from a foreign tongue.<sup>132</sup>

Although it is obvious that in some sciences there were great advancements and there was a will to achieve a society with a bigger basis on scientific knowledge and the people were hard pressed to gain more knowledge and have broader sense of the world. On the other hand, it must be known that most of these advancements in were in social sciences and the life sciences were not developed that much on a comparative basis.

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<sup>131</sup> Gungor, Erol, "Kultur Degismesi ve Milliyetçilik", Otuken, Istanbul, 2010, preface

<sup>132</sup> "Numerical list on the origins of the words"-Turkish Language Association 2005

Obviously, in order to create a national consciousness, a national symbol was needed to be used to rally people under. The Grey wolf of the legends was chosen as the national symbol. According to the legend, it was either the savior of the Turks from a great ordeal of the past or Turks were descendant of a grey wolf and a man. With these myths still told in Anatolia after thousands of years, the grey wolf was an easy choice. It was printed in the new money of the young Republic. It was printed on the stamps. The first Ferry was named Grey Wolf. Petroleum Office, the gas station company, was given a logo of a Grey Wolf. The Justice Minister Mahmut Esat was given the last name Bozkurt (Grey Wolf). The new brand of cigarette was named the Grey Wolf and had a picture of a Grey Wolf on its pack. A mural depicting the Turks' escape from Ergenekon led by the Grey Wolf was put in the entrance of the ministry of education. The Turkish boy scouts were nicknamed "the little wolves". The symbol for the Turkology Department was a Grey Wolf holding a flare. In the diplomas given by the University of Ankara there was a Wolves' head, as well as the students' dress code for students from primary school to high school included mandatory caps, which had the symbol of Grey Wolf on them.<sup>133</sup>

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his colleagues were also aware of the fact that in order to form a strong nation, they faced a big industrial challenge to catch up to the Western Nations. In order to achieve this, a swift pace forward was needed in order to set up a national industrial system.

A very controversial issue with Ataturk was his views on religion and although the matter is very much disputed by a lot of scholars and non-scholars. Mustafa Kemal has made numerous statements on religion and maybe one of the better known ones is the one where he was speaking against a possibility of a Socialist/Communist governing system in Turkey; "Communism is a social Issue. Social conditions, religion and national traditions of our country confirm the opinion that Russian Communism is

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<sup>133</sup> The pictures will be in the supplements part.

not applicable in Turkey.”<sup>134</sup> Moreover, he prayed in public places numerous times and there are still quite a few of photos of him are left that show him praying. Also his famous khutbah (Religious speech on the Fridays- the holy day for the Muslims) in Balıkesir is a good indicator of his views on religion. In his speech he talked about the importance of religion but also stressed the importance of a secular society by stating:

“ ...Our religion which has given moral happiness is the last religion, the perfect religion, because our religion is completely in line with sense, reality and mind and will always be like this. If it weren't really in line with mind, sense and reality, there should have been opposites between it and the laws of the nature because all the nature laws are created by God.

Friends! Our Majesty the Prophet (Muhammad), had two places, two houses, one of them was his own house and the other one was God's house. He did his own business in his house and did the nation's business' at the mosque. We are following his blessed ways now and in this minute we are in front of God, here to discuss our nation and our nation's issues now and for the future. I am thankful to the people of Balıkesir, who are pious and heroic and have let me achieve this honor. I am really grateful for this. With this means, I hope that I will also gain a big merit from God....”<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Altug, Yılmaz, “Turk Devrim Tarihi Dersim”, 1980, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, pg.136

<sup>135</sup> Taken from the website of the Cultural Bureau of Balıkesir at:

<http://www.balikesirkulturturizm.gov.tr/belge/1-69218/ataaturkun-balikesir-hutbesi.html>

Translated from Turkish:” İnsanlara manevî mutluluk vermiş olan dinimiz, son dindir, mukemmel dindir. Çünkü dinimiz; akla, mantığa ve gerçeklere tamamen uymakta ve uygun gelmektedir. Eğer akla, mantığa ve gerçeklere uymamış olsa idi bununla diğer ilâhî tabiat kanunları arasında birbirine zıtlık olması gerekirdi. Çünkü bütün tabiat kanunlarını yapan Cenab-ı Hak'tır.

Arkadaşlar! Cenab-ı Peygamber çalışmalarında iki yere, iki eve sahipti. Biri kendi evi, diğeri Allah'ın evi idi. Millet işlerini Allah'ın evinde yapardı. Hazret-i peygamber'in mübarek yollarını takip ederek bu dakikada milletimize ve milletimizin şimdiki ve geleceğine ait konuları görüşmek maksadıyla bu kutsal yerde, Allah'ın huzurunda bulunuyoruz. Beni bu şerefe kavuşturan Balıkesir'in dindar ve kahraman insanlarıdır. Bundan dolayı çok memnunum. Bu vesile ile büyük bir sevaba nail olacağımı ümit ediyorum. “



Even with these sentences, many scholars have argued that Gokalp's guidelines of becoming more Turk, becoming more Muslim and becoming more modernized is not followed and because of the rapid modernization, the importance of Islam, having a pious life and acting like a good Muslim was under emphasized.

When creating the nation-state maybe the most important element is to define the "nation" that the state belongs to. As a result, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk described the Turkish Nation as: "The people who have fought to establish the Republic of Turkey are the Turkish Nation."<sup>136</sup> He believed that it came from the will that every nation has to choose its own destiny. He also believed that what at the foundation of what makes a nation comes from the "common values". As a result, nationalism is supposed contain all these values and order for all the reforms done by him to live the nation would need act as a single entity. He stated that: "We are nationalists through and through, we are Turkish Nationalists. The foundation of our republic is the society of Turks and the Republic would only be as strong as the amount of Turkish culture that the people of this society have."<sup>137</sup> While describing himself a nationalist he never shied away from his beliefs that the Turks –the nation- owned the country and said: "This country belonged to Turks in history, belongs to Turks now, and will always this way. Turkey belongs to Turks!"<sup>138</sup> He was a strong anti-imperialist and a staunch nationalist and always used his speeches in order to rally the nation; his long speech titled "Nutuk" (The Great Speech) was delivered for the tenth year of the young Republic. In this speech he stated: "The nation of Turks is intelligent, the nation of Turks is hardworking, and the nation of Turks has a high character. "How happy for the one who calls himself a Turk."

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was an army officer for both the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, a writer, a big reformist, founder of the Republic of Turkey and the first president of the Republic, but aside from all of his big accomplishments in his short life, he was proud of one thing; being a Turk; "If there is anything miraculous in my

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<sup>136</sup> Inan, Afet, "Medeni Bilgiler ve Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'un el yazilari", 1998, Istanbul, Turk Tarih Kurumu, pg 351

<sup>137</sup> Inan, Afet, "Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ten Yazdiklarim", 1971, Ankara, Milli Egitim Bakanligi Kitaplari, pg 88

<sup>138</sup> This phrase is on the first pages of the daily newspapers Yenicag and Hurriyet as a motto.

creation it is the fact that I am a Turk.” He has used the ideas of Ziya Gokalp to create the Nation State and set up a precedent for many nations who were at the whim of imperialists. Today, most of the “Kemalism” discussed in academia and the media is just a made up thin-centered ideology if there is no real nationalism is involved and the new “left wing” connotations of the word is not in line with the principles that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk himself put forward during his lifetime. In a caricature<sup>139</sup> two men have met going to opposite directions asking each other where the other one is going and both of them happily answer; “I am following Ataturk’s footsteps.”

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<sup>139</sup> From Cartoon Bizimcity

1938-1960

### **Nihal Atsiz**

*“Whoever measures winding sheet for Turks has a horrible death!”*

*-Huseyin Nihal Atsiz*

After the death of Ataturk in November the 10<sup>th</sup>, 1938, Turkish Nationalism was no longer seen as the first and foremost ideology by the state. Ismet Inonu replaced Ataturk’s photograph on the money with his (this is rather important in Turkish culture since it is a practice conducted for centuries, whoever controlled the state printed money with his name) then made away with the Turkist and Pan-Turkist symbols (such as the grey wolves on money) and started to shy away from Turkish Nationalism of Ataturk.<sup>140</sup> Instead he wanted to create a state nationalism with a personality cult centered on him and used a posthumous legacy of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in order to establish his total control over the State and the Nation.<sup>141</sup> He coined himself “The National Chief” (“Milli Sef”) and expected total obedience from the people.

Ismet Inonu became the president of Republic of Turkey just a month after the German occupation of Czechoslovakia. The Treaty of Munich and Neville Chamberlain’s promise of “Peace for our Time” has failed and the war clouds were gathering over Europe. Soon after, Germans, led by Adolf Hitler, invaded Poland in result of the failed negotiations on the issue of the Danzig corridor and the Second World War began. Turkey remained neutral throughout the war but approached all three camps, by engaging in trade with the Axis, repatriating the deserters back to the Soviet army and finally constantly bargaining with the Allies in order to enter the war.

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<sup>140</sup> Arki, Turk, “Reha Oguz Turkkan (Teke Tek), Online Video Clip, Youtube, 25.6.12 30.9.12

<sup>141</sup> Turkkan, Oguz “Turkculugun Yeni Esaslari”, Pozitif, Istanbul, 2006, pg. 217-218

After the war, the Soviet Union, who became one of the leading actors of International politics, shared borders with Turkey on the Caucasus and also through Bulgaria which became a Warsaw pact country in the Balkans. As a result Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Politburo wanted to include the Young Republic of Turkey into its sphere of influence in order to achieve this goal Stalin asked Turkey and its “National Chief” Ismet Inonu to cede the control of the straights to the Soviet Union. More over Soviet Union also had irredentist claims over Kars, Ardahan and Artvin. These three cities have belonged to the Russian Empire briefly in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. However, after Russia’s defeat in the First World War the Ottoman forces led by Nuri Pasha manage to liberate these territories.

Due to intense Soviet pressure Turkey had no choice but to look for new allies. These efforts have led Turkey to have closer relations with “the west”. Turkey found a new ally in the United States of America. An exchange of protection and help Turkey agreed to democratize and allow a multiparty political system. This led to a transfer of power true democratic means to Democrat Party in 1950. Democrat Party was very similar to today’s center-right parties. It advocated conservative social policies along with a liberal look on economic matters.

Democrat Party was led by president Mahmud Celal Bayar and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. The party itself included people from various different sides of the political spectrum. These vastly different people were united by hatred towards the oppressive policies of Ismet Inonu. However a third party which was led by Field Marshall Fevzi Cakmak and nationwide famous orator Osman Bolukbasi was set up named Nation Party. This party criticized the democrat party for being too soft on Republican People’s Party. Also this party favored a balanced approach to economics and put more emphases on Turkish Nationalism. This party was closed for being against secularism by the growingly authoritarian Democrat Party in 1948 but reopened as Republican Nation Party (Cumhuriyetci Millet Partisi) and later merged with the Turkey Villagers’ Party (Turkiye Koylu Partisi) and renamed itself as Republican Villagers’ Nation Party (Cumhuriyetci Koylu Millet Partisi), this party has set itself up as the third biggest force of the politics in Turkey.

Democrat party's rule saw an economic rise due to the famous Marshall plan. Republic of Turkey joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) during Democrat Party's rule. In order to become a part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Turkey sent approximately fifteen thousand soldiers to fight in the Korean War on the side of USA and its allies in the 1950's. This cemented the relationship Turkey had with "The West". However, the increasingly authoritative policies of the Democrat Party rule has started to create a big tension in the society and resulted in mass demonstrations which led to violence on the street between the protesters and the police this in turn led to bloodshed. This coupled with the fact that the junior officers in the Turkish Armed Forces feeling that the Democrat Party was against a lot of the reforms that were undertaken by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk finally led to a military coup in 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1960.

### **Turkish Political Parties' Ideological Formations**

During this time, it is very important to note that we see the formation of the three biggest political currents in Turkish Politics. These three big political currents have been the biggest actors in Turkish politics starting from 1950. The political currents also coincide with the political views of the three big generals of the Turkish army that have served under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. These generals were Ismet Inonu, Kazim Karabekir and Fevzi Cakmak.

Ismet Inonu led Republican People's Party (CHP), the party which founded the Turkish State from 1938 until 1972 when he was replaced by Bulent Ecevit. CHP still exists today and has always been defined as pro-secularist, party with being regarded as the center of the left, social democratic party combining social liberalism with relative economical protectionism in Turkish politics. The term "Left of the Center" was coined by Ismet Inonu in an interview in 1965.<sup>142</sup> Today, this party continues to

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<sup>142</sup> Ipekci, Abdi, "Inonu ile Mulakat", Milliyet, 29th of July, 1965

dominate the Turkish Left and holds a strong secular position in social matters. As a result, the party is mostly supported by the urbanized middle class and the rich and the religious minorities as well as the Alevis in Turkey. Although, the dominant party of this current changed name (to Halkci Parti, [People's Party] Sosyal Demokrat Halkci Parti [Social Democratic People's Party] and Demokratik Sol Parti [Not a continuation directly but led by Bulent Ecevit and sharing very similar ideas. Democrat Left Party] etc.)

The second current which has usually attracted the most voters' support has been the traditional center-right socially conservative and economically liberal Kazim Karabekir. Kazim Karabekir and his friends have founded the Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Firkasi (Progressivist Republican Party) although this part was later closed; it led the way for the Democrat Party. Democrat Party's voter base transferred to Justice Party after the military coup of 1960 and lost some of its voter's to Necmettin Erbakan's National View parties, and then divided after the 1980's military coup with Homeland Party and Right Path Party but then finally all united Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development) of Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Recep Tayyip Erdogan was keen on using Kazim Karabekir's legacy as the newly built multi-purpose stadium in Erzurum is named Kazim Karabekir Stadium.<sup>143</sup> This also proves the ties that Justice and Development Party has with Democrat Party because the stadium's former name was Cemal Gursel Stadium, Cemal Gursel being the top ranking general of the 1960 military coup which was staged against Democrat Party. With this move Tayyip Erdogan has managed to both apply to the roots of Democrat Party as well as the Progress Loving Republican Party.

The third and arguably electorally least successful of the three mainstream political currents is the Turkish Nationalists. Obviously, the other currents also describe themselves as "Nationalists" as well with most center right voters being described as "nationalist conservative" (milliyetci muhafazakar) and one of the Republican People's Party's main principles, one of the "six arrows" being nationalism.

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<sup>143</sup> Ipek, Turgay, "Derbi Oncesi Supriz Karar", Milliyet 10th of August, 2012

However, this third stream has placed Nationalism on the center of its ideological framework; this is evident from the first party being set up by Fevzi Cakmak, Osman Bolukbasi and Yusuf Hikmet Bayur. The Nation Party was closed in 1954 and got reopened by Osman Bolukbasi as the Republican Nation Party. Then the party merged with the Turkey Villagers' Party to be renamed as the Republican Villager Nation Party. Even after Alparslan Turkes became the president of the Republican Villager Nation Party (CKMP) Fevzi Cakmak's pictures were hung on the party offices as the founder of the party. Finally, in 1969 the party renamed itself as the Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetci Hareket Partisi) and is still in existence today. The party of this third current has only once managed to beat one of the currents when the Nationalist Movement Party gained the second position in the election of 1999.<sup>144</sup> Although 1999 election was the only election that "the Nationalist Movement" managed to dislocate one of the bigger parties from the top two spots, the nationalist parties have been in many coalition governments since the early 1960s.

From the obvious examples provided, it can be clearly seen that the three pashas have played a significant role in determining the mainstream political currents in Turkey. Even after sixty three years parties with similar political ideologies dominate the political spectrum.

### **Huseyin Nihal Atsiz**

Huseyin Nihal Atsiz was born in twelfth of January, 1905. After graduating from university, he has become an academician and started to rapidly write articles and essays on being a Turk and Turkish history. He has also written many historic novels. Apart from his scholarly and literary work he was also a genealogist and a literary expert although his whole career was full of ups and downs; he faced his biggest trouble when he was trialed for being a racist and a pan Turkist in 1944, after being tortured. Because he couldn't get along with his superiors when he was high school teacher, he was sent to become civil servant in a library. Though, this trial has

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<sup>144</sup> Tuzun, Sezgin, "Secmen Haritasi (2)", Radikal, 30th of July, 2007

led to nationalism becoming more popularized in Turkey and his trial led to many demonstrations and caused the first trial to be postponed. After being relocated from one place to another throughout his life because of his political views, he died in 1975 because of a heart attack.

Huseyin Nihal Atsiz is widely considered as the most radical Turkish nationalist in the history of Modern Turkish Nationalism. According to Murat Altun, he quickly dismissed the idea; some people were claiming at the time, that Turks are from an Aryan race. Atsiz didn't see the pride in being in the same group with gypsies.<sup>145</sup> Again according to Altun, he was the man to set up the principles of Touranism and Racism. According to Atsiz was race was one of the non-debatable elements of nationhood.<sup>146</sup> As the Nazi armies stormed Europe, Turkism (Atsiz's ideology) became even more popular as the Prime Minister, Sukru Saracoglu said in one of his speeches: "We are Turks, Turkists and will always remain Turkists, Turkism is, for us, is a matter of conscience and a culture as well as a matter of blood."<sup>147</sup> This shows that in his time Atsiz could not be considered a radical. Yuksel Taskin draws a comparison between a religious anti Republican leader of the time Said-i Nursi (a religious leader) and Atsiz by stating: "For instance, whereas Said-i Nursi was regarded as a counter-Republican by the regime as he was able to move Islamic reactionary attitude as an opposition discourse, Atsiz remained the "bad dog" of the house with his pagan secular ultra-nationalist rhetoric."<sup>148</sup> Maybe one of the most important days in the history of Turkish nationalism happened during the trials of racism and pan Turkism. In third of May, 1944, the Turkist youth mainly formed up of university students wanted to get into the hearings of the case where Atsiz was trialed, but because an earlier hearing had to be cancelled as a result of crowd trouble, they were not let in; as a result they organized

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<sup>145</sup> Altun, Murat, "Extracting Nation from the History: The Racism of Nihal Atsiz", *Journal of Historical Studies*, 3(2005), pg. 34

<sup>146</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, "900. Yıldönümü: Devletimizin Kuruluşu", non-published, Istanbul 1955, Pg. 45

<sup>147</sup> Ertekin, Orhangazi, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkcülugun Catallanan Yollari, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Tarih", Yol 4, Istanbul, 2002 pg. 366.

<sup>148</sup> Taskin, Yuksel, "Reaksiyonerlik: "Muhafazakârlığın Uslanmaz, Kardeşi" Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: ed. Ahmet Çiğdem İletişim, Istanbul, 2004, pg. 191



a march on the streets of Ankara. As a result of this, still today by the nationalists third of May is still celebrated as the day of Turkism.

### **3<sup>rd</sup> of May and the Turkists' Trial of 1944**

3<sup>rd</sup> of May is a celebrated today by the Turkish Nationalists in Turkey as “Turkism Day” (Turkculuk Gunu) although it should be added that it can be referred to as “Nationalism Day” (Milliyetçilik Gunu) or “Turkculuk Bayramı” (Holiday of Turkism). It is not a holiday observed by the state contrary to “Labor Day” in 1<sup>st</sup> of May celebrated officially as “Emek ve Dayanışma Bayramı” (Work and Solidarity Day). However, Turkish Nationalists everywhere in the world celebrate this day everywhere they can. There are usually conferences, especially in Istanbul and Ankara and also marches to commemorate the sufferings that the nationalists had at the hands of Ismet Inonu.

In 1944 the Soviet Union started to push the Germans back to Poland and it was understood that the Soviet Union was going to be a dominant force in world politics. Ismet Inonu decided to act against the Turkists who he saw as “radical political elements”.<sup>149</sup> In order to achieve this, they started to look for “legal” ways to silence them.

First of all, it started with the trial of Nihal Atsiz regarding charges brought up to him for defamation by Sabahattin Ali who was an ardent communist turned Kemalist was accused of Nihal Atsız by being a “traitor”.<sup>150</sup> However, in the first trial in 26<sup>th</sup> April 1944, masses of young Turkists mostly university and high school students filled the hall where the trials was going to be held and as a result not much gets done in the first hearing and the judge and the prosecutor could only enter the building via the windows as a result of the crowd. The trial gets postponed to the afternoon but

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<sup>149</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, “Son Turkcu Atsiz”, Togan, Istanbul, 2013 pg. 374

<sup>150</sup> *ibid*, pg.387

Sabahattin Ali's accusatory speech got cut by the Turkists by the National Anthem and anti-communist slogans. As a result, the trial got postponed to 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1944.<sup>151</sup>

On the day of next trial, the events took a complete different turn. The Turkists were not allowed into the proceedings. This led to mass protests from the Turkists and resulted in the entire courthouse building to erupt in the slogans of "Down with Communists!" (Kahrolsun Komunistler!) And continues and later the Turkists took the streets to protest. This is the first "illegal" nonviolent political demonstration in young Turkey's history. They soon got joined by other people (especially the merchants) and the crowd got bigger and bigger.<sup>152</sup> The masses walked to the Prime Minister Sukru Saracoglu's building thinking that he was a Turkist as well. Sukru Saracoglu had said in 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1942 "Biz Turk'uz, Turkcu yuz ve daima Turkcu kalacagiz." (We are Turks, Turkists and will forever be Turkists.) This was in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.<sup>153</sup> However, the prime minister didn't want to talk to the crowd fearing the wrath of the National Chief, President Inonu. Later, the crowd wanted to go back to the courthouse but the police attacked the demonstrators on horseback and motorcycles and in order to stop the police from attacking the crowd began singing the National Anthem and then dispersed.<sup>154</sup>

The defamation trial against Nihal Atsiz ends with Atsiz getting a very short jail sentence which is waived because of his benevolent behavior during the trial.<sup>155</sup> As he goes back to the hotel to collect his belongings he gets arrested again for his part in the "3<sup>rd</sup> of May Uprising and Conspiracy". This is followed by Ismet Inonu's speech in 19<sup>th</sup> of May celebrations and Inonu declares Pan-Turkism as a foe of the Turkish people. Over 45 Turkists from different walks of life were arrested, among them were: Huseyin Nihal Atsiz (writer), Reha Oguz Turkkon (publisher), Zeki Velidi Togan (academician), Hamza Sadi Ozbek (financier), Nejdet Sancar (high school teacher) and Alparslan Turkes (soldier). 23 of these Turkists were charged and put under

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid, pg. 384

<sup>152</sup> Ibid,pg. 392

<sup>153</sup> TBMM zabıt cerideleri, Devre 6, volume, 27, pg. 24

<sup>154</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, "Son Turkcu Atsiz", Togan, Istanbul, 2013 pg. 393

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, pg. 402

custody. They were tortured for days in a special way and were put in coffins, their nails were pulled and they were tortured with electricity. Ismet Inonu attempted to justify the apprehensions by stating: "The idea of Pan-Turkism is new but dangerous and sick... Only foreigners can profit from their actions... It can be seen that our national policy is far from looking for adventures outside our country."<sup>156</sup> Although, Inonu and most of his retinue were against the Turkists, a lot of the people have tried to support and help the Turkists like in the case Alparslan Turkes whom was sent to military hospital for a check during his interrogations and were held there in good conditions by the head doctor brigadier Fikri Altan. He said to Turkes "Son, Turkism, Pan-Turkism cannot be a crime, so don't feel unhappy because of this. Tomorrow this trial will bring you fame and honor. We are all Turkists; we are all Pan-Turkists. This is a political ploy."<sup>157</sup>

Due to the support that the Turkists were getting from various parts of the population, Ismet Inonu wanted his speech on the dangers of "Racism and Pan-Turkism" to be read and discussed in every class in every level of the education system from age ten upwards, meaning that everyone from third grade to PhD had to read the speech and say that they are convinced of the dangers.<sup>158</sup>

During the trial Atsiz was questioned truly and realizing that this trial would turn about to be a momentous trial for the future answered the questions thoroughly;

"... Judge: What type of an ideology did you try to awaken in the country?"

Atsiz: The ideology I defend is Turkism.

...Judge: What is Pan-Turkism?"

Atsiz: Sir, nations have three levels of ideal, the first is independence, and the second one is national unity and third conquering the world. ..."<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Sarac, Bunyamin, "1944 Turkculuk Olayı ve Basvekil Saracoglu", Akademi, Izmir, 1994, pg. 172

<sup>157</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, "1944 Milliyetcilik Olayı", Kamer, Istanbul, 1994, pg.52

<sup>158</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, "Son Turkcu Atsiz", Togan, Istanbul, 2013 pg. 418

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, pg. 447

At the end of the trials, Professor Zeki Velidi Togan, Reha Oguz Turkkan, Huseyin Nihal Atsiz, Nurullah Bariman, Cihat Savasfer, Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu, Nejdet Sancar, Cebbar Senal, Alparslan Turkes and Cemal Oguz Ocal were all found guilty and were sentenced different punishments up to ten years for inciting a revolt and attempting to stage a coup to take over the government. However, in the appeal the verdict was overturned and the appealing body of the time the Military Appeals' Court advised for another court to look at the case in hand, implying the first court was biased against the defendants. In the second court, all the defenders were released with the court backing the defendants with the decision: "According to the event under question the demonstration was organized by the Nationalist and the Turkish youth who are burning with the love of independence, homeland, and the nation. This was organized against the communists who are against these ideals. Since the demonstrations were driven by a national ideology and was against a non-national or anti national ideology, it is not suitable to harm the national interest."<sup>160</sup> Jacob Landau states that this decision was not only affirming that Pan-Turkism was not only a crime but was also a message to the public that Turkism and Pan-Turkism were the ideals of the state.<sup>161</sup>

These two trials along with the demonstrations of 3<sup>rd</sup> of May have become a landmark in Turkish Nationalist ideology. Today, this day is celebrated as "Turkism Day" by the Turkish Nationalists. Through 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, young nationalists are taught about the ordeals that their predecessors faced and are made aware that the state can also make "mistakes" against the Turkish Nationalists.

### **Nihal Atsiz's Influence on Turkish Nationalism**

Huseyin Nihal Atsiz can be separated from other prominent thinkers of Turkish Nationalism in a two ways. First of all, he never sought or occupied a political office. Secondly, he affected Turkish Nationalism much differently than the other thinkers, while the others have helped to shape the ideological formation of the Turkish

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid, pg. 463

<sup>161</sup> Landau, Jacob M. , "Pan-Turkizm", Sarmal, Istanbul, 1999, pg. 173

Nationalist thought, Nihal Atsiz have given the “spirit” the “geist” of the movement. Especially, with his historical novels which will be discussed thoroughly, he managed to achieve this.

Especially his “Grey wolves” saga with “Grey wolves’ Death” (Bozkurtların Olumu) and “Grey wolves are Rising” (Bozkurtlar Diriliyor) has managed to inspire generations.<sup>162</sup> He has used semi-legendary stories and turned them into nationalist novels that take the reader to times when Turks were in Central Asia.

Atsiz’s book “Grey wolves’ Death” was clearly inspired by the Orkhon Inscriptions and gave a detailed account of the lives of Turks in Central Asia in the early seventh century. The events take place in the Gokturk Empire and China. The themes in this book are; heroism, independence, high morals, dangers of foreigners meddling in the state business, tradition, the weak points of Turks.

At the beginning of the book, characters named Bogu Alp and Kam talk<sup>163</sup>, Bogu Alp goes to see Kam (like a village elder) and asks him whether he should kill the king because a Chinese soldier was made superior to him in the army. Kam advises him to wait and see and prophesize him that it will take 18 years (two nines because nine is the ancient “sacred” number for the Turks) for something good to happen and that he will be resurrected after one thousand three hundred years. Keeping in mind that this “prophecy” in the book is made in 623, one thousand three hundred years later means 1923 the setting up of the Republic of Turkey. Turkey is the first country after the Gokturks to have the name “Turk” in its name.

Moreover, in the book there is a part where the famous bard Cucu joins the emissaries of the Eastern Turks (Since the Gokturk Empire was split into two before the events in the novel) when they are on their way to the Western Turks. Cucu was

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<sup>162</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, “Son Turkcu Atsiz”, Togan, Istanbul, 2013 pg. 133

<sup>163</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, “Bozkurtların Olumu”, Irfan, Istanbul, 1997, pg. 97

born in the West, but he lived in the East most of his life, so the head of the emissaries ask Cucu to join them in representing the East and whether it would be fine with him since he was born in the West. Cucu replies: "...For me there is no Eastern or Western Turks, Just Turks. To distinguish Eastern Turks and Western Turks are the job of the Kings and Princes."<sup>164</sup> This is a reference to the different tribes of Turks existing in the world at the time and different states or groups of Turks existing in the world when the novel was written. It is written to prove the point that there is no difference between the Western Turks (Gagauz, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Middle Eastern Turkmen, Cypriot etc.) and the Eastern Turks (Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tuva, Uzbek, Turkmen etc.). This is clear indication to the pan-Turkist sentiments of the author Nihal Atsiz. This theme is repetitive in the book, for example when the King of Western Turks welcomes the emissaries he states that the Western Turks and the Eastern Turks are like two branches of the same tree and their root is the same.<sup>165</sup>

Later on in the book, an envoy comes from the Byzantine. In the envoy, there were also some Christian priests. The Christian priests try to convince them to convert to Christianity by quoting the Bible and explaining the belief system of Christianity. However, the Turks in the book fail to comprehend and start asking questions and after the throughout explanations, they come to the conclusion that the "Christian God" have "entered the tent of Mary" and as a result Jesus was born. Then, they tell the priest if this were the case, they would not and cannot believe in a religion such as this, since the God of Turks would never do something against the tradition of Turks (Tore).<sup>166</sup>

Furthermore, one of the toughest fighters in the Empire after decides to become a philosopher under the influence of a Chinese man, after the Gokturks are enslaved by the Chinese. After a while, he starts eating less and loses his famous appetite and his friend asks what was wrong with him because he was not eating much and he tells that he became a philosopher. His friend, failing to understand what a philosopher is,

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid, pg. 108

<sup>165</sup> Ibid. pg. 110

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, pg. 116

tells him that he hopes he gets better soon. Then, his lack of eating result he starts losing wrestling matches despite the fact that he is one of the best wrestlers of the Gokturks. After losing the wrestling competition, he gives up trying to become a philosopher and returns to his old ways to gather strength.<sup>167</sup> This goes on to show that under influence the culture of Turks can change and this will result in a dreadful result and can only be made better by returning to the original ways of Turks. Here, Atsiz underlines his one of the main themes of the book and his ideological backbone, in order to be successful; you have to be hundred percent Turkish.

The final part of the book is about the attempted revolution of Turks, led by Kur Sad. Kur Sad attempted to kill and overthrow the Chinese Emperor with his forty (a sacred number for Turks like nine) man but the attempt fails and the survivors retreat but they are caught by the Chinese and killed.<sup>168</sup> This is the most important point in the book and it signifies two important points. As underlined by the Turkish Independence War phrase “Independence or Death!” Atsiz is elaborating the importance of independence for the Turks. In addition to this Atsiz here is actually referencing an actual event that happened in the history, there was actually a palace raid in 639 against the Tang Dynasty’s palace led by forty one Turks who were living in the city of Lin You. This is also existent about the chapter about the lunar eclipse as the Turks in the book see it as “moon dividing into three pieces”.<sup>169</sup> This is also based on a real lunar eclipse in that year. This shows Atsiz’s intent to write a historical fictional novel by staying true to some of the main events that actually happened in a similar fashion to Atsiz described.

One of the biggest effects of the book to the Turkish society has been with regards to the names of the people. This book have popularized names like Kursat (or Kursad), Tulu, Almila, Bahadir, Kagan (or Kaan), Alp, Alper and Han. These names have either died out in Turkey or have become very rare and with the book becoming popular these names started to be given to newborn babies again.

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid, pg. 190

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, pg. 224

The second book of the saga is “Grey Wolves are Rising” (Bozkurtlar diriliyor). In this book Atsiz takes the reader to what happens after the failed palace storming of Kur Sad. Kur Sad’s son Urungu is the main protagonist of the story and although it can be read as a love story, but it aims to give the reader one important message the unimportance of the individual when it is against the welfare of the state. Throughout the book, Urungu tries to win the heart of Ay Hanim and finally succeeds, but also a historical event is also taking place at the same, as Kutluk Sad Kagan leads a rebellion against the Chinese in order to set up the Second Gokturk Empire and he succeeds. As he succeeds, Urungu’s love interest Ay Hanim, who has accepted Urungu’s love dies in another battle. Urungu understands that in order for Turks to be united under one leader and one ruler he needs to die and as a result he jumps off a cliff with Ay Hanim in his arms. This book shows the literary skills of Atsiz as he tells the story of heroism at the same time with the story of love.<sup>170</sup>

In the book *Deli Kurt* (Mad Wolf), Nihal Atsiz takes the reader to the 15<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman State, and the book begins with the Ankara War of 1402. This war is important in Turkish history because it was one of the biggest battles where two states originally Turks fought against each other and Atsiz criticizes this fact and states “brother spilt his brother’s blood”<sup>171</sup> Then the interregnum period of the Ottoman State began, all the sons of Bayazid I started to fight against each other. One of the brothers Mehmet I won the internal struggle and ended this period. In the book however Atsiz takes on the approach of a conspiracy theorist and tells the story of Isa’s (technically the legitimate ruler of the Ottoman State since he was the oldest son of Bayazid, but lost the fighting to Mehmet I during interregnum) son Murat. According to the story, Isa fearing for the life of his infant son leaves him to a village in Western Anatolia and Murat grows up with no account of his heritage. He subsequently becomes a local hero in his local area with the nickname Crazy Wolf and then he joins the Ottoman Army as a Sipahi. In this book, Nihal Atsiz gives his view of the inner struggles that the Ottomans face and the daily lives of the Ottomans in 15<sup>th</sup> century. The Janissary Sipahi

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<sup>170</sup>Yildirim, Hayri, “Son Turkcü Atsiz”, Togan, Istanbul, 2013, pg. 144

<sup>171</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, “Deli Kurt”, Baysan, Istanbul, 1990, pg. 14



conflict is one of the biggest conflicts underlined in this book.<sup>172</sup> The mistreatment of Turks by the Janissary and as a result a general distrust towards the Janissary armies by the Turks of Anatolia is a major recurring theme in the book. Also, Anatolia everlasting problem of fake sheikhs and fake religious orders is underlined as Deli Kurt and his companions gets attacked by men shouting “Baba Resulullah!” (This shows that, they accept the prophet hood of their sheikh and this makes them non-Muslims according to Islam) and this surprises many since the men they were fighting against were supposed to be dervishes. Finally, Atsiz displays the struggle between the Turkish Nationality as an identity against religion as an identity. Deli Kurt meets a woman who is a Turk but still a believer of the old religion of Turks, Tengrism. This really confuses Deli Kurt:

“-Sister, so you are really not a Muslim?

-Son, just like the Ottomans and the Karamanids do you meddle with what is one’s heart? Why do you ask whether I am Muslim or not? Isn’t it enough that I am a Turk?

-Don’t misunderstand sister. I am not asking why you are not a Muslim. I am asking if you are Muslim and if not what are you?

-I am not a Muslim

-What are you then?

-I already told you I am a Turk.

-I am a Turk, too but I am also a Muslim. I would like to know more about your religion.

After the woman is quiet for a time she answers:

-We differentiate people not according to their religion but according to their lineage (nation or race).”<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid, pg. 135

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, pg. 166

This conversation between Deli Kurt and the woman underline the problem of being a Turk and a Muslim and/or whether these things are compatible or not and finally which one should take precedence over the other one. Atsiz by writing this conversation, he is not only referring to the problem in the 15<sup>th</sup> century but also is referring to a problematic situation in Atsiz's time and now. Since, according to Islam, racism is banned and highly discouraged, how much of nationalism is acceptable in a society made up of Muslims. In this conversation, Atsiz is also asking the question of whether the Turks have lost some of their identity when they embraced Islam or did they manage to Turkify it somehow.

Another important element of this story is the concept of forbidden love. Although, Deli Kurt is married with 3 children, he falls in love with Gokcen who is a semi-mythological girl in his village. Gokcen has such beautiful green eyes that anyone who dares to look at her in the eye either becomes sick or dies; however Deli Kurt summons up his courage after a battle against the Serbs and goes back to his village; however fate wouldn't let him do it as while he was at the battlefield his entire village was washed away with flood and everybody including his three children, his wife and Gokcen died. This news crushes him but he feels he deserved this by lusting after someone while he is married and he starts riding his horse aimlessly.

Maybe Atsiz's most radical book is *Ruh Adam (Soul Man)*.<sup>174</sup> In this book, Atsiz tells the story of a man named Selim Pusat. This book takes place in the 1950s Turkey. Selim Pusat is a former soldier who was sacked from the Army due to his political conviction that Turks need to be led by a monarch. Despite this fact, he still believes in them firmly. As the novel progresses he becomes more of a recluse and despises the society for losing the spirit of the "Old Turks". He also becomes physically sick and has an up and down relationship with his wife Ayse and his son Tosun. As the novel progresses, he loses touch with reality partially and day dreams a lot. He, then meets, Princess Leyla who is actually the last member of the Ottoman Dynasty in still living in Turkey, according to the novel she could escape being expatriated because she is not

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<sup>174</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, "Son Turkcu Atsiz", Togan, Istanbul, 2013, pg. 150

coming from the main line of the family but she is from the line of Prince Mustafa who was the son Suleiman the Magnificent (Suleyman I). According to the novel, a son of Mustafa was able to run away from the execution and his lineage continued secretly for four hundred years.<sup>175</sup> This is similar to the conspiracy theory that is at the basis of Atsiz's another book *Deli Kurt*. At the beginning of the novel, Selim Pusat's wife Ayse reads him an old Uyghur tale where a military commander named Burkay falls in love with a very beautiful girl although he is married to a devoted wife. Burkay tries to gain her attention but the girl, Acigma Kun, does not respond to his love. Burkay becomes very sick and finally makes a deal with the devil that if he could make Burkay come together with Acigma Kun, he would become a soldier for him. The devil accepts with a condition, Burkay has to sacrifice his wife sending her into the pits of a monster to be devoured. Burkay does what is asked of him but as he throws his wife to the pit, his wife says "You paid for goodness with treachery, I hope that you suffer in every life you have."<sup>176</sup> He then gets together with Acigma Kun and every time he brought up his adoration for her, she just shows a bit of affection and he would lose himself for days, understanding that this is not a normal thing, Burkay goes to see the devil again. The devil tells him that he was under the bad spell of his wife and if Acigma Kun were to tell him once that she loved him, he would free of this curse. Every time, Burkay would ask if she loved her she would show some affection but never says she loved her back. At the end Burkay is at his deathbed and tells her once more he loves her and asks her if she loved him back, she says that she is in pain but she doesn't say she loves her back and Burkay dies a cursed man. This tale is important because the entire novel is based on this tale backbone. In the Uyghur tale we see the one of the most important aspects of the religion of Manichaeism, which the Uyghurs adhered to, reincarnation. As Selim Pusat grows more restless, he begins to think he might be Burkay reincarnate and Princess Leyla might be the reincarnation of Acigma Kun. He later understands that he is not in love with Princess Leyla, but with Guntulu who is a student of his wife Ayse. He decides to write a poem to Guntulu however the letter gets returned meaning Guntulu is not interested. As a result, he becomes very sick and starts losing his grip on reality. Later, he goes called to a trial where a lot of religious and historical figures appear and God is the judge. This trial is the peak point

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<sup>175</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, "Ruh Adam", Otuken, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 147

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, pg. 8

of the book as numerous historical figures appear to testify against Selim Pusat. These figures all represent a part of Turkish past. The figures that appear are: Archangel Gabriel, Archangel Michael, Archangel Israfil (Raphael), Zoroaster, Buddha, Prophet Mohammed, Alp Er Tunga, Modu Chanyu, Attila the Hun, Istemi Yabgu Khan, Sultan Alparslan, Temujin Genghis Khan, Emir Timur Tamerlane, Shah Ruh, Bayezid I, Ulugh Bey, Mehmet the Conqueror (Mehmet II), Murat II and Selim I.<sup>177</sup> This line up rulers, prophets and archangels are important because these names symbolize the great achievements of Turks in the past. By all these names coming and testifying in trial shows the long lineage of Turkish rule in different parts of the world and at different times as well as the different religions that the Turks have embraced over time. Only, his mother comes to his defense and this makes to court to decide him having a swordfight against one of the toughest sword fighter of the history of the Turks. A few days later, he has a sword fight and gets wounded horribly, and then Guntulu sees him and she is holding a glass of water, he asks for the water but Guntulu angry with Selim Pusat's affection for Princess Leyla throws the glass away instead saying that she wants love only for herself and nobody else.<sup>178</sup> Then, she reveals her true identity as Acigma-Kun and Selim understands that he is Burkay reincarnate. Selim Pusat wakes up in a hospital a day later and after saying goodbye to his son, he disappears completely. With the love story in the book Nihal Atsiz tried to show a different understanding of past Turks with an almost extinct religion's story. This book attempts inform the reader of the vast history of Turks and the diverse vast worlds and cultures that the Turks have interacted with.

Atsiz's novel *Dalkavuklar Gecesi* (The night of the sycophants) takes place in the most ancient civilization of Anatolia, the Hattians. The origins of the Hattians are unknown and Atsiz is reasserting his claim in this short satire that the Hattians are proto Turks.<sup>179</sup> This entire book is based on real events and is referring to the Turkism Touranism trials of 1944. Some of the names of the characters are real people's names written backwards such as the character, Head Doctor Ziza who refers to Sevket Aziz Kansu and Aid de camp Sabba referring to Cevat Abbas Gurer. Who the

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid, pg. 264

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, pg. 284

<sup>179</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, "Son Turkcu Atsiz", Togan, Istanbul, 2013, pg. 152

King Subbiluliyuma is still debated, this character most likely refers to Ismet Inonu. Not all characters in the entourage of the king are depicted as sycophants like the previous one mentioned earlier. Commander in Chief Tutasil clearly refers to Grand Marshall Fevzi Cakmak. Just like Fevzi Cakmak helped the Turkists in the trials of 1944, Tutasil gets involved in the trial of Silka and stops Silka from being executed.<sup>180</sup> Tutasil is depicted as heroic man who gets out maneuvered by the sycophants around the king. Also, the Wiseman Ikeznini clearly represents Zeki Velidi Togan and his famous speech against some of the historical thesis put forward by the state sponsored historians. As, Togan was mistreated because of this Ikeznini gets mistreated for saying the truth. This short satire was used by Nihal Atsiz to showcase how sycophants got their way in Turkey and people who really strove for the good of the country and nation were always mistreated.

Vitamin Z (same in Turkish) was published in the year 1959 under the pseudonym "Selim Pusat". This short satire is a direct scathing attack against Inonu and it takes place in the year 2000. In the novel, Vitamin Z is dietary supplement that Inonu and his entourage take this pill to live forever and that's how they are still alive. However, Inonu is depicted in this satire as a psychopathic Russian spy<sup>181</sup> Also, Inonu seems to be obsessed with minority rights and has given the control of the army to the minorities entirely. He wants to change the name of the country from Turkey (Turkiye) to Humanistan (Beseristan) and his title from National Chief (Milli Sef) to Humane Chief (Beseri Sef). Also names old Turkish names are banned. These names are: Turan, Deniz, Kaya, Yildirim, Yavuz, Attila, Cengiz, and Mete. By stating these names as banned under the rule of Inonu, Nihal Atsiz actually is advocating for kids to be named with this kind of old Turkish names. In the end, there is a Turkist, nationalist uprising and Inonu, along with sycophants, is deposed and Turkey is saved from being turned into "Humanistan". Here "Humanistan" is used as a name for country of people instead of Turkey, country of Turks. This is underlined in this story in order emphasize Inonu's lack of nationalism by Atsiz.

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid, pg. 153

<sup>181</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, "Dalkavuklar Gecesi Z Vitamini", Irfan, Istanbul, 1997, pg.2

As he wrote many novels, Atsiz was a poet, too. He wrote many poems and some (like the Geri Gelen Mektup [The Letter That Returned]) have been even turned into songs and have become very popular. He wrote many poems covering different topics, one his most well-known poems is the one he wrote against Benito Mussolini. Mussolini wanted to exert his influence on the Eastern Mediterranean, therefore Fascist Italy was perceived as a threat to Republic of Turkey. Against Mussolini Atsiz states:

“...Even if Caesar comes to power resurrected  
Anatolia will become a graveyard for you  
Maybe you trust your northern neighbor too much  
We know the German from Attila  
Is Prussian that different from an Armenian?”<sup>182</sup>

In this poem Nihal Atsiz, shows his contempt for the Fascist Italy and the Nationalist Socialist Germany, and shows his belief that Turkey should not be afraid of neither Benito Mussolini neither Adolf Hitler. In the same poem he references the wars of the past between the Turks and the Italians:

“...Although you are much more arduous today  
But again we are Ottoman and you are Venice...”

Here is an example of Nihal Atsiz using a historical confrontation and stating that things have not changed a lot, but he concedes that Italy is in a much better shape under fascism. Venice here is a reference to the Republic of Venice which was one of the biggest naval forces of its time and constantly fought against the Ottomans for the

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<sup>182</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, “Son Turkcu Atsiz”, Togan, Istanbul, 2013, pg. 167

control of the Mediterranean sea during the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. He continues on with making fun of fascism:

“...We laugh at the philosophy of Fascists

Do forty of them have any chance against one Turk?”

In this quote from the same poem, Atsiz clearly states his opinion that Italian Fascism as an ideology is not taken seriously by him and also that the ideology didn't matter since the Italians cannot match Turks in strength.

### **Nihal Atsiz's Political Positions**

The best way to analyze Atsiz's political ideology would be to enquiry his ideas on various political subjects. In order to achieve this one needs to look at the articles he has written on various subjects.

The excerpt from his 1969 article titled “Turkey and Cyprus (Turkiye ve Kıbrıs)” serves the purpose of understanding his foreign policy understanding. “Today, it is our duty to take care of the future of one million Iraqi Turks, we call Kirkuk Turks. On the other hand, with their leaders raised in Moscow and with the dream of an independent state, primitive Kurds are waiting for an opportunity to destroy these one million Iraqi Turks... A Kurdish bandit named Barzani is trying to set up a state and give minority rights to Kirkuk Turks... The reality that should be burnt into minds and hearts is Turkey does not compose of sixty seven cities.”<sup>183</sup> This small quote from the article goes to show the different aspects of his foreign policy understanding. First of all, by bringing the Kirkuk problem up, he is clearly looking for Turkey to exert its influence in the region. This also shows that his contempt for Kurds and Kurdish people, including one

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<sup>183</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, “Turkiye ve Kıbrıs”, *Gozlem* 1969, Sayı: 10, *Otuken* 1971, Sayı:85 *Makaleler*, Baysan, Istanbul, 1992, pg. 34-36

of their leader Barzani, calling them primitive. It can also clearly be understood that Nihal Atsiz saw kinship and racial connections as a key component of foreign policy. It is also clear that Atsiz wanted Turkey to gain land through annexations.

Nihal Atsiz defines Turks as a group of people "...who are made up of people who come from a lineage of Turks or whom attached themselves to Turkishness so much that they do not think of any foreign race."<sup>184</sup> This shows the fact that when Atsiz goes out of the boundaries of race and rather uses cultural terms when defining what a Turk is. Atsiz specifically pointed out that a National Ideal is the key component of the nation because he firmly believed that the world was a battle ground and it was the nature's way and fighting was the only way to survive.

He saw the Turk in the world not just in Turkey but he stated that the majority of the Turks were outside Turkey. His pan-Turkist ideas, in a time when all the Turkic Republics of Caucuses and Central Asia were under the rule of the Soviet Union, Turks in Iran were ruled by the Persian Shah, there were great pressure on Cypriot Turks, seemed like an adventurous dangerous idea to some, but he refuted these claims by stating that without a sense of adventure nothing could be achieved by giving the example of Christophe Coulomb's circumvention of the globe or Mustafa Kemal embarking a ship to go to Samsun and to start the Turkish Independence War. He blamed Ismail Enver Pasha for his failures in trying to achieve liberation of other Turkic people. He thought that this set up a bad example for the future. He also criticized Enver Pasha for not being a pure pan Turkist bur rather also a pan Islamist.<sup>185</sup>

### **Atsiz's effect**

Although Atsiz did not affect Turkish Nationalism ideologically as much as the other prominent thinkers mentioned in this dissertation, he has affected it in a unique

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<sup>184</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, "Turkculuk ve Siyset", Otuken, Istanbul, 1972, pg.8

<sup>185</sup> Atsiz, Nihal "Turancilik", Otuken, 1973, Istanbul, vol: 6



way. Many people have their names because of the novels that Nihal Atsiz wrote. Many people listen to the son of “Geri Gelen Mektup” without being aware that Nihal Atsiz wrote the lyrics. Although, he seems to be attacked for being a hardliner and a racist, when his works in the field of literature, history and politics are seen he can be considered as one of the most influential and controversial figures in Turkish history. Thinking that his contemporaries were the like of Joseph Stalin, Adolf Hitler and Mao Zedong, his idea of a “cultural race” looks quite modest in comparison to what was happening around the globe. His constant restlessness apparent from the semi auto biographical Ruh Adam, his open dislike for anyone and/or anything not related to Turks, his constant rage and anger against the ones who wrong Turks anywhere across the world has made him an icon to a lot of Turkish Nationalists. His decision to stay out of everyday politics and just being an ideologue a powerful inspiration to Turkish Nationalists have clearly demonstrated the fact that he was not looking to profit from any advantages that being a politician or holding a political office would bring. He saw this as a duty to his nation and his duty as a Turk. Like many of his novels heroes, his life has been one of dedication. He has lost his job, he had to move around, he was tortured in prisons but he never gave up on his ideas. He, at the end of his life complained about loneliness because of his radical opinion by writing this short poem:

“The world should know where I am in this world

I am at the peak of an ideal’s greatness

Anyone can go into to banal world

I am at the legend of my honorable race

Everyone lives with a yearning... So do me

I am around Altai and Tian Shan

Looking at separations in manly way

I am at the sad palace of the last goal

There is not much time say good bye

I am at the garden of tired and lonesome death”<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, “Son Turkcu Atsiz”, Togan, Istanbul, 2013, pg. 170

Much like the other, leading Turkish Nationalist ideologists Atsiz managed to become a highly controversial figure even though he was never a political activist and has never used violence or has never even fought except for the training he received when he was in the army in his youth. As a result, when judging Nihal Atsiz he should be viewed more as a thinker rather than a man who has been actively involved in politics unlike the other three thinkers discussed in this work.

1960-1980

### **Alparslan Turkes**

*“We are forced to postpone our struggle with “the right” as a result of the actions of “the left”, because these actions are on the verge of treason.”*

*-Alparslan Turkes*

The first coup of the young republic took place in 1960, against the Democrat Party government. The reasons explained for the coup were: the violence on the street, Democrat Party getting more authoritative day by day and Democrat Party trying to break away from the reforms of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Although, a few of the key figures of the coup were known to be Nationalists the group which conducted the coup were a mixed group and there was a big struggle in the junta.<sup>187</sup> After a while, the nationalist-hardliner clique in the junta was out maneuvered and they were sent to Turkish embassies across the globe. This group is known as the “fourteens” (ondortler) because they were fourteen people. This group included; Alparslan Turkes, Muzaffer Ozdag and Dundar Taser. The junta, now a smaller group, executed three top officers of the Democrat Party including the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes.<sup>188</sup> Then a new constitution with a lot of new freedoms was drafted and Turkey returned to democratic governance.

This period in Turkish politics saw numerous coalition governments and the rise of the radical left. The national remainder system which allowed the best ratio for parliament members per cast vote is introduced and as a result even the radical left manages to gain over ten seats in the parliament. This period also saw the violent actions of the radical left. There were kidnapping of foreign diplomats and soldiers

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<sup>187</sup> Turkan, Oguz, “Turkculugun Yeni Esaslari Yukselen Milliyetcilik”, Pozitif Yayinlari, Istanbul, 2006, pg. 228

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, pg. 229

(Israeli and American) as well as organizing violent protests and strikes. However, the radical left wasn't very organized and was splint in numerous different groups and sub-groups, such as the Maoists, Trotskyites, Leninists, Stalinists and Hoxhaists. The nationalists, now organized under the leadership of Alparslan Turkes, took the streets as well looking to stop the "red terror" which the police and the military were not able to stop.<sup>189</sup> As a result, in 1971, the army gave a memorandum and formed a "government of technocrats" while declaring martial law in some parts of the country. "The left" welcomed the memorandum at first, thinking that this might come from a leftist clique in the army.<sup>190</sup> However, soon they realized that they were horribly mistaken. This memorandum was given to crush the left as three of the leading left wing partisans were hung. This stopped the violence for a time however. In 1974 the military junta in Greece helped to stage a coup in Cyprus and installed a pro-Enosis (Uniting Cyprus and Greece in one country) junta in the island. The situation had already been tense in the island for the past twenty years, but Turkey wasn't able to do anything due to international pressure (especially the Johnson Letter) and military incapability. However, seeing this coup as the last straw and the last opportunity to save the Turks in the island from getting exterminated, Turkish military staged the operation "Atilla". Turkish military ended up conquering a third of the island (which was thought to be a "fair portion" by the Turkish authorities) and installed military bases on the north side of the island to protect the Turkish Cypriots. The operation was named Atilla after the Western Hun Emperor Atilla who came from the North-East to conquer a large chunk of Europe just like the Turkish military did during the peacekeeping operation. This crisis and the operation have also helped to unite different political factions in Turkey and gained huge support from the parties, militants and activists from different sides of the political spectrum. The problem in Cyprus seemed to calm the nerves and settle the violence for a while but because of the international sanctions against Turkey as a result of this operation, the discontent against the living conditions soared and the violence escalated again, coupled with instability and constantly changing coalition governments, there was also an evident political turmoil in the country. The violence spread to all parts of the country, as the former Prime Minister Nihat Erim and Customs and Monopolies Minister Gun Sazak (from the Nationalist

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<sup>189</sup> *ibid*, pg. 231

<sup>190</sup> Erden, Hasan, "Ihtilalin Pencesinde Demokrasi (12 Mart 1971) 9. Muhtira", 28.7.12 3.5.13

Movement Party) were killed as well as thousands of people from different walks of life. This period also saw the rise of Kurdist Terrorism. Known to be the Apoists (Apocular) and founded by Abdullah Ocalan, a radical left-wing terrorist group started to use terrorist tactics in Southeastern Turkey, although most of the population of the southeastern Turkey was against this movement, it managed to gain some supporters. Although this organization came to the brink of extinction in the military coup, it would turn out to become the Kurdistan Worker Party, a worldwide known terrorist organization. The violence between the left and the right reached a new high in 1980. The Turkish army, led by its chief of staff General Kenan Evren, staged a military coup to take over the power closing and banning all the parties and the party leaders. This would stop the violence on the streets of Turkey but also will result in a military junta ruling the country for three years.

In this chapter I will try to give background information on the development of modern Turkish nationalism with Alparslan Turkes and look at his ideology by looking at Turkey in general as well and see it after how it developed starting from the beginning of the Turkes' earlier years to 1980. Then, I will try to determine if the nationalism ideals put forward by Turkes are racist or fascistic. For this question, we are going to look into his the definitions of nation and nationalism in the work of Turkes and compare it with descriptions of racism and fascism. After doing that, I will try to look into the question: "Can "The Nine Lights" be considered as a third way ideology?" In order to find an answer to this question, I am going to look at various definitions of the third way and try to find out if the discourse in "The Nine Lights" fit into any of these definitions. In addition to this, I will shortly try to analyze the Nine Lights ideology through the spectacles of discourse analysis method of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, with special focus on the nationalism on the discourse of Turkes. Then, I will try to give the historical situation in Turkey in the 1970s, showing the people's views and try to look at Turkes' ideology from an ethno-symbolist point of view. Finally, in the conclusion part, I am going to put my findings together in a short summary. This chapter is bound to show the ideological and political formation of the nationalist's party in the doctrinal form.

## Alparslan Turkes

This section is about the life of Alparslan Turkes. The life he had obviously played a great deal of role in shaping of his political beliefs and obviously has affected his discourse.

Alparslan Turkes was born in Cyprus in Twenty Fifth of November, 1917. At the time, Cyprus was under the rule of Great Britain at the time. His grandfather has immigrated there, before Turkes was born, from Kayseri.<sup>191</sup> He is from the tribe of Avsar, one of many Turkish tribes who have immigrated into Anatolia from Central Asia. As he was born before the “naming reforms” undertaken by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, he had only a first name Ali Arslan, (Ali, the Arabic name of fourth caliph and son in law of Prophet Mohammed and Arslan which means lion-like) however in accordance with the old Turkic tradition to change a student’s name by their teacher (which is also seen in Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as his second name Kemal was given by his teacher), a teacher in his primary school called him Alparslan (which is the name of the Seljuk commander that won the battle of Manzikert in 1071 and led the Turks into Anatolia). He later moved to Turkey -where he got the last name Turkes- and enrolled in the prestigious Kuleli military high school in 1933 in order to get a military education. He completed his military high school education with honors in 1939. He, as a result of finishing the military high school, joined and started a career in the Turkish Army as soon as he finished his education. During his time in the army, Alparslan Turkes was influenced by the works of the famous Turkist ideologue Nihal Atsız. Soon, Alparslan Turkes was an understudy of Nihal Atsız. He had a successful military career that saw him rise to the rank of Colonel. He and many other Turkists and Atsız were arrested during the Second World War (in 1944). The Turkists were trialed in the notorious trial of “Turkism-Touranism”, Turkes and Atsız along with many Turkists were infamously tortured in “coffins”<sup>192</sup>. He was later found not guilty<sup>193</sup> and returned to the army. In 1948, he won the exams of the Turkish Army and went to the

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<sup>191</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, “Temel Görüşler”, Dergâh, 1976, İstanbul, pg. 7

<sup>192</sup> Coffin torture: This was a famous police torture in the 40s, where the suspect would be put in a coffin and have their nails pulled.

<sup>193</sup> Türkeş, Alparslan, “Temel Görüşler”, Dergah, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 7

United States of America to get education in the American Army. He was later assigned to work as the second military attaché in Washington D.C. Then, Turkes returned to Turkey in 1957 and then was sent to Germany to get further education in nuclear physics. After, he finished his education he came back to Turkey. In 1960, He took an active part in the military coup. He has many times stated that he took part in the military coup, to stop the leftists in the army to take power after the coup. There were letters discovered recently to prove his statements. He stated after the coup: “This coup was not done in favor of or opposing any political party nor any group, this coup was done in order to carry the villagers and people who have been left unattended in misery, poverty and darkness into modern civilization in the shortest way possible and to make the Turkish State able to stand on its own feet.”<sup>194</sup> After the coup there was a power struggle between the military officers, who conducted the coup. The power struggle was a result of two camps one camp wanted to create a more liberal constitution with more economical and social liberalism; the other (the losing side) wanted to “return” to the times of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk with harsher laws and a more state controlled economy. Famously known as the fourteens (Because they were fourteen people), they were defeated in the power struggle and were taken away out of offices. Turkes was a part of the latter group and then he was sent to an exile like mission to India as a military attaché. When he was going to India, the leftist press members were making fun of him and this caused him to say one of his most famous quotes “Don’t worry I will bring each of you of a monkey when I return.” After he returned from “exile”, he managed gather some of his friends from the fourteens and, he entered into the politics in the Cumhuriyetçi Koylu Millet Partisi (Republican Villager Nation Party) in 1965. In 1969, the name of the party was changed to the (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi) Nationalist Movement Party<sup>195</sup> and “Nine Lights Doctrine” was accepted as the program of the party. This resulted in a small uproar from some of the Turkists, led by Atsiz, but by this time they were just a small minority. Atsiz said that “Allah (Name of God in Arabic) has sacked Tanrı (Name of God in Turkish).”<sup>196</sup> Despite all of this, many Turkists have stayed in the party and even Atsiz never opposed the new structure of the party openly. The party slowly but surely gained

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<sup>194</sup> Taylak, Muammer, “27 Mayıs ve Turkes”, Hamle, Istanbul, 1994, backcover of the book

<sup>195</sup> Sometimes translated as the Nationalist Action Party, but this is obviously wrong as the party is sometimes called “Milliyetçi Hareket” which translates into “Nationalist Movement” surely not “Nationalist Action”

<sup>196</sup> Yalcin, Soner, “MHP’nin 40 yıldır bitmeyen derdi”, Hurriyet, 24th of February 2008

ground in politics and he has become the vice-prime minister in two coalition governments between 1970 and 1980 in a time of total chaos and unrest in Turkey both in political and social life. On the political scene there were many changes and the governments lasted for a very short period of time. Turkes became twice the deputy prime minister during this time. On the street, especially in bigger cities, there was constant chaos, with “leftists” (Socialists and Kurds) and the “rightists” (Nationalists and to a lesser extent Islamists) were fighting almost every day on the streets. In 1980 there was a military coup “to stop the ongoing violence” and all political activity was seized. Despite all the party leaders were arrested, Turkes couldn’t be found but he then later turned himself in. He was later put on jail as a result of the military coup, and was charged with numerous crimes for the penalty of death. After the trial<sup>197</sup>, he was found not guilty but was banned from all political activity. His followers under his “supervision” founded the Conservative Party (Muhafazakar Parti), but this party was not allowed to enter into the elections in 1983 with all the other parties that were formed by the people of the parties pre-coup. After being released in 1985 he returned to politics to the Nationalist Working Party (Milliyetçi Çalışma Partisi), because the old party names and emblems were forbidden but soon after the old party names were allowed again so the party name was changed back to the Nationalist Movement Party and the party emblem to three crescents. In his late years, he was the head of the party but also was considered as a respected and oft consulted statesman, according to the unwritten political tradition in Turkey. He passed away in Fourth of April, 1997 with a heart attack in Ankara.

### **Alparslan Turkes’ Ideology “The Nine Lights”**

In this part of the chapter, more about the ideology and discourse of Turkes will be explained, with emphasis on his views on Nationalism and his quest in trying to find a third way (an alternative) to socialism and/or capitalism for Turkey. When looking at the ideology of Alparslan Turkes, I will try to focus on two parts; the element of nationalism and whether it is an attempt at a third way system or not.

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<sup>197</sup> Where he said his very famous sentence: “I am not a fascist, I am a Kemalist!”



Zuercher describes “The Nine Lights” ideology as in the same ranks of Kemalism of 1930’s.<sup>198</sup> “The Nine Lights” stand for the nine components of the ideology. These nine components are: “Nationalism”, “Idealism”, “Moralism”, “Scientism”, “Populism”, “Ruralism”, “Independentism”, “Progressivism” and “Industrialism”.<sup>199</sup> Idealism in “The Nine Lights” is “to have the ideal to make the Turkish Nation the most developed, the most civilized and the strongest nation.” Moralism is based on “the conservation of the Turkish nation’s soul and their traditions and also trying to improve them.” Scientism, according to Turkes is seen as the way to get rid of prejudices and try to get most decision based on scientific facts. Populism is basically conducting all the affairs of the state according to interest of the society. Ruralism, according to Alparslan Turkes is, to combine villages together to make them grow as rural cities. Independentism’s aim in “The Nine Lights” is for all the members of the society to be treated according to human rights described in the United Nations Constitution. Progressivism and populism, simply aims to combine the people and the progress, so the society and the progress of the state is in harmony. Industrialism refers to the need of Turkey to become an industrial country in order to compete with the other big powers in the world.<sup>200</sup> After this we will look at the components of the ideology, as we looked at what the Nine Lights briefly are, they will be explained further in this chapter.

As stated earlier, we see and use the word nationalism frequently in everyday daily life. Kecmanovic states that, any two people who can be a historian or a sociologist wouldn’t necessarily give the same answer to the question “what is nationalism?”<sup>201</sup> As it is known; the definitions vary even in the academic field to find one meaning for nationalism.

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<sup>198</sup> Zuercher, Erik J., “Review of Turkey: A modern History”, I.B. Tauris, London, 1993 pg. 257

<sup>199</sup> Turkes, Alparslan,, “Temel Görüşler”, Dergâh, Istanbul, 1976 pg. 11

<sup>200</sup> Turkes, Alparslan,, “Temel Görüşler”, Dergâh, Istanbul, 1976 pg. 46-47

<sup>201</sup> Kecmanovic, D., “*The mass psychology of ethnonationalism*”, Plenum Pres, New York, 1996 pg. 32

Girvin describes fascism as an “anti-liberal radical authoritarian nationalist government.”<sup>202</sup>, while Turner describes the goal of fascism to create the radical and authoritarian nationalist state. <sup>203</sup> In fascist regimes, the state is so powerful and so glorified that it almost comes to the point of worshipping the state. The human is a mere servant, a slave; if you will, of the state.

Racism’s descriptions may vary. Although it has been described as a prejudice against other based on the differences of ethnicity or as David Wellman put it “culturally sanctioned beliefs, which, regardless of intentions involved, defend the advantages whites have because of the subordinated position of racial minorities.”<sup>204</sup> Racism is a phenomenon that has been existent in the world for hundreds of years and is still existent in the world today. It is simply seeing another person as lower because of his or her, ethnicity. In the world of today, in the “age of globalization” it is mostly not a state policy like it used to be in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but, it is still very much existent in the society.

In this part of the chapter I will try to find out if nationalism in the work of Turkes is racist and/or fascist or not. Turkes defines Turkish Nationalism as: “Turkish Nationalism is great love, the emotion of attachment towards the Turkish nation and the consciousness of turning towards a common history and common goals.”<sup>205</sup> For Turkes a Turk is someone: “who sincerely feels as a Turk and devotes himself to Turkishness.”<sup>206</sup> He also dismisses racism by stating: “In Turkism’s and Turkishness’ designation, we don’t believe in perverted measurements, especially sectarianism, the point of origin and laboratory racism.”<sup>207</sup> Even Tanil Bora, who claims that the MHP should go under the title of “Turkist Radical Nationalism”, when categorizing the political position of the party, states that: “In the 1960s, a new course was plotted by the idealist movement and the MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) formed by Alparslan

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<sup>202</sup> Girvin, Brian. “The Right in the Twentieth Century”. Pinter, 1994. Glasgow, pg. 83

<sup>203</sup> Turner, Henry Ashby. “Reappraisals of Fascism” New Viewpoints, New York 1975. pg. 162

<sup>204</sup> Wellman, David T., “Portraits of White Racism.” Cambridge University Press., New York, NY., 1993 pg. x

<sup>205</sup> Türkeş, Alparslan, “9 Işık ve Türkiye”, Kervan Yayınları, 1976, İstanbul, pg. 82

<sup>206</sup> Ibid, pg. 84

<sup>207</sup> Türkeş, Alparslan,, “Temel Görüşler”, Dergâh, 1976, İstanbul, pg. 23

Turkes, who merged the legacy of the Turkist movement with a nationalist-conservative reactionary potential created in the 1950s, founded on an anticommunist fanaticism. On the ideological level, racist motives lost ground and a new nationalistic discourse based on cultural-historical essentialism developed.”<sup>208</sup> Alpaslan Turkes also talks about these “fascism” accusations: “Fascism is against religion, it is an order for other societies, other nations, it was designed to rally one nation together and turn it into an expansionist nation.”<sup>209</sup>

From the works of scholars and from the words of Alparslan Turkes along with the tradition of Turkish nationalism, the issue of race has not played a great part in the view of nationalism of Alparslan Turkes. He has dismissed the idea of racism in every possible platform as it can be seen in his work. He publicly condemned the idea of racism and fascism numerous times, stating that there might be a few people who were keen to copy and act like the Nazis in Germany, but they would just be seen as funny lunatics in Turkey.<sup>210</sup>

The Nine Lights are nine principles that form the ideology of Alparslan Turkes: Nationalism, Idealism, Moralism, Scientism, Populism, Ruralism, Industrialism, Progressivism and Independence.

Nationalism can be explained simply as everything for the Turkish Nation, everything with the Turkish Nation and everything for the Turkish Nation. This idea is the closeness to the Turkish Nation, love and loyalty and service to the Turkish State. Nationalism implies to have a well-founded willingness and consciousness. Turkism, according to Turkes is to want the culture, science, politics, economics and trade to be for Turks and according to Turks' ways. Turkes also gave a special importance to the definition of a "Turk"; and everyone who has the consciousness to call himself a

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<sup>208</sup> Bora, Tanıl, “Nationalist Discourses in Turkey”, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 12.2/3, 2002, pg. 445

<sup>209</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, “Temel Görüşler”, *Dergâh*, Istanbul, 1976 pg. 55

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid*, pg 67

Turk is a Turk.<sup>211</sup> “In the definition of Turk and Turkism, I don't believe in degenerate measurements, especially sectarianism, geographical distinctions and laboratory racism.” He also emphasized the importance of importance of Turkish people living outside of the borders of Turkey (as Turkey was the only free country with a Turk/Turkish/Turkic majority at the time) and the aim according to Turkes would be to help them to their welfare and independence if possible. According to the Nationalism principle the reason for backwardness of Turkey in some areas results from using some foreign ideologies. As a result against all the foreign ideologies a hundred percent native ideology "Turkish Nationalism" is the only recipe. Nationalism ideal is to make the state "one" with the Nation and to form the Turkish Nation's big and powerful rule. Nationalism ideal believe foremost in the idea of a nation state, where as another important aspect which completes Nationalism is democracy. Democratic Nationalism according to Turkes advocates nation instead of a society of classes and also advocates instead of class property, national property. Nationalism according to Turkes needs people who love his nation more than himself and serves the nation. This principle in a way also is a basis for the other eight principles. Idealism according to Turkes means to have a goal. Alparslan Turkes states that: "Ideal is a goal that designates peoples' paths"<sup>212</sup>. The ideal for a Turk should be to have consciousness and pride of being a Turk and to live and make live the Islamic ethics and virtue. Alparslan Turkes argues that "The ideal in Turkish Nationalism is to carry all the Turks in the world to the highest point in the world in togetherness"<sup>213</sup> Moralism according to Turkes, is preserving the existence of the Turkish Nation according to the soul and traditions and to improve it according to the moral codes of the nation. Turkes emphasizes that "civilizations are founded with science, faith and ethics, not money and collapse not because of money but a lack of science, faith and morals."<sup>214</sup> In a state without moral values no matter how the economic issues are solved, there can be no mention of comfort. Turkes mentions that Turkey's developing movement should begin with a building of high morals.. Nine Lightist ethics understanding understand ethics in Turkish and Islamic measurements. Especially important factor in this principle is the Islam's real and high principles which are the main driving force in the

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<sup>211</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, “9 Işık ve Türkiye”, Kervan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 83

<sup>212</sup> Ibid pg. 96

<sup>213</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, “9 Işık ve Türkiye”, Kervan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 99

<sup>214</sup> Turkes, Alparslan Milli Doktrin Dokuz Isik, Hamle Basın Yayın., İstanbul, 1974 pg.189.

composure of the Turkish nation. Scientism is the principle of examining events and happenings without any prejudices and negative attitude and then to make science the leading driving force according to Turkes. Turkes stresses the importance of every activity to be beneficiary for the society. This can be looked at in two ways according to Turkes; social and economic. As an economical viewpoint, property is fundamental right but it can't be used against the national interest according to populism. Strategic economic activities should be controlled by the state, according to the populism.<sup>215</sup> Socially, The Nine Lights aim a just order, equality of opportunity, social security and social help and aims to set up organizations to do that. Ruralism principle aims to save the villagers from the grasp of the loan sharks, and make them live in agricultural cities (by trying to unite villages). In order for the villages to develop, agricultural, ranch and other activities' technological developments and new investments are to be followed by the state as it is the state's duty. Independentism refers to the human rights issues and sees United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights as an adequate document to use in order to determine human rights.<sup>216</sup> Also, the rights of people should be developed according to Turkes for the nation to develop as a whole. In a national harmony without disrupting the development of the country and the nation as a whole, it is aimed develop the country to become a developed country. For the Progressivism principle, Turkes states that, people and civilizations always develop through asking for the better.<sup>217</sup> This principle dictates not to be satisfied with what have been achieved and always to look for the better. While doing that it is extremely important for the Turkish Nation not to stray away from its roots and its historical consciousness. The last principle Industrialism is a principle that aims to encourage industry and scientists to conduct their activities and production on the needs of the nation.<sup>218</sup>

### **Is Nationalist movement offering a third way system?**

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<sup>215</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, "9 Işık ve Türkiye", Kervan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 122

<sup>216</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, "9 Işık ve Türkiye", Kervan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 136

<sup>217</sup> Ibid, pg. 152

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, pg. 161

Third way is a term that is used to describe a political position which tries to transcend right wing and left wing politics by advocating a mix of right and left wing politics.<sup>219</sup> There have been many different forms of attempts at the third way, from corporatism to the New Labor, throughout the twentieth century. Turkes' ideas can be considered an attempt at a third way, as well.

In this part of the dissertation I will try to find out whether the ideas of Turkes can be considered an attempt at a third way, as well. Turkes' views on economics can be understood easily.; Turkes simply puts it as "There is no need to copy neither the Sadist Slavic Marxism nor the cold Anglo-Saxon capitalism. We need another way, a "third way".<sup>220</sup> Kazim Utuk agrees that MHP's vision was trying to find another way, with projects such as mega villages, trying to fasten the industrialization process and trying to create syndicates that have a bigger say in the country's future.<sup>221</sup> Turkes also argues that: "Neither the bourgeoisie dictatorship of the west, nor the proletariat dictatorship of the east is suitable for Turks."<sup>222</sup> In his every written piece Turkes has criticized both capitalism and socialism. He states that the best way to formulate a suitable economical system for Turkey is to divide the people of Turkey into six different occupational groups; the villagers, the workers, the tradesmen, civil servants, employers and self-employed and/or freelancers. He stated that only through this separation there is a chance to achieve social justice.<sup>223</sup> He stated that through this separation every part of the community could be represented equally in the parliament. Along with these, he proposed a system of savings which would allow the state to take a percentage of the salary of people and in return giving them a share in a factory or a field, which would lead to the automatic nationalization of the economy, thus, creating a third alternative sector the national sector. He proposed that this new sector would make the balance between the already two established sectors, the state sector and the private sector. He also proposed a confederation of syndicates for all the six occupational groups, which would result in collective bargaining and agreements, if

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<sup>219</sup> Bobbio, Norberto, Cameron, Allan. "Left and right: the significance of a political distinction", University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1997. Pg. 8.

<sup>220</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, "Temel Görüşler", Dergâh, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 37

<sup>221</sup> Utuk, Kazım, "Tek Başına İktidar", Biltek Yayınları, Ankara, 2000 pg. 226–228

<sup>222</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, "9 Işık ve Türkiye", Kervan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 181

<sup>223</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, "Temel Görüşler", Dergâh, İstanbul, 1973 pg. 83

there is dispute in the society.<sup>224</sup> In political terms, he wanted implement radical changes as well; he wanted to remove the second parliament “the senate” (this was removed after the acceptance of the new constitution in 1982) and combined the duties of the prime minister and the president into one president who would be the head of the execution as well as the head of state.<sup>225</sup> He also wanted to bring referendums back to the law making process in the case of vital decisions to make the country a more democratic one.

In his book “Corporatist ideology in Kemalist Turkey: Progress or Order?” Taha Parla divides corporatism into two different parts; fascistic corporatism and solidarist corporatism. He states that the biggest difference is how they view the relationship between individual and the state. The fascistic corporatism assimilates the society and as a result the individual within a metaphysical corporative state whereas in solidarist corporatism, the occupational groups act as a buffer between the state and the individual.<sup>226</sup> The biggest difference as a result according to Parla is that, in fascistic corporatism the individual becomes a slave to the state whereas in solidarist corporatism the occupational groups help the individual to lead a better life. Also, the New Deal of Roosevelt is referred to as corporatist by some of the scholars.<sup>227</sup> Even, the current economic system of Sweden today is referred by some as a corporatist economic policy. Although, the definition of a third way is not something that is agreed upon, it is widely accepted to be anything that refuses capitalism as well as socialism.

In the light of these, we can say that even though Alparslan Turkes and the Nationalist Movement Party have never came to power except in coalition governments, his ideology “The Nine Lights” can be put in the line of solidarist corporatism. Although, it cannot be considered an exact replica of the systems of the

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid.,, pg. 98

<sup>225</sup> Ibid, pg. 155

<sup>226</sup> Parla, Taha, “Corporatist ideology in Kemalist Turkey: Progress or Order?”, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 2004 pg. 29

<sup>227</sup> Jones, Barry R. J.. “Routledge Encyclopedia of International Political Economy”, Entries A-F. Taylor & Frances, Routledge, 2001 Pg. 243.

Western Europe, it bears some similarities to the system that Taha Parla attributes to the economic system of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, solidarist corporatism.<sup>228</sup>

### **Turkes' Work from the Discourse Analysis perspective of Laclau and Mouffe**

One of the other aims in my dissertation is that I would like to look at the work of Turkes through the spectacle of discourse analysis method of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe.

The discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe is composed of different elements from different fields of study. One of the most vital elements in post-structuralist discourse theory and a foundation stone for the post-structuralist discourse theory, according to Torfing is the fact that structuralist paradigm being problematized by the post structuralist approach.<sup>229</sup> When forming their discourse analysis, Laclau and Mouffe were influenced by the Marxism of Gramsci; this resulted in both theoretical frameworks to focus on construction of political and social identities. And again according to Torfing, the second step taken by Laclau and Mouffe was combining the elements of Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis since these psychoanalysis methods favor an approach emphasizing "...the multi layered and the fragmented character of the subject at the level of symbolic signification."<sup>230</sup>

The post-structuralist approach might be useful tool in understanding the work of Turkes who was trying to come up with a new hegemonic system for Turkey. Especially worth mentioning are how the concepts the signifiers are used in Turkes'

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<sup>228</sup> Parla, Taha, "Corporatist ideology in Kemalist Turkey: Progress or Order?", Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 2004, pg. 31

<sup>229</sup> Torfing, Jacob "New Theories of Discourse Laclau Mouffe and Zizek", Maldon, Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1999, pg. 4

<sup>230</sup> Ibid, pg.5



work. According to Aletta Norval, “Floating signifiers are simply terms that are subject to great deal of contestation and which, as a result, have no clearly delimited meaning, while empty signifier ultimately has no signified”.<sup>231</sup>

The time that the ideology of “Nine Lights” was constructed, it was a painful time full of turmoil for the young Turkish Republic. The big dislocation, the military coup of 1960, has created a new constitution, trying to answer for the demands for more freedom that was seen lacking in the constitution of 1923. The new constitution was full of hopes and promises but it rather caused more unrest in the society. The constitution was usually referred as “the shirt that is too big”. This resulted in an actual crisis of hegemony<sup>232</sup> as Gramsci would describe it. In the light of these events Turkes came up with a hegemonic project of his own: “The Nine Lights”.

“The Nine Lights” can definitely be considered as a hegemonic project. According to Laclau and Mouffe hegemony is the partial fixation between signifier and signified.<sup>233</sup> As we know according to Laclau and Mouffe’s theory of discourse a discourse, an articulation works through the construction of nodal points.<sup>234</sup> This would be vital in our understanding of “The Nine Lights”. We should also take into accounts the terms: imaginary and myth. The myth acts as a core for every political discourse fighting to become hegemony. Also, as it was a successful attempt at unifying most of the Turkish Nationalists under one flag and it developed into a collective imaginary.

Chronologically, modern Turkish Nationalism was an idea has developed quite rapidly throughout twentieth century. The formulation of “The Nine Lights” came up at a time of turmoil as stated earlier, as the hegemonic discourse of the new constitution

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<sup>231</sup> Norval, Aletta “Review Article: The Things We Do with Words – Contemporary Approaches

to the Analysis of Ideology”, *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 30 2000, pg. 331

<sup>232</sup> Gramsci, Antonio, “Selection from Prison Notebooks”, Q. Hoare and G. N. Smith ed. (London, Lawrence and Wishart,) 1991, pg. 210

<sup>233</sup> Laclau, Ernesto and Mouffe, Chantal “Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards Radical Democratic Politics”, Verso, London, 1985, pg.

<sup>234</sup> Howarth, David “Reconstructing Laclau and Mouffe’s Approach to Political Analysis” *Staffordshire Papers in Politics and International Relations* 30, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire University, 1996, pg. 13.

of 1960 brought nothing but more trouble to the Republic of Turkey. The ideas of “Nationalism”, “Idealism”, “Moralism”, “Scientism”, “Societalism”, “Agrarianism”, “Independentism”, “Progressivism and Populism” and “Industrialism” were united in “The Nine Lights” to form the ideology. It was aimed to create a mythical space in order to present a new order that wanted to act as a guaranteeing force to stop the dislocations that were created with the havoc that the new constitution’s liberal stance.

Obviously, out of these nine components of “The Nine Lights” ideology, Nationalism stands out as the point which all the other eight components of the ideology are vitally dependent upon. As Turkes argues all throughout his work, all the components of the ideology are to serve the interest of the nation. As a result, all the other eight components gain their true meaning through nationalism, which would make Nationalism the nodal point of “The Nine Lights” ideology of Turkes. It had such a big effect that in the end, “The Nine Lights” ideology has managed to hegemonise the signifier “nationalism” (milliyetçilik). As a result of this, other terms were and are used to describe other political ideologies and parties such as; patriotism (ulusalcılık) and nation loving (vatanseverlik and vatanperverlik) in the Turkish political scene. As stated earlier, nationalism acts as the nodal point in “The Nine Lights” ideology. In his ideology Turkes combines floating signifiers’ social conservatism, a strong law and order (appealing to the famous love of the Turks for “justice”), the family and traditional morality with the economical notion of solidarist corporatism and uses nationalism as a nodal point to tie up all the signifiers.

### **The Importance of Adana Congress in 1969**

After Alparslan Turkes became the president of Republican Villagers’ Nation Party, he waited for a few years to solidify his base and then went on to implement reforms and changes in the party and the party program.

First of all, the party name was changed to Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi). This was done in order to have a name that encompasses all the social classes, not just the villagers and also to give the party a “movement” stance. This also aimed to underline the active role that party was looking to play in Turkish Politics.

Secondly, as the Party logo was changed from a pair of scales to three crescents. Three crescents is an old Ottoman flag showing the clear intent that Alparslan Türkeş wanted to give reference to the past glory of Turkish history. A howling grey wolf in a crescent figure was chosen for the youth wing of the party now named “Ideal Hearths” (Ulku Ocakları). This was done by Türkeş in order form a compromise between the two wings of the party; one the Turkists who only sought a Turkist agenda and the Turko-Islamists who formed the more religiously conservative side of the party. Turkkkan states that Türkeş did his best to meet in the middle.<sup>235</sup> Hayri Yildirim, however, disagrees and argues that although the youth wing’s sign can be considered a compromise, a similar compromise should been made for the party’s flag.<sup>236</sup> However, this doesn’t necessarily sour the personal relationships and the support of the Turkists to Türkeş continues and Atsız states “He (Alparslan Türkeş) is a party leader and as a result he takes a cautious approach because he must be welcoming.”<sup>237</sup>

This was also significant for the party and the movement because it saw the emergence of two clear wings of the party. One were the Turkists who did not place a great deal emphasis on Islam and were usually middle to upper middle class, well-educated and urbanized and the second one was the Turko-Islamists who were villagers and/or farmers and had their roots deep in Anatolia, what they lacked in education they made up with the numbers.<sup>238</sup> Although, there had never been any real tensions between the groups, this still continues to dominate the inside party politics.

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<sup>235</sup> Turkkkan, Oguz “Turkculugun Yeni Esaslari”, Pozitif, Istanbul, 2006, pg. 230

<sup>236</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, “Son Turkcu Atsız”, Togan, Istanbul, 2013 pg. 505

<sup>237</sup> Hacaloglu, Yucel, “Atsız’ın Mektupları”, Orkun, Istanbul, 2001, pg. 140

<sup>238</sup> Turkkkan, Oguz “Turkculugun Yeni Esaslari”, Pozitif, Istanbul, 2006, pg. 231

Another important aspect of the congress has been the acceptance of the “Nine Lights Ideology” as the core of the party ideology, turning to party into a purely ideology entity. This allowed a better control of the party for Turkes who solidified his leadership by stating the three most important aspects of the party: “Leader, Organization, and Doctrine!” (Lider, Teskilat, Doktrin).

It is obvious that the changes made to the party are a result of the reforms that Turkes wanted to conduct for a long time since he became the president of the party. His choice of figures (Crescent, grey wolf, three crescents) from the Turkish past clearly demonstrates his intention to transform the party from a center-right nationalist conservative one to a full-fledged Nationalist movement organization. The transformation was from a political party to a political movement. The symbols used and the slogans chosen (Such as Even if we bleed, victory belongs to Islam “Kanimiz aksa da zafer Islamin!”) are a clear indication of this will. Adana Congress has not only changed the Republican Villagers’ Nation Party, but also changed the Turkish politics forever. According to Reha Oguz Turkkan, in a time of desperate need where the radical left has increased its attacks and with Soviet Union looking to expand its influence beyond its borders, the Nationalist Movement has stepped up to defend the last free country of the Turks.<sup>239</sup>

### **Troubled Times for Turkey and the role of Turkes and the Nationalist Movement in the 1970s**

The new constitution set up after the military coup of 1960 has brought a new constitution, giving many rights to the entire society. The liberties were so great that it is often said that “The social awakening has gone beyond the development.” Especially inspired by the student revolts all across Europe, the left have begun to gain ground both on the street and in the parliament. Especially with the new liberties,

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<sup>239</sup> Ibid, pg. 232

Communists have gained control of many universities which had their own autonomy. The Leftist groups have begun to treat universities as their bases both ideologically and as arsenals. The attempts to make a “revolution” usually included the means of clashing with the police in the cities and the military in rural areas. Turkish people, probably for the first time in Turkish history had become very much politicized. In such a time Turkes stepped into the political scene as a party leader, advocating the dangers of both communism and liberal capitalism. With his ideas applying both to the religious and nationalist minds, he quickly gained many supporters and although he never managed to gain more than six point forty two percent and more than sixteen chairs out of a four hundred and fifty before 1980, his followers were very active on the streets fighting against the various communist, socialist and separatist groups who took the street and started to fight against the police and the army in the early 1960s. There were many murders committed against both sides in the 1970s as Minister of Customs Gun Sazak and Mayor of Bingol Hikmet Tekin were two of the most well-known Nationalists that were murdered during these troubled times. It is also worth mentioning that as the party formed along with the Ideal Hearths, there was a lot of support to make the party a political force. There were newspapers, periodicals, books and conferences in order to support the party.<sup>240</sup> Also an important factor was the formation of the syndicates. There were many nationalist syndicates such as Turk Metal Is (Turkish Metal Work- a syndicate for Metal Workers who tend to have a Nationalist leaning) and MISK (Milliyetci Isci Sendikaları Konfederasyonu- Nationalist Worker’ Syndicate Confederation) was the parent organization, as Turkes mentioned importance of the laborers getting what they deserve and not become crushed under the feet of the big money investors.

In this time, because of immense problems in the political scene and the streets, it would be extremely hard to discuss the state’s view on Nationalism and/or anything else for that matter. The state lacked continuity because the governments who came to power only were allowed to stay for a short period of time, therefore as the part (or parties, in most cases) which came to power only had little time impact the things, “the left” try to pursue its agenda when it came to power but soon was toppled by “the right”

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<sup>240</sup> Turkkan, Oguz, “Turkculugun Yeni Esaslari Yukselen Milliyetcilik”, Pozitif Yayinlari, Istanbul, 2006, pg. 230

and vice versa. This period has also seen many early elections as a result of the political turmoil.

Another important factor in Turkey and Turkish Nationalism was the “Cyprus Peace Operation”. Due to internal turmoil and racist attacks, encouraged by the junta in Greece on Turks in the island, Turks have organized and decided to fight back but the firepower and the number of fighters were on the Greeks’ side and as a result, Turkish population in the island was getting massacred on a regular basis. As a result, in 1974 the Turkish army intervened and drove the Greeks to the south of the Island and set up the borders for today’s Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti). This operation was nicknamed by the Greeks as the “Operation Attila”, making reference to Attila the Hun who was an ancestor to Turks. This operation has raised Nationalist sentiments in the country and has allowed many from different people from different ends of the political spectrum to join the protests against the Greek massacres committed against the Turks in the islands.

The rhetoric of Turkes amongst many other things concentrated a great deal on “the enslaved Turks” referring to the Turkic populations living under rule of other countries (Mainly, the Soviet Union, but also Romania, Greece, China and Yugoslavia). Turkey is many times referred as the only free “Turkish State”.<sup>241</sup> The terms such as “World Turkishness” were also used. Turkes also met with leaders of various Turkic groups such as Yusuf Alptekin of East Turkistan (Uyghur), Ebu Feyz Elçibey of Azerbaijan and Ata Hayrullah of Qerkuk (Iraqi Turkmen).

It is also worth mentioning that Turkes usually kept a bard on his side, and the bard documented his work into sayings and songs. The ancient tradition of Turkish bards (Ozan in Turkish) was (and still is) an ongoing tradition and the verbal stories of good deeds and catastrophic events were carried through generations by the mean of the bards and their instrument saz (or baglama). This is how many stories even as old

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<sup>241</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, “9 Işık ve Türkiye”, Kervan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 39

as the ones from times when Turks were living in the steppes of Central Asia have reached today. Especially famous ones are the stories of “Dede Korkut”. In line with this tradition, there are songs about Turkes still sung in various corners in Anatolia even more than ten years after his death.

Turkes constructed his ideology on many aspects and it can evidently be seen in Turkey even today. His followers growing moustaches (like a handlebar moustache) like their ancestors from Central Asia, the legendary image of the grey wolf was given as a symbol to the party’s (unofficial, but the ties are very open in public) youth organization “Ulku Ocaklari” (Ideal Hearths), the traditional Ottoman flag of three crescents which symbolizes the Ottoman Rule over three continents were decided as the party emblem. Even today, when it is looked in to the party’s website it is clear that these elements can still be seen. “The history of the party begins with: “The roots of inspiration coming from the Orkhun Runes...” is a reference to one of the oldest Turkic writings that can be found in today’s Mongolia. In the Runes there are advises, on how to protect the Turkishness (or rather Turkness), from different rulers of the Gokturk Empire. The new Central Building for the party was finished in 2004 and its garden there is an exact size replica of the Orkhun Runes. From these recurring symbols we can certainly see that, both Turkes and his party, Nationalist Movement Party, are using symbols from the Turkish past to enforce their ideology.

Alparslan Turkes was given the title of “Basbug” (Great Leader) which is an ancient title given to Commander-Kings of Turkic Central Asia by his followers, a title that was also given to Mustafa Kemal Ataturk by the Turkish people. How this word was first started to be used for Alparslan Turkes is unclear but it is known that he had no displeasure whatsoever of being addressed by this adjective.

Another factor in understanding Turkes’ Nationalism is the role of Islam. The power of Islam is a critical notion in his ideology. Compared to Huseyin Nihal Atsiz and (less so but still) Mustafa Kemal Ataturk he has built his ideology on more Islamic grounds. Terms, such as “the Turko-Islamic Civilization, Turko-Islamic Culture, etc.”

were used openly by various representatives of the party. The youth organizations known as the "Ideal Hearths" (Ulku Ocaklari) also had Islamic books in their libraries as well as nationalist ones. In Turkes' written work, we cannot see many examples of mentioning of Islam, but the Islamic thoughts and ideas (despite the obvious fact that, they were not particularly aimed at the regime, so much so that they were not anti-establishment like the one of Necmettin Erbakan's party, the National Welfare Party (Milli Selamet Partisi) was not pressed by the movement's leader, although he was a pious Muslim, because of the nature of Islam and the teaching of Turko-Islamic culture "ibadet" (worship) is done secretly to Allah (God), his pilgrimage to Mecca, "the Hajj" (an "ibadet" that has to be done once in a lifetime by every able Muslim) was kept a secret until his death.) existed in the party speeches and other publications. Despite this, he was seen praying with a group of people on certain occasions in congregational prayers. Another important aspect that Islam brought to Turkes' ideology was the view on racism, Racism was viewed as a sickness and a sin, so therefore tried to be avoided. In addition to this, the concept of spreading God's word for rule of the Earth (Nizam-i Alem için l'la-yı Kelimetullah) has been mentioned regularly in various conferences prepared by the party.

Turkes' ideology also had the code of (lider, teskilat, doktrin) "leader, organization, doctrine". These are the three vital things to the ideology that shouldn't be openly argued against in order not to cause stir in the organization. Also a term called "Tore" was started to be used more and more between the Nationalists. "Tore" (according to the belief) is the customs of Turks that have been constantly growing and sometimes even changing in minor way to times' needs but always protecting its core, since the first Turkish community was formed. In ancient states of Turks, it was the unwritten law (sort of an unwritten constitution) and a form of conduct that has been passed on through generations. Later coupled with Islamic rules, it is usually referred as the Turko-Islamic "Tore". The allegiance to the state was also an important part of the "Tore", as it was a very strict set of rules, treason is considered to be punishable by the death penalty. This is one of the main reasons that even almost after 10 years of abolishment of the death penalty the argument about the death penalty is still ongoing in the Turkish Society, as hot as ever, today and many



politicians on different sides of the political spectrum have declared their intentions to bring capital punishment back if they are elected into office.

The biggest difference of Turkes compared to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız and Ziya Gökalp was that he was a competing politician. This brought a new, more popular following amongst the people in his life time. Although, his party's electoral support (during his lifetime) never was over eight percent, his sympathizers outnumbered the number of his voters, many people, once it was time to vote, voted for the "biggest of the right wing" Adalet Partisi (Justice Party), in an attempt to stop the Republican People's Party which was leaning towards the left more than ever, to become the first party in the elections so that they wouldn't be given the chance to form the government. Of course during the era between 1961 and 1980 there weren't many single party governments but according to Turkish Political Tradition in Turkey, the party with the most parliament number is given the power to form the government by the president. The usage of symbols from the past both pre-Islamic (such as the moustaches which carried also to the Islamic period, or pre-Islamic Turkish Legends and the notions of Nizam-ı Alem) have allowed Turkes to mobilize many people and created a youth organization that still is considered by many to be one of the biggest reasons for the Nationalist Movement Party's vote base (which amounts up to eight nine percent) whom would vote for the party no matter what.<sup>242</sup>

Turkes' political movement gained ground in the entire country, even in some eastern cities such as Bingöl and Sanliurfa. In Bingöl Hikmet Tekin was elected as the Mayor at the age of twenty seven from the Nationalist Movement Party in eleventh of December, 1977 by getting over one third of the votes cast. He, (with some of his family members) was assassinated in 1979 by left wing/separatist terrorists when his car was returning from an evening meal during Ramadan.

It should be kept in mind that "the state" was not in a position to be viewed as a solid strong entity during the 1970s in Turkey. All throughout the 1970s there was a

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<sup>242</sup> Baki, Mehmet, "Bahçeli İnce Hesabını Test Edecek", Aksiyon 2.3.2009, 743

shift of power through elections and different coalitions between the left and the right, so the policies of “the state” shifted dramatically in one way or another dramatically.

Another important aspect of the setup of the party and the ideology was the formation of “Ulku Ocaklari” (Ideal Hearths). They were de facto youth organizations for the party, whereas party never had official youth organization, the offices of the “Ulku Ocaklari Dergisi” (Ideal Furnaces Magazine) were (and are) used for get-togethers and meetings for young people who are sympathizers to the party. Many people can bring their friends and relatives therefore the tradition of recruiting new members and new voters to the party is achieved through the work of The Ideal Hearths in a friendly coffee shop atmosphere. This also helps the party to get things done in a much easier way, as it gives a massive number of available young people from every walk of life to get things done according to the people’s needs. They can be found in almost every city and every town in Turkey and cities in Europe where Turks live (Such as Berlin, London and Vienna). An average Ideal Hearth has chairs, tables and an oven and can be viewed like a coffee house, but in addition to that there is a library consisting of books of mainly Turkish history, Turkish Nationalism and Islam. Then, there is a prayer space if there is not a mosque nearby, and usually an office or two (or maybe a small dormitory even for rare occasions) for the officers of the Hearth. It must be said that the party and the Hearth bear no official ties but no one inside and/or outside the party denies the obvious connection between these organizations. The Ideal Hearths are also active in Europe, and they have big enrollment numbers in especially Holland and Germany.

In this chapter, I have tried to look for answers if the ideology of the Nationalist Movement is a third way (at least in discourse or theory, because MHP has never become the governing party alone in their history) movement. With looking at the examples of “third way” from the past, we can say that the discourse of “The Nine Lights” can fit into this category, as well. Then finally, I gave a look at Turkes’ work through the lenses of the discourse analysis method of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. Through using this discourse analysis technique we were able to tell that all the signifiers that Turkes uses are lined up in accordance with nationalism, in the

discourse of Turkes nationalism acts as a nodal point. This topic is of great importance both in Turkish and the world literature, because there is a large and growing literature gap in the efforts to understand the ideological backgrounds of the third biggest party in the Turkish political system. To be honest, I was surprised to find so little on the literature about the discourse of Turkes. This dissertation has suggested that the ideas of Turkes are not necessarily racist, despite being drawn from some racist roots of Nihal Atsiz and that his ideology can be considered as third way, as he follows the path of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and wanted to create a solidarist corporatist system. With Turkes' understanding of a Turk (in his discourse) we can see that someone can call himself a Turk and if he honestly believes that he is a Turk disregarding the racial or ethnic background. The Turko-Armenian writer Dabagyan states that "He didn't only let Armenians and Jews into the party. He appointed an Armenian to the head of the press affairs in Istanbul. What kind of a fascist would do that?"<sup>243</sup> Although sometimes misunderstood as being a fascist and a racist, looking through the discourse of Turkes we cannot find an evidence of these accusations. The uses of symbols and signs of the past were a common practice for Turkes. He put these symbols up on a pedestal and these symbols proved to be the driving force for the mobilization of the masses that followed Alparslan Turkes and his nationalist ideas and goals.

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<sup>243</sup> Dabagyan, Levon Panos, "Başbuğ Türkeş ve Milliyetçilik", Yedirenk, İstanbul, 2009 pg. 394

## **Critique of Turkish Nationalists and its Challenges**

*“We are a government that has put nationalism of everyone under our feet!”*

*-Recep Tayyip Erdogan*

When Turkish Nationalism is discussed an important issue that should be addressed is the critique of Turkish Nationalism and its challengers. In order to understand an ideology it is important to look at the critiques. It would definitely help to expand one’s understanding of an ideology. Also seeing how the nationalists refute the claims of the critics, fight the challenges by the opposing parties is vital in understanding various aspects of Turkish Nationalism.

This entire work was based on how Turkish Nationalism was formulated and/or affected by different nationalist thinkers. It is imperative that the reader gets an objective view, therefore it is of utmost importance that the challenging ideologies and fractions are mentioned in order to achieve objectivity in this research. The challenges that Turkish Nationalism face and the competing ideologies it has to face in order for it to be the “hegemonic” ideology is going to be discussed in this chapter.

In this chapter Turkish Nationalism’s critics and its opposition will be discussed, it will start with the criticism that if nationalism is truly a full-fledged ideology. This is an important discussion and Michael Freeden’s article about this issue underlines many fine points about this subject. Then, the nationalists’ struggles with the Islamists and

the center right will be discussed. Moreover, the relationship between Turkish Nationalists and the left will be explained thoroughly. The historical events and various different happenings will be discussed in order to explain the changing conditions that dictate the shifts in the relationship (or sometimes the lack of) between Turkish Nationalism and other political ideologies and movements over time in Turkey. It is important to understand and take into account the challenges that nationalism and the nationalists faced in order to put things into perspective when judging the nationalists. Obviously, this does not necessarily mean that nationalists have always been reactionaries but there is certainly a trend of reacting rather than acting.

### **Nationalism as an Ideology**

In his article titled “Is Nationalism a distinct ideology?” Michael Freeden tries to find out the answer whether nationalism is a distinct ideology or not. In his work, he tries to find an answer to this question by “a study of its conceptual structure.”<sup>244</sup> This is an important issue to discuss because study of nationalism is important in order to understand this dissertation. In his article, Freeden’s main point is that nationalism itself is not an ideology, but rather a component in an ideology. He also states that nationalism can be found in different ideological systems, but he chooses to look for nationalism in three different ideologies: fascism, conservatism and liberalism.

Michael Freeden begins by giving the views of others, who have worked in this area, on nationalism and whether it is an ideology or not. Then he states that “...in order to be a full ideology it will need to provide a reasonably broad, if not comprehensive, range of answers to the political questions that societies generate.”<sup>245</sup>. Then, he calls nationalism a “thin-centered” ideology which is only limited in ideational ambitions and scope. Then Michael Freeden goes on by stating why he doesn’t consider nationalism a comprehensive ideology: “Its conceptual structure is incapable of providing on its own a solution to questions of social justice, distribution of resources

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<sup>244</sup> Freeden, Michael “Is nationalism a distinct ideology?” Political Studies Association, 1998, Pg. 748

<sup>245</sup> Ibid. Pg. 751

and conflict-management which mainstream ideologies address.”<sup>246</sup> Freeden continues by saying it is rather a part of an ideology or just a “thin-centered” ideology as he discussed before. He continues on by describing nationalism according to his views and gives examples from Ireland and United States to support his views. Then, he starts on trying to describe the core of nationalism. He has a very valid point when he states that nationalism has served more to liberty than to democracy historically. Then he describes that nationalism can be found mainly in three big ideologies: conservatism, liberalism and fascism. He first starts with liberalism. He claims that there is no real substantial “liberal nationalism” but there are nationalist discourses in some forms of liberalism. Michael Freeden then explains how nationalism is inside fascism, he accepts the fact that it is the core concept in fascism but he also states that without the other concepts of fascism such as leadership, totalitarian organization, myth, regenerative revolution and violence, nationalism alone would not equal fascism. Finally, he talks about nationalism and emotion and claims how nationalism has different effects on emotions when it is placed in different ideologies. Michael Freeden concludes his article with advice to students of political sciences and studies of political science, like this work to shy away from classifying nationalism as a real ideology.

First of all, it should be underlined that although, some of the points Michael Freeden is trying to make in his article are true, it is obvious that he is not giving enough examples on many of his points. For example there is no mention of the Fascist Regime in Italy led by Benito Mussolini or there is no reference to the fascist ideologists (or the ideologists Benito Mussolini was influenced by) Giovanni Gentile and Gabriele D’Annunzio. Writing a page about fascism without any reference to the Fascist Regime in Italy is not understandable. He doesn’t talk about the semi-fascist experiment by Richard Dolfuss as well. Freeden, in his article doesn’t give equal importance to every side of nationalism.

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<sup>246</sup> Ibid. Pg. 752

Secondly, maybe the most important deficiency in Michael Freeden's work is the fact that the article is so centered on the forms and ways that nationalism is applied in the Western world, it totally neglects the variations and ways of nationalism in the East as well as very important examples from the west. Starting from the most familiar example to this work, the country that this work is focused, Turkey, has a degree of nationalism is existent in every mainstream ideology. The three main parties all consider themselves to be nationalistic in one way or another. Republic of Turkey's founding ideology, Kemalism, is also based on nationalism. Also, there is no mention of "Ummah" which in Arabic basically means "The community of believers" which can be understand the whole Muslim people as a whole nation. There is also no mention to Arabic nationalism nor to the growing nationalism in the new found "bourgeois" in coastal People's Republic of China. He well could have spoken about how Joseph Stalin used nationalism and called the fight against the Nazi Germans "the great Patriotic War". Antonio Oliveira Salazar's and General Franco's regimes were using nationalism as a tool for their political systems, this was also missing in his work. He also fails to elaborate more on the issue of the use of nationalism in the socialist states and how nationalism is used to motivate people when the "socialist ideals" are just not enough as it was in the case of Joseph Stalin as I mentioned earlier or he could have talked about the Russification process that was conducted in the Soviet Union. A discussion about the way that the Mollas implemented Persian nationalism in the Shia Sharia regime is also definitely worth a mention when one is speaking about the different ways that nationalism is implemented in different types of ideologies and political systems. When the focus of an article is just placed on one continent it tends to miss what has happened in other parts of the world.

Moreover, Michael Freeden seems to forget that there is no single ideology that reaches the criteria he sets up for nationalism. He counts liberalism as a distinct ideology but then says that liberalism often uses nationalism or has an element of nationalism and that refutes his own point. Especially, looking at the age we live in now, it is very arguable that there is one ideology that can cover the entire needs generated by the society. Even Marxism which, at one time, was considered to be an ideology that addressed to every problem possible, seems insufficient and it is criticized by many people who previously have followed this ideology. To sum it up, it

is quite doubtful that one ideology today can cover the needs of the entire humankind and judging nationalism on this level is only unfair to nationalism.

In addition to this, the issue of nationalism being an ideology or not is debated and there are numerous political scientists who tend to disagree with Michael Freeden. Richard A. Handler, a professor at the University of Virginia, states that “Nationalism is an ideology about individuated being. It is an ideology concerned with boundedness, continuity, and homogeneity encompassing diversity. It is an ideology in which social reality, conceived in terms of nationhood, is endowed with the reality of natural things.”<sup>247</sup> Michael Hechter takes a different look at nationalism: “If nationalism is collective action designed to render the boundaries of the nation congruent with those of its governance unit, then a simple analytic typology of nationalism flows directly out of this definition. Further, this typology helps account for the normative differences between types of nationalism.”<sup>248</sup>

If we get back to his main idea, his argument that nationalism cannot stand on its own is understandable if we try to find an answer to every problem society creates, but it must be said that there is not a single “ideology” that can do that. So, because of this fact none should come up with the conclusion that nationalism is not an ideology. As stated earlier not even Marxism or Liberalism reaches the standards that are set by Michael Freeden in his article.

Finally, it should be pointed out that although Michael Freeden makes some valid points in his arguments, it must be said that he uses too few examples when talking about nationalism and doesn't take at least three quarters of the world into

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<sup>247</sup> Handler, Richard. Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec. *New Directions in Anthropological Writing: History, Poetics, Cultural Criticism*, ed. George E.; Clifford Marcus, James. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988, pp. 6-8.

<sup>248</sup> Hechter, Michael *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. See pages 15-17.



consideration. His ideas are mostly based on North America and Europe (especially Western Europe), where nationalism and nationalist thought was affected greatly during and after the Second World War. Freedom is also missing some valuable views from many scholars especially when talking about fascism. Apart from all these, the main flaw in this article is the fact that he describes “ideology” in a way that none of the usual conceptions of ideologies can reach, even the ones he mentions in his article.

## Islamists

Islamists and Islamism have always been a challenge against Nationalists in Turkey. Although, there have been reconciliations from time to time, both these two competing political streams and their political representatives have battled for the dominance of “the right” against each other and in times when Islamists broke away from center right although it must be noted that usually center right have been more electorally popular. The century long struggle has almost always stayed respectful as it has led to the formation of two different coalition governments in the 1970s and an electoral coalition in 1991. Especially, the electoral coalition of 1991 between Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) which is Islamist, Nationalist Task Party (Milliyetçi Çalışma Partisi) which is nationalist and Reformist Democracy Party (Islahatçı Demokrasi Partisi) which is conservative has proven to be quite successful as the parties in the coalition have managed to pass the draconian electoral threshold of ten percent. Although, there have been many electoral coalition in Turkey (like True Path Party’s [True Path Party] electoral coalition party with Enlightened Turkey Party [Aydınlık Türkiye Partisi] and Democrat Turkey Party [Demokrat Türkiye Partisi] for 2002 elections in Turkey) mostly are comprised of relatively small parties “sticking” themselves to relatively bigger ones with similar world views in order to circumnavigate the threshold of ten percent. In this coalition dubbed “holy alliance” (Kutsal ittifak)<sup>249</sup> both Nationalist Work Party and Welfare Party were both relatively large and successful but were not electorally popular enough to pass the threshold by

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<sup>249</sup> Cakir, Rusen, (1991, November 26), 52 Gunluk Ittifak 3 MCP ayrildi RP selamete erdi. Cumhuriyet. Retrieved from <http://www.rusencakir.com/52-GUNLUK-ITTIFAK-3-MCP-ayrildi-RP-selamete-erdi/2706>

themselves. As a result, although they united under the name of the Welfare Party (the electorally more successful one) it was a coalition of “equals” and was called “the coalition of the believers”.<sup>250</sup>

However the relationship between the Islamists and the nationalists have not always been rosy as in 1991 and these ideologies have been in competition since the late period of Ottoman Empire. Much like Turkish Nationalism, Islamism have surfaced as an ideology an idea to save the crumbling empire. As a result, the ideologies have been in competition since their formation. This is very evident from Yusuf Akcura’s work “Three Types of Politics” (Uc Tarz-i Siyaset).

The relationship between Nationalism and religion of Islam has been open to different interpretations. Prophet Muhammad in his last pilgrimage to Mecca stated that “Arab has no superiority over non-Arab, non-Arab has no superiority over Arab and red skinned has no superiority over black skinned and black skinned has no superiority over red skinned, the only superiority is in takwa (piety) and fearing Allah.” Many Islamists have speculated that Islam forbids nationalism as a result of this hadith (Sayings of Prophet Muhammad) and argued that nationalism is indeed a sin. However, it should be noted that there are many different interpretations and Islamic law scholars have come up with conflicting views on this issue. Therefore, it can be said there is no clear result that can be derived from Islamic Jurisprudence. Hadiths such as; “Love of homeland is from iman (belief).” And “Start giving Zekat (alms) from your poor relatives.” Can be and is interpreted by some (Islamic scholars and non-Islamic scholars) scholars as proof that Islam allows nationalism as long as it does not lead to out and out racism. It is also thought by some that Islam encourages nationalism. However, the notions of nation and ummah are problematic to say the least. They can be used interchangeably as well as opposites. Whereas, “nation” might be used to describe “ummah” (Such as in the Islamist “National View” as in Milli Gorus). It is also possible that “Nation” such as “Nation of Arabs” or “Indonesian” is a component of the greater ummah. As a result, many Islamists claim that their only

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid

“nation” is the ummah and they only bear allegiance to Ummah and none to their nation.

The main argument of the Islamists against Turkish Nationalism have been that there have been nationalists and nationalist’s discourse that have been racist.<sup>251</sup> Although, many nationalist thinkers have stated explicitly that Turkish Nationalism is based on cultural understanding of nationalism (such as Turkes and Gokalp) racism is prevalent according to Islamists. Despite this fact, according to Islamists, it is easy to have a cultural nationalism which is “acceptable” but many nationalists in Turkey have tuned to racial nationalism which is forbidden in Islam.

This has led to many of the revolts, according to Islamists, in the Ottoman Empire. According to Islamists, Turkish Nationalism which was a dominant ideological current in the later days of the Empire was one of the biggest reasons of the dissolution of the Empire, itself. Turkish Nationalism and Turkish Nationalist practices have led to the uprisings of Armenians and Arabs. Turkism is the biggest reason why these peoples of the Empire rebelled according to the Islamists. The policies of Abdulhamit II are favored by the Islamists who sought a pan-Islamist agenda. His policy in trying to create balance in his practices are admired by the Islamists, however his harsh rule infamously dubbed “istibdat” (oppression) is played down. Abdulhamit II is a controversial historical figure for the Turkish Nationalists as the opinion of him might range greatly depending on whom that is asked.

Most of the mainstream Turkish Islamists are content with a degree of nationalism, as there is a considerable of nationalist rhetoric in the discourse of many Islamists including Necmettin Erbakan.<sup>252</sup> However, they believe that the nationalists take it too far, sometimes into racism territory which is banned by Islam.

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<sup>251</sup> Cakir, Rusen, (1991, November 24), 52 Gunluk Ittifak 1 Basbug Erbakan Mucahit Turkes. Cumhuriyet. Retrieved from: <http://www.rusencakir.com/52-GUNLUK-ITTIFAK-1-Basbug-Erbakan-Mucahit-Turkes/2704>

<sup>252</sup> Siyasi Harita, 29.12.2013, Necmettin Erbakan ve Alparslan Turkes’in Corum Mitingi, Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r0lOWvZho7A>

The deepest problem that the Islamists have with Turkish Nationalists is surely the result of the reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. After the Turkish Independence War, the reforms undertaken by Kemal Atatürk have drawn huge criticism from the Islamists. Latinization of the Turkish Alphabet, “the Ezan” (call to prayer) being in Turkish, reformation of the dress, closing down of medreses (reformation of education), ban on niqab, abolition of sultanate and caliphate, making it obligatory for imams to gain permits to from relative departments lead prayers in mosques have caused unrest for Islamists as the role of religion has visibly decreased in state matters as secularism became more dominant in everyday life. The Islamists claim that the reforms did not go well with the general public and distorted the tapestry of the society. Also, during the rule of Atatürk there were many trials convicting the opponents of the reforms and these trials led to many opponents of the regime to be executed by hanging as well as some getting harsh prison sentences or going on to de facto exiles. These have led Islamists to be unhappy with the new state founded by Kemal Atatürk. This has led to many Islamists hiding themselves. As the numbers of Islamists decreased greatly after the foundation of the Republic, it seemed for a time that Islamism would be on the periphery of Turkish politics for a very long time.

With the 1940's the Nationalist discourse, according to Islamists, has taken a turn for the worse, becoming even more racist and nationalist figures such as Sukru Saracoglu and Nihal Atsiz were seen as racists but as Ismet Inonu's policies against Islam and Islamism increased in number as well as severity, Islamists and nationalists have found an opportunity for approaching each other as they were the main opposing forces of the Inonu regime. Among the persecuted Turkists, some had conservative leaning and had Islamist friends. Especially, after the foundation of Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti) nationalists and Islamists jointly supported Democrat Party. This was due to the long reign of Ismet Inonu, therefore all the opposition against him united in the ranks of Democrat Party. This led to a great surge of support for Democrat Party, however Turkish Nationalists were not happy with Democrat Party's opposition against People's Republican Party and found it too “soft”, as a result under the leadership of Fevzi Cakmak, Yusuf Hikmet Bayur and Osman Bolukbasi set up Nation Party (Millet

Partisi), however this did not sour the relations very much between the nationalists and the Islamists and continued well into the 1960's especially with the rise of radical left movements which both the nationalists and the Islamists saw as an imminent threat to be dealt with. As a result, many organizations had different members who were Nationalist and Islamist. Organizations such as the "Raiders" (Akincilar) and "National Turkish Student Union" (Milli Turk Talebe Birliđi) along with "Struggle against Communism Society" (Komünizmle Mucadele Dernegi) were the most prominent of these groups.

With the formation of Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi) in 1969 and the setting up of National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi), a year later, these two ideologies have started to compete once again. Under the leadership of two charismatic leaders, Alparslan Türkeş and Necmettin Erbakan, the former as the leader of Nationalist Movement Party and the latter as the leader of National Order Party, they started competing as different political parties. Obviously, while the former accused the latter of not being nationalistic enough, the latter accused the former of not being Islamic enough. However, it should be noted that both parties targeted the bigger parties especially the center right because center right had the potential to lose the most votes to these parties. Also during this time both these parties joined various coalition governments. Whereas, Nationalist Movement Party joined in coalitions with right wing parties, National Order Party along with different right wing parties, had gone into a coalition with the Republican People's Party. Even though, they were two separate parties, both the National Order Party (and its successors) and Nationalist Movement Party drew their intellectuals from a similar pool, and as a result there had been some who crossed over from one side to another. The most notable one without a doubt is the famous poet Necip Fazıl Kısakurek. Although originally an Islamist he switched allegiance to the nationalists criticizing the inactivity of the Islamists. He praised the nationalists stating that the only ones who had the capability to save Turkish Nation are the nationalists. He wrote poems<sup>253</sup> supporting the nationalist cause and even gave speeches in nationalist rallies. Although some groups openly

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<sup>253</sup> Especially his famous poem "Ulukucuyeye Kasidesi"

despised each other, violent exchanges have been very few and far in between these two groups.

After the coup of 1980 and the introduction of the ten percent threshold seen no way else for their parties to pass the threshold, they formed an electoral coalition in 1991.<sup>254</sup> This coalition was successful, as it allowed both parties (along with the smaller conservative Reformist Democracy Party) to pass the draconian threshold, an opportunity that they missed in the earlier election in 1987. The voting bases of both the parties seemed to get along very well and this even led some to think a full alliance would be possible in the future.<sup>255</sup> However the efforts push Turkes and Erbakan to a full coalition did not bear fruits, as after the election Turkes and Aykut Edibali (Leader of Reformist Democracy Party) broke away from Welfare Party and returned to their previous parties. During the 1990s both parties increased their votes and managed to take part in governments through coalitions.

The difference between the nationalists and the Islamist started to show during this time, after the death of Alparslan Turkes, the nationalists managed to stay strong as an electoral force and managed to achieve one of their best electoral performance in 1999 with almost eighteen percent of the vote. New leader of Nationalist Movement Party, Devlet Bahçeli coming from the statist conservative wing of the party, have managed to steer Nationalist Movement Party towards center right where most of the Turkish electorate is condensed.

The Islamists however has suffered greatly, aging Erbakan had to go through party closures and an uprising by the younger members of the party. The younger group finally broke away from the Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi) and set up Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi), this party moved considerably to the center and with many additions from different fractions of the right has established

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<sup>254</sup> Cakir, Rusen, (1991, November 26), 52 Gunluk Ittifak 3 MCP ayrildi RP selamete erdi. Cumhuriyet. Retrieved from <http://www.rusencakir.com/52-GUNLUK-ITTIFAK-3-MCP-ayrildi-RP-selamete-erdi/2706>

<sup>255</sup> Cakir, Rusen, (1991, November 24), 52 Gunluk Ittifak 1 Basbug Erbakan Mucahit Turkes. Cumhuriyet. Retrieved from: <http://www.rusencakir.com/52-GUNLUK-ITTIFAK-1-Basbug-Erbakan-Mucahit-Turkes/2704>

itself as a center right party. Justice and Development Party taking advantage of the power vacuum in center right politics have become the strongest party in Turkey, however how Islamist Justice and Development Party is up to debate. However with the Islamist Felicity Party (Saadet Partisi) decreasing its vote share greatly, it is fair to say that many Islamists have indeed started voting for Justice and Development Party.

This is an important point of this work that the election results of 1957 is quite similar to the election results of 200. Exactly, fifty years later, a center right party came first (Democrat Party, Justice and Development Party) and formed the government whereas Republican People's Party came second in both the elections whereas the only other party which managed to gain a vote worth mentioning was the nationalist one (Republican Nation Party [Cumhuriyetci Millet Partisi] and Nationalist Movement Party). This is a clear indication that despite Necmettin Erbakan's best efforts to establish Islamism as a stand-alone political ideology nature takes its course and despite the rise of radical left in 1960s, despite the fragmentation of the center right in 1970s and despite the rise of Islamism in 1990s, Turkish mainstream political system stayed a three candidate race in truth.

The future of Nationalist Movement Party is looking bleak according to Justice and Development Party and its supporters, Justice and Development which adapted neo-liberal economic policies (which is frowned upon by many Islamists) see globalism as a reality and any force that is competing against globalism such as Nationalist Movement Party is bound to lose ground with time. Recep Tayyip Erdogan, President of Turkey, and de facto leader of Justice and Development Party has an unusual relationship with Nationalists. One day he would state that "One should not shake their hand", the other day he would state; "My brothers from Nationalist Movement Party", and then again would state "We have taken Turkism under our feet."<sup>256</sup> As the leader of a center right party the use of pragmatism in Tayyip Erdogan's rhetoric is quite prevalent. Especially with the so called "Kurdish Initiative" (Kurt Acilimi) started in 2009 tensions seemed to increase between two parties and probably opened up new rifts

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<sup>256</sup> Cicek, Yildiray, (2015, January, 16), Turk yoksa 16 Turk devleti pozu niye, Ortadogu, Retrieved from: <http://www.ortadogugazetesi.net/makale.php?id=18260>

that cannot be closed along with the negotiations with the leader of terrorist PKK, Abdullah Ocalan, nationalists and Nationalist Movement Party seems to be distant with Justice and Development Party and will be for the foreseeable future unless there is a considerable policy change from Justice and Development Party.

## **Center Left**

It is normal for any center left wing party to not to get along with a nationalist movement in any country in the world and Turkey is not an exception here. The relationship between the nationalists and the center left have always been very tumultuous after the death of Ataturk.

Center Left's relations with Turkish Nationalists have always very problematic apart from the coalition government of 1999 and the presidential campaign of 2014. Center Left and the nationalists have not come together very much and were happy to distance themselves from each other. This had difference reasons as center left has gone through significant changes, so their relationship with nationalists have also changed.

After the death of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1938, Ismet Inonu became the President of Republic of Turkey and at first seemed favorable towards nationalists as Mehmet Sukru Saracoglu was appointed Prime Minister in 1942. Sukru Saracoglu himself an ardent nationalist, supported Turkist activities. However, with the tide of Second World War turning in favor of Soviet Union, things changed very rapidly and in order to appease the rapidly expanding imperialistic Soviet Union more and more left leaning ministers were appointed. This resulted in the protests of the Turkists through letters and this furthermore led to Ismet Inonu denouncing Turkists as "Touranists and racists".<sup>257</sup> Although at first used with derogatory connotations, the

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<sup>257</sup> Butuner, Zubeyir, "3 Mayıs 1944 Olayları Işığında İç Dis Politikada Siyasi Dengeler", The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies International Journal of Social Science, Volume 5 Issue 6 pg. 96



word Touranist (Turancı) was well liked by the nationalists and started to be used much more commonly by the nationalists.

With the advancement of the Red Army into Europe, the persecution of Turkists began, as there were many arrests and many were put under custody claiming that Turkists were conspiring to put down the Inonu regime. Nationalist thinkers and writers were questioned and tortured by the police. Amongst the tortured were Alparslan Turkes, Zeki Velidi Togan, Reha Oguz Turkkhan and Huseyin Nihal Atsiz.<sup>258</sup> After spending about a year in prison, the Turkists were released. The protests organized on 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1944 is the first anti government political rally in the Republican period. As a result, the nationalists sided with the Democrat Party in the elections of 1945. However, before the elections of 1950, the nationalists were unhappy with Democrat Party's efforts in opposition and found Democrat Party too soft. As a result, they set up Nation Party under the leadership of Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, Fevzi Cakmak and Osman Bolukbasi. Since Democrat Party formed all the governments during this time until 1960 and since the pressure on all the opposing parties were so great, this led to a reconciliation period between two parties which, after the coup of 1960, led to a short lived coalition government which caused a split in the Nationalists' party. Starting with the second half of 1960's as a result of Republican People's Party's visible move to left and the rise of radical left activism and the violence, nationalists saw Republican People's Party as "the guilty party" as the "big" party of the left. As the fighting on the street got worse between the nationalists (represented by Nationalist Movement Party starting from 1969) and center left this resulted in the relationship getting also getting worse and worse. The only exception was during the operation in Cyprus where parties from all the spectrums of politics united behind the Turkish army to settle the problems in Cyprus. Street violence got worse as the 1970s progressed, the radical left blamed Turkish Nationalists to be the tool of United States of America and the West and as the gunmen of capitalism. Street violence was so bad at times, entire families would be wiped out in one night, then a dozen would get murdered the next week and the events turned into a vicious cycle of violence. The violence started with the radical left organizing strikes, mass demonstrations, protests and university

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<sup>258</sup> Ibid. Pg. 99

occupations. Also there were attacks against embassies, policemen and the army. The nationalists feeling that it was their duty to protect the nation stepped up to “defend the country”.<sup>259</sup> As the nationalists took the streets to counter the radical left, the radical left became more and more militant. They happily took up arms against the “Neo-Fascists”. The militancy of the radical left helped Nationalist Movement Party electorally as the party nearly doubled its vote share between 1973 and 1977. Nationalism became the bastion of people who were unwilling to have a socialist country. The epitome of Nationalist Movement Party’s popularity was showcased in 1978 in Ankara where a million Nationalists marched on the streets of Ankara, while an exuberant but a stern Alparslan Turkes stated: “For those who choose torture as a way for themselves, for those who try to steal the bread from the citizen, for those who infringe justice and law, this is a warning of beginning, if necessary we will walk forty five million people on the streets!”<sup>260</sup> As the violence continued and escalated there seemed to be no end to the violence. The army staged a military coup with the aim of stopping street violence between the radical left militants and the nationalists. Many people from both the camps were arrested and were detained for years. The prisoners were kept in military prisons and allegations of torture were widespread. Also, all the parties were banned and closed and the leaders of all the political parties were interned and put on trial. It was a tough time for Turkey since political activities were put on hold until 1983. One might be inclined to think the trials and the ordeals faced by radical left and the nationalists might have brought them closer but even though the street violence came to a halt after the military coup of 1980, until the general elections of 1999 center left and nationalists kept their distance from each other. However the elections of 1999 brought totally a new understanding since the minority government of Democratic Left Party (Demokratik Sol Parti) which was appointed as the governing party just to lead Turkey to the new elections managed to capture terrorist leader Abdullah Ocalan. This has led to a surge of votes both for Democratic Left Party and Nationalist Movement Party and allowed them to form a coalition with the center right Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi).

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<sup>259</sup> Ozyurt Olkan, (November 2, 2014), Nasil Gecti 70’ler?, Sabah, retrieved from: <http://www.sabah.com.tr/pazar/2014/11/02/nasil-gecti-70ler?paging=2>

<sup>260</sup> Serhat Tugrul Tabanoglu, 2013, Gerekirse 45 Milyonu da meydanlardan yurutecegiz!, [Online], [Accessed 29.12.2014], Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=neuaVkzO3BE>

After the elections of 2002 and 2007, it was clear that Republican People's Party and Nationalist Movement Party were the only two parties that could withstand the hegemonizing effect of Justice and Development Party and gain enough votes. As a result, this brought reconciliation to these different political currents and this led to the joint nomination of the presidential candidate Ekmeleddin Mehmet Ihsanoglu jointly against the president of Justice and Development Party Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Although, their attempt was not successful this showed that in right circumstances these two parties can work together.

After years of struggle and fighting it can be seen that indeed the future might look brighter for the relationship of these two old enemies as they jointly try to dilute the power, hegemony and the influence of Justice and Development Party and Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Only time will tell how their struggle will turn out to be, but with the ascension of Tayyip Erdogan to presidency, they have to win against a new Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu.

## **Center Right**

The relationship between center right and Turkish Nationalists have been relatively peaceful. There has not been many problems as nationalists have joined two coalitions with center right in the 1970s and one in 1999. The problems have only occurred between the nationalists and center right when center right became electorally so successful that they formed the government themselves and saw the nationalist's vote as a potential vote so targeted the nationalists.

After Democrat Party was set up, Turkish Nationalists joined forces with center right in opposition to Ismet Inonu. However, this alliance was not long lived as Nation Party was set up in 1948 by Hikmet Bayur, Fevzi Cakmak and Osman Bolukbasi. Nationalists were unhappy with Democrat Party's efforts in opposition and found it too

soft. Nation Party came third in the next elections behind Democrat Party and Republican People's Party. As Democrat Party became the governing party it started to get authoritarian and seeing the Nation Party as an opposing party, pushed the judiciary system to close Nation Party on the grounds that it was an anti-secular party.<sup>261</sup> As a result a new party named Republican Nation Party "Cumhuriyetci Millet Partisi" was founded by the members of Nation Party. The oppression of Democrat Party continued as Kirsehir, the biggest voting base of Republican Nation Party, was demoted to be town from being a city and the leader of Republican Nation Party, Osman Bolukbasi, was jailed for "offending the parliament" and was in jail during the elections, however he still got elected in the elections of 1957 and took his vows wearing pajamas as a protest in jail.<sup>262</sup> In 1958, Republican Nation Party united with the agrarian Turkey Villager Party (Turkiye Koylu Partisi) to form Republican Villager Nation Party (Cumhuriyetci Turkiye Partisi) against the dominating influence of Democrat Party.

After the coup of 1960 and the elections of 1961 Republican Village Nation Party split into two as Osman Bolukbasi did not support the party's decision to join a coalition with the Republican People's Party and left the party to set up Nation Party once again. Slowly, but surely Justice Party (Adalet Partisi) started to become the big center right party however between 1960 and 1980, center right was highly fragmented as parties; center right as; New Turkey Party (Yeni Turkiye Partisi), Democratic Party (Demokratik Parti) and Trust Party (Guvven Partisi) (later renamed Republican Trust Party [Cumhuriyetci Guvven Partisi]), Islamist National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi) had relatively successful election performances which hurt Justice Party, as a result there were many coalition governments which nationalists also joined. In the same time after the split in the nationalists' party, Alparslan Turkes became the president of Republican Villager Nation Party and changed the party's structure and turned the party from a party with nationalist leanings into a doctrinal nationalist movement's party and renamed the party to Nationalist Movement Party in 1969. Happy that the nationalist's had a new leader Osman Bolukbasi retired from politics in

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<sup>261</sup> Bolukbasi, Deniz, "Osman Bolukbasi: Turk Siyasetinde Anadolu Firtinasi", Dogan Kitap Yayinlari, Istanbul, 2009 pg. 61

<sup>262</sup> Ibid. pg. 69

1972.<sup>263</sup> Center right and the nationalists were on good terms and were together in many coalition governments after 1975.

After the military of coup and the ban on leaders of old parties, Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi) dominated center right politics from 1983 to 1991 and with the threshold of ten percent nationalists had to wait until forming an electoral coalition in 1991 to get into the parliament. During this time Motherland Party tried to dominate “right” of the spectrum and a lot of old nationalists joined this party, thus the nationalists started the chant “Wherever Turkes is, we are there!”<sup>264</sup> in order to profess their loyalty to Alparslan Turkes, stating that they do not sympathize with Motherland Party. After narrowly missing out passing the threshold in 1995, Nationalist Movement Party finally won the second place in the elections in 1999 and set up a coalition government with Democratic Left Party and the ailing Motherland Party. After 2002, in an extraordinary election which saw more than forty six percent of the votes not being represented in the parliament again Nationalist Movement Party narrowly missed passing the threshold but since then solidified its power in the parliament through passing the threshold starting from the 2007 general elections.

As the Justice and Development Party was discussed thoroughly in the Islamist part, the relationship between Justice and Development party and the Nationalists have been already discussed but it is important to note that even though the leading figures of Justice and Development Party come from an Islamist background it is clear that Justice and Development Party has drawn most of its voters from center right and is acting like a center right party. Even the attitude of Justice and Development Party towards the nationalists have been similar to those of other big center right parties, therefore it would better to classify Justice and Development Party as another center right party instead of a Islamist one.

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<sup>263</sup> Ibid. pg. 124

<sup>264</sup> Siyasi Harita, 29.12.2013, Necmettin Erbakan ve Alparslan Turkes’in Corum Mitingi, Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r0l0WvZho7A>

## Conspiracy Theory Approach

It is well known that conspiracy theories and urban legends are very popular across the world. Turkey is no exception there, as one of the most successful TV series of all time in Turkey has been Valley of the Wolves (Kurtlar Vadisi) which is a TV series about politics both national and international.

There are many conspiracy theories regarding the nationalists starting with Ziya Gokalp. There are many rumors of Ziya Gokalp actually being a Zaza or a Kurd because his father is from Cungus town of Diyarbakir. However, Gokalp states that even though he is not a Kurd nor a Zaza, he does not value race because he believes that nationality is based on education.<sup>265</sup> Even though he has stated many times that he is a Turk, there is still widespread rumor and belief that Gokalp was a Kurd.

Conspiracy theories about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk are so many that one can write an entire PhD thesis just about the myths and conspiracy theories surrounding Atatürk. From Atatürk being actually Jewish because he is from Thessaloniki where there have been many Jews in that city during the Ottoman Empire times to him being an actual English spy.<sup>266</sup> However these conspiracy theories have never been proven and stayed more as gossip. Also, another popular conspiracy theory is that Atatürk was assigned by westerners to turn Turks away from Islam.<sup>267</sup> However, most of his changes regarding the way that Islam was lived in Turkey obviously stemmed from Gokalp's writings as previously discussed and seeing that Gokalp advised to make these changes in an attempt to turn people to Islam, contrary to the urban legends.

When it comes to conspiracy theories Huseyin Nihal Atsız is no exception, as his relation with Islam has always been a source of debate. To this day it is still not

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<sup>265</sup> Parla, Taha, "The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gokalp", Brill, Leiden, 1985, pg. 10

<sup>266</sup> Capraz, B. (2009). Dünya İslam Çevreleri Neden Atatürk'e "Yahudi ve İngiliz ajanı" der?. [Blog] *Milliyet Blog*. Available at: <http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/dunya-islam-cevreleri-neden-ataturk-e-yahudi-ve-ingiliz-ajani--der-/Blog/?BlogNo=160302> [Accessed 1 Mar. 2015].

<sup>267</sup> Ibid

clear whether Huseyin Nihal Atsiz was a Muslim or not. There are conflicting resources and testaments regarding this issue still today.

Alparslan Turkes has also been the subject of many conspiracy theories as his entrance to the military academies in Turkey although he was born out of Turkey, his real name, his education in United States of America, his “connections” with the alleged “deep state” are all discussed. Even his death is still a matter of debate with some claiming he was murdered. Just with most of the other conspiracy theories discussed most of them seems to be based on half-truths and hearsay and are not true.

It is fair to say that Turkish Nationalists have had to deal with many different political opponents, opinions that do not regard nationalism as an ideology itself and even some strange conspiracy theories to come where they are right now. Although, today the nationalists hold an electoral power which is probably the strongest in the nationalist’s history, it would be pretty safe to assume that there are many different challenges and oppositions that should be tackled in order to become the hegemonic power in Turkish politics.

Turkish Nationalists and their party, the Nationalist Movement Party have solidified its historic position as the third biggest party after the elections in 2007 and 2011. Various critics of the Nationalist Movement Party continue to criticize the party and its policies. However, it should be noted that Nationalist Movement Party’s first ever election result was three percent in 1969 and in the last election 2014 the vote total of Nationalist Movement Party was almost eighteen percent.

## CONCLUSION

*“Surrenderism or Nationalism!”*

*– Nationalist Movement Party Slogan*

This work has set out to find out and discuss the boundaries of Turkish Nationalism and as the way of doing that looked at the Works of different Nationalist thinkers and statesmen. While concluding this work there are few topics that needs to be discussed thoroughly.

First of all this concluding chapter will look at the organic family relationship between the thinkers and will consider whether there is a family relation or not between them. Then there will be a look at a comparison. The views of the four thinkers namely; Ziya Gokalp, Kemal Ataturk, Nihal Atsiz and Alparslan Turkes will be compared. Through this comparison the boundaries and the range of Turkish Nationalist thought discourse and the movement can be understood. Certain key issues will be selected along with the overall discourse of the thinkers' legacies and the importance of their thoughts and achievements to the overall Turkish Nationalism. In an era of rapid globalization nationalism and nationalist thought still plays an important role and Turkish Nationalist thought is no exception. As a consequence, some developments and changes after 1980 is going to be discussed briefly in an attempt at looking and understanding what are the prospects of Turkish Nationalism both as an ideology and a political movement. Also, an important aspect is the “nation” itself as it has been



instrumental in shaping up the views of the thinkers, so the historical events during the time of the authors are going to be essential points in determining the reason for many of the views and thought of these four thinkers.

As the goal of this research was to find out how the discourse of Turkish Nationalism has evolved between 1904 and 1980, the main focus of this research has been this period in time. However, it should be noted that events that have happened before then and afterwards are mentioned in this work from time to time when needed. Also, it should be taken into consideration that this work set out to explore the idea that mainstream Turkish politics have three poles rather than the popularly believed two which are; secular, left, leaning socially liberals and conservative, right leaning economic liberals. This research and its findings are the basis that the idea of a three “poled” political mainstream is and has been prevalent in Turkey from the start of democratic and competitive elections. The third political stream has been the Turkish Nationalists who have been a political force to be reckoned with for over sixty years. This theme is discussed all throughout the work.

When looking at this work, it should not be forgotten that an ethno-symbolist approach was taken as the theoretical framework. This was chosen in order to understand the family relation between the thinkers.

### **Possible Expansions and Additional Work for the Future**

Just as with every type of academic work, this work can be expanded in different areas. There are various different directions for any project that involves Turkish Nationalism in English language literature in academia. Turkish Nationalism is still a relatively virgin territory for the academicians working on English language materials but with Turkish Nationalism attracting more supporters and votes with passing time it is quite probable that the this situation would change. Understanding of Turkish Nationalism is quite important for the Western World, as in order to get a better

understanding of issues and events in Turkey. Therefore, more work on this under researched subject must be undertaken by academicians in order to broaden one's horizons on Turkey.

It is certain that all of the four thinkers that this dissertation was focused on can be studied deeper than this work has gone into. As all of the four thinkers; Ziya Gokalp, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız and Alparslan Türkeş were more than just thinkers and as much as this research looked into their lives and their work each thinker can be viewed much more expansively. Ziya Gokalp's lives and works have been the subject of many books and studies in Turkish. It is obvious that an extensive study in English about his life and his work would go a long way in understanding Turkey, which was founded on his ideals, and Turkish Nationalism. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, out of these four thinkers, is the best known across the world and therefore he is the one most studied in English language as well. Nihal Atsız, on the other hand, is relatively unknown in the Western World but he was a poet, a historian, a novelist and an ideologue. His literary works are unnoticed and untranslated because of his political views, but in Turkey he is considered to be a great historian and a novelist therefore, extensive work on him, especially in the field of literature, can be conducted. Alparslan Türkeş, the founder of the Nationalist Movement Party, is one of the more important figures Turkish political history. With the party he founded cementing the third biggest party status in Turkey and gaining more and more electoral success, studies about him is bound to increase in English language academic literature.

### **Discussion about the choices for the research**

Introducing a topic that is as debated and discussed as Turkish Nationalism has been quite challenging. Turkish Nationalism affected not only Turkey or the Ottoman Empire but has been very influential in Central Asia, Caucasus, former colonies such as India and Libya and the entire Middle East. As a result, when one is working on Turkish Nationalism, the effect of it should not be taken lightly.

The research mainly focused on the works, legacies and lives of four nationalist thinkers; Mehmet Ziya Gokalp, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız and Alparslan Türkeş. It is important to note that, these four thinkers were selected because they represent their times and understanding of Turkish Nationalism in their time. There is no doubt that they are four of the most important figures for Turkish Nationalist thought. This work aimed to show the “family relation” between these thinkers and to show how Turkish Nationalism evolved between 1904 and 1908. As the work unraveled it was easy to see the relationship between the thinkers and how one another inspired each other. Whether it being Atatürk making Gokalp a parliament member or Türkeş being trialed as a follower of Atsız, sometimes the relationships were even personal.

Obviously, the state was an important actor throughout the course of this work as the timeline of the research was between 1904 and 1980, there was a chance of looking at a tumultuous time for Ottoman Empire and Turkey. Adding in the fact that so many things such as two world wars, the cold war and decolonization took place in the world during this time, it is only normal for Turkey to go through so much as well. Turkey being the only sovereign Turkic country for the entirety of this period has given a chance for Turkish Nationalism to flourish but obviously this does not mean that it was clearing for the nationalists the whole time as this dissertation points out.

As this dissertation focused mostly on the discourse, obviously textual analysis was chosen as the method of conducting the research. Different approaches of textual analysis was used for different parts of the research which gave the work its flexibility in order to understand the four thinkers better. However, it should be noted that an immense amount of translation had to be done and this has been probably one of the biggest challenges of this work. Since some translation mistakes can be very costly it is important to be as precise as possible with the translations.

This work has started with the chapter of introduction where the reader is introduced to basic understanding of nationalism, Turkishness, Turkey and Turkish Nationalism. The structure of the dissertation was explained and the aims of this research was explained. In the next chapter the theoretical framework is explained

and the literature review is presented along with a discussion. The fact that English language academia is really lacking works on Turkish Nationalism has been a big obstacle that had to be overcome for this work. The third chapter is also the first body chapter and as with all the body chapter it starts with a brief intro to familiarize the reader with the historical events of the time. This is vital to this research as the events of the time are essential in shaping the ideologues as well as the people of the time and are key in understanding the work or the action of the individual or the masses. Although not exclusively mentioned, work of Yusuf Akcura, *Three Styles of Politics*, is discussed thoroughly as since it is the first work that can be considered as the first ideological piece of Turkish Nationalism, it is of utmost importance. The focal point of the first body chapter is Ziya Gokalp, in this chapter this dissertation focuses on how he set up the tenets of Turkish Nationalism. In the following chapter, the focus of the writing turns to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Turkish Independence war as well as the setting up of the new Republic. Also discussed is the legacy of Kemal Atatürk and since he had the monopoly of power for almost two decades in Turkey he has been instrumental in the creation of Republic of Turkey, his reforms and legacy are still a matter of debate. In the fifth chapter, the work focused on Nihal Atsız and his fight against the state dominated by, the successor of Kemal Atatürk, İsmet İnönü. His literary works are discussed thoroughly as well since his novels have influenced so many and helped the nationalists to romanticize their cause. Then Alparslan Türkeş and the emergence of his ideologically driven party, the Nationalist Movement Party, is discussed. As he is the writer of the Nine Lights Doctrine, the doctrine was looked from a deconstructive point of view and was written about extensively. The seventh part of this research was the challenges and the opposition that the nationalists faced, since it is imperative to get a better understanding of Turkish Nationalism, looking at its rivals and their stances should prove helpful. This work finishes with this chapter where findings of the research are going to be discussed.

There is also a second constant theme in this dissertation, although it is usually claimed by various writers and academicians<sup>268</sup> that there are only two mainstream political currents in Turkey that can be simply considered “left” and “right”, this dissertation aims to argue that there are actually three different and distinct currents

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<sup>268</sup> Kucukomer, İdris, “Anılar ve Düşünceler”, Bağlam, İstanbul, 1994, pg. 130

in Turkish politics. It is usually argued that the “two division” came from Ahmet Riza supporters and followers of Prince Sabahattin or from Ataturk’s supporters and the second group in the first parliament of Ankara, or from the Freedom and Alliance and Union and Progress split.<sup>269</sup> This work sets out to disprove this established view and argue that in reality there are three distinct mainstream political movements in Turkish politics. Despite the fact that various evidences can be traced back longer in time, the best symbolic people of this “three division” are “the three victorious generals” of the Turkish Independence War. Instead of a division of a decentralized, economically liberal, socially conservative “right” and an economically conservative, secular, patriotic, state oriented “left”, this work comes up with the conclusion that the split is indeed three ways. This work argues that the nationalists should be seen as the third force in Turkish politics. As a result, it is argued in this dissertation that best symbolic characterization of this split are the distinctions between Ismet Inonu, Kazim Karabekir and Fevzi Cakmak.

Anthony D. Smith, in the book *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, emphasizes the importance of myths, memories and symbols for nationalism, stating: “The myth of being ancestrally related, the idea of being selected, memories of communal experiences, religion and its institutions, and common cultural symbols created upon these things can generate a powerful sense of belonging.”<sup>270</sup> As a result how these thinkers are viewed and treated play a great role in determining their effect. This means in order to understand Turkish Nationalism better, it is vital to look at the background of these four thinkers and have an idea about the events that Turkish Nationalists took part in. It is essential for understanding the various positions and situations that nationalists found themselves in, in order to understand the discourse and the symbolisms of Turkish Nationalism.

This work has been a fulfilling one as this topic is a subject of interest and will serve its intention of filling a literature gap in English language literature. As the

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<sup>269</sup> Uyar, Hakkı, “Turk siyasal yaşamında cephelesmelere bir örnek: Vatan Cephesi”, Boyut, İstanbul, 2012, pg. 19

<sup>270</sup> Smith, Anthony D. “The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism”, University Press of New England, Hannover, 2000, pg. 71

electoral performance of the Nationalist Movement Party continue to rise, a lot of people will understand the importance of this work.

It is a well-established fact that Turkish Nationalism and Turkish Nationalists are usually not known very well outside of Turkey or the Turkic world. As a result, understanding of Turkish Nationalists is one of guesses and urban legends rather than realities. Also, as mentioned earlier and after studying on this topic for years, It is clear that there is a lack of English language sources and work on this topic. Also, the most serious ones written are usually written by none Turks. While this might have its advantages, it is also clear that some important and subtle points can be missed when writing about a certain place if you are not well acclimatized there. Like the work of Poulton, Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent seems to miss a lot of “finer points” when attempting to explain key issues.

As stated earlier that this work aims to fill a literature gap in English language academics in an attempt to “describe” and analyze Turkish Nationalism, its discourse and affects while separating “the elite” and “the nation”. This dissertation aimed to be as unbiased as possible in order to give a fair outlook on Turkish Nationalism. Also, the timeline of this work covers a long period while attempting to cover almost seventy five years of political development of Turkey and Turkish Nationalism. Although, Turkish Nationalism has been discussed the focus of the previous researches have never been “the family relation” of the “thinkers”, therefore this work aims to fill this literature gap. As previously discussed, the evolution of the discourse has been usually disregarded by the academicians. Also, the new idea of seeing Turkish Nationalists as a new pole of Turkish political life is a brand new angle. As nationalists are usually underrepresented in academic works, I think this dissertation might prove helpful to uncover some of the lesser known truths. The final goal of this work is to be as objective as possible, trying to push aside stigmas and prejudices. Again it is important that although similar subjects have been present in Turkish language academic works, in English they have been few and far between, it can also be considered that this work might count as a “welcome point” for those who want to study Turkish Nationalism in English language.

The importance of Turkish Nationalism both as an ideology and a movement is undebatable in the world of today, I think. Turkic world today is made up of seven different countries and a population over two hundred million shows the importance by itself.

There were a few obstacles that had to be overcome in or to be faced while looking at a subject, such as this one. The biggest challenge faced was that almost all of the primary sources are in Turkish and most of them have never been translated into English. As mentioned earlier, mistranslations might cause severe difficulties for the reader in understanding the theme or finding coherent bonds between the events and the people. In order to avoid a similar problem, the translations were done by the author of this work, in an attempt to minimize the translation mistakes. Moreover, since the work was in English, I have wanted to use as many English sources as possible, however there were not many. However, this was tried to be overcome by an attempt to in depth analysis of the previous works. Naturally, any topic chosen for a PhD dissertation is bound have its challenges and working on the discourse of Turkish Nationalism is not exempt from this.

In this chapter, the aim was to give a little bit of background information about the work in general. While defining the aims and themes of the dissertation, the reasoning behind the choice of the subject and the method of approach was also discussed in an attempt to familiarize the reader with the dissertation's further chapters. So in total, there was an introduction to the topic, then it was followed by the aspects that should be taken into consideration. There was also a brief history of Turkish Nationalists. Finally the chapter ends with the reasons for choosing this subject and the obstacles one might face while looking at this topic.

Without a question, the main of aim of this dissertation is to showcase the evolution of Turkish Nationalism between 1890 and 1980. While describing what Turkish Nationalism is through the works of four thinkers, which are focused on in this work, the work tries to separate the "movement" from the "ideology" which are two ontologically different concepts to start with. In this work different aspects and trends of Turkish Nationalism was discussed. Also, the emphasis of different aspects of

nationalism from different thinkers was shown. Both of these two concepts was discussed separately in this work. The relationship between the thinkers and the nation are important and it should be noted that the relationship and ability to affect is mutual; as the thinkers influence the nation, the nation also influenced the thinkers.

Another advantage of using textual analysis for this dissertation was the fact that it is only possible to be objective through this method. The four thinkers discussed here are controversial figures and to base this dissertation on hard evidence rather than speculation is the only way to attain this objectivity. Again the chronological approach makes it easy for the reader to understand the issues and stops the reader from becoming confused about what happened when and which of the events or the writings came before the other one. This is the main reason why a chronological approach was chosen for this dissertation.

Obviously, this work is related to the general study of Nationalism and is put forward intending to explain the Turkish way of nationalism. However this work is set out to aim showcasing a new side of Turkish nationalism without the special stressing of certain “popular” topics such as secularism, the minorities issue, the “Kurdish” question, the EU-Turkey relations and the military influence over politics. Despite the similarities, there are many interesting points that a study on Turkish Nationalism can bring to the table when compared to a study of a nationalism in a European country, for example.

This dissertation was formed by a wide ranged qualitative study of a number of texts. In this work, different approaches were used but textual analysis and comparison had the upmost importance as this is what this research is based upon. As the point to be proven in this work is the fact that Turkish Nationalism has evolved through transformation of symbolism from the past and that all the great thinkers of Turkish Nationalism are (despite their slight differences) a continuation of each other, using discourse analysis from primary sources have been the most logical option for this thesis



As this project aims to demonstrate how modern Turkish Nationalism has developed between 1904 and 1980, it seeks to understand how national and ethnic identities are reproduced among the members of the Turkish community and also roles of cultural components, the role of the certain “Nationalist Elite” and how certain images have been carried over time changing or staying the same. Moreover, daily practices and their roles in maintaining identities are also a part of this research. This was mentioned earlier in this work and are the most important cornerstones for this dissertation.

In order to achieve the goals of this research, the researcher has to have a comprehensive knowledge about how ethnic, national and religious identities are seen in Turkey. As this research aims to provide the critical breaking points in Turkish Nationalist thought, it was focused on different nationalist thinkers from a span of nearly seventy five years. As stated earlier, the western literature and Turkish academia, ‘academic and original’ works are highly limited about Turkish Nationalism and especially its discourse. To this day, most of the research that has been conducted on Turkish Nationalism was conducted by academicians, scholars, journalists, writers and scholars who are mostly biased against Turkish Nationalism. Instead of the direct assault approach of these scholars, this work sets out to analyze the discourse through better explaining and the usages of symbols and imagery. The reason for choosing this type of an approach is really simple because over the years, the academicians who worked on the field of Turkish Nationalism have always tried to assess the actions of few individuals who claim to be nationalists Turks and tried find “justifications” for the acts committed in the discourse of the ideology, however discourse itself along with symbolism carried over from a state tradition that goes back at least two millennia have largely been ignored. Whether this is the result of a bias, laziness or simple deception tactics, no one can be certain, but a study regarding the discourse of nationalism in Turkey along with its ethno-symbolist implications and approach has been a dire necessity.

Also in this work, newspaper articles have been used in order to prove the existence of events, locations and personalities from time to time. The articles are an invaluable tool to showcase the events as they have happened and demonstrate the various reactions to the events while sometimes offering the necessary commentary showing the mindset of the writers and the newspaper editors of the time. Also, the newspapers chosen for this work has usually been the “mainstream” ones, instead of the radical ones in an attempt to give a more balanced outlook. Through this, knowledge about events and actions by relatively centrist columnists was observed. It is very important to note that a degree of media literacy is required in order to get the essence of the news items that are discussed by the columnists. It is normal that these columnists have biases but through media literacy, the core knowledge can be retrieved.

When conducting the research, the aim was to use as much of the primary material as possible. To keep the assessment of the discourse, ideology and thought of these pioneers of Turkish Nationalism as objective as possible; using primary resource held the paramount of importance. Since almost none of the books are translated into English, most of the used books as primary resources are in Turkish. Although translating sometimes causes the “geist” to be lost, it is the only way to go forward with this research which aims to use the primary resources as much as possible. As most of the work has been conducted on Ziya Gokalp, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Huseyin Nihal Atsiz and Alparslan Turkes, their own writings and speeches have been used.

As the point to be proven in this work is the fact that Turkish Nationalism has evolved through transformation of symbolism from the past and that all the great thinkers of Turkish Nationalism are, despite their slight differences, a continuation of each other, using discourse analysis from primary sources have been the most logical option for this thesis. To begin, a study of Turkish Nationalism on has to start with Ziya Gokalp and Yusuf Akcura. Then the order is followed by the setting up of the Republic of Turkey with Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, then how the soul of nationalism was added into the mix by Huseyin Nihal Atsiz and finally how it was as an ideology competing

against other ideologies through Alparslan Turkes' Nationalist Movement Party. This is how the chronological development of Turkish Nationalism was between 1904 and 1980. This sense of a chronological timeline is used to give the reader to read about the events in the order that they developed. This also makes it easier for the reader to understand the similarities and the differences between the thinkers and see the effect of events on the ideology of Turkish Nationalism.

## **Analysis**

It is important to look at the findings of the previous chapters focused on the thinkers in order to draw conclusions to the questions asked in this work. To understand the evolution of the discourse of Turkish Nationalism, one must look at the writings, sayings and the legacies of the nationalist thinkers. Through looking at these, it would be easy to reach an overall answer.

As the first work that this research focused on *Uc Tarz-i Siyaset* is really an important piece of document. The first important primary source used for this research is the piece written by Yusuf Akcura called "the Three Styles of Politics", this piece is the first modern ideological Turkish Nationalist text ever written. In his extended article, Yusuf Akcura explains the three possible solution ideas to stop the decline of the Ottoman Empire. This is not only important because it is a vital document to prove the spirit of the time but also for explaining in depth the three different ideas were being discussed by the elite in the Ottoman Empire. As a result this document is very important for the fields of sociology, political science and history. Turkism, Islamism and Ottomanism are the projects discussed thoroughly in an explanatory fashion in this article, as the advantages and the disadvantages of each project is discussed extensively.

Again, “Three Ways of Politics” (Uc Tarzi Siyaset) written by Yusuf Akcura is considered to be the first modern manifestation of Turkish Nationalism.<sup>271</sup> Despite being a historian Akcura wrote about various subjects including politics, sociology and economy. This article, just about thirty pages long, written by Yusuf Akcura can be considered to be the beginning point of the ideas later developed by Ziya Gokalp and undertaken by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in his capacity as the President of Republic of Turkey. Akcura discusses the three different political projects advocated to save the breaking up Ottoman Empire, in this article. Akcura emphasize the fact that Islamism and Ottomanism have been deliberated extensively but deliberation of the viable third alternative Turkism, has been lacking. He states that discussion of Turkism has only been limited to certain circles and this is a problem as, he believes this project, Turkism can be the way out for the crumbling Empire and disregarding it without sufficient discussion would be an unwise idea.<sup>272</sup> As mentioned earlier in this work, there is an unfortunate misunderstanding about this text in today’s academia. There seems to be many academicians who claim that this text favors Turkism and totally disregards the other two ideologies, this is one of the big misconceptions and misrepresentations about Turkish Nationalism. As used earlier, the example of Masam Arai claiming that this text shows that Akcura picked Turkism over the other two alternatives is the epitome of this misunderstanding.<sup>273</sup> It is hard to fathom why that there are so many academicians who make the same mistake from such a short text which is about thirty pages, as mentioned earlier. In this text Akcura denounces Ottomanism, however does not really clarify whether he favors Islamism or Turkism. As a result, one might be inclined to ask “How this is the first ideological text of Turkish Nationalism if he is not favoring this ideology over Islamism?” and this is a fair question to ask. However the answer is really simple; this piece is still thought to be the first manifestation of Turkish Nationalism, because in this text Akcura discusses Turkish Nationalism as a valid ideology and tries to formulate an ideological formation for Turkish Nationalism. When this text is looked at, three competing projects are explained almost in a pros and cons list style. As the goal is to save the Ottoman Empire, this writing focuses on these projects from the perspective of the possibility of one these ideas being the

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<sup>271</sup> Akcura, Yusuf, “Uc Tarzi Siyaset”, Turk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari, Ankara, 1976, preface, written by: Karal, Enver Ziya

<sup>272</sup> Ibid, pg. 21

<sup>273</sup> Arai, Masami, “Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era” in “Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia” vol. 43, Brill Academic Pub., 1992, pg. 18

savior of the Empire. The first discussed idea is Ottomanism. Akcura first looks at the idea of establishing an Ottoman identity, which would supersede over all national, cultural, religious, sectarian and racial ties. The creation of this identity would mean that every citizen of the Empire irrespective of their background would have the same rights to everything ranging from jobs to taxes, from holding public office to the military service. However, this is the one idea that Akcura vehemently objects. He argues that it is not possible for people to shed their backgrounds (such as nation, sect etc.) and this will lead everyone to act for the benefit of their own background and the result would be that Arabs, who were the biggest number of ethnic group, getting pretty much everything what they want at the expense of other groups in the Empire and this is obviously likely to cause a huge amount of distress to the Turks who are seen as the founders of the Empire. As a result, according to Akcura, Ottomanism would likely cause more problems than even the ones that already exist.<sup>274</sup> An unrest of the population of Turks is bound to cause a big unrest as this is very likely to diminish the power of the army which Turks are the biggest pillar of, also this would allow an expanding Russia to pursue its pan Slavist agenda, taking advantage of the Slavic and Christian Caucasian populations in the Empire. So, Yusuf Akcura sees the Ottomanism project as an unnecessary tiredness that would be very problematic.<sup>275</sup> Even this is a clear example of the anti-Russian feeling that the Ottoman Empire's elite had, as Ottoman Empire's biggest land losses happened as a result of the rapidly expanding Russian Empire, this is only natural that Russia is seen as a "natural enemy". This feeling later carried over to the Republic as during the First World War Russia invaded a sizeable portion of Eastern Anatolia, with the help of Armenians. This also made it very easy to rise the tides of Anti-Soviet and Anti-Bolshevist feelings after the Second World War. Also it is worth mentioning that the rise of Arab rebellions during the First World War proved Akcura's point with Arabs trying to dominate the Empire. Akcura goes on by explaining Islamism. Basing the idea on the fact that the Ottoman Sultan is the Caliph of all the Muslims, Akcura defines this project as a feasible one. Especially, the caliph's ability to declare holy war is underlined, as the caliph is, from an Islamic jurisprudence perspective, the only person who is able to declare a holy war. In addition to this, most of the subjects of the Empire already

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<sup>274</sup> Akcura, Yusuf, "Uc Tarzi Siyaset", Turk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari, Ankara, 1976, pg. 27

<sup>275</sup> Ibid, pg. 31

defined their identity as “Muslims” disregarding their national, racial or sectarian background.<sup>276</sup> However, Akcura also underlines the possible problems that Islamism might face when trying to be implemented as the overarching ideology in the Empire. The existence of different schools of thoughts (both in acting and thought), sects, different interpretation of hadiths and Muslim’s holy book, Quran is bound to create difficulties according to Akcura.<sup>277</sup> Obviously, the final ideology discussed in this text is Turkism. This text is considered to be the first political manifestation of Turkish Nationalism because Akcura specifies the tenants of Turkism and laying the foundations of Turkish Nationalism to be developed further later.<sup>278</sup> Hugh Poulton comments that, although he did not specifically write which one he was favoring of the three choices, this was his choice and was well known at the time.<sup>279</sup> Yusuf Akcura acknowledges the existence of Turkish Nationalism in the society in many different academic fields as well as in art however states that it has never been discussed as full-fledged ideology before.<sup>280</sup> He defines being a Turk a consciousness and defines Turkism or Turkish Nationalism as a way to unite all the Turks in a Pan-Turkist state.<sup>281</sup> As stated earlier, this is not even close to a full on formulation of Turkish Nationalism as an ideology but an attempt at defining the basic tenets. Continuously, Akcura complains that there are no clear guidelines to define the exact tendencies and elements of Turkism. Despite this fact, he states that he favors the romanticism of Turkism. However, he is quick to describe the potential shortcomings of a prospective Turkist project. He states that Turkism needs to be discussed more in order to turn it an ideology. He goes on by arguing that Turkism might make non-Turk Muslim populations of the Empire distraught. Besides these things, he states that places where Turkism should be promoted should be chosen carefully and he advocates the region of Caucasus as a potential target.<sup>282</sup> However, despite how many shortcomings of Turkism he can come up with, this work is the first attempt at discussing Turkish Nationalism so this is why this work is seen as the first. Here, it is best to view Akcura as a strategist rather than anything else. The fact that all these three ideologies focus

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<sup>276</sup> Ibid, pg. 32

<sup>277</sup> Ibid, pg. 33

<sup>278</sup> Poulton, Hugh, “Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic Top Hat Grey Wolf And Crescent”, London, Hurst, 1997 Pg. 72

<sup>279</sup> Ibid. Pg. 73

<sup>280</sup> Akcura, Yusuf, “Uc Tarzi Siyaset”, Turk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari, Ankara, 1976, pg. 23

<sup>281</sup> Ibid. Pg. 33

<sup>282</sup> Ibid. Pg. 34

on only one common group in the Empire, Turks are the only group in the Empire that fits in all the three different projects, so it can be speculated that in this work Akcura can be looking for a way out for the Turks in the Empire rather than all the Empire. I think it is important remind an earlier point made here again. With Akcura defining “Turk” not on race but a blend of culture and consciousness and setting the goal of Turkish Nationalism as uniting all the Turks under one banner (Pan-Turkism), still after over a century these key components remain the same in mainstream Turkish Nationalist thought. This is a key element of Akcura’s work, that some of his very basic ideas regarding Turkish Nationalism have survived over a century. I also think that, what proves the importance of this work is the fact that the parliament set up in Ankara during the Turkish Independence War consisted of people belonging to three different groups. Turks facing a probable extinction if they lost came together: Ottomanists, Islamists and Turkists under the leadership of Turkists and stopped the advancing Greek army to ensure the survival of Turks. Despite its importance as a historical document, this is still too small of a written piece to be considered to give the birth to Turkish Nationalism. Akcura himself stated “although popular in some circles, a vast majority of Turks still identify themselves as a Muslim first and a Turk second...”<sup>283</sup> so it was unlikely to create an explosive effect. For that to happen, Ziya Gokalp had to come up with the formulation of Turkish Nationalism as a complete ideology.

When looking at Mehmet Ziya Gokalp, two of his most essential books were focused on. Gokalp ideas on his book “Turkify, Islamicize, Modernize” is a collection of his various articles. This book was published in 1919. In this book Gokalp begins by explaining the powerful ideological currents in the Ottoman Empire which is looking for a solution to the oncoming dissolution. Then the key concepts of a nation are explained. At the end, he finishes off by underlining the importance of Islam for the Turkish Nation. His book “Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak” obviously influenced by Emile Durkheim has managed to address the issues of “identity” as well. Along with “Turkculugun Esaslari” (Components of Turkism) it was analyzed at great length in this work. Ziya Gokalp had brought forward his ideas for a solution to the problems discussed in Akcura’s confused article, with these two works. As Akcura was

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<sup>283</sup> Ibid. Pg.31

looking to introduce and discuss one of the three paths that are discussed at the time. Gokalp sees that Turkism and Islamism must be combined with “Modernism” in order to save the Ottoman Empire. His work still finds favor from different corners of the world as his foundation of the ideological Turkish Nationalism has given him a legendary status in the eyes of every Turkish Nationalist.

Gokalp, very much like Durkheim, argued that there were structural differences between cultures and nations that live the world.<sup>284</sup> He is not named the father of Turkish Nationalism just for reverence. It is widely believed in Turkey that the founder of Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk has stated that “The Father of my meat and bones is Ali Riza (His biological father) Efendi and the father of my thought is Ziya Gokalp.<sup>285</sup> He is thought to be the “father of his thoughts” by the founder of the Republic of Turkey. This would be considered by many to be a great achievement. Although it must be added that, there are different views on this and the authenticity of this quote is debatable.<sup>286</sup> Even if this is not a true quote, this alone shows the importance and effect of Gokalp on Turkish Nationalism as a whole. However this is an issue that must be discussed extensively. The effect of Ziya Gokalp on Turkish Nationalist thought and even the Turkish political thought in general is a very immense one. His death in 1924 might have stopped him from writing more and becoming even a more important figure or it could have been the thing that stopped him from getting discredited by a state which potentially could have found him undesirable. It is clear that his death at an early age has left him as an iconic symbol that cannot be criticized. His work has helped to set up and run Union and Progress, Kemal Ataturk’s term as the President of the Republic and a long list of Nationalist parties that is now represented by the Nationalist Movement Party. All of these should be considered as variations of the ideological framework he put forward, according to Findley.<sup>287</sup> It is a statement not many would dispute and still today he is undoubtedly seen as one of the leading figures of Turkish nationalism by friend and foe alike, as evident from the fact that, when Kurds were organizing demonstrations against the Turkish state his

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<sup>284</sup> Ibid. Pg. 31

<sup>285</sup> Kemal, Hasan Huseyin, “Ezberbozan Aciklamalar”, 09.12.2013, pg. 32, print

<sup>286</sup> Ibid, pg. 33

<sup>287</sup> Findley, Carter, “Modern Turkiye Tarihi”, Timas, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 237



bust was attacked and damaged in Diyarbakir in 2013.<sup>288</sup> Obviously, his iconic status comes from his attempt to answer two key questions asked by the Nationalists; what constitutes the “Nation” and how should it be run? As mentioned many times during this study, Ziya Gokalp was the first sociologist of Turkey, so he is also nicknamed as the Turkish Durkheim. He was instrumental in sociology being accepted as a social science in the Ottoman Empire. He disagreed with the idea that there was a conflict between sociology and ideology.<sup>289</sup>

Gokalp always seemed to have managed to find a way to work his own thought with prominent “western” thinkers of the time. The effect of Emile Durkheim is obvious in all of his work. According to Uriel, 19<sup>th</sup> century liberal economic policies dominated the Ottoman Empire, until Gokalp discovered Emile Durkheim’s work.<sup>290</sup> Through the work of Durkheim Gokalp managed to find a solution to the economic problems of the Ottoman Empire. As liberalism was also questioned as being too brutal in Europe and North America and as Marxism was on the rise, Gokalp has found a way to find the solution he need that matched the needs of the Ottoman Empire and the Nationalists like him. Gokalp came up with a third position in an era which the main struggle was between liberal capitalism and Marxism. Gokalp argued that the third position he has derived from the works of Durkheim would be suitable for the Ottoman Empire with slight adjustments. Corporatism seeks to eliminate the danger that both Socialism and Liberal Capitalism are bound to create. Corporatism’s goal is to solve the problems that can be caused by following the methods of capitalism or socialism. It seeks to divide the nation in labor organizations and act as a referee between the labor organizations. It sought to create a harmonious state with a strict government control on economics without banning private property. Liberalism which did not really fit well within the Ottoman Empire of the time was the main reason of corporatism being incorporated into the ideologies’ of various Ottoman intellectuals. Also, since it was willingly and vehemently Anti-Marxist and snubbed the Marxist paradigm of class struggle, it was popular in the population, whom were already frightened of socialism and socialists. In time, as explained through the work of Taha Parla, two variants of

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<sup>288</sup> “Ziya Gokalp Bustu Tahrip Edildi”, Diyarin sesi, 12.11.2013, online journal, retrieved on 12.9.2014

<sup>289</sup> Findley, Carter, “Modern Turkiye Tarihi”, Timas, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 237

<sup>290</sup> Ibid. Pg. 238

Corporatism emerged; fascist and solidarist. Fascist corporatism has been the influence for Benito Mussolini after WWI. Whereas fascist corporatism has a strong ant-democratic sentiment, solidarist corporatism seeks the state to be in conciliatory position between competing groups. While fascist corporatism attempts to maintain order from the top, solidarist corporatism seeks to defend the rights of the individual from the state through one's labor organization which tends to both act like a non-governmental organization and a political party at the same time.

Gokalp liked to divide put people into categories of traditionalists and reformists.<sup>291</sup> Gokalp, a supporter of societal solidarism, acknowledged that a need for a "revolution" was needless but a reform had to be imminent. This pleased the governing Young Turks and Union and Progress Party. This is also an indication of the reluctance of "the elite" for an out and out revolution. "Six Arrows", the basic tenants of People's Republican Party or as it is sometimes referred as "Kemalism" and "the nine lights" of Alparslan Turkes are all derivatives of what Gokalp's has put forward. While Gokalp always emphasized that "nation" is based on a common culture, he was against Social Darwinism and racism.<sup>292</sup> This the explanatory ideological background that explains the actions of the Republic of Turkey during the Second World War and how it stayed away from forming an alliance with the likes of Empire of Japan, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Hungary. The ideological "presence" of Gokalp has helped Turkey during the Second World War by keeping Turkey out of the war. The "three components" were the tools Gokalp used to describe being a Turk, therefore describing the identity: Turk. Obviously, the role of the religion when forming an identity is debated.

Gokalp, just like Durkheim saw religion as a permanent reality.<sup>293</sup> He described religion not as a defining part of identity in 20<sup>th</sup> century, but nationality. So, he was willing to see the religion or belief system as a part of the component of the national identity. He argued that since all the Turks were Muslim, there would be no problem

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<sup>291</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, "Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak", Inkilap, Istanbul, 1949, pg. 17

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, pg. 43

<sup>293</sup> Kosoglu, Nevzat, "Turk Milliyetciliginin Dogusu ve Ziya Gokalp", Otuken, Istanbul, 2005, pg 209

in integrating Islam into the part of an identity of Turks (It is known that not all Turks are Muslim but an overwhelming majority is).<sup>294</sup> Through comparing Turks with Egyptians and Albanians whom are much more heterogeneous with regards to religion, he expected Turks to have a much easier time. He also elaborated lengthily on the significance of science and modernizing. Gokalp thought that modernization was the energetic force behind a nation and overtook religion as the chief catalyst. Although at first this might look self-contradictory, Gokalp's writing skills permitted all of this information to make sense as his volumes are written like assemblies of diverse articles. This allowed Gokalp to expand his assessments on different viewpoints while keeping an organized and unswerving pattern. Also in an endeavor to differentiate his effort from a purely imaginary one he used various different examples of the events occurring at the same time such as the Balkan Wars. As much as he has been influential for, especially the early, Republican period in Turkey, it must be acknowledged that management of Islam under the new state was much more based on a scientific materialistic approach rather than based on the works and suggestions of Ziya Gokalp. Still, his ideal of a solidarist corporatist Turkey paved the way for a constitutional, parliamentarian and somewhat democratic Turkey to exist and maybe seen as a hindrance to individualism and liberalism but it should also be remembered that this was what stopped Turkey from turning into a fascist state between the years of 1920 and 1940.<sup>295</sup>

Gokalp's confidence in the ability of the concepts of being a Turk, being a Muslim and being modern not contradicting each other has finally allowed Turko-Islamic ethos to make peace with various modernizations at the time. It must also be mentioned that the components of Ziya Gokalp being Turk, being Muslim and being modern, to this day, play a vastly important role in Turkish politics and political thought. Focusing on Gokalp's two most famous books, "Turkesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak" and "Turkculugun Esaslari" where he formulated the foundations of an ideology that certainly will be very vibrant in Turkish politics for decades to come. It is also significant to keep in mind that while the former is written in 1918 which was the year that Ottoman Empire was defeated in the First World War and the latter was

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<sup>294</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, "Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak", *Inkilap*, Istanbul, 1949, pg. 35

<sup>295</sup> Findley, Carter, "Modern Turkiye Tarihi", *Timas*, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 239

written in 1923 when Republic of Turkey was set up. The great change of political events are bound to impact these writings, as well as Gokalp's adventurous life in the time between as discussed earlier.

Written in 1918, *Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak* is set up as a gathering of articles by Ziya Gokalp. Gokalp in this book sets out give his opinions on certain subjects and define certain concepts while trying to find a way out for the collapsing Ottoman Empire. Again, it is also very important to remind the readers that this book was published in 1918 and the Ottoman Empire has more or less totally collapsed. Therefore, Gokalp's first and foremost objective is to rectify this situation as soon as possible. As a result of the losses during the First World War, Gokalp sees that project of Ottomanism as one which has failed greatly. This also shows that Gokalp confirming Akcura's point. Because of the many Arab rebellions during the First World War where many Arabs have taken the side of the allies against the Caliph Mehmet V has led Gokalp to take out Ottomanism from the possible solution methods all together. As Akcura foretold concluded a decade before Ottomanism showed to be an impractical project that did not spread to the people. After Ottomanism was out of the picture Gokalp instantaneously sets the formulation to be more Turk, to be more Islamic and to be more Modern. Ziya Gokalp aims to harmonize these three terms in order to find an answer to the deeply rooted complications of the Ottoman Empire. Gokalp starts by explaining what being a Turk means at the time. While he highlights that in Istanbul and in the larger towns of the Ottoman Empire being a Turk is something to be pleased with as a background, the more and more one moved to periphery the situation changed greatly. Gokalp notes that in his observations as a sociologist that Turks, as the "founding group", recognized the "Ottoman" identity as a part of accepting the state. Also he points out that this led to some people thinking of themselves as parts of other ethnic group, such as Lezgin if he lived in north-eastern Anatolia or as an Arab if he lived in Iraq.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, "Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak", *Inkilap*, Istanbul, 1949, pg. 8

Ziya Gokalp continues by clarifying what being modern means. This is important in showing the test that the nationalists face. At that time it has come to the point of being sad and ashamed of being a Turk in some parts of the society. It is significant in this part to understand that Gokalp being a sociologist is very important to identify the problems that nationalism had to overcome in order to succeed at keeping the Empire standing. Gokalp points out that Turks have stayed out of the science and trade communities of the Empire.<sup>297</sup> This will lead to Turks only being farmers, herders, soldiers and civil servants, according to Gokalp. This is very important because in order to become a Turk and to be able to set up a nation state of Turks, this astute observation is prophesizing the problems that Republic of Turkey would face in its early years of foundation; specialists in many fields. He sees Islam and being more Islamic which might be translated as Islamism as well but the connotations of “Islamism” are rather different today, as a vital component of being a Turk.<sup>298</sup> He states that although Turks are of Altaic people, because of over a thousand year of being Muslim, Turks consider themselves more as a part of a great Islamic ummah. This view will be the key point of many different discussions and arguments and will be one of the biggest issues in Turkish Nationalism. Throughout time, many differing opinions have formed on the role of Islam in nationalist thought, but the role of Islam as, at least, a cultural component of Turkish Nationalism has never faded. Gokalp defines the importance of modernism in this book. He claims that without modernism there cannot be the innovations that are needed to improve the Ottoman Empire.<sup>299</sup> His goal: creating a “Modern Islamic Turkishness” has become “the great goal” for many of the nationalists after him. He was also a passionate supporter for the reform and standardization of Turkish language. He saw Turkish language as the source of Turkishness and wanted to exchange many of the foreign words with their old Turkish counterparts, yet as with nearly all things he favored well-adjusted attitude in this as well and sought to retain some words which have become Turkified over time.<sup>300</sup> His seeming prejudice against words from the West can be considered as his reaction to the policies in the Ottoman Empire throughout the eras of reorganization and improvement because during those times the condition of the minorities have been

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid, pg. 9

<sup>298</sup> Ibid, pg. 11

<sup>299</sup> Ibid, pg. 13

<sup>300</sup> Ibid, pg. 16

improved and the minorities were given superior freedoms in an effort to halt the Empire from crumbling. Factually, these periods did not help the rise of nationalism of the minorities and Ziya Gokalp is obviously upset about “the foreign”, especially French, effect which was widespread in the elite throughout those times. In his mission to “take only suitable ideas of the west” he occasionally even conflicted with Durkheim in order to fit his ideals to the Ottoman Turkish zeitgeist.

One of the key concepts of this work was Gokalp’s introduction of the concept “mefkure” (ideal). Gokalp himself came up with the word, producing it through the Arabic word “fikir” (idea).<sup>301</sup> Gokalp has underlined the fact that usually this stems from a great tragedy. Kosoglu argues that this is the pivotal idea of Gokalp’s sociology.<sup>302</sup> It can be understood from Gokalp’s numerous writings<sup>303</sup> that ideal is “soul” of the nation. His emphasis on ideal however should be distinguished from aim or dream because Gokalp is not found of these concepts as he finds them too abstract. His intention is to point out that this is a “state of nation” one can almost reach out and touch. Therefore ideal is not only the focal point of Gokalp’s sociology, but also one of the most important components of the “nation”. Ziya Gokalp continues by explaining the three biggest obstacles that the Nationalists have to overcome in order to meet their goals. First one, according to Gokalp is Socialism.<sup>304</sup> Undoubtedly, as this dissertation has showed that this become a recurring theme for the nationalists. However, Gokalp sees the “threat” of socialism as a future one, because he argues that without an industrialized country, it is unlikely for socialism to gain supporters. The second threat pointed out by Gokalp is hopelessness.<sup>305</sup> This is very important at the time, because after hundred years of losses, Ottoman Empire has shrunk to a very small land mass, so from being arguably the most powerful force in the world to a relatively smaller country is the shock that led too many people to hopelessness. This was the main problem at the time that Ottoman intellectuals were trying to solve. Gokalp also emphasizes that especially Western media was effective in creating this negative atmosphere, because they have been writing about the dissolution of

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<sup>301</sup> Ibid. Pg. 42

<sup>302</sup> Kosoglu, Nevzat, “Turk Milliyetçiliginin Dogusu ve Ziya Gokalp”, Otuken, Istanbul, 2005, pg 149

<sup>303</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, “Makaleler-VII”, Rıza Kardas, 1981 pg.25-29

<sup>304</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, “Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak”, Inkilap, Istanbul, 1949, pg. 45

<sup>305</sup> Ibid. Pg. 46

Ottoman Empire for years. This is important to show that the western press held sway over many people at the time, in the Empire. The third obstacle, according to Gokalp is the pressure on education by the foreigners. He criticizes, especially, the Russians in doing so and “creating” different languages in an attempt to break the cultural bonds in Turkic world.<sup>306</sup> His suspicions have become reality in time and after being under control of Soviet Union for decades due to the education system in the Soviet Union the different Turkic dialects have become so different now, that they are considered to be different languages by many scholars.

Gokalp describes “homeland” as a “holy country where lives are sacrificed for”<sup>307</sup> This is an important element of Gokalp which will be a recurring theme for the nationalists in time. Here, Gokalp is making a reference to Islamic and Turkish culture of battle. Turkish culture being a steppe culture has developed to include fighting wars and battles and this combined with the Jihad mentality of Islam, makes sacrificing life as the criteria to find out what homeland is and how one can help the homeland. This book is the definitely one of the most important works of Ziya Gokalp. The time that he has written this book is a very crucial time for Turkishness as Ottoman Empire was getting ready to be pulled to pieces by the victorious Allies of the First World War. However, his next book and his masterpiece would be written under totally different conditions.

In the book “Components of Turkism”, Gokalp is trying to formulate the political formation of the newly established Republic of Turkey. In this book, he tries to underline the importance of Turkism for Turkey. He first gives background information of how Turkism has developed in the Ottoman Empire in different fields such as art and history as Akcura pointed out almost twenty years ago. Then, he gives a comprehensive explanation of the features of Turkism and what Turkism is and should be based on. He goes on by the “program of Turkism”, how Turkism should be applied as guidelines in the newly set up state. He finishes his book by talking about how Turkism is active in real life in different fields such as morals, law, religion, economics,

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<sup>306</sup> Ibid, pg.47

<sup>307</sup> Ibid, pg.51

politics and philosophy. *Components of Turkism* is a book written by Ziya Gokalp in 1923. Just like “*Turklesmek, Islamlasmak, Muasirlasmak*” this book is a collection of articles. However, instead of discussing the problems and solutions, Gokalp focuses on producing an ideological declaration for Turkish Nationalism and deliberates how nationalism deals and/or should deal with various different subjects. It should be kept in mind that this book was published in the same year that Republic of Turkey was set up and only a year before the death of Gokalp and as a result definitely acted as a handbook for the elite of young Republic. Gokalp wrote this book in 1923 and this book was used as a handbook by the founders of the Republic.<sup>308</sup> As he has used this book to collect his ideas together in a bundle, he has tried to publish this book as an all-encompassing nationalist manifesto. He formulated and collected his life’s work and draw the borders and boundaries of Turkish nationalism and Turkist thought. First, he describes how Turkish Nationalism has come to exist and looks at the historical perspective and the developments that have led to Turkish Nationalism being the establishment ideology of Republic of Turkey. Definitely, this book should not be viewed as a sociological text but rather as a strategic program, a collection of strategies. During the whole book we see the emphasis on culture and the position of culture as a crucial component of the nation. In as plain as conceivable terms the program is conceptualized in this book. This entire book is set out to determine what the essential element and ideal will be when building the new state. This model is Turkism.<sup>309</sup> How Turkism is used as the compound is the chief point of the discussion in this book. Gokalp sets out by criticizing the different approaches to nationalism. He states that this cannot be found in geography, tribe, race or religion as they fall short of being the efficient tools and/or basis for being the driving force for the nation. Since according to Gokalp, culture is and should be the basis for the nation. This culture is the collective thoughts and ideals of every member.<sup>310</sup>

Ziya Gokalp concedes that at first “Turkeyism” creating a nationalist Turkey is the first and foremost goal as he sees the nationalist project as at first attainable in a

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<sup>308</sup> Siddikoglu, Muharrem, 2009 “Ataturk’e yon verenler”, *Ortadogu*, 7 May, viewed 1.1.2015, <http://www.ortadogugazetesi.net/haber.php?id=12655>

<sup>309</sup> Ibid

<sup>310</sup> Gokalp, Ziya, “*Turkculugun Esaslari*”, *Inkilap*, Istanbul, 2009, pg. 37



limited geographical space. However, he adds on that Touran, the Pan-Turkist ideal, is and should be the driving force in creating the ideal. Gokalp states that after creating a “nationalist Turkey”, the second phase should be uniting all the Turks West of the Caspian Sea which he names as “Oguzism”. He finishes up this point by stating that the final objective would have to be “Touranism” and uniting all the Turks under one state.<sup>311</sup> This is one of the most element of Turkish Nationalism and will become the divide as different short lived interpretations of Turkish Nationalism such as “Anatolianism”, “Ulusalcilik” etc. will appear in time to challenge the hegemonic nationalist discourse but will fail to do so. Gokalp’s astute observation which defines the will to unite all Turks under one banner will remain as one of the strongest notions that drive the Turkish Nationalist still after 90 years. Further on Gokalp discusses the program for the cultural national project. There will be three main fundamental points where the building of nationalism will rise through education. These are; language, aesthetics and ethics. He states that Turkish ethics, obviously with a lot of it coming from Islam, is unique according to Gokalp and sets Turkish nation as a nation of its own aside from other nations.<sup>312</sup>

Other issues such as law, religion, economy, politics and philosophy are also discussed in this book. Religion is an important aspect of this writing as it is still a matter of debate in Modern Turkey. Ziya Gokalp starts out by stating his displeasure about the lack of interest to the mosques and to religion in general in the society. It is obvious that he is highly disappointed by the fact that the society is becoming more secular each day and this is causing moral decay in the society. In order to address this problem he proposes as much activity as possible in the mosque to be conducted in Turkish. Gokalp theorizes that if the religious obligations are conducted in Turkish instead of Arabic, more people will flock to the mosques and partake in religious activities.<sup>313</sup> This policy was conducted in the early days of the Republic. So, Gokalp uses “substance” of Rene Descartes for the Turkish Nation as a tool to judge the nation and argues that nationality is not in the blood but in the body that has come from the steppes of Central Asia. This is how he connects the culture and the historical

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<sup>311</sup> Ibid, pg. 41

<sup>312</sup> Ibid, pg. 133

<sup>313</sup> Ibid, pg. 158

background of the Turkish Nation together. In this book Gokalp distinguishes “culture” from “civilization”. Culture according to Gokalp is national, original, almost natural and democratic whereas civilization is international, unnatural, and conventional. Here the example of the difference between Anatolian Turkish of late 19<sup>th</sup> century with Ottoman Turkish of late 19<sup>th</sup> century might prove useful to understand the difference. Whereas Anatolian Turkish had developed naturally between the people, Ottoman Turkish was a form of Turkish which was operated on in the palace and was full of words borrowed from Arabic, Persian and later French. Therefore, Gokalp advises nationalists to look for the culture of the average people much like the German concept of “volkgeist”. His ideal is to unite the culture of Turks with the civilization of the West. It is implied that best parts of the civilization of different nations can be applied to Turks as the Western Nations have already done this amongst each other. Even the arts are viewed and many of these proposal were undertaken by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk during his rule as the President of Turkey between 1923 and 1938. It is really interesting to see how many of his ideas were put to use especially until 1940s. After looking at Gokalp’s work, it can clearly be seen how influential he has been in defining Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Nationalist thought in general. His affect can still be felt today. Especially in 1930s and 1920s many of his ideas have been implemented as policies by the founders of the Republic and have been used as a starting point for many of the reforms undertaken during the Republic, especially in the early era. However, it should also be mentioned that when the founders of the Republic first met Ziya Gokalp, they thought of him as a bit too religious.<sup>314</sup> Islamism part of his ideas were used only sparingly and the new Republic and its founders seems to have omitted most of this part of his works. Except this exception however, most of his proposals have been implemented as policies and the prescribed the “fight” to set up a Nationalist Turkey has begun.

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk’s legacy and how he is viewed has been the focal point of the chapter regarding Ataturk, however his discourse and rhetoric is important to learn how the discourse of Turkish Nationalism has evolved and whether there is a family relation in nationalist thinkers Gokalp, Ataturk, Atsiz and Turkes. Looking at

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<sup>314</sup> Kemal, Hasan Huseyin, “Ezberbozan Aciklamalar”, 09.12.2013, 32-33, print

Ataturk's discourse is also useful to showcase the boundaries of Turkish Nationalism. So, one has to revisit this work's findings from Ataturk's discourse, just as Gokalp was revisited. Kemal Ataturk's aim was to create a nation-state, after the Turkish Independence war.<sup>315</sup> With this objective in mind he pursued to nationalize every feature of the newly founded republic. When establishing the nation-state maybe the most imperative element was to define the "nation" that the state belongs to. As a result, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk defined the Turkish Nation as: "The people who have fought to establish the Republic of Turkey are the Turkish Nation."<sup>316</sup> He thought that it is from the determination that every nation has to choose its own fate. He also supposed that at the foundational level what makes a nation stems from the "common values". As a result, nationalism is supposed encompass all these ideals and in order for all the reforms to be done by Ataturk the living nation would need act as a single entity. He stated that: "We are nationalists through and through, we are Turkish Nationalists. The foundation of our republic is the society of Turks and the Republic would only be as strong as the amount of Turkish culture that the people of this society have."<sup>317</sup> While describing himself a nationalist he never shied away from his beliefs that the Turks –the nation- owned the country and said: "This country belonged to Turks in history, belongs to Turks now, and will always this way. Turkey belongs to Turks!"<sup>318</sup> He was a solid anti-imperialist and a devoted nationalist and continuously used his speeches in order to rally the nation; his long speech titled "Nutuk" (The Great Speech) was delivered for the tenth year of the young Republic. In this speech he stated: "The nation of Turks is intelligent, the nation of Turks is hardworking, the nation of Turks has a high character. "How happy for the one who calls himself a Turk." Along with these Turkist feelings, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's history writing policies there was a great deal of Anatolianist views and attempts to tie the Turkish history with the ancient tribes of Anatolia and the surrounding areas. These efforts were to halt the Armenians and Greeks from pronouncing that all throughout history Anatolia was their own land and that the Turks only came and occupied them through force in the late eleventh century. These attempts at investigating the roots of almost prehistoric Anatolian civilizations have proven to be hard but some of them delivered surprising

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<sup>315</sup> Findley, Carter, "Modern Türkiye Tarihi: İslam, Milliyetçilik ve Modernlik", Timaş, İstanbul, 2010, pg. 250

<sup>316</sup> Inan, Afet, "Medeni Bilgiler ve Mustafa Kemal Ataturk'un el yazilari", 1998, İstanbul, Turk Tarih Kurumu, pg 351

<sup>317</sup> Inan, Afet, "Mustafa Kemal Ataturk'ten Yazdiklarim", 1971, Ankara, Milli Egitim Bakanligi Kitaplari, pg 88

<sup>318</sup> This phrase is on the first pages of the daily newspapers Yenicag and Hurriyet as a motto.

results. The roots of Hattians, Sumerians and the Etruscans have been found to be related to Turks (Proto-Turks, to be exact), these new discoveries have caused quite a stir in the ancient historians all around the world.<sup>319</sup> Also the relationship with the Huns who have mastered the art of war in their time have proven to be encouraging results for the historians. With the mix of Anatolian heritage and a Central Asian heritage the history writing of Pre-Muslim Turks was ready and with the addition of the Muslim Turks' history Mustafa Kemal and his followers have come up with a great length of past that stretched back over two thousand years and their endeavor to prove the "greatness of the Turkish Nation" has seemed to have a real footing which was academically backed up. Although this was obviously vital in order to create "the modern Turkish conscience", there were many more aspects that need to go through a phase of fast paced "Nationalization". It must be said though the history writing process was the foundation stone for all the new reforms to come. As stated earlier, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, himself, was a nationalist. His remarks on the Turkish Nation from his speech from the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Republic can still be listened on different digital platforms<sup>320</sup> "Turkish Nation is hard working, Turkish Nation is Intelligent!" (Turk Milleti çalışkandır, Turk Milleti zekidir!) He wanted to establish a more modern state driven by a passionate nationalism.

The chapter on Huseyin Nihal Atsız mainly focuses on his work as a novelist and how he has influenced nationalists and the Turkish Nation through his literary works. However, his political ideas were also discussed so looking at a summary of his political discourse would prove useful to understand the evolution of the discourse of Turkish Nationalism. The best way to examine Atsız's political ideology would be to investigate his ideas on various political subjects. In order to do this, one needs to look at the articles he has published on different subjects. As previously analyzed, the excerpt from his 1969 article titled "Turkey and Cyprus (Turkiye ve Kıbrıs)" serves the purpose of elaborating his foreign policy understanding. "Today, it is our duty to take care of the future of one million Iraqi Turks, we call Kirkuk Turks. On the other hand, with their leaders raised in Moscow and with the dream of an independent state, primitive Kurds are waiting for an opportunity to destroy these one million Iraqi Turks..."

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<sup>319</sup> Topcubasi, Arslan, "Bati ve Sark Meselesi", 2000, Ankara, Kultur ve Turizm Bakanligi, pg. 176

<sup>320</sup> Can be viewed: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m3JBSzns8C4>

A Kurdish bandit named Barzani is trying to set up a state and give minority rights to Kirkuk Turks... The reality that should be burnt into minds and hearts is Turkey does not compose of sixty seven cities.”<sup>321</sup> This quote from the article goes to show the different aspects of his foreign policy understanding. First of all, by bringing the Kirkuk problem up, he is clearly looking for Turkey to exert its influence in the region. This also shows that his contempt for anyone who is threatening a Turkic population, in this case Barzani. He also shows a racist leaning calling Kurds primitive. It can also clearly be assumed that Nihal Atsiz saw kinship and racial connections as the key component of foreign policy. It is also clear that Atsiz wanted Turkey to annex lands and grow in size. Nihal Atsiz defines Turks as a group of people “...who are made up of people who come from a lineage of Turks or whom attached themselves to Turkishness so much that they do not think of any foreign race.”<sup>322</sup> This shows the fact that when Atsiz sometimes tends to go out of the limits of race and rather uses cultural terms when defining what a Turk is. Atsiz argues for a national ideal and sees that without a national ideal, nation cannot survive. He views the world and life as war so every precaution should be taken to protect the nation according to him. He saw the Turk in the world not just in Turkey but he stated that the majority of the Turks were outside Turkey. His pan-Turkist ideas, in a time when all the Turkic Republics of Caucuses and Central Asia were under the rule of the Soviet Union, Turks in Iran were ruled by the Persian Shah, there were great pressure on Cypriot Turks, seemed like an daring dangerous idea to some, but he refuted these claims by stating that without a sense of exploit nothing could be achieved by giving the example of Christophe Coulomb’s attempt at circumventing the globe or Mustafa Kemal embarking a ship to go to Samsun and to start the Turkish Independence War. He blamed Ismail Enver Pasha for his failures in trying to achieve liberation of other Turkic people, he thought that in order to conduct such an operation Enver Pasha should have prepared better. Atsiz also thought that this set up a bad example for the future. He also blamed Enver Pasha for not being a pure pan Turkist but rather a pan Islamist.<sup>323</sup> This shows that Nihal Atsiz only sees decisive victories as acceptable. In time one of his students would rise

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<sup>321</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, “Turkiye ve Kibris”, Gozlem 1969, Sayi: 10, Otuken 1971, Sayi:85 Makaleler, Baysan, Istanbul, 1992, pg. 34-36

<sup>322</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, “Turkculuk ve Siyset”, Otuken, Istanbul, 1972, pg.8

<sup>323</sup> Atsiz, Nihal “Turancilik”, Otuken, 1973, Istanbul, vol: 6

to become the leading figure of Turkish Nationalists and would be a name no Turkish Nationalist ever forget.

The last thinker this research focused on was Alparslan Türkeş, the founder of the Nationalist Movement Party. The difference of Türkeş from all the other thinkers discussed in this research was the fact that he was a competing politician and within the spirit of 1960s and 1970s he devised the nationalist doctrine: The Nine Lights. As quoted earlier, Zürcher describes “The Nine Lights” ideology as in the same ranks of Kemalism of 1930’s.<sup>324</sup>

“The Nine Lights” stand for the nine components of the ideology. These nine components are: “Nationalism”, “Idealism”, “Moralism”, “Scientism”, “Populism”, “Ruralism”, “Independentism”, “Progressivism” and “Industrialism”.<sup>325</sup> As these nine components form Türkeş’ ideology, these ideals should be revisited. Idealism in “The Nine Lights” is “to have the ideal to make the Turkish Nation the most developed, the most civilized and the strongest nation.”<sup>326</sup> Moralism is based on “the conservation of the Turkish nation’s soul and their traditions and also trying to improve them.” Scientism, according to Türkeş is seen as the method of shedding all the biases to find out the actual results of a project. Scientism is the principle of examining events and happenings without any prejudices and negative attitude and then to make science the leading driving force according to Türkeş. Populism is looking out for the interests of the society and always prioritizing this interest. Ruralism component of The Nine Lights is seeking to unite the fields of the farmers as well as moving the villages together in order to deliver better goods and services to the villagers. Ruralism principle aims to improve the lives of the villager and the farmer by making them live in agricultural cities and finding solutions to the financial problems which would save the villagers from the moneylenders. In order for the villages to develop, agricultural, ranch and other activities’ technological developments and new investments are to be followed by the state as it is the state’s duty. Independentism seeks all members of

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<sup>324</sup> Zürcher, Erik J., “Review of Turkey: A modern History”, I.B. Tauris, London, 1993 pg. 257

<sup>325</sup> Türkeş, Alparslan,, “Temel Görüşler”, Dergâh, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 11

<sup>326</sup> Türkeş, Alparslan, “9 Işık ve Türkiye”, Kervan Yayınları, 1976, İstanbul, pg. 36

the world to be treated in accordance with the human rights declaration of the United Nations. Progressivism, aims to combine the progress with the nation, so the society and the progress of the state is in harmony and its main goal is to make sure all the society benefits from the technological advancements. For the Progressivism principle, Turkes states that, people and civilizations always develop through asking for the better.<sup>327</sup> This principle dictates not to be satisfied with what have been achieved and always to look for the better. While doing that it is extremely important for the Turkish Nation not to stray away from its roots and its historical consciousness. Industrialism refers to the need of Turkey to become an industrial country in order to compete with the other big powers in the world.<sup>328</sup> The principle of Industrialism is a principle that aims to encourage industry and scientists to conduct their activities and production on the needs of the nation.<sup>329</sup> Obviously maybe the most important element of Turkes' doctrine is nationalism, Turkes describes Turkish Nationalism as: "Turkish Nationalism is great love, the emotion of attachment towards the Turkish nation and the consciousness of turning towards a common history and common goals."<sup>330</sup> For Turkes a Turk is someone: "who sincerely feels as a Turk and devotes himself to Turkishness."<sup>331</sup> He also dismisses racism as totally unacceptable: "In Turkism's and Turkishness' designation, we don't believe in perverted measurements, especially sectarianism, the point of origin and laboratory racism."<sup>332</sup> Nationalism, according to Turkes can be explained simply as everything towards the Turkish Nation, everything with the Turkish Nation and everything for the Turkish Nation, this idea is the closeness to the Turkish Nation, love and loyalty and service to the Turkish State. Nationalism, according to Turkes comes with a well-founded enthusiasm and consciousness. Turkism, according to Turkes is to want the culture, science, politics, economics and trade to be for Turks and according to Turks' ways. Turkes also gave a special importance to the definition of a "Turk". According to Turkes everyone who has the consciousness to call himself a Turk is a Turk.<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> Ibid, pg. 152

<sup>328</sup> Turkes, Alparslan,, "Temel Görüşler", Dergâh, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 46-47

<sup>329</sup> Ibid, pg. 161

<sup>330</sup> Türkeş, Alparslan, "9 Işık ve Türkiye", Kervan Yayınları, 1976, İstanbul, pg. 82

<sup>331</sup> Ibid, pg. 84

<sup>332</sup> Türkeş, Alparslan,, "Temel Görüşler", Dergâh, 1976, İstanbul, pg. 23

<sup>333</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, "9 Işık ve Türkiye", Kervan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 83

Alparslan Turkes also emphasized the importance of importance of Turks who livie outside of the borders of Turkey and the aim according to Turkes would be to help them to their welfare and independence if possible. According to the Nationalism principle the reason for backwardness of Turkey in some areas results from using some foreign ideologies. As a result against all the foreign ideologies a hundred percent native ideology "Turkish Nationalism" is the only recipe. Nationalism ideal is to make the state "one" with the Nation and to form the Turkish Nation's big and powerful rule. Nationalism ideal believe foremost in the idea of a nation state, where as another important aspect which completes Nationalism is democracy. Democratic Nationalism according to Turkes advocates nation instead of a society of classes and also advocates instead of class property, national property. Nationalism according to Turkes needs people who love his nation more than himself and serves the nation. This principle in a way also is a basis for the other eight principles. Idealism according to Turkes means to have a goal. Alparslan Turkes states that: "Ideal is a goal that designates peoples' paths"<sup>334</sup>. The ideal for a Turk should be to have consciousness and pride of being a Turk and to live and help living the Islamic ethics and virtue. Alparslan Turkes argues that "The ideal in Turkish Nationalism is to carry all the Turks in the world to the highest point in the world in togetherness"<sup>335</sup> Moralism according to Turkes, is preserving the existence of the Turkish Nation according to the soul and traditions and to improve it. Turkes emphasizes that "civilizations are founded with science, faith and ethics, not money and collapse not because of money but a lack of science, faith and morals."<sup>336</sup> In a state without moral values no matter how the economic issues are solved, there can be no mention of comfort. Turkes mentions that Turkey's developing movement should begin with a high ethics building. Nine Light ethics understanding is to understand ethics in Turkish and Islamic measurements and to follow this path. Especially an important factor in this principle is the Islam's real and high principles which are the main driving force in the composure of the Turkish nation. Turkes stresses the importance of every activity to be beneficiary for the society. This can be looked in two ways according to Turkes; social and economic. As an economical viewpoint, property is fundamental right but it can't be used against the national interest according to populism. Strategic economic activities should be

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<sup>334</sup> Ibid pg. 96

<sup>335</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, "9 Işık ve Türkiye", Kervan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 99

<sup>336</sup> Turkes, Alparslan Milli Doktrin Dokuz Isik, Hamle Basın Yayın., İstanbul, 1974 pg.189.



controlled by the state according to the populism.<sup>337</sup> Socially, The Nine Lights aim a just order, equality of opportunity, social security and social help and aims to set up organizations to do that. Also, the rights of people should be developed according to Turkes for the nation to develop as a whole. In a national harmony without disrupting the development of the country and the nation as a whole, it is aimed develop the country to become a developed country. While doing that it is extremely important for the Turkish Nation not to stray away from its roots and its historical consciousness. Turkes has managed to combine the rich historical background of nationalist thought and formulated the nine lights ideology as the effect of Gokalp is evident from Turkes' work.

When Ziya Gokalp, Kemal Ataturk, Nihal Atsiz and Alparslan Turkes are looked at together the family relation between them is obvious. After looking at the summary of the findings of this research it is very clear. Naturally, some might disagree with this by stating that not all four of these thinkers saw Islam in the same light or the other one did not place enough emphasis on the modernizing aspect of nationalism. However it can clearly be seen that Turkish nationalism advocates an anti-communist, anti-liberal economic policy with emphasis on a solidarist corporatist model. The notion of race, although can be used discursively, bears not much importance. The definition of a Turk or the Turkish nation is similar as all of the four thinkers disregard the race and see it as a cultural umbrella and a unity of ideal, rather than a scientific race. As a result we can state that although it had small fluctuations the discourse of Turkish Nationalism has stayed on a similar path between 1904 and 1980. The boundaries of Turkish Nationalism as drawn by Ziya Gokalp in 1923, remained more or less the same at least until 1980. However, balancing out the three basic tenets of nationalism has been problematic for all the thinkers following him. While Kemal Ataturk's discourse and actions did not or could not underline Islam enough, in favor of Turkism and Modernism, Alparslan Turkes' political party Nationalist Movement Party seemed to have not emphasized Modernism adequately, but was rather successful on highlighting Turkism and Islam. This goes to show the effect of time and the conditions on the ideas.

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<sup>337</sup> Turkes, Alparslan, "9 Işık ve Türkiye", Kervan Yayınları, İstanbul, 1976 pg. 122

### Three Mainstream Currents of Turkish Politics

As mentioned earlier the side mission of this work was to point out that contrary to popular belief that there are two poles in Turkish politics, there are actually three mainstream political currents. During the timeline of this dissertation, it is very important to note that we see the formation of the three biggest political currents in Turkish Politics. These three big political currents have been the biggest actors in Turkish politics starting from the general elections of 1950. The political currents are also representative of the political views of the three big generals of the Turkish army that have served under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. These generals were Ismet Inonu, Kazim Karabekir and Fevzi Cakmak. Consequently, these three pashas can be the representative figures of these three political currents. However, for the split to happen and three different camps to be set up, Ataturk's hegemony over the political system had to end. In order to analyze this issue better, a summary of these three currents need to be viewed.

After Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's death, Ismet Inonu was elected as the president of Turkey as well as the People's Republican Party. Ismet Inonu pulled the party to "center left" with help from Bulent Ecevit.<sup>338</sup> This party has transformed from the state's founding party to a social liberal party. As a result, this party is mostly supported by the urbanized middle class and the rich and the religious minorities as well as the Alevis in Turkey. Although, the dominant party of this political had to go through name changes, as a result of the military coup 1980 and then Ecevit, not being able to find a place for himself in the People's Party, setting up his own party: the Democratic Left Party and also not being able to find a place for himself son of Ismet Inonu, Erdal Inonu founded the Social Democracy Party which later united with the People's Party to form Social Democrat People's Party which in turn merged with the reestablished Republican People's Party to go back to its original name. Today, this political current is dominated by Republican People's Party, again.

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<sup>338</sup> Ipekci, Abdi, "Inonu ile Mulakat", Milliyet, 29th of July, 1965

The second current is the center right. Throughout the history of the republic center right has been the traditionally electorally most successful out of these three mainstream parties. Center right has been formed traditionally by the social conservatives and economic liberals. Despite not being in politics for a long time, Kazim Karabekir symbolizes this political current. Kazim Karabekir and his friends have founded the Progressivist Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Firkasi) although this party was later closed; it acted as a keystone for the Democrat Party. Democrat Party's voter base transferred to Justice Party after the military coup of 1960 and lost some of its voter's to Necmettin Erbakan's National View parties, this period also saw a fragmentation of the right with the establishment of relatively successful center right parties: New Turkey Party, Trust Party which later would become the Republican Trust Party and the Democratic Party. After the coup of 1980 Turgut Ozal's Motherland Party dominated the center right side of the political spectrum for a while but after the ban on party leaders was repealed, Suleyman Demirel, the former president of the Justice Party, returned to the politics with True Path Party which would turn the politics in 1990s a struggle between two ideologically very close parties. Then after the election of 2002, center right finally all united in the Justice and Development of Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Recep Tayyip Erdogan was keen on using Kazim Karabekir's name for the newly built multi-purpose stadium in Erzurum and the new stadium is named Kazim Karabekir Stadium, as mentioned earlier.<sup>339</sup> This also proves the ties that Justice and Development Party has with Democrat Party because the stadium's former name was Cemal Gursel Stadium, Cemal Gursel being the top ranking general of the 1960 military coup which was conducted against Democrat Party. With this move Tayyip Erdogan has managed to reference both to the roots of Democrat Party as well as the Progressivist Republican Party. Kazim Karabekir is seen as the "acceptable Pasha" of the Independence War.

The third and the most important stream for this research has been the Turkish Nationalists. Traditionally being the electorally the least successful and may be sometimes described as far right, the nationalists only managed to come second in the national elections once in 1999.<sup>340</sup> Although some would debate that both center

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<sup>339</sup> Ipek, Turgay, "Derbi Oncesi Supriz Karar", Milliyet 10th of August, 2012

<sup>340</sup> Tuzun, Sezgin, "Secmen Haritasi (2)", Radikal, 30th of July, 2007

left and center right contain nationalism, neither of these two political currents place nationalism as the focal point of their ideology but rather treat nationalism as a component of their worldview. Despite the fact that the party name evolved and changed over the years from the Nation Party to the Republican Nation Party, then to Republican Villager Nation Party, then to the Nationalist Movement Party, then to Conservative Party then to the Nationalist Work Party and finally back to the Nationalist Movement Party, technically speaking it is still the same party. One of the party's founders and a hero of Turkish Independence war, Fevzi Cakmak, can be considered to be the figurehead for the Turkish Nationalists. Despite the fact that elections of 1999 was the only election that "the Nationalist Stream" managed to dislocate one of the bigger parties from the top two spots, the nationalist parties have been in many coalition governments since the early 1960s. Despite having hard time reorganizing and passing the draconian electoral threshold of ten percent in the 1980s, starting from the 1990s the nationalists have been active in politics and relatively successful in the elections.

It is natural that one might be inclined to ask about Islamism and the Islamists as a mainstream political current but from the historical example we can see that Islamists have been a fraction in center right politics. Of course, under the charismatic leadership of Necmettin Erbakan, Islamists, as a standalone party, even managed to win the elections of 1995, however aging Erbakan would lose much of his electoral base after a mutiny from the youth of his party and under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Justice and Development Party aspiring to be the biggest party of center right was set up.

Keeping the examples in mind, it can be clearly seen that the three pashas have played a noteworthy part in shaping the mainstream political currents in Turkey. Even after many decades, parties with the similar three political ideologies dominate the Turkish political spectrum. This is an important point of this work that the election results of 1957 is quite similar to the election results of 2007. Exactly, fifty years later, a center right party came first (Democrat Party, Justice and Development Party) and formed the government whereas Republican People's Party came second in both the elections whereas the only other party which managed to gain a vote worth mentioning

was the nationalist one (Republican Nation Party [Cumhuriyetci Millet Partisi] and Nationalist Movement Party). This is a clear indication that despite Necmettin Erbakan's best efforts to establish Islamism as a stand-alone political ideology nature takes its course and despite the rise of radical left in 1960s, despite the fragmentation of the center right in 1970s and despite the rise of Islamism in 1990s, Turkish mainstream political system stayed a three candidate race in truth. Although, not the main focal point of this dissertation, it is a new and important idea that might be expanded into an extensive study. Students and the researchers of Turkish political history might find this subject to be an exciting opportunity.

## **Symbols**

Finally, this research also looked at the usage of imagery and the recurring symbols by these thinkers in order to find the symbols that were carried over time by Gokalp, Ataturk, Atsiz and Turkes. As an ethno-symbolist approach was used while looking at the nationalism and the state building of Turkey, it is fair to say that without the preexisting ethnic concepts a nation cannot be explained truly. In order to see how this was represented in this work we have to take look at a summary of the findings in this research.

Although not seen in Gokalp's more academic work, elements from the Turkish past were used in his poetry. Gokalp, through writing various nationalist poems, sought to stay away from a dry political discourse, while trying to promote his ideas and ideals through a very popular median of his time. The literary value of these poems written by Gokalp are debatable as Gokalp did not even try to be artistic, however they should definitely be considered as valuable ideological documents. An important factor that should be taken into account is his struggle to use as many Turkish words as possible while writing his poems because he was also an advocate of "Pure Turkish" and this is an extension of his nationalistic ideas as he tried to replace the foreign words in Turkish with their Turkish counterparts. In his poems, Gokalp mentions the old legendary tales of Ergenekon and Oguz Kagan while also talking about, red apple

(kizil elma), which is the legendary Turkish ideal of conquering the entire world. Also, the national symbol animal of Turks Greywolf is mentioned from time to time.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk while establishing a new country, Republic of Turkey, had many opportunities to implement various reforms. As the state was set up, he held almost absolute power as a result there were many reforms undertaken during his reign that he was directly responsible for. The Presidential Seal of Turkey was chosen with a single star surrounded by sixteen stars, the one in the middle representing the Republic of Turkey while the other fifteen represented; Xiongnu Empire, Western Xiongnu Empire, The Hunnic Empire, Hephthalites, Gokturk Empire, Avars, Khazar Empire, The Uyghur Khanate, Kara-Khanid Khanate, Ghaznavids, Great Seljuk Empire, Harzemshahs, Golden Horde, Timurid Empire, Mughal Empire and finally the Ottoman Empire. This was done to highlight the fact that the new republic followed in the footsteps of these great states. Obviously, in order to create a national consciousness, a national symbol was needed to be used to rally people under. The Greywolf, which is the symbolic animal of Turks, of the legends of creation and Ergenekon was chosen as the national symbol. According to the different interpretations of the legend, it was either the savior of the Turks from a great ordeal of the past or Turks were descendant of a grey wolf and a man or that a Greywolf saved the last two remaining Turks in the world who were babies at the time and breastfed them and from these two babies who drank the milk of the Greywolf came the entire Turkish people. These myths were still existent in Anatolia and therefore grey wolf was an easy choice. Greywolf was printed in the new money of the young Republic. It was also printed on the stamps. The first Ferry built in the Republican era was named Greywolf. Petroleum Office, the gas station company owned by the state, was given a logo of a howling Greywolf with its tongue out. The Justice Minister Mahmut Esat was given the last name Bozkurt (Greywolf). The new brand of cigarette produced by the state was named the Greywolf and had a picture of a Greywolf on its pack. A mural depicting the Turks' escape from Ergenekon led by the Grey Wolf was drawn to the entrance of the ministry of education of Turkey. The Turkish boy scouts were nicknamed "the little wolves". The symbol for the Turkology Department was a Grey Wolf holding a flare. In the diplomas given by the University of Ankara, there was the head of a wolf thus making Greywolf the mascot of Ankara University. The picture

of Greywolf was also on the caps of the students from primary school to high school as a part of the mandatory dress code. Through the use of these symbols and especially the Greywolf Kemal Ataturk wanted to create a national unity and remind the masses that Turks have a great and long history. He saw the remembering of old symbols as a key component of the state building process and uplifting the people's spirit. Through the symbol of Greywolf and references to other past symbols Turkish national pride has been rebuilt.

Huseyin Nihal Atsiz, as a novelist, used many symbols to romanticize the nationalist cause. Atsiz took Gokalp's attempts to a whole new level, delivering literary masterpieces. Especially his "Grey wolves" saga with "Grey wolves' Death" (Bozkurtların Olumu) and "Grey wolves are Rising" (Bozkurtlar Diriliyor) has managed to inspire generations.<sup>341</sup> He has used semi-legendary stories and turned them into nationalist novels that bring the reader to times when Turks were in Central Asia. Atsiz's book "The death of the Grey Wolves", which is also his first book in the Greywolf saga is written about a time when Turks were living in Central Asia, in the narrative of the book there full of symbols and imagery from the old Central Asian Turks. The events of the book happen during the reign of Gokturk Empire and means to demonstrate the struggle of the Gokturks against the Chinese Empire. As the book uses symbols, it uses them in order to deliver its points better. Atsiz tries to emphasize on the weak points of Turks as well as the historical heroism, high morals, tradition and independence traits of Turks. Also, the dangers of foreigner meddling in the affairs of Turks is elaborated which is also a recurring theme in the Orkhun Runes. The social interactions are also shown in a way describing the ideal way of interacting with others. The novel begins with Bogu Alp and Kam, the village elder speaking<sup>342</sup>, Bogu Alp goes to see asks Kam whether he should kill the king because a Chinese soldier was made superior to him in the army. This shows the meddling of foreigners in the affairs of Turks. Kam advises him to wait and see and prophesize him that it will take 18 years (two nines because nine is the ancient "sacred" number for the Turks) for something good to happen and that he will be resurrected after one thousand three hundred

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<sup>341</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, "Son Turkcu Atsiz", Togan, Istanbul, 2013 pg. 133

<sup>342</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, "Bozkurtların Olumu", Irfan, Istanbul, 1997, pg. 97

years. Keeping in mind that this “prophecy” in the book is made in 623, one thousand three hundred years later means 1923 the setting up of the Republic of Turkey. Here the fact emphasized is that; Turkey is the first country after the Gokturks to have the name “Turk” in its name. Moreover, in the book there is a part where the famous bard Cucu joins the emissaries of the Eastern Turks, as the Gokturk Empire was divided into two different kingdoms at the time. The inclusion of the bard is important as it was mentioned numerous times during this work, bards are a very important cultural aspect of Turks. Cucu can be considered to be from both the kingdoms as he was born in the West, but he lived in the East most of his life, so the head of the envoy ask Cucu to join them in representing the East and whether it would be acceptable to him since he was born in the West. Cucu replies: “...For me there is no Eastern or Western Turks, Just Turks. To distinguish Eastern Turks and Western Turks are the job of the Kings and Princes.”<sup>343</sup> This is an obvious allusion to the different tribes of Turks existing as members of different states or groups of Turks existing in the world when the novel was written, obviously most of them being under the rule of Soviet Union. It is written to prove the point that there is no difference between the Western Turks who are; Gagauz, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Cypriot etc. and the Eastern Turks such as; Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tuva, Uzbek, Turkmen etc. Obviously, Cucu’s speech is clear hint to the pan-Turkist sentiments of the author Nihal Atsiz. The Pan-Turkist themes are repetitive in the book, in another page of the book, when the ruler of Western Turks welcomes the emissaries he declares that the Western Turks and the Eastern Turks are two different branches of the same tree and their root is the same.<sup>344</sup> After that, an envoy from Byzantine Empire comes to Kingdom. In the group there are also Christian priests. The Christian priests try to convince the Turks to convert to Christianity by giving quotes from the Bible and elaborating more on the belief system of Christianity. However, the Turks in the book fail to understand the logic of Christianity and start asking questions and after through explanations, they come to the conclusion that the “Christian God” have “entered the tent of Mary” and as a result, Jesus was born. Then, they tell the priest if this were the case, they would not and cannot believe in a religion such as this, since the God of Turks would never do something against the tradition of Turks (Tore).<sup>345</sup> After the Turks were captured by the Chinese, one of the strongest

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<sup>343</sup> Ibid, pg. 108

<sup>344</sup> Ibid. pg. 110

<sup>345</sup> Ibid, pg. 116



wrestlers in the Empire decides to become a philosopher under the influence of a Chinese man. As a result, he starts eating less and less and ends up losing his notorious appetite. This causes concern to friends who ask him what was going on with him because he was not eating much and he tells that he decided to become a philosopher. His friend, failing to understand what a philosopher is, tells him that he hopes he gets better soon. This shows Atsiz's belief that foreign cultures can turn a Turk away from his usual ways and has potential to have a detrimental effect on the society as a whole. Then, his lack of eating result he starts losing wrestling matches despite the fact that he is one of the toughest wrestlers of the Turks. After losing the wrestling match, he stops trying to become a philosopher and returns to his old ways to garner strength.<sup>346</sup> This goes on to show that under influence the culture of Turks can be changed. The result of this change would be very dreadful and this can only be fixed by returning to the original ways of Turks. Here, Atsiz underlines his one of the main themes of the book and his ideological backbone, in order to be successful; you have to be hundred percent Turkish. This is also a repeating theme in Nihal Atsiz's work. The final part of the book is about the palace raid of Turks, led by Kur Sad. Kur Sad attempted to kill and overthrow the Chinese Emperor with his forty (a sacred number for Turks like nine) man but this attempt of Kur sad fails and the survivors retreat but they are caught by the Chinese and later killed.<sup>347</sup> This is the focal point of the book and it signifies two different important points. As underlined by the Turkish Independence War phrase "Independence or Death!" Atsiz is articulating independence as a key attribute of Turks. This entire book is a fictionalized version of a historical event as there was actually a palace raid in 639 against the Tang Dynasty's palace led by forty one Turks who were living in the city of Lin You. Also, the lunar eclipse mentioned in the book is real, as the Turks in the book see it as "moon dividing into three pieces".<sup>348</sup> There was an actual lunar eclipse in the same year in history. This shows Atsiz's intent to write a historical fictional novel by staying true to some of the main events that actually happened in a similar fashion to Atsiz described. This shows the historian side of Nihal Atsiz combined with his literary side. The names of the characters in this book have influenced Turkish people greatly and this book ended up having popularized names like Kursat (or Kursad), Tulu, Almila, Bahadir, Kagan (or

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<sup>346</sup> Ibid, pg. 190

<sup>347</sup> Ibid, pg. 224

Kaan), Alp and Han. These names have either died out in Turkey or have become very rare and with the book becoming popular these names started to be given to newborn babies again. There are various symbols such as Greywolf, tents, horse riding, archery, wrestling etc. are is very common as the whole story aims to carry the ethnic symbols of the past into the time when this book was written.

The second book of the saga is “Grey Wolves are Rising” (Bozkurtlar diriliyor). In this book Atsiz takes the reader to what happens after the failed palace storming of Kur Sad so this book starts after the book “The death of the Grey wolves”. Urungu, son of Kur sad who led the rebellion against the Chinese, is the main protagonist of this book. It is possible to read this book as a simple love story, but Atsiz seeks to give the reader one important message: the importance of the wellbeing of the state compared to the wellbeing of the individual. Throughout this book, various things Urungu does in order to win the love of Ay Hanim is elaborated. He finally succeeds, but a much more important event is also taking place at the same, as Kutluk Sad Kagan successfully overthrows the Chinese rulers in order to set up the Second Gokturk Empire. Just as Kutluk succeeds, Urungu’s love interest Ay Hanim, who is finally in love with Urungu, dies in another battle. Urungu understands that in order for Turks to be united under one leader and one ruler he needs to die and as a result he jumps off a cliff with Ay Hanim in his arms. This story shows Atsiz’s literary skills in combining three different topics in one narrative as personal heroism, love of one’s nation and love is elaborated in one story.<sup>349</sup> Same as the first book of this saga, there is an abundance of Central Asian themes such as horse riding, tents, harsh climate, self-sacrifice that Atsiz uses.

A book that focuses on an entirely different era and maybe Atsiz’s most radical book is Ruh Adam (Soul Man) It is considered to be a fictionalized version of Atsiz’s own autobiography, thus the main character of the book Selim Pusat gives an insight to Atsiz’s own thought and perceptions.<sup>350</sup> Story of Selim Pusat is told in this book which takes place in the 1950s Turkey and is considered to be a fictionalized semi-

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<sup>349</sup>Yildirim, Hayri, “Son Turkcu Atsiz”, Togan, Istanbul, 2013, pg. 144

<sup>350</sup> Yildirim, Hayri, “Son Turkcu Atsiz”, Togan, Istanbul, 2013, pg. 150

autobiographical work. Selim Pusat is a former soldier who was sacked from the Army due to his political conviction that Turks need to be led by a monarch, this is obviously a reference to Atsiz's Turkism. Even though Selim Pusat was fired, he still believes in his Monarchist ideas firmly. As the novel progresses he becomes more of a recluse and despises the society for losing the spirit of the "Old Turks". His relation with his family and his health deteriorates. He starts living in the dream world, day dreaming constantly. Princess Leyla who is actually the last member of the Ottoman Dynasty in still living in Turkey, contacts him aware of his monarchist views.<sup>351</sup> There is a conspiracy theory here. Princess Leyla is one of grandchildren of a sultan's relative who hid and she and her family kept the secret for many years. This is similar to the conspiracy theory that is also mention in another book of called "Deli Kurt" (Crazy Wolf). At the beginning of the novel Selim's wife Ayse reads him an old Uyghur tale where a commanding officer named Burkay falls in love with a girl who is very beautiful although he is married. His wife is in love with Burkay. However, Burkay tries to gain her attention but the girl, Acigma Kun. Acigma Kun does not respond to Burkay's love. Because of the hopeless love Burkay starts to lose his health and decides to make a deal with the devil to make Acigma Kun love him back. The devil ask him to be her soldier and he accepts it. There is also another condition for this arrangement, the devil asks Burkay to kill his wife. Burkay does what is asked of him but as he throws his wife to the pit, his wife says "You paid for goodness with treachery, I hope that you suffer in every life you have."<sup>352</sup> He then finally manages to get together with Acigma Kun and he talks about his adoration for her, she just shows a bit of affection. This causes Burkay to lose himself for days. After understanding that this is not a normal happening, Burkay decides to visit the devil again. The devil tells him that he was under the bad spell of his wife and if Acigma Kun were to tell him once that she loved him, he would be freed from his wife's curse. Every time, Burkay would ask if she loved her she would show some affection that professes love however she never says she loves him back. At the ending of the Uyghur tale, Burkay is on his deathbed and professes his love for her asking her if she loved him, too, this time Acigma Kun says that she is pain, however she does not say she is in love with him. This causes Burkay to die as a cursed man. This Uyghur tale is really important because quite a similar

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<sup>351</sup> Atsiz, Nihal, "Ruh Adam", Otuken, Istanbul, 2010, pg. 147

<sup>352</sup> Ibid, pg. 8

story will also happen in the book. This shows Atsiz's belief that history repeats itself. In the Uyghur tale we see the one of the most important aspects of the religion of Manichaeism, which the Uyghurs adhered to, reincarnation. Selim Pusat begins to be more of a recluse and tries to understand if he is Burkay reincarnate, he also questions the possibility that Princess Leyla might be Acigma Kun and whether he is in love with Princess Leyla. However, he understands that he is actually in love with Guntulu, a student of his wife Ayse. He decides to write a poem to Guntulu however the letter gets returned unanswered meaning Guntulu is not interested. Thus, the old tradition of lovers sending messages to each other through letters is mentioned. As time goes on he starts totally live in his fantasy world. In this fantasy states as mentioned earlier in this research, he gets called to a trial where a lot of religious and historical figures appear and God is the judge. This trial is the peak point of the book as various historical figures appear to testify against Selim Pusat. These figures all signify an important phase of Turkish history. The figures that appear are: Archangel Gabriel, Archangel Michael, Archangel Israfil (Raphael), Zoroaster, Buddha, Prophet Mohammed, Alp Er Tunga, Modu Chanyu, Attila the Hun, Istemi Yabgu Khan, Sultan Alparslan, Temujin Genghis Khan, Emir Timur Tamerlane, Shah Ruh, Bayezid I, Ulugh Bey, Mehmet the Conqueror (Mehmet II), Murat II and Selim I.<sup>353</sup> As stated earlier, this is really important for this research as here Atsiz demonstrates different phases of Turkish history, different empires that the Turks set up, different faith systems that Turks have followed are mentioned through showing the important figures regarding the empires and the beliefs. By all these names coming and testifying in trial shows the long lineage of Turkish rule in different parts of the world and at different times as well as the different religions that the Turks have embraced over time. All of these witnesses accuse Selim Pusat of not being right, that is except his mother. Here the mother figure is shown to emphasize the love of mother which is sacred for Turks. A few days later, he has a sword fight and gets wounded horribly, and then Guntulu sees him and she has a glass of water in her hand and he wants to drink the water however Guntulu is fuming about Selim Pusat's affection towards Princess Leyla and instead of giving the glass to him Guntulu throws and breaks the glass.<sup>354</sup> Guntulu states that she will not share Selim Pusat's affection with anyone not even with a princess.<sup>355</sup> As

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<sup>353</sup> Ibid, pg. 263

<sup>354</sup> Ibid, pg. 283

<sup>355</sup> Ibid, pg. 284

a result, Selim Pusat realizes that he is indeed the reincarnation of Burkay and Guntulu is Acigma Kun. As a result of the sword fight and his collapsing health Selim Pusat wakes up a day later in the hospital. He says his goodbyes to his son and vanishes, never to be seen again. Through this love story in the book, Nihal Atsiz tried to show a different understanding of past Turks with a Manichean story. As stated earlier, this book attempts to inform the reader of the vast history of Turks and the diverse vast worlds and cultures that the Turks have interacted with. It is clear that this book manages to bring the different parts of the history of Turks to the time it was written in an attempt to romantically bring the past and the present together while bringing an uncountable number of symbols and figures from the past to “now”. This book is undoubtedly one of the romantic masterpieces of Turkish literature. Atsiz, undoubtedly excelled at using old ethnic symbols from the past in his novels as well as his poems and is an excellent example of a nationalist thinker using ethnic symbols and ethnic symbolism from the past. He has managed to do it with extreme precision through his literary skill.

Alparslan Turkes got involved with politics in a time where many of Atatürk's nationalist symbolism was being taken out piece by piece by the administrations after Atatürk's death. Seeing that nationalist symbols must be used to “remind” people of their identity he made a great emphasis on old symbols of the Turks. Alparslan Turkes usually travelled with a bard on his side, and the bard (most famous being Ozan Arif) would document the events in different songs and sayings. The ancient tradition of Turkish bards (Ozan in Turkish) is an ongoing tradition and the verbal stories of good deeds and catastrophic events were carried through generations by the means of the bards and their instrument baglama or saz (a traditional Turkish musical instrument similar to a guitar with a very long neck). Historically the bards have been messengers of a sort travelling from one village to another carrying news about other stories. The oral tradition of storytelling and bards have kept the stories from centuries ago, when Turks were living in Central Asian steppes, alive. Especially famous ones are the various stories of “Dede Korkut”. As a result of this practice of Turkes, songs about Turkes and his “exploits” are still sung in various corners of Anatolia even more than a decade after his death, this has resulted with him reaching a heroic status to the nationalists. His followers grew moustaches (like a handlebar moustache) similar to that of their ancestors from Central Asia, the legendary image of the grey wolf was

given as a symbol to the party's youth organization "Ulku Ocaklari" (Ideal Hearths), the traditional Ottoman flag of three crescents which symbolizes the Ottoman Rule over three continents were used as the party emblem. Even today, when it is looked in to the party's website it is clear that these elements can still be seen. "The history of the party begins with: "The roots of inspiration coming from the Orkhun Runes..."<sup>356</sup> is a reference to one of the oldest Turkic writings that can be found in Mongolia today. These Runes contain advices on how to conduct internal and external politics. An exact replica of these runes can be found in the headquarters of the Nationalist Movement party which was finished in 2004. From these recurring symbols and images it is clear that, the Nationalist Movement Party, are using symbols from the Turkish past to tie their ideological leanings to a historical context that goes back to fourth and fifth century AD. Alparslan Turkes was given the title of "Basbug" (Great Leader) which is an ancient title given to Commander-Kings of Turkic Central Asia by his followers, a title that was also given to Mustafa Kemal Ataturk by the Turkish people. How this word was first started to be used for Alparslan Turkes is unclear but it is known that he did not want to be addressed that because of modesty but after the insistence of his followers he had to accept being addressed by this adjective. The usage of these symbols from the past both pre-Islamic (such as the moustaches which carried also to the Islamic period, or pre-Islamic Turkish Legends and the notions of Nizam-I Alem) have allowed Turkes to mobilize many people and he created a youth organization that still is considered by many to be one of the biggest reasons for the Nationalist Movement Party's vote base (which is thought to amount up to eight or nine percent) whom would vote for the party no matter what.<sup>357</sup> Turkes' choice of figures (Crescent, grey wolf, three crescents) from the Turkish past clearly showcases his will to change the party from a right leaning nationalist conservative one to a fully-fledged Nationalist movement organization. It is also important to note that Turkes tried to use figures of both the Pre-Islamic Turks and Islamic Turks. This can be considered as an attempt to connect two phases of Turkish history as these two different phases have started to drift away from each other after the republic was set up.

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<sup>356</sup> Can be viewed Mhp.org.tr

<sup>357</sup> Baki, Mehmet, "Bahceli Ince Hesabini Test Edecek", Aksiyon 2.3.2009, 743

After looking at the usage of old ethnic symbols of Ziya Gokalp, Kemal Ataturk, Nihal Atsiz and Alparslan Turkes, it is clear that all four thinkers used varying national symbols from the past in order to raise the awareness for the nation, national history and nationalism. It goes on to prove that with the usage of the old Turkish symbols many people have been attracted to the nationalism. For example, now the name Oguz, rarely used in the Ottoman Empire, is one of the most popular names in Turkey. Many Turkish names long forgotten are being used sometimes even a century later. As the tales of Dede Korkut are still told to children as bed time tales, this trend is bound to continue and keep a distinct identity of being a Turk.

All in all, this dissertation wanted to look at the evolution of the discourse of Turkish Nationalism and found out that despite slight fluctuations the discourse has always stayed in certain boundaries set up by Ziya Gokalp. Understanding of key concepts such as “nation” has remained in a similar position throughout the decades. This dissertation also aimed to investigate the usage of old ethnic symbols by the Nationalist thinkers and have found out that there are plenty of examples of this. Finally, during this research it was found out that, despite the popular belief that Turkey has two mainstream political movements in reality there are three and the third one which is neglected to be mentioned is Turkish Nationalism.

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