

REMZİ OĞUZ ARIK  
AND  
CULTURAL NATIONALISM IN TURKEY

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## ABSTRACT

Taking into consideration the historical development of nationalism in Turkey, it is not possible to claim that it followed a unique path. In fact, considering nationalism on the axis of Turkey needs in a way to take into account the intellectual accumulation these different perspectives put forward. At this point, cultural nationalism indicates an entirety of intellectual standings which are undeniable. The historical agenda of Turkey is rich with the cultural nationalist discourse that signified culturally extensive ideas on the basis of nationalism. Anatolia has been host to many nationalist discourses from the late era of the Ottoman Empire until today. The *Anadoluculuk* Movement, or Anatolian Nationalism, played a significant role in the historical development of one of the nationalist discourses, cultural nationalism. Within the *Anadoluculuk* Movement were three succeeding intellectual waves. This thesis concentrates on the second wave of the *Anadoluculuk* Movement throughout the 1930s and especially 1940s, the years that symbolized the golden age of nationalist currents in Turkey, and nationalist understanding of Remzi Oğuz Arık, who became a significant representative of this school of thought.

## ÖZET

Milliyetçilik akımının Türkiye'deki tarihsel gelişimi söz konusu olduğunda bunun tek bir yoldan ibaret olduğunu iddia etmek mümkün değildir. Aslında milliyetçiliği Türkiye ekseninde düşünmek bir anlamda da bu farklı bakış açılarının ortaya koydukları entelektüel birikimi göz önüne almayı gerektirir. Kültürel milliyetçilik tam da bu noktada yadsınamaz bir entelektüel duruşlar bütününe ifade ediyor. Milliyetçilik temelinde kültürel yoğunluklu bir bakışın egemen olduğu kültürel milliyetçilik söylemi açısından Türkiye'nin tarihsel ajandası oldukça zengindir. Anadolu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son zamanlarından günümüze değin ideolojik platformda pek çok milliyetçilik söylemine ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Bu söylemlerden biri olan kültürel milliyetçiliğin Türkiye'deki tarihsel gelişiminde, Anadoluçuluk akımı pek çok açıdan önemli bir rol üstlenmiştir. Anadolu milliyetçiliği olarak da adlandırılan Anadoluçuluk akımı çerçevesinde birbirini bir anlamda takip eden üç entelektüel dalga olduğu söylenebilir. Bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki milliyetçilik akımlarının altın çağlarını yaşadıkları 1930'lu ve özellikle de 1940'lı yılların egemen Anadoluçuluk söylemini simgeleyen ikinci dalga Anadoluçuluk ve bu entelektüel duruşun önemli bir temsilcisi durumundaki Remzi Oğuz Arık'un milliyetçilik anlayışı üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION: NATIONALISM

#### Theoretical Background

Nationalism always became a disputed area in academic circles and some influential academics have put their unique perspectives upon the development of nationalism in general and as a result, different typologies of nationalism have come to the fore. Before examining the different typologies proposed by the scholars, different theoretical perspectives should be taken into account.

In order to understand the historical development of nationalism, a brief look at the theoretical development of nationalism in general is needed. This indicates the different perspectives of thought on describing nationalism since its ideological appearance from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards. For a systematic look at the theories of nationalism, the emphasis has been on the different explanations of the birth of nationalism by questioning its roots in general. The ethnic roots of nationalism and also the economic, social and ideological features of nationalism have brought up to now have become points of discussion among different groups of intellectuals. Before examining in detail these different perspectives, we should keep in mind that nationalism has always been an arena of discussion among the intellectuals worldwide and what's so interesting is that these

theoretical arguments upon the development of nationalism are still intensively going on.

Three main theoretical frameworks have played an influential role up to now. According to Özkırımlı<sup>1</sup> the most fundamental divide of the theoretical debate on nationalism has evolved between the primordialists and modernists. In addition to these two main theoretical variants, ethno-symbolists have presented a mid-way theoretical position between these two opposite realms. Ethno-symbolism has not only become a middle way between the primordialism and modernism, but also put forward its own synthesis upon nationalism, which will be scrutinized later.

From the primordialists' point of view, nationality as an important feature for the formation of the nationalist ideology in general needs to be taken as a "natural" part of human beings, that is to say, as natural as speech, sight or smell. They claim that nations have existed since time immemorial. Hence, their belief in the antiquity and naturalness of nations has become parallel with their views on the origins and strength of ethnic identities which, in their primordialist perspective, have formed today's nations and nationalisms. For the primordialists, the distant past witnessed the clarification of several national ethnic ties and so the process through the formation of several nations and nationalisms. The process that resulted in the thorough evolution of nations depended on deep historical forces that lay the ground for the nations as the basic communities of history.<sup>2</sup> National sentiments and national consciousness played crucial parts in the formation of nations. So, those deeply rooted nations evolved around those national sentiments and consciousness, which in a way enabled the nations as the basic communities of the history.

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<sup>1</sup> Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 60-61.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 18.

Primordialists understand the nation as an ethno-cultural community and also as a community with a common ancestry. Besides rooting the nation in ancient times, for them the nation is rooted also in place, a place they regard as the historic homeland.<sup>3</sup> An important differentiation of the primordialists from their theoretical counterparts, the modernists underlines the nation as a demotic community by which they indicate as the community of “the people”, the community mirroring the needs and aspirations of the people. The primordialists are also quite different from their counterparts in their claims of nations as seamless wholes. According to them, the nation represented a single will and character. It is an organic whole that contains all the people within that community and hence for them the nation is not divided into a number of different social groups as claimed by the modernists. For the primordialists, the people within a particular nation are connected to each other with ancestral ties and authentic culture. In general, what the primordialists claim is that nations are primordial entities identifiable through their distinctive ways of life, their attachment to a territorial homeland and their striving for political autonomy.

However, primordialists are also divided among themselves for their different points of departures.<sup>4</sup> Along with their division into natural, socio-biological and cultural versions, the main divisions among the primordialists are between these two separable claims<sup>5</sup>. Some primordialists support the idea that nations and nationalisms are perennial, and for some, they are natural. As can be noticed, the second approach covers the first. Hence, perennialism is a less radical

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism* (Hampshire : Palgrave, 2000), pp. 66-67.

<sup>5</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p. 12.

version of primordialism. The main argument of the perennialists<sup>6</sup> revolves around their taking nations as historic entities which have developed over the centuries, with their intrinsic characteristics largely unchanged. For them, modern nations are the linear descendants of their medieval counterparts. In fact, the most striking point of perennialism is that they accept the possibility of the nations' failure. For them, nations may experience periods of decadence in their historical journeys, however, according to the perennialists, this decadence cannot destroy the essence of the nation. Thus, what is needed becomes the reawakening of the nation.

Standing as the theoretical counterpart of primordialism, the modernist vision of nations and nationalism asserts that nations are wholly modern. Nations are the products of modernity. Modernization and the several conditions it has caused are significant for the emergence of nations and nationalisms. Hence, unlike the primordialists, the modernists assert that nationalism is a recent phenomenon.<sup>7</sup> Nations are not rooted deeply in history, but are the results of the inevitable conditions of modernity. As a consequence, when the conditions of modernization that prepared the ground for nationalism disappear, nationalism as an ideology will lose its strength and this will become also its termination. In the light of all these claims of modernists, nations and nationalisms are the constructs of the modernization process. Related to all these, modernist intellectuals point out that, "Nations are not the result of nationalisms, but the other way round"<sup>8</sup>

Although the followers of the modernist claims upon nationalism share in general the above mentioned features, they all emphasize different aspects of the

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<sup>6</sup> Among the members of the perennialist camp, Joseph R. Llobera and Adrian Hastings are influential figures. Özkırıklı, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 21-22.

<sup>8</sup> Özkırıklı, p. 86.

modernization that have affected the development of nationalism. In general terms, the modernists are divided within themselves along three factors: economic, political and social/cultural. Their points of departure may show difference depending on their points of unique emphasis, but their arrival points always underline the importance of the modernization process on nationalism.

Among the modernists with a Marxist tendency, Tom Nairn prefers to approach nationalism in the economic context. According to Nairn, nationalism should be understood in materialist terms. Thus, the roots of nationalism should not be sought in the internal dynamics of societies, but in the general process of historical development since the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Utilizing a political economic perspective on the issue and also to some extent being influenced by the dependency theorists, Nairn stands in a position against the capitalist world system and accuses it of the reproduction of core and periphery at a global level. For him, nationalism becomes a response to the uneven development of the capitalist world system.<sup>10</sup> In the capitalist world system, the encounter between core and periphery directs the periphery, in his words the East, towards romanticism because its underdeveloped position requires mythical compensations. Thus, the East which is backwards finds what it needs in romanticism, with its cult of the people and their culture.<sup>11</sup>

Nationalism also has been taken in terms of political transformation by John Breuilly, Paul R. Brass and Eric J. Hobsbawm. In general, they prefer to approach nation and nationalism from the political side. According to Breuilly, nationalism is

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<sup>9</sup> Tom Nairn, *Faces of Nationalism* (London ; New York : Verso, 1997), p. 2; Umut Özkırımlı, pp. 88-92.

<sup>10</sup> Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman, *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif : Sage, c2002), pp. 41-42.

<sup>11</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p.53.

associated with the development of specifically modern kinds of political action and these are closely connected to the development of a new kind of state, i.e. the nation state.<sup>12</sup> Hence, national identity is modern in contrast to the ethnic identity which carries pre-modern features. For Breuille, nationalism as a form of politics is related directly to political power, which in a way results in putting nationalism above all about politics.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, Paul R. Brass deals with instrumentalism. Among the political modernists, he emphasizes more the primary role of elites and political institutions for the emergence of nationalism. According to Brass, ethnic and national identities are tools in the hands of competing elite groups for providing mass support in their struggle for wealth, power and prestige.<sup>14</sup> In this explanation, Brass underlines the significance of the changing political conditions and the manipulations of political elites for the emergence of nationalism around the world. When compared with Breuille and Brass, Eric J. Hobsbawm presents a more unique theoretical line for explaining nationalism in general. According to Hobsbawm, both nations and nationalisms are products of “social engineering”. In accordance with social engineering, continuity with a suitable historic past is constructed and the “invention of tradition” plays a crucial role within this construction.<sup>15</sup> Inventing traditions becomes a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past. According to Hobsbawm, we can talk about different types of

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<sup>12</sup> Spencer and Wollman, p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> For a more detailed information on Breuille and his ideas on nationalism in general, see Özkırımlı, pp. 104-109.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 109-110.

<sup>15</sup> Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-2

invention of traditions, but all these have in common the use of history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion.<sup>16</sup>

Similar to Nairn and Hobsbawm by using Marxist theoretical background in general terms, from a socio-cultural perspective Benedict Anderson puts his unique ideas on nationalism by emphasizing mainly four factors as the stimulus behind the emergence of nationalism: a change in the conception of time, the decline of religious communities, the decline of dynastic realms and print-capitalism. Anderson, throughout his popular book *Imagined Communities*<sup>17</sup>, conceives the nation as imagined and relates this imagination to the development of modernization. According to him, the nation is “‘imagined because the members of their fellow members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members meet them or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion<sup>18</sup>’”. Anderson also puts some criteria for the imagination. The nation is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

Yet utilizing a socio-cultural perspective like Anderson, Ernest Gellner stresses the unique cultural conditions that prepared the suitable ground for the emergence of nationalism. In his words, “‘Nations as a natural God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth’<sup>19</sup> Within this conception, nationalism becomes the cultural construct which takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations. From the overall understanding of his

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-12.

<sup>17</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, New York: Verso, 1991).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p 6.

<sup>19</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp.48-49.

theory, nationalism is a product of industrial social organization while keeping in mind the standardization of culture as a characteristic of industrial modern world.<sup>20</sup>

Among the modernists, Elie Kedourie is also a significant figure. Kedourie points out the utilization of history and religion by the nationalist for mobilization and activation. The cultural elements related to history and religion became important components for the emergence of nationalism. But Kedourie asserts that nationalists have used history selectively, viewing it through a special political lens. In this respect, the cult of the “dark gods” likewise functions as an instrument of mobilization and activation.<sup>21</sup>

Modernists and primordialists as forming the two counter theoretical sides, another group of scholars presents more moderate theoretical framework upon nationalism. These scholars, ethno-symbolists, as mentioned before, in addition to presenting a mid-way position between primordialists and modernists, also approach nationalism with their unique theoretical synthesis. According to the ethno-symbolists, modernists overlook the persistence of earlier myths, symbols, values and memories and their continuing significance for many people.<sup>22</sup> Ethno-symbolist scholars like John Armstrong, Anthony D. Smith and John Hutchinson are important figures to point out. They all accept the examination of the formation of nations in the *longue durée* and hence, unlike the modernists, they take ethnic forebears into account. However, the ethno-symbolists reject the stark continuity claimed by the perennialists. In addition to this, they also reject the claims of the modernists by their belief in a greater measure of continuity between the traditional and modern

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<sup>20</sup> Özkırımlı, pp. 131-132.

<sup>21</sup> Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, pp. 112-115. For more information on Kedourie’s ideas on nationalism see Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1966).

<sup>22</sup> Özkırımlı, p. 167.

eras. In general, they tend to explain nationalism by underlining the myth-symbol complexes and their significance for the formation of national identity. Hence, the ethno-symbolists in general extend the formation of the national identity back to the ancient times.

According to Armstrong, ethnic consciousness has a long history with possible roots back to ancient civilizations. Contemporary nationalism is the final stage of this cycle of ethnic consciousness.<sup>23</sup> Thus, Armstrong's theory revolves around the significance of ethnic persistence besides his approval of the long-term influence of "myth-symbol" complexes.

On the other hand, according to Anthony D. Smith, pre-modern identities and legacies form the bedrock of many contemporary nations.<sup>24</sup> A collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of a common culture, an association with a specific homeland and a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population are needed in this respect. Hence, Smith advocates the survival of certain ethnic communities across the centuries despite changes in their demographic composition and cultural contents. Describing them as "ethnic cores" he underlines the significance of pre-modern ethnic ties for the emergence of nationalism. While explaining his own ethno-symbolic theory, Smith uses some terms which become the keys to understanding ethno-symbolism in the general sense. Mainly, they are autonomy, unity and identity.<sup>25</sup>

John Hutchinson is another influential scholar putting forward an ethno-symbolic explanation for the emergence of nationalism. According to him,

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 171.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 175-177.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p. 181.

memories and symbols play important roles in defining the nature and history of the nation, and also in securing the attachment of many people to particular nations.<sup>26</sup> For this reason, he emphasizes culture in the formations of nations. Accordingly, Hutchinson underlines his acceptance of a recurrent ethnicity throughout history and he refers this as a reason for his conceptualization of cultural revival.

### Different Typologies of Nationalism

Apart from presenting ideas on nationalism in general, some scholars have preferred to give dualistic explanations. These dualistic explanations are made by clarifying the distinctions between two types of nationalism, thus identifying them by a sharp comparison between them. Hence, different typologies of nationalism come to the fore and these dualistic approaches in a way help to systemize the theoretical framework on nationalism. On the other hand, the tendency to split nationalism into two fundamentally different types has a long history extending at least to the important work of Hans Kohn<sup>27</sup> and not all of these dualistic explanations are necessarily consistent or compatible with each other. There are many dualisms on nationalism. Among them, the ones have received the greatest attention are the typologies of nationalism such as Western/Eastern, Civic/Ethnic, Voluntarist/Organic and Political/Cultural.

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<sup>26</sup> Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p. 180.

<sup>27</sup> Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton, N. J.: Van Nostrand, 1965).

## Western/Eastern Type of Nationalism

Among the typologies of nationalism mentioned above, the East/West is one of the earliest and the best-known put forward by scholars. This typology implies the division between the Eastern and Western forms of nationalism. According to Hans Kohn, nationalism is the fruit of a long historical process and distinguishes between two types of nationalism, “Western” and “Eastern” nationalisms, in terms of their origins and main characteristics.<sup>28</sup> Nationalism as an ideology first developed in the West as a result of Enlightenment thinking and its general spirit, the age of reason, and the political aspirations of the bourgeoisie. However, nationalism in the East developed along quite different lines. In the Eastern version, the ideology of nationalism presented itself as the defense against the success and confidence of the West. Hence, this at the same time brought an impatience and intolerance towards the West. While the western type of nationalism is connected closely in its origin with the concepts of individual liberty and rational cosmopolitanism, the Eastern type praised the authoritarian uniformity of state and faith. In addition to this, nationalism in the non-Western world rejects the spirit of Enlightenment. By rejecting the Enlightenment, the East type of nationalism mainly fills this space with the cult of emotions and various irrational elements. Contrary to the interests of the bourgeoisie along with the formation of nationalism in the West, the Eastern type of nationalism reflects the aspirations of the lower aristocracy and the masses. In addition to the political, economic and social backwardness of the East, cultural backwardness has also played a crucial role in giving the unique shape of the Eastern nationalism. Hence, in the East nationalism is largely attached to the

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<sup>28</sup> Özkırımlı, pp. 41-42; Spencer and Wollman, 97-99.

past which is seen as the repository for the Eastern superior features. Related to this, nationalism in its Eastern version emphasizes the significance of myths.

Apart from all these, the Eastern and Western nationalisms have different conceptions of nation. On the Western side, nations emerged as voluntary unions of citizens. Nationalism depended on the will of the citizens. The political integration of the people was a crucial aspect of this type of nationalism. On the other hand, in the non-Western world, nation was accepted as a political unit embracing the irrational, pre-civilized folk concept. Hence, this typology of East/West indicated a counter between reason and emotion, and also a counter between present and past. As a result, the Western superior position over the Eastern one was underlined in this typology of nationalism.

#### Civic/Ethnic Type of Nationalism

By following the theoretical route opened by Hans Kohn, Hobsbawm distinguishes two types of nationalism and two kinds of analysis of nations and nationalism.<sup>29</sup> The first type, including the kind of citizen nation created by the French Revolution, indicates the *civic* model. On the other hand, the second type including the states on the basis of ethnic and/or linguistic ties points out the *ethnic* model. This distinction between civic and ethnic type of nationalism is also rooted in its predecessor the Western/Eastern type of nationalism.

The civic nation is first of all “an association of citizens”. Membership is in some sense open and not closed off in any a priori way. This type of nationalism is “top-down” and elite-based. It embraces official or governmental ideas and

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<sup>29</sup> Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, pp. 121-123.

institutions. The second type, ethnic nationalism, can be described as “ethno-linguistic” nationalism and is mainly concerned with popular beliefs and sentiments, and indicates a community-based view “from below” In the ethnic type of nationalism, nations are the product of history, become historically determined and hence, the nation is at the same time the “community of descent”<sup>30</sup> Organic membership of a community is crucial. That is to say, the place where you were born becomes your own community; whether you stayed there or not is not important at all. Thus, in addition to the ethnic and linguistic features shared by all the individuals in that community, also blood ties are also significant indicators of membership in this model. Related to these, the ethnic type of nationalism accepts the state as ethnically homogenous. This feature of ethnic type calls our attention towards the exclusion and extermination of minorities.

#### The Voluntarist/Organic Type of Nationalism

The theoretical division upon nationalism between the East and West continues with the Voluntarist/Organic type of nationalism. The features attributed to the West and the East find their place in this typology, too. Again, Hans Kohn<sup>31</sup> the forerunner of the modernists, made a distinction between a “voluntarist” type of nationalism and an “organic” type of nationalism. According to Kohn, the former regard the nation as a free association of rational human beings whereas the latter view the nation as an organism of static character attached to its members at birth

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<sup>30</sup> Spencer and Wollman, p. 101.

<sup>31</sup> Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1944).

and from which they can never free themselves.<sup>32</sup> In accordance with these features organic nationalism has always accepted that the world consists of natural nations. Nations are natural parts of human beings. Also, they are the bedrock of history.

Within the organic version of nationalism, nations and their characters become organisms which can easily be designated by their cultural differentiae. Hence, culture becomes a significant part of nations. On the other hand, the members of nations at times may lose their national consciousness and so the duty of the nationalists is to awaken the national consciousness of those members. According to Kohn, while the voluntarist type of nationalism is prevalent in the Anglo-Saxon world, the organic version is typical of the national movements east of the Rhine.

The role of the past is crucial for the organic type of nationalism. Emphasis on the “cult of ancestors” and also “heroic past” is an important feature of organicism. The role of the past together with history and memory becomes unifying for the members of the nation.<sup>33</sup> The national spirit represented by the national culture should receive great attention while examining the unique features attributed to the organic version.

Taking into account the above mentioned points, the division between these two nationalism types can be expanded as follows: a liberal and voluntarist ideal of nationality, in contrast to the organicism and determinism of German Romantic ideology

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<sup>32</sup> Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p. 146.

<sup>33</sup> Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, pp. 36-39.

## The Political/Cultural Type of Nationalism

Along with the typologies which differentiate the East and the West as the harbingers of two distinct nationalisms described above, the Political/Cultural type of nationalism also helps to continue this theoretical line. Hans Kohn uses this distinction of political/cultural in an effort to account for the difference in development between Eastern and Western Europe. According to him, while the cultural form of Eastern nationalism is an organic, mystical, often authoritarian nationalism, the civic and rational is the political nationalism of the West.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, cultural nationalism is the nationalism followed by the East and this latter type of nationalism is a reaction to the former.

Accordingly, cultural nationalism revolves around a different dynamic when compared to political nationalism. First of all, the liberal and rational values of political nationalism came under sharp criticism by cultural nationalists. Unlike political nationalists, the followers of this version of nationalism prefer to put the emphasis more on emotional factors, but not reason. Instead of the present, they tend to look towards the past, turn inwards and put forward the significance of tradition, history and nature.

In line with the reaction to Western values, cultural nationalists oppose the “alien” and its liberal and rational outlook. They place themselves behind the feelings of pride against the West, the alien. At times, pride is replaced by even fears of being attacked and threatened by the West. Hence, the fears of attacked and threatened by the West stimulate cultural nationalists to turn more inwards when compared to the open character of political nationalism. Also, as a result of those

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<sup>34</sup> Susanna Rabow-Edling, “The Political Significance of Cultural Nationalism: The Slavophiles and Their Notion of a Russian Enlightenment”, *Nationalities Papers*, 32, no. 2 (2004), p. 441.

fears cultural nationalists tend toward both imposing their culture on others<sup>35</sup> through assimilation and defending their cultural identities by excluding or raising barriers against others<sup>36</sup>

When it comes to the understanding of the state, according to John Hutchinson<sup>37</sup> political nationalists have the ideal of a civic polity of educated citizens whereas cultural nationalists take the state as an accidental. Since the essence of the nation is its cultural distinctiveness which becomes the sum of its unique history, culture and geographic features, state is attributed to a more passive role.

Apart from explaining cultural nationalism within the borders of the typology mentioned above, for the development of this thesis it deserves more attention, since it forms a large theoretical framework for many intellectual movements in the East, as well as its continuing significance for the West.

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<sup>35</sup> 'Others' is used here to indicate mostly the minorities living in that nation-state.

<sup>36</sup> 'Others' is used here to indicate mostly the West which is accepted as 'alien' by the cultural nationalists.

<sup>37</sup> Cited in Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, pp. 177-180.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CULTURAL NATIONALISM

#### Cultural Nationalism and Romanticism

The concept of ‘cultural nationalism’, as was mentioned in the first chapter, was born as a result of the typology being drawn between the political nationalism of the West and the cultural nationalism of the East. Following Kohn’s typology between Eastern nationalism and Western nationalism, the ethno-symbolist camp and especially among them, John Hutchinson, put forward another crucial typology, which he called Cultural/Political Nationalism. In this study the emphasis will be on the cultural, since this type of nationalism is assumed to have introduced new intellectual ways to understanding some of the unique theoretical lines throughout the history of modern Turkey.

The cultural nationalist discourse in general has been defined by its complementing role, in addition to the role taken by political nationalism in the analysis of nationalism. Initially, in academic circles some scholars found the usage of nationalism restrictive.<sup>38</sup> They supported the emphasis on the cultural roots of

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<sup>38</sup> Ethno-symbolists in general found the usage of nationalism only in political terms as restrictive. This was mostly the result of their criticism against some modernists who, from their points, focused only on the political explanations for the emergence of nationalism. For instance, against the claims of E. Hobsbawm who stressed that nationalism’s only interest for the nation lay in its political aspirations, and especially its capacity for state making, Anthony Smith, the famous ethno-symbolist, found this usage restrictive. This was the point also made by John Hutchinson in his analysis of cultural nationalism. According to Hutchinson, this kind of usage omits important dimensions of “nationalism” such as culture, identity and “the homeland” and pays little attention to the character of

nations, which enabled them to be more sensitive about cultural issues and, as a result, cultural nationalism. Among the works of these scholars, the analysis of John Hutchinson on cultural nationalism should be given attention. According to Hutchinson,<sup>39</sup> the role of cultural nationalism as a movement distinct from that of political nationalism concerned the identity and regeneration of the national community. By focusing on the identity and regeneration of the national community, Hutchinson shows his denial of the modernist explanations of cultural nationalism, their explanation which revolved mostly around the concept of invented tradition.

First of all, cultural nationalism as an idea should not be restricted to a language movement. It includes more than that. For instance, Herder, who is known to be as the forerunner of cultural nationalism by many scholars, himself referred not just to language, but also to folk songs, dances and educational institutions. Thus, nationalism cannot be reduced to language, since it is a total project elaborating the nation as a rounded way of life.<sup>40</sup>

Along with the identity emphasis of the cultural nationalists, their aim is to revive what they regard as a distinctive and primordial collective personality which has a name, unique origins, history, culture, homeland, and social and political practices. Hence, cultural nationalists believe in the nations' possessing a unique history and mythology and ethos. Then, their main duty is to go deep into the national treasury and locate these unique historical, mythological and ethnic features possessed by the nation.

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the object of nationalist strivings, "the nation" For further information, see Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p. 177.

<sup>39</sup> John Hutchinson, "Re-Interpreting Cultural Nationalism" *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 45, no. 3 (1999), p. 392.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 394.

Underlining the misconception that narrows cultural nationalism to the status of a language movement, cultural nationalism in general focuses on the cultural elements which are claimed to form the nation. Cultural nationalists, while focusing on these cultural elements, according to Hutchinson following the ideas of Smith, in a way, rediscover them, but no kind of invention occurs as claimed by the modernists.<sup>41</sup> Earlier historical periods are referred to here by the cultural nationalists. For them, the past shows the richness of the nation, it is the repository for the cultural elements which have given their unique features to the nation. According to the analysis made by Hutchinson, the past at the same time indicates the importance of history and historical memory in the formation of nations. This becomes one of the significant dynamics of cultural nationalism.<sup>42</sup>

In this respect, cultural nationalism looks back a presumed glorious past which it defines with the emphasis on the concept of a “golden age.” Here, the “golden age” comes to mean a superior way of life in the distant past. Hence for the cultural nationalists, nostalgia for a lost “golden age” is one of the main determinants for their tendency to turn the past. On the other hand, the past helps the cultural nationalists in their attempts to understand the recurrent ethnicity throughout history. This gives way to the process of “reaching back” into the ethnic past. In addition to these, the past demonstrates the memories and symbols which play important roles in defining the nature and history of the nation, and also in securing the attachment of many people to particular nations.<sup>43</sup> Among the dynamics of cultural nationalism, as proposed by Hutchinson, the centrality of cultural symbols to group creation is a significant aspect. In this way, attachment to a

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 396-397.

<sup>42</sup> Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, pp. 178-179.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

specific historical identity becomes possible and this enables the task of constructing an integrated distinctive and autonomous community.

According to Hutchinson, cultural nationalism as a movement should not be restricted to the East only. In advanced industrial countries, cultural nationalism is also a significant part of politics, since such movements continually re-emerge in times of crisis even in advanced industrial societies. Cultural nationalist movements in these societies are used as an answer to a deep conflict between the worlds of religion and science. Hence, it is possible to claim that cultural nationalism is a recurring movement.<sup>44</sup> In fact, it would be more explanatory if we escape from the effects of popular thinking which asserts that good nationalisms are civic nationalisms while bad nationalisms are ethnic nationalisms.<sup>45</sup> Hence, in the part of political nationalism, it becomes not possible to equate it with civic nationalism. There is always a distinct cultural component as well. On the other hand, parallel to this claim, it also would not be the right answer to equate cultural nationalism with ethnic nationalism. While it is taken into account that the nation is defined by cultural nationalism in terms of a common encompassing culture, we should not ignore the possibility of its becoming a liberal democratic culture, which is typical for the West.

The historical roots of cultural nationalism were originated mainly in the Romantic Movement of the nineteenth century. The movement of romanticism was

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 179; Hutchinson, pp. 405-408. According to Hutchinson, modernist claims of putting cultural nationalism as a transient force are false. Because, the rediscovery of heritage and culture is and will continue to be relevant to new states, concerned to form a coherent national community out of often mixed populations and to differentiate themselves from neighbours with whom they often have territorial disputes.

<sup>45</sup> Kai Nielsen, "Cultural Nationalism, Neither Ethnic nor Civic" in *Theorizing Nationalism*, ed. Ronald Beiner (Albany, NY: State University of New York, c1999), pp. 119-128.

an “attempt to discover the world spirit through the solitary soul.”<sup>46</sup> At the same time, it became a response to the emergency created by the break with the canonical conception of the historical past. Romanticism, in principal, underlined the significance of emotions. Every human activity was seen as a form of individual self-expression born of impulse and emotion.<sup>47</sup>

In general terms, the Romantic Movement came to the fore as a rebellion against the intellectual world created by the Enlightenment. There were two main and central points at which Romanticism opposed the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment movement emphasized reason and human universality, but in Romanticism the emphasis was given to feeling and specificity. By specificity, romanticism mainly aimed to underline the cultural specificity which made every culture distinguished from the others. Contrary to the universality of cultures embraced by the Enlightenment, Romantic thought put forward the specificity of cultures attached to specific communities. The distinguished features under the umbrella of culture, according to romanticists, were shared by the members of the community but not shared by outsiders or non-members.<sup>48</sup> The romanticists’ stand against the Enlightenment initially showed its signs in literature. Then this literary stand against the Enlightenment spread to scholarship and from there romantic ideas spread from the personal to the political.<sup>49</sup> When Romanticism found a peculiar space within the academia, Herder became a crucial figure among the romanticists. His theoretical presentations among the romanticists captured a lot attention. In fact,

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<sup>46</sup> Hampsher-Monk, Iain. *A Dictionary of Modern Political Thought: Major Political Thinkers from Hobbes to Marx* (Oxford [England]; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992).

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>48</sup> Gellner, *Nationalism*, 1998, p. 67.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

Romanticism as a scholarly movement was popularized by his ideas.<sup>50</sup> Although his emphasis was mostly on language as having an intimate and revelatory position within the collective memory and experience, Herder went beyond language and asserted his generalized ideas on the many distinguished features of the community. According to him, archeology was one of the distinguished areas which had a direct relationship to collective historical rediscovery.

The role archeology played in the historical development of nationalism cannot be ignored. Archeology, together with history, had a fundamental legitimating role in the justification of the common features that made up an ethnic nation.<sup>51</sup> As the ethnic nation underlined the common descent and shared culture as the factors towards fusing people together, archeology provided the necessary instruments in the search for a distinguished past shared by the members of the nation. That is to say, by providing information on different civilizations archeology helped nationalism with creating myths of common origin for the nation. Thus, the findings of archeology were utilized with great care to justify the existence of differentiating elements of culture which were taken for granted as shared by all the members of the nation. After all these, it will be possible to generalize the significant role archeology plays in the formation of nationalism as following: it provides raw material for the national past.

History and myth were given special emphasis in the movement of Romanticism. Related with this emphasis, past cultures were reevaluated and, as a result, Romanticism glorified a certain period of time which was labeled the “Golden Age” Romanticism indicated the significance of the folk culture with its

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<sup>50</sup> Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p. 181.

<sup>51</sup> For detailed information on the relationship between archeology and nationalism, see Margarita Diaz-Andreu, “Nationalism and Archeology” *Nations and Nationalism* 7, no.4 (2001), pp. 429-440.

contributions to the history of the nation. Related with its appropriation of a “Golden Age” in the past, the Romantic Movement also underlined some historical figures as heroes. This movement originated in Germany and in philosophical terms it reacted against the Enlightenment and the threat of the French Revolution. In the case of Germany, Romanticism showed itself as cultural nationalism and also became labeled a political reaction with the resistance to Napoleon.

The romantics in Germany emphasized the peculiarity of the German mind and strived for the growth of a common German cultural consciousness. According to them, what distinguished the individual from the others was not to be found in the intellect and reason, but in his sentiments and emotions. Thus, the individuals’ desires were crucial.<sup>52</sup>

From the point of the Romantics, the nationality of a people was based not upon its modern constitution or legislation, but upon its traditional customs and mores. These customs and mores represented the folk spirit, or *Volkgeist*.<sup>53</sup>

The nineteenth century Romantic Movement in Europe thus gave rise to the Volkish ideology in Germany. The Volkish ideas, similar to the Romanticist ones, were based on a distinct tendency toward the irrational and emotional. The romantically inspired Volkish movement found suitable ground to widen its platform as a result of the turmoil caused by the social, economic and political transformation of Europe.<sup>54</sup> The individuals surrounded by the rapid process of industrialization were, in some sense, bewildered. That is to say, the sudden demeaning of the traditional ways of life and institutions resulted in the individual’s

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<sup>52</sup> Hans Kohn, *Prelude to Nation-States: The French and the German Experience, 1789-1815* (New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1967) p. 169.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>54</sup> George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964), p. 13.

alienation from both himself and society. This alienation stimulated the individuals towards a kind of a search through the emotions. At this point the Volk reached a significant ground, since the individuals, from now on the romantics, sought to find the all-encompassing unity outside the prevalent earth and this cosmological unity was found in the form of the Volk.<sup>55</sup> Under the scope of this perspective, the Volk symbolized the desired unity beyond contemporary reality. Going beyond the reality, the Volkish thinkers such as Fichte began to take the Volk within heroic terms, especially during the wars of liberation against Napoleon. In this respect, for the Volkish thought the Volk became the intermediary between man and the “higher reality” It was the repository of the “life force”

### The Pastoral Myth

For the romantics, the concept of nature signified an important platform for their ideas. Nature indicated more than the physical world of trees, mountains and valleys. It comprised the elements of soul. It was not cold and mechanical, but alive and spontaneous. Nature became the repository for the emotions of man. Every human being had deep emotional attachment to nature. Thus, every individual could find an inner correspondence with nature, a correspondence which he shared also with his Volk.<sup>56</sup> The members of the Volk found the common emotional experience under the umbrella of nature.

However, the concept of nature emphasized by the romantics was limited within a specific region. Its specific regional features gave the Volk its unity. This

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

regional limitation found its correspondence as a particular national unit in the ideas of romantics. Fulfilled with all the spiritual features that combined the individual to the Volk, nature was turned into and defined as the landscape. Landscape symbolized the desires of the Volkish ideology.

Landscape, at the same time, became a powerful symbol within the theoretical framework of the Volkish ideology for putting itself against the industrial and urban world. Hence, landscape was theoretically used as a means for signifying the values of the rural life. The rural life with its specific values became a spiritual guard against the materialistic world of the urban life. The spiritual completeness of the individual was only found in the natural way of life that was represented by the countryside. The romanticized views of the countryside under the concept of landscape at the same time indicated the rediscovery of man's natural habitat, that is to say, his spiritual richness. Related to these, according to the romantics, a lost past was rediscovered in peasant life and its natural environment.<sup>57</sup> Hence, the peasant values inherent in the rural cultural way of life, including peasant costume, rural customs, village architecture and furnishings, became the focus departure for the discovery of the human soul.

For the Volkish ideology, the landscape together with its reminding the rural way of life became the symbol for the features of the national unit. The native landscape with its idyllic values attached to it signified the "rootedness" of the nation. Hence, the identity of the nation should be sought in this "rootedness" On the other hand, this potent form of ruralism theorized by the romantics took the issue to rural organicism which can also be described with the agrarian myth.<sup>58</sup> Initially,

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<sup>57</sup> Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, p. 190.

the agrarian myth takes its power from the idealization of peasant society/culture while having a suspicious attitude towards science/urbanism/industrialization. It underlines the necessity of de-urbanization in order to keep the national culture intact. Hence, any value possessed by the urban becomes a reason for hostility. Related to this, the agrarian myth essentializes the peasantry and its peasant culture. According to this perspective, the most fearful thing is the de-essentialization of the peasantry, which at the same time means the cultural erosion of the nation. If anything happens towards this way, it also designates the alienation, that is to say, the alienation to ideas of nationhood.

Accordingly, the agrarian myth looks the national issue also by underlining different aspects of attention. First, in terms of economy the agrarian myth maintains a specific perspective which emphasizes agriculture as the historical and continuing basis of social organization. Related to this, peasant farming becomes the source of national food self-sufficiency and also in economic terms the peasantry forms the main military input for the defense of the nation.<sup>59</sup> Second, in terms of politics the agrarian myth puts the peasantry at the top of the existing hierarchy in society. Hence, it denies the class-based division of the socialist understanding of the society and instead believes in providing stability in politics by giving sole priority to the peasants. And last, the most significant aspect of this discourse is culture. Taking its base from the critique of industrialization, urbanization and modernity, the agrarian myth gives most of its attention to the preservation of the rural as a vanishing way of life and hence this results in a kind of nostalgia with its idyllic/harmonious/folkloric

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<sup>58</sup> Tom Brass, *Peasants, Populism and Postmodernism: The Return of the Agrarian Myth* (London: OR: F. Cass, London, 2000), pp. 9-10.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

village existence. This nostalgia underlined by the agrarian myth comes to signify in the end the “irreplaceable” place of the national identity inherent in the rural culture.

## CHAPTER THREE

### CULTURAL NATIONALISM OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

#### The Ottoman Heritage

Considering cultural nationalism in the context of the Ottoman Empire requires a thorough analysis of the period from the Second Constitutional years to the end of the Empire by the First World War. However, before this period it was possible to see the intellectual seeds of cultural nationalism in the Empire. Following the years of the Tanzimat, a group of intellectuals were gathered under the name of the Young Ottomanists. The Tanzimat indicated the first modernization attempts during the Ottoman Empire. It brought Westernization onto the agenda of the Empire. Indeed, the Tanzimat represented the first formal dimension of modernization throughout the history of the Ottoman Empire. It was the restructuring of the Ottoman society in accordance with Western ideas. At the same time, it was an attempt to provide the integrity of the Empire on the basis of law.

The Young Ottomanists were composed of intellectuals who questioned the Tanzimat and approached it from a nationalist perspective. They were also the ones who gave the first religious reactions towards Westernization in the history of the Empire. Their interpretation of the integrity in the Empire was based on its socio-moral aspects. In this sense, they criticized the Tanzimat for being spiritless. According to them, this was the submission of Ottoman values to the values of the

West. However in their criticism, they couched their discourse in Ottomanist language for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The integrity was a significant aspect of all culturalist movements throughout Turkish history. This indicated the harmonizing attempts of the traditional life with the ongoing cultural transformation of society.<sup>60</sup> In this respect, it was an attempt to reconsider traditionality along the axis of modernization.

The Young Ottomanists were the Ottoman statesman-historians who prepared the ideological ground for Turkish nationalism. They played significant roles during the critical process after the Tanzimat. Among the Young Ottomanists, Ahmed Vefik Pasha, Şemseddin Sami, Ali Suavi, Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha and Namık Kemal were the most influential figures. These intellectuals led the attempt to reconcile religion with nationalism. The Young Ottomanists were devoted to the Empire. Because of this, their intellectual tendencies were confined to the cultural axis. In fact, they approached the issue mainly from a linguistic perspective. Their concern was to emphasize the existence of Turks and Turkish culture in the Empire. According to Ali Suavi, the Turks possessed a highly developed language and Turkish as a language deserved attention. This expression, which underlined one of the most significant aspects of cultural Turkism, opened the way towards the integrity of language for the Turks. And as a result of these attempts, interest in Turkish and consciousness about the ethnic roots of the language arouse.<sup>61</sup> However, during this period the cultural nationalist line was still under the effects of their devotion to the Ottoman state and traditions. Hence, the nationalist feelings of

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<sup>60</sup> Süleyman Seyfi Ögün, *Modernleşme, Milliyetçilik ve Türkiye* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1995), p. 21.

<sup>61</sup> Günay Göksu Özdoğan, *"Turan"dan "Bozkurt"a: Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük (1931-1946)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), pp. 58-59.

the Young Ottomans were smoothed and integrated with the devotion they showed towards the Ottoman state and tradition.<sup>62</sup>

Following the intellectual basis of the Young Ottomans, the years after the Second Constitution in the Ottoman Empire the Young Pens stressed the significance of the Turkish language and supported the use of the Turkish language in every literary work. For the Young Pens, the Turkish language was a language of a nation and had been used by the Turks for a long time in their daily lives. As the pioneer of these ideas, Ziya Gökalp claimed that the Turkish language should liberate itself from the effects of the Ottoman language and Turkish should be the basic language of the common Turk in the Empire.

The attention of Gökalp in the national language in time transformed itself into ideas of Turkish nationalism. The Balkan Wars became the stimulus behind this transformation in his ideological world.<sup>63</sup> The Balkan Wars provided a significant rise in Turkish nationalism. Losing its lands in the Balkan Peninsula, the Empire was faced with the reality of turning itself towards Anatolia. From this time onwards, Ottomanism lost its significance and instead Turkish nationalism began to take the attentions of intellectuals. The Turkish Hearths and the journal *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) played significant roles in this process. As a follower of the Young Turk movement, Gökalp became the father of Turkish nationalism during the related period. Taking his intellectual basis from the positivist and sociological perspective of the French philosopher Emile Durkheim, Gökalp underlined the crucial roles societies played in reaching ideals. Ideal was a crucial sign of Gökalp's worldview. Differentiating it from public opinion, Gökalp gave attentions to

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<sup>62</sup> Büşra Ersanlı Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de Resmi Tarih Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)* (İstanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1992), p. 66.

<sup>63</sup> Uriel Heyd, *Türk Ulusçuluğunun Temelleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979), p. 40.

national ideals.<sup>64</sup> Nation was the most developed society and the aim of social development showed itself through the revelation of the cultural bond as the spirit of the nation. For this reason, Gökalp rejected the definitions of nation that depended on racial and religious bonds. According to Gökalp, nations were not homogenous racial units. His main attention was towards the cultural homogeneity of nations. And his nation conceptualization was the following: Nation as the community of people who shared a common language, had the same education and were united in religious, moral and esthetic ideals.<sup>65</sup>

The basis of nation was only found in culture. All nations possessed both spiritual and moral features. Gökalp distinguished between these spiritual and material features. According to him, the civilization, which came to indicate the material features of a nation was composed of international values. On the other hand, culture (*hars* in Gökalp's terminology) indicated national values and it should be differentiated from civilization. According to Gökalp, emotions, ideas and ideals were all under the conceptualization of culture. Hence, culture was based on subjective values. However, the values of civilization were objective and depended on rational thinking. His crucial distinction between civilization and culture manifested itself in his nation understanding as the repository for cultural and moral values.

Another special aspect of Gökalp's thought was his emphasis on the folk as the sources for national culture and ideals. He denied the Marxist understanding of classes and criticized the gap between intellectuals and the folk. The intelligentsia, according to him, tended to distance themselves from the folk and came under the

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 56-62.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

sway of foreign cultures.<sup>66</sup> Then, this would inevitably give damage to national culture and even destroy it. For this reason, the intelligentsia should go to the folk and learn from the folk the basis of national culture. Also, Gökâlp criticized the Westernization attempts of the Ottoman statesmen through the Tanzimat. According to him, these statesmen had been unable to understand the West and had been confused about what to get from the West. They had been unable to understand the difference between hars and civilization. Hence, they had not been able to avoid the emerging contradiction between the intelligentsia and the folk. During this period, all the bad things possessed by the West had been imported but the Western superior technical features had been skipped over. According to Gökâlp, only the material superiorities of the West should be taken. Then the real Westernization would come afterwards.

On the other hand, in religious matters Gökâlp supported the Turkification of Islam. According to him, Islam had been damaged in several different ways by the effects of different cultures. Religion needed to be harmonized with national spirit. Because of these, Islam should be cleaned from all foreign effects and indicate the spirit of the Turkish nation.

On the issue of language, he was very sensitive about the issue of purification. According to him, the Turkish language should be purified of all effects of the other languages, such as Arabic and Persian. Language played a prominent role in the integrity of society. Keeping this in mind, Gökâlp underlined the significance of purification for the relations between the intellectuals and the common Turk.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, on the issue of art, Gökâlp was against the

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 136-141.

influence of classical Ottoman poetry in literature. He claimed that art should reflect the emotions of the Turkish nation. Hence, Turkish art should carry the signs of Turkish culture and traditional life; otherwise, it would only be an imitation of other cultures.<sup>68</sup>

In sum it would not be an exaggeration to claim that Gökalp's terminology labeled itself the Ottoman heritage of cultural nationalism in Turkey.

### The Cultural Discourse in the Early Republican Turkey

Accepting to some extent Gökalp's cultural nationalist discourse, the Turkish Republic indicated a unique perspective. In the early Republican period, cultural discourse followed two main paths. The first path showed the signs of the Kemalist ideology on cultural matters. And the second path included the cultural perspective of the opposition movements in the Republic.<sup>69</sup>

The Kemalist elites sought the roots of Turkish culture in the pre-Islamic period of Anatolia. The Kemalist cultural discourse cleaned all the effects of Islam from Turkish culture and identified it with the pre-Islamic civilizations of Anatolia. The history of the Seljuks and the Ottoman Empire were neglected and all the attention was given to pre-Islamic history and its culture. The Republican elites established national bonds between the Republic and the Anatolian civilizations such as the Hittites and Sumerians in the claim that they were the forebears of the

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., pp. 141-144.

<sup>69</sup> There were two main type of culturalists (cultural nationalists) in the early Republican period. One of them was the culturalist discourse of the Kemalists who dominated the ideology of the Republic. The other group was composed of the culturalists of the opposition, who distanced themselves from the Kemalist ideology. For details, see Süleyman Seyfi Ögün, *Yerlici Kültüralizm: Kıyaslamalı Bir Değerlendirme*, Cogito 21 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999).

Turkish nation. The signs of this discourse were highly definite in the Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory.

Taking their theoretical base from Benedict Anderson's "imagined community" the elites established the Turkish national myth.<sup>70</sup> Despite the extensive romantization of the Turkish culture with these attempts, the Kemalist elites did not give a leading role to culture in Turkish society. Instead, they took culture as the means to reach their ideological ends. In addition to these, they confined their cultural discourse to ethnography, linguistic and folklore studies.

The cultural discourse of the opposition groups in the Republic indicated a more religious and traditional emphasis on culture. They also used the nostalgic elements of cultural roots; however, their "imagined community" was in many ways different from that of the Kemalists. They extensively used mysticism and gave all the priority to culture. Also, including the followers of the *Anadoluculuk* Movement, this group was composed of conservative nationalists who showed different degrees of sensitivity towards Islamic traditions and culture in Turkish society. They highly regarded the spiritual values that they claimed were inherent to the Turkish nation. In accordance with the attitude towards modernization their cultural discourse differed in many ways from that of the Kemalists since they tended to look inwards to the glorification of the national values and closed themselves thoroughly to the values of the West. These intellectuals opted for giving priority to the "spiritual superiority" of the Turkish nation and doubted anything that could damage this. They gave special emphasis to institutions because institutions were the repositories of the statique features of the Turkish nation and were reflected as the guarantors of Turkish cultural values.

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 111.

Related to the attitudes of opposition culturalists towards modernism, it could be claimed that they supported the partial modernization understanding when compared to the radical modernization attempts of the Kemalists. According to them, in order to keep the cultural values of the nation intact, the effects of foreign cultures should never be allowed to penetrate the borders of Turkish culture. On the other hand, although they accepted the superiority of the West in technology and industry, they always suspected everything that came from the West. But on the surface they appreciated the Western superiority in the material world.

The opposition culturalists searched for the roots of Turkish culture in the countryside. They glorified the peasants and their lives. On the contrary, they were against urbanism and also, in their claims, the urban characteristics of industrialism and positivism. Language was an important area of struggle for these culturalists. They supported the conservation of the daily Turkish language as opposed to the extensive language purification of the Kemalist elites. They stood against the intellectuals who were alienated from their national culture.

Their anti-intellectualism also showed itself in religious matters. They blamed the Turkish intellectuals for not giving attention to religious matters and criticized them for being fully open to other cultures' effects and so neglectful of their cultures. The Turkish intelligentsia also supported positivism and to some extent communism. They were also the slaves of industrialization. Since the Turkish intellectuals disregarded Islam, they lacked the moral virtues and became the symbols of degeneration in Turkish society. Among those opposition culturalists, Nurettin Topçu, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıođlu, Peyami Safa, Mehmet Kaplan, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkođlu and Remzi Ođuz Arık were the most influential figures.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE *ANADOLUCULUK*<sup>71</sup> MOVEMENT

#### *Anadoluculuk* Movement with Its Specific Lines of Emphasis

The *Anadoluculuk* (Anatolianism) Movement has a special place in the intellectual history of Turkey. The Movement put distance between both the nationalist discourse of the Republic and Pan-Turkism, which had significant effects on the intellectual life following the Second Constitutional years. The *Anadoluculuk* Movement, in the general sense, became crystallized by the foundation of the Republic. However, the ideas supported by this movement had shown themselves since the time of the Ottoman Empire. The first intellectual seeds of *Anadoluculuk* were seen under the umbrella of the Turkish Hearths during the First World War. In 1917, some intellectuals of the Turkish Hearths turned towards Anatolia and expressed their ideas by focusing on this land. They expressed their ideas against the dominant Pan-Turkist group in the Hearths with the label of *Küçük Türkçülük* (Small Turkism) or *Türkiyecilik*.<sup>72</sup> Even earlier, in the journal *Vazife* (Duty) under

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<sup>71</sup> This movement took different names such as *Anadolucu Milliyetçilik* (Anatolian Nationalism), *Türkiyecilik*, *Memleketçilik* and *Anadolu Türkleri Milliyetçiliği* (Anatolia Turks' Nationalism). See Mithat Atabay, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye'de Milliyetçilik Akımları* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2005), p. 142.

<sup>72</sup> Füsün Üstel, "Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Anadolu Metaforu", *Tarih ve Toplum*, v.19, n.109 (1993), p. 51; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (İstanbul: Ülken Yayınları, 1979), p. 470.

the leadership of Nüzhet Sabit, ideas supporting Anatolian nationalism had found their expression.<sup>73</sup>

With the effects of the First World War and starting with the Balkan Wars, the ideas that formed the *Anadoluculuk* Movement gained momentum among Turkish intellectuals. This change in intellectual tendency was seen as a result of the discrediting of Islamism, Ottomanism and lastly Pan-Turkism. This process of intellectual transition during the First World War also was accompanied by the social and political transition. In fact, what we see in this process was the undermining of the belief system which had nurtured and supported the old political and social order.<sup>74</sup> By the end of the First World War the multi-national Ottoman Empire collapsed and there was a search for an ideological basis for the new political community.

In order to analyze the *Anadoluculuk* Movement, it'd be eligible to divide it into three main intellectual waves. The first wave of *Anadoluculuk* revolved around the journal *Anadolu* and *Anadolu Mecmuası* between 1919 and 1925. The second wave took mainly the decades of 1930s and 1940s. This wave followed a more conservative intellectual line. It also included the “golden age” of Turkish nationalism during the Second World War years. And this wave was followed by *Mavi Anadoluculuk* (Blue Anatolianism). Between 1955 and 1960 the third wave was put forward by intellectuals such as Halikarnas Balıkcısı, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Azra Erhat. The third wave romanticized Anadolu in a more secular sense and

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<sup>73</sup> Atabay, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye’de Milliyetçilik Akımları*, p. 149; Ülken, *Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, p. 473.

<sup>74</sup> Frank Tachau, “The Search For National Identity Among The Turks,” *Welt Des Islams* 8, no.3 (1963), pp. 165-166.

was in many ways different from the first and second waves. Its main emphasis was the search for cultural links between Anatolia and the West.<sup>75</sup>

Between 1918-1919, Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Reşat Kayı published a journal called *Anadolu* (Anatolia). The ideas in *Anadolu* were confined to the cultural understanding of Anatolia. The journal included Turkish folk tales, Turkish epic and other Turkish cultural writings. Overall, *Anadolu* supported the idea that Anatolia was the repository for Turkish culture.<sup>76</sup> Despite its cultural limitation of ideas, *Anadolu* affected the intellectual circles and formed the basis of the *Anadoluculuk* Movement. *Anadolu* was followed by another journal *Anadolu Mecmuası*<sup>77</sup> (Anatolian Journal). With this journal, the Movement became more systemized and turned its emphasis also to the ideological.

Especially with the historical ideas of Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, one of the writers of *Anadolu Mecmuası*, *Anadoluculuk* gained an ideological character. Yinanç put forward the history conceptualization of the Movement. According to him, the history of the Turkish nation started with the conquest of Anatolia in 1071 by the Turks who had come from Central Asia. Before this time, some other communities had existed in Anatolia, such as the Hittites and the Scythians. However, Anatolia had become a homeland in the real sense only with the Turks. There was no racial relationship between the Turks and these communities.<sup>78</sup> The

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<sup>75</sup> Seçil Deren, "Türk Siyasal Düşüncesinde Anadolu İmgesi", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekinil, v. 4 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), pp. 539-540.

<sup>76</sup> Atabay, p. 149.

<sup>77</sup> *Anadolu Mecmuası* (Anatolian Journal) was first published in 1923 with the collective efforts of Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, Mehmet Halid and Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu. Among the writers of this journal were the following: Şehabeddin Uzluk, Rauf Yekta, Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, Necip Asım, Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, Haydar Necip, Reşat Şemseddin Sirer, Hasan Cemil Tankut, Sadri Edhem. For a detailed information on the journal, see *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 3 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1991), pp. 144-145.

<sup>78</sup> Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, *Milli Tarihimizin Adı* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1969), pp. 14-21.

history of the Turkish people was called *Anatolian Turks history* or only *Anatolian history*. Along with this emphasis, Yinanç claimed that it was a mistake to divide Turkish history into the history of the Seljuks and Ottoman. Also it was a mistake to call this history Turkish history, since that also would mean the history of the Turks in the Central Asia, such as the Turkestanis. It also was meaningless to differentiate between the Ottoman Turk, Seljuks Turk and Karamanids Turk. They all came from the same Turkic origin and formed a unique history on Anatolia. Hence, it was his conception of national history that limited itself within a certain territory.

In this respect, the Anatolianists argued against the ideas of Ziya Gökalp and Pan-Turkist nationalism. According to the Anatolianists, identification with the fatherland was *sine qua non* for nationalism. Both a common culture and common fatherland were necessary to form a nation. They criticized Gökalp<sup>79</sup> for describing nationalism only with culture, *hars*. The fatherland was the core of Turkish nationalism and it should be taken together with the culture of that nation along with the common national history.<sup>80</sup> What the Pan-Turkists forgot was the common historical destiny.<sup>81</sup> And for Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, the common historical destiny defined the fatherland. Hence, there was no possibility for the Turks living in the Central Asia to share a common historical destiny with the Turks living in Anatolia.

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<sup>79</sup> According to Gökalp, all Turkish nations including the Ottomans, Azerbaijanis and Crimean Turks, Turcomans, Kirghiz formed one nation. The significant point here was their common culture. All these Turks had similar traditions and spoke the same language, Turkish, despite their dialect differences. See Uriel Heyd, *Türk Ulusçuluğunun Temelleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979), p. 148.

<sup>80</sup> Tachau, "The Search for National Identity Among The Turks," p. 167.

<sup>81</sup> Mitahat Atabay, "Anadoluculuk" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekinil, v.4 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002) p. 516.

They had different cultural histories. Race could not be a starting point for the Anatolianists. They criticized the Pan-Turkists for equating nation with race.<sup>82</sup>

According to the Anatolianists, the Seljuks founded the first state of Anatolian Turks. Thanks to them, Anatolia reached unification and centralization. The Seljuks drew the boundaries of Anatolia and founded the Islamic Turkish civilization on this land. After their decline, the petty princes had dominance on Anatolia. During the petty princes' period, Anatolia was still a Turkish land. They were reunited by the Ottoman Empire and Anatolia became the true fatherland of the Empire. And the Turkish Republic or "the Republic of Anatolia" as preferred by the Anatolianists, was the latest state of Anatolia. Then, to call Anatolians a "Turkish nation" would be a great mistake because it indicated the race and denied the nationality of other groups within the Turkish race. Hence, the motto of the Anatolianists was the following: "We are Anatolians, Anatolia is our fatherland, and our nation is the Anatolian nation."<sup>83</sup>

Among the Anatolianists, Hilmi Ziya Ülken was also a prominent figure. According to Ülken, the concept "Turkish nation" indicated confusion and to make it more understandable it should be nurtured with common historical destiny. Ülken followed the other Anatolianists in the critique of Ziya Gökalp and claimed that the ideal of Turan could not go beyond a dream. Nation should be based on a fatherland with limited borders and founded as a result of the struggles that nation had given throughout history. This stemmed from the mass who reached national consciousness in history. In this sense, nation was a historical formation within a

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<sup>82</sup> Atabay, pp. 150-151.

<sup>83</sup> Tachau, p. 168.

limited territory.<sup>84</sup> Ziya Gökalp should have based Turkish nationalism on national sources instead of on Turan. Then, this would express the unique Turkish nationalism. And it would take its richness from the traditions and language of Anatolia, not Turan as used by Gökalp. In this respect, Ülken criticized Gökalp for his conceptualization of the Turkish epic. According to Ülken, Gökalp understood epic in a limitless geography. This was a big mistake. Ülken comprehended epic as the special value experienced by each nation and blamed the Pan-Turkists for ignoring this.<sup>85</sup>

Following the critiques of Yinanç and Ülken, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, another prominent figure of *Anadoluculuk*, claimed that the Pan-Turkists were an attempt to inject national consciousness into the communities which did not have the consciousness of nation and history. According to him, this was a meaningless attempt because nationalism could be founded only upon common history and nation. In this respect, he criticized Ziya Gökalp and Hamdullah Suphi for their unrealistic nationalism understandings. Gökalp put Turkish nationalism into a “dream world” and Hamdullah Suphi assumed the Turk as unconscious entity and made the mistake of injecting Turkishness externally.<sup>86</sup>

The *Anadoluculuk* Movement should be interpreted along with the possible effects of the Balkan Wars and the First World War on the people living in Anatolia. In this way, it would be much easier to consider the mystical and spiritual character of this movement because under the defeat of these wars, the collapse of the

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<sup>84</sup> Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Millet ve Tarih Şuuru* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1948), pp. 169-170.

<sup>85</sup> Atabay, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye’de Milliyetçilik Akımları*, pp. 154-156.

<sup>86</sup> Mithat Atabay, “Anadoluculuk” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil, v. 4 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 517.

Ottoman Empire and sufferings from the results of the Pan-Turkist policies, it would be normal that the intellectuals to turn inwards and put forward more subjective ideas emphasizing spiritual values. Periods of depression can result in mystical tendencies among intellectuals. In this sense, it would be easier to comprehend the reasons behind the transformation of emphasis from objective to subjective values and so from positivism to mysticism.<sup>87</sup> Hence, Anatolianism manifested itself as an inwards looking movement as opposed to the perspective used by Turanism. It extensively used philosophical thought to express Turkish nationalism. And especially it was possible to find this feature in the conceptualization of fatherland by the Anatolianists.

According to the Anatolianists, fatherland indicated a common destiny shared by the nation throughout its history. Its meaning was strengthened with mystical features. The historical continuity between the Turkish states by 1071 was put forward within the mystical features the fatherland possessed. The individual consciousness towards its nation was often underlined by the followers of Anatolianism. Among them, Remzi Oğuz Arık was the one who benefited most from mysticism for his fatherland conceptualization.<sup>88</sup>

In the sense of giving mystical character to Turkish nationalism, the *Anadoluculuk* Movement cannot be evaluated independent from the *Dergah*<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Süleyman Seyfi Ögün, *Türkiye'de Cemaatçi Milliyetçilik ve Nurettin Topçu* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1992), p. 25; Mithat Atabay, *II. Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye'de Milliyetçilik Akımları*, p. 157.

<sup>88</sup> For a detailed information of his ideas on fatherland, see Chapter V, The Main Concepts in the Writings of Arık.

<sup>89</sup> According to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, the name *Dergah* was given with inspiration from the poem of Yahya Kemal, "İthaf" and quoted from Kemal's words that *Dergah* should be translated as resources. See Metin Çınar, "Dergah Dergisi" *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Muhafazakarlık*, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil, v.5 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), p.85.

(Dervish Lodge) Movement and its journal, *Dergah*<sup>90</sup>. The *Dergah* Movement came onto the intellectual agenda during the Liberation War years when the enthusiasm towards Kuvay-ı Milliye was at its peak. Despite their many intellectual differences in the details, the common point which gathered the writers of the journal was their support for the National Struggle and their critique of Ziya Gökalp.<sup>91</sup> They were affected deeply by the philosophy of Henri Bergson<sup>92</sup>. In line with his understanding of life as a war between the material and the spiritual, they adopted this to the conditions of the Turkish Republic. As claimed by Mustafa Şekip Tunç, one of the most prominent writers of *Dergah*, the reason behind the success of the National Struggle was not numerical, but its *élan vital*, which meant the instincts used by human beings during their struggle with life.<sup>93</sup> In this sense, mechanism did not indicate any importance at all. Mechanism was only the means for this end.

Taking all of the above into consideration, the followers of the *Anadoluculuk* Movement continued the mystical and spiritual emphasis used by the *Dergah* Movement. They glorified the spiritual values of the Anatolian people. As a reason for this, they indicated the spiritual triumph of the Anatolian people during the National Struggle against the enemies. This spiritual superiority of Anatolian people got its strength from the common historical destiny. Throughout the common history of the Anatolian people, the religion Islam played a significant role. It enabled the

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<sup>90</sup> The journal *Dergah* was published between 15 April 1921 and 5 January 1923. Among the writers of *Dergah*, prominent ones were: Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Mustafa Şekip Tunç, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Ahmet Haşım, Falih Rıfkı Atay, Halide Edip Adivar, Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, Mustafa Nihat Özön, Ziya Gökalp, Mehmed Halid Bayrı, Hüseyin Namık Orkun and Mehmet Emin Erişirgil. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>91</sup> Süleyman Seyfi Öğün, *Türkiye’de Cemaatçi Milliyetçilik ve Nurettin Topçu*, p. 26.

<sup>92</sup> For a brief information on Bergson and intuitionism see Orhan Hançerlioğlu, *Felsefe Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi Yayınları, 1973), pp. 281-282.

<sup>93</sup> Süleyman Seyfi Öğün, pp. 26-27; Metin Çınar, “Dergah Dergisi,” p. 87.

continuity of the spiritual superiority of the people living in Anatolia. The year 1071 signified both the beginning of the Turkish history and Turkish Islamic history. In this respect, the followers of *Anadoluculuk* sought to harmonize nationalism with Islam. Within their attempt, they benefited from Islamic values as the significant identifiers of the Turkish culture. Turkish history was full of Islamic values and obtained its mission from these values. Hence, the interpretation of national history by *Anadoluculuk* mainly stood on a religious spiritual perspective. Islam, in addition to its role for the continuity of spiritual superiority, provided Turkish nationalism with mystical features. Mystics became a crucial reference for Anatolianists. Especially, as mentioned above, their fatherland conceptualization carried, to a great extent, mystical features. The unity between the nature and the spirit was expressed within this aspect.

Different from the history conceptualization of the Republic, the Anatolianists did not give much importance to the pre-Islamic period of Anatolia. Their historical understanding was based, as mentioned above, on Islamic values which manifested themselves in extensive spirituality. Religion was also dominant in their description of the pre-Islamic period. According to their interpretation, the pre-Islamic period had meaning for Turkish nationalism only with its ending in Islam. On the other hand, the Anatolianists claimed that Islam had lived its most brilliant days under the dominance of the Turks in Anatolia. Before the acquaintance of Turks with Islam, the religion had faced sectarian clashes. And the Turks rescued Islam from these and became a unifying power for it. In this respect, *Anadoluculuk* provided Islam with a national character. Islam became a significant component of Turkish nationalism. The Islamic spirit became one of the main motives for gathering the Turks around nationalist ideals.

Keeping this in mind, the followers of *Anadoluculuk* indicated the significance of religious belief for the history of the Turks and claimed that progressive acts in Turkish society should be depended on Islamic belief. In this way, they put their intellectual difference from the Republican revolutionary acts which, in their viewpoints, excluded the existence of religious appeals in Turkish society. According to them, Islam should reach its heydays again in the Turkish Republic. Only in this way could the Turkish nation reach spiritual superiority. The Anatolianists interpreted Islam as a spiritual power by de-institutionalizing it. It indicated the collective spiritual unity among the Turks.

As mentioned above, the *Anadoluculuk* Movement put special emphasis on religion and took it as a significant part of Turkish culture. Religious motives were extensively used by the followers of this movement while expressing their nationalist discourse. In this respect, despite their agreement with the Republican nationalism on the independence of Turkish nation against its enemies in the 1920s; however, after this period they put themselves in a more conservative position against the Kemalist revolutionary program. While the Kemalists opted for changing the society in radical terms and cleaning it from the traces of the Ottoman period in every aspect, the Anatolianists supported the preservation of Turkish Islamic traditions dependent on culture.<sup>94</sup>

From the view points of the Anatolianists, culture was determinant for the development of Turkish nationalism. The Turks formed a unique culture in Anatolia. This unique Turkish culture showed itself in language, fine arts, religion, traditions and customs. Anatolian culture formed by the Anatolian people was the product of the geographical features of Anatolia. Then, Turkish nationalism should

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<sup>94</sup> Mithat Atabay, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye’de Milliyetçilik Akımları*, pp. 161-162.

take its basis from the cultural wealth of Anatolia. All the cultural features of Anatolia should be brought out to the surface by the Turkish intellectuals and depending on this cultural wealth they should perform their artistic works. The followers of *Anadoluculuk* were highly sensitive on the significance of native culture. According to them, with the creation of national spirit the Turkish culture would be cleaned from the foreign cultural effects. Hence, language and culture would become national. They were against imitating from other cultures. For them, national culture should only take its sources from the native land. With this aim, Anatolianists gave importance to national education which, according to them, should give national consciousness and identity to the Anatolian youth.<sup>95</sup> Despite their differences of emphasis, the *Anadoluculuk* Movement shared some common ideas with the Turkists. They both criticized the Tanzimat for its extensive Westernization policies. According to them, during the Tanzimat period the Ottoman Empire was under the effects of foreign cultures. Hilmi Ziya Ülken claimed that the Tanzimat intellectual was in dilemma. On the one hand, he closed himself to his society and became the fully admirer of the West. On the other hand, his Oriental features suffered from this and got damaged. This dualism of the Tanzimat intellectual brought the Eastern/Western clash into the society. Hence, the Tanzimat years witnessed the existence of the cosmopolitans in the Empire. While figures such as Ahmet Vefik Pasha, Abdullah Cevdet, Tevfik Fikret represented the cosmopolitan image of the society, Cevdet Pasha, Şehbenderzade, Sebili Reşad and Mehmet Akif represented the figures who withdrew themselves into their shells.<sup>96</sup> During their search for the essence, the Tanzimat intellectuals tended to import the

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., pp. 193-197.

<sup>96</sup> Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Millet ve Tarih Şuuru* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1948), pp. 23-29.

essence from the West. However, they made a big mistake, since finding the essence required going deep into the roots of Anatolian culture.<sup>97</sup> After the foundation of the Republic, the criticism against Tanzimat was replaced by the criticism against the Kemalist elites and especially against their Westernization policies. According to Nurettin Topçu, the Westernization attempts in time dragged Anatolia into a catastrophe. In this sense, he labeled the period extending from Servet-i Fünun to the Republic as “spiritless imitating of the West”.<sup>98</sup> Nurettin Topçu was a prominent figure among the Anatolianists for his radical reactions against positivism. Following the intellectual line of *Dergah*, the journal *Hareket* became the representative of his ideas on the issue. *Hareket* was significant for reflecting the ideas of the second wave *Anadoluculuk*. Putting its intellectual basis on the “Action Philosophy” of the French philosopher M. Blondel, Topçu was highly critical of positivism. According to him, positivist knowledge broke things into pieces and for this reason it didn’t give the entire knowledge of the reality. The human being could only reach the knowledge of the reality through mystical knowledge. Taking science as a spiritual activity, Topçu took all his attention on scientific mentality. Underlining mentality, he criticized the ones who fetishized science. This would only result in technological slavery.<sup>99</sup> His position against industrialization and technology also resulted in his emphasis of national spirit. He criticized Ziya Gökalp for the reason that his nationalism was materialistic and depended on race. Against this, he emphasized the significance of spiritual nationalism. And also related to his

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>98</sup> Mithat Atabay, p. 210.

<sup>99</sup> Sadettin Elibol, “Muhafif Bir Düşünce Okulu: Hareket Dergisi”, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Muhafazakarlık*, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil, v. 5 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), pp. 267-268.

mystical emphasis, Topçu gave responsibility to the “nation mystics” for rescuing the Turkish society from the perils of the material world.<sup>100</sup>

On the other hand, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu took the attention towards the dangers of the Tanzimat psychology. He claimed that this indicated the inferiority complex towards the West and thanks to Ziya Gökalp, the period under his effect wiped away this spiritual illness.<sup>101</sup> Following Gökalp’s distinction between civilization and culture (hars), Anatolianists opted for giving the emphasis on the cultural which according to them signified the spirit of Anatolian people against the degenerating society of the West. Although they accepted the superiority of the Western civilization, they had doubts about the Western civilization. They put a distance towards the Western civilization in the sense that anything coming from the West could destroy the Turkish nation. Halfheartedly, they approved on getting the civilization from the West but rejected the Kemalist tendency to rely on Western values. They took attention on the Turkish traditions and customs and aimed to restructure the Turkish society along these. Their intellectual opposition against the West and especially its materialistic world view took its origins from this. Hence, these cultural nationalists or in the words of Süleyman Seyfi Öğün “nativist culturalists”, put themselves in a partial modernization process that denied fully the Western values. Also this showed their opposition against the radical modernization of the Kemalist regime.<sup>102</sup>

In the 1930s, the *Anadoluculuk* Movement gained ground with the Turkish History Thesis. The Thesis proved that there was an ancient and enduring

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp. 270-271.

<sup>101</sup> Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, *Ziya Gökalp için Yazdıklarım ve Söylediklerim* (İstanbul: Türkiye Muallimler Birliği Neşriyatı, 1955), p. 29.

<sup>102</sup> Süleyman Seyfi Öğün, “Yerlici Kültürizm: Kıyaslamalı Bir Değerlendirme”, *Cogito* 21 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Yayınları, 1999), p. 128.

identification of the Turks with the territory Asia Minor. As Tachau mentioned, it taught the Turks that Anatolia was their true homeland and the centre of their nationhood. Although Anatolianists and the Kemalist elites differed in the details, the basic aim of the Turkish History Thesis got them together.<sup>103</sup>

As mentioned before, in the 1920s the followers of the Anadoluculuk Movement gathered around the journal *Anadolu Mecmuası*. By the 1930s onwards, Anatolianists expressed their ideas in the journals such as *Dönüm*<sup>104</sup> (Turning), *Hareket*<sup>105</sup> (Action), *Çığır*<sup>106</sup> (Path), *Dikmen*<sup>107</sup> and *Millet*<sup>108</sup> (Nation).

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<sup>103</sup> Tachau, “The Search For National Identity Among the Turks,” p. 176.

<sup>104</sup> The journal *Dönüm* was published by Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu between June 1932 and June 1940. The ideas expressed in *Dönüm* revolved around the problems of villages and peasants. Especially the economic problems of Turkish villages was written in the journal. Among the influential writers of *Dönüm* were Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu, Sait Tahsin Tekeli, Selahattin Batu, Necati Ziya, Mehmet Sadi, İbrahim Arif, Remzi Oğuz Arık, Kerim Ömer Çağlar and Ali Kemal Yiğitoğlu. See Mithat Atabay, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye’de Milliyetçilik Akımları*, p. 218.

<sup>105</sup> The journal *Hareket* was published by Nurettin Topçu. *Hareket* was first published in the year 1939 and its later issues were published with some intervals until 1981. This journal became one of the most significant publications of the opposition during the one-party era in Turkey. The ideas supported in the journal was mainly attracted by the “Action Philosophy” which took its origins from the French thinker M. Blondel. As the representative of this philosophy in Turkey, Topçu became an important idea man of the journal. Religion was given a special emphasis. Related to this feature, the journal *Hareket* gave its unique religious character to the Anadoluculuk Movement. The journal basically attempted to discuss the political and socio-economic issues of the Turkish Republic through an abstract framework of thought. Among the influential writers of *Hareket* were Nurettin Topçu, Remzi Oğuz Arık, Kemal Fikret Arık, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, Mehmet Kaplan, Sadettin Elibol and Ezel Erverdi. For a more detailed information on this journal, see Zafer Toprak, “Fikir Dergiciliğinin Yüz Yılı” in *Türkiye’de Dergiler Ansiklopediler (1849-1984)* (İstanbul: Gelişim Yayınları, 1984), p. 52.

<sup>106</sup> The journal *Çığır* was published by Hıfzı Oğuz Bekata between 1933 and 1948. *Çığır* was one of the journals supporting Turkish nationalism and even sometimes fascism. For instance, on the cover page of the first issue the title was the following words of Benito Mussolini: “The fascist denies the comfortable life” Among the influential writers of the journal were Hıfzı Oğuz Bekata, Remzi Oğuz Arık, Hüseyin Namık Orkun, Peyami Safa, Mustafa Şekip Tunç, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Necip Asım. However, the ideas supported in the pages of the journal *Çığır* changed character by the year 1943 onwards. It became more of a literature journal when it was compared to its initial tendency. For a more detailed information on this journal, see Vedat Günyol, “Cumhuriyet Sonrası Sanat ve Edebiyat Dergileri” in *Türkiye’de Dergiler Ansiklopediler (1849-1984)* (İstanbul: Gelişim Yayınları, 1984), pp. 91-92; Mithat Atabay, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye’de Milliyetçilik Akımları* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2005), p. 219.

<sup>107</sup> The journal *Dikmen* was published by Mustafa Hıfzı Uluöz between 25 June 1941 and 21 July 1945. *Dikmen* represented a more secular intellectual line of the Anadoluculuk Movement. Among the influential writers of *Dikmen* were Abidin Mümtaz Kısakürek, Ziya İlhan, Füzuran Hüsrev Tökin, Oğuz Peltek, Orhan Sunar, Osman Atilla, Sadri Ertem, Kemal Zeki Gençosman, Şevket Aytac, Murat

The journal *Dönüm* began to be published when the peasantist ideas took attentions of the Turkish intelligentsia. But this attention was not confined to Turkey. Indeed, the 1930s became the decade when peasantist tendencies were on the rise around the world. The 1929 World Economic Crisis was mainly effective on this process. Increasing urbanization and industrialization of the world were seen as the reasons behind the Crisis. Related to this, some intellectuals in Turkey were highly influenced by peasantist ideas.<sup>109</sup> Among them, the followers of the second wave *Anadoluculuk* put their unique analysis of socio-economic conditions of the rural areas in Turkey.

The rural issue became one of the key subjects of the *Anadoluculuk* Movement. The Anatolianists used efficiently the peasantist ideas to express their nationalist discourse. The Anatolian nationalists were at the same time the peasantists of Turkey. Before analyzing the unique solutions of Anatolianists for the rural issue, it'd be better to mention the general framework of the peasantist ideology in Turkey. One of the distinctive features of this ideology was its opposition against urbanism. The peasantists' opposition against urbanism went hand in hand with their opposition against industrialization. They had various doubts on the industrialization process of Turkey and its possible solutions. The industrialization process should not change the structure of the rural areas and, so

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Sertoğlu, Behçet Bağdatlıoğlu and Nihat Ziya Özker. See Mithat Atabay, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye'de Milliyetçilik Akımları*, p. 220.

<sup>108</sup> The journal *Millet* was published by Hüseyin Avni Gökürk and Remzi Oğuz Arık between 1942 and 1944. In total, there were 23 issues. *Millet* was the main journal of the Anatolian nationalism. Among the influential writers of the journal were Remzi Oğuz Arık, Hüseyin Avni Gökürk, Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu, Sadi Irmak, Mehmet Kaplan, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Samet Ağaoğlu and Mümtaz Turhan. Especially during the Second World War, *Millet* showed a more akin tendency towards radical Turkish nationalist currents. For instance, fascism and Turanism was extensively referred by some of the writers. For a more detailed information on this journal, see Günyol, 1984, pp. 97-100; Atabay, 2005, pp. 220-221; Günay Göksoy Özdoğan, "*Turan*"dan "*Bozkurt*"a: *Tek Parti Döneminde Türkcülük (1931-1946)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), pp. 253-257.

<sup>109</sup> For a detailed information on peasantist ideology in Turkey and the world, see Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006).

this anti-urban and anti-industrialization tendency of the peasantist discourse naturally brought the ideas related to the prevention of migration to cities. They also supported the protection of traditional production relations in the villages. The peasants should work in small agricultural units and this would prevent them from the dangers of industrialization.

For the peasantist ideology of the early Republican Turkey, the village meant to be the purity. Village life was in many ways superior to the life in city. It was nonsense for them to look for the real Turk in the cities. The real Turk could only be found in the village. Hence, peasants carried all the features untouched by outside effects and their culture became the symbol of Turkish culture. In the villages culture was intact as contrary to the cosmopolitan culture of the cities. The nationalist intellectuals highly benefited from these claims. For instance, Ziya Gökalp supported that the real national features of a nation was found in the villages.<sup>110</sup>

Also for Anatolianists, the essence of the Turkish culture could only be found in the village life. According to them, the economic development of Turkey should start from the rural side. They appreciated the Republican policies such as escaping the peasants from the mortgage, Village Law, opening Agriculture Credit Cooperatives, abolishing *Aşar*<sup>111</sup>, opening village branches under the Public Houses. However, according to the followers of Anatolianism these attempts were not enough to solve the rural issue. First of all, the villages should be self-sufficient. They should have economic autonomy and form the productive class in Turkey. The peasants should be escaped from the exploitation of merchants. The peasants should

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<sup>110</sup> Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>111</sup> Tax taken from agriculture products in a ratio of 1/10.

reach the conditions that enable them to work on their fields. Also they should be taken away from the effects of all bad habits including alcohol and gambling.<sup>112</sup> According to the writers of *Dönüm*, economic development should start from the villages and then the peasants should be rescued from becoming slaves of the merchants. Hence, the harsh economic conditions of the villages had to be improved. In this respect, the peasants needed to be brought to a higher economic standard. Only in this way, could Turkey become a true nation.<sup>113</sup>

Education was another discussion point for Anatolianists. According to them, since the seventy five percent of the population was composed of peasants, the primary focus should be given to the establishment of village schools. In these schools, the realities of rural life should be taught to the children. The village children were the economic forces of Turkey. Also because of this, their education was important. Related to their attention on education of the rural side, Anatolianists claimed that the village teacher should represent the education force of the villages. Since the imams were in contact with the outside, they prevented the formation of national character in villages. Hence, the village teachers would become the national forces for the peasants.

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<sup>112</sup> Mithat Atabay, “Anadoluculuk”, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, v.4, ed. Tamlı Bora, Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), pp. 518-519.

<sup>113</sup> Atabay, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye’de Milliyetçilik Akımları*, p. 177.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### REMZİ OĞUZ ARIK

#### The Life of Remzi Oğuz Arık

An ardent follower of the Anadoluculuk Movement, Remzi Oğuz Arık was born in the Kabaktepe Village of Kozan, Adana, on 15 July 1899. His father, Mehmet Ferit Arık, was employed as a treasurer for the Ottoman Empire. His mother, Zekiye Arık, was known as “Zekiye Hoca” around their neighborhood.<sup>114</sup> The Arık family was of the Oğuz clan of the Farsak tribe. Although it might seem that his father as a civil servant could have reached at least a tolerable standard of living in those days, their family was quite poor. It was near the end of the nineteenth century and the increasingly worsening economic conditions of the Empire were mainly responsible for this result.

#### His Childhood and the Years in the Balkans

As mentioned above, for the Arık family life was not easy. From the years of his childhood, Remzi was well acquainted with the hard circumstances of Ottoman village life. Until he was ten, he studied at the Mahalle Mektebi (*neighborhood school*), where he learned there how to read and write. He began to earn small

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<sup>114</sup> H. Rıdvan Çongur, *Profesör Remzi Oğuz Arık* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001), p. 9.

amounts of money by writing letters for soldiers and in this way helped out in the support of his family. During those years, the ideas of Remzi began to take shape. In addition to his witnessing the poor economic conditions of his village life, Remzi showed more interest in religious courses since he admired his Koran teacher and even many times compared him to the Cretan senior teacher.<sup>115</sup>

When he was around nine years old, Remzi recognized another aspect of life, homesickness. Remzi and his mother were sent to Salonika to live with his elder sister for economic reasons. It was the year the Second Constitutional Monarchy was founded and during those years, affected by the general world political agenda, there were extensive nationalist uprisings in the Balkans. Remzi witnessed the political turmoil, which would deeply affect his later ideas about Turkish nationalism.

During his years in Salonika, Remzi continued his primary education at *Yadigar-ı Terakki Rüştiyesi* (Yadigar-ı Terakki High School) and after finishing that school he was registered at the *Ticaret Lisesi* (Commercial High School).<sup>116</sup> However, after a while his sister died and, he and his mother returned to their village in Adana. Very soon after that, however, they again went to the Balkans, this time to another city, İşkodra, where his army officer brother, Mustafa Fevzi was stationed. This was his second experience with homesickness. But İşkodra would form significant memories of his life, because he witnessed there the occupation of an Ottoman city during the Balkan Wars. Remzi was deeply affected by the war circumstances. He, mainly guided by his brother there and since Mustafa Fevzi was

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13: "...We liked the other one, because he was the Kuran teacher."; H. Rıdvan Çongur, *Remzi Oğuz Arık* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1984), p. 6.

<sup>116</sup> Çongur, *Remzi Oğuz Arık*, p. 6.

an army officer, became closer to the news coming from the war. But as the result was a defeat, like all the people living in İşkodra, they had to move to İstanbul.

### Back to Anatolia

After the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the Balkans, Remzi continued his high school education at *Mercan İdadisi* (Mercan High School) in Istanbul. While studying in Istanbul, he gave economic support to his family by engaging in the grocery business. For a while he went to İzmit Sultanisi as a boarding student and later he returned to Istanbul and finished his education at the *Muallim Mektebi* (Teachers School). Apart from dealing with his family's economic problems, Remzi, who was only a 14 year-old student, began to devote himself to intellectual issues. He became a frequent visitor of the Turkish Hearths in those years. After the first time he became acquainted with the concepts of nation, homeland and history in the Balkans, his interest in nationalist feelings became intense during his visits to the Turkish Hearths.

As a member of the Turkish Hearths, he was introduced to some influential Turkish nationalist figures, such as the poet Mehmet Emin Yurdakul.<sup>117</sup> All these made him closer to nationalist ideals. Under the roof the Turkish Hearths, he particularly became interested in Turanism, which was the main trend of Turkish nationalism in those years. The journal *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) played a significant role for the shaping of his nationalist ideals. He would also write a poem titled "Sancağım" for this journal when he was only 19 years old. When this poem,

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<sup>117</sup> H. Rıdvan Çongur, *Profesör Remzi Oğuz Arık*, p. 19.

as his first signed work, was published, he added “Oğuz” to his name and from then on he became known as Remzi Oğuz Arık.<sup>118</sup>

But before that, the First World War had begun and Istanbul was occupied by the Allies. The spiritual world of Remzi was affected deeply by those incidents and together with the Balkan Wars he had experienced before, these incidents made his nationalist feelings become deeper. Remzi applied to the army as a volunteer; however, he was unable to satisfy his desire to fight because of an accident he had at that time. According to some writers, he hid himself in a ship going to Batum, but he was caught on the ship and was stopped from going to the front.<sup>119</sup>

After finishing his high school education at the Muallim Mektebi, he started his university education at the Darülfünun. While Remzi was following the philosophy courses in the university, he came into contact with the popular nationalists Hamdullah Suphi and Fuat Köprülü and became more familiar with the nationalist circles. He earned his living as a teacher in several orphanages in Istanbul. He also continued teaching at the *Zafer-i Milli Nümüne Mektebi* in Adana, and later he came back to Istanbul and became a teacher and then director at Galatasaray High School.

After feeling the pain of being defeated in the Balkan Wars and the First World War, the spiritual world of Remzi reached a turning point with the success of the Turkish army in the Independence War. His struggle for life took on greater momentum and after finishing his philosophy education at the Darülfünun, in 1926 Remzi passed the government exam to be sent abroad for education in France. According to some writers, he became the first student in the Turkish Republic to be

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<sup>118</sup> Hayati Tüfekçioğlu, *Remzi Oğuz Arık*, in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Muhafazakarlık*, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekinil , v.5 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), pp. 449-450.

<sup>119</sup> H. Emin Sezer, *Remzi Oğuz Arık* (İstanbul: Toker Yayınları, 1976), p. 27.

sent for graduate studies in the field of archaeology.<sup>120</sup> Hence, by getting this scholarship Remzi once again would feel homesickness and after having experienced long years of war, he would leave behind an independent Turkish Republic.

### The Years in Paris

Despite being faced with many difficulties during his life, Remzi was now a government supported university student in France. His education in Paris lasted six years, from 1926 to 1931, and during this period in addition to improving himself in the theoretical field, Remzi learned about Western culture and also met many would-be influential Turkish nationalists.

His university education in France was not confined only to studying archaeology at the Archeology Institute at the Louvre. Remzi also took Art History lessons at Sorbonne University and Arabic language lessons as well. He studied hard and in the remaining time he remembered his days in Anatolia, which from those years onwards became strictly his center of Turkish nationalism. His national feelings became more mature and shaped during his years in France, since his prolonged stay in a Western civilization and gave him the opportunity to compare it with the Turkish one.<sup>121</sup> In fact, before his years in Paris, Remzi had been affected deeply by Turanism and, as mentioned before, his frequent visits to the Turkish Hearths had played a crucial role in this. But after the long years of war with the West, only Anatolia remained where the Turkish nationalism could function in

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<sup>120</sup> Ziya Bakırcıođlu, *Remzi Ođuz Arık'ın Fikir Dđnyası* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2000), p. 31.

<sup>121</sup> H. Rıdvan ongur, *Profesör Remzi Ođuz Arık*, pp. 29-32.; Tüfekiođlu, p. 450.

realistic terms. His strong feelings towards Anatolia even made him passionately ask the Turkish students wherever he saw them in Paris, whether in front of a library or entertainment club, “What have you thought for Anatolia today?”<sup>122</sup> “Wake up the Anatolian child, if you can’t escape your self, who can do this?”<sup>123</sup> Along with his extensive social life in Paris, Remzi also became close with some influential figures such as Nurettin Topçu, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Reşat Şemseddin Sirer, Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu, Ahmet Kutsi Tecer, Sedat Çumralı and Mümtaz Turhan. As a result of his close attachments with the Turkish students abroad, in 1929, Remzi Oğuz Arık founded the first Turkish Student Association in Europe.<sup>124</sup> Beside his strong Turkish nationalist feelings, his leading personality was the most important factor related to this endeavor. In fact, his efforts to gather the Turkish students under an association were the result of his enthusiasm for putting out his ideas of Turkish cultural distinctiveness when compared with the Western one. In addition to this, as he always asserted in the meetings of the Association, his sharp criticisms of the Turkish intellectuals, in his words pseudo-intellectuals, played a crucial role in his intellectual efforts in France.

Six years had passed since he had left the Republic and now it was the time for him to practice what he had learned in his profession and also time for him to spread his nationalist ideas to the people.

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<sup>122</sup> Sezer, p. 32.

<sup>123</sup> Ziya Bakırcıoğlu, p. 32.

<sup>124</sup> Tüfekçioğlu, p. 450.

## Arik as an Archeologist

Although Arik received a personal letter from Mustafa Kemal encouraging him to stay longer in France and learn whatever would be useful for his professional development<sup>125</sup> his longing for the homeland overcame him, in 1931 he returned to Turkey. While he had been abroad, the Turkish Republic had undergone radical structural changes. Along with the ongoing changes, extensive theoretical works on language and history were being done by the 1930s. When he returned, the government immediately gave him several official archaeological projects. As an archeologist, his first official post was as archeology vice-specialist in the Archeology Museum of Istanbul. As vice-specialist, Arik started excavations first in Yalova the year he returned. The next year, he worked as a government observer in Alişar excavation conducted by an American team. In 1933 he married Türkan Hanım and in the same year he was appointed as the archeologist of the Ministry of Education. Under this post he directed an excavation in Karalar, Ankara. During the 1930s, he gave most of his time to his archeological work. Some other excavations he worked on were at Truva-Çanakkale (1935), Çankırıkapı-Ankara (1937), Hacılar-Ankara (1939), Alaeddin Tepe-Ankara (1940). Also in 1941, he directed several excavations at Bitik-Ankara, Düzce-Bolu, Ulukışla-Niğde, Adana and Hatay.

Related to his professional life, in addition to excavations, Remzi Oğuz Arik also participated in several archeological conferences. In 1936, Arik represented Turkey at the International Archeology Congress in Oslo. Later in 1938, he represented Turkey first at the International Excavation and Art History Congress in

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., pp. 450-451.

Cairo, and then at the Archeology Congress in Copenhagen. The next year, Arık participated in two archeological conferences at the Sorbonne University, Paris and in 1947 he represented Turkey at the International Archeological Meeting in Athens.

Under the umbrella of his deep archeological information, Arık was also a specialist in the field of museums. In addition to his founding role for the Hatay and Manisa Museums, as a representative of the Turkish museum Remzi Oğuz Arık also participated in the International Archeological Meeting in Oxford, London. Apart from the excavations he attended and the conferences in which he participated, he published his several works under the titles of *Archeology Works in Turkey in 1935* (Türkiye’de 1935 Yılında Arkeoloji İşleri)<sup>126</sup> and *The Guide for the People’s Houses Works of Museum, History and Folklore* (Halkevlerinde Müze, Tarih ve Folklor Çalışmaları Kılavuzu).<sup>127</sup> Related to the posts he undertook, in 1943 he became the director for the Archeology and Ethnography Museum of Ankara. Arık was a member of the Society for Turkish History and also the member of several international organizations. In addition to all of these, Remzi Oğuz Arık worked as an academic in the Department of Archeology at Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi (Language History Geography Faculty) until he resigned from this position in 1942 because of his dispute with H. A. Yücel, as the Minister of Education, and Ş. A. Kansu, the Dean of the DTCE. After a seven year break in his academic profession, in 1947 he founded the Art History Chair for the Faculty of Theology at Ankara University and received the first professorship there. But his academic position at the Faculty of Theology was brief. Hence, after he became a deputy of the Democrat Party (DP) from Seyhan in the 1950 elections, he ended his university career.

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<sup>126</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türkiye’de 1935 Yılında Arkeoloji İşleri* (İstanbul: Halkevleri Neşriyatı, 1936).

<sup>127</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Halkevlerinde Müze, Tarih ve Folklor Çalışmaları Kılavuzu* (Ankara: CHP Halkevi Yayınları, 1947).

## Arık as an Intellectual

The intellectual side of Remzi Oğuz Arık developed as a result of several experiences he had in his lifetime. Starting with his childhood, Arık was born at the time when the Ottoman Empire was in political and socio-economic regression. His poor living conditions caused him to visit the Balkans when war was about to break out there. His years in Salonika and İşkodra passed with his witnessing of national uprisings of the non-Turkish population. In İşkodra he also experienced the withdrawal of the Ottoman army as a result of the defeat in the Balkan Wars. The Balkan Wars had significant effects for the development of his nationalist ideas. In his words, “It can be said that the Balkan Wars became an earthquake for waking us up.”<sup>128</sup>

In addition to the crucial effect of the Balkan Wars on his tending towards nationalist ideas, the First World War and the occupation of Istanbul played crucial role for strengthening his Turkish nationalism. And after all these, there was the War of Independence. At the end, the only land remaining was Anatolia. A follower of Turanism during his visits to the Turkish Hearths, his nationalist color shifted towards the Anatolian reality. In fact, before his years in France his Anatolian nationalism was not clearly established. But after his return to Turkey, he became an ardent follower of the *Anadoluculuk* Movement. If his poem published in the journal *Türk Yurdu* is not taken into account, his intellectual writings did not come to the fore until 1933. Mainly, his nationalist ideas got matured during the 1940s, especially with the articles he wrote for the journals *Çığır* and *Millet* and *Hareket*.

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<sup>128</sup> “Balkan Harbi denebilir ki, bizim gözümüzü açmak için deprem vazifesini gördü.” Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türk İnkılabı ve Milliyetçiliğimiz* (Ankara: Remzi Oğuz Arık’ın Eserlerini Yayma ve Anıtını Yaptırma Derneği Yayınları, 1958), p. 9.

The Second World War and the general intensifying of Turkish nationalism during those years made Arık more radical indeed. Being put under house arrest during the 1944 incidents, Arık became a more radical Turkish nationalist. But even before that, for the writings in the journal *Millet*, Arık sometimes was labeled a chauvinist and extreme racist.<sup>129</sup>

Arık can be accepted as a hardworking intellectual, since he wrote nearly every year until he died on 3 April 1954, except for his intellectual silence between 1944 and 1946.<sup>130</sup> As a nationalist intellectual, Remzi Oğuz Arık usually referred to the concepts<sup>131</sup> history, homeland, religion and language in his writings. At the same time, these were the common themes he would use as a Democrat Party deputy from Seyhan while explaining his ideas to the crowds. His emphasis of Anatolia and, related to this, the rural issue along with his nationalism found place mainly in the pages of the journal *Dönüm*. In addition to *Dönüm*, *Çığır*, *Millet* and *Hareket* as mentioned above, his works were published in the journals *Bizim Türkiye*, *Özleyiş*, *Şafak*, *Şadırvan*, *Komünizme Karşı Mücadele*, *Gurbet*, *Kalem*, *Hisar*, *Türkelî* and *Gurbet*. While Arık did not write any books, his journal articles were collected and published as books. While he was alive, some of his works were published under the title *Köy Kadını*<sup>132</sup> (Peasant Woman) in 1943 and some others under the title *İdeal ve İdeoloji*<sup>133</sup> (Ideal and Ideology) in 1947. After he died in a plane crash in 1954, several of his intellectual works were published under the titles *Coğrafyadan Vatana*

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<sup>129</sup> Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (İstanbul: Ülken Yayınları, 1979), p. 478.

<sup>130</sup> Between the years 1944 and 1946, he published only one article. Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Vatanlara Dair" *İleri Yurt*, v.2, 1945.

<sup>131</sup> For detailed information on all the concepts underlined here, see Part 3 of this chapter.

<sup>132</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Köy Kadını* (Ankara: Millet Mecmuası Neşriyatı, 1943).

<sup>133</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, *İdeal ve İdeoloji* (İstanbul: Kurtulmuş Basımevi, 1947).

(From Geography to Homeland, 1956), *Türk İnkılabı ve Milliyetçiliğimiz* (Turkish Revolution and Our Nationalism, 1958), *Gurbet-İnmeyen Bayrak* (Homesickness...Flag 1968), *Türk Gençliğine* (To Turkish Youth, 1968), *Milliyetçilik* (Nationalism, 1974), *Meseleler* (Matters, 1974) and *Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art, 1975).

### Arık in Active Politics

As mentioned before, Remzi Oğuz Arık was elected as a deputy of Seyhan from the Democrat Party in the 1950 elections. Hence, he preferred to reflect his criticisms against the one-party government through the DP in which he had been enrolled from its foundation. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that his criticisms against the Kemalist governments of those years especially had grown sharper with the 1944 Incidents.

According to his son, Oluş Arık, there were two significant factors explaining why Remzi Oğuz Arık chose to engage in politics.<sup>134</sup> First of all, by choosing to play a role in politics Remzi Oğuz Arık attributed all his accumulation of ideas, experiences and analysis to Turkish political life. For Oluş Arık, his founding of the Peasants Party even seemed to be as if he was writing another article. The second factor was about the approval of his ideas. That is to say, he aimed to make his ideas distinguished among others. Because of this, he needed power, and hence, he preferred to get this power through politics.

However, similar to his criticisms of the one-party governments, as time passed, Remzi Oğuz Arık began to recognize the differences between his ideas and the DP policies, especially related to the rural issue. In 1952, he resigned from the

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<sup>134</sup> Çongur, *Profesör Remzi Oğuz Arık*, p. 118.

DP, since he could not see any future possibility that the party would deal with the rural issue.<sup>135</sup> In the same year of his resignation from the DP, he founded a new party, called the Peasants' Party<sup>136</sup> As emphasized in its founding declaration, the Peasants' Party aimed to put the village and the peasants at the center of the Turkish socio-economic development. For this reason, the party would follow the paths towards the improvement of the peasants.<sup>137</sup>

### The Rural Issue

The rural issue became a significant reference point for Remzi Oğuz Arık for putting his nationalist ideas on a sound basis. Following the foot steps taken by the intellectuals of the First Wave *Anadoluculuk* Movement and also peasantist intellectuals of the *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearths), he put forward his peasantist perspective and made it as the basis to comprehend Turkish nationalism. Village and peasants were taken by him on socio-economic and also on political axis. Hence, in order to understand the nationalist discourse of Arık, peasantism becomes a key start point.

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>136</sup> The Peasants' Party was founded on the 19th of May in 1952 in Yenışehir, Ankara. The founders and the directors of the party were the following: Ethem Menemencioğlu as the honorary chairman, Remzi Oğuz Arık as the Chairman, Tahsin Demiray as the Secretary General, Hakkı Kamil Beşe, Süreyya Endik, Yusuf Ziya Eker, Asım Günç, Asaf İlbay, Cemil Kantemir and Cezmi Türk as the members of the Main Board of Directors. For a more detailed information on the Peasants' Party, see Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler 1859-1952* (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1995), pp. 744-748.

<sup>137</sup> “*Türk içtimai bünyesinin temelini teşkil eden köy ve köylü hiç şüphesiz bütün sosyal meselelerimizin düğüm noktasıdır. Partimizin adı da bunu ifade etmektedir.*” Ibid., p. 745.

## The Dichotomy between Village and City

According to Arık, the rural issue first came into the agenda by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries immediately after the Renaissance of the West. The geographical discoveries made during this period resulted in depriving Anatolia from its prestigious role as a transit country between the Eastern and Western countries. Anatolia lost most of its commercial source. In economic ways the Ottoman Empire was affected heavily by this process. And the most affected was Anatolia which produced all the things to export. However, Arık suggested that the main tragedy of the rural people came as a result of the penetration of the big industry into Anatolia in the nineteenth century, which according to him changed enormously the balance between the city and the village. By that time onwards, the peasants in Anatolia became day workers on their fields. Deeply affected by this process, they had to sell all of their possessions, even their own fields. According to Arık, the owners of the big industry and machinery that entered into Anatolia were neither Turkish, nor Muslim and even Ottoman. They were first the foreigners and then the enemies.<sup>138</sup> Under these circumstances, the peasants were the ones who got all the damage and they were left into the hands of the merchants who lived in the cities and became mediators for the profits of these enemies. The money earned gathered around the big cities of Anatolia and the rural areas became poor and poor each day.

For Remzi Oğuz Arık, the Turkish Republic took over a rural issue under the circumstances mentioned above. The peasants had no say in the economic, political and cultural development of Anatolia. They were left alone with their destinies.

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<sup>138</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Köylerimiz ve Köycülüklerimiz" in *Türk Gençliğine* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1968), pp. 61-62.

Everything was for the advantage of the cities. There was a huge difference between the rural side and the cities which were under the dominance of the “cosmopolitan” city dweller. Although the War of Liberation and the Lausanne Agreement were important steps to escape the rural side from its exploitation by the enemies, however according to Arık, the rural issue had not been solved thoroughly yet. By the foundation of the Turkish Republic, in contrast to the late Ottoman time, there appeared many opportunities for the solution of the issue. First of all, from the political aspect, Anatolia got rid of its enemies. At the same time, unlike its position as a colony in the time of the Ottoman Empire, now it had achieved political integrity and become the fatherland for the Turkish nation. Apart from these, Arık mentioned that geographical privileges specific to Anatolia should be underlined. According to him, its special geographical features gave Anatolia the advantage of being always refreshed against its enemies. But the most emphasized opportunity possessed to solve the rural issue by him was the spiritual superiority of the rural people. The peasant was the repository for the Turkish nation with his inner soul which showed itself in the mild-mannered, patient, compliant personality.<sup>139</sup>

On the other hand, Remzi Oğuz Arık criticized the view that comprehended Turkey as being only composed of villages. According to him, this view was both wrong and detrimental in the end. Before all, the ones that considered this way did not take into account the history of Turkey. Apart from all historical documents indicating the city life and expressions used in the past, the historical monuments in cities and the historical names of cities gave the reasons behind the existence of cities in Turkey. In addition to these, Arık claimed that by looking at the realities of the time, it would be seen that nations were mainly composed of two parts. These

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., pp. 64-65. For the ideas of Arık on the issue, see Mithat Atabay, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye’de Milliyetçilik Akımları* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2005), p. 180.

were the sedentary and changing parts. The changing parts included the places which were open to mix with the features of other nations. They were continuously changing. He described the changing parts as formed by the civil servants, merchants, workers, etc who gathered in cities for temporary and various reasons. All these people who lived in the changing part were the moving population of the nation. They were the inhabitants of cities. The other part of the nation was sedentary. This part included people who formed the roots of the nation.

These people shared a common historical background. And also they were the most protected people against changes. Hence, ethnically they were the symbols of the nation. They were the peasants who kept the nation intact. Even taking solely this difference in the Turkish nation, according to Arik, would express that Turkey was composed of both villages and cities. Hence, for him the ones who claimed that Turkey only had villages considered the issue from the comfort axis only. Comparing the cities of Turkey with the cities of the West, it would be true that the Western ones were much more developed than the ones in Turkey. However, Arik found this point of view limited. From his point of view, the issue could not be solely understood by comfort but also with the special features city and village possessed.<sup>140</sup>

For Arik, Turkish villages carried unique features in many aspects. They were places which stood on self-sufficiency. Peasants produced enough for their own needs in economic terms and then fed the cities. They gave all the products for the development of cities. Hence, villages were the wealth of nations. And Turkey's development should start from the villages. Apart from economic features, villages were also the places where the traditions of the nation were kept alive free from

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., pp. 52-55.

corruption. They were the guards of the Turkish national values. The people living in the rural areas represented the pure national consciousness, the life force of the Turkish nation.<sup>141</sup>

On the other hand, cities in Turkey were the places which depended on the products of villages. Contrary to the villages, in order to develop, the cities needed the hinterlands. They had no self-sufficiency in this sense. Also in political terms, the cities were in need of state power, contrary to the position of the villages. In terms of culture, the cities were also depended on the rural side. In the cities, culture was cosmopolitan. While the rural side was the symbol of conservatism, the city was open to the effects of other nations' cultures. Hence the peasants represented stability. They conserved the values of the Turkish nation. The peasants were in superior in consciousness and will, while the city dwellers were the slaves of machines. Hence, the villages were the resistance points against the foreign effects of the mechanization of society. The citizen of consciousness and will, together with having material and spiritual freedom could only be found in the villages. Arık wrote that there was no need to fear rural conservatism because all of the troubles of the Turkish nation resulted from the cities, which had lost their balance. In this respect, all attention should be given to the villages. Only in this way could the contradiction between the city and the village be overcome.<sup>142</sup>

Arık criticized the positivist perspective of the Republican elites towards the rural problems. According to him, by using the constructive method, they approached the rural issue like a subject of experiment in a lab. Although he accepted the ideals of these elites, he criticized them severely because of the remedy they proposed for rural problems. Arık opposed this positivist perspective. His main

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., pp. 76-77.

<sup>142</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Kitabiyat: Köycülüklerimiz III", *Dönüm*, n. 37, 1936, p. 40-41.

criticism was against their putting forward the issue as an education problem and their giving the most emphasis on the 18-20 year old youth who were expected to improve the villages. Another solution he criticized was the limiting of the issue only to the land. For Arık, there was no problem about land sufficiency in Turkey; the main problem was the way Turkish people put the lands and the products they grew on the lands to use.<sup>143</sup> Even the land was efficient enough to support at least double the population of the country. Hence, the production possibility from the lands in Turkey was greater and considering the rural issue only from the economic aspect would not yield any solution.<sup>144</sup>

After all these criticisms, Arık put forth his solution to the rural issue. According to him, the village had lost its static sense. This had many reasons. First, the decreasing economic conditions of rural life in Turkey prepared the ground for this. The peasants, who suffered under heavy economic conditions, had left their villages and moved to the cities. They worked almost for nothing. And the conditions awaiting them in the cities were extremely bad. They became like slaves in the city. However, the main loss showed itself in spiritual balance of the peasants. Values that were unique to rural life lost their significance for the peasants who moved to the cities. The peasants became slaves to the material. Hence, the villages had become bankrupt, and this affected the stability of the entire Turkish nation.

The solution for the rural issue could only be reached only by keeping the peasants in their villages. Cities and their people were alien for the peasants, who could only find the static sense in his own land, in the village. Arık claimed that keeping the village as its own was significant because villages were the repositories

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<sup>143</sup> Arık, *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>144</sup> Arık, “Köylerimiz ve Köycülüklerimiz” in *Türk Gençliğine*, p. 71.

for the Turkish nation. They were the symbols for the features unique to Turkish nation. Hence, the remedy for the rural issue came not with transforming the villages into cities. Villages should have their autonomy in every aspect, including the economy. While he did not suggest putting the cities out of sight, but kept claiming that villages should be taken as the starting point for all actions.<sup>145</sup> However, Arık found it wrong to expect the 18-20 year old youth to solve the rural issue. Neither the youth mentioned above nor the peasantists could solve the problem. It was the state that should accept it as a duty to struggle with the rural issue. For this reason, the state should be governed by the individuals with good characters and belief in the solution of the rural issue.<sup>146</sup>

After all these, Arık mentioned that in order to join the developed nations it was necessary for the Turkish nation to turn towards itself. That meant to turn towards the village: popular language, popular literature, popular music and popular morality.<sup>147</sup>

### The Village Woman as the Bearer of the Nationalist Spirit

The comparison between the village and the city in the nationalist discourse of Remzi Oğuz Arık found its concreteness with the village woman. The village woman was the symbol of the rural life in every aspect. She was the representative of the uniqueness of rural areas in Turkey. Giving reference to her, Arık found a suitable intellectual ground to express his cultural nationalist ideas.

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<sup>145</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Kitabiyat: “‘Halkçılık ve Köycülük’, ‘Köycülük Rehberi’, ‘Köycülük Esasları’”, *Dönüm*, n.29, 1934, p. 286.

<sup>146</sup> Arık, “Köylerimiz ve Köycülüklerimiz” in *Türk Gençliğine*, pp. 72-79.

<sup>147</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Köy Kadını” in *Köy Kadını*, Millet Mecmuası Neşriyatı, Ankara, 1943, p. 10.

By using the village woman, Arık meant to say the Turkish woman, the real Turkish woman. As he suggested, the village woman kept in her self all the secrets of the Turkish nation. In this sense, she was the repository for all the superiority of the Turkish nation. First of all, the village woman gave birth to the seventy five percent of the Turkish nation.<sup>148</sup> Thus, she took significant part in the transference of Turkish nation from one generation to the other. She gave the character of the Turkish nation. Contrary to the woman in the city, the existence of the village woman indicated a vital importance for the Turkish nation. In this respect, her historical mission for the Turkish nation should be underlined. She preserved in her self all historical traditions of the nation and transferred them to today. The village woman gathered all the good characters in her self and became the cultural symbol for the Turkish nation among the nations of the world. On the other hand, woman in the city contributed nothing for the Turkish nation. Neither she took a missionary role for the nation, nor possessed any good character at all. The only thing she did was to live in a luxury life without considering the Turkish nation and its tradition. Even he ignored the motherhood which was regarded as sacred by the village woman.

The village, in general, was the protector of the Turkish national values. As mentioned above, for Arık the village woman had a special place for Turkish nationalism. The village man was not as self-sacrificing as the village woman for the nation. The man in the village was more in contact with the city. For many reasons, he witnessed the badness and ugliness of city life. Hence, his attitude tended to be more akin to the features of city dwellers. However, the village woman who lived

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<sup>148</sup> The year he wrote this article, approximately 75 % of the population in Turkey lived in rural areas. Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Köy Kadını" in *Köy Kadını* (Ankara: Millet Mecmuası Neşriyatı, 1943), p. 5.

under the shelter of the village was far from the “dirtiness” of the city life. With her superior morality, she was like a fountain for the nation. Hence, the village woman was the bearer of the national spirit.<sup>149</sup>

At the same time, she was the mother of the Turkish soldier. In this respect, Anatolia was indebted to the village woman also in defense of the Turkish nation. Arık emphasized here the spiritual superiority of the army created with the blood of the village woman as the shield against the technical superiority of the enemy.

According to Remzi Oğuz Arık, family was crucial, since it was the basis for nation. In the village, the meaning of family was love. Contrary to the family in the city, the family in the village was not established on temporarily desires. It symbolized love. In addition to her role as a mother, the village woman was also the beloved. But in the city, family was like child’s play. Making a family became an ordinary act in the city. Established with temporarily desires, the family in the city easily came to an end.

In addition to her spiritual role, Arık claimed that the village woman made significant contributions to the economic development of the Turkish nation. With her weaving and working in the fields, the village woman formed the basis of the national economy. Although the rural people suffered from losing their balance also in economics, the village woman prevented this process from worsening and resulting in rural depression. As mentioned by Arık, the village woman was different from the city woman in the sense of working conditions. While the village woman was working hard in the fields for her family and nation, the woman in the city was spending her time in luxury.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13.

In response to her spiritual superiority and hardworking, according to Arik, the Turkish nation did not give the village woman the respect she deserved. Even, the village woman was seen inferior than zero. She was given all the bad positions in the city such as being the servant of the woman in luxury and being the servant of desires. Hence, the village woman should free herself from being the servant of all “dirtiness” in the city and return to her village to become the basis for the family and nation. In addition to her role as the spiritual and moral model for the Turkish nation, Arik insisted that the village woman was also expected to raise many children who would in a way become examples of the spiritual and moral superiority of the Turkish nation. Hence, the population issue was another area of emphasis for Arik.

## The Main Concepts in the writings of Arık

### The Static Features of Nationalism

Nationalism, according to Arık, was composed of two main features. One of them was static feature of nationalism. This formed the spiritual richness of nationalist ideology. These became the basis for understanding nationalism. The static feature of nationalism kept individual, fatherland and society together with harmony. Besides these, as Arık suggested, this feature gave stability to the human being. The static feature included elements such as history, fatherland, language and religion, all of which founded the basis of the nationalist ideology.

#### Nation

Although accepting the various definitions of nationalism, Remzi Oğuz Arık underlined the unique explanation of nation. In his account, the nation designated a mass of people who were from the Turkish race and those who had accepted the culture of the Turkish race and joined this culture.<sup>151</sup> Culture was an important component of his conceptualization of nation. He did not deny the significance of race, so the Turkish race but considered the ones who tended to absorb the culture of this race as part of the Turkish nation. In this respect, Arık put forward his ideas on the minorities. He often used metaphors throughout his writings. About the

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<sup>151</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türk İnkılabı ve Milliyetçiliğimiz* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1958), p. 29.

significance of the minority issue, he gave the parallelism between the guest in a house and the minority in a fatherland:

*Think of a person who came as a friend of yours and extremely benefited from the every facility of your house that you had inherited from your father and provided with comfort, ran away with being ignorant of you or stabbed you in your back or joined the enemy with any plan, when your house encountered an attack. What do the humanity, law call this “so-called friend”?*<sup>152</sup>

As mentioned above, Remzi Oğuz Arık put the “dangers” of living with the minorities in the Turkish Republic. Especially indicating the non-Muslim Turkish population living in the Republic, he always put a sharp distance between them and the Muslim Turkish people as the main population. He insisted on claiming that when these minorities did not escape themselves from having the consciousness of being minority, the society would not be able to develop itself. For supporting his ideas, Arık used the majority principle of democracy. However, he seemed to ignore the significance of minority rights in democracy. In fact, his emphasis on the risks of living with the minorities was related directly to the homogenous society understanding of the Republic. Nation as the latest type of collective living, he suggested, comprised a homogenous population.

Nation can neither be considered as confined neither to race nor to culture. Considering nation solely in racial terms would make the definition on coincidence.

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<sup>152</sup> “Babanızdan kalmış ve sizin elinizde konforlu, emin bir hale girmiş evinize, dostunuz olarak gelen, sizin kurduğunuz hayat imkanından sonuna kadar istifade ederek gelişen, şişmanlayan ve para artıran birini tasavvur ediniz. Evinizin uğradığı şu veya bu tecavüzde ya habersiz kaçmış, ya sizin malınıza konmak için sizi arkadan vurmuş, yahut şu veya bu hesapla düşmanlarınızla birleşmiştir. Bu “sözde dost” a insanlık, kanun ne isim verir?” Arık, *Türk İnkılabı ve Milliyetçiliğimiz*, pp. 70-71.

Race depended on coincidental matters. Nobody was able to choose his/her race. It was something like nobody had the chance to choose his parents. On the other hand, according to Arık, this coincidentally matter had an advantageous side which allowed us a kind of definiteness. But, this definiteness was not enough for us to understand nation. In addition to their coincidental characters, races changed throughout history, they interacted with each other and their definiteness lost their reliability. Apart from all these, considering nation only in terms of race would forbid those who did not belong to that race, to be a member of that nation. Keeping this in mind, Arık criticized the Turkists who avoided the cultural element and narrowed their conception of nation to race. According to him, there was no need to emphasize only race like the Turkists. Culture is also an important part of nation. Hence, there was no need to exclude those who did not belong to Turkish race but accepted the superiority of Turkish culture and live accordingly.

For Arık, also nation cannot be considered in cultural terms. He was well aware of the significance of culture for nation. Culture designated all the institutions represented nation's feelings, beliefs and rules together with all the institutions protected, transferred and reflected the feelings and beliefs of that nation in the past.<sup>153</sup> Unlike race, culture was not the result of coincidentals. But this time, Arık indicated the possible danger of adaptation problems of the ones who did not belong to the Turkish race. Since they were from a different race and so from a different culture, this made it difficult for them to adopt the new culture. The adaptation problems that aroused from this prevented the development of the new culture and even became dangerous for the existence of that culture.<sup>154</sup> In this sense, Arık differed from the Turkish cultural nationalists like Ziya Gökalp, whom he accused

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<sup>153</sup> Arık, *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

of ignoring the fact that people in the same race could have different cultural backgrounds. Putting his difference from Gökalp by using culture instead of “hars”, he underlined culture as a voluntary act, not a coincidence.<sup>155</sup> After all these mentioned above, Remzi Oğuz Arık put his definition of nation on a union of two elements: race and culture.

Related to his explaining nation with the concepts of race and culture, Arık puts forward the conditions for becoming a nation. For a mass of people to become a nation, they needed to pass through different stages. First of all, common acts of the masses as the time passes form history, the common history of the masses. The ordinary masses were transformed by common destiny, common fate and memories which included monuments, literature and drawings. At the same time, another condition for nation arose. The masses became covered with the features of the land and the land was also transformed by the features of the mass. Then the land became the fatherland. It became the fatherland of the nation, where common ideals were experienced. From that time onwards, geography took the name of the nation, became the fatherland of that nation. Now it was nothing of an ordinary land. It carried the spirit of the nation. Hence, in Arık’s conceptualization history and fatherland became core for the emergence of nation.

#### Fatherland

Among the intellectuals of the *Anadolculuk* Movement, Remzi Oğuz Arık was the one who benefited most from mystical explanations. The mystic feature of his ideas especially showed itself with his conceptualization of the fatherland.

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<sup>155</sup> Bakırcıoğlu, *Remzi Oğuz Arık’ın Fikir Dünyası*, pp. 53-54.

According to Arık, the fatherland was born as a result of the transformation from “geography to fatherland”:

*The geography of a country at first glance is how inferior and how poor. This geography is a dead world treated by people, animals under foot, whether it is composed of mysterious mountains, steep rocks, paradise like valleys or plains where nobody had passed by...However, one day this geography which is treated by people, animals under foot becomes revived. The body which was submitted under the feet of the good and the bad, the friend and the enemy, the people and the animal, shakes itself; becomes deep and deep and stands grand as a peak...In short, the dead geography rears up like a horse, becomes an edge by which becomes impossible to pass and a border impossible to traverse...The thing that was treated under foot began to be treated with great respect; the dead and neutral geography turned into fatherland<sup>156</sup>*

As mentioned above, Arık gave mystical features to the fatherland. The transformation of the nameless geography to fatherland, the process which he likened to the transformation of an embryo from an indefinite position to a child gaining his will, was his main point of departure in putting forward his nationalist ideas. According to him, in order to turn this ordinary land into a sacred land, the fatherland, there should be some circumstances. First of all, what was needed for this transformation of the land was common history. Sharing a common history, the people put their mark on that land. They became the owners of the land and gave that land its name. So, the land became a definite land, labeled by the people living

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<sup>156</sup> “Bir memleketin coğrafyası, ilk bakışta, ne kadar aşağı, ne kadar zavallıdır! Bu coğrafya ister esrarlı dağlar, ister yalçın kayalar, ister cennet gibi ovalar, ister kuş uçup kervan geçmez bozkırlar olsun: insanın, hayvanın çiğnediği bir ölü alemdir...Fakat bir gün gelir, insan ve hayvanın aynı kayıtsızlıkla çiğnediği bu coğrafya canlanır. İyinin ve kötünün, dostun ve düşmanın, insan ve hayvanın ayağı altında boyun eğen bu gövde, silkinir; uçurum uçurum derinleşir, zirve zirve heybetle dikilir...Hülasa bu cansız coğrafya bütün varlığıyla şahlanır, geçilmez uçurum, aşılmaz sınır olur...Çiğnenen şey baş tacı olmuştur; cansız ve tarafsız coğrafya vatan olmuştur...” Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Coğrafyadan Vatana” in *Coğrafyadan Vatana* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1959), pp. 1-2. For the mystical side of Remzi Oğuz Arık, see also Mithat Atabay, “Anadoluculuk” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil, v. 4 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, 2002), p. 517.

on it. It became a homeland for the people. On the other hand, the land gave all its features to the people and hence, they both transformed each other.

Historical unity together with common destiny mainly became the base for this transformation of the geography into fatherland. Complementary to these, unity in religion, morality, language and art became significant factors through this process. Arık mentioned that religion had been the stimulus behind the Turcoman conquest of Anatolia.<sup>157</sup> Islam had been the main guide for the Turcoman. Thus, in the sense of Anatolia becoming a fatherland for the Turks, different actors had taken part. The history of Anatolia, which became the repository for the memories of the Turks, became a crucial actor in this respect.

The Turcomans became the people who made Anatolia a fatherland. Before the Turcoman conquest in 1071, Anatolia had been in the hands of different civilizations such as the Byzantines, Romanians, Greeks, Assyrians and even the Hittites. These civilizations exploited Anatolia and made it a colony. However, Anatolia reached its integrity and became fatherland thanks to the Turcomans. Under the dominance of the Turcoman, Anatolia had been witness first to Islamism and then to Ottomanism, as the ideals which in the end gave way to Turkish nationalism. With the ideal of Islamism, Anatolia was seen as a part of the Islamic world. It was not seen as a homeland. Ottomanism did not give the necessary importance to Anatolia and it became only a part of the lands over which the Ottoman Empire had sovereignty.<sup>158</sup>

Through the transformation of geography into fatherland, Arık wrote that a special relationship began to exist between the fatherland and the people. It was some kind of a powerful tie for which made people sacrifice their selves. According

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<sup>157</sup> Arık, *ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

to Arık, this spiritual bond between the people and the fatherland differed in significant ways:

*Imagine this for understanding the difference between the bonds of a person to a fatherland and the bonds of a dog to its food: Who doesn't know that Germany and England are more developed, prosperous and richer than Anatolia? But who can think of the migration of this country's youth to these developed, rich and prosperous countries?*<sup>159</sup>

As this passage shows, there was a very strong kind of spiritual relationship between the people and their fatherland. According to Arık, it was such a strong relationship that nobody could think of leaving his/her fatherland to living in another country. If he/she ever did this, it was because of a compulsory, not a voluntary kind of action. Hence, he described the fatherland as the land for which people would sacrifice their lives even if it did not give them any material interest.<sup>160</sup>

## History

Arık suggested that Turks had passed different paths to become a nation. Their becoming a nation in Anatolia witnessed much suffering. In that sense, pain had matured Turkish nationalism. According to Arık, every ideal depended on pain. In order to reach an ideal, one had to become conscious of that pain. Without feeling pain, the ideal had no meaning at all.<sup>161</sup> The concept “pain,” also mentioned here, gave the general perspective of Remzi Oğuz Arık on the issue. He usually referred

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<sup>159</sup> “Vatana bu bağlanmanın yal teknesine sadık kalan köpeğin bağlılığına benzemediğini anlamak için şu hayali göz önüne getiriniz: Almanya'nın, İngiltere'nin Anadolu'dan daha ileride, mamur ve zengin olduğunu kim bilmez? Fakat memleketin çocuklarını toptan bu ileri, zengin ve mamur illere göçürmeyi akla getiren bulunur mu?” Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>160</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Vatanlara Dair” in *Coğrafyadan Vatana*, p.11.

<sup>161</sup> Arık, *Türk İnkılabı ve Milliyetçiliğimiz*, pp. 6-7.

to mystical explanations on nation and nationalism. In this sense, suffering and experiencing pain to reach the consciousness of nationalism tends to continue this line of explanation.

In “ideal” terms, Turkish nationalism found its late shape after long years of suffering. Anatolia witnessed different ideals before the emergence of Turkish nationalism as an ideal.<sup>162</sup> According to Arık, by 1071 the Turks had become the owners of the Near East and the first sufferings of the Turks resulted from religion. Hence, Islam as the religion of the Turks became the first ideal. To protect their ideal, Turks even had to defend themselves against the Crusaders and Mongols. All the sacrifices were for Islam. The second ideal Turks possessed before Turkish nationalism was Ottomanism. Although the first seeds of Ottomanism were thrown by the founding of the Ottoman Empire, it became an ideal in political terms with the Tanzimat years (1839-1876). The Tanzimat gave heavy burdens on the shoulders of the Turks. It brought the minorities as an issue for the Empire and also for the Turks. When the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 happened, Ottomanism was still the main ideal of the Turks. However, 1912 became a turning point for the development of Turkish nationalism. The Balkan Wars became an important suffering for the Turks and these wars, in Arık words, were “the earthquake for the Turks to awaken”<sup>163</sup> Ottomanism was replaced by Turkism as an ideal for the Turks. The Balkan lands inhabited by the non-Muslim population of the Empire were lost. In this period, also Islamism showed itself as an ideal but the Turks lost their confidence in this ideal since the non-Turkish Muslim population of the Empire also showed their hostility during the First World War. Then Turkism became the main

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-11.

<sup>163</sup> “*Balkan Harbi denebilir ki, bizim gözümüzü açmak için deprem vazifesi gördü...*” Ibid., p. 9.

ideal for the Turks until the War of Liberation. Turkish nationalism reached its political consciousness in this period.

Turkish nationalism became the foremost ideal for the Turks. As mentioned above, Turkism came onto the political scene during the Balkan War years. But before that, Turkish nationalism to some extent emerged among the Turks. From Arık's viewpoint, the nationalist feelings of Turks were experienced initially during the Tanzimat period. The Westernization attempts of this period brought also the importation of nationalism as a movement among the minorities of the Empire. Increasing nationalist waves of the period affected to some extent the Turks as well. This influence on Turks especially arouse as a result of the educated young Turks in the Western countries. The intellectuals circled under the name "New Ottomans" were the initiators of using "Turk" during this period. Among them, Arık was mostly affected by Ali Suavi whom he claimed first to feel proud of becoming Turk.<sup>164</sup> According to Remzi Oğuz Arık, Turkish nationalism of the Tanzimat period was neither a political movement nor a kind of consciousness. It was only some kind of an admiration towards the West, which he suggested would give birth to many problems in the history of Turks.

On the other hand, as noted by Arık, the Tanzimat period had witnessed the increasing voices of the minorities in the Empire. According to him, the minorities were the compradors of the enemies of the Empire. Despite the fact that they had been afforded a highly tolerant atmosphere to continue their ways of living, they persisted in denying this in breaking out uprisings. However, if the Turks had ever engage in any nationalistic tendencies they would have been condemned very quickly. This situation put many obstacles for Turks to reach the level of

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

consciousness about their nationality even at a time foreign scholars had already taken the Turkish race as a subject matter.<sup>165</sup>

The second path for the development of Turkish nationalism covered the years between the Second Constitution in 1908 and the War of Liberation. The transformation along the second path of development was accelerated under the influence of Turkish immigrant intellectuals from Russia. Among them, Hüseyinzade Ali, İsmail Gaspirinsky, Yusuf Akçura and Ahmet Ağaoğlu contributed towards the formation of a Turkish national consciousness. From this point on, Turkish nationalism became a movement and included the lands beyond the borders of the Empire. The Turkish Hearths as the club for Turkish nationalists played a significant role for the development of Turkish nationalism during this period. It became the host for the meetings of the leading Turkish nationalists of the period, such as Ziya Gökalp and Mehmet Emin with the above-mentioned Turkish nationalists from Russia. However, Arık claimed that on this second path Turkish nationalism became enmeshed in a bookish type of nationalism. Turkish nationalism was still under the effects of Western writers. Beside these, according to Arık, Turkish nationalism in this period was based on contradictions. Even an “idealist” like Gökalp could not give an exact name to the movement. In fact, Arık criticized Gökalp for not putting Turkish nationalism in a superior place and his being under the influence of the ideals of Islamism and Ottomanism. Indeed, Gökalp’s famous formulization between Turkism, Islamism and Westernism became the focus of the criticism of Remzi Oğuz Arık.

The other aspect of the related period, which also came under harsh criticism by Arık, was the borders it put for Turkish nationalism. He pointed out

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

that, like the ideals of Islamism and Ottomanism, the intellectuals who first threw out Turkish nationalist ideals were originated outside the Empire and hence the focus of Turkish nationalism was beyond the borders of the Empire and so beyond the borders of Anatolia, the fatherland. During this period, Anatolia was treated like a colony of the Empire, something which also became one his main points of criticism.

The third and latest path of Turkish nationalism indicated by Arık started with the War of Liberation. Turkish nationalism from this time onwards found its latest characteristics. He gave a special emphasis to the spiritual aspect of the war, the *Kuva-i Milliye* spirit of the time.<sup>166</sup> His highly spiritual conceptualization of war indicated an important part of his intellectual world in general.

In this period, Turkish nationalism found itself. Now, the fatherland included the lands bordered by *Misak-ı Milli*, the nation was the Turkish nation and the state was the Turkish state. The definite borders of Turkish nationalism were drawn, unlike the indefinite borders of the previous period. Second, the Turkish nation got the honor of being the aim of Turkish nationalism. Taking into account the ignorance towards the Anatolian people in the past, now Turkish nationalism freed the people living in Anatolia from being means in the hands of different interests.

According to Arık, another characteristic of Turkish nationalism with the War of Liberation was the change in the name of nationalism. The name of nationalism was no longer Turkism. Now it was Turkish nationalism and in addition to the significance of race for describing Turkish nationalism, it also emphasized the common culture which made the nation. Hence, together with admitting the importance of race for nationalism, it accepted all the people living on this land,

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

who shared the common culture. In addition to these, Turkish nationalism from that point on turned its face to Anatolia as the fatherland and put a sharp distance between itself and the other aggressive, imperialistic versions of nationalist movements. Instead, it limited itself to a defensive feature. This resulted in putting forward an understanding that underlined the peaceful world of nations. And last, Turkish nationalism gained a “healthy” relationship with the West. Without fears and complexes and open to renewals, Turkish nationalism opened itself to Western civilization.

A significant aspect of his ideas on history centered around Turkish-Islamic features. According to Arık, history of the Turkish nation began with their acquaintance with the religion Islam. Turkish national history was meant to be Turkish Islamic history. In this respect, his belief in the continuity of Turkish history from the Middle Ages, exactly from 1071, gave reference to a high sensitivity shown for the periods of the Seljuks and the Ottomans. The Seljuks played important roles in the development of Turkish history and nationalism. They enabled the survival of the Turkish people from Central Asia. In this survival, Islam also played a significant role. And after the decline of the Seljuks, during the petty princes Islamic features prevented the Turkish tradition and culture from vanishing wholly. On the other hand, reuniting the petty princes under its dominance, the Ottoman Empire became the basis for “today’s thorough nation” by founding itself on the Turkish-Islamic synthesis.<sup>167</sup> In this respect, Arık strongly criticized the history conceptualization of the Republic. The Republican understanding of history took pre-Islamic period of Anatolia as a reference point. The Turkish Islamic

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<sup>167</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Meseleler* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1974), p. 78. For analysis on the nationalist conservative thinkers’ intellectual sensitivity towards Ottoman history together with their ideas on the continuity of Turkish history from Middle Asia, see M. Çağatay Okutan, *Bozkurt’tan Kur’an’a Milli Türk Talebe Birliği (MTTB) 1916-1980* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004), pp. 125-126.

civilizations of the Middle Ages were neglected. Especially the history of Ottoman civilization was skipped over. His criticisms on the Republican neglect of the Turkish history of the Middle Ages were specifically against the policies of the Turkish History Society.<sup>168</sup>

## Language

Language was a significant element of Turkish nationalism and so, Anatolianism. It was a crucial part of the common culture. Language also played an indispensable role in transformation from geography to fatherland. With common language, the unification of the nation became more complete. In this sense, the conceptualization of language became one of the key factors in comprehending the nationalist discourse of the *Anadoluculuk* Movement. According to Remzi Oğuz Arık, language occupied a key role in the formation of nation. It became one of the static features of nationalism. A nation's language was a symbol of its culture. Hence, his conceptualization of language went hand in hand with his conceptualization of culture.

Arık mentioned that the Turkish people had experienced many difficulties in the past. After the Turks had migrated from the Central Asia to Anatolia, they founded three civilizations until the Republic respectively: the Seljuks, the Petty Princes (*Beylikler*) and the Ottoman Empire. During these civilizations, Turks were affected by different cultures and so the languages of those cultures. As Arık indicated, during these periods the Turkish language was unable to find the place it

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<sup>168</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Türk Sanat ve Arkeolojisi", *Millet* 1 (1942), p. 7. For the ideas of Arık on the issue, see Günay Göksu Özdoğan, "*Turan*"dan "*Bozkurt*"a: *Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük (1931-1946)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), pp. 255-256.

deserved. It faced three important rivals.<sup>169</sup> The first rival was Arabic. With the Islamization of the Turks, Arabic as the language of Islam became predominant in the Turkish culture. Arık claimed that the Turks' becoming influenced by the Arabic language was not something distressing. It was a normal kind of historical development because the Turks had voluntarily accepted Islam and they were highly affected by the language of the Koran, which had opened to the "other world." Islam was an important part of those years. And hence, Islam became a significant element of the Turkish culture.

The second rival to Turkish in the period was Persian. Persian civilization had played an indispensable role for the lands conquered by the Turks. Especially the bureaucratic features of the Persians affected the Seljuks and the Ottomans. Also the common religion Islam helped in this interaction. After the Turks gained the dominance of the Islamic world, it became inevitable for them to be affected by the Persian administrative features. In addition to the influence of Arabic and Persian, Turks had also been affected by Greek spoken by the Greeks under their dominance. This influence had occurred especially because of, first of all, increasing degrees of political, economic and social relations between the Byzantium and the Seljuks, later with conquest of all the Byzantium lands by the Turks. Arık wrote that Greek culture and language became a danger for the Turks also because of its Christianity-based features, which viewed as hostile to the unification of Turk-Islam world. However, according to him, Turkish was not affected deeply by the Greek culture and language thanks to strong presence of Islamic belief among the Turks.<sup>170</sup> After all these influences, the Turkish language had been able to survive up until the

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<sup>169</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Güzel Türkçemiz" in *Meseleler* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1974), p. 80; Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Güzel Türkçemiz" in *Türk Gençliğine* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1968), p. 37.

<sup>170</sup> Arık, "Güzel Türkçemiz" in *Meseleler*, p. 83; Arık, "Güzel Türkçemiz" in *Türk Gençliğine*, p. 40.

present in Anatolia. The Turcomans' role in this survival of the Turkish against the above-mentioned rival languages was significant for Arık. The Turcomans had kept intact the language together with the Turkish culture. With the Turcomans' migration to Anatolia in 1071, Anatolia had become shelter for the Turkish language and customs. In this sense, the Seljuks and Ottomans played crucial roles for the continuation of Turkish as a language in Anatolia.

After discussing how the Turkish language had faced three different rival languages until the Turkish Republic, Arık put himself at a distance from the Turkish Republican elites' language policies. Although he many times expressed his ideas on the integrity of the Turkish language and supported to some extent the purification of the language in this respect, he criticized the Turkish Language Society and the Republican elites who supported the pure Turkish language that cleansed of all foreign languages. According to Arık, the Republican elites should only turn themselves to Anatolia and the language spoken by the people in this land. In that way, they would escape from making the mistake of looking for the roots of Turkish language in the Middle East.<sup>171</sup> Hence, the man of letters should play role in this process and they should give their attention to the features of daily spoken Turkish. Thus, the way Turkish people used the language should be given reference on the issue and the Turkish language should not be addressed only to an elite group but everyone living on this land should be taken into account.<sup>172</sup> To justify his ideas on the issue, Arık gave example of the Republican elites' deciding on Turkish words as if they were giving votes. For instance, he indicated the philosophical terms

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<sup>171</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Redhouse'dan Faydalanma" in *Köy Kadını* (Ankara: Millet Mecmuası Neşriyatı, 1943), p. 95.

<sup>172</sup> According to Remzi Oğuz Arık, Redhouse should be taken to some extent as an example for its taking into account the language of the ordinary people. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

determined by these elites.<sup>173</sup> For him, they only voted for the Turkish words and did not consider the language having been spoken for a long time by millions of people that lived in this land. Hence the language issue should be given to the man of letters who would analyze the living Turkish and who act independently from the confinement of a small cadre. Thus, he put himself in a position mediating between the purifying language policies of the Republican elites, led by Ziya Gökalp and the Ottomanist-Islamist groups who opted for using Arabic rooted words.<sup>174</sup>

On the other hand, Remzi Oğuz Arık also put himself at a distance from what he called the “East cosmopolitans.” According to him, the East cosmopolitans were those who admired the cultures and so languages of the East such as Arabic, Persian and Hindi but looked down on the Turkish culture and so language. For the East cosmopolitan, like the West cosmopolitan, Turkish was the language of the poor people living in Anatolia. To be a distinguished person, one should know at least one of the languages among Arabic, Persian and Hindi. Songs in Turkish were also a kind of shame for these people.<sup>175</sup>

Names and surnames were another aspect of critique by Arık. Among the followers of Anatolians, Arık together with Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu led the issue. According to Remzi Oğuz Arık, with the Islamization of Turks they started to have two names, as the name in Arabic was preceding the Turkish one. But by 1934 with the acceptance of the Surname Law, the Arabic name was removed. Although Arık appreciated the point of departure of this law as an idealist, however he insistently claimed that the removal of the Arabic name paved the way for refusing

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<sup>173</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Edibin İşe Karışması” in *Köy Kadını*, pp. 89-92.

<sup>174</sup> Bakırcıoğlu, *Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın Fikir Dünyası*, p. 82.

<sup>175</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Alaturka – Alafranga” in *Meseleler*, pp. 155-159.

the Turkish Islamic culture and accepting the foreign way.<sup>176</sup> For this issue also, he suggested that the Republican elites should take into account the people who had created the history of this land. Arık likened the Republican elites' giving surnames to people randomly with the simple tax measure taken by the French ruler François I., who made this for differentiating the rural people from each other but did not see the issue from their eyes of them.

As mentioned in the previous chapter and specifically above in the ideas of Arık, the *Anadoluculuk* movement supported the usage of surnames before the Law, as the surnames being the traditional names of families and preceding the names. Also mentioned with his ideas specific to the Surname Law, Arık referred many times to the gap between the Republican elites and the rural people. According to him, the gap between the elites and the rural people became the reason for many problems in the Republic. Hence, the elites should take into account the rural people while making policies. The solution for these problems would come afterwards.

## Religion

Being one of the statique elements of nationalism, religion became an important reference point for Remzi Oğuz Arık. Islam had an indispensable role for the conceptualization of his nationalist ideas. However, compared to the weight of Islam in the ideas of Nurettin Topçu, his emphasis on religion was more as a means for unification of people and giving society a moral framework.

Religion, for Arık, was neither solely a founder of the nation nor a destroyer of it. Hence, it would not be right to take Islam as the ultimate reason for the

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<sup>176</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Bizim Gerçeklerimiz: Soyadları" *Millet*, n.3 (1942), pp. 95-96. See also Atabay, *İkinciDünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye'de Milliyetçilik Akımları*, pp. 203-204.

regression of Turkish society. On the contrary, Islam was always a unifying factor for the Turks in history. It also was a significant complementary to Turkish nationalism. The Turkish culture in Anatolia was highly affected by Islamic values.

Arık claimed that Islam first of all was a unifying element for all Turks on Anatolia. Islam constituted the spiritual power of Turkish nationalism. When the Turks became dominant in Anatolia in 1071, they also put the first seeds of the Turkish Islamic civilization in this land. From that time onwards, Islam played a key role in Turkish culture. In parallel to the ideas of Arık, another follower of the *Anadoluculuk* Movement, Nurettin Topçu, also gave special emphasis to Islam's role for Turkish history. According to Topçu, before the penetration of Islam into the history of Turks, Turkish history did not possess a spiritual power. Thus, before Islam Turkish history had depended only on materialistic features. But with the spread of Islam among the Turkish people, the Turkish culture had found its spiritual basis and formed a complete identity.<sup>177</sup> In addition to these, thanks to the effects of Islam, the Turkish culture had resisted the dominance of other cultures<sup>178</sup> and reached a Turkish-Islamic synthesis first under the sovereignty of the Seljuks and then the Ottomans.<sup>179</sup> With the dominance of the Seljuks in Anatolia, Islamic values and Turkish traditions interacted on this land and the result was the Anatolian version of Islam. Hence, Islam took on the features of this land and Anatolia took on the features of Islam, and a harmony was established between the two.

On the other hand, Arık put forward that Islam was not against rationalism. It did not prevent the Turks from appreciating rational thinking in their lives. He claimed that Islam was not against progress and science. On the contrary, Islam and

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<sup>177</sup> Nurettin Topçu, "Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Asli Kıymetleri" *Hareket*, n. 3, 1953.

<sup>178</sup> Arık, "Tarihimizin Öğrettikleri" in *Coğrafyadan Vatana*, p. 29.

<sup>179</sup> Arık, "Güzel Türkçemiz" in *Meseleler*, p. 78.

science completed each other. They became the two parts of a whole. Islam and science had completing functions for the development of the Turkish society. While Islam had a spiritual role for the people of Anatolia, science formed the materialist side. In the sense of his attempt to harmonize science and religion, or what could be called, “religionizing” science, he even assigned mystical features to science.<sup>180</sup>

According to Arık, religion, in general terms, became also an important element for maintaining moral life. However, this time Arık blamed the progress of science in the twentieth century and especially the mechanization it brought forward, since for him this process gave harm to the place of religion in society. In this sense, Islam in many ways lost its prestigious position as regulator of the moral lives of people living in Anatolia when compared to the past.<sup>181</sup> The moral effect of Islam on society was limited by the increasing role of science and rational thinking in Turkish society. In this respect, according to Arık, the decreasing role of Islam on the moral issue would be replaced by *efkar-ı umumiye* (public opinion), which represented the common values of the Turkish people.<sup>182</sup> *Efkar-ı umumiye* gave Turkish society moral discipline. It took its sources as the moral regulator of society from the structure of the Turkish nation instead of Islamic morality. Hence, in moral issues Turkish nationalism took the previous role of Islam for Turkish society.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, “İlimcilik”, *Millet*, v.11, 1943, p. 321.

<sup>181</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Ahlakın Çerçevesi” in *İdeal ve İdeoloji*, p. 6; Arık, “Milli Ahlak Meselesi”, *Çığır* 12, n.115 (1942), p.142.

<sup>182</sup> In fact, Arık claimed that the scope of law was limited for some situations. In the past, religion fulfilled this gap and became moral determinator of the society. However, with the decreasing role of religion in society as a result of the increasing mechanization of the society and the increasing popularity of science among the Turkish people, Islam’s moral role was replaced by *efkar-umumiye*. Arık, “Ahlakın Çerçevesi” in *İdeal ve İdeoloji*, pp. 4-7.

<sup>183</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Efkar-I Umumiye” in *İdeal ve İdeoloji*, p. 18.

Efkar-ı umumiye, as Arık suggested, was needed even more in the recent years. In moral terms, the Turkish society was going through a serious crisis. The solution for the issue would be possible only with the people who had self moral responsibility. The more moral people are in a society, the more easily the issue would be solved.

As mentioned above, Arık felt Turkish society was in degeneration. The values of society were in danger. In that sense, religion was also affected by this social degeneration:

*We are living in such a world that to believe in God is difficult, the people who believe in God are a few and the ones who make people believe in God are almost non-existent. Since the people who believe in God could not escape themselves from trouble, our world and our society in this world are deprived of friendship and friend.*<sup>184</sup>

He wrote Islam as a religion was also affected by this social degeneration, he put a distance between himself and the orthodox Islamists in Turkey. For this section of society everything was done in conformity with the rules of Islam and the ritual side of Islam was determinative. They saw all kinds of social development through the religion's lens. Admitting the significant role of religion within society, however, Arık saw nationalism as a powerful agent for the development of society and criticized the orthodox Islamists for confining themselves to the rules of religion only. From his viewpoint, like religion there were also other powerful agents for the unification and development of society. Nationalism was affective in this sense.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> “Öyle bir dünyada yaşıyoruz ki, inanmak zor, inanan az ve inandıran yok gibidir. İnananların başı beladan kurtulmadığı içindir ki, dünyamız ve bu dünya içinde cemiyetimiz dostluktan, dosttan mahrumdur...” Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Mümin Akif” in *Türk Gençliğine*, p. 98; Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Mümin Akif” in *Meseleler*, p. 127.

<sup>185</sup> Arık, *Türk İnkılabı ve Milliyetçiliğimiz*, p. 66.

Although Arık showed a highly pessimistic point of view for the common attitude in Turkish society, nevertheless he had optimist ideas for the future. According to him, Turkish nationalism never developed as hostile to Islamic values. On the contrary, it gave special emphasis on Islam and often made a reference to Islam in terms of spirituality and mysticism. Hence, Turkish nationalism should take Islam as a reference also in the future. Islam should be given the value it deserved. On the other hand, Turkish people should take as an example the people who had contributed a lot to the Islamic faith and Turkish nationalism on Anatolia. Among these people, according to Arık, Mehmet Akif (Ersoy), the writer of the Turkish national anthem was special in this sense. In addition to his morally superior features, he also served the Turkish nation. But the most important thing about him was his Islamic faith. He was a thorough believer in Islam. Having a high religious consciousness, Akif struggled against those who acted against Islam. He also had taken active roles in the War of Revolution and written the national anthem for the Turkish people. All he did mainly had its source from his deep faith of Islam.<sup>186</sup> According to Arık, Mehmet Akif was such a role model for Islam.

At the same time, Akif was a popular figure among the conservative intellectuals of the Republic. He was taken as a protector of traditions against Tevfik Fikret, who was accused of being an admirer of the West by this intellectual circle. In fact, Mehmet Akif and Tevfik Fikret both became the symbols for the disputes between the conservatives and westernists in the early Republican period. Mehmet Akif representing the Turkish Islamic traditions and Tevfik Fikret representing the Western values became an important point of discussion among the intellectuals of the Republic. From the point of Arık, Akif was the one who should be taken as a

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<sup>186</sup> Arık, "Mümin Akif" in *Meseleler*, pp. 123-127; Arık, "Mümin Akif" in *Türk Gençliğine*, pp. 94-98.

model for the Turkish Islamic society. Through the personality of Akif, Arık found the ideal moral and the faithful Turk.

### The Dynamic Features of Nationalism

According to Remzi Oğuz Arık, complementary to the static feature, nationalism also was composed of the dynamic feature. The dynamic feature of nationalism included all things to develop the nationalist ideology. With this feature, the ideals of nationalism came into reality. It turned all abstract aims concrete.

### Science and Technology

As a follower of Anatolianism, Arık was critical of the increasing role science was playing in the twentieth century. Like the other intellectuals of the *Anadoluculuk* Movement, his approach towards science caused some hesitation. On the one hand, Arık seemed to appreciate the development of science in the first half of the twentieth century. Turkish society began to live with science in the real sense with the foundation of the Republic. Before the Republic, science had not gone beyond being a point of discussion or a dream in Anatolia. With the War of Liberation, positive science entered Anatolia.<sup>187</sup> Arık also accepted that science and technology provided nations with superior positions in world civilization. Concerning the Turkish nationalist ideology, he claimed that whenever progress had been seen in the history of Turkish civilization, Turkish nationalism had appeared and vice versa. Progress and so positive sciences had become a significant feature of

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<sup>187</sup> Arık, “Bilim Zihniyeti” in *Meseleler*, p. 58.

Turkish nationalism, and had become the gate for its opening towards the Western civilization.<sup>188</sup>

On the other hand, Remzi Oğuz Arık questioned the role given to science in the previous two centuries. Science had become a significant point of reference from the nineteenth century onwards. In recent decades, especially with the World Wars, ideals and ideologies had begun to be questioned as an ideal. Instead of them, science began to be taken as an ideal now. Even, it almost possessed the place fulfilled by religion in the past.<sup>189</sup> However, according to Arık, science could neither be taken as an ideal nor as a religion. There were many reasons behind this. First of all, he suggested that science required a strong ambition which made the scientist think only of him self. This prevented him from considering the society as a whole. In this respect, science was not unifying in any aspect. Especially with scientific research which was done individually, science paved the way for individuality.

Second, according to him, science stood on ambiguity. For the reason that the result of scientific research was open to discussion, it did not provide a sound basis for unity. Last but not the least important, scientific examination was made by the separation of the whole into different parts. Hence, the methodology of science was far from reaching the whole. After all, he suggested that science was not a discipline that would unite the people. The function of science was limited in this sense. Then, according to Arık, it would be a great mistake to take science as an ideology or a religion. This would only be *scientifism* (ilimcilik) but nothing else.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Arık, *Türk İnkılabı ve Milliyetçiliğimiz*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>189</sup> Arık, "İlimcilik" in *İdeal ve İdeoloji*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-34.

In addition to those mentioned above, Arık indicated the moral duty of science and complained about the absence of scientific mentality in Turkish society. Science also should be the basis of morality in society. It should enable the wholeness of the scientific personality. However, he claimed that scientists in Turkish society possessed two different personalities.<sup>191</sup> The first one represented the scientist self and was confined to the place where scientific research was done. The other personality was the one that showed itself in society. According to Arık, there was a huge difference between the two personalities and this exactly indicated the absence of scientific mentality in Turkish society. In this regard, he also criticized some scientists of the Republic who took actions parallel to the requirements of the party in power. Since science depended on objective and freedom basis, this also showed the absence of scientific mentality in Turkish society. In sum, for Arık, science solely did not mean much, but with the mentality it possessed science would fulfill a significant moral role in society. Keeping this in mind, Arık put forward that science should be taken as a means not an end for Turkish nationalism. As mentioned above, science was a dynamic feature of nationalism and its role in society was to raise the Turkish nation among the world civilizations.

Arık accepted that the civilization of the West was highly developed. However, he warned that being an admirer of the West would sometimes result in losing one's self and becoming the copier of the West. Hence, being the admirer of the West would in the end cause that nation to destroy itself or even become a colony in the hands of other nations.<sup>192</sup> Arık suggested that it should not be forgotten that other civilizations in the world had made indispensable contributions

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<sup>191</sup> Arık, "Bilim Zihniyeti" in *Meseleler*, pp. 59-61.

<sup>192</sup> Arık, *Türk İnkılabı ve Milliyetçiliğimiz*, p. 46.

to the level West civilization had reached in the present day. The Turkish nation had made significant contributions to the development of world civilization. After the Ancient Greeks, the first Renaissance took place around the ninth and tenth centuries in Anatolia. It was the Renaissance of Turkish-Islamic civilization. Hence, Turks played important roles in the development of world civilization.<sup>193</sup> According to Arık, Turks should not forget their roles and avoid becoming Western cosmopolitans. Western cosmopolitans had been known since the Tanzimat years. At first glance, they introduced themselves as hostile to Islam, but in general they were the ones who were indifferent to all of their nation's features. They always worked for the advantage of their nations and acquired everything that was created by the West.<sup>194</sup> They were the ones who accepted everything that came from the West. In this respect, they followed the West blindly. Arık suggested that as every one knew, the West was the master of world civilization. And the ones mentioned above were the endless followers of the West. A quotation from the writings of Arık expresses clearly his ideas on the issue:

*One day, they talked about a maid. Highly surprised by this, they explained the violent, stingy attitude her landlords showed her. Then they told me that a family who were the friends of her landlord but neither rich nor famous applied to that rich family for rescuing this maid. Immediately, the rich family accepted to give them the maid. However, the maid didn't want to leave them. The mediators were in surprise. When they asked her the reason for this decision, the reply they got was frightful:*

*- Right...right... I am here like a dog. Even poorer than a dog! But my landlords are rich and also famous! How can I leave them?<sup>195</sup>*

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>194</sup> Arık, "Alaturka - Alafranga" in *Meseleler*, p. 155.

<sup>195</sup> "Bir gün bir hizmetçi kadından bahsettiler. Çok zengin ve meşhur insanlar olan ev sahiplerinin bu hizmetçiye reva gördüğü şiddeti, pintiliği hayretle, nefretle saydılar. Sonra da zengin ve meşhur değil, çok iyi yürekli insanlar olan bir başka ailenin bu hizmetçiyi kurtarmak için –dost bulunduğu- o zengin aileye müracaatını anlattılar. Zengin aile hizmetçiyi derhal vermeye razı olmuştur. Fakat

Another interesting anecdote from the writings of Arık on the issue was about a dog named Aslan that he saw during his excavation in Alişar. One of the watchdogs of the excavation camp, Aslan was a bit different from the other dogs in the camp because whenever a guest came to the camp, the dog first looked at the person and then smelled him. If his smell and clothing looked like a peasant, this guest would not escape being attacked by Aslan. But if the guest was dressed in a modern urban clothing and had a good smell, Aslan would never attack him and even it would wag his tail. The ones who were attacked by this dog were mostly the peasants of the village nearby the excavation camp where Aslan used to live before. Because the foreign owners fed him the best quality food, Aslan changed his identity and became hostile towards the peasants and saw them as inferior, forgetting having been a village dog in the past. On the other hand, the owners of Aslan often talked about his being a village dog and inferior. So, they never forgot his roots. In the end, as a result of the provocation of the peasants, Aslan was choked by the other dogs of the village, who had been attacked by him many times before. The foreign owners of Aslan were indifferent to his end. However the peasants were glad that he died, since Aslan had lost his identity, “civilized” in the hands of the foreigner owner and had become hostile to his surroundings.

His emphasis on the spiritual world made him evaluate science along the material versus spiritual axis. Arık claimed that the method of science was limited, since it covered only the material world. However for him, the spiritual knowledge is prior to material one.

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*hizmetçi şimdi orayı bırakmıyor. Tavassut edenler şaşkınlık içindedir. Bu kararının sebebini sordukları zaman aldıkları cevap yamandır:*

*- Doğru...doğru...ben burada köpek gibiyim. Köpekten de aşağı! Ama ev sahiplerim zengin, çok da ünlü! Bunları nasıl bırakayım?”* Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Usta ve Çömezleri” in *Köy Kadını* (Ankara: Millet Mecmuası Neşriyatı, 1943), pp. 102-103.

Although Arık seemed to accept the necessity required for science, he was critical of the increasing role it played for the nations. Science and technology were two of the static features of the nationalist ideology. However, to label science as an ideal or ideology would be a big mistake for him.

According to Arık, today's human being preferred to use positive science instead of mysticism. However, civilization, scientific reason and progressive tendencies were going in deep crisis. He saw the reasons for this crisis in their weaknesses that were similar to religion.

Beside these, science attempted to reach reality by dividing it into parts. According to him, the method science used for expressing reality did not answer the questions for land, history, state and culture. In this respect, nationalism fulfills an important duty. It gave meaning to those metaphysical beliefs destroyed by reason, suspect and machine. With this duty, nationalism played the role of a religion. Thus, it would not be wrong to claim that nationalism was an earthly religion.<sup>196</sup>

### Anti-communism

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, one of the main ideological points of the nationalist currents in Turkey was anti-communism. Anti-communism especially found supporters among the radical nationalists, but it was the common enemy of all Turkish nationalists during the related periods. Even the nationalists labeled every idea and attitude they were against as communist.<sup>197</sup> In the case of the Anatolianists, although they gave priority to culture against politics in an attitude similar to that of

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<sup>196</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türk İnkılabı ve Milliyetçiliğimiz*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>197</sup> Mehmet Ali Ağaoğulları, "Aşırı Milliyetçi Sağ" in *Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye*, ed. İrvin Cemil Schick and E. Ahmet Tonak (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1992), p. 211.

the other conservative groups, on many occasions they put forward anti-communist propaganda.

According to Remzi Oğuz Arık, communism was the secret enemy of Turkish nationalism. Some communists in early Republican Turkey even masked themselves behind the Kemalist principles of laicism, statism, populism and revolutionism.<sup>198</sup> The communists tended to destroy Turkish society by ridiculing every institution, tradition and bond of this nation. They accused several times the Turkish nationalists for being fascists, Turanists, Anatolianists, enemies of science and reactionaries. The communist ideas also penetrated into the village institutes, which had been founded to develop the Turkish villages. They aimed to destroy the national consciousness of the Turkish villages via their constructive method. This constructive method undertook nation as a material. They were the enemies of all the basis of this nation. The second dangerous mentality they brought forward hostility towards democracy. Although they seemed to struggle for the equality of human being, they masked themselves behind this and attempted to create hostility between the Turkish nationalists and Kemalists.<sup>199</sup>

Denying the existence of class struggle in Turkey, Arık labeled the communists as the second Crusades. Today's crusades put themselves behind technology, materialism and opened war against the Turkish nationalists, especially against their spiritual world and religious belief.<sup>200</sup>

On the other hand, he criticized the policies of the RPP (Republican People's Party) towards the communists. According to Arık, the RPP had abandoned the

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<sup>198</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Komünizmle Savaş" in *Türk Gençliğine* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1968), p. 29.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., pp. 31-33.

<sup>200</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, "İleri Fikir Pehlivanları", *Millet*, v. 22, 1944, p. 304.

spirit of *Kuva-i Milliye* and fallen under the dominance of specific persons. Criticizing the bureaucratic policies of the RPP, he also accused them for ignoring the Turkish people.<sup>201</sup> In fact, he saw the reason behind this in the gap between the elites and the common people. While the common people lived lives of misery, the Republican elites continued their lives in luxury. And this wealth gave them the ambition to destroy all things sacred. They kept themselves separate from the traditions of the Turkish people. They also introduced themselves as the supporters of progress and labeled the common people the representatives of backwardness. According to Arık, this situation resulted in the common people's hostility towards and fear of the Republican elites. This made it easier for the communists to make the common people and the elites become cross at other. Some specific individuals were even protected by the RPP. An example of this was the supporters of the newspaper *Tan* and Sabahaddin Ali.

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<sup>201</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Türkiye'de Komünizm I," *Komünizme Karşı Mücadele*, n. 14, 1951, pp. 6-7.

## CONCLUSION

Nationalism as an ideology has occupied a special role throughout the history of Turkey. From the late decades of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish nationalism found ground to express itself. There was a search for national identity among the Turks. At this point, *Anadoluculuk* Movement or Anatolian nationalism became an alternative nationalist discourse for the Turkish intellectuals.

The *Anadoluculuk* Movement came onto the intellectual agenda mainly as a response to Ottomanism, Islamism and Pan-Turkism. It extensively gained ground during the War of Liberation and *Misak-ı Milli*. The Movement puts its intellectual basis on the geographical limitation of Turkish nationalism to Anatolia. In this regard, the followers of *Anadoluculuk* shared the Republican nationalist emphasis on Anatolia, but were critical of the limitless nation conceptualization of Pan-Turkism. Ziya Gökalp as the leader of Pan-Turkism became the target of their criticisms. Initially, *Anadoluculuk* was only a cultural movement and emphasized Anatolia as the repository of Turkish culture. In the journal *Anadolu*, the Anatolianists gave place to the significance of Turkish folk culture for Turkish nation. Later, *Anadoluculuk* transformed itself as an ideological movement with its unique history conceptualization. According to the followers of *Anadoluculuk*, Turkish history, or in their words “Anatolian Turks history” began with the Turkish conquest of Anatolia in 1071. This also meant the Turks’ introduction to Islam. That is to say, the history of Turkish nationalism was at the same time the history of Turkish Islamic history. Keeping this in mind, the followers of *Anadoluculuk* put

strong emphasis on the Seljuks and Ottomans as representing the Turkish Islamic history. In this sense, they differentiated themselves from the Republican nationalism and radical Turkish nationalists of the period.

Islam became a crucial reference point for the Anatolianists. Despite their strong emphasis on Islam, however, they put distance between themselves and the orthodox Islamists in Turkey. From their point of view, Islam was the means for Turkish nationalism. They harmonized Islam with the principles of Turkish nationalism. In this respect, they nationalized Islam without hesitation. On the other hand, Islam became the determining factor for the moral life. It possessed an important social duty. Also in spiritual terms, Islam contributed to the development of Turkish nationalism. It became the collective spiritual power among the Turks.

The *Anadoluculuk* Movement applied many times to mysticism to express its nationalist discourse. Anatolia as the fatherland embodied mystical features. During the formation of the fatherland, the features inherent in Anatolia and the character of the Turkish people had transformed each other. Also, the common historical destiny of the Turkish people in Anatolia made this land mysterious in the eyes of the Anatolianists. The mystical explanations by the followers of *Anadoluculuk* at the same time indicated their reference to metaphysics and siritualism. According to them, in this way only could the Turkish nation reach consciousness. In this respect, they were critical of positivism and scientific knowledge. This brought also their hesitation towards industrialization and harsh criticisms toward urbanization. The Anatolianists searched for the roots of the Turkish nation in the villages and the peasants became the symbol of the pure Turkish national culture. Hence, they benefited from the peasantist ideology to express their nationalist discourse.

Among the followers of *Anadoluculuk*, Remzi Oğuz Arık was an influential figure not only because of his leading role in mysticism, but also his unique peasantist ideas. Arık extensively used peasantist ideology in his nationalist discourse. Also engaged in politics as a deputy of the Democrat Party and later the leader of the Turkish Peasants Party, he found many opportunities to reflect his ideas to the Turkish nation. He was also a leading archeologist of the Republic and in this sense contributed significantly to the ideas underlying the famous Turkish History Thesis.

Born at the end of the Empire and witness to the early Republican years and also the multi-party period in Turkey, Arık accumulated a wide range of experiences during his life. Under the light of these experiences, he put forward his unique ideas of nationalism through a conservative world. The conservative motifs decorating his nationalist discourse were evidently expressed in his peasantist ideas. Accordingly, he never feared to voice his ideas for consideration. He neither became an ardent supporter of Kemalist policies, nor the supporter of radical nationalist currents in Turkey. Despite his experience of house arrest in the famous Racism-Turanism case in 1944, he never went hand in hand with the Turkists. In addition, although at the beginning he was highly enthusiastic about its foundation as an opposition party, he became disappointed by his political experience in the Democrat Party. However, his leading role for the Turkish Peasants Party was short-lived because of his sudden death. Hence, except for being the follower of *Anadoluculuk* his ideas stood on individual base.

In the end, taking into consideration the entirety of his intellectual world, Arık was distinguished among many other intellectuals of the early Republican era for putting forward a unique cultural nationalist discourse with an anti-synthesis of

Pan-Turkist and Republican line of nationalism. He should also be given attention because of his attempt to reconcile Islam with the principles of Turkish nationalism. He made significant contributions to the development of Turkish Islamic thought in Turkey. Also in this respect, his peasantist ideas deserve attention.

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