

ORIGINS
AND
THE RISE OF
TURKISH NATIONALISM
A CASE STUDY:
TÜRK YURDU

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TURKISH NATIONALISM

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by

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ABSTRACT

As is well-known, Turkish Nationalism became the dominant ideology of the late constitutional period and continued to be so until the establishment of the Republic.

As an ideology it initially confronted the other deeply rooted mentalities and their political forms, such as Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism.

However, the pressing needs and decaying conditions of the Ottoman body politic which gave rise to Turkish Nationalism also brought it to the forefront of the circles of power. Leading Nationalists among the emigrant figures such as Akçuraoglu, Ağaoğlu and the like from the North were thus able to find a positive atmosphere to disseminate their long held views as the immediate Nationalist aims. Other nationalists saw the First World War as the opportunity to break away from the restrictive conditions imposed by the imperial powers on the Ottomans for centuries.

Despite the fact that The Empire in its struggle against the Entente powers gradually went through many phases ending up with the inevitably collapse by 1918, this did not mean the end of Turkism as an ideology but

its survival and resurgence in a more rational and limited form in setting up of the new state; the Republic of Turkey.

I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. TURCOLOGY, TURKISH NATIONALISM AND ITS AFTERMATH	
2.1. From Orientalism To Turcology: Pioneers of Turcology, And Boundaries of Turkology	15
2.2. A New Look at The Position of Turks in the History of Civilization	23
2.3. Northern Turks and Their Perception of History	28
2.4.1. Pre-historic Civilizations and Turks	31
2.4.2. To the Origins of Central Asian Civilizations	33
2.5. History of Turanism and its Reverberations in the Republican Era	34
2.6.1. Nationalism as an Ideology and The Definitive Attempts	39
2.6.2. İsmail Hakkı Bey and the National State Controversy	44

I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. TURCOLOGY, TURKISH NATIONALISM AND ITS AFTERMATH	
2.1. From Orientalism To Turcology: Pioneers of Turcology, And Boundaries of Turkology	15
2.2. A New Look at The Position of Turks in the History of Civilization	23
2.3. Northern Turks and Their Perception of History	28
2.4.1. Pre-historic Civilizations and Turks	31
2.4.2. To the Origins of Central Asian Civilizations	33
2.5. History of Turanism and its Reverberations in the Republican Era	34
2.6.1. Nationalism as an Ideology and The Definitive Attempts	39
2.6.2. İsmail Hakkı Bey and the National State Controversy	44

III. THE TURKIST VIEW ON THE RISE

- 3.1. Imprints of Turkism Since
The Reformation 62
- 3.2. Turks After 1908: Evolution of
Turkism According To Paul Risal 34
- 3.3. Beginning of Ascendancy of Turkism:
The Turning Point in Turkism 68

IV. AN OVERVIEW OF PRO-TURKISH ASSOCIATIONS

- 4.1. The Rise of Pro-Turkish
Organizations 73
- 4.2. The Spread of Turkish Hearths
To The Countryside 75
- 4.3. Organizational Efforts of
Turkish Students in The West 75
- 4.4. Turkish Homeland-Turkish Hearths
And Their Financial Supports 76
- 4.5. Public Conferences in Turkish
Hearths 76
- 4.6. Northern Turkish Contacts
With The Turkish Hearths 77

5.8. Balkan Wars And Influence of Its Consequences on the Nationalist Intelligentsia	97
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VI. THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

6.1. The Roots of World War I: Turkish Stance in The Face of War	107
6.2. The Concept of Total War: New Elements in Classical Warfare	111
6.3. War And New Political Attitudes in The Press	113
6.4. Reflections of War on Social Life	115
6.5. Some Regional Successes of The Ottoman Armies	116
6.6. Turks Facing Tsarist Armies	117
6.7. The Battle of Dardanelles And Its Stirrings in The Nationalist Circles	118
6.8. A Brief Account of Collapse of Ottoman Armies	120

VII. RISE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS
ANATOLIAN CONCERNS

7.1. German Interest in Asia Minor	130
7.2. Increasing German Interest in Turcology	131
7.3. Friendship Societies And Exchanges of Goodwill	132
7.4. Railways Policy in Anatolia	133
7.5. Long Term German Designs in The Other Parts of Middle East	134
7.6. A Special Interest in The Turkish Students in Germany	136

VIII. MAGYARS AND THEIR PAN-TURANIST IDEAL

8.1. The Question of National Origins in Hungary	144
8.2. The Dream of Pan-Turanian State	145

8.3. Hungarian Idea of Anatolia Untapped	149
8.4. Closer Turkish-Hungarian Relations Shared National Euphoria	151
IX. THE COMMITTEE OF UNION AND PROGRESS COMES TO POWER	
9.1. Changes in The CUP's Ideological Attitude	157
9.2. Prominent of Conventions of CUP	159
9.3. Some Matters of Priority of CUP	160
9.4. Talat Paşa's Primership	162
9.5. The Attempts To Settle Some of The Nomads	162
9.6. Change of The Calendar	162
9.7. Some Internal Characteristics of the Party	163

9.8. Paramilitary Organizations 165

X. THE MAJOR ISSUE OF NATIONALIST
INTELLIGENTSIA: THE PROBLEM
OF EDUCATION

10.1. Samples of Self Criticism	174
10.2. Inherited State of Education	175
10.3. The Attitude of The Governing Party	177
10.4. Some Comparative Evaluations About Schooling	178
10.5 The Controversy of Educational System: National Education	180
10.6 Higher Education Reform	182
10.7. Some Radical Changes in The Educational Philosophy	183
10.8. Mim Rahmi Bey And New Attitudes in Education	184
10.9. Some Examples of Nationalist Educational Press	186

10.10. New Basics of Child Training	187
10.11. Some Western Methods To Be Adopted	188
10.12. Mandatory Turkish Classes In Minority Schools	191
10.13. Some Potential Problems Raised By The Western Methods	192
10.14. Towards The Republic National Education	193

XI. PRE AND POST WAR STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE EMPIRE

11.1. The Status of Women in Social Agenda	201
11.2. Pioneers of Women Societies	202
11.3. Women Nurses In Wartime Conditions	203
11.4. A Trial of The National Production Capabilities	204
11.5. Women Towards The Collapse of The Empire	205

12.10. Prominent Figures of The Azerbaijani Independence	230
12.11. Russian Parliament: <u>Duma</u> And The Representation of Central Asian Population	233
12.12. Diminished Central Authority; And The Rise of Turkish Independence Movement	235
12.13. Political Possibilities in Azerbaijan	239
12.14. Bolshevik Revolutions And Turkish Views: Pro And Against	241
XIII. CONCLUSION	261
Appendix	278
Bibliography	304

I. INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Foreign Minister Ali Paşa, having observed the conflicting interests and aspirations of the various nationalities in the Empire, commented on the particular role of the Turks as the unifying element in the Empire. (1)

At this early date, Ali Paşa had pointed out that all national groups except Turks had fallen under the influence of ideas such as liberalism and decentralization, thus tending to seek their own self-interest.

Even prior to the Ali Paşa's definition of what were the causes underlying the decline of the Empire, German General Moltke, who was in charge of reforming the military had devoted himself to the re-organization of the Ottoman army, this led to his forming an extensive set of relationships and friendships. When he was the instructor-trainer of the Ottoman army, General Moltke had pointed out the necessity for the Ottoman Empire to shift its attention from Europe to Asia where millions of people of Turkish stock lived under foreign rules, and to unite them a vast Empire. (2)

Although the policy he advised was beneficial for the German Empire in the long run, it should be taken into account that the Ottoman lands in Europe had been destabilizing the state for centuries.

What Moltke meant by saying this was that the European provinces were nothing but a financial and military waste.

This is to say that, while the Empire was coming closer its inevitable collapse, the political conditions of the age forced it to adopt concepts of European origin. Concepts such as freedom, homeland, equality among citizens had started to shake the very foundations upon which the cosmopolitan Ottoman State was built.

In other words, " (...) beginning with the successful Greek uprising in the 1820's the Ottoman Empire was no longer facing only the threats of encroachments from the outside, but also threats of the disintegration from within." (3)

Looking back once more to the second half of the nineteenth century, a similar suggestion had been made in 1865 by Arminius Vambéry. Arminius Vambéry, who influenced the upper strata of Ottoman society wrote a work entitled Bir Sahte Dervişin Asya-ya Vustada Seyahati (The Journey of a False Dervish to Central Asia), which led to his reputation as the father of Pan-Turkism.

Coming into contact with many of the Turkish intellectuals, he succeeded in translating his book into Turkish, which would later be published in 1879.

His central arguments can be readily seen in his book:

" The Ottoman Empire could only have gained effectual political influence in these remote regions of the East " wrote Vambery "If it had been raised from its slumbering oriental existence before the time of Peter the Great (1682-1725). "(4)

This was the only way to regain the glorious days of the ancient past, which means an Empire extending from the shores of the Adriatic far into China.

What it meant was nothing other than re-orientation of Turks after they had encountered difficulties with the West.

As seen in the analysis of Roderic H. Davison, the trend in the logic of events seemed to lead to separatism:

" The principal obstacle to each doctrine was the increasing separatist or nationalist feeling among both Christians and non-Turkish Muslims, the logical recourse for Turks would seem to be emphasis on Turkish nationalism as the rallying point. " (5)

Even though, at first sight, such a view could be acceptable, the reality was somewhat more complicated.

At this point, before we deal with the sources of Turkism. A look at Western nationalism would be suitable.

- It was generally known that the idea of nation, and its related ideology nationalism developed into a full and merciless programme of action in the nineteenth century.

The early phase of national sentiments took shape in Essai sur L'inégalité des Races Humaines (An Essay On the Inequality of Humankind) by Comte de Gobineau. Its basic concern was that all human races strictly differ from one another. Because they differ, one can divide them into higher and lower races.

Even his most ardent critic, Ernest Renan shared his views in many respects. Motifs such as a common cultural inheritance, blood ties, antropological reality, national soul and the like were common to both Gobineau and Renan, although the emphasis might have differed.

In order to further elucidate the growth and the nature of nationalism in Turkish and Western cases, this study will devote subsequent sections to these issues.

At this point it would be usefull to look at the specific instance of the Turkish case.

According to Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, the ideological currents of the post-1908 constitution era fall into two categories.

The critical watershed in Turkism, according to Bayur, was the CUP's military take over in 1913. Turkism was to become the official ideology from the spring 1913 onwards. (6)

How the hegemony of Turkism was established both ideologically and politically is to be analyzed in detail in the following pages.

Since the Turks had become the numerically most important element in the Empire as the result of defeat in the Balkan Wars, more emphasis had to be given to nationalism. (7)

But how the Turks became affiliated to Turkism is the question to be answered here. Zarevand's views are more or less accurate :

" While Pan-Turanism had become a fully developed and formulated ideology and goal in the minds of the Turkic political leaders in Russia, (...) while they were haranguing from the rostrum of Duma about their separate national identity as Turco-Tatars and threatening secession from the Russian Empire there existed no Pan-Turanism in Turkey. " (8)

The Russian government's policies made it apparent to the Pan-Turkist leaders that there was no time to waste. While the conditions for Turks in Russia were worsening, in the Sublime State, after the proclamation of the constitution, conditions became comparatively better.

The fact that Turks of Russian origin flooded into the Ottoman Empire was the first real impetus for ideological upheaval.

In fact, immediately after the re-establishment of the constitutional regime, the intellectuals' associations the first of which was the Türk Derneği (The Association of Turks) started to be established. The Türk Derneği was officially established on 5 Kânun-ı evvel 1324 (18 December 1908). (9)

Within a short span of time the great acceleration in Turkism resulted in the establishment of other associations such as Türk Yurdu (The Turkic Motherland) and Türk Ocakları (The Turkish Hearths) (10)

"In August 1911, an association called Türk Yurdu (The homeland of the Turks) was founded in Istanbul" (11)

The most durable periodical, and the most serious Turkist semi-monthly, Türk Yurdu, was to become very influential among the intellectuals.

" On December 7, 1911, Akchurin's Pan-Turkic journal, Türk Yurdu, (Turkic Fatherland) began to appear. Its success was so great that the first issue was printed in four editions, the second in three, and the third and fourth in two. "(12)

Stopping here for a moment, let us look back to the two turning points. It is definitely true that the Balkan Wars were a great shock and agency for the Turks.

The self-image of the Empire had already been severely shaken by defeat in the Tripolitanian War between the Empire and Italy. This foreshadowed the ~~destruction~~ of the Empire. (13)

" On October 17, 1912, almost the very day the Peace Treaty between Italy and Turkey was signed, the Balkan War began "(14)

Here it should be pointed out that:

" The Balkan Wars had brought the Ottoman Empire under a CUP government that soon became a virtual dictatorship. ... (This) had also killed Ottomanism as a practical doctrine. "(15)

Only these circumstances can we understand the real position of Türk Yurdu, as a journal playing a major ideological role.

At the very time Türk Yurdu began to appear, it seemed to adopt a moderate tone which might well be a question of strategic policy.

That is to say: " Türk Yurdu insisted that it was a cultural, not political journal ... thank to this comparatively moderate tone, the Russian government did not oppose the dissemination of Türk Yurdu in Russia. The respectable journal of Russian orientalists, Mir İslama (The World of Islam), even welcomed the appearance and success of Türk Yurdu as an outstanding demonstration of the new stage of development of Turkic national culture. " (16)

It has often been thought that the Halka Doğru was the supplementary journal for Türk Yurdu. Although the contributors were the same it appeared as a separate journal along with Türk Yurdu. (17)

Before the great conflict between Islamism and Turkism, there appear, at the first stage, only some clues of the prospective ideological struggle.

In sum, it can be said that they were getting along well with one another, at least on the surface.

The inevitable confrontation between Islamism and Turkism was brought to light for the first time by the press polemic between Babanzade Ahmet Naim who

Ağaoğlu Ahmet in the 26 september, 1912, issue of Sebir'ül Reşad. The question centered around the issue of whether or not there was a racial question in Islam. Babanzade's article entitled İslamda Da'va'yı Kavmiyet Var mıdır? (Is There a Question of Race in Islam). From then on, they were to be holders of deeply opposed views. (18)

That the pages of Türk Yurdu were wide-open to all kinds of racial, linguistic and historical studies and outright propaganda was not of course accidental. (19)

What was claimed in the long run was that:

" The liberation from foreign rule of all the Turanian peoples and their union in a great body politic based on racial, historical, psychological and political facts " (20)

As a final point, it would be useful to consider the relations of Türk Yurdu with the party in power, the Committee of Union and Progress.

François Georgeon has argued that:

"It was not the Türk Yurdu but the CUP which was eager to stand close" (21)

Despite the suspicions to the contrary, Türk Yurdu was one of the few periodicals that was not directly controlled by the party.

Up to the time that Akçuraoğlu Yusuf left Turkey to solve Russian Turks' problems in 1917, he was the actual editor of the journal. After Akçuraoğlu left, the journal was run by the poet Celal Sahir, in the name of the Central Committee of Türk Ocakları.

After a compulsory break of publications since August 1918, Türk Yurdu was to be re-born in Ankara in 1924. By this time everything had changed, and it would become the official organ of Türk Ocakları. (22)

In conclusion, this study has two aims. First, to understand what was the ambition of Turkism after the proclamation constitutional regime, along with its historical background.

Second, to shed light on some of the political conditions of the era, as reflected in the pages of Türk Yurdu.

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9. The main source of information about this association is Akçuraoğlu Yusuf's work, Türk Yılı (Turkish Annual); authors such as Landau and Tunaya make references to this work.

See for other details Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, Türk Yılı (İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1928), pp.435-436. See also Jacob M. Landau, Pan-Turkism in Turkey, A Study of Irredentism (London: C. Hurst and Co. Ltd., 1981), p.38 and Tarık Zafer Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler Vol.I (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), p.414

10. General information about these associations can be found in Tunaya, op.cit., pp.414-444

11. Landau, op.cit., p.39

12. S.A. Zenkovsky, Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia (Cambridge, L960), p.108

13. Ahmet Ferit wrote an article in Türk Yurdu during the War of Tripoli and argued about the essence and the causes of the War as nothing but Kuvvet ve Siyaset Muharebesi (The War of Force and Politics) commenting on the Italian political strategy he states;

" To provoke Turks by appearing as a big power in this weak and sickly provinces of Turkish land and thereby succeed in directing the public opinion and emotions into the Balkan arena which has been closed to the Italian political penetrations. "

Ahmet Ferit, "Kuvvet ve Siyaset Muharebesi", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No:13 (İstanbul,1328), p.390 for the original quotation see the Appendix Reference No:1

14. Zarevand, op.cit., p.65

15. Davison, op.cit., p.114

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II. TURCOLOGY, TURKISH NATIONALISM AND ITS AFTERMATH

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- 2.4.2. To The Origins Of Central Asian
Civilizations
- 2.5. History Of Turanism And Its Reverberations
In The Republican Era
- 2.6.1. Nationalism As An Ideology And The
Definitive Attempts
- 2.6.2. İsmail Hakkı Bey And The National
State Controversy

2.1. FROM ORIENTALISM TO TURCOLOGY: PIONEERS OF TURCOLOGY, AND BOUNDARIES OF TURCOLOGY

In order to understand Turkism, one has to place it in the larger context of Orientalism, particularly that part of Orientalism dealing with Turkic cultures.

The first Turkologist was Joseph de Guignes who wrote the five volume work entitled *The History of Khans, Turks and the Other Tartaric Tribes*, translated into Turkish by Hüseyin Cahit.

The existence of the above-mentioned volumes, (written from 1756 up to 1758) apparently shows that Turkology had existed in the 18.th century, even if it was of a more romantic character. (1)

Another figure of the romantic Orientalist period is Klaproth. Only very little is known about him and his heritage. Up to his death in 29 August 1835, he travelled continuously in the regions of the Caucasus, Transcaucasus, and Georgia. (2)

Around this time Turkish literature appears as a field distinct from Turkology.

The emergence of Turkology as a field distinct from Sinology was the result of Strahlenberg's long and tedious works. (3)

Among the dictionaries, which are very important in the history of Turkology, we must name Pekarsky's famous Yakut dictionary, Verbitsky's the dictionary of Altay and Aladağ languages published in 1889 in Kazan, and Ashmariny's Chuvash dictionary is also worth mentioning in this context. (4)

Among the most prominent Turkologists must be mentioned Radlof and Wilhelm Thomsen, both of whom evoked vivid interest in nationalist circles during the outbreak of Turkism.

The first volume of Türk Yurdu contained an article, (unsigned but probably written by Akçuraoğlu Yusuf) which declared that Turkology owed a debt to Radlof and Thomsen for their services in dispelling the myth of "the Khun". This myth emanated from Chinese and Persian legends and had deep repercussions in Europe's fear of the Turks.

This article amounted to the first historiographical objection by a Turk against the prevalent trends in world Turkological literature.

The prejudicial view had also affected the Turks themselves who had begun to conceive of themselves in pejorative terms. (5)

Under such circumstances, it is all the easier to see the reasons why the early nationalists clung to

Radlof and Thomsen .

This great interest had reached such a peak that both Radlof and Thomsen's birthdays had become the most important issue of those days.

To illustrate this, it suffices to look at a list of people and institutions who sent telegrams of congratulations to the two writers:

Türk Yurdu, Türk Derneği, Osmanlı Tarih Encümeni , also people payed homage personally, representing the Turkic tribes in Russia.

In the honour of both Turkelogsists, the Türk Derneği published the work of Necip Asım about the Orkhun scripts which were first deciphered by Radlof and Thomsen.

As regards Radlof, he was German by origin. He was born in Berlin in 1837. As part of his field-work on Turks and Tatars, he went to Russia. It was reported that he was interested in the languages, religion and ethnographic dimensions and history of the Turco-Tatar tribes.

In a congratulatory certificate, he was regarded as the father of Turkeology by the school of Eastern languages in Moskow. (6)

After having lived for a while in St. Petersburg, he went to Barnavil (kain), very close to Altındağ, in charge of teaching.

Starting from 1866, the periodical named "Ayam Edebiyatı Numuneleri (Samples of Common People's Literature) was the product of the above-mentioned journeys and scientific research, which was published in German.

The most important work he produced was called Versuch eines Werther Bouches der Turkishen Dialekte was nothing but a dictionary, its significance originally came from its contents.

All along the study, all sects and differences of all Turkic languages had been taken in hand in a comparative manner. A fascicule had been printed for each year.

In 1871, after having returned to European Russia from Siberia, he settled there permanently, immediately afterwards, he became inspector general of Islamic schools. Although he was a German by origin. This fact never became an obstacle to his appointment to the Russian Academy. (7)

Because he devoted himself to Turkology, he was decorated with the Mecidiye First Class by the Ottoman Sultan.

As part of his splendid career, he was the first man who could solve the mysterious script of the Orkhun Monuments.

Because of his achievements, he was made general director of the St. Petersburg Ethnographical Museum. (8)

The second important person, who was born and educated in Copenhagen was named Wilhelm L. Thomsen.

His works which opened a new era are as follows: The first one, in Danish, later on translated into German in 1870, was called 'The Influence of German Languages upon the Fin-Lap Linguistic Groups'.

The second work concerns the linguistic connections between Fin and Baltic languages.

From the linguistic point of view, the most important of his works was Inscriptions de L'erkhyn déchifrees Par W. Thomsen published between 1894 and 1896 called Memories de la Societe Finne-Ongrienne.

The increasingly good relations between European Turkelegs and nationalist circles in Turkey manifested itself in the form of regular correspondence.

The correspondence between Thomsen and Necip Asım serves to illustrate this development as they wrote to each other with increasing frequency. (9)

About the same time, the affinity felt for Ven Lecco appeared in the pages of Türk Yurdu. As it appeared in the pages of Türk Yurdu the scholarly career of Ven Le-

coq was a particularly productive one. According to news published in Yurt, he organized two expeditions to Turfan.

Yurt's final appreciation of Von Lecoq was as follows:

"By excavating the treasures of ancient Turks, (Lecoq) proved that our ancestors had an important civilisation entirely equal to those of Europe. Because of his achievements in the science and history of the Turks, he should be recognized as a greater scholar."(10)

It is interesting that Türk Yurdu published a series of stories related to the heroic symbols of the Uygurs. Yurt supposed that the Uygurs were one of the great Turkish sub-civilisations.

Clearly by translating Lecoq's work into Ottoman Turkish, the Türk Yurdu was aiming at establishing a theoretical frame-work striving to prove that there was a linguistic and therefore racial-ethnological relation between Uygur Turks and the other Turks.(11)

The point which Türk Yurdu seemed eager to stress was that 'the Turkish race' had in times past developed a civilisation equal to German and French civilisations and therefore Turks had every reason to be proud of their ancestors.(12)

Besides the persons and issues above, another dimension which should be considered carefully had been also taken in hands by several research scholars, of the Second Constitutional period, notably Rıza Tevfik.

An article by Rıza Tevfik entitled Türkçülerin Sahayî Tetkikatı (The Research Field of the Turkists) approached the subject-matter, at first hand, from the linguistic point of view.

His first appreciation about the differences of the linguistic sub-divisions, were as follows:

"The Ouralo-Altaiic language group to which our language belongs has not yet completely been brought to lighth, in other words, language group is such a untouched area that no dimension of it has yet been revealed"(13)

Considerations connected with the Orkhun monuments, particularly those relating to the life style of the Turks seem to confirm for Rıza Tevfik the sociological arguments put forwards by scholars such as Draper, Mønsen, and Gibben.(14)

After discoursing a bit more upon racial and ethnographical issues, Rıza Tevfik seemed to have arrived at a final conclusion about what should be the proper area of Turkish scholars.

Turkists (he means in fact Turkeology scholars) should

concentrate on two basic fields. One of the two is geography. This field was significant for Rıza Tevfik, for it makes possible the study of periodic migrations of the various races all along the history. (15)

The second important research field for Rıza Tevfik is sociology (ilm-i ictimaiyat). This field concerns the study of state structure, organization and administrations throughout the ages. (16)

2.2. A NEW LOOK AT THE POSITION OF TURKS IN THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

Whether in western or Iranian sources one noted that there was a certain prejudice against Turks and Turkology. This prejudice found itself reflected in the theoretical frame of mind of most of Turkish intellectuals.

The Nationalists felt therefore that they needed an alternative theory establishing the Turkish civilization as an old and rooted one.

A series of lectures given by Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, entitled Müverrih Leon Cahun ve Muallim Barthold'a Göre Cengiz Han (Cengiz Khan in view of Leon Cahun the Historian and Barthold the Teacher) gave some clues as to what sort of ideals they were trying to formulate.

The claim that Akçuraoğlu Yusuf set forward throughout his lectures given in the Türk Derneği is that the historical period in which Cengiz Khan founded a splendid empire should never be considered the most barbarious one that ever appeared, as was expressed by both European and Iranian historians. Akçuraoğlu argued that we also looked down on our ancestors just because the Persian historical tradition said that this was the absolute truth.

Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey argued that:

" If we compare the terror of Ramses with that of Cengiz ,nobody can say that the second is more evil than the one. " (17)

To support his views, he referred to two main sources :

The first one, as can be expected, was Cahun's Introduction l'Histoire de l'Asie (Introduction to the History of Asia) and the second one was V. Barthold's Obrazovanie Imperii Tchengiz Hana Z.V. Otd. Imp. Rous Arch. T.X. 1896, St. Petersburg Acad Naouk, 1897 .

To take into account all the historical process in an objective manner in Akçuraoglu Yusuf's views, historical events were so complicated that unless they could only be understood properly if based on extensive documentation.

A few words of his own may well be more useful to understand his ideas more closely:

" Even though we have such extra- ordinary books belonging to the most eminent men, I did not accept some of the assertions of Cahun which were not corroborated by documents " (18)

Concurrent with the use of western sources, he applied to some sources of eastern origin. (19)

The state tradition, the administrative distribution of powers, had been, to some extent, considered as a main conceptual frame-work to probe into the historical evolution of Turco-Mongol empires.

In connection with the sources listed above, it is worth-mentioning that a Russian historian was also referred to. This was remarkable because Russian historical tradition in general opposed the Turks' and Turco-Mongol-Tatars'.

The most interesting and challenging point in Akçuraoğlu's historical analysis was that the eternal war between the conflicting worlds, Iran and Turan, ended up establishing the intellectual hegemony of the Iranians over the Turks. (20)

What is more, Akçuraoğlu notes, the reigning dynasty in Iran, although of Turkish origin, was assimilated into the Persian civilization while still believing that they were the dominant class.

In the eyes of Akçuraoğlu, the worst of all, the Ottoman Turks also became Persianised and were under Persian literary influence to the extent of using Persian even in internal affairs.

Throughout his lectures, many examples are put forward to convince the audience of how Iranic civilization gradually exploited Turks and Turkic dynasties. Further, he argued once again that Persian culture (What he calls Medeniyet-i İraniyye) dealt with Islam only to exploit it.(21)

It was a great pity that Turks were still under the influence of such discourse. Referring back to the standard view of Cengiz as a barbarian, Akçuraoğlu stated that he was simply aiming at the creation of a Turanian state comprising Turks, Mongols, and Tatars.(22)

Not only Turkish family structure, according to Akçuraoğlu, but also the political body (He says Hey'et-i Siyasiyye) bear patriarchal qualities, and in point of fact it should be kept in mind that the government of Turks had always been Hükümet-i Müstakile (He meant in fact absolute monarchy, not independent government) under specific conditions.(23)

To appreciate the real function of the 'Khan' more in detail, Akçuraoğlu used the comparative approach. According to Turkish tradition, patriarchal family structure, political organization and the functions of the 'Khanate' were closely interlinked. The 'Khan' is, According to Akçuraoğlu, above all the commander in

chief, because the fundamental moral quality of the Turks is the art of war. He puts that Türkün saciye-i asliyesi askerliktir. (24)

"May a member of the Turkish intelligentsia, the ehl-i kalem come forward and illustrate the true greatness of Cengiz, and through him shed light on the true nature of our history." (25)

The last issue mentioned in the lecture was the need for the Turkic races (Turk, Mongol, Tatar) to be considered as a whole. The tribal units mentioned above had been considered as the basic elements of a new and great nation, whose rise, according to Akçuraoğlu, was inevitable. This nation would emerge from the fact that there was a large popular/racial base, whose numbers were steadily increasing. (26)

Although the Turkish World before Cengiz Khan era consisted of many splintered states, some under foreign domination therefore was very much divided, according to Akçuraoğlu's point of view this was only in appearance and there was a deep lying unity among these states under the inspired leadership of Cengiz Khan and a United Turkic State can be spoken of.

In the eyes of Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, it would not be a great fallacy to speak of a state; the Turkreich (The Turkish Reich), as was stated by Germans, which could once again be reinstated by the Turkish World.

In the light of aforementioned information, Akçuraoğlu had the establishment of the same Turkreich in mind. This was the final, however immediate or distant, goal he spoke of. (27)

2.3. NORTHERN TURKS AND THEIR PERCEPTION OF HISTORY

While some new approaches or alternative historical interpretations were the foremost item on the agenda amongst the nationalist circles in the Ottoman capital, this was a major concern also for the Northern Turks under the hegemony of Tsarist Russian Empire. As an indication of this, Türk Yurdu discusses, under the title of Kazan Hanlığının Son Günleri (The Final Days of Kazan Khanate), the similarity of issues raised among the nationalist circles in both the Khanate and İstanbul. (28)

A deep concern about the developments in the Khanate was reflected on the pages of Türk Yurdu. The lines below would shed some light into the subject;

" ... within the very brief period of three to five years, important works came into being such as; Mufassal Tarih-i Kavm-i Türkî (The Fully Detailed History of Turkic Races), Muhtasar Tarih-i Kavm-i Türkî (The Shortened History of the Turkic Races), and the latest of all, Türk-Tatar Tarihi (The History of Turco-Tatars); each of which had taken as its subject either a specific period or the whole national history. " (29)

As time went on the research and the efforts to set up a chronological framework for the Turkish history culminated in an article by Ziyetullah Nişurevan , somewhat arbitrarily titled as; Türk Tarihinin Devrelere Taksimi (A Subdivisions of the Turkish History into Eras). (30)

The subdivisions in Ziyetullah Nişurevan's point of view reflects a new historical conceptual framework and the eras connected with Turkish civilization are the following:

1. Kable'l İslâm Türkler (Turks Before Islam)
2. Ba'del İslam Türkler (Turks After Islam)
3. Milliyet Fikirlerinin İntibahından Sonra Türkler
(Turks After The Spread of Nationalist Ideas)

Nişurevan's study seems to reflect a distaste about foreign and especially those cultures with which Turks had come into contact with in the past.

Arian and Semitic cultures appear to be of primary concern. In this respect, perhaps because in the past Gaznevid Seljuks, Bulgarian and Magyars were doomed to failure when they interacted with Arian or Semitic cultures. (31)

Furthermore, from Nişurevan's point of view, it is worth noting that the claim that Temur's reign in Turkish History have much more importance than that of Sultan Mehmed's era; full of victories including the conquest of Constantinople.

This tends to belittle the Ottoman victories and besides such contradictions and contrast with conventional historical writings, the author states that Western expansion and efforts in the creation of new order and practices such as; Yeniçeri Nizamı (The Order of Janissary) eventually led to a continual retardation of the Turkish race. (32)

The new political stage into which the Russian and the Ottoman Empires entered concurrently seemed to augur an era of national consciousness and renaissance. Such social developments in a sense meant emancipation from the bondage of outdated social forms, in other words, the episode of collapse and of the era of nationalism; Türklerin Devre-i Milliyete Olan Dâhilleri (The Entrance of The Turks into The National Era) was, according to Nişurevan's classification, the final stage of the social evolution. (33)

2.4.1. PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATIONS AND TURKS

In order to attribute a more honorable place to the Turks in the history of civilization a revolutionary new interpretation of history was attempted in Turkey which, as is known, was in glaring contrast with conventional wisdom and some very controversial articles were published to fill in the gaps in this new theory.

A few statements about the prevailing views would help toward a fuller understanding of the nationalists' real motivations.

Regarding the history of the European nations as the general history of the world, and considering the existence of Eastern peoples as mere appendices of the European core, as if they were parasites in the historical process is a politically malicious and scientifically false belief, according to Akçuraoğlu's point of view. (34)

After having set forth such claims, these investigators eventually had to deal with the question of origins of Turks and many answers were attempted for this question starting from the second constitutional period up to even present.

The far away provinces, coastal regions of Lake Baykal through Altays and Central Asia, comprising the districts of Caspian and Black Seas have been the breeding grounds

for the Turkic races for at least one or two millenium. Exaggarations of such claims can be seen even today, Pan-Turkist ideologues propose a historical theory that envi-sions Turks as an important race so extensive in its spread and great in entity that it constitutes the origins of the World civilization. (35)

Those endeavaours searching for a meaningful, and to some extent, sublime place for the Turks in history made the scholars to sympathize with and show great concern to the concept of Great Cultural Circles. (36)

It is seen that early and even some present day nationalist circles put forward such claims as Sumer and Akkad being the origin of all ancient civilizations. (37) In relation with these paleolithic-protolithic peoples the theory that supposes Turanian origins for both the Sumerians and Akkadians has been the cornerstone of such nationalist claims. (38)

We also see the late nationalists, adding Etiler (Etis) into this realm of Turanians even going a step further to assert that the gigantic statues of Assyria and Babylon represent in fact the old Turkish antropological proto-types. (39)

2.4.2. TO THE ORIGINS OF CENTRAL ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS

According to Nihal Atsız, Dr. Rıza Nur and Ahmet Zeki Velidi (Togan) were first to undertake a classification of Turkish history in accordance with nationalist views. (40)

The reader is already familiar with the general features of Zeki Veli Togan's view on history. A similar exposition of Dr. Rıza Nur's interpretation would be proper of this point.

Even Rıza Nur inserts some intermediary phases in Turkish history, and according to his theories, two of these stand out as being much more important than the others. What Rıza Nur refers to as the first national era is named the Töre ve Yasa Devri (Era of Law and Tradition). (41)

The second important phase is considered by Dr. Rıza Nur as an era of Renaissance and Nationalist awakening. Between these two phases there exists a long and radically different one, which could be called the Müslümanlık Devri (Islamic Era). (42)

While efforts devoted to explore the origins and development of the Turkish civilization continued to have top priority on the nationalist agenda, some expeditions to the depths of Central Asia were undertaken by a couple of western scientists. (43)

In the April of 1910, these explorers arrived at Bombai after 20 month-long trip around in Mongolia up to Himalian Mountains. Türk Yurdu gave the news of this affair by quoting the Reuter News Agency. (44)

In parallel with rising nationalist consciousness, a vast increase in activities along these lines could be clearly discerned. For instance, a visiting professor invited by Dar'ülfünûn (University) to be in charge of the comparative linguistic courses in fields of Oural-Altaiic languages. (45)

2.5. HISTORY OF TURANIANISM AND ITS REVERBARATIONS IN THE REPUBLICAN ERA

Before attempting to analyse Turanianism as an ideology it would be proper to consider the origins of the word Turan.

According to an eminent nationalist scholar of the Republican Era, it is not a word employed by the Turks to describe themselves. This word had, as a matter of fact, a Iranian origin referring to all that was not Iranians. In this sense for the Iranians the word "Turan" symbolized the savage, barbarous, enemies living at the Northern borders of Iran. (46)

Hüseyinzâde Ali Bey (Turan) seems to be the first to employ the term "Turancılık" (Turanianism) in defense of his well-known principles; Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Avrupalılaştırmak (Turkification, Islamification, Europefication) advocated in the periodicals he published during his struggle. (47)

The arguments concerning Pan-Turan movement, or Nationalism in general arosed live interest once again on the occasion of Akçuraoğlu Yusuf publishing his important article entitled Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset (Three Pathways of Policy) in an newspaper, the Türk that was at the time being published in Egypt, opposing the Abdulhamid regime. (48) Hüseyinzâde Ali Bey, using the name 'A. Turanî' to disguise his real identity, responded to this article from Baku. (49)

In due course, its political meaning was clarified in Ziya Gökalp's writings. Ziya Gökalp perceived the long range ideal of Turkism as Turan, which did not mean, as some imagine, an amalgam of peoples including Mongols and Tungues in addition to the Turks. (50)

Gökalp stressed his claim in numerous of articles stating "Turan İdealimizdir: Türkcüyüz" ("Turan is our ideal. We are Turkists"). (51)

From the western point of view the perception of this ideology is stated as;

" ... at the other end of the range of ideas which the Young Turks entertained in their Arsenal of ideology was the concept of Pan-Turkism, or Pan-Turanianism. " (52)

From the same point of view, in connection with the nature of Turkish Nationalism, this was a western-derived and to a considerable extent an artificial concept therefore, Pan-Turkism in its extremist form was to be fundamentally an aggressive imperialist concept. (53)

There is another inclination, gaining in strength even today, that wraps up Turanianism in a hue of conservatism, which could be exemplified by the following remarks:

" If a nation is a fact above any political entity, we have to suppose each man as being Turk, having certain Turkic national features. If this presumption is correct then, we have no choice but to be Turanianist. Needless to say, Turanianism has become an essential component of Turkish Nationalism. " (54)

Difficulties encountered in the process of founding a new state led many to suspect all ideologies except the official one, and the arduous path to the republic was followed by an ideological rigidity directed mainly towards the opposition groups.

Confronted with deviations from the official line of Turkish Nationalism, in one of his speeches, İsmet İnönü emphasizes that;

" The basic elements constituting the identity of our state have been forged following centuries of disasters and they are the principles that can provide a furtive basis of development for a long time to come in Turkey. Catering to all striving to become perfect Nationalist citizens, the constitution streamlined the state as a National one. " (55)

In a collected work, published in 1944, İsmet İnönü came out strongly against extreme Nationalist dissenters. In one of his declarations he states;

" We are definitely Turkish Nationalists but we also reject the existence of Racist ideas in our country. The tragic catastrophies our nation has been led to by utopic leaders has left a deep imprint in our minds and memories of that period made us reassess all their false political conceptions. " (56)

The last issue İsmet Paşa pointed out was that we had ~~once~~ placed all our hopes at and consumed all our efforts on holding onto Rumelia in 1912. (57)

Falih Rifki Atay wrote an article about the problem of racism and Turanianism, belittling their ideology by saying that;

" If one were to devise a scheme to destroy Turkey nothing better than racism could be found. There is, of course, another dissenting, potentially disastrous ideology called İslam İttihatçılığı (Islamic Unionism)." (58)

Even the limited scope of political pluralism, was sufficient to cause some ideological rifts in the ruling elite. Quoting from a source;

" It is, of course, true-especially since the elections of 1946 and 1950- that many articulate Turks differ strongly among themselves as to what some of those national Turkish interests really are. " (59)

The fact that democratic political regime wanted a reassessment of the old established official views resulted in open discussions of the real meaning of Turkish Nationalism.

Such arguments eventually ended up by directing some serious accusations even to the Kemalist state-structure, speaking of Kemalism as a deviation from the real Turkish Nationalist ideals. For example, Ayhan Tuğcugil sounds unconventional in stating that;

" To propose a Kemalist system instead of Turkish Nationalism is nothing but a deviation. " (60)

2.6.1. NATIONALISM AS AN IDEOLOGY AND THE DEFINITIVE ATTEMPTS

As far as political theory is concerned, it can be said that Nationalism is, as was put by Roderic Davison, a western invention of late eighteenth century like the steam engine, it has been a creative and unifying force. (61)

In the light of historical process, it can be deduced that the Near East in the modern times has found Nationalism in its twin aspects to be favorable at times and also inimical at other times.

A careful examination at the pages of Türk Yurdu reveals it to be a proponent of historical determinism. Thus the Millî Şuur (National Consciousness) would in the course of history inevitably find its expression in the minds of individuals and at certain periods in the collective conscience of some societies.

Türk Yurdu stressed that such a emotive consciousness, the Millî Şuur, once born can hardly be confined or smoothly guided as the tidal waves or the sun's heat could not. (62)

Taking into account two different views, the first belonging to Hilmi Ziya Ulken and the second to S. Ahmet Arvasi respectively, the concepts of Nationalism and national consciousness can be understood more clearly.

Nationalism is, according to Ulken, nothing but a historical awareness, tarih şuurü that finds its roots in a reaction to mere insanlık şuurü (human awareness). (63) Arvasi, as a extreme Nationalist, claims, on the other hand that the collective struggle to gain more political and economic power can be defined as Nationalism. Regarding this view, Nationalism is an inalienable right and therefore a justifiable awareness. (64)

In a book published in recent times, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu divided social reality into two basic constituents. Of these, according to him, Milliyet (Nationality) is a undeniable social phenomenon, that is a part of social inheritance and tradition hands down the Milliyet Duygusu (National Sentiments). In this respect, nationality is a an ethical concern (Milliyet Ahlâki Bir Olgudur), which sociology investigates as part of its realm of scientific interest, and as to the second constituent, Antropology takes up the racial aspects. (65)

At this point, a philosophical concept relevant to our considerations should be mentioned, which is a claim that has close association with the theory of Survival of the Fittest; in order to clarify Arvasi's point of view, we should take a look at his political philosophy refusing the claim that an awareness of nationality creates divisions in human society and in the final analysis causes wars. He states the following:

" War exists even for butterflies and pigeons. War is not a superficial entity created by human beings, on the contrary, it is definitely a natural law applying to all species. " (66)

In retrospect, "the same preferences" are seen in the early period of Turkish Nationalism. In a declaration made by Cenevre Türk Yurdu (The Geneva Turkish Hearth), in 24 April 1913 it is stated that;

The brawl of nationality is in fact nothing but the reappearance and recurrence of a "continuous struggle" that had started centuries ago. (67)

Being the target of vehemence and violence is something inevitable for every living being, from this respect. At the same time, there is no might that can persuade any living body to give up conditions prerequisite to its own existence for anybody else.

This can only be possible on the condition that one is more powerful than the others. (68)

In comparison with the statements above, Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey also seems to have similar ideas, in stating that;

" I am one of the followers of faith in knvva-ı maddiye (material powers) being the real determinants of human life simply because predominant needs are obviously materialistic. (" Asıl müessir-i ihtiyac maddidir"). " (69)

This well-known theory belongs to Fuye who therefore has an eminent place of reference in Akçura's writings at least in a certain time. Akçuraoğlu argues that Fuye's viewpoint is compatible with his own ideas even though they might seem contradictory at first sight.

According to Fuye's Fikir Knvvettir Nazariyesi (Idea is Force), ideas and therefore, the idea of religion and nation are the most predominant forces in the nineteenth century. Welcoming this mentality, Akçuraoğlu reflects on this point by denoting that century, in common with many historians, as the century of nationality. (70)

The theoretical framework of Akçuraoğlu's writings on Nationalism seems to emanate from the theory of Social Contract by Rousseau. Depending on Rousseau's con-

cept of mutual concert, he seems to have arrived at a unison of hakk-ı millî (national right) and hâkimiyet-i milliye (national sovereignty). Believing in the ideas of human rights and equality he projects these ideals into the realm of communities and societies. Thus he claims that the liberty and equality of individuals in a society should also hold for communities in a broader scene. (71)

In another one of his articles about the evolution of European nationalities, Akçuraoğlu draws parallels between the historical roles played and the unification process went through by the German and the Turkic tribes. He states in this respect that;

The role played by the German tribes in their invasion and transformation of Europe can be compared with the migrations of Turkish tribes with minor differences. (72)

In the theoretical level, the socio-economic formation that determined the suprastructure of the upcoming "Nation-State" was, to a considerable extent, based on the well-known ideals of liberty, equality, friendship. (73)

Nationalism in Europe being founded on such contemporary ideals indicates that the hold exercised by this ideology on the Turkish Nationalist circles was due to foreign influences and not a result of a prolonged period of social fermentation as in Europe.

2.6.2. İSMAIL HAKKI BEY AND THE NATIONAL STATE CONTROVERSY

A lecture about the evolution of human communities toward national unity was given by İsmail Hakkı (Baltacıoğlu) in the İstanbul Türk Ocağı (İstanbul Branch of Turkish Hearths).

In this lecture an analogy between the human society and other organisms resulted in the hypothesis that argued for all the societies being nothing but social organisms. (In his own words: Cemiyetler İctimai Uzviyetlerdir.) Therefore, a society can not simply be considered as merely a collection of individuals. It should, in contrast, be considered as an organism made up of specialized cells corresponding to individuals. (74)

The idea of most sophisticated and therefore most advanced community being one composed of many parts diversified according to specialized social functions is clearly seen to be the distinctive and dominant idea of the second constitutional period. (75)

This concept can be summarized as;

The more diversified the functions in a society are; be it scientific, economic, the more sophisticated that society is. (76)

Another statement worth mentioning from the lines in the eight volume of Türk Yurdu;

The mere connection of a drop of blood is not a sufficient prerequisite to being a nation, much more important of all for the racial elements is to have common natural dispositions, be it good or bad. (77)

The language was the most important factor in their view, however, without denying the indispensibility of all the other lesser elements. (78)

However, it is time to take another look at Baltacıoğlu's aforementioned lecture. He titled this lecture Milliyet Tarihin Evladıdır (Nationality is the son of history), challenging the opposing view that brands awareness of nationality as something completely fictitious, as machinations of evil man intent on dividing and thereby exploiting man.

Nationalists had to cope, ever since the beginning, with the problem of religion. Religion had become, in any case, an important social institution to come to term with in both European and Turkish cases. There were two available alternative strategies to be followed. The first one suggests an openly hostile attitude at ideological level. The other proposes consort with religion in general. The policy of consort and conciliation is seen to be the

case especially in early phases of Turkish Nationalism. İsmail Hakkı Bey's lecture referred to above is a splendid example of this policy.

Quotations from his lecture probes well into İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu's views;

" They suppose that Milliyet. Diniyete Mugayirdir . . . (Nationality is against the Religion). Being Turkish is, at any rate, not contrary to Islam at all. With the coming of National life, religion does not cease, it gets simply nationalized like the other institutions. " (79)

An acceptance of this statement, however should not lead one to believe that religiosity is the same thing as nationality. (80)

There appeared an argument considering the notions of state and nation in the aforementioned lecture, İsmail Hakkı Bey stated that within the framework established under the light of the above considerations, there is no Ottoman Nation but the only thing that exists is the Ottoman State. (81)

According to the above-mentioned view, the process of nationalization is a natural consequence of modernization. When the long arguments of a possible national unity of Turks were brought to an end the conclusion was that;

" There is no homogenous, integrated Turkish Nation in need of no other unifying concept or force. " (82)

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu seems to have arrived, after having discussed the possible schemes of national unity, at a final perception that divides all Turkish community of that era into four categories. (83)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Hüseyin Namık Orkun, Türkçülüğün Tarihi (İstanbul: Berkalp Kitabevi, 1944), p. 29
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.30
4. Ibid., p.32
5. " Türkolog Radlof ve Wilhelim Thompsen Hazeratının Jübileleri " Türk Yurdu Vol.1 No:6 (İstanbul, 1328), p.172
6. Ibid.,p. 174
7. Ibid.,p. 175
8. Ibid.
9. " Türklük İlminin Babalarından Muallim Thomsen'in Bir Mektubu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No: 14 (İstanbul, 1328), p. 437
10. " Çistani İli Beyinin Hikayesi ", Türk Yurdu , Vol.1 No:8 (İstanbul, 1328), pp. 226-227
11. Another quetation in the same article reads as;
 " There is no reason why the things I have said about this astonishing civilization should not be printed. It is a case easy to prove. "

in Ibid. See the Appendix No:2

12. The author argued that;

" While there exists no such things in France and Germany you may rightfully be proud of your ancestry as the founders of this civilization. " Ibid., p. 227

See the Appendix Reference No:3

13. Rıza Tevfik, "Türkçülerin Saha-ı Tetkikatı", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:6 (İstanbul, 1331), p.2609

14. Ibid., p. 2612

15. Ibid., p. 2613

16. Ibid., p.

17. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Müverrih Leon Cahun ve Muallim Barthold'a Göre Cengiz Han ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:1 (İstanbul,1328), p.18

18. Akçuraoğlu argued that;

" I, as a pure blooded Turk, still would not accept Monsieur Cahun's claims and opinions not based on documentation in order to remain immune to accusations of partiality. " in Ibid., No:7 p.203 See the Appendix No:4

19. In the same speech, Raverdi's Tabakat-ı Nasırî was shown as an example of eastern source by Akçura.

Ibid.

20. He stated clearly:

" Ezeli İnan-Turan kavgasıdır. (This is the eternal Iranian-Turanian struggle) " Ibid., p.140

21. Akçuraoğlu argued that;

" Persian civilization exploited Islamic religion for its benefit, and we Turks are still under the influence of this strategy. "

Ibid., p. 141 see for the original quotation Appendix No:5

22. In defence of Cengiz Khan's deeds Akçuraoğlu said;

" His reign provided employment opportunities for all, brought comfort and prosperity to the land. There was no other people in any other country as strong and at ease as the great emperor's land. " in Ibid., No:8 p.240 ; see the Appendix No:6

23. Ibid., p.242

24. Ibid., No:9, p.270

25. It was stated in this lecture that;

" At least from now on let us hope for the rise of a Turkish literary figure worthy of the benevolent magnificence of the spirit of Cengiz to present us this greatest personality of our national history. "

Ibid., No:10 p.305 ; see the Appendix No:7

26. A definite Pan-Turk claim is as follows;

" A Turkish-Tartar-Mongolian nation who gave rise to that kingdom and made it survive, still exists in fact, and those people have not since diminished in number, on the contrary they have become numerous. "

Ibid., No:11 p.330 ; see the Appendix No:8

27. A.Y., "Türk ve Tatar Tarihi", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No:19 (İstanbul,1328), p.596

28. Ahmet Zeki Velidi, "Kazan Hanlığının Son Günleri", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No:19 (İstanbul,1328), p.576

29. A.Y., op.cit., No:18 p.558

30. Ziyetullah Nişurevan, "Türk Tarihinin Devrelere Taksimi", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:4 (İstanbul,1331), p.2562

31. Ibid., p.2564

32. Ibid., No:5 p.2578

33. Implying the coming of a new era for Turks the author says:

" (Türklerin) devre-i inhitattan kurtulup
devre-i milliyete olan dnhulleridir. "

Ibid., p. 2579

34. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Akvam-ı Müslime Tarihinin Devrelere Taksimi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol. 13 No:2 (İstanbul,1333), p.3573

35. A. Avni Candar argued in his book:

" Turks have spread all over the world and had, as a race, even been the source of contemporary civilization "

A. Avni Candar, Türklüğün Kökleri ve Yayılışı (İstanbul,1934), p.8 ; see the Appendix No:9

36. İsmail Hami Danişmend, Türklük Meseleleri (İstanbul, 1966), p.103 ;

37. A. Siefert, " Tuhan Harsı Tarihine Dair Taslaklar ", Mütercimi: Sin, Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:5 (İstanbul,1333), p.3413

38. Ibid., Vol.11 No:12 (İstanbul,1332), p.5332

39. Danişmend, op.cit., p.144

40. Atsız, Türk Tarihinde Meseleler, (Ankara,1966),
p.19

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. The news appearing in Türk Yurdu was as follows;

" It was about two years ago that the British scholars and by the names of Mr. Douglas Carruther, Mr. J.H. Miller, and Mr. M. P. Price had gone out on an expedition to Central Asia in order to discover the origins of Turkish race. "

" Türklük Şunu: Türk Irkının Beşiği ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:7 (İstanbul,1328),p.214 ; for the original quotation see the Appendix No:10

44. Ibid.

45. It was Gize Bey who led the courses, and the conferences were repeated twice on an appeal by Türk Ocağı Başbuğu ; for further details see:

Ufalı Toktamış, " Mühim Bir Konferans No:1 " Türk Yurdu , Vol.12 No:3 (İstanbul, 1333), p.3387

46. Orkun, op.cit., p.10

47. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Millet ve Tarih Şuuru, (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1948), p.162

48. Necmettin M. Deliorman, Balkan Türklerinin Tarihi (İstanbul, 1944), p.83

49. Ibid.

50. Ziya Gökalp, The Principles of Turkism (trans: Robert Devereux), (Leiden, 1968), p.19

51. Ülken, op. cit., p.165

52. Lewis V. Thomas, "Nationalism in Turkey", Nationalism in the Middle East (New York: Middle East Institute, 1952), p.4

53. Ibid.

54. The author apparently means race by his use of word millet; for further details see:

Ayhan Tuğcugil, Türk Milliyetçiliği Fikir Sistemi (İstanbul, 1978), p.93

55. A significant point made by İsmet İnönü states that;

" The major characteristics constituting the identity of our state have been derived from the experiences of calamitous centuries and deviced as the principles most conducive to speedy development for centuries to come. A Nationalist Turkey has given, to all the Turkish citizens as defined by the constitution, all the rights and previleges due to every Turkish nationalist who loves his country. "

Irkcılık-Turancılık (Ankara: Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları No.4, 1944), p.5 ; for the Turkish version see the Appendix No:11

56. Ibid., p.6

57. To state that point more clearly, the following quotation would be helpful:

" The tragic fates of those racist leaders improvised as a result of political enmities are still live in our memories. In 1912 they were trying, with the last remaining effort, barely to hold onto the land... "

Ibid. ; see the Appendix No:12

58. Falih Rifki Atay's article entitled Irkçılık ve Turancılık (Racism and Turanianism) appeared in the same book, atay in essence, says:

" If an evil to be devised to devide and destroy Turkey none better than racism could be found , and if a second one were to be sought for in orded to surround Turkey with relentless enemies outside nothing better than substituting row dreams of Pan-Islamism with Turanist utopia could be found. "

Ibid.,p.36 ; see the Appendix No:13

59. Thomas, op.cit., p.2

60. According to Ayhan Tuğcugil:

" Another heresy is the suggestion of Atatürkism instead of the ideology of Turkish nationalism. Atatürkism has been a cliche, a tool of exploitation invented after his death. "

Tuğcugil, op.cit., p.23

61. Roderic Davison, " Nationalism as an Ottoman Problem and the Ottoman Response " W. Haddad and W. Oshwenwald (eds.) Nationalism in a non-national State (Columbus: Ohio State University Press,1977), p.25

62. " İçtimaiyat: Milliyet ", mütercimi: Tekrim Boyacı, Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:8 (İstanbul, 1331), p.2647 ; see also the Appendix No:14

63. Ülken, op.cit., p.143

64. S. Ahmet Arvasi, İleri Türk Milliyetçiliğinin İlkeleri (İstanbul, 1965), p.5

65. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Türke Doğru (İstanbul: Kültür Basımevi, 1942), p.39

66. Arvasi, op.cit., p.6

67. " İçtimaiyat: Milliyet ", mütercimi: Tekrim Boyacı, Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:9 (İstanbul,1331), p.2668

68. Ibid., p.2669

69. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Milliyet Fikri ve Millet Muharebeleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.3 No:9 (istanbul,1329),p.260 ; for a detailed definition see the Appendix No:15

70. Ibid.

71. In defense of equal rights for all nations Akçuraoğlu says;

" Since men as individuals are free and deemed as equals, the societies constituted of a unified body of

individuals must also be free and equals. "

Ibid., p.262 ; the Appendix No:16 would be helpful to understand Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey's argument more clearly.

72. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Akvam-ı Müslime Tarihinin Devrelere Taksimi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:2 (İstanbul,1333), p.3571 ; for the comparison between German and Turks see the Appendix No:17

73. Ibid., p.3572

74. İsmail Hakkı Bey's following statement clarifies his philosophical point of view succinctly;

" Now the society should be thought of as tissues of cells constituting specialized organs not as just a collection of individuals. Society requires forms of specialization. "

İsmail Hakkı, " Türk Ocağı Konferansları: Milliyet ve Terbiye ", Türk Yurdu Vol.14 No:3 (İstanbul,1334), p.4060 ; see the Appendix No:18

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid., p.4061

77. Boyacı, op.cit., p.2648

78. Ibid., p.2649

79. İsmail Hakkı Bey considered the national state as a progressive one not opposing the existence of religion:

" They think of nationalism as contradicting religiosity. Nationalism does not undermine religion and Turkism does not oppose Islam. Religion does not perish as the national life burgeons, perhaps it becomes nationalized along with the other institutions. "

İsmail Hakkı, op.cit., p.4063 ; see the Appendix No:19

80. His statement "Milliyet fikri diniyet fikrinin aynı da değildir (The idea of nationality is not the same as that of religiosity) " gives an idea of his views.

Ibid., p.3064

81. Ibid.

82. Precisely what he said was:

" I think that a Turkish nation totally homogenous and equally developed does not exist. "

Ibid., p.4065 ; for the Turkish version see the Appendix No: 20

83. In the final section of the conference he classifies people into four sub-divisions with respect to the national problem;

First group shies away from Nationalism are the poorest of all.

Second group, the afflicted ones, are the educated young who have been able to break away from the old national mentality but have not been drawn into the new one yet. It is these who are the potential adherents of a feeling and spirit of nationality.

As the final two categories he speaks of,

Those who have not yet been able to partake in the national life, and the problematic groups of nomads and tribalism; merging into the social structure of nomads and tribes.

Ibid., p.4066; for İsmail Hakkı Bey's own words see The Appendix No:21

III. THE TURKIST VIEW ON THE RISE

- 3.1. Imprints Of Turkism Since The
Reformation
- 3.2. Turks After 1908: Evolution Of Turkism
According To Paul Risal
- 3.3. Beginning Of Ascendancy Of Turkism:
The Turning Point In Turkism

3.1. IMPRINTS OF TURKISM SINCE THE REFORMATION

According to Hilmi Ziya Ülken's Millet ve Tarih Şururu (Conscious of Nation and History), the works of orientalists, related to Turkish history, speeded up Turkish Nationalism. The early authors, at first sight, are Deguigny, Silvestre de Sacy, Abel Remusat. (1)

The well-known work of Yusuf Akçura, the Türk Yılı (Turkish Annual), dates the starting point of Turkist activities (the first era) from 1865 onwards. (2)

It is self-evident that the historical evolution in Turkish Nationalism shows unstable fluctuations in accordance with the political circumstances. After the death of Ali Paşa, the political oppression by Sultan Abdülaziz reached such a critical point that the relative strength of appeal of freedom in Tanzimat (Reorganization) period was diminished, as a result of such strict practices, the Turkish Nationalist thought was, along with the other intellectual movements, greatly impeded and the turning point for this development was the date of 1871. (3)

In Ottoman Turkish case, one of the eminent people in the history of Turkish Nationalism and the leading personality in late nineteenth century, Süleyman Paşa who lived under the absolute rule of Sultan Abdülhamit II, he was in charge of instruction in history in different high schools

and especially in Mekteb-i Harbiye (Military Academy).

Although the political regime would not permit any circumstances in which an ideology opposing its own would flourish, Süleyman Paşa through the use of some subtle means put Turkism into practice. At the time, during the period in which Süleyman Paşa was trying to formulate an alternative view of universal history, another scholar, Seyh Süleyman Efendi of Bouchara was studying theory of language, folklore, and practical policy in relation with Turkish Nationalism. (4)

An important element to be considered here is a newspaper named İkdam, (Perseverance), published for the first time in 1893, by Ahmet Cevdet, always bearing the headline Türk Gazetesidir (This is a Turkish newspaper). According to Yusuf Akçura, beginning with the first issue, the Turkist ideology was conspicuous in İkdam. (5)

There is no doubt that the crisis appearing before and in the aftermath of the Greek War awakened some people to such an extent that there seemed to be speeding up of progress in nationalism. (6)

The people that were, for the most part, interested in political issues were Tunali Hilmi, Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, Hüseyinzade Ali Bey. Besides these men on the political field Necip Asım publishing İkdam together with Ahmet Cevdet established a focus in Nationalist action.

In connection with the activities of these people, Hilmi Ziya Ülken used the sub-heading İlmî Türkçülük (Scientific Turkism) in his book. (7)

As a result of these developments, it can be said that the Turkish nationalist action was both extended in its scope, got more sophisticated and spread out immediately after the 1908 Revolution. (8)

While appraising the leading elite in the early period, it would be a mistake not to take into account Raif Fuad Bey who was the son of Köse Raif Paşa and worked in İkdam together with the people mentioned above. (9)

3.2. TURKS AFTER 1908: EVOLUTION OF TURKISM ACCORDING TO PAUL RISAL

At this point, a series of articles by Paul Risal first published in Mercure de France (A French Journal) in August 1912 is worth some attention because subsequently they also appeared on the pages of Türk Yurdu under the title; Türkler Bir Ruh-ı Millî Arıyorlar (The Turks are in Search of A National Consciousness). This article attracting widespread attention had taken up the subject in a historical context. In the eyes of Paul Risal, the most neglected element in the vast Ottoman Empire was in reality the Turks who were supposed to be the rulers over the other ethnic groups. (10)

Needless to say the non-Muslim groups who were all well educated ended up having advantages over the politically dominant social sect. The reasons that paved way to this social framework in the Ottoman history had a close connection with the policy that denounced assimilation of the others into Turkish system as a whole.

As a result of historical conditions imposed upon the Turkish sect in the Ottoman Empire, the Turks could not leave aside their sword, had no chance to take a rest through their history and thus they could not launch a successful attempt to re-organize themselves. (11)

Building upon his argument, Paul Risal concluded that the Revolution of 1908 was in fact put into force by Turks amongst the subject peoples of the Ottoman Empire. As a part of this article an interesting piece of the description depicts everybody embracing one another; Monks, Imams and Bahams showing friendly feelings to each other crowded all the streets right after the Revolution. This appearance leads one to the false impression that there was left neither Turk nor Bulgarian nor Jewish people and all the religious or ethnic distinctions were swept away, in being so, all the Ottoman citizens now enjoyed a level of solidarity never achieved before. (12)

Before long, some questions to be examined here showed that especially the Rum Milleti (Greek Community) raised some objections immediately after the revolution, so it can be said that the Anasır-ı Muhtelif (Different Elements) except the Turks, without further hesitation, made up company against the political system. (13)

Within the Ottoman framework the objective that in the long run no nationality can, by using repressive or convincing means, be eliminated or assimilated into another one proved itself effective. (14)

As a consequence of the aforementioned framework the Turks finally arrived at the inevitable result that they had gained nothing; and being nothing but Osmanlı (Ottoman) seemed to be a major force of disturbance among themselves. Regarding the conditions and status that shaped the Turks in general, we are able to see that up to the second constitutional era, leaving aside a limited class which were land-owners, Turks worked either in civil service or were part of the military. In the eyes of Paul Risal, the rest of whole social strata could, in a general sense, be defined as eshab-ı ihtiyac (with his own words: PROLETARIAT). (15)

It seems that certain peculiar difficulties arose within this political system and right at the heart of the structure upon which all the other relations depended.

Finally, the ideological crisis developing in the minds of the ruling elite resulted in the rising of a new alternative, which was to emerge as Turkism. The intellectual evolution in the minds of ruling elite pursued three main political currents; Ottomanism, Islamism and after all Nationalism. The fact that the Empire was reduced both in size and power ended up in the ruination of the old ideology and beginning with a periodical Türk Yurdu, Turkish Nationalism, as a pan-movement, took up the political process as a whole dedicated to the struggle for the union of all Turks. (16)

With regard to both Akçuraoğlu and Agayef's views, it must be said that, during the initial stages of the Second Constitutional Period, Turkists became one of the most important factors in the political balances existing within the system. Possibly the best indication of the strength of this rising movement is large youthful audiences attracted by the conferences given by both Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey and Ahmet Agayef leading to a tenacious hold onto this ideology of Turkism especially within the young generation.

When an attempt to formulate the general principles of Turkish Nationalism is made, hardly any evidence can be found as to label its features as being "chauvenistic". Most of its ideological characters can be said to have similarities with French nationalist movement. (17)

3.3. BEGINNING OF ASCENDANCY OF TURKISM: THE TURNING POINT IN TURKISM

After its establishment the Türk Yurdu started its penetration among the people to gain adherents in order that the idea of Turkish Union would be realised in the long run. Briefly stated, the basic approach in advocating the Turkish Nationalism incorporated two broad categories of short and long term strategies in accordance with its programme; claiming that United and Independent Turania would eventually be set up.

There, in conclusion, the awakening of national consciousness is identified with the Young Turk Revolution, in the area of implementation but not within a theoretical framework.

Introduction of such conceptions into the Ottoman body was reinforced by the Slavic invasion in Rumelian provinces and the Balkan Wars which made early nationalists seek more eagerly a new model for the Ottoman society.

Use can be made of various complicated views offered for the understanding of the system; the most striking among them is that the Turks were the last to be affected by Nationalism. Stating it more directly it can be said that;

" A few individuals felt its urgings in the late nineteenth century, not until after 1908 and in all probability not until 1911 did many Turks think of themselves as Turks, or nationalists. " (18)

At this point it should be noted that so far the subject has been taken up from one perspective only, and soon an argument related to the problem of being Ottoman surfaced in an article bearing the title, Türklük Duygusu Osmanlılık Fikrine Mani midir? (Is the Sentiment of Being Turk Opposed To the Ottoman Idea) (19)

The requirements for a definite answer to be given to this question had been raised by the above-mentioned article, by İzzet Ulvi, writing from Kayseri in 1328 (1912). Consequently, it can not be claimed that the national sentiments have been much examined throughout the nineteenth century, not even up to the turning point of XX. century.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Millet ve Tarih Şunu (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1948); p.153
2. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, Türk Yılı (İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1928), p.310
3. Ibid., p.318
4. Ibid., p.322
5. Ibid., p.357
6. Ibid., p.393
7. Ülken, op.cit., p.158
8. Akçuraoğlu, op.cit., p.434
9. Ülken, op.cit., p.159
10. Paul Risal, " Türkler Bir Ruh-ı Milli Arıyorlar ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No:21 (İstanbul, 1328), p.657
11. Ibid., p.660
12. Ibid., No:22 p.685
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p.688

15. Ibid., No:24 p.775 ; for a detailed definition in Ottoman Turkish see the Appendix No:22
16. Ibid., Vol.3, No:4 (İstanbul,1329), p.107
17. for the ideological framework of Turkism in the eyes of Paul Risal, see the Appendix No:23
18. Roderic Davison, " Nationalism as an Ottoman Problem and The Ottoman Response ", William W. Haddad and W. Oshwenwald (eds.) Nationalism in A non-National State (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977), p.26
19. İzzet Ulvi, " Talim ve Terbiye: Türklük Duygusu Osmanlılık Fikrine Mani midir? ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No:16 (İstanbul,1328), p.493

IV. AN OVERVIEW OF PRO-TURKISH ASSOCIATIONS

4.1. The Rise Of Pro-Turkish Organizations

4.2. The Spread Of Turkish Hearths

To The Countryside

4.3. Organizational Efforts Of Turkish

Students In The West

4.4. Turkish Homeland-Turkish Hearths

And Their Financial Supports

4.5. Public Conferences In Turkish Hearths

4.6. Northern Turkish Contacts

With The Turkish Hearths

4.7. The Last General Convention

Of Turkish Hearths

4.8. Some Examples Of Other Social

Activities by Turkish Hearths

4.9. Nationalist Press in Countryside

4.1. THE RISE OF PRO-TURKISH ORGANIZATIONS

One of the first leading associations in Nationalist activities was the Türk Derneği (The Turkish Association) whose nizamname (regulation) had been published in 12 Kânun-ı evvel 1324 (25 December 1908) by Karabet Printing House. (1)

The Türk Derneği Mecmuası (The Periodical of Turkish Association) could only be published seven issues. Needless to say, all of the members of the Türk Derneği were definitely distinguished leading characters within the Ottoman society. In late 1912, this organization close down. However, despite the political difficulties a similar organization, entitled Türk Bilgi Derneği was founded.

Needless to say, the most powerful organization which was to evoke the Turkish Nationalism was the Türk Yurdu ; the leaders of this organization were such people as; Mehmet Emin, Müftüoğlu Ahmet Hikmet, Hüseyinzade Ali, Akil Muhtar, Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, all influential intellectual and political figures at that time. (2)

For that reason, the year of 1911 can be viewed as the turning point for Turkish Nationalist action. On the other hand, the same people decided to set up, for almost the same reasons, another organization in late June of 1327 (1911), which was to function under the name of Türk Ocakları. (3)

The intention of this action may have been to formulate a club for propagating activities. The leading team gave the financial responsibility to Mehmet Ali Tevfik as the secretary general. It is remarkable that, when Türk Ocakları began to be active in political circles; Arabs under the name of Ahail-ül Arabî, and Kurds gathering around the association named Hivi, had all already entered into the political scene. (4)

Extending its power, Nationalism seemed to have spread into different European cities. The first meeting of Lausanne Yurtçular Derneği (Lausanne Branch of Turkish Homeland Association) was carried out in the Grand-Mount Village of Lausanne on 27 Kânun-ı evvel (January) in 1911. As a second attempt, again in a village, this time the Pétit Lanci Village of Genève, witnessed the young Turkish students becoming enflamed with Nationalist ideas on March 28, 1913, which was a Friday. (5)

On the other hand, Neuchâtel Türk Yurdu was, according to memories of Remzioğlu Ferit Bey, attempting to exist starting from 15 October in 1912. (6)

4.2. THE SPREAD OF TURKISH HEARTHS TO THE COUNTRYSIDE

Along with an increase in the number of nationalist participants, Türk Ocakları kept a strict policy in order to expand its power, especially in the provincial areas.

By 1332 (1916), in addition to the central bureau located in Bayezit, 25 branch Türk Ocağı (Turkish Hearths) continued their activities. (7) In the following year, Ocaks mushroomed in the provincial areas, even such places as Sivrihisar and Mihallıccık Türk Ocakları movement were begun. This is an indication of a turning point in the political history of Turkey. (8)

Because this nationalistic flame spread so rapidly, some of the branches became very active. For example, the Giresun Türk Ocağı (Giresun Turkish Hearth) and Ödemiş Türk Ocağı (Ödemiş Turkish Hearth) were successful in setting up a printing office. (9)

4.3. ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS OF TURKISH STUDENTS IN THE WEST

After forming organizational linkages with the Turkish Nationalists, the young nationalist students in Europe were eager to set up a permanent association. Following the establishment of this association the Türk Talehesi Derneği (Turkish Students Associations) was formed and declared its principles. The noteworthy point at this event, was that of this organization stressed that it was gayr-i siyasi (apolitical). (10)

4.4. TURKISH HOMELAND-TURKISH HEARTHS AND THEIR FINANCIAL SUPPORTS

Although Türk Yurdu was not the official organ of Türk Ocakları, it shared the same ideology, and there were people working concurrently on both sides.

While at the beginning Türk Yurdu only published 400 copies, by 1334 (1918) the number was increased to 1.000 due to financial assistance of Türk Ocakları, which at one point was as much as 403 Ottoman Liras. (11)

The report mentioned explains the red linkages between the Türk Ocakları and İttihatçı hükümetler (Unionist Governments). The report expressed that from the beginning of the establishment they have been supported by the governments. (12)

4.5. PUBLIC CONFERENCES IN TURKISH HEARTHS

Some courses open to the public, such as World History, Ottoman Naval History, History of Literature, and History of Civilization and Religion were offered by Türk Ocakları. Eminent nationalist leaders such as Gökalp Ziya Bey, Ağaoğlu Ahmet Bey, Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuad Bey and even the Poet Yahya Kemal Bey gave lectures in these courses. (13)

4.6. NORTHERN TURKISH CONTACTS WITH THE TURKISH HEARTHS

For many reasons Türk Ocakları gave many banquets, the most important of which was to celebrate the arrival of the Turks from Russia. This event occurred toward the end of the First World War; especially when the Russian front was at its wrecked. (14) Of interest here is that a delegation of Turks from Russia were invited to participate in the İstanbul Conference, which was clearly a nationalist colloquium. (15)

4.7. THE LAST GENERAL CONVENTION OF TURKISH HEARTHS

Despite the fact that the total number of members of Türk Ocakları was around 2500, the Congress was attended by only 150 people. Because of this M. Necdet Bey; one of eminent members, rejected to the meeting at this congress.

However, his view was rejected by the majority. (16)

In the Executive Board's Report (İdare Hey'eti Raporu) read by Hamdullah Suphi Bey it was declared that the area of central concern was to be Turkey. This caused rising objections from the participants. (17) But the majority in the Congress was on the Turanist-expansionist side. This is evident from a decision taken by the general Assambly of Türk Ocakları.

Furthermore, Kazım Nami Bey made a proposal defining Istanbul as the cultural civilization center of all Turks, which was objected to by the majority. (18)

The Congress was concluded with the elections. Upon an examination of the distribution of votes it is clear that a balance of power existed within the administrative frame-work of the Türk Ocakları. (19)

4.8. SOME EXAMPLES OF OTHER SOCIAL ACTIVITIES BY TURKISH HEARTHS

The number of branches of Türk Ocakları expanded to 35 throughout the country. At the time the first executive committee was charged on June 11, 1329 (24 June 1911), the number of members was only 1200. By the time this committee was charged for the second time, five years later the number had increased to 2550. Within this short period a library was established and 1250 volumes were acquired. Three thousand slides and more than 3,000 telegrams were deposited in the archive. Some people were invited from Kazan, Ufa, and even Orenburg, such as İsmail Bey Gasprinsky, Mahmut Behbudî, Mecid-üs Sultan, Seyyid Cafer Ahmed. They came to Istanbul and lectured at the branches of Ocaks, and were warmly welcomed. (20)

Regarding the other social activities, they consisted of giving financial aid to students and solving their der-
mitory problems. The executive committee of the Türk Ocakları
send students to be educated in different places, even
Erzurum and Beirut; if there was not room in İstanbul. This
shows the degree to which they possessed an extensive
educational affairs network. In addition to these activities,
in Beşiktaş and Beğazkesen the Türk Ocağı Mühendis Birliği
(Turkish Hearths Union of Engineers) was formed following
the attempts of Türk Ocakları . (21)

4.9. NATIONALIST PRESS IN COUNTRYSIDE

Well aware of the importance of public opinion, and desiring that people have a full understanding of their own ideologies, such things as the following were done. Many local newspaper were established, such as the one, in Eskişehir, the Karacahisar Newspaper. (22) In Kastamonu, Köroğlu Newspaper, which its editorial board helped the establishment of a School of Art with all teachers having Turk-Islam origin. (23) The Babalık Daily Newspaper, which published in Konya, had always a distinct role in the provincial Nationalist circles. (24) It is remarkable that The Karesi Daily Newspaper, which started publishing the Turkish translation of the Divan-ı Lügat-it-Türk on March 1333 (1917), seemed to have penetrated into the innermost provinces of Anatolia. (25)

However, in explaining the causes of how Turkism began gaining political hegemony, one critical point must be noted, which is the rising numbers of provincial Turkish Hearth's publications. For example, the one, which is Ocak (Hearth), and another bearing the heading Ana Türk Yurdu (Mother's Turkish Homeland) were published in Konya and Giresun respectively. (26)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, Türk Yılı (İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1928), p.435

2. Hüseyin Namık Orkun, Türkçülüğün Tarihi (İstanbul: Berkalp Kitabevi, 1944), p.87

3. Ibid., p.91

4. Ibid., p.92

5. Ibid., p.96

6. Tarık Zafer Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler Vol.1 (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), p.494

7. Türklük Şunu was devised to fully inform the public opinion about developments throughout the Turkic World. A verification of this view would be the news piece about ceremonial opening of the then last Türk Ocağı in Üsküdar.

" Türklük Şunu: Türk Ocakları Arasında-Üsküdar'da Türk Ocağı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:12 (İstanbul, 1332), p.3141

8. " Türklük Şunu: Yeni Türk Ocakları ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:3 (İstanbul, 1333), p.3390

9. In Ödemiş, printing office of Türk Ocağı would generally publish booklets; for details see:

" Türklük Şunu: Karacahisar Gazetesi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:1 (İstanbul,1331), p.2758

On the other hand, in Giresun, Türk Ocağı had been publishing a bi-weekly periodical; see:

" Türklük Şunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:2 (İstanbul, 1333), p.3580

10. A case at hand is the Lozan Türk Yurdu, declaring the principles set forward and stressing;

" Derneğin gayesi içtimaf Türklüktür; siyasiyatla uğraşmaz. " for this interesting case see:

" Türklük Şunu: Türk Talebe Derneği ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:7 (İstanbul,1328), p.214

Tarık Zafer Tunaya also mentions the European connections of Türk Ocakları-Türk Yurdu movements. In his Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler (Political Parties in Turkey) he compiles all the activities of Turkish students in Europe under the sub-title of Ülke Dışında Türk Milliyetçiliğini Savunma Amacıyla Kurulan Türk Yurtları (The Turkish Hearths to

Defend The Turkish Nationalism Abroad), according to Tunaya, besides Lausanne, Türk Yurtları were set up in Berlin, Neuchatel, Genève and even Paris. In order to understand what made Nationalism find such wide-spread acceptance among the common folk, based on Hacı Hasuhoğlu Cevdet Bey's speech, he states;

" Türk Yurdu adi manasıyla bir cemiyet değildir. Yurtçuluk bir nevi mezhepçiliktir.", for the other details see: Tunaya, op.cit., pp.493-498

11. Especially during war time, Türk Yurdu frequently ran into financial difficulties because of limited sources in paper stock and lack of revenues which forced them to ask for help from Türk Ocakları. This financial difficulty can be clearly demonstrated by the fact that the minimum amount of money necessary to continue to publishing the journal was 120 liras but their maximum monthly revenues were only 30 liras; this problem was eventually solved with the aid of Türk Ocakları, according to the last Türk Ocakları İdare Raporu, the amount contributed to Türk Yurdu was a total of 403 liras and 800 kuruş. For a detailed account see:

" Türk Ocakları İdare Raporu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:9 (İstanbul,1334), p.4262-63

12. According to the aforementioned report;

" Ocak, beginning with its foundation, has witnessed good will and help from the governments. ... besides a certain small amount of monthly stipend we received financial aid unnumerous occasions. "

Ibid., p.4265 ; see also the Appendix No:24

13. According to the same report, the first civil association to organize conferences after the re-establishment of constitutional regime was Türk Ocakları .

Ibid., p.4246

Conferences were seen and concentrated upon as a principal means of intellectual activities to agitate and keep alive the Nationalist sentiments and thus close to 500 such conferences were organized beginning with the year 1331. The most active branch in this line of activity was the central one, Bayezit Türk Ocağı. For other details see:

" Türklük Şunu: Türk Ocağının Dersleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:7 (İstanbul,1331), p.2853 ; and for another activity:

" Türklük Şunu: Türk Ocağının Müsameresleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:4 (İstanbul,1333), p.3405

14. The chief of Afşar Tribe, located in the North-Western part of Iranian Ajerbaijan; Nizamülsultan, who was invited for honoration because he resisted Russian troops with great courage, came to İstanbul and Türk Yurdu successfully exploited this occasion.

" Türklük Şunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:11 (İstanbul, 1334), p.362

15. " Türk Ocağı Konferansı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:9 (İstanbul,1334), p.4269

16. This argument delineates two contrasting views. One seems to have recognized the impossibility of the realization of great dream of Turan. Those, who more able appreciated the circumstances surrounding the determination of the prospective boundaries of a Turkish political unity, had subscribed to more realistic expectations; partly because they were already involved in official politics. Because of the deteriorating existing conditions the objectives were lowered to a state more limited in scope. The report says that;

" Ocağın maksadı Türklerin harsi birliğine ve medeni kemaline çalışmaktır."

The others, the younger generation kept up with the defence of the great Pan-Turk utopia.

" Türklük Şunu: Türk Ocağı Kongresi ", Türk Yurdu ,
Vol.14 No:10 (İstanbul,1334), p.4299

17. Ibid.

18. The proposal: " Türklerin harsi ve medeni merkezi İstanbuldur. (The civil and cultural center of Turks is İstanbul) was rejected.

Ibid., p.4300

19. The final meeting of Türk Ocakları had begun on Friday, 3 July 1334 (1918), and proceedings followed up to 11 July; four task groups were set up with different duties.

The first was the İdare Hey'eti (The Administrative Board), whose seven numbers were elected according to the following votes;

Hamdullah Şuphi Bey:132, Şair Mehmet Emin Bey:123,
Hasan Ferit Bey:123, Nüzhet Sabit Bey:68, Dar-ül-muallimin
Müdürü Servet Bey:65, Halide Edip Hanım:23, İlyas Ragıp
Bey:21

The members and the respective votes of the Hars Hey'eti (Cultural Affairs Board) were;

Gökalp Ziya Bey:141, Hüseyinzade Ali Bey:112, Hamdullah Suphi Bey:111, Ağaoğlu Ahmet Bey: 105, Halide Edip Hanım:103, Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat Bey:102

At the same time, two rather unimportant boards, which were Murakabe Hey'eti and Divan-ı Haysiyet were also elected.

Ibid., 4335

20. " Türk Ocağı İdare Raporu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:9 (İstanbul,1334), p.4254-59

21. Ibid., p.4259

22. " Türklük Şunu: Karacahisar Gazetesi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:1 (İstanbul, 1331), p.2758

23. " Türklük Şunu: Kastamonu'da Sanayi' Mektebi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:7 (İstanbul,1331), p.2854

24. " Türklük Şunu: Niğde Hanımlarının Cemiyeti ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:10 (İstanbul,1331), p.2902

25. " Türklük Şunu: Divan-ı Lügat-it-Türk'ün Türkçe-ye Tercümesi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 Nö:4 (istanbul,1333), p.3405

26. " Yeni Neşriyat ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:7
(İstanbul,1333), p.3657

On the other hand, it increasingly became clear that the late constitutional period could be identified with the outbreak of Turkist publications.

Here we have many materials available to gain a considerable understanding of the subject-matter we are examining. For instance, The Encümen-i Tetkik (The Research Committee), under the full responsibility of Ali Emiri Efendi and Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat Bey, as secretary general, set up a special editorial board to analyze all Turk-Islam works. The committee's periodical was to be entitled Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası, following the requirements of the Ministry of Education. It is worth noting the first issue was really extra ordinarily challenging; the publication was carried out by the Matbaa-ı Amire (The Imperial Printing House). for the other details see:

Sa'fes, " Matbuat ve Yeni Eserler: Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:11 (İstanbul,1331), pp. 2708-2709 ; for the another case see:

" Türklük Şunu ve Cihan Cengi: Encümen-i Tetkik ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:3 (İstanbul,1331), p.2558

V. BALKANS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SUBLIME STATE:
THE TURMOIL AND THE OTTOMAN WITHDRAWAL FROM
THE PENINSULA

- 5.1. A Brief Look At The Balkans In The
Nineteenth Century
- 5.2. Balkan League And Russia
- 5.3. Balkan Economic Dependence And Europe
- 5.4. Balkan Wars
- 5.5. Social Status Of The Turkish Population
In Balkans
- 5.6. The Empire At The Turning Point
- 5.7. Recapture Of Edirne
- 5.8. Balkan Wars And Influence Of Its
Consequences On The Nationalist
Intelligentsia

5.1. A BRIEF LOOK AT THE BALKANS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It was during the 19th century that there was the transition from the age of theocratical identity to the age of nationalism in the Balkans, as in the others. (1)

Upon the same issue, Carole Rogel confirms the view above in saying that;

" The nineteenth century saw the Balkan peoples, who had been growing increasingly conscious of nationality participating in rebellions against Ottoman rule." (2)

All the views told above were expressed in a international symposium held in the United States. As a distinguished expert in Ottoman studies, Roderic Davison defined the Ottoman policy during that era by saying that;

" Wherever possible, however, the Ottoman answer to Nationalist subversion was to repress it with whatever force was necessary. " (3)

5.2. BALKAN LEAGUE AND RUSSIA

To balance the power of Austria, Russia initiated the organization of a Balkan league that was to begin in the spring of 1912.

One explanation for how the Balkan Wars began with regard to Stavrianos, at first sight:

" Two factors were primarily responsible for the organization of the Balkan league. One was the attempt of the Young Turks to enforce centralization and Turkish hegemony upon their polygot empire.

The other, and more important factor was the reaction in Serbia and Russia to the Bosnian affairs. " (4)

The Italian-Turkish War in 1911 had ended favoring the Italians. This new state in international politics encouraged the Balkan nations to make an alliance for the purpose of taking control of Turkey.

5.3. BALKAN ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE AND EUROPE

The imperialist system functioned well using primarily two methods: railways and loans. As was easily seen from the context, the British Empire, Austria and Russia were all eager to advance at the expense of the others.

The position of the powers toward one another is illustrated by the following:

" ... All these lines ran from the coastal ports into the Balkan interior, thus giving British commerce an oppor-

tunity to penetrate the peninsula, for this reason the Austrian government was anxious to connect the Balkan railways with its own network. " (5)

The other way was to organize an efficient and permanent loan system. In order that a network could be brought about for their own beneficial system, if one takes a look at the financial evolution of each minor Balkan state, it is remarkable that despite the fact that at the time of the 1878 Treaty they had negligible debts, by 1914 they all were in financial peril.

Thus, western economic penetration was accomplished by methods of government loans and the building of efficient railroad lines. This strategy was applied to the rest of the Near East. (6)

5.4. BALKAN WARS

The surface conflict finally turned into a full-fledged battle along with the weakening of the Ottoman corporal existence in Rumelia, the inevitable final stage came closer.

The crucial point was, as a matter of fact, the actual defeat of the Ottoman Armies. In the words of Stavrianos;

" With the Turks practically ousted from Europe, dissension now developed among the allies. The problem was how to divide the spoils. " (7)

During the negotiation about how to accomplish Bulgaria, Greeks and Serbs among themselves created a crisis. In collaboration with one another, Serbs and Greeks rushed into Bulgaria, whose declining strength led to its defeat. That is to say, " Attacked from all sides, Bulgaria was incapable of putting up serious resistance. the Turks re-entered Adrianople. " (8)

By the treaty signed in Istanbul, on September 29, 1912, the recapture of Adrinople by Turks was complete. What all this meant was a new balance between Balkan states occurred.

It was in fact remarkable that during the interval in which the wars were carried out very rigourously, nothing was solved that it would re-appeared very soon.

In conclusion, in the eyes of Stavrianos, " The period between the Balkan Wars and World War I was nothing but a breathing speel during which the Balkan states jockeyed for position. (9)

5.5. SOCIAL STATUS OF THE TURKISH POPULATION IN BALKANS

Concurrent with a political change in the Balkans, the question of what would happen to Turkish people living in Rumelia emerged.

Before taking up the problem, it is necessary to understand the conditions Turks lived under and the nature of their relations with the other peoples.

Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat Bey, in one of the letters he wrote for Türk Yurdu, revealed what was happening to the Turks there. According to him, the assimilation of Turks into the other Balkan societies had almost been achieved. (10)

Explaining that Turks had almost no idea about their national language, Köprülüzade pointed out a case that touched on the Ottoman-Turkish existence in European provinces.

An actual account, by a İmam-Hatip (Preacher) of a little town, mentioned that a Turkish peasant who was eager to have a fetva (Islamic Legal Opinion) came to his office with a Bulgar because he was not good at spoken Turkish. The Bulgar was used to translate his wishes into a proper manner. (11)

Regarding the conditions of the Turks living in Manastir, it will be useful to take a look at a special item published in Türk Yurdu .

The emphasis on educated people was the first issue that was given much attention. This was revealed in the letter of Ethem Nejat published in the early days of Türk Yurdu in which he gives some empirical data illustrating how welfare had been divided.

In the eyes of Ethem Nejat, it is worth mentioning here, 25 % of Turks of Manastır were the government agents, that is to say, a quarter of Turkish population in Manastır could not be supposed productive. (12)

5.6. THE EMPIRE AT THE TURNING POINT

When the long reign of Abdülhamid II's absolutist regime had ended, Enver Bey, the future Enver Paşa, exclaimed his feelings saying that;

" There are no longer Bulgars, Greeks, Ulachs, Jews, Muslims. We are all brothers beneath the same blue sky. We are all equal. We glory in being Ottoman." (13)

As it was known, this euphoric atmosphere did not last long.

Constitutional regime was considered at first to have the force of magic, making all the Ottomans equal, giving them a united identity and political ideology.

As being equal, each one would have the right, irrespective Turk, Serb, Jew, Greek, to participate in the decision making process of the country. On the way realizing this aim; that Tevsi-i Me'zuniyet (Extended Responsibilities) and Tefrik-i Vezaif (Divisions of Charges), which were the important principles in the Ottoman Constitution could never work in the sense that the governing party interpreted these principles in accordance with its own will.

Based on the aforementioned principles in the Ottoman Constitution, in article 108, the other ethnic groups besides the Turks interpreted that article as a means by which the possible liberation from the Ottoman rule could be realized in the long run. (14)

5.7. RECAPTURE OF EDİRNE

To the end of Balkan Wars, the Turkish Nationalists desired to reclaim Edirne (Adrianople), strategically important time, for their nationalist propaganda. Even they formed an autonomus state, Declaring its self-determination, The Garbî Trakya Hükümet-i Muvakkatesi (The Temporary Government of the Western Thrace) continuer existing for about five months, the prominent nationalist figures, one of whom was Enver Bey, succeeded in establishing such a temporary state.

It is worth mentioning right here that the winners of the first phase in the Balkan Wars contradicted one another gave the historical opportunity for CUP government to step forward between the interval through which the recapture of former Ottoman capital could be carried out. (15)

Although the European propaganda was widely against the Ottoman existence in Rumelia at that time, Pierre Loti, who was a well-known Turkish friend, attempted to reverse the prejudice against Turks during the Balkan Wars.

Pierre Loti, as a pro-Turkish author, went to Paris and explained what had really been going on in the Balkan Peninsula. To some extent he was successful. (16)

Another way of persuading the European public opinion to take a more favorable attitude towards the Turks, or at least a more neutral position was the exhibition of Abdülmeceid's pictures, in the most popular galleries of Paris. (17)

5.8. BALKAN WARS AND INFLUENCE OF ITS CONSEQUENCES ON THE NATIONALIST INTELLIGENTSIA

" It was with the close of the Second Balkan War that a new conception began slowly to take the place of Pan-Islam in the political programme of the Committee, namely that of Pan-Turanianism, manifesting itself in the first instance....

tentatively and in conjunction with Pan-ottomanism and Pan-Islam. " (18)

The seeds of Nationalism adjusting itself to the new political conditions took the first step in a rather confused way, as it used Islam a barrier to Turkism. (19)

Why it occurred in this manner is the subject of the Ottoman Turkish intellectuals. The main explanatory model used as a general answer to this question was the conditions of Turkish society at that time. In general the people were uneducated, undeveloped, and had a great lack of human source.

Nafi Atuf (Kansu), for instance, recognized this as a determinant in saying that;

İçtimai Zayıflık (Social Weakness) and İktisadi Teskilâtsizlik (Disorganised Economy) were both the reasons that led to the Empire to the inevitable collapse. (20)

It appeared that Kazım Nami (Duru) and Halide Edip (Adivar) were both the representatives of that which influenced them to begin a new thrust in Turkish politics.

In the eyes of Halide Edip Hanım, there is a correlation between economic wealth and national consciousness.

In one of the lectures Halide Edip Hanım gave at the Türk Ocakları after the collapse of Ottoman existence in Rumelia, the most frequently employed word was nothing but Vatan (The Fatherland). According to her, one of the most distinguished characteristics that made German Empire, for instance, excel economics was, as a matter of fact, the realization of national unity. Applying a historical analogy, Halide Edip Hanım compares, in her speech, the situation of the Carthage-Rome conflict with that of the continuing one between Bulgaria and Ottoman State. In the lecture, it is worth noting that her anger towards Bulgaria was revealed in her exclamation;

" Bulgarya yok edilmelidir. " (" Bulgaria has to be annihilated ") (21).

Another person angered by the situation was Kazım Nami, who had a relatively strong position in the ruling party, the CUP. Kazım Nami Bey perceived this decline from a multi-dimensional perspective.

The terms he employed most in a series of articles published in Türk Yurdu were worth mentioning here that İctimai Mefkuresizlik (Lack of Social Ideals), Tanzimatçılık (Reformism), and Taklitçilik (Imitative Westernism), all of which, Kazım Nami says, were the fundamental reasons for the gradual weakening and fall of the Empire. The motto that was frequently used Yeni Hayata Doğru (To a New Life) was

at the same time, the title of the aforementioned articles Kazım Nami Bey wrote for readers of Türk Yurdu.

In these articles, he continuously criticized the old fashioned trends, particularly.

In sum, Kazım Nami Bey seemed to have opposed to Tanzimatçılık (Reformism) and Batıcılık (Westernism) and arrived at the conclusion that they, the young Nationalist generation, offered the Turks the New Life (Yeni Hayat) based on the İctimai Mefkure (The Social Ideal). (22)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. L. S. Stavrianos, The Balkans 1815-1914 :
Berkshire Studies in European History (USA, 1963), p.5
2. Carole Rogel, " The Wandering Monk and The Balkan Awakening ", W. Haddad and W. Oshwenwald (eds.) Nationalism in A non-National State (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977), p.77
3. Roderic Davison, " Nationalism As An Ottoman Problem And Ottoman Response ", in Ibid., p.45
4. Stavrianos, op.cit., p.112
5. Ibid., pp. 75-76
6. Ibid.
7. The peace conditions imposed on a defeated Turkey, barring Turks from Europe took place in the Treaty of London. All the Aegean Islands and the Western part of the Enez-Midye line were given to Greeks. The Treaty was concluded on May 30, 1913

Ibid., p.114
8. Ibid., p.117
9. Ibid., p.118

10. In reference to such social developments the author states;

" Along the Rodop Mountains a Bulgarian policy of cultural assimilation had been applied in full force. "

Yavuz, " Mektuplar: Köprülü'den ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:11 (İstanbul, 1328), p.342 ; see the Appendix No:25

11. In the words of İmam-Hatip about the case:

" Wake up! Wake up!... You Muhammedans, otherwise we would not be able to find a piece of land to be buried in, let alone a resting place. Should hold onto their common language and race as they do onto their religion. "

Köprülü took up the case:

" You Turks imagine the dark ignorance that surrounds us like a snake due to our negligence. A Bulgarian translates for a Turk from Turkish and in the Turkish lands... "

Ibid., p.341 ; for Ottoman-Turkish version see: the Appendix No: 26

12. for the social conditions of Turks of Manastır see:

Ethem Nejat, " Hususi Muhabirlerimizden: Manastır'dan ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:8 (İstanbul, 1328), p.241 ; see the Appendix No: 27

13. H. Temperley, " British Policy Towards Parliamentary Rule and Constitutionalism in Turkey (1830-1914) " Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol.4 (Cambridge, 1932), p.186

14. Ahmet Ferit attempts an analysis of the political frame-work of Ottoman State in an article. Having made his observations about the early experiences of Constitutionalism, he emphasises two issues; hakimiyet-i milliye (national sovereignty) and unity of the Ottoman State, in saying that:

" Vatan-ı Osmani yekvücut ve mümteleniel taksimdir.
(Ottoman lands is one and indivisible) "

Ahmet Ferit, " Kanun-ı Esasi-i Vilayât ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No:15 (İstanbul, 1328), p.465

15. Although Turks were eventually defeated out of Rumelia this transitory success echoed throughout the Turkic World and upon the receipt of the news people in Chinese Turkestan rushed out to the streets for celebrations and a holliday was announced.

Furthermore, the poet Tokayef of Ajerbaijan wrote a poem "dedicated to Enver Bey (later Paşa).

" Türklük Şunu: Türkistan-ı Çinide Edirne'nin İsdirdadı Bayramı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.5 No:2 (İstanbul,1329), pp. 911-912

16. " Türklük Şunu: Türk Dostu Piyer Loti ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.4 No:22 (İstanbul,1329), p.783

17. With the kind help of Pierre Loti, Prince Abdül-mecit had an exhibition of his paintings illustrating especially the Bulgarian genocide over Turks.

" Türklük Şunu: Türklüğün Yüzünü Ağartan Şahane Bir Eser ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.6 No:3 (İstanbul, 1330), p.2110

18. Sir Harry Luke, The Making of Modern Turkey (London, 1936), p.156

19. Even Peyami Safa perceives the era as one of the deepening ideological rifts at the intellectual level.

Peyami Safa, Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar (İstanbul,1938), p.166

20. Nafi Atuf, Türkiye Maarif Tarihi Hakkında Bir Deneme Vol.2 (İstanbul,1930), p.77

21. This conference was later to cause a great commotion. Though Halide Edip Hanım gave her lecture in a women's session, Türk Yurdu, by publishing it, made the speech widely publicized.

Halide Edip, " Felaketlerden Sonra Milletler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.4 No:16 (İstanbul,1329), pp.520-529

22. To shed light into the issue at hand it would be helpful to quote from Kazım Nami Bey's controversial paragraphs; as regards Tanzimatçılık (Reformism), he states that:

" Bize bilmeyerek büyük fenalık edenlerden bir takımı da Tanzimatçılardır. (Some of those who reluctantly have done us some evil are the Reformists.) "

As a second point, he is seen to be questioning an imitation of Western values;

" Hatalarımız arasında mühim bir mevki de taklitçiliğimize ayırmak lazımdır. (Among our mistakes, we should also reserve a proper place for imitation) "

Finally before offering an alternative policy for Turkish awakening, he discusses the socio-economic conditions Ottoman-Turkish community had been living in;

" We have no social philosophy, have fallen into economic servitude and an evil depravity reigns through out the land. "

Kazım Nami, " Yeni Hayata Doğru ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.3 No:2 (İstanbul,1329), pp.45-55 ; for the Turkish version of quotations and further detail see: the Appendix No:28

VI. THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

- 6.1. The Roots Of World War I:
Turkish Stance In The Face Of War
- 6.2. The Concept Of The Total War:
New Elements In Classical Warfare
- 6.3. War And New Political Attitudes In
The Press
- 6.4. Reflections Of War On Social Life
- 6.5. Some Regional Successes Of The
Ottoman Armies
- 6.6. Turks Facing Tsarist Armies
- 6.7. The Battle Of Dardanelles And Its
Stirrings In The Nationalist Circles
- 6.8. A Brief Account Of Collapse Of
Ottoman Armies

6.1. THE ROOTS OF WORLD WAR I: TURKISH STANCE IN THE FACE OF WAR

It should be kept in mind that there is evidently a clear relationship, at least as far as political history is concerned, between the Sark Mes'elesi (Eastern Question) and the First World War.

Dealing with the aspects that shaped the factors leading to the war and an investigation of the determinants would be necessary to understand how the war got started.

According to Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, the Eastern Question was based, at least partly, on the straits. (1) In an article entitled Geçen Yıl (Last Year), Akçuraoğlu says that, after having examined political, economic and geographical dimensions, it is self-evident that the division of Ottoman Asia into economic penetration areas by European super powers in accordance with their political strategy would inevitably end up with war. It is hardly surprising to see that the Ottoman Government, due to his peculiar difficulties, initially maintained faith in Hukuk-ı Beyne'l-düvel (International Law) between states. (2)

As the Balkan War was going on, the ideological transformation in the minds of constitutionalist young ruling elite was to become further complicated and confused because the Empire in fact was no longer strong enough to assure the unity of all the different sects of the Ottoman people.

The idea of participation in a general war, after having had a tedious one, the Balkan War, seemed inevitable in the horizon because, using Akçuraoglu's words; To oppose the progress of events is out of the power of the human beings. (3)

Seeing in the war a good opportunity for liberating all Turkic elements in the Central Asia under Russian rule, the Turkish Nationalists considered it; Mefkure Muharebesi (The War of Ideal) to attain their political aims.

Along with these desires, the war against the İtilâf-ı Müselles (Triad) had, at the same time the meaning of freeing the Empire from the European economic hegemony. (4)

Based on the above account, Akçuraoglu states that; even though war is not a good affair; the year of 1330 (1914) will be the turning point after which both Turks and Islamic World will meet a re-awakening, a re-birth following the war. (5)

Through the introduction of the concept of "nationalism" what happened in the political circles can be summed up from a western point of view as:

" It was the Great War that hastened the failure of Pan-Ottomanism, that revealed the bankruptcy of Pan-Islam and that led to the victorious emergence of Turkish Nationalism or Yeni Turan (New Turan) " (6)

The following words from the proclamation of war provide sufficient clues for an idea about what motivated the Young Turk government to participate in the war:

" Our participation in the World War represents the vindications of our national ideal. The ideal of our nation and people leads us towards the destruction of our Muscovite enemy, in order to obtain thereby a natural frontier to our Empire, which should include and unite all branches of our race. " (7)

The reasons for Ottomans entry into war were discussed at great length in two articles of Türk Yurdu at different times.

The first critique of a booklet titled İtilâf-ı Müselles Devletlerinin Nesriyatına Nazaran Harb-i Ummuinin Menşe'leri (Origins of the World War from the Viewpoint of Triad's Publication), which had been translated from German into Ottoman Turkish by Reşid Safvet Bey, was made by Akçuraoğlu Yusuf. The booklet had a foreword by Talat Bey, the Minister of Internal Affairs, but the above-mentioned risale (booklet) was originally by German Minister of Finance, Professor Halferih to propagate German aims. (8) The ideas and the reasons behind them have been presented in a systematic order in this booklet.

Two points that need special consideration are the following:

In the first place, the western powers having greater part of Islamic World declared the war to eliminate all the forces opposed to their own desires and their aim was in fact to establish an absolute hegemony on the East. (9)

In the second place, the most important factor of all, comes the real political aims of Russian Empire. According to the author of this booklet, after having been defeated by Japans, Russia changed its direction. Its attention was now concentrated on the Central European states. (10)

The conflict between the two political fronts could, from the political historian's point of view, be stated as;

Gathering even the least political clues, it is too easy to see the same benefits for both the Ottoman House and the Habsbourg State. Along with this obvious fact, Iran, Turkey and the Empire of Austria-Hungary had faced with the same enemy, the danger of Moskovite. (11)

As the war was continuing at different fronts, in order to justify the German-Turkish alignment, the most popular ideas was to support to the heroes of Ottoman armies. The armies that, on the one hand, were defending the Habsbourg dynasty in Galicia and on the other hand, had been trying to liberate the Caucasus and Crimenia. (12)

In view of the dominant political circles, such claims as below were stated to advocate these views:

After Italian and Balkan Wars, the Devlet-i Aliyye (Sublime State) was in such a position that it had no way but to declare war. (13)

An examination of the historical process according various criteria and, from a certain view, made it self-evident that Ottoman State would come up with considerable benefits. Such views seemed acceptable and realizable after Berlin-Vienna-Istanbul railroad was constructed and put in service for the war effort. (14)

6.2. THE CONCEPT OF TOTAL WAR: NEW ELEMENTS IN CLASSICAL WARFARE

It was our contention so far to only deal with the background of the war, what is to be discussed from here on is the strategic and conceptual transformations that had been realized at the expense of the classical ones.

We shall at first examine the concept of Topyekûn Harp (Total War), which came into being, for the first time, in the First World War. With the introduction of such a defence-attack policy in war strategy, the state of being in a war forced people as a whole to participate in both internal and external affairs.

To perceive the matter more clearly a point that is fundamental to the concept of total war should be kept in mind as the question of whether the science and scientist in such a war could have a neutral position.

Türk Yurdu, showing an interest in aforementioned issue, published a series of articles, in conjunction with this point. In a major one it is said that despite the traditional neutrality of the scientist, neither science nor scientist could no longer exclude themselves from this total effort. The duty that fell upon the scientists was to invent new apparatus to make the war-machine more complicated and more destructive and it was their responsibility to pour out iron and fire to the enemies irrespective of them being below the sea or above the earth. (15)

The merchant and naval fleets were both important factors in overcoming the enemy simply because through the means of transportation the state-apparatus could work in harmony with the economy and the army.

Seeing the vital importance of this point, there appeared associations having continual and intense efforts so that Empire should have a larger fleet. One of these associations, Osmanlı Donanma Cemiyeti (The Ottoman Naval Society), in collaboration with İtibar-ı Millî Bankası (The National Prestige Bank) arranged a lottery amounting to one Ottoman liras. (16)

6.3. WAR AND NEW POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN THE PRESS

Concurrent with the outbreak of the war, the press, varying from books to pamphlets, changed its outlook and identity. The new form could be, to a great extent, named as Harp Nesriyatı (War Publishing).

In Türk Yurdu, a piece of news stated that, without exaggeration 90% of the whole body of publications had been closely related to the war effort in both the French and German cases, including political and economic reviews and even the philosophical one. (17)

It is worth noting that, after having made this observation, nationalist authors took it upon themselves to produce a similar outcome. Some examples of this effort subsequently emerged within the Turkish intellectual currents and will be reviewed below:

Harp Mecmuası (The War Periodical), having a motto that announced Türkiye'nin ve İslâm Aleminin Kurtuluşu (The Liberation of Both Worlds of Turks and Islams)(18) Ağaoğlu Ahmet Bey and Gökalp Ziya Bey were at the editorial board of above mentioned periodical.

Not only the periodicals but also some pamphlets and booklets, speaking of the Cihâd-ı Mukaddes (The Holy War) were published to propagate the holy targets among both the population and the armed forces.

Hüseyin Fehmi Efendi's booklet titled Cihad Hakkında, Ehl-i İslâma, Asker-i İslama, Kürsi-i İslâmdan Bir Hitap (A Speech from the Honored Seat of Islam, About the Holy War, To Soldiers of Islam, To the Muslim Believers) was one of the worth mentioning here. (19)

Interestingly enough, even though printing would usually not go on for more than a couple of issues, a splendid example of war publishing arose among the sand-hills, below Anatolia from the Desert Front. The periodical's name Musavver Çöl (The Imagined Desert) also implied a different point of view. In a narrative, Türk Yurdu stated that there was information about studies of desert civilization. (20)

Furthermore, having been inspired by the mistakes of the Balkan Wars, nationalists founded a magazine in French to be used to propagate Turkish claims during the years of World War I, entitled Lé Pensée Turque (The Turkish Thought). (21)

Having seen that the Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti (The Association of National Resistance) could not communicate to the Europeans about the Bulgarian atrocities upon Turks, The Committee of Union and Progress, most clearly and truly a group of Unionist-Nationalists decided to set up such a printing house. The general director was Halid Raşid Ca- rım Bey, who was a proponent of publishing in foreign lan- guages. The publication was carried out under the influence of two examples outside the Empire, which were Revue Oriental

(Oriental Review) and Journal de La Society Finno-Ougrienne (The Journal of Finno-Hungarian Society). To him it was clear a spread of Turkish aims in French could explain the Turkish case and only then Turks would have some chance of success. (22)

6.4. REFLECTIONS OF WAR ON SOCIAL LIFE

Soon the war effort began to affect all aspects of the society and a new outlook began to emerge. Cultural events were shaped by the ruling elite so as to raise public morale and to this effect a number of new plays were put on stage.

In Dar'ülbedayi (City Theater of Istanbul) founded by the endeavors of the old Mayor, Cemil Paşa, plays, such as Çürük Temel (Rotten Foundation) adopted from Emil Fabrik's La Maison by H. Said Bey, was staged in support of and for advocacy of war strategy and policies. Salâh Cimcoz, in cooperation with Celâl Es'at Bey, wrote a play called Büyük Yarın (Great Tomorrow) and had it staged. (23)

Such plays instigated a reconsideration of the role played by women in the society. The idea of women participating both social and administrative life to a greater extent was welcomed in some circles. (24)

6.5. SOME REGIONAL SUCCESSES OF THE OTTOMAN ARMIES

The major issue to be investigated about the war is certainly strategic conditions that forced Ottoman Governments to set up different fronts extending from Kutta'l Omara and Tur-i Sina, to the Galicia and Transcaucasus.

When the information coming from different fronts is examined it is seen, contrary to general belief and what could reasonably be expected, that Ottoman armies were largely victorious throughout the first year.

The fight against the Great Britain seemed only partially successful. The English Army besieged by Turkish troops in Quat'al Omara surrendered on April 16th of 1332 (29 April 1916). In the same year, an English army corp amounting to a force of 13.000 were, after being defeated in the fight for the Baghdad road, taken in prison by the Ottoman-Turkish Forces. (25)

On the seas, a total of 19 war-ships (99.640 tons), including the well-known battle ship, Kitchener, were sunk and eliminated. (26)

The spread of war north up to the Rumanian front caused the International conflict to reach a greater magnitude. In the battles of Walachia and Moldavia, Ottoman-Turkish corps, in alliance with German and Hungarian corps, annihilated Rumanian forces.

Finally Germans, Hungarians, Turks and Bulgarians, in close cooperation, invaded Bucharest, the most important city of that front.(27)

On the other hand, concurrent with the successes in the Iraqi Front, there took place victories of the same significance in Sina. The news throughout the press stated that the successes in Sina should be mentioned as one of the most glorious in centuries of Ottoman history. (28)

6.6. TURKS FACING TSARIST ARMIES

The attempt to capture the areas of heavy Turkish settlements was carried out by the Ottoman Northern Army. Taken with the idea of a glorious Turkey Ottoman corps entering Kasr-ı Şirin and Kirmansah were, not suprisingly, warmly welcomed. (29)

After consolidation of the Turkish hold in the region, the local bands of Armenian rebels in Van resorted to the tactics of assassinating people instead of making direct encounters with the Turkish armed forces. (30)

Seeing that, as a result of initial successes, regions that have traditionally been a part of Turkish rule had been recoved to some extent. Later on, a further drive into the Transcaucasian area was successfully realized and according to Türk Yurdu, more than a thousand Russian troops were taken as prisoners. (31)

Comparatively speaking, the real setbacks suffered by the Russians had taken place in Galicia because half a million Russian troops were destroyed in the fighting and another million became captives to Turco-German alliance (32)

As the war was being raged on an extended Russian Front, so the Ottoman Navy came out of a few sea battles victorious despite its relative inferiority in strength. One such incident worth mentioning here involved the battleship Midilli sinking one Russian battleship inflicting heavy damage to another. (33)

6.7. THE BATTLE OF DARDANELLES AND ITS STIRRINGS IN THE NATIONALIST CIRCLES

The impact of the battle of Dardanelles on the outcome of the Great War was two-fold; in parallel with Russian military collapse, contrary to initial hopes, Turkey too was doomed for failure despite the fact that Turkish corps had won the greatest victories in many centuries. (34)

After the battles under Liman Von Sanders' command (The German General), the forces, which was impelled to enter the hell of Gallipoli, were nothing but the remnants of an army largely only in troop numbers. (35)

At the front, a wide range of German Krupp labeled guns and weapons were deployed in the front line of fighting the

38 calibre guns were used and in a way those weapons shaped up the great victory in the battles of March 5th in 1915. (36)

With the news of successes such as the destruction of the battleships Galliat, Triumph and Magestic maiming of Agamemnon a euphoric mood descended upon the whole Ottoman land. (37)

In order to raise further the army morale, Türk Ocağı sponsored some plays. With the funds obtained from the contributions and the resulting income from the plays were distributed to the veterans of Gallipoli. Half the total of 5080 kuruş were given to the veterans and the rest was contributed to give Müdafaa-ı Milliye Cemiyeti (The Association of National Resistance). (38)

While the heroic defense in Anafartalar and Arıburnu was in progress, hopes aroused by the Ottoman corps would induce the nationalist circle including the intellectual ruling elite to set up a committee to investigate and closely observe the circumstances surrounding this and therefore giving rise to this unique incident.

Soon enough a visit to the Dardanelles Front was organized in which a group literary figures such as poets and critics participated during the period of late June and early July. (39)

To better understand the mood of the resistance in Dardanelles, an eyewitness account of an incident given in Türklük Şunu is worth mentioning here:

During a visit by Kadın Efendi (Ottoman Sultan's Wife) of the war veterans in Haydarpaşa Military Hospital, an interchange with one of the wounded soldiers is quoted in which the soldier states to her that after the shameful defeats in the Balkan Wars the nationalist resistance in Gallipoli was nothing but an effort to rub off the dirt of shame. (40)

6.8. A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF COLLAPSE OF OTTOMAN ARMIES

An illuminating but secret report written in 1917 in İstanbul, by a German staff member, Von Bronsart gives a variegated account of Ottoman State.

The primary considerations seem somewhat realistic in stating that the state organs and the departments being governed by an inexperienced new elite, a demoralized and poorly supplied army under the command of despirited military officials lacking in cooperation are, in a broad sense, the infrastructure upon which the whole state depended. (41)

According to the same report, the most important weakness of the Ottomans was in fact the lack of any effective central organization to mobilize all the national resources into the war effort so as to overcome the enemy. (42)

Under Enver Paşa's leadership, the Harbiye Nezareti (Ministry of War), was in negligence of its own tremendous burden getting involved in trifles such as trade affairs and some transactions. (43)

The responsibility for the attack on the Russian Caucasus front that ended with 80,000 Turkish casualties who were lead to certain death should for the most part be placed with Enver's own final desicions. (44)

Despite the previous unsuccessful attempts with the help and insistance of German strategic experts, the Second Corps of Ottoman Land Forces were able to take back the district of Erzurum during the second half of the year of 1916.(45)

The same report values the Sivas Railway that was constructed at the expense of great human and material resources as being militarily worthless.

Besides these, some acts of corruption and abuses in coal transportation could be mentioned as having contributed to the eventual economic and social collapse. (46)

As a final point, it may be worth presenting the response and feelings of the ruling elite in the face of this national collapse by the following descriptions: in the lines of Falih Rifki Atay:

" We observed this country as completely exhausted, drained off of all its energy but still frying, like a fatally wounded man, full of anguish in 1911, 1912, and 1919.

Those were the people whom we could not rescue from paling away from the fever of continuous malaria.

Those were the people who suffered from all causes and lost its young generations during that period as victims to war being fought from Dumlupınar to Trablusgarb..." (47)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Geçen Yıl: 1330 Senesi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:1 (İstanbul,1331), pp. 2516-17 ; see the Appendix No:29
2. Ibid., p.2517
3. Ibid., p.2518
4. Ibid., p.2519
5. Ibid.
6. Sir Harry Luke, The Making of Modern Turkey (London, 1936), p.157
7. Ibid., p.161
8. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Yeni Eserler: İtilâf-ı Müselles Devletlerinin Neşriyatına Nazaran Harb-ı Umuminin Menşe'leri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:8 (İstanbul,1331), p.2659
9. Ibid., p.2661
10. Ibid.
11. Sin. Ayn., " Türk Dünyasında: Nemçe ve İran'da Osmanlı Orduları ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:12 (İstanbul, 1332), p.3139 ; for a detailed definition of Ottoman successes see: the Appendix No: 30

12. Ibid., p.3140
13. " Siyaset ve Askerlik Yılı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:1 (İstanbul,1332), p.2951
14. Ibid., p.2952
15. Franz Istolman, "Müttefiklerimizimizin Düşündükleri: Türkiye ve Arabistan" (trans. and interpret. by R. M. Fuad), Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:3 (İstanbul,1332), p.3185
16. " Türklük Şunu: Donanma Cemiyeti Piyangosu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:7 (İstanbul,1333), p.3453
17. Istolman, op.cit., p.3185
18. Sin, " Yeni Eserler: Osmanlı Müellifleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:6 (İstanbul,1331), p.2837
19. Sin, " Yeni Eserler: Cihad Hakkında Ehl-i İslama, Asker-i İslama, Kürsi-i İslamdan Bir Hitap ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:3 (İstanbul,1332), p.3188
20. Sin, " Yeni Eserler: Musavver Çöl Mecmuası ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:8 (İstanbul,1332), p.3277
21. Sin, " Yeni Eserler: La Pensée Turque ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:11 (İstanbul,1332), p.3322

22. Ibid., p.3323

23. Cim. Sin., "Dar-ül Bedayii'nin Temsili", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:10 (İstanbul,1331), p.2893 , and see:

" Türklük Şunu: Büyük Yarın ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.7 No:2 (İstanbul,1330), p.2446

24. Cim. Sin., op.cit.

25. " Türklük Şunu: Osmanlıların İslam Alemine Müstevli İngilizlere İkinci Mühim Galebeleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:4 (İstanbul,1332), p.3014

26. At this point, two references are available; first: " Türklük Şunu: Harbin Sene-i Devriyesi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:4 (İstanbul,1331), p.2806 , and secondly especially in connection with the case of Kitchener, a quote:

" The pride of Great Britain who has for centuries been sucking the blood of mankind and especially that of Muhammedans , has grown much too large to be sheltered by the lands and seas and therefore must have irritated the Lord just like the magnificence of the ancient Nemrouds had. "

" Türklük Şunu:Kitchenerin Batması ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:8 (İstanbul, 1332), p.3078 ; for the original Ottoman-Turkish version, see the Appendix No:31

27. A news item, in exhibition of a deep pride in this conquest, states;

" Thank God, Bucharest has been occupied by the German, Hungarian, Turkish and Bulgarian troops. "

" Türklük Şunu: Bükreş'in Zaptı ve İttifakın Sulh Teklifi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:8 (İstanbul,1332), p.3278

28. " Türklük Şunu: Sina Cephesinde Muvaffakiyetler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:4 (İstanbul,1333), p.3405

29. " Türklük Şunu: Cihan Harbinin Türk Dünyasındaki Tesirleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:4 (İstanbul,1331), p.2574

30. " Türklük Şunu: Van'ın İstirdadı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:12 (İstanbul,1331), p.2726

31. " Türklük Şunu: Mütteliklerimizizin Karpatlarda Muvaffakiyetleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:5 (İstanbul, 1331), p.2590

32. " Türklük Şunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:13 (İstanbul, 1331), p.2742

33. " Türklük Şunu: Çanakkale Cenklere ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:7 (İstanbul, 1331), p.2646

34. Akdes Nimet Kurat, Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye'de Bulunan Alman Generallerinin Raporları (Ankara, 1966), p.60
35. Ibid..
36. " Türklük Şunu: Çanakkale Cenkleri ", in op.cit.
37. " Türklük Şunu. ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:2 (İstanbul, 1331), p.2628
38. Ibid., p.2629
39. " Türklük Şunu: Çanakkale'ye Giden Hey'et-i Edebiye ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:10 (İstanbul,1331), p.2693
40. " Türklük Şunu: Kadın Efendi Hazretlerinin Asker Evlatlarına İltifat ve Şefkati ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:6 (İstanbul,1331), p.2617
41. Kurat, op.cit., p.26
42. Ibid., p.39
43. Ibid., p.43
44. Ibid., p.79
45. Ibid..

46. Ibid., p.44

47. The great anxiety was very obvious in the lines of Falih Rifki Atay after the outbreak of the Irkçılık-Turancılık Meselesi (Problem of Racism-Turanianism); according to the author's view, having derived the necessary lessons from the results of 1911, 1912, 1914, 1919; he pointed out that Turkey can no longer afford such a policy. For a detailed argument, see:

Irkçılık-Turancılık, Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü
Yayın No:4 (Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1944), p.36

7.1. GERMAN INTEREST IN ASIA MINOR

The German orientalist, Professor Martin Hartmann of Berlin University, came to Turkey in 1909. (1) The reason for his visit was to gain more knowledge of Turkey. The Türk Ocakları discussed with him the rising trend in the relations between Germany and the Ottoman Empire from the late 19th Century onwards; initiated by the fact that Baghdad's Railroad contract was awarded to the German Empire. Due to the worsening relations between Turkey and Great Britain after the outbreak of the March 31st rebellion, the Turco-German relations improved in the mind of the Ottoman intellectuals. Professor Hartmann pointed out that most important to Turkey was its existence in Asia Minor. Therefore Turkish nationalism needed to adopt the ideology of Anadoluculuk (Anatolianism) and Memleketçilik (Motherlandism). (2)

It is true that, even from the first issue, Türk Yurdu, always denoted the conditions the Anatolian people redly had and tried to show its comparative status amongst the other ethnics. (3) The journal stressed Anatolia in different erticles and contexts. (4)

Concurrent with the intensification of the war the German interest in Anatolia became clear. With the Turkish victory over the allied forces at Gallipoli, the German dreams of mastering the world was revitalised; with

Anatolia being central to this goal. The journal articles, which were written in German stressed the Oriental, especially Anatolian studies which was not accidental. It is remarkable that these journals proposed immigration from the west as a means to the restoration of Asia Minor.(5)

7.2. INCREASING GERMAN INTEREST IN TURCOLOGY

The catalogue of Turkish studies published by the most famous printing house at that time ; Otto Harrasowitz, shows us that the increasing interest in the Middle East.(6)

Under these circumstances, Halide Edip Hanım wished to publish her novel entitled Yeni Turan (New Turan) in German. Despite some obstacles, this was realized. (7) All of these things show that the Germans intended to establish amiable relations with Turkey, using their world position of hegemony. After this, German cultural influence on the Ottoman Empire they desired to influence the economy. Another gesture made by Imperial Germany, which pleased the Ottomans was the presentation of a library collection of Turkish studies, accumulated in Berlin over the course of many years. This collection was given to the Ottoman House, which became a section of the Müze-i Hümâyûn Kütüphanesi (The Royal Library). The idea for the library came from the Turco-German Association at Berlin. (8)

7.3. FRIENDSHIP SOCIETES AND EXCHANGES OF GOODWILL

In the most critical days of the war, as a way to reinforce the relations between Turkey and Germany, both sides agreed to form a social club; led by the German Orientalists, the most important of whom was Professor Martin Hartmann, a club was established in Berlin, and a counterpart was opened in İstanbul on September 20, 1331 (2 October 1915), which the Ottoman ruling elite paid great attention to. The speaker of the Ottoman Empire, Halil Bey (Menteşe), and the Minister of Internal Affairs, Talat Bey (Later Paşa) and Enver Paşa respectively all were present at the opening ceremony, held at Tokatlıyan Hotel in Beyoğlu. (9)

Being participants in the same struggle, the two sides became more closely allied. For this reason the Ottoman government decided to construct a lavish building. Enver Paşa was invited to the ceremony of laying the foundation. (10)

With the intention of improving the relations, German Keiser, Wilhelm II, made a official visit to İstanbul. This was his third visit to Turkey. (11) This was not the only gesture made from the German side, as the Germans also formed the Hilâl Ordugahları (Concentration Camps for the Muslim Captives), and gave better facilities to the Muslim war captives the Germans acquired from the British, Russian

and French. The Ottoman government openly welcomed this gesture sending a delegate to visit the concentration camps of these Muslim soldiers. (12)

7.4. RAILWAY POLICY IN ANATOLIA

After the war of 1870-1 and the establishment of the German Union, Germany became one of the most prominent actors of the European concert. The period following the establishment of the German Empire until World War I has been described as the struggle for world power between Germany and Britain; and Germany desired to change the status quo to her advantage. For that reason, Germany was in need of new areas to penetrate economically. The German interest in Anatolia was grounded in the desire to use this area of the world to gain a foothold in other strategic areas.

The Baghdad railroad project was useful for both Sultan Abdulhamid II and his Pan-Islamic policy and to the imperialist aims of Germany. This being so, nothing impeded the construction of this project. It was nearly completed, except for some secondary lines necessary in completing a network through Anatolia down to the Mesopotamia.

Germany promoted a new project linking Berlin with Istanbul with the goal of producing the quickest and most cost efficient network to transport manufactured goods. An article discussing the project was written by Tekin Alp (Moiz Kohen) because he was involved in Turco-German relations as the war continued. (13) The railroad project, which greatly improved things, was called Balkan Sürat Katarı (Balkan Speed Train). (14)

Because of the system and the subsequent increase in economic activities problems in international law occurred. To resolve the complications that arose an international committee was established. (15)

7.5. LONG TERM GERMAN DESIGNS IN THE OTHER PARTS OF MIDDLE EAST

Further data will reveal valuable insights into the into the German-Turkish relations as the war continued. Dr. Von Franz Stuhlmann and his colleague Karl Rathen organized a club which was interested only in the Middle East studies. They produced a series of complete works dealing with primarily the benefits of Germany in the Near East. Following the publication of the first work, Türk Yurdu asked R.M. Fuad to translate it partially into Turkish. (16)

The theory had been advanced that, in the long run, the Germans could only extend its power at the expense of the British, whose power would be reduced to as little as possible. For Britain to have contact with more easily with her colonies, the most important of which was India, it was suggested that there should be a new direct line from Egypt through the Arabian Peninsula without using the sea. (17)

As to the events in the Arab Peninsula during the war, Imam Yahya of Yemen was praised because he was obedient to the Ottoman rulers and the orders that the Sublime Port sent. What was most important issue from the standpoint of German self-interest was the prospective rule of Bahrein Islands, which was a base for the British since 1893 continued. After becoming more solid, the advice given to Ottoman Empire was nothing but to push back the British as far as possible. Even if it would not be realized, the least that could be achieved should be conditions; supplying equal rights of free trade to both sides for the post-war time in the Persian Gulf. (18)

7.6. A SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE NORTHERN TURKISH
STUDENTS IN GERMANY

The rising sympathy for the Turks under Russian rule took the form of demands for a club specifically concerned with financial aid to the students of Turco-Tatar origin. In the opening ceremony of Berlin Türk Kulübü (Berlin Turkish Club), on April 10, 1334 (23 April 1918), the greatest honor, among the visitors invited from Turkey, was bestowed upon Abdürreşid İbrahim Efendi. In the first meeting, the executive board of Berlin Turkish Club decided for ten scholarships, each one of 1800 D.M. yearly allowance, to be given to Turkish students of Northern origin, studying in German universities. (19)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Dr. Martin Hartmann, " Mektuplar: Almanya'dan Gelen Bir Mektup ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.7 No:5 (İstanbul,1330), p.2484

2. The central message of the same letter sent to Mehmet Emin Bey can be deduced from the paragraph ;

" It is necessary to modernize Anatolia and in this respect improve the public health and agricultural conditions there. "

Ibid., p.2485 ; for the original version see the Appendix No:32

3. letters and articles from different places illustrating the conditions of the Turkish people were frequently encountered. For instance, one of those, entitled " İzmir ve Türkler ", after having taken a comparative look at both sides; the Christian community and Turks, follows with an interesting description of the Turks' conditions;

" Turks here are engulfed in a depravity, people scattered everywhere and poor by the thousands; one feels like crying in witnessing their conditions because if this is the state of Turks in İzmir who knows what their conditions are in Anatolia. "

Nafi Atuf, " Hususi Muhabirlerimiz: İzmir ve Türkler ",
Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:7 (İstanbul,1328), p.211 ; see the
 Appendix No:33

4. The new enthusiastic view toward Anatolia differing very much that of the classical Ottoman one can be seen under the lines below;

"Anatolia is the motherland, we suck life from her breasts of golden grain, she is our provider."

" Anadoluya Dair ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:4 (İstanbul, 1332), p.2999 ; see the Appendix No:34

5. Türk Yurdu refers to one of the German journals that involved mostly Ottoman issues, entitled the Alman Sark Ceridesi (The German Oriental Review), and also in the article, a reference is made to Der Aufban Anatoliens Deutschen Levente Zeitung, Hamburg: 7/1916

Ibid., 2999-3000

6. Sin, "Yeni Eserler: Yeni Bir Katalog", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:5 (İstanbul,1333), p.3420

7. " Türklük Şunu: Almanya'da Türk Edebiyatı ",
Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:12 (İstanbul,1331), p.2934

8. " Türklük Şuunu: Sultan Mehmed-i Hamis Kütüphanesi ",
Vol.12 No:2 (İstanbul, 1333), p.3373

9. " Türklük Şuunu: Türk ve Alman Dostluk Yurdu ",
Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:3 (İstanbul, 1331), p.2789

10. " Türklük Şuunu: Türk-Alman Dostluk Yurdu ",
Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:7 (İstanbul,1333), p.3438

11. Great attention was paid to this visit by many different circles in İstanbul, and all newspapers published related articles. Türk Yurdu also joined this exhuberant wellcome in its headlines:

" This is the third visit by his majesty the Emperor to İstanbul and his previous onces had started on 21 Teşrin-i-evvel 1305 (2 November 1889), and 6 Teşrin-i evvel 1314 (19 October 1898). "

" Alman İmparatoru II. Wilhellm Hazretlerinin İstanbul Ziyaretleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:6 (İstanbul,1333), p.3644 ; for the original headline see the Appendix No:35

12. The majority of the captives were the Turks that had once fought on the Russian front against Germany. They were now being interned in the Hilâl Ordugâhları under good provisions by the German Government.

In one of those, a Muslim celebration, the Kurban Bayramı (The Muslim Festival of Sacrifice) were performed together with the people coming from different places throughout the Turkic World.

The international islamic spirit was heightened by speeches. Türk Yurdu refers to the incident by a news item, with the help of Alemcan Efendi's translation, all involved shared similar feelings.

Ayn. Elif, " Almanya'da Müslüman Esir Ordugâhlarında Kurban Bayramı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:10 (İstanbul,1332), p.3307 ; for further details see the Appendix No:36

13. The Berlin-İstanbul rail-road was very crucial because of the necessity of unfettered and efficient circulation of all war materials between allies. Tekin Alp argues the point with a detailed article; see:

Tekin Alp, " İktisadiyat: Berlin-İstanbul Yolu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:10 (İstanbul,1331), pp.2895-98

14. Tekin Alp pointed out that:

" We have not been able to appreciate the importance of the Balkan Speed Railway whose opening was done in astentatious ceremonies a few days ago. "

Ibid., p.2896 ; see the Appendix No:37

15. With all the possible legal cases involving trade between the Balkan nations including Austria-Hungarian Empire would be solved by the committee mentioned.

Türk Yurdu gave the news as:

" A legal and economic committee specialized to Balkan countries and Near East has been established under the name of International Legal Committee. "

" Türklük Şuunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:11 (İstanbul, 1332), p.3326

16. A critique of the German article, Der Kampf um Arabien Zwischen der Turekei und England - Von Franz Stuhlman- Verlag Von George Westermann-Hamburg Braunschweig, Berlin appeared in R. M. Fuad's "Müttefiklerimiz Düşündükleri: Türkiye ve Arabistan", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:3-4 (İstanbul,1332), pp.3187-95 ,3215-16

17. Ibid., p.3194

18. The critic, in explaining the details of the German claims, points out:

" Persian Gulf must be open for free trade and for this reason the British influence at least its absolute sovereignty over this gulf must be broken "

Ibid., p.3215 ; see the Appendix No:38

19. " Rusyalı İslâm Şakirdlerine Yardım Cemiyeti ",
Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:10 (İstanbul,1334), p.4303

VIII. MAGYARS AND THEIR PAN-TURANIST IDEAL

- 8.1. The Question of National Origins
in Hungary
- 8.2. The Dream of Pan-Turanian State
- 8.3. Hungarian Idea of Anatolia Untapped
- 8.4. Closer Turkish-Hungarian Relations
Shared National Euphoria

8.1. THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL ORIGINS IN HUNGARY

When one looks at the ideological background of Turanist movement in Hungary, it will be seen to have, in its concurrent, a parallelism with the political sentiments of Pan-Turanianism in both the Ottoman Empire and the Turks under Russian rule.

Such intellectual inclinations in Hungary were first noted in Oural-Altai studies and this scientific concern was to transform itself into strong political sentiments of the great ideal of Turan.

This wide-spread interest can be, in a general sense, traced back to 1890, at that time;

" Nagy made his debut with a series of articles in Etnographia in which Oural-altay field-work was an object of serious concern, both as an academic and political question. " (1)

Controversies raging in the Macaristan Cemiyet-i Turaniyesi (The Magyar-Turanian Society), founded in Budapest on December 1910, resulted in close contacts with Pan-Turanist counterparts in Istanbul. The society began publishing the bi-monthly Turan as an official journal. (2)

In order to gain a basis of social support, it attempted to investigate in fields that could be worked on as

a regular periodical. Turan, in its first issue, publishing articles mainly written by Teleki and his close friend Paikert seemed to come out strong in its pronouncements aiming as much at the public at large as at members of the Magyar-Turanian Society. (3)

Another monthly, A Cél (The Aim) was founded in 1910, and later both of the periodicals were to become a forum of debate accessible to all Turanist ideologues. (4)

A Cél's editorial board decided to publish an hortatory piece by Akçuraoğlu Yusuf of Kazan to demonstrate their strong feelings of solidarity with other Turks. (5)

8.2. THE DREAM OF PANTURANIAN STATE

Beginning with early 1911 perhaps with the impetus gained by a series of public lectures they began to acquire an increasing level of power and influence to the extent that they were given permanent offices in Magyar Parliamentary building. (6)

Almost from the start, it can be said that;

" A new Turanist ideological offensive was being launched in Budapest. This took the form of a spirited publique campaign through a variety of outlets such as

periodicals, newspapers, pamphlets and some organizational ventures that apparently took place independently of the Turanian Society. " (7)

Some ceremonies and stage shows were organized, for the purpose of setting up close relations with other Turanian brothers. For instance, the students of the University of Budapest performed a musical show in honour of Ahmet Hikmet Bey (Müftüoğlu) who was the Başşehbender (Consul General) of the Ottoman Government there. (8)

The official recognition of Pan-Turanist ideology in Budapest political circles met an extra-ordinarily wide welcome by the middle of 1915.

The Society emerged into the public limelight, and gained a degree of governmental approbation and further support. Working under the existing war-time conditions, and aided by governmental patronage to some extent the Turanian claim was to be further reinforced in time.

If the precise character and the theoretical framework of the developments in Budapest is brought under observation, a general emphasis is seen on the theme which is central to Pan-Turanic ideology; namely, the assumption that the Magyars, Bulgars, and Ottoman Turks are ideologically linked nations as well as closely allied states.

The goal was stated in terms of future ideals, the Pan-Turanic United State, proving the fact that ideals and principles of the ideology were put into effect wherever and whenever possible.

One of the events which in fact highlighted this trend occurred in December 1915. At this time, a few of leading figures distinguished among Turkist ideologues on exile arrived in Budapest as part of a lecture tour to inform audiences about the absolutist Russian rule. In the Hungarian capital, a strong manifestation of Pan-Turkist ideas once more made a public appearance and the delegation was accorded an enthusiastic reception. (9)

In fact, the most important single factor contributing to the appeal of Pan-Turanism was World War I itself. A rising Pan-Turanist trend was seen throughout the War. What provoked this was clearly the alliance of smaller states to stand up to the Great Powers.

Ideological correspondence as well as close contacts in governmental circles was kept up between the two sides and 1917, as a consequence of the fast growing relations, eight members of the society participated in the founding of the Magyar-Turkish Friendship Society in Budapest. What is more important is that members of the society also filled some prominent political jobs in both high institutions and other state affairs.

Some eminent Pan-Turanists were to be appointed to posts in important agencies with locations ranging from Bulgaria to Turkey. In addition to all these, there was the case of the Hungarian Institute in İstanbul, founded in 1916. (10)

The President of the Magyar-Turanian Society, Teleki Palgrof (Count Paul Teleki) visited İstanbul in 1330 (1914). He gave powerful speeches in both the Türk Ocakları and Türk Yurdu. These speeches carried Turkish Nationalists to feel closer to their Magyar brothers. (11)

Despite the fact that the prevailing conditions in all areas of life were drastically altered by the war, the old Great Powers imposing their will on the course of the war. It is remarkable that the last two years of the war produced very few changes, with respect to the ideological and sentimental affinity, on the overall position of the Turanist movement in Budapest and in the Hungarian provinces. (12)

In order to attain greater prominence, and globally broaden the social appeal of the Society, a series of thirty lectures were delivered in the capital city of Budapest, by a group of speakers during the period of 1917-1918. (13)

Here another point worth mentioning is that some Pan-Turanist Magyars seemed to have expected that upon the conclusion of the World War, Japan would revert to

a policy of realignment with the German-Turanian military powers, and in the words of one of the authors:

" In consequence, Japan would become the easternmost bastion of the Turanian World, which would then extent from Budapest, Tokyo, and from Kazan to İstanbul. " (14)

8.3. HUNGARIAN IDEA OF ANATOLIA UNTAPPED

Examining the aims of Magyar Turanists more closely, at least theoretically, it appears that the Magyar ideal magnified to such an extent that it became sort of an Imperialist aim which differed from its early Nationalist embryo.

An indicator of the idea that the Magyar Turanist ideal had, to some extent, an imperialist dimension is seen in the publications of Türk Yurdu. The ten page-long article entitled Macaristan'ın Turanilikteki Rolü (The Function of Hungary in Turan), with footnotes for Ottoman-Turkish readers, was published in Türk Yurdu on April 17th of 1330 (30 April 1914).

The article shows, first of all, to what extent Turkish Nationalists, gathering around Türk Yurdu paid attention to the views set forth in the original article which had earlier been published in the first issue of A Cél in 1914.

Above all, in the aforementioned article, Dr. Albert Bãro Nyãry, the general director of A Cãl, claims that there is no kavm (race) but Turks keeping this claim at the forefront he argues for the would-be (prospective) political alliance between Turks, Bulgarians and Magyars based on the feelings stemming from the common Oural-Altai historical origins.

With regard to relations with the Ottoman-Turks in the economic sphere, as an initial attempt, he urges the government to send young graduate Magyars especially from the Faculty of Agriculture to Anatolia so that they may be the leading entrepreneurs among their Anatolian Turkish brothers, adding that Anadolu Kãmilèn Hail ve Bãkirdir (Anatolia is virgin land, scarcely inhabited). according to Nyãry, the well developed domestic human resources of Hungary including highly trained members of the society such as doctors, engineers should have gone to the virgin Anatolia, but instead they insistently preferred to go to the United States or Japan and China. He argues that, if a coordinated programme could be put into effect, the Zsolna Factories, a textile company in Hungary, could export ten times more than it did at the time. A strong anti-Slavic and anti-Iranian feeling constantly present up to the final pages arguing that all Ural-Altay Akvamı (Oural-Altai Races) should be brought under one single political union. (15)

Concerning the economic issues dealing with the productive and untouched Anatolian resources, it can be said that Turanist objectives, at least at a theoretical level, were on many points quite close to an imperialist design. (16)

8.4. CLOSER TURKISH-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS; SHARED NATIONAL EUPHORIA

The Ottoman-Turks named an important artery, Macar Kardeşler Caddesi (Magyar Brother's Street), on the occasion that the Magyars named an avenue in Budapest Sultan Mehmet Caddesi (Sultan Mehmet Street). This was of course primarily a gesture of friendly policy towards an ally. The Ottoman-Turks started Magyar language instruction in the Darülfünûn (University of Istanbul) and The Magyar Red Cross Committee visited Istanbul to help its colleagues; the Çapa Dar'ül-muallimat building was assigned for the Committee's use. (17)

Professor Mesaroş, who was in charge of the Magyar Linguistic Studies Department in the Darülfünûn, wrote an Ottoman-Turkish article, and as a gesture it was published concurrently in both Turan, the periodical of the Magyar Turanian Society and Türk Yurdu, the periodical of Turkish Nationalist action in Istanbul. (18)

Above all, Enver Paşa was given an honorary Ph.D. degree by the Budapest University. So as is clearly seen in the preceding lines, there were strong feelings of cooperation between the two sides. We learn also of the symbolic existence of Magyar troops in the Ottoman Army on the Iraqi Front at times a scene of bloody battles. According to Elles, president of the Magyar Club in Istanbul, the Ottoman victories were partly owed to the cooperation of these forces. (19)

Another example of war-time cooperation was the case of a Magyar instructor named Avar Yula Aver beginning to give linguistic courses for Turks in the Dostluk Yurdu (Friendship Association). (20)

The above developments of course took place as a result of the ideological cooperation which evolved in time on both sides and did not take place at once.

After all these developments, there remains one more point to be kept in mind concerning the events of those days which is that Turkish students were sent to the Hungarian capital, Budapest to study agriculture, economics, and architecture. (21)

Such short term cooperation in contrast with durable alliances should be understood within the context of Pan-Turanic sentiments evoked by speeches as;

" Hearts are being opened out from the banks of Danube to Istanbul, hands are being extended out, in our hearts awakens the love of blood brothers seperated for a thousand years, in our eyes shines the sparkles of our old common fireplace. " (22)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Joseph A. Kessler, Turanism and Pan-Turanism in Hungary 1890-1945 (Michigan,1967), p.70
2. Ibid., p.108
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.126
5. Ibid., p.108
6. Ibid., p.126
7. Ibid.
8. " Türklük Şunu: Turanlılar Arasında ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:2 (İstanbul,1331), p.2542
9. Kessler, op.cit., p.135
10. Ibid.
11. "Türklük Şunu: Turan Cemiyeti Reisi Kont Teleki", Türk Yurdu, Vol.6 No:5 (İstanbul,1330), p.2174
12. Kessler, op.cit., p.145
13. Ibid., p.149
14. Ibid., p.155

15. Dr. Nyàry Albert, " Macaristan'ın Turanilikteki Rolü ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.6 No:4 (İstanbul,1330), pp.2117-27
16. Kessler, op.cit., p.155
17. " Türklük Şunu: Türk-Macar Kardeşler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:2 (İstanbul,1332), p.2982
18. Dr. Mesaroş, " Matbuat ve Yeni Eserler: Yeni Doğuya Doğru: Turan Mecmuası ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:8 (İstanbul,1333), p.3464
19. " Türklük Şunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:1 (İstanbul,1333), p.3566
20. Ibid., p.3565
21. Ibid.
22. Dr. Mesaroş, op.cit., p.3465 ; for the original version of quotation see the Appendix No:39

IX. THE COMMITTEE OF UNION AND PROGRESS COMES TO POWER

- 9.1. Changes in The CUP's Ideological Attitude
- 9.2. Prominent of Conventions of CUP
- 9.3. Some Matters of Priority of CUP
- 9.4. Talat Paşa's Premiership
- 9.5. The Attempts To Settle Some of The Nomads
- 9.6. Change of The Calendar
- 9.7. Some Internal Characteristics
of The Party
- 9.8. Paramilitary Organizations

9.1. CHANGES IN THE C.U.P.'S IDEOLOGICAL ATTITUDE

Before we deal with the policy put forward by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), it is necessary to outline how such an organization appeared.

While in a transitional stage, the Ottoman State apparatus, as it came into grips with the western challenge, produced some outputs at both the economic and socio-political level, which cleared the way for the emergence of the CUP.

In connection with the CUP, one can agree that:

"their ambitions were not wholly unworthy of respect. If they wanted to put an end to the autocracy of Abdülhamid less on humanitarian grounds than because it was from the practical point of view, a failure, they undoubtedly wanted to rehabilitate the power and prestige of the Empire." (1)

Before arriving at nationalist ideology, the CUP had undergone several phases, each of which reflected a different political era in the late Ottoman period.

The following passage sheds some light on the political stance of the CUP before the nationalist period:

"It is not easy to define precisely the meaning which the Young Turks of the Committee attached to their

ideal of Pan-Ottomanism, they did not aim at the exclusive racial Turanianism of the subsequent nationalists "(2)

During its evolution, from a utopic Pan-Ottomanist policy towards a Nationalist-Turkist point of view, an anonymous critic, wrote that the political current of the Committee of Union and Progress, at least at the level of political theory did not seem clear. Its principles were general and needed serious discussions. (3)

The conclusions that were reached by nationalists, (including those in the CUP) after discussing the way ahead fell into two categories:

In the first category were those-the maximalists- who believed that a political party could be established only on the principles of pure Turkism and the pursuit of the Pan-Turanian ideal; in the other category, the "minimalists" followed a more liberal policy, arguing for the limited aim of a national state and party membership for all citizens of the state irrespective of race or religion. The debate between these two groups was carried out in the pages of Tanin (Booming). (4)

The CUP, at the begining, seemed a little suspicious of taking up political power openly, preffering to work in secret. This period extended to 1913, when the CUP

staged a coup dé état and asked Sultan Reşat to appoint Mahmut Sevket Paşa as prime minister.(5)

9.2. PROMINENT OF CONVENTIONS OF C.U.P.

The revolutionary identity of the CUP was clear from the words of members participating into the 1329 (1913) Congress. Some other realities also were apparent both the nationalist stress in programme and Talat Bey's rise to unchallengable power started from that critical 1329 Congress and developed further.(6)

These development occurred before the Ottoman State entered the First World War. By the time of the 1332 (1916) Congress, both the political atmosphere and the inner structure of the Committee of Union and Progress seemed to have changed completely.

At two p.m. on September 15, the 1332 Congress opened under the presidency of Prime Minister Sait Halim Paşa, the most important issue, although there were many other difficulties, including the uprising of Sheriff Hussein in Syria and Hidjaz, was the Armenian problem.(7)

9.3. SOME MATTERS OF PRIORITY OF C.U.P.

The Maarif Mes'elesi (Problem of Education) had always been a difficult one to overcome regardless of who was in power in the late Ottoman period. This was also the case with the Young Turk Government (Genç Türk Hükümeti as they call themselves). After having taken political power into their hands, the CUP seemed, despite the fact that the government had decided to participate in war, very eager to set up a new educational system. In order to achieve this goal, the system required total overhaul.

When looking at Türk Yurdu, many articles dealing with educational issues appeared. For example, reform in Dar'ülfünûn (University) was paid much attention in particular.

The journal itself in an editorial article mentioned that it would not be a false belief if it was said that the year of 1331(1915)-the date the issue was published- should be considered the most accomplished year in educational affairs compared to former times'(8)

In view of the difficulties facing Dar'ülfünûn, it was clear that the university required total reform and re-establishment under a central authority, to this end even the Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Sahane (Faculty of Political Sciences), and Maliye Mektebi (School of Finance) lost

their autonomy and were reconstructed within university departments. Every department, before the law, was to be equal. (9)

These educational changes were made within a short span of time. However, remarkably, despite the war, social and economic reforms continued under the CUP leaders.

In order to look at their social perspective, it should now be considered what some associations, such as Müdafaa-ı Milliye Cemiyeti (National Defence Association), and Darüleytams (Orphanages) did for the Ottoman society. For instance, the government, in cooperation with Müdafaa-ı Milliye Cemiyeti opened some 'soup kitchens' for poor people, in such places as İzmir, Bairut, Damascus and İstanbul. (10) In the face of thousands of orphans created by both Balkan and First World Wars, the Maarif Nezareti (Ministry of Education) also set up Dar'üleytams. (11) At that time, the number of children cared by government offices amounted to thousands. Out of 6150 in the provinces, 2200 were totally in the care of the government. Besides activities by the State, in the name of the ruling party, İttihat ve Terakki (Union and Progress) founded an orphanage for 40 children in Bursa. (12)

9.4. TALAT PAŞA'S PRIMERSHIP

According to one political theory, each social group coming to power must reach temporary agreement with the present-effective forces. This view was set forward in Türk Yurdu when Talât Paşa was made Prime Minister, through the Imperial Decree, dated 12 Kânun-ı Sâni 1332 (25 January 1916). (13)

In explaining the causes of Talat's rise to power, the Südûr Nazariyesi (Theory of Emanition) was applied in Türk Yurdu. (14)

Talat Paşa took advantage of political incidents to reinforce his own career. This process led directly to the prime ministership and his later success.

9.5. THE ATTEMPT TO SETTLE SOME OF THE NOMADS

Among the policies pursued by the CUP governments, after the proclamation of liberty and restoration of the constitution, was directed at persuading the nomadic people of Anatolia settle somewhere. The importance of this policy was mentioned by Kazım Nami in a series of articles. (15)

9.6. CHANGE OF THE CALENDAR

Coupled with the social changes was the need to accept a new system of measurement, which came into being during

the second constitutional period. Discussions upon a new calendar resulted in the acceptance of Gregorian Calendar on 16 Kânun-ı Sâni 1332 (29 January 1916), as for which date in the old system should be equal to the new, after technical consultations, it was decided that 16 Şubat 1332 would be equal to 1 March 1917. (16)

9.7. SOME INTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTY

The CUP, which was once an illegal committee, underwent a transformation with the passing of the time. From the time that the CUP gained power until the defeat of the Ottoman State, significant developments took place at both the ideological and political levels within the CUP.

According to the interpretations of a German reporter, the committee was transformed, despite its initial high ideals, into a network dominated by different cliques serving their own ends. This was especially the case in the war time.

At first sight, it can be easily seen that people such as İsmail Hakkı, Kara Kemal and Rahmi Bey were very different from one another. What is more, they were in competition with each other. There were also those like Mehmet Cavit whose importance lay his knowledge of financial affairs and Enver Paşa, who pursued his own ideals, namely the Pan-Turkic dream. In the view of the reporter just quoted the military-

wing of the CUP did not have enough political foresight and was caught in a web woven by more experienced figures behind the scenes.(17)

Though the Ottoman State had been exporting cereal grains before entering the war, the economy, in the war period, fell into rapid decay. It is true that, if a economy malfunctions even in peace, it could not be put in order in war conditions. Such was the case with the Ottoman economy, and the inflationary measures carried the economy into decay. Inflation was mainly due to increasing needs, which could not be satisfied in existing conditions.

It can be claimed finally that a disharmony between different sectors of the economy occurred during war conditions. As was mentioned above, the CUP fell into error in reorganising the economy, causing both a lack of resources and unequal distribution of what was available. Agricultural production for 1918 was sufficient to meet the needs of the army and the people on the southern side of the Taurus mountains, and other available places of the country. Furthermore, in some areas of the Anatolian provinces, crops from 1916 and 1917 were still stockpile.(18)

How then can the great dissatisfaction in the army and the main cities be explained? How was it that the government urgently sought cereals from Rumania and Ukraine

just to meet the food demands of İstanbul? These questions could be answered, to some extent, in terms of incapable and unqualified cadres, without regard to other socio-political determinants. (19)

9.8. PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS

Concurrent with the ideological transformation, some new organizations began to appear from the early stages of the Second Constitutional period. Ragıp Nurettin, who was influenced by the mottoes of Baden Powell, introduced the term scouting into Ottoman life for the first time in the periodical Say ve Tetebbu (Labour and Research) in 1910. (20) In the following year, Nafi Atuf Bey and such people as Ahmet and Abdurrahman Robenson played major roles in propagating such activities.

The first groups were organised in Mekteb-i Sultani (Galatasaray Lycee) and Dar'üş-şafaka (School for Orphans) and scouting ideology was reinforced with the foundation of Türk Gücü Cemiyeti (Turkish Force Association), which can be considered an extension of Turkist-nationalism. By this time scouting activities were transformed into something else. Enver Paşa, inviting the President of the Belgian Scouting Association, M. Parfitse, to İstanbul in 1914, charged him with reorganizing the scouting groups as Osmanlı Güc Dernekleri (Ottoman Power Associations) in 1914. (21)

These organizations can be seen as the foundation of the youth militia forces, which were formed under the command of the Defence Ministry. (22)

The Ottoman Power Association were divided into two broad categories:

a-Gürbüz Derneği (Sturdy's Association); for 12-17 years old boys.

b-Dinç Derneği (Vigorous's Association); 17 and upwards

Regarding the penetration of para military ideology into youth, the advice by the Minister of Defence can be considered as the best examples of how this was done. (23)

In order to strengthen organizations, Selim Sirri Bey and a foreign expert, Von Hof (H.V.F.) were both appointed to the top positions in in the Ottoman Power Associations. (24)

In connection with ideological problems, periodicals, books, and pamphlets were distributed to young people. These publications included Osmanlı Genç Derneklerinin Ehemmiyeti ve Maksud-ı Tarz-ı Mesaisi (The Importance of Ottoman Young Associations and Their Methods in Practice), and Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri Hıfzıssıhha Kavaidi (The Hygienic Laws of the Ottoman Young Associations), and Silah Altına Celb Edilecek Dinçlerin İcra Edilecek İmtihanlarına Mahsus Talimatname (The Instruction of Examinations for the Dinçs to be Conscribed). (25)

Having looked at the history of such activities, it would be a good step now to explore the ideological tools used to attain nationalist targets. It is obvious that in some speeches there were clear Social Darwinist tendencies. (26)

In the area of education and training, great attention was paid to physiological health and bodily force as a means of arousing aggressive attitudes. (27)

The provinces also took part in these activities, establishing their own associations; Konya and Eskişehir were the first, interestingly enough, each establishing a Yigit Türkler Ocağı (Hero Turks Hearth). (28) In Eskişehir, the Karacahisar Newspaper reported that 50 students under the command of their director had made a series of riding programmes. These same students were involved in the Eskişehir İdadisi (Senior High School). (29)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Sir Harry Luke, The Making of Modern Turkey (London,1936), p.148
2. Ibid., p.149
3. A. Y., " Türk Aleminde ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No:21 (İstanbul,1328), p.663
4. The interpretation was clear enough:

" Sırf Türklük esası üzerine kurulmuş bir fırka-i siyasiye teskilini menfaat-i vatan ile kabil-i telif görmüyorlar. " (18 August 1328),Tanin.

The appearance of this article would mark the initiation of a process off differentiation in politics, and surfacing of sharply different views.

Ibid., p.664
5. Mete Tunçay, Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar (Ankara,1967), p.45
6. " Türklük Suunu: İttihat ve Terakki Yıllık Kongresi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.5 No:1 (İstanbul,1329),pp.876-880
7. " Türklük Suunu: İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti 1332 Senesi Kongresi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:3 (İstanbul,1332), p.3189

8. The time cleared the critical point of the Ottoman existence. The noteworthy paragraph was;

" 1331 senesi Osmanlı Maarif Nezaretinin en ziyade faaliyet gösterdiği bir yıl diye sayılsa, belki hata edilmiş olur. "

Sin. Ayn., " Maarif Yılı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:1 (İstanbul,1332), p.2961

9. Ibid., p.2962

10. " Türklük Şunu: Fakirler İçin ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:11 (İstanbul,1332), p.3325

11. Sin. Ayn., op.cit., p.2962

12. " Türklük Şunu: Bir Darüleytam Daha ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:1 (İstanbul,1331), p.2758

13. " Türklük Şunu: Talat Bey'in sadrlazamlığı ve Hey'et-i Vükelâ'da Tadilat ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:12 (İstanbul,1332), p.3340

14. Ibid., p.3341

15. Kazım Nami, "İzmir Mektupları", Türk Yurdu, Vol.5 No:9 (İstanbul,1329), p.1133

16. It seems that the Unionist governments were very close to put into implementation the modernization policies before the establishment of Republic. The examples, such as change of the calander system to Gregorian was significant in this respect.

" Türklük Şunu: Takvim-i Garbinin Parlamento'da Müzakeresi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:12 (İstanbul,1332), p.3342

17. Akdes Nimet Kurat, Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Alman Generallerinin Raporları (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1966), p.40

18. Ibid., p.54

19. Ibid., p.55

20. Zafer Toprak, " İttihat ve Terakki'nin Para-militer Gençlik Örgütleri ", Boğazici Üniversitesi Dergisi (İstanbul,1979), p.95

21. Ibid., p.96

22. Ibid., p.97

23. " Türklük Şunu: Güç Dernekleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.6 No:10 (İstanbul,1330), p.2336

24. " Türklük Suunu: Genç Dernekleri ", Türk Yurdu ,
Vol.10 No:12 (İstanbul,1332), p.3141

25. " Yeni Eserler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:3 (İstanbul,
1333), p.3597

26. The important statement of this speech was;

" Our time lack in mercy for those who are not very
much alive and sturdy and thus eradicates those in we
want a piece of land, a piece of property that we can claim
to be ours, we must be pretty tough and strong. "

" Türklük Suunu: Yarışta Türklük", Türk Yurdu, Vol.6
No:3 (İstanbul,1330), p.2112 ; for the original quotation
see the Appendix No:40

27. The fashionable saying;

" Türk Gücü Her Şeye Yeter. (Turkish Power is Omnipotent) "
was emotionally so appealing that it appeared in all the
powerful speeches. For some of the examples, see:

" Türk Gücü ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.3 No:11 (İstanbul,1329),
pp. 337-343

28. " Türklük Suunu: Yiğit Türkler Ocağı ", Türk Yurdu,
Vol.9 No:11 (İstanbul,1331), p.2917

29. The same trends were seen in different Anatolian provinces; in Türklük Suunu again, this news item was quoted from Karacahisar Newspaper, see:

" Türklük Suunu:Atlı İzçiler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10
No:3 (İstanbul,1332), p.2997

X. THE MAJOR ISSUE OF NATIONALIST INTELLIGENTSIA:
THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION

- 10.1. Samples of Self-Criticism
- 10.2. Inherited State of Education
- 10.3. The Attitude of The Governing Party
- 10.4. Some Comparative Evaluations About Schooling
- 10.5. The Controversy of Educational System:
National Education
- 10.6. Higher Education Reform
- 10.7. Some Radical Changes in The Educational Philosophy
- 10.8. Mim Rahmi Bey And New Attitudes in Education
- 10.9. Some Examples of Nationalist
Educational Press
- 10.10. New Basics of Child Training
- 10.11. Some Western Methods To Be Adopted
- 10.12. Mandatory Turkish Classes in Minority Schools
- 10.13. Some Potential Problems Raised
By The Western Methods
- 10.14. Towards The Republic:
National Education

10.1. SAMPLES OF SELF-CRITICISM

The critical factor in the Ottoman defeat in the Balkan Wars was the general backwardness of the whole Ottoman people. According to Ahmet Edip, had the level of education been higher, there would not have been such an undignified defeat, he argued, especially by Nations which were once under the rule of the Ottoman State.(1)

On this question, Kazım Nami expressed his ideas in a series of articles, entitled Yeni Hayata Doğru (Towards the New Life). He argued that while the masses had no education, the ignorance of the "so-called" educated class was the real determinant as the intelligentsia were more responsible than the masses for the fate of the country.

Kazım Nami looked at the state of science and technology in his own country, and concluded that there were no Turkish scientists or scholars or artists who could be put in the same category as their western counterparts. This was a pity, but it was nevertheless a reality.(2)

Kâzım Nami, criticizing the structure of education, said he felt ashamed when young Russian-Turk migrants came to Turkey because of the educational opportunities they believed existed there!

However, in the long run they were dissatisfied with the state of education; the Russian system was more

extensive and more effective than the Ottoman-Turkish one.

Almost all the malfunctions of the Turkish State, according to Kâzım Nami, were the result of a lack of education, leading the society into a vicious circle of utter ignorance.

An opportunity for Kâzım Nami to propagate his views arose when he went to İzmir with other nationalist writers, to investigate the influence of Türk Yurdu, on the growth of nationalist sentiment in the region.

The group, including Ağaoğlu and Köprülü, was given a warm welcome and the nationalist circle, the official members of CUP and the sympathisens of Türk Yurdu paid much attention to the visitors and their speeches. The results of the trip to İzmir convinced the nationalists that nationalist sentiments were spreading even in the provinces .

Before investigating further, it might be useful to appraise the educational heritage transferred into the hands of Young Turk governments, when the constitutional regime was re-established.

10.2. INHERITED STATE OF EDUCATION

One of the early Ministers of Education, Nail Bey in an interview with Sabah (Morning), published in the

issue of 5 Kânun-ı ~~ı~~ 1910, complained that the first serious education system had yet to be established. (3)

As of 1908, higher education was provided by the following official schools:

1. Dar'ül-fünûn (University)
2. İstanbul Hukuk Mektebi (School of Law)
3. Selânik Hukuk Mektebi (School of Law in Tslaniki)
4. Askeri Tıbbiyeler (Military Medical Schools)
5. Sam Tıphanesi (Damascus Medical School)
6. Harbiye (Military Academy)
7. Mekteb-i Mülkiye (School of Political Sciences)
8. Ticaret Mektebi (School of Economics)
9. Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi (School of Fine Arts)
10. Halkalı Ziraat Mektebi (School of Agriculture)
11. Orman Mektebi (School of Forestry)
12. Dar'ül-muallimin-i Âliye Mektebi (Faculty of Education)
13. Baytar Mektebi (Veterinary School) (4)

Furthermore, the Teacher's Training College in İstanbul, which was considered as a vocational school and not a university was subjected to reform in 1910. The new period in İstanbul Muallim Mektebi (İstanbul Teacher's Training College) began with the appointment of Satı Bey to the post of directorship in 13 Temmuz 1326 (26 July 1910). (5)

Satı Bey mentioned the need for a new programme, with the latest methods applied in all disciplines. The same view was taken by Emrullah Efendi in February 1910, when complaining:

"There are not enough teachers. We need about 70.000 teachers for primary schools. This is most important of all, because the foundation of education is in fact the primary education." (6)

10.3. THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNING PARTY

After the congress gathered in Selanik, on 31 Teşrisanisani 1910 (31 November 1910), a decision was reached that all the schools under the protection of İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (The Committee of Union and Progress) would be transformed into the İttihat ve Terakki Mektepleri (Schools of Union and Progress), and would be controlled directly by the central committee itself.

Real change in education began with the coming to power of the Hakkı Paşa government on 13 January 1910, which introduced the Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Lâyhası (Proposal of Primary Education), which had some similarities with the French system of education. (7)

The first consideration in the project was compulsory and free education for children between the

ages of seven and 13, giving everyone the right to a basic level of general education.(8)

Even though the proposal was tabled in the Meclis-i Meb'usan (Parliament) twice, it was not passed because the Parliament was preoccupied with many other urgent matters. Finally the proposal, with some changes, was put into law by the CUP government in 1913 as a Kanun-ı Muvakkat (Temporary Law) (9)

10.4. SOME COMPARATIVE EVALUATIONS ABOUT SCHOOLING

Even in the developed provinces, such as İzmir, there were more minority and missionary schools than government schools.

In İzmir, there were 11 government schools, compared to 11 missionary schools, 12 Armenian and 19 Jewish. In addition there was a teachers training college, two female teacher's training colleges, five preparatory schools, and 71 primary schools, all run by the Greek community.(10)

The superiority of non-Turkish schools was acknowledged by the Turks. İzzet Ulvi, a journalist with Türk Yurdu, made the following comments during a visit to Kayseri:

"There is a French school in the best street and a German school near the station. In such schools, which

have the status of İdadiye (Senior High School), many Christian have been learning foreign languages. This gave them advantages in all areas of life, especially in business." (11)

Another journalist, writing for Türk Yurdu, remarked that both Armenian and Greek schools were well-organized and well-integrated from primary to high schools. (12)

The problem of teaching nationalist values at schools was taken up by the nationalist elite at an early stage. Dr. Bahaeddin Şakir, for instance, in one of his lectures given at a branch of the Türk Ocakları, made a detailed analysis of socio-economic conditions in Anatolia. Bahaeddin Şakir drew attention to the lack of proper nourishment generally, the lack of adequate school buildings, and even the lack of proper clothing for school children, all of which he said was central to a successful educational process. (13)

To create a new, national educational system, the first requirement, according to Dr. Bahaeddin Şakir, was proper statistical data. An attempt to gather this information was made, and some useful technical data was produced. (14)

On the basis of this information, three basic divisions can be seen in the Turkish educational system of the time:

The Tâli Mektepler (Secondary Schools), the Ali Mektepler (Colleges including Darülfünun), and as elementary schools, there were İptidaiyeler (Primary Schools).

The Tâ'li Mektepler included İdadîs, Darülmüallimîn, Darülmüallimats, and some sort of Sanayi' Mektepleri and some Sultanis. (15)

As for the İptidai Mektepleri, an analogy could be made with the German Wolkschulen (People's Schools), but only in structure; in content, all public schools reflected the intellectual heritage of the French Revolution. (16)

Though it is true that some systematic attempts were made to reform the education system; the quality of education offered in the Second Constitutional era differed significantly from school to school in the following principal areas:

1. Tedris (Instruction)
2. Terbiye-i Fikriye (Teaching of Ideals)
3. Terbiye (Education) (17)

10.5. THE CONTROVERSY OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: NATIONAL EDUCATION

As one of the rising figures, Halide Edip Hanım argued that a basic level of Nationalist education should be provided in all kinds of schools.

At the same time, Halide Edip Hanım the old system of learning (with her own words: ezber tarz-ı tedris). According to Halide Edip, it was nothing but a system of learning by heart, and she argued for the introduction of more up-to-date methods. (18)

To ensure that the existing curriculum fitted in with nationalist objectives, a first step was taken with the withdrawal of the history books. After being checked in accordance with the nationalist interpretation of history, Ali İhsan Bey's books were returned to the schools. (19)

At the height of the debate over education, nationalist intellectuals set up an association to monitor intellectual developments; the Maarif Cemiyeti (The Association for Education). (20)

The centrality of history and philosophy to nationalist education was taken up by Nafi Atuf, a leading teacher and journalist. According to Nafi Atuf, a real teacher should first of all teach the history of civilization and then teach history from the viewpoint of philosophy. Nafi Atuf finally argued that this was essential to national progress in general. (21)

In connection with the above, Ali Haydar Bey also concerned with the problem of Talim ve Terbiye (Training and Teaching), arguing in particular the importance of nationalist education in primary schools as a prerequisite to the ideological transformation of the Ottoman Turks. Millet (Nation) and Vatan (Motherland) were concepts that needed to be grasped at the earliest age, he believed. (22)

10.6. HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM

In order to revitalise the higher education system, several significant measures were taken. First of all, in line with the government's goal of centralisation, the Mekteb-i Mülkiye (Faculty of Political Sciences)- an extremely popular and influential school, whose graduates hold some of the most important positions in the country- lost its autonomy in 1331 (1915) when it was transferred into a branch of Darülfünun.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs also decided that graduates of the Sultanis automatically had the right to enter the Mekteb-i Mülkiye, as a boarder of necessity. (23)

The Mekteb-i Bahriye-i Sahane (Naval Officers' School) were also reformed. New divisions were set up in various parts of Istanbul, in each of which specialised training was given.

Thus the first, in Heybeliada, was for deck officers (Güverte Zabiti); another, in the Haliç, was for officers training as marine engineers or navigators (the official term to define it was Çarkçı Zabiti). (24)

As part of the process of educational reform, a number of journals concerned solely with education appeared towards the end of 1331 (1915). For example, the various faculties of Darülfünûn - literature, law, medicine, sciences and mathematics- began to publish journals of their own regularly. (25)

10.7. SOME RADICAL CHANGES IN THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

An important book entitled Talim ve Terbiye'de İnkılab (Revolution in training and teaching) was published during the Balkan Wars. The author was İsmail Hakkı Bey (Baltacıoğlu), an eminent professor of pedagogical sciences at Darülfünûn. (26)

Criticising the old system, he said its real aim was nothing but the preservation of out of date concepts in the minds of students. According to İsmail Hakkı Bey, the teachers were uneducated and ignorant enough as it was and were the slaves of tradition. They were concerned with upholding and mystifying the old values; and nothing could be expected of that kind of teachers. (27)

It appears from a full analysis of what İsmail Hakkı believed that his akin was a new basis for education, emphasising Millî Ahlak Terbiyesi (National Moral Education) rather than the theoretical moral values, which had applied hitherto.

İsmail Hakkı Bey expressed the view that the people responsible for Talim ve Terbiye were only pursuing general and abstract concepts in education and had been from the early period of Second Constitutional Era. (28)

Later in the Republican period, İsmail Hakkı (Baltaçoğlu) wrote a booklet entitled Terbiyede Türke Doğru (Towards Turkey in Education) in which he argued that children should be steered in two basic directions. The first direction traversed the cultural values of a given society; and the second comprehended Medeniyet (in this context civilization), by which he meant the empirical rules governing the life of a whole social body. (29)

10.8. MİM RAHMİ BEY AND NEW ATTITUDES IN EDUCATION

The problem of education based on nationalist ideals had been always an area of social and political conflict; because education largely determines the conceptions and ideological background of the later generation.

Some Turkish experts with a pedagogical background such as Mim Rahmi and Kazım Nami wrote some critiques to create an informed public opinion on the question of nationalist education.

A new orientation in the teaching process was put on the agenda, resulting in a new school system. For example, Mim Rahmi, taking an alternative model from the western sources, wanted it to penetrate the old-fashioned Ottoman structure.

As a result of Rahmi Bey's initiative, the İş Mektepleri (Practical Art Schools) were created; their approach was based on the philosophical pragmatism of the American scholar John Dewey. (30)

Rahmi Bey elaborated his model further, in saying that the school should be modelled in accordance with the structure of its own society; if this were done, the young generation, the prospective graduates of the schools would never become confused and lose their way when they were confronted with real life. (31)

On the other hand, Ahmet Edip, who wrote rarely in Türk Yurdu, explained the declining state of Ottoman society and the defeat in the Balkan Wars; in terms of the cehalet (ignorance) was, as a matter of fact, the reason that comes the first and foremost amongst the others. (32)

10.9. SOME EXAMPLES OF NATIONALIST EDUCATIONAL PRESS

The Donanma Mecmuası (Naval Periodical), and the Öksüz Yurtları Mecmuası (Orphan's Dormitories Periodical), published in Konya were dedicated to the union and progress of all teachers, and all people concerned with teaching. (33)

In the publications field Muallim (Teacher) and La Pensée Turquie (Thought of Turk), under editorial responsibility of Halit Reşit Bey are also worth-mentioning. (34)

The Çocuk Edebiyatı Külliyyatı (Collected Works of Children Literature) was also published as a series under the title of Talebe Defteri (Notebook of Student). (35)

The teaching of ordinary people was also a matter of priority, with this in mind, the Association for National Education announced a writing competition in order to create two different sets of books, the Köylü Kütüphanesi (Library for Peasantry); and the Köy Hocası Kütüphanesi (Library for the Hodjas of the Villages). (36)

Each set of books approached the following subjects:

1. Dinini Bil (Know your religion)
2. Vatanını Bil (Knew your motherland)
3. Tarihini Bil (Know your history)
4. Güzelliği Bil (Know the beauty)
5. Dilini Bil (Know your language)

6. Doğruluğu Bil (Know moral values)
7. Sıhhatini Bil (Know your health)
8. Çalışmayı Bil (Know how to work)
9. Dünyayı Bil (Know the World)
10. Hakkını ve Vazifeni Bil (Know your rights and duties)
11. Muâşeretini Bil (Know your etiquette)

Booklets with these titles were later published by the Millî Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti (National Training and Teaching Association). (37)

According to one point of view, terbiye (training) is central to social cohesion and can not allowed to develop in an ad hoc fashion but must be guided in. (38)

10.10. NEW BASICS OF CHILD TRAINING

Concurrent with the 1908 proclamation of Mesrutiyet (Constitutional Monarchy), the word seciye (character) came into widespread use and eventually became absorbed by the literature of pedagogical sciences. (39)

One of the eminent writers in pedagogical sciences, in the constitutional and even in the republican period, Nafi Atuf, reflecting on the close relationship between seciye and terbiye (character and training), pointed out that a man of high moral character must have had a good terbiye. (40)

When a child begins the process of terbiye, the development of his moral character is of utmost importance, Nafi Bey believed. He wrote that this prescription was not a recommendation, but a necessity, so that the moral character of each individual should be fully rounded in the process of growing up.(41)

Nafi Atuf Bey complained strongly about the mechanistic teaching system which appeared in Turkish schools generally. He regarded the contemporary strict educational system as oppressive.(42)

The structure of new educational system led to the new nationalist generation to consider other methods in the science of education. From the point of view of western sources, Mim Rahmi Bey offered a orientation away from old fashioned Ottoman educational values.

10.11. SOME WESTERN METHODS TO BE ADOPTED

The motto seeking Tabiatın Göbeğinde Sağlam Bir Hayat (A Effective Life in Nature), the guiding principle of a European trend in education which sought the creation of schools in a natural enviroment, strongly influenced Ottoman intellectuals.

Leading educationists in the West, such as Edmund Desmoulin in 1889 and Herman Liech in 1898, who propagated this idea made Ottomans think about a new way to develop an enlightened country.

Mim Rahmi Bey, translated an important article in Türk Yurdu, entitled Yeni Terbiye Usulleri (New Training Methods).⁽⁴³⁾ that both Edmund Desmoulin and Herman Liech became very popular in the sense that their new orientation in teaching became a "formula" to save the Turkish nation. In studying the results of the methods Liech used, Mim Rahmi Bey seemed very impressed: this new method made children more advanced in their analytical abilities, with positive effects on decision making and evaluation and broadening their outlook on life.⁽⁴⁴⁾

However, these methods were criticised in Muallim Mecmuası (Teacher's Periodical), the author analysed two other articles, Milli Terbiye (National Training), which dealt mostly with Milli Hars (National Culture) as the starting point of Nationalism, and Asrımızın Terbiye Gayeleri (Aims of Training in Our Age), which demonstrated a social-Darwinist tendency.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Despite their reservation about western methods, the critics used the phrase Asrın Sahipleri (Masters of the Age), to describe western societies.

The meaning is that they are highly civilised. Included in the description are Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. Because they are powerful, and because they are more developed than non-European countries, they assume the right as Asrın Sahipleri to speak in the name of civilisation. In the view of critics, such an assumption is unwarranted.

One writer (possibly Yusuf Akçura because of the use of the letter Sin with which the author signed the article), argued that Turkey should follow the example set by western societies. Looking at what should be done theoretically, the author asserted the importance of instilling in the rising generation the importance of being productive in all aspects of life.

The objective was the maximum development of each individual (Author says ferdin azami inkişafı), but in a way that allowed intellectual freedom and discarded blind obedience; this objective, as expressed by Akçura, is "çocukları müstahsil yetiştirmek, kazancı çıkarıcı eller, kafalar yaratmak" (Bringing up children who produce goods and ideas). (46)

As a final point two fundamental views of education commanded the attention of the nationalists; one was Cemaat-ı Eğitim (Communal Education), leading to German-like social organization.

The second, which differs deeply from the German system, and defends individual liberties represented the Anglo-Saxon world-view.(47)

Nafi Atuf argued that the first job of teachers was to approach children with love and insight. In his own words: "Nifuzda, asil kuvvet veren evsaf-ı seciyevi, ilmi ve fikridir." (In the process of penetration, the major force of qualitative dimension of characters is fundamentally scientific and idealistic.) (48)

10.12. MENDATORY TURKISH CLASSES IN MINORITY SCHOOLS

In order to found national unity without regard to ethnic origin, unionist governments, using different political techniques always compelled non-Muslim and non-Turkish Millets to use Turkish in official dealings. Turkish became a compulsory subject in the Millet schools, the overall objective was to assimilate non-Turks into the political system, and society generally.

This program, which was approved in the pages of Türk Yurdu, was set in motion but never fulfilled, largely because of the obstruction of teachers in the Millet schools.(49)

10.13. SOME POTENTIAL PROBLEMS RAISED BY WESTERN METHODS

According to Kâzım Nami, Turkey had to make some systematic adaptations from the western education theories, as it had to absorb other aspects of western society if it were to be rescued. (50) In his view, there was close connection between education, pedagogy and psychology. (51)

After having read Bigeyef's book, entitled Büyük Mevzularda Ufak Fikirler (Petty Ideas on Great Problems), which was also analysed by Ziya Efendi el Kemali, he arrived at the conclusion that the greatest difference between the Balkan Wars which he describes as İmansız Balkan Harbi (Balkan War without Faith) and the Dardanelles resistance arose mostly from the national sentiment. (52)

Even though there is a need to adopt western theories, this should not mean the loss of national fibre, Kazım Nami believed. This is a critical point because foreign elements could well be regarded as dangerous. (53)

Kazım Nami felt, for the first time, the critical importance of education in the nationalist sense when with his colleagues went to İzmir as representatives of rising Turkish Nationalism, they saw many signs there of the positive effects of nationalist education and ideas. (54)

10.14. TOWARDS THE REPUBLIC: NATIONAL EDUCATION

After the proclamation of the Turkish Republican State, regarding the education process, nationalist need to educate the masses of people continued to take root in the minds of the elites.

Furthermore, many intellectuals, interested in learning about the newest theories in education as in all fields of learning, were won over by the Republican approach. One of them, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, pointed out that because of the lack of national sentiment in education, the love of ancestors and history had been neglected for over 50 years.(55)

The absolute necessity for this new regime meant that the approach to administration of the Bab-ı Âli (The Sublime Porte) should be also changed. The new alternative model and concepts such as aşk-ı vatan (love of motherland), cemiyet-i milliye (national society) were the foremost among the choices to be considered.(56)

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2. Kazım Nami, " İçtimaiyat: Yeni Hayata Doğru ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.3 No:2 (İstanbul,1329), pp.40-41
3. Nafi Atuf, Türkiye Maarifi Tarihi Hakkında Bir Deneme, Vol.2 (İstanbul,1930), p.14
4. Ibid., p.8
5. Ibid., p.27
6. Ibid., p.38
7. Ibid., p.24
8. Ibid., p.40
9. Ibid., p.54
10. " Gayrı Müslim Mekteplerde Türkçe ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:2 (İstanbul,1333), p.3577
11. İzzet Ulvi, " Hususi Muhabirlerimiz: Kayseri'ye Doğru ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:11 (İstanbul,1328), p.336
12. Abdülbaki Fevzi, " Hususi Muhabirlerimizden: İzmit'ten ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.3 No:3 (İstanbul,1329), p.90

13. Nafi Atuf, " Terbiye ve Talim: Maarifimiz Hakkında ",
Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:8 (İstanbul,1332), p.3069

14. Ibid., p.3070

15. Ibid., No:11 p.3116

16. The connection between the bourgeois revolutions and speeding of mass education was paid much attention in the same article;

" Therefore elementary schools must be oriented toward public education. In Germany where the purpose of elementary schools are properly understood the notion of an elementary schools as fashioned by the French Revolution does not exist. "

Ibid., see the Appendix No:41

17. Halide Edip, " 1332 Senesi Vakıf Kızlar Mektepleri nin Senelik Raporu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:2 (İstanbul, 1332), p.3162

18. Believing that the whole system was ill conceived for a successful nationalist education, she argues that:

" I do not only propound an education instilling Nationalist sentiments but take this as a pedagogical paradigm. "

Ibid., p.3165; see the Appendix No:42

19. Ibid., No:3 p.3183

20. " Türklük Şunu: Osmanlı Maarif Cemiyeti ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.5 No:3 (İstanbul,1329), p.944

21. Nafi Atuf, " Terbiyede Tarih ve Felsefe ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:9 (İstanbul,1331), p.2872 ; for one of the events referring to historical roots of Turks, see:

" Türklük Şunu: Ergenekon Bayramı", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:4 (İstanbul,1333), p.3406

22. Ali Haydar, " Talim ve Terbiye: Yurt Terbiyesi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.3 No:7 (İstanbul,1329), pp.211-18

23. "Türklük Şunu: Mekteb-i Mülkiye'nin Tekrar İhyası ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:10 (İstanbul,1333), p. 3499

24. " Türklük Şunu: Mekteb-i Bahriye-i Şahane'nin Islâhı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:12 (İstanbul,1332), p.3141

25. İbrahim Alaaddin, " Maarif ve Edebiyat Yılı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:1 (İstanbul,1333), p.3352

26. Nafi Atuf, Türkiye Maarif Tarihi Hakkında Bir Deneme, Vol.2 (İstanbul,1930), pp.112-113

27. Ibid.

28. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Türke Doğru Vol.2
(İstanbul: Kültür Basımevi,1943), p.141

29. Ibid., p.171

30. Mim Rahmi, " Talim ve Terbiye: İş Mektebi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:7 (İstanbul,1333), p.3647

31. To be more spesific, the original paragraph had some clues about the prospects of Turkism:

" School must be turned into a small model of the society. In that case the youth, upon graduation, will not be stunned in facing the real life. "

Ibid., p.3648 ; for original version see: the Appendix No: 43

32. Ahmet Edip, op.cit., pp.143-147

33. " Matbuat ve Yeni Eserler: Donanma Mecmuası, Öksüz Yurtları Mecmuası ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:12 (İstanbul, 1333), p.3548

34. İbrahim Alaaddin, op.cit., p.3355

35. " Yeni Neşriyat ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:9 (İstanbul,1333), p. 3870

36. " Türklük Şuunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:9
(İstanbul,1333), p.3871
37. Ibid., No:8 p.3674
38. İsmail Hakkı, " Türk Ocağı Konferansları: Milliyet
ve Terbiye ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:9 (İstanbul,1334),
p.4060
39. Nafi Atuf, " Talim ve Terbiye: Seciye ", Türk Yurdu,
Vol.9 No:12 (İstanbul,1331), p.2923
40. Ibid., p.2925
41. Ibid., p.2928
42. Ibid., p.2929
43. Mim Rahmi, " Yeni Terbiye Usûlleri ", Türk Yurdu,
Vol.9 No:13 (İstanbul,1331), p.2937
44. Ibid., Vol.10 No:2, p.3124
45. Sin. Ayn., " Matbuat: Muallim,Hanende ", Türk Yurdu,
Vol.10 No:11 (İstanbul,1332), p.3124
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p.3125

48. Nafi Atuf, " Terbiyede Muhabbet ve Nüfuz ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:3 (İstanbul,1332), p.2993

49. " Gayrı Müslim Mekteplerde Türkçe ", Türk Yurdu , Vol.13 No:2 (İstanbul,1333), p.3578

50. Kazım Nami, " Musa Efendi Carullah'ın Terbiyeye Dair Fikirleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:8 (İstanbul,1331), p.2864

51. Ibid. . p.2865

52. Ibid., p.2867

53. Ibid., p.2869

54. " Türklük Şuunu: İzmir Seyahati ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.4 No:21 (İstanbul,1329), p.736

55. Milliyetçi Türkiye'ye Doğru: 10-11 Mayıs 1969'da Yapılan Milliyetçiler İlmî Seminerinde Varılan Neticeler (İstanbul,1969), p.85

56. Şemsettin Günaltay, Maziden Atıye (İstanbul,1334), p.299

XI. PRE AND POST WAR STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE EMPIRE

- 11.1. The Status Of Women in Social Agenda
- 11.2. Pioneers of Women Societies
- 11.3. Women Nurses In Wartime Conditions
- 11.4. A Trial of The National Production
Capabilities
- 11.5. Women Towards The Collapse of The Empire

11.1. THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOCIAL AGENDA

Even prior to the First World War, the debate on what might have been the proper social conditions of woman in Islam had, to a considerable extent, been one of the most worth mentioning issues of that time.

Before we deal with the above mentioned issue in detail, its early phase has to be examined. Above all, as the new mentality in social life emerged, and shortly after the Tripoli War, it was clear that the participation of women, at least in some certain fields, was necessary.

An article published in the early days of Türk Yurdu discussed the problem; also adding some comparative information. According to the author of aforementioned article, for the immediate purpose of catching up with the western civilization, it was suggested that a series of revolutions were needed in every sphere of social life. (1)

It is true that, not only did the Balkan Wars make the Ottoman intellectuals investigate the real reasons underlying the shameful defeat but also made the liberation of women easier due to the conditions. (2)

It should be bear in mind that the concern for the women's problem was actually initiated with the translations. (3)

The fact is that the women's new roles in social life occurred concurrently with the Nationalist awakening.

In one of the articles, which was written by Ziyetullah Nişurevan; the problem of women were the subject-matter. (4)

Immediately afterwards the great lack of skillfull human force became an obvious reality, Ziyetullah Nişurevan divided the cause of the matter into two broad categories. (5)

11.2. PIONEERS OF WOMEN SOCIETIES

During the course of relatively free conditions, the first women's association to emerge was the Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti (The Women's Association for Benevolence). In İstanbul, the total number of the women's organizations over the course of years was to be seven. (6)

In June, 1916, with the patient help of Ahmet Edip Bey, who was in charge of reconstructing the primary schools, the Bilgi Yurdu (The Homeland of Knowledge) was established to educate women on a large scale. It is here worth mentioning They also taught foreign languages to the students. The first issue of Bilgi Yurdu Işığı (The Light of Homeland of Knowledge) was to be published in April 1917, mostly contained illustrations and some useful information

about the ev iktisadiyatı (home economics) even though it had only sixteen pages, this type of journal was an earnest attempt under these circumstances. (7)

Along with the difficulties due to war conditions, Europe experienced a similar situation. An example of this was the Swiss case compared to the one in Turkey. The first activities of women's associations in benevolence were those that were performed by the Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti, such as helping the descendants of witnesses on veterans, and collecting money for the restoration of the Vakıf Mektepleri (Schools of Foundations). (8)

11.3. WOMEN NURSES IN WARTIME CONDITIONS

Some members of the women's societies were involved in the care of wounded soldiers. Besim Ömer Paşa, along with the other health institutions, initiated the founding of the Kadırga Hastabakıcı Mektebi (Kadırga Sick-nursing School). Furthermore, in the Cağaloğlu Hilâl-i Ahmer Hastanesi (Red Crescent Hospital), Dr. Yakup Bey, the chief doctor of the hospital, praised the performance of the Ottoman-Turkish woman who worked under exhaustive and difficult conditions in the health centers. To demonstrate the dedication of those women, he made a detailed schedule showing how many hours a nurse would work at a particular job. (9)

During the war, according to Lebib Selim, the most active organization, the Hilâl-i Ahmer Kadınlar Şubesi (The Women's Branch of Red Crescent'), carried out two important activities:

The first was the production of absorbent linen which was essential for the soldiers in front. The second success was that elite women of the Empire organized a society entitled the Muhtac Asker Ailelerine Muavenet Cemiyeti (The Aid Association for Indigent Soldier's Families). (10)

11.4. A TRIAL OF THE NATIONAL PRODUCTION CAPABILITIES

In conjunction with the above mentioned activities, the İstihlâk-ı Millî Kadınlar Cemiyeti (The Women's Association for National Consuming), and the Türk Kadınları Bıçkı Yurdu (The Turkish Women Tailoring Club) were the two organizations playing major roles in dividing the national resources as well as possible. (11)

Women's associations also got involved fields that assisted in changing the economic situation. (12)

11.5. WOMEN TOWARDS THE COLLAPSE OF THE EMPIRE

This new era in the understanding of women's roles in Ottoman-Turkish society redefined the relations between women and men; elaborate articles were written on these issues. Türk Yurdu also became involved, publishing two particularly challenging articles. (13)

An examination of the final Türk Ocağı Müsamereleri (The Performances in the Turkish Hearth) also showed the change in the mentality. It is remarkable that the women joined the male graduate doctors which signified a great change in the social conditions of the decaying Empire. (14)

Nevertheless, it should be bear in mind that some counter arguments existed on this issue: For instance, one of these occurred on the pages of Türk Yurdu. Hayriye Melek Hanım wrote a dedicated article, entitled İslâm Kadını (The Muslim Woman). (15)

More radical than Hayriye Melek Hanım's point of view, a distinct view emanated from a rebel's voice, which was raised in the First Congress of Turkish Communist Party in 1920.

In that Congress, which gathered in Baku, Naciye Hanım argued that there was, as a matter of fact, no freedom, but rather slavery for women in Turkey. (16)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For the argument see:

Mehmet Abdullah, " İslam Kadınları ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No:24 (İstanbul,1328), p.761 ; and for the original quotation see: the Appendix No:44

2. Nafi Atuf, Türkiye Maarifi Tarihi Hakkında Bir Deneme, Vol.2 (İstanbul,1930), p.77

3. The whole male dominant social structure depended upon the oppression of women. That is why Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın) had translated Thomas Felix's books by aiming to change this traditional paradigm.

Ibid., p.75

4. For a global look at the subject;

Ziynetullah Nişurevan, " Türk Aleminde: Kadınlar Hukuku ", Türk Yurdu , Vol.13 No:7 (İstanbul,1333),p.3654

5. Ziynetullah Nişurevan, " Türk Kadınlığı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:6 (İstanbul,1333), p.3643 ; for further details see the Appendix No:45

6. Lebib Selim, " Türk Kadınlığının Harb-i Umumideki Faaliyeti ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:3 (İstanbul,1331), pp.2783-2784

7. Sin. Ayn., " Bilgi Yurdu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:10 (İstanbul,1333), pp.3495-97

8. Mim Rahmi was the correspondent of Türk Yurdu in Genève from where he sent his letters with useful news about the occurrences in social life.

In one of these, dated May 12,1918, Mim Rahmi Bey mentioned the new roles of women in the society. To allow women to have more skills, as was the case in Turkey, some special schools were opened.

Mim Rahmi, " Cenevre'de Kadınlara Mahsus Ulûm-ı İctimaiye Mektebi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:8 (İstanbul,1334), p.4233 ; see the Appendix No:46

9. Dr. Yakup, " Türk Kadınlarının Hastabakıcılığı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:10 (İstanbul,1331), pp.2689-93

10. Lebib Selim pointed out that the workshop of the women's branch of the Red Crescent employed more than 200 women, which produced 135.000 suits of clothes, 60.000 hunters sweaters and 40.000 gas-masks.

Lebib Selim, op.cit., pp.2797-2798

11. In the above mentioned article, it was pointed out that the Türk Kadınları Bıçkı Yurdu, within one and half

months, succeeded in producing 55.000 cotton shirts for soldiers giving all the product without any charge to the Ministry of National Defense.

In addition, in Divanyolu, under the presidency of Melek Hanım, a small hospital being ruled by only women participants, was opened, and was entitled the İstihlâk-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hastanesi. It had 160 beds.

Ibid., p.2799 and Ibid., No:5 p.2814

12. Here are two examples giving ideas on economic societies formed by Turkish women:

The first one, titled Kadınlar Komandit Şirketi, amongst the leader team was Celal Sahir Bey's mother; see:

" Türklük Şunu: Hanımlarımızın İktisadi Teşebbüsleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.4 No:22 (İstanbul,1329), p.784

As the second instance, nearing the War's end, Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslâmiyesi, which provided the employee's with good working conditions for the couples.

" Türklük Şunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:9 (İstanbul, 1333), p.3672

13. in a letter dated July 28,1917, later published in Türk Yurdu, Nafi Atuf Bey had discussed women's problems :

Nafi Atuf, " Aile Münasebetlerimiz ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:8 (İstanbul,1334), p.4226 ; for further details see the Appendix No:47

14. " Türk Ocağı Müsamereleeri: Genç Doktorlarımızın Ayrılma Günü ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:8 (İstanbul,1334), p.4238

15. Hayriye Melek, " İslam Kadını ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:11 (İstanbul,1334), p.4305

16. Having criticized the given conditions, Naciye Hanım, in the First Congress of Turkish Communist Party, on the sixth session gave a elaborated paper.

Mete Tunçay, " Eski Sol Üstüne Yeni Bilgiler (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları,1982), pp. 130-132 ; see the Appendix No:48

XII. THE NORTHERN TURKS: EFFORTS AT EMANCIPATION

- 12.1. Seeds of Turkism in Russia
- 12.2. Eminence of Kazan in Nationalist Movement
- 12.3. An Islamic Luther: Musa Carullah Bigeyef
- 12.4. Ayas İshaki's Struggle
- 12.5. Travels of Halim Sabit: To Altays
- 12.6. Rising Interest in Northern Turks
- 12.7. The Rise of Pan-Turanist Cause
- 12.8. The Problem of Spiritual Leadership
of The Muslim-Turks
- 12.9. Weakening Russia And Military Draft
For Turks
- 12.10. Prominent Figures of The Azerbaijani Independence
- 12.11. Russian Parliament: Duma
And The Representation of Central Asian
Population
- 12.12. Diminished Central Authority;
And The Rise of Turkish Independence
Movement
- 12.13. Political Possibilities in Azerbaijan
- 12.14. Bolshevik Revolution And Turkish Views:
Pro And Against

12.1. SEEDS OF TURKISM IN RUSSIA

The first signs of Turkish Nationalist thought outside the Ottoman State appeared amongst the Northern Turks, especially those who were living in the district of Idil in Russia.(1)

The initial impetus for this movement of ideas came from European sources. Conscious of their distinctive historical and linguistic background, Azerbaijan, for instance, under the leadership of Melekzade Hasan Bey Zerdabi became involved in Nationalist struggle at an early stage.

In 1875, Hasan Bey started to publish the first Turkish weekly, Ekinçi (Harvester) among the Turks of Baku.(2)

Surveying the historical background of the Nationalist awakening, Yusuf Akçura, in his Türk Yılı (Turkish Annual) mentioned Hasan Bey's role. Evidence that Hasan Bey was influenced by Charles Darwin were the repeated references to life being a struggle for survival in the early issues of Ekinçi. Yusuf Akçura also believed that Hasan Bey saw the life in terms of constant struggle.(3)

However, before we deal with other stages in the development of early Nationalism among the Northern Turks it is necessary to point out that wealthy Turks of Transcaucasia started to question the place of the Turkish people in the Russian political system at an early stage.

In 1914 , the Turkish millionaires in the Baku region set up a association called the Müslüman Cemiyeti Hayriyesi (The Muslim Benevolent Association) which was influenced by the western way of life, which had women members, and which even organised cocktail parties and soirees.(4)

These social change were closely related to the establishment of Baku Petroleum ,which indirectly generated wealth in the area, enabling many Turks to look beyond mere economic necessities. Particularly, they recognized the importance of education but they also became more aware of their own national interests.(5)

Attempts in widening writing and reading skills evolved to such a point that the number of schools, especially primary schools increased to a total number of thousands.(6)

12.2. EMINENCE OF KAZAN IN THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Because Kazan was the most progressive city populated by Turkic people, its place in Nationalist development is significant.

By the late 19th century, Kazan Turks had come to own 14 textile factories, two paper factories, and 23 soap factories. Even though the population of all Kazan and its provinces amounted to about 2.2 million people

Kazan Turks clearly played a major role in economic activities, but they were also politically active. (7)

Physically, because of their interaction with Slavic people over a long period of time, the Kazan Turks were quite different from other Turks. They were two distinct groups, one very European in appearance, the other very Asian in appearance. (8)

Evangelists of the Nationalist movement in Kazan were Şehabettin Mercani and Abdülkayyım Nasırı both of whom did a great deal of work in their own way.

Şehabettin Mercani was the author of Müstefad'ül Ahbar (The Best Information) in which he became the first person to identify in Turkish a distinct Turco-Tatar ethnic group in Russia. (9)

As regards Abdülkayyım Nasırı, he resembled the Ottoman scholar and writer Ahmet Mithat Efendi to the degree that both were interested in Halkiyyat (Folkloric Studies) (10)

The situation in Kazan was described in a letter sent to Türk Yurdu in 1912, of particular interest in this letter were references to the continuing struggle in Kazan against Cedidçilik (Reformism). That the writer's views were widely supported can be seen from the activities connected with the Medrese-i Aliyye-yi Ruhaniye

(Theological College at Ufa).

When Ziya-el Kemali Efendi began to translate the Kuran (Qu'ran) into Northern Turkish, announcing his intentions beforehand in the newspapers of Kazan and Orenbourg, the Ulema protested to Mehmetyar Mirza Sultanef, the Müftü of the Mahkeme-i Ser'iyeye-i Orenbourg. As a result, Kemali Efendi was forced to abandon his project.(11)

While this struggle was taking place, Reformist Kazan Turks had set up an association similar to a western social club, the Sark Klübü (The East Club). Widening its activities, the Club's nizamname (book of rules) was changed and the administrative board decided to accept the membership of women.(12)

Briefly stated, the way in which Turkish society in Kazan changed is of great importance.(13)

The extent to which even electrical machines were installed in Kazan's factories is a sign of the advanced place of Kazan compared to the other Turkic cities.(14)

The prosperity reached such a level that one wealthy man, Seyyit Giray was able to found a newspaper, entitled the Kazan Muhbiri, in 1905.(15)

In other words, Kazan, to quote F. Bey Han, was the political and economic barometer of all Turkic Middle Asia.(16)

12.3. AN ISLAMIC LUTHER: MUSA CARULLAH BIGEYEF

The reformist experience among the Turks in Russia goes back to Carullah's example. He was born in Rostov (A region near to Don) in 1875, and graduated from both the medreses of Kazan and Bahçesaray, after having left the Buhara Medresesi because he was not satisfied with the curriculum. He later went to a Russian Real School, but he did not obtain good results. Carullah spent much time out of Russia, pursuing his theological interests, and visiting the cities Cairo, Mecca, and once again Cairo in the process.

Twice he decided to go back to Russia, returning for good in 1904. When Türk Yurdu investigated his career to enable its readers to understand the meaning of the Hizb-i Cedid movement, with which Musa Carullah Bigeyef was closely associated, he was living in St. Petersburg in poverty. (17)

Carullah wrote more than 25 works, the most important of them was Mecmua-i Ehadis (The booklet of the deeds of Prophet Muhammad). His first work, Tarih-i Kur'an (History of Qu'ran), was written in Arabic and published in 1906. (18)

To use the phrase Alemcan İdrisi applied to him, Carullah attempted to be the Luther of the Islamic Reformation.

The most critical point in Musa Carullah's works is that the human mind is above all, and in fact the proof of God (Hüccet-i İlahiye). This is why it is absolute. (19)

12.4. AYAS İSHAKI'S STRUGGLE

Ayas İshaki was born on February 10, 1878 in Kazan. His father was the imam in the village of Yavşerme Köyü, close to Çistay province. He was associated with Nationalist publications such as Tan Yıldızı (The Star of Dawn) and Tan (Dawn), which were constantly under the suspicion of the Russian police, and which were frequently closed down for good. Theoretically speaking, the bourgeois democratic revolution, which took place in 1905 should have opened the way to the free expression of opinion, but in practice this did not happen. Turkish national journals had legal rights, but frequently were prevented from publishing. (20)

Under political pressure in Russia, Ayas İshaki traveled to Europe and then to İstanbul in 1911. Mecit Sakmar, who was also a nationalist refugee in Turkey, later wrote of İshaki's early experience in the Ottoman capital. He met İshaki for the first time in a poor Hotel in the Nuruosmaniye area. In the same room, talking to İshaki, was Yusuf Akçura. According to Mecit Sakmar, İshaki made, for tactical reasons, close contacts with Social Revolutionists (SR) in Russia before leaving for İstanbul. (21)

About 1914, İshaki returned to Russia, in the belief that Moskew would be the best place to publish his journal İl (Province) and to have influence amongst Turkish intellectuals and Russian political figures.

However, İl and later İkbal (Felicity) were closed down, on the ground that the two were illegally pursuing the ideals of Menafi-i vatan için daf mazarrat (Continual Pathology Against System) Türklük Şu'nuu (Turkish Affairs) reported that İshaki was sentenced to prison and banishment to Ankanjel, in the cold North. (22)

Information provided by the noted Orientalist Smirneff is believed to have been responsible for İshaki's journal being closed down again in 1916, during an uprising of the Hacar Türkleri (Hacar Turks), provoked by Russian intelligence agents working among the Armenians. (23)

The final phase of the Turkish nationalist struggle in Russia began after the October Revolution, when we see Ayas İshaki joining hands with Sadri Maksudi in Paris in 1920, in defence of the legal rights of the Idil-Ural Turks. (24)

12.5. TRAVELS OF HALİM SABİT TO ALTAYS

Not suprisingly, Türk Yurdu started publication with Halim Sabit's story of his impressions when he went to inner most Asia, the Altays and even further, to the foothills of

Altındağı. He started his journey to the Altays from Odessa. Even though he had taken Austrian ship from İstanbul, Russian officials seized his books at the passport control, believing them to be subversive literature. (25)

From Odessa, Halim Sabit took the train to parts of Central Asia where had once lived. His first observation was that the Kasım Türkleri (Quasm Turks) seemed to have gained all rights to operate Waggen Restaurants. He also observed that all shops at stations along the way were in Turkish hands. By a quirk of the fate, he remembered that he once met Cemaleddin-el Afgani in a Turkish owned restaurant in St. Petersburg. (26)

Halim Sabit noted the prosperity in İdil-Ural province, and in particular the wealth of some local dynasties, such as the Hankirmanlılar, whose deep-rooted national sentiments were reflected in the schools, libraries, and mosques which they endowed.

Harkoff and Quasm provinces were, according to Halim Sabit, also prosperous and full of such signs of national feeling.

Continuing his journey, Halim Sabit passed over the Idil Bridge. While the train was approaching Samara, where Halim Sabit spent some of his youth, he saw a man reading the İktisat Mecmuası (Journal of Economics),

the language and style of the newspaper could be easily understood by the common people, which pleased him. (27)

It was widely accepted that the Akçuraoğulları, in building mosques and primary schools, became the most distinguished family amongst the Northern Turks.

When Halim Sabit was asked by an old woman whether Turks far away from the Urals could understand the language of the Northern Turks, he was very impressed, even a 70 year old woman was aware of the Turkish national identity, and to Halim Sabit this was a sign of prospective Pan-Turk united state. (28)

Comparing different sects of Turkic people with each other, Halim Sabit observed that the Bashkirs, who lived in European Russia, were the most prosperous. Nowhere did Turks own more than 20 dönüms of land, but the Bashkirs owned at least 600 dönüms for each family. These conditions gave them the opportunity to enlarge their private property, and because they were closer to the Russian market economy, they were more urban. (29)

That Ottoman Turkish publications, even the Tanin (Booming), could be seen by Halim Sabit in the old Bashkird capital of Ufa, was, needless to say, an important clue to the interaction between Istanbul and the innermost Asia. (30)

Halim Sabit also observed the living standards of assimilated and 'Europeanised' Turks, such as the Negay, Cossacks and Simir Muslim Turks amongst whom were many millionaires.(31)

Even in Siberia and Manchuria, in other words, even in the Far East, the Muslim Turk merchants and companies had been mushrooming.(32)

On the other hand, assimilation had reached such a point that in a Cuvash village visited by Halim Sabit, local people—even the women, who were more cut off from contact with European Russians—knew Russian and spoke Turkish with a Russian accent, in addition their own language included many Russian loan words.(33)

Halim Sabit saw one Turkish village illuminated with electric power.(34) It is not too fanciful to draw a connection between this gradual increase in well-being, the growing awareness and sophistication which accompanied it, and the beginning of the struggle between Cedidism and Kadimism.(35)

Before coming to a conclusion about what happened during this period, there remains one important example that can illustrate to what extent Turkish companies penetrated the Russian economy.

In Moscow, a Turkic transport company named Emanet (Trust) with an initial capital of five million expanded rapidly due to the increasing number of pilgrims travelling to Mecca via Odessa-Sebastopol and Istanbul.

The Russian government at first wanted to suppress this unexpected Islamic resurgence unknown in Russia for centuries. However, the government soon decided to exploit the situation to their advantage, and set up Hacihanes (Pilgrimage House). (36)

Further evidence of the strength of the Islamic movement amongst the Northern Turks may be founded in Mansur's letter sent to Türk Yurdu from St. Peterbourg in 1911.

It states that the Russian capital, St. Petesbourg (a city of two million) had been forced to let 30,000 Muslims to use the greatest saloons for their special religious affairs. (37)

12.6. RISING INTEREST IN NORTHERN TURKS

So as to illustrate the extent to which Pan-Turkist people in Istanbul had relations with Outside Turks, two examples are apposite:

The first concerns the establishment of Buhara-i Serif (The Noble Bouchara), which was a journal, founded for the most part with the aid of the Khan of Buhara.

This journal was published in Persian but Türk Yurdu complained, arguing that it should have been in Turkish. Although Türk Yurdu had some objections in principle to Buhara-i Serif, it published the address of this journal for the benefit of its own readers.(38)

Contact between the Northern Turks and the Ottoman Turks improved to such a extent that the death of Mehmetzade Abdullah Tevfik Efendi of Tiflis made the Ottoman Turkists feel great sorrow.(39)

It should be bear in mind that Mehmetzade once came to Istanbul and studied with Ahmet Hikmet and Rıza Tevfik for two years.

Mehmetzade Abdullah Tevfik Efendi, as a writer and teacher, obtained many papers and documents from the Dersaadet Kütüphaneleri (Libraries of Istanbul), in order to write a full history of Turkish literature.

12.7. THE RISE OF THE PAN-TURKIST CAUSE

After the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, the Pan-Turk movement aimed to establish an extented national sate which would include Turks inside and outside the Ottoman Empire.

Cafer Bey came to Istanbul, via Trabzon, in 1918 and adressed a meeting in Galatasaray Yurdu, organised

by the Kırım Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi (Crimea Benevolent Association). (40)

At this meeting various people pointed out that whereas in the early days of Türk Yurdu, Ottoman Turks and the Northern Turks knew little about each other, nowadays there was a far greater general awareness on both sides. Clearly the reason for this was the great social and political changes which had taken place since the outbreak of the First World War. (41)

One speaker, Hamdullah Suphi, a well-known Ottoman author and Pan-Turanist, declared with great emotion that what Turks wanted was unity of language and the fulfilment of national feeling, so that "the hearts of all Turks, either far away or right here can beat with the same feeling and sentiment" (42)

Cafe Bey came to Istanbul in his capacity as director of the Kırım Umuur-ı Hariciye ve Harbiye Vekaleti (Crimean National Defence and Foreign Office), accompanied by other Turkish representatives of Southern Caucasia. (43)

The Turks in this region had been given greater opportunities to express their national feeling because of the breakdown in government authority following the war, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the civil war.

This revival of the Outside Turks in Russia had a great impact in Istanbul but the loss of the war resulted in a fresh break links with the Northern Turks.

The arrival in Istanbul of Russian Turkish students, who formed their own association the Rusyalı İslâm Talebe Cemiyeti (Russian Muslim Students Association), generated controversy over whether the Tatars could be considered as Turkic. On one occasion İsmail Bey Gasprinsky and Akçuraoğlu Yusuf went to the Association's rooms and intervened in a heated discussion which was taking place, İsmail Bey arguing with great effect that there was only one Turco-Tatar nation, and that the differences which had arisen were local in nature and the divisive effects of centuries of Russian rule.(44)

12.8. THE PROBLEM OF SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP OF MUSLIM-TURKS

Up to the second half of the 19th century, the method used to appoint the Orenburg Müftülüğü (Religious Leadership of Russian Turks) was müntehib (elective), with the Müftü being chosen on the vote of all Kazan Ulema.(45)

As the time went by, and as Russian oppression increased, the Orenburg Müftülüğü became a politically sensitive job, filled by Russian-appointed Ulema.

The Teskilât-ı Ruhaniye Mes'alesi (Question of how Muslim people are to be organized) aroused much dispute between the ruling Russian bureaucracy and the local Muslim powers throughout the 19th century. (46)

The Russian authorities were always careful in choosing a candidate who would best suit their own interest. Information derived from an article in Türk Yurdu show us that the three Müftülük's provinces were ranked by Russians according to their respective importance.

1. Orenburg Müftülüğü

2. Kırım Müftülüğü

3. Kafkas Müftülüğü (from which the sheik-ul-islam had to be appointed by right)

Each of the provinces was clearly defined. For example, all Muslims in the Volga region including European Russian Muslims fell under the authority of the Orenburg province. (47)

The Orenburg Müftülüğü was at Ufa, just opposite the provincial governor's palace. It seems that the Russian government chose to locate the Orenburg Müftülüğü next to the governor's residence so that it could keep a close watch on the activities of the Müftü. The official name of that Müftülük was the Mahkeme-i Ser'iyye-i Orenburgiye (Islamic Court of Orenburg). (48)

The government seemed eager to fill the Müftülüks with its own appointees, which meant that most leading

Muslims, who were not sympathetic to the government, would never be considered.

After the proclamation of the constitutional regime, the Muslims, through their deputies in Parliament (the Duma) were able slowly to increase their influence, and to take a more open role in politics. A measure of this change was their criticism of the government in their own newspapers.

Türk Yurdu continued to report the sentiments of Russian Turks. Under the pen-name of 'Sa'fes', who was probably Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, criticised the system behind the appointment of the Orenburg Müftülüğü. He also attacked the Müftü, Mehmetyar Sultanof, in going along with this system, and thereby giving it an appearance of legitimacy.

Sa'fes said that Sultanof had no idea about religious matters, and had been appointed simply because he was a Russophile, who had been studied at Russian military schools and who had served as a second lieutenant in the Russian army. (49)

The Muslim deputies in the Duma were anxious to set up a political bloc, and eventually established their own party, the Rusya Müslümanları İttifakı (Russian Muslim League), which put before the Duma a resolution that

the system of appointment of the Müftü be changed, and that greater account should be taken of the wishes of the Turkish community.(50)

At the third conference of the Northern Turks on the agenda was again the question of Teşkilât-ı Ruhaniye, which was in fact a political question for Russian Muslims, that is to say although in appearance a religious issue, it symbolised the struggle for political freedom by Muslims living in Russia.

At this meeting, held under the presidency of Kutluğ Mehmet Mirza , representative of Sunnis, assisted by the Shi'i Ali Merdan Topçubaşlyef as second president, the league published a declaration claiming that Muslim organizations of all types should be the real representatives of Turks. The declaration asserted that this could only be realized if all Muslim sections were made part of an elective democratic system.(51)

The rules were finally changed to meet Muslim demands, and under the new and more democratic system , the İslam Cemaati (Muslim Community) elected Alemcan Hazret Barudi as Müftü in 1917 , along with his daughter, Muhlise Hanım, as what may have been the first female Kadı (Judge) in Islamic history.

Muhlise Hanım was also appointed director of the Muslim Girls College , from the beginning of the Cons-

titutional regime.(52)

Although there were only six Turkish deputies in the Duma, they were able to make a significant impact on parliamentary and public opinion. In 1914, three of these deputies, Sadri Maksudi, Fahrettin Ziyaettin, Carullah Bigeyef, arranged a meeting at St.Petersbourg called the Türk Konferansı (Turk Conference).(53)

Inevitably, such activities, together with Turkish opposition in the Duma, disturbed the Russian government which began to impose restrictions on the Turks. The Turkish deputies in the Duma protested in vain. In addition, complained Kutluğ Mehmet Mirza, troops, with the connivance of the government, were massacring men, women, and children in the Turkish provinces. (54)

He implied that by commissioning such crimes, the government in effect helping the enemies of the Turkish people. Kutluğ Mehmet Mirza argued that all people in Russia should be given equality, without regard to religion or ethnic origin. He also said the election laws should be changed to allow greater and fairer Turkish representation in the Duma. The same complaint were made about the same time by Cafer Bey, the deputy from Kazan. (55)

While these protests were being made, Russia's economic and military position continued to decline

with the Tsar dismissing this army commander in-chief, Nikolai Nikoleyavich, in 1915 and then closing down the Duma to stifle political dissent.(56)

12.9. WEAKENING RUSSIA AND MILITARY DRAFT FOR TURKS

Having been defeated on different fronts, the Russian government showed a desire to put Turks in the front line against the German-Ottoman alliance. Despite the fact that Kirghiz and Cossacks were traditionally subjected to the law of Istipnoy Palajiniye, or Wilderness People's Law, the government's on August 27 1332 (10 September 1916) to conscript 40.000 Kirghiss as cavalrymen caused great protests amongst Turks, Tatars, and Kirghiss.(57)

The immediate rebellion amongst Turks in the İdil-Ural province against the government was suppressed by General Kropotkin.(58)

Another rebellion in Tashkent, in August 1916 resulted in the seizure of the police station, one Russian policeman was killed, and five Turks were subsequently sentenced to be hanged. Ten more were exiled.(59)

The Açıksöz (Fair Word) daily, published in Baku, put much effort in trying to prevent the decision from being put into force.

Kirghiss in Ayagöz province and Cossacks of Simi who rebelled were punished very severely.(60)

This bloody policy by the government reached such a level that even some Russian journals for instance, the Naçalu , argued that conscripting Turks was the worst mistake the government had made.(61)

12.10. PROMINENT FIGURES OF THE AZERBAIJANI INDEPENDENCE

Several eminent people in Azerbaijan, the first of them Melekzade Hasan Bey, who had been influenced by Darwinism as a graduate of Moscow University.

Amongst them also were the Unsî brothers, Celâl and Sait Beys ,who were the owners of the newspapers Ziya-ı Kafkasya (The Light of Caucasia) and Keskiil.(62)

Another man, Hüseyinzade Ali (Turan) perhaps put more efforts into the nationalist struggle than the others. He was born in 1864 (24 February) in the town of Salya, near Baku, into a religious family, his mother was the daughter of the Sheik-ul İslâm of Caucasia, Hüseyinzade Şeyh Ahmet Salyanî, while his father was descended from Hüseyinzade Molla Hüseyin.

After having graduated from St.Petersbourg University Hüseyinzade Ali came to İstanbul in 1889 to study at the

Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Askeriyé (Military Medical School).

Dr. Abdullah Cevdet says, in connection with Hüseyinzade Ali Bey's effects upon other students, that he was like a prophet. (63)

Despite his success in an examination to become a teacher at the Mekteb-i Tibbiye in 1900, Hüseyinzade Ali was sent into exile because of his political views. When the constitution was declared, he was able to return to Azerbaijan .

With his close friends, Ahmet Agayef and Ali Merdan Topçubaşivef, he founded the first Turkish daily in Azerbaijan, the Hayat (Life) in 1905. (64)

Because of his emphasis on Cedidism, he became the target of conservative people, in one of his articles, Bize Hangi İlimler Lazımdır? (Which sciences do we need?), he criticised a leading conservative figure, Ebu Tural Ahund.

Before Ziya Gökalp, Hüseyinzade Ali employed a similar motto (-) "Türklesmek, İslâmlaşmak, Avrupalılaşmak", Gökalp, putting Asrileşmek (modernisation) instead of Avrupalılaşmak (Europeanisation) seemed to have taken the slogan from his master, Hüseyinzade Ali Bey. (65)

When he was an editor of Füyûzat, Hüseyinzade Ali discussed the theoretical framework behind the slogan

of (-) "Türklük, Müslümanlık, Avrupalılıktır." in the issue of 26 Eylül (September) 1907, and henceforth the newspaper adopted the slogan as its own. (66)

Hüseyinzade also wrote articles for Türk, a newspaper published in Egypt, and opened a heated discussion with a contribution, published under the title of Mektub-ı Mahsus (Private Letter), which argued that Turks and Tatars came from the same racial group. Türk took the opposite view. (67)

Hüseyinzade Ali felt very close to İstanbul, which he accepted as the centre of the Turkish world and of Turkish Nationalism.

The Ottomans were attempting to introduce a constitutional regime. The Russians, on the other hand, had one but it was decaying, and in their attempts to suppress the voice of nationalist Turks, Füyüzat was closed down.

However, İrşad (Right Way) and Terakki (Progress) and finally Hakikat (Reality), all of them published in Azerbaijan by Hüseyinzade, Topçubaşivef, and Agayef, helped to keep Turkish Nationalist spirit alive.

After the Young Turk Revolution, Hüseyinzade Ali came to İstanbul, where he became a professor at the Tıbbiye Şu'besi (Medical School) of İstanbul University, maintaining his political activities, he was elected to

membership of the General Assembly of Union and Progress. He was also one of the founders of the Türk Yurdu association. (68)

12.11. RUSSIAN PARLIAMENT: DUMA AND THE REPRESENTATION OF CENTRAL ASIAN POPULATION

In March 1917, after the start of the revolutionary process, there were only four parties in the Russian Duma:

The first was the K.D., (the Constitutional Democrat), the second the S.R. (the Social Revolutionaries), the Polish Political Party, as the third, and finally the Turk-Muslim Political Party. (69)

With the majority of the seats, the K.D. was the most influential political movement, its leader was Miliukoff, but after the revolution he was replaced by Prince Levoff. (70)

In the Duma, The Islamic front for the most part lined up with the Constitutional Democrats, amongst whom there was some support for its nationalist aspirations. The Turks continued to seek greater support, and in the last K.D. Congress (March 27-April 10 1917) a delegate from Kazan, Sadrettin Maksudi, argued against the aggressive national and religious attitude of some influential party members towards Istanbul, who believed that the city belonged to by rights to the Christian faith. (71)

12.12. DIMINISHED CENTRAL AUTHORITY AND THE RISE
OF TURKISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

Joined in this process of political change, the Causacks with request for the right of self-determination expanded their activities. (75)

The Turkestan and Bouchara Muslims focused on three topics. First, freedom of the press, second the freedom to open more Muslim schools and above all equal rights for all citizens, in other words, no privilidges for the Russians. (76)

Furthermore, a Muslim Congress was held in Moscow, with a total of 800 members from all over the provinces, interestingly, hundred of them were women and published a manifesto. In a referendum, the manifesto gained 466 affirmative votes against 271. The essence of the manifesto was that the Turks had decided to recomend the formation of Federal Republics, each of which would have the same rights. (77)

As the process continued, the Turks seemed to have progressed further. For instance, the Turks of Kazan gathered at their newly-established National Asseby on the December of 1917 in Ufa.

Under the presidency of Sadri Maksudof who was once the deputy to the Duma, 120 deputies, each of whom represented 150.000 people, split into three political trends.

One was the Turkist group which consisted of about 100 people in the Assambly. They claimed that all Turks without any exception were equal to one another for that reason they should be gathered under one state.

The second faction, advocating 'federalism' set up a group called "Tatarist-Federalist and Socialist Party" and the ittihad-i Islam (The Muslim Unity Party) was the third faction

Making several resolutions (listed below), the Assambly was dissolved, the resolutions were:

1. That a National administration be founded for all Turks living in Idil-Ural Havzasi (Idil-Ural Valleys) under the presidency of Sadri Maksudof.
2. That a autnomous state is to be established in Bashkird province under the leadership of Zeki Velidi.
3. That the Russian Turks' national requests should be taken into account at the final peace conferance (After the First World War). To achieve this, all kinds of propaganda are to be welcomed. (78)

Viewing the situation from February up to the October Revolution, "the decentralist-seperatist movements" as well as civil war were clearly determinants in the revolutionary process. Michael Rywkin, one of the most rilliable authority in late Russian history, wrote that news of the February Revolution reached Turkestan by cable. (79)

Extrimest political views were rarely welcomed by Turks and radicals amongst the Islamic minorities were very few, the most radical being the "Union of Tailing Muslims", most of them from Samarkand and Fergana.(80)

Social disharmony, together with political differences, made the conflicts much more heated. Regarding this situation, a Pan-Slavist newspaper, the Novye Yeremya, even though it opposed to self-deterministic sentiments mostly from the Central Asia, said the influence on the Turks coming from the rapid changes taking place in the Ottoman society, should be closely watched by the government.(81)

However, Turks continued to lay stress on their national origins. Sadri Maksudî of Kazan, a deputy in the Duma, insisted that there was no differentiation between Tatars and Turks, and that the word of 'Tatar' was in fact a military term (Maksudî said tabir-i askeri) used mostly by the Russians.(82)

Russia's internal turmoil continued after Kerensky became Prime Minister, with nationalist and extremist political groups pursuing their demands. Kerensky seemed more aggressive to Turks than the previous government, with more than 2,000 Caucasians being executed by shooting in Samarkand.

According to the Türklük Su'nnu, the government was attempting to annihilate Central Asian Turks, it claimed that 50,000 people were killed by the official forces in Turkestan after Kerensky came to power.(83)

A few months before the October Revolution a softening in official policy towards Turks generally can be detected in official policy. For instance, the commander of the Moscow military garrison allowed two eminent Turks, Ayas İshakı and Haşim Ahundaf, to visit and give assistance to Ottoman prisoners of war in the concentration camp.(84)

Turks also took advantage of the weakening position of the government to express themselves more vocally. Some, including Şakir Mehmedyarof, Dost Mehmedof, and Ahmed Bey Salihof, all from Transcaucasia and Caucasia, joined Ünvan Rusya Demokratları Kurusu (Assembly of All Russian Democrats).(85)

Furthermore, 800 delegates from all parts of Central Asia attended the General Islamic Peoples Congress held in Moscow itself.(86)

The Congress ended with the elections of a central committee. The result showed that political balance between different factions and ethnic groups, but it was a balance reached through the allocation of members according to the size of local communities:

Ten were chosen from the valleys of İdil, six from Siberia, five from Transcaucasia and Caucasia, seven from Turkestan and two from Crimea.(87)

Another expression of the Turkish national spirit at this time was the rapid shevad of local newspapers, such as the Asker Dileği (Will of the Soldier), published by the military committee of Ufa. The Köy Ahalisi (The Peasant People), published by the Councils of Peasants, again in Ufa, and Hürriyet (Liberty), the organ of the Tatar İhtilâlcî Sosyalistleri (Tatar Revolutionary Socialists), published also in Ufa.(88)

12.3. POLITICAL POSSIBILITIES IN AZERBAIJAN

Some attempts to establish autonomy were made by Turks. On May 28, 1917, the Turkish people of Azerbaijan declared an independent Azerbaijani Republic, which the Ottoman Government immediately recognised and promised to help militarily. An Ottoman army under the command of Nuri Pasha moved into Azerbaijan and reached Baku on September 1917.(89)

After the Tsar was deposed, the Governor of Caucasia, Grand Duke Nikola was arrested by the independent Government established by the people of Caucasia. However, this government was effectively nothing more than a committee, comprising the Octobrist Karlanof,

the Turk Mehmet Yusuf, the Armenian Papaçanof, and two Georgians, Abasice and Keshkeli became of conflicting national interests, it was not destined to last.(90)

The first republic in the Islamic World, according to Türk Yurdu, was the Turkestan Republic, which declared its autonomy and set up a government in Kokand under the leadership of Tinişbaşey. It is here worth-mentioning that Sadri Maksudof was appointed president of the National Assambley of Turkestan.

When Kerensky was forced out of office, a new government was established in Caucasia, consisting of 12 members, (-) four Muslim, three Georgian, two Armenian, and two Russian. Significantly, the Charmain was a Georgian, Giğerkon.(91)

Amongst the Muslims three political tendency seemed clear:

- a-Müsavat (Equality)
- b-Social Democrats
- c-Neşr-i İslâm (Spreading of Islam)

The most influential trend was Müsavat, which Türk Yurdu defined as a political party demanding National State and democracy.(92)

On the question of which group in Caucasia was dominant, Hüzeyinzade Ali Bey, a leading member of Müsavat,

in the pages of Türklük Su'unu :

" The extremist Socialists put Kerensky down and their political leader, Lenin became the head of the new government " (97)

After hearing that the Bolsheviks had seized power in Petrograd on November 19, 1917, the Bolsheviks of Turkestan created their own government, which was a rival of the Tashkent Soviet (The Councils of People's Commissars, composed of seven Bolsheviks and one left wing S.R.) All members of Tashkent Soviet were Russian. At first the Bolsheviks were weak in the Eastern provinces, to a situation which Muslim Nationalists were very quick to exploit. Their Fourth All Muslim Congress met in Kokand on November 26-27, and decided to establish a Muslim Provincial Government of Autonomus Turkestan. Such an important decision would end with Tamyshbaev being made premier and Mustafa Chokaev appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. (98)

The difficulties facing the Soviets in Turkestan have been described by Zenkovsky, in the following words:

"The young Soviet regime in Turkestan was immediately cut off from Soviet Russia by the anti-communist Cossack troops of Ataman Dutov, and remained so, with a few short interruptions, until the fall of 1919. The only solid support for the new regime came from the Russian workers of the Tashkent railroad repair shops and the troops of the local garrisons." (99)

The rising power of the Bolsheviks was accompanied by attacks upon local Nationalist governments, and the Bolsheviks finally decided, in April, 1918, to dissolve all of them. Troops seized the administration in Ufa and made local committee leave the city, its leader was to go to Finland.(100)

However, before April, there was such a bloody resistance by the Turks, and such fearful repression by the Bolsheviks, leading to the slaughter of 10,000 Turks between March 17-21, that the Turks would feel hatred for Bolsheviks thereafter.(101)

All Muslim publications, from Kazan to Astragan, were closed down gradually, and finally the Communist regime extended to all Transcaucasia and Caucasia.(102)

One interesting point is that while civil war was raging in European Russia, the Turkish Republic of Azerbaijan was able to survive for 17 months, and was prosperous enough to be able to send young people to Europe to study.(103)

It is here worth-mentioning that we learn from his memories that Zeki Walidi (Togan) went to Baku, struggling against the Soviet regime, to arouse the people against the Communists. He met Mustafa Suphi in July 1920, even though Mustafa Suphi, according to Zeki Walidi, was a

communist. He, too, did not like the Russian attitude towards Eastern peoples. (104)

Like Mustafa Suphi, some other Turks supported the new Bolshevik regime, despite their suspicions that it would not ultimately grant the autonomy desired by all Turks. They founded the Türkiye Komünist Partisi (Turkish Communist Party) in Azerbaijan, which held its first Congress on 10 September, 1920, in the Red Army Club under the presidency of Neriman Nerimanov, in the name of the Azerbeycan İnkılâp Komitesi (Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee). (105)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, Türk Yılı (İstanbul:Yeni Matbaa, 1928), p.291
2. Ibid., p.334
3. Ibid., p.335
4. Odlu Türk, " Hususi Muhabirlerimizden: Bakü'den: Müslüman Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.6 No:6 (İstanbul,1330), p.2200
5. _____, " Hususi Muhabirlerimizden: Bakü'den ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.3 No:1 (İstanbul,1329), p.26
6. " Türklük Şunu: Mahmut Es'at Bey'in Şimal Türkleri Arasında Seyahatlerine Dair ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.5 No:6 (İstanbul,1329), p.1038
7. Hüseyin Namık, Türk Dünyası (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi,1932), pp.139-140
8. It is occasionally noted that Turks in proximity to Europe also have a European look. Hüseyin Namık says that:

" Turks of Kazan have two types: one is pretty much a European and the other is more like an Asian type namely a slight nose and a long face. "

Ibid., p.141

9. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Millet ve Tarih Şunu (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası,1948), p.157
10. Hüseyin Namık, op.cit., p.142
11. A letter from Kazan informs us of the situation in that region;
- F. Bey Han, " Hüsusi Muhabirlerimizden: Kazan'dan ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:7 (İstanbul,1328), pp.206-209
12. Ibid., p.208
13. " Türklük Şunu: Kazan'da Şark Klübü " Türk Yurdu, Vol.6 No:8 (İstanbul,1330), p. 2272
14. " Türklük Şunu: Şimal Türklerinde İktisadi Teşebbüsler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.3 No:10 (İstanbul,1329), p.318
15. Hüseyin Namık, op.cit., p.144
16. F.Bey Han, op.cit.
17. Alemcan-el İdrisi, " Terceme-i Hâl: Musa Carullah Efendi Bigeyef ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:11 (İstanbul,1331), p.2696
18. Ibid., p.2700

19. Bigeyef states that;

" Reason, to me, is the greatest guide to the existence of God. It is absolute, unbounded. Its superiority to every Islamic sect and its guidance is eternal. "

Ibid., p.2701

20. Milli Mücahit ve Milli Edip: Ayas İshaki (İstanbul, 1955), p.21

21. Ibid., p.4

22. " Türklük Şunu: Cihan Harbinin Türk Dünyasında Tesirleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:4 (İstanbul,1331), p.2574

23. İshaki, op.cit., p.10

24. Ibid., p.15

25. Halim Sabit, " Altaylara Doğru ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:12 (İstanbul,1328), p.403

26. He claims that;

" Today, all the quick food stands in the train stations of Russia are almost completely in the hands of Quasm Turks who have gained such expertise in this trade that other groups would have difficulty competing with them. "

Ibid., p.404

27. Ibid., p.407

28. The question was that " Oğlum oranın Türkleri de bizim dilimizi anlayabilirler mi? (Son, could the Turks overthere also understand our tongue?) "

Ibid., Vol.2 No:14, p.435

29. Ibid., Vol.2 No:16, p.499

30. To exemplify this point if it be relevant to state Halim Sabit's opinion about an İmam after a conversation on with him;

" İmam Efendi was aware of the developments in İstanbul as much as I was but he could not understand the reasons behind them or their implications and therefore was asking me about the debates in the house of representatives. "

Ibid., p.501

31. Ibid., Vol.12 No:1 (İstanbul,1333), p.3358

32. Ibid., No:2 p.3371

33. Halim Sabit here seems to be in a pessimistic mood in stating that;

" Its Turkish-Islamic population knows and fluently speaks Russian including women. Even their Turkish dialect is akin to Russian pronunciation. Not only this but some of the words used are also borrowed from Russian.

In this village Russian life style seems to be much preferred. "

Ibid., No:11 p.3529

34. Ibid., p.3530

35. Ibid., No:1 p.3358

36. Dealing with the programme set by the Russian Government on pilgrimage problem, Halim Sabit notes that;

" Of course, the government could not oppose this outright even though had little tolerance for it. It considered a central organization for pilgrimage, made deals with the ferry companies and thus was able to hold onto an important part of the money that would otherwise remain in Turkey. "

Ibid., Vol.13 No:3 (Istanbul,1333), p.3594 .

37. Turks in St. Peterbourg employed the greatest Concert Hall to practice the Bayram Namazı , a special kind of pray in Islam, in Mansur's letter, it reads as;

" As we entered the hall which have set the seen for a ball or a concert the night before, the chants of "God is Great" had overwhelmed the place instead of notes from a waltz or a sonato "

Mansur, " Hususi Muhabirlerimizden: Peterburg'dan ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:5 (istanbul,1328), p.144

38. The correspondence through adress " Redaction du Journal Boukharaii-Chérif-Nouvelle Boukhara Via Odesa "

" Türklük Şunu: Buhara-i Şerif Gazetesi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:12 (İstanbul,1328), p.343

39. " Türklük Şunu: Mühim Bir Ziya' ", Türk Yurdu , Vol.2 No:18 (İstanbul,1328), p.545

40. " Türklük Şunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:7 (İstanbul,1334), p.4205

41. " İmparatorluk Haricindeki Türkler Ne Diyorlar-Tercüman'dan ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No:20 (İstanbul,1328), p.627

42. Hamdullah Suphi Bey's speech was in fact clear enough;

" We only ask for one thing, a unity of language and conscience, so that hearts of Turks near or afar can beat in unison. "

" Türklük Şunu: Kurtuluş Günlerinde Kardeş Musahabeleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:7 (İstanbul,1334), p.4207 ; see the Appendix No:49

43. Ibid., p.4205

44. Alemcan-el İdrisi, " İsmail Bey Hakkında ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.7 No:2 (İstanbul,1330), pp.2439-40

45. Sa'fes, " Rusya'da Sakin Müslümanların Mahalli ve Müftülük Teşkilâtı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:1 (İstanbul, 1331), p.2755

46. Ibid., No:2 p.2765

47. Ibid., Nö:1 p.2753

48. Ibid., p.2754

49. Ibid., p.2755

50. Ibid., No:2 p.2766

51. When final memorandum of this Congress is examined, the main subject to consider seems to be;

" Ruhani meclislerin ve onun idari teşkilâtının hepsinin cemaat tarafından seçimle gelmesi (Public election of all the spiritual Congresses and their administrative organization) "

Ibid., p.2767

52. " Türklük Şuunu: Rusya Müslümanlarının Müftü ve Kadı İntihabı ve İlk Kadın Kadı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:11 (İstanbul,1333), p.3534

53. " Türklük Şuunu: Peterburg'da Müslümanlar İçtimalı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.6 No:10 (İstanbul,1330), p.2336

54. At the same speech, Mehmet Mirza states on behalf of Türk-İslâm Fırkası :

" Use of violence, theft, mobsting of children, women and old and mass murders of the young have openly been practiced in these places and those responsible for these crimes have not been punished. "

" Türk Dünyasında: Türkiye Haricindeki Türklerde ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:3 (İstanbul,1332), p.2997 ; and see the Appendix No:50

55. During the session of Duma on August 2nd, He mentions what was going on by saying that;

" Use of violence, pilferage have after all become ordinary crimes "

" Türklük Şuunu: Şimal Türklerinde ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:1 (İstanbul,1331), p.2757

56. " Türklük Şuunu: Rusya'da ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:2 (İstanbul,1331), p.2774

57. " Türklük Şuunu: Kırgız Türkleri Asker Edilecekmiş ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:4 (İstanbul,1331), p.2806

58. " Türk Dünyasında: Türkistan ve Sibirya Türklerinin Askerliği ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:12 (İstanbul,1332), p.3142

59. The news about this rebellion appeared in Türk Yurdu as;

" According to newspaper Gulus published in Tashkend about a thousand Muslims have stormed the police station in this city. "

" Türklük Şuunu: Şarki ve Şimali Türklerinde ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:2 (İstanbul,1332), p.3174

60. " Türklük Suunu: Kafkasyalılar Dayanamıyorlar-
Kırgız ve Kafkas Türkleri ve Askerlik ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11
No:4 (İstanbul,1332), p.3206

61. Z.N., "Türk Aleminde: Hakanlık Haricindeki Türkler",
Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:5 (İstanbul,1332), p.3222

62. Ülken, op.cit., p.157

63. The descriptive sentence was that:

" Ali Bey was with his calm wise disposition was
mystifying, ... yes he was a reflection of God. "

Sa'fes, " Terceme-i Hal: Hüseyinzade Ali Bey ", Türk
Yurdu, Vol.8 No:3 (İstanbul,1331), p.2554

64. Ibid., No:6 p.2116

65. Ibid.

66. The millionaire Hacı Zeynelabidin Tokayef of
Baku owned the Füyuzat, its Ottoman Turkish centered
political affiliation was quite transparent. As is illust-
rated by the statement;

" The way of Füyuzat is the path of Turkism, Islam and
Europeanism. It is the mix of Turkish sentimentality,

Islamic religiosity, and European civility. "

Ibid., No:4 p.2567 ; for the Turkish version see:
The Appendix No:51

67. Ibid.

68. He finally became one of the Aksakallı of Türk Ocakları .

Ibid., No:5 p.2584

69. Hüseyin Namık, op.cit., p.145

70. Ibid., p.146

71. " Türklük Şunu: Rus İhtilâlinde Türkler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:7 (istanbul,1333), p.3453

72. Ibid., No:10 p.3501

73. Here an interpretation of the event in Türk Yurdu is exemplary:

" The general revolutionary upheaval that took place in Russia during early March of this year has been participated in by 25-30 million strong Turkish World there,

Turks are marching toward their independence, freedom and self identity. "

Ibid., No:11 p.3534 ; see the Appendix No:52

74. Sadri Efendi Maksudof's speech given at K.D.'s Congress states the Turkish claim:

" I think a majority of Muslims will prefer future Russia to have a democratic republic government but this republic should not be based on a strong centralization. "

" Türk Aleminde: Sadrettin Efendi Maksudi'nin K.D. ler Kongresinde Söylediği Nutku ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:11 (İstanbul,1333), p.3531 ; for the Turkish version see the Appendix No:53

75. " Türklük Şunu: ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:9 (İstanbul,1333), p.3661

76. " Türklük Şunu: Rusya'da Sakin Türkler ve Milliyet Prensibi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:9 (İstanbul,1333), p.3486

77. " Türklük Şunu: Rusya İhtilâlinde Türkler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:10 (İstanbul,1333), p.3501

78. Hüseyin Namık, op.cit., p.148

79. Michael Rywkin, Russia in Central Asia (Newyork: Collier Books, 1963), p.33

80. Ibid.

81. A reference was made to that Russian journal in Türk Yurdu. It reads as;

" See what this famous Pan-Slavist Russian paper says: At the beginning of 20th century, world Islamic population has awakened from a centuries long sleep, especially Russia should closely observe the revolution in Turkey. "

Mehmet Muhlis, " Türk Sözü ve Rusya Müslümanları ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:4 (İstanbul,1333), p.3609 ; see the Appendix No:54

82. Sadri Maksudi of Kazan points out that;

" Russian Muslims, contrary to the beliefs of some, are not Tartars but Turks. The word Tartar is not a historical, scientific word anyway. It is only a military reference. "

Ibid., p.3610

83. " Türklük Şunu: Rusya Müslümanları ve Rus Hükûmetinin Mezalimi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:2 (İstanbul,1333), p.3582

84. Ibid., p.3580

85. " Türklük Şunu: Demokratlar Şurası ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:9 (İstanbul,1333), p.3661

86. " Türklük Şunu: Rusya Müslümanları ve Rus Hükûmetinin Mezalimi ", in op.cit., No:2 p.3581

87. Ibid., p.3580

88. " Türklük Şunu: Yeni Gazeteler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:9 (İstanbul,1333), p.3661

89. Hüseyin Namık, op.cit., p.192

90. Mim, " Türklük Şunu: Rus İhtilâli, Türkistan ve Kafkasya ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:6 (İstanbul,1334), p.4175

91. Giçeşkori was a Revolutionary Socialist and a former deputy to Duma .

Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. " Türk Ocağı Konferansları: Kafkasya Hakkında ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:5 (İstanbul,1334), p.4140

94. Ibid.

95. Mim, op.cit., p.4175

96. " Türk Ocağı Konferansları: Kafkasya Hakkında ",
in op.cit.

97. Bolshevik seize of political power was given as
an interesting piece of news item in only a few words in
Türk Yurdu ;

" The second stage of Russian Revolution, ...
extreme socialists, Russian Worker and Soldiers' Soviets,
.... have brought down Kerensky and reinstated Lenin,
the leader of their party, as the head of the government. "

" Türklük Şunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:7 (İstanbul,
1333), p.112 ; see the Appendix No:55

98. Michael Rywkin, op.cit., p.36

99. Ibid., p.38

100. Hüseyin Namık, op.cit., pp.148-149

101. Ibid., p.192

102. The worst thing for Russian Muslims according to
Türk Yurdu circle was that:

" Rusya Türklerinin millî matbuatı tamamen kapatılmış
tır. "

instead of Nationalist journals :

" Bayrak, Kızıl Armiya, gibi birkaç Bolşevik gazetesi " were started and widely distributed.

" Türklük Suunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:11 (İstanbul, 1334), p.362

103. Hüseyin Namık, op.cit., p.193

104. Mete Tunçay, Eski Sol Üzerine Yeni Bilgiler (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1982), p.52

105. Ibid., p.55

XIII. CONCLUSION

It is widely accepted that the term 'Turk', until well into the nineteenth century, referred to the ignorant nomad or Anatolian peasantry.

It is true that the words Turk or Turkey could not be found even in the European literature within a national context, and such terms they were used only designated the dominations under the Ottoman rule.

Regarding its Ottoman usage; it could only distinguish between a Turkish-speaking Ottoman and those who spoke other languages. (1)

Circumstances under which Turks evolved into a people flamed with national sentiments, which in time gave rise to a nationalist-irredentist ideology can be understood within the framework of the rising pan-Turkist movements in the late nineteenth century.

In more concrete terms, Turks who were, even the last half of the nineteenth century, referred to as being nothing but nomads, came to be motivated by visibly concrete ideals demanding a political unification among Turkic nationalities and aiming at, a Turanian nation extending from the Mediterranean to the Pacific.

In the preceding chapters, an attempt has been made towards a detailed understanding of how and through which means this transformation came about.

Let us take a global look at the review of critical points in the nationalist struggle, and its evolution in connection with especially Turks in Russia.

It is seen that the realization of nationalist consciousness was to be brought about, under the leadership of prosperous and therefore influential cities of Turkic world such as Kazan and Baku, after the establishment of the constitutional regime. In other words, it was the first stage of Russian bourgeois revolution in 1905 that greatly accelerated the expansion of Turkic nationalism. Within this context, it would be accurate to state that, "Of all the Turkic peoples of Russia the most advanced, and enterprising, and self-confident are the Tatars".(2)

Within the most widely quoted phrase, the principals dilde, işte, fikirde birlik (unity in language, thought and action) of İsmail Bey Gasprinsky are supposed to have constituted the early phase of Turkism in northern case.(3)

The culturally based Turkism under the Russian rule provided the preliminary Turkism with an expansion of ideology without coming into conflict with the administration.

Even in some Russian academic centers, scholars participated in research for the very foundations of Turkic cultures.

In order to be successful in initial phase: "Neither İsmail Bey Gasprinsky nor his supporters had displayed any political motives in the 1880's and 1890's and no clearly nationalistic goals were discernible in their activity".(4)

At the surface, the only thing he and his supporters were involved in was, to make the Central Asian people more illuminated using modern teaching techniques and through more widespread primary education.

The new teaching technique Gasprinsky invented, Usûl-ü Savtiyye (Teaching Method) was so successful that it would later be widely accepted as a method of acquiring literacy even among the Indian Muslims.(5)

Later, just before the proclamation of Russian constitution, a letter entitled 'Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset' (Three Pathways of Policy) published in a Young Turk Journal in Cairo, the Turk, accelerated the ideological debates.

In his Three Pathways of Policy Akçoraoğlu Yusuf seemed to have analyzed the historical evolution of the ideas of the all reformers from Sultan Mahmud II down to 1904, the date of publication of the letter written in Zoya village but published in the Cairo paper Turk (No's 24-24, May-June)

His series of articles had almost become the Bible of the Turkism emanating from the ideas in the text and delineating the alternative policies which could be directed towards a reformation of the existing Ottoman body politic in decay, as clearly as possible. According to him, there seemed no possibility of realizing the aim of Ottomanism based on components of both non-Turkish and Turkish peoples that would form a united nation along the lines of United States.

Despite the fact that Ottomanist theory recognized equality among traditionally unequals, Ottomanism was first of all against the Turkish wishes and sentiments; because no average Turk could accept to be equal with different ethnic groups that have for centuries been under Ottoman hegemony. Although this was true of Turks, on the other hand, Ottomanism was not an appealing ideal for the other subject peoples either, because its framework could not allow a conciliation of different ethnic aspirations.

In this context ethnic aspirations were aligned with a longing for total independence, and or integration into the already existing provinces which had gained independence within the previous century.

Another fatal flaw of Ottomanism in violent conflict with the Islamic thought is that it attempted to proclaim equality of the true believer with the disloyal infidel.

As far as the Russian point of view was concerned, its pretensions as the protector of eastern Ortodoxs , Ortodox Christian subjects under the Reign of Ottoman Sultan could not be compatible with the idea of Ottomanism.

As for the Pan-Islamic ideology, even though Islam was still the only concept which theoretically secured the allegiance of the non-Turkish but Muslim peoples to "The Sublime State". Nationalist trends and local interests provoked by colonialist powers in the Muslim areas far from the Porte were gradually weakening the basis of the Empire.

Therefore the only remaining alternative, as a useful and practical way, to recover the Empire encompassing all Turks was nothing but Turkism. Because the Turks seemed to have remained as the only reliable element for the revival of the Ottoman Empire.

The prophetic insight of Akçoraoğlu Yusuf would deem the initiation of the accelerated nationalist arguments wherever and whenever possible as necessary.(6)

The period in which Turkic people participated in the political affairs of Russian State craft proved to be very instructive for the Turks.

Having seen the challenging growth of Turkic influence; the Russian government sought reduction in numbers of central Asian deputies to Duma.

The gradual decrease in numbers of Turkic deputies brought about by a change in the electoral law could be explained in words as;

" The new electoral law deprived the steppe region and Central Asia of representation and sharply diminished the number of Muslim deputies Muslims could send only nine deputies to the new (Third) Duma and in the fourth Duma the number fell to seven, owing to local administrative shifts. " (7)

The reduced representation in Duma would, theoretically speaking, be coupled with a fall in political influence.

The author of 'Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset' in cooperation with other colleagues, participated effectively in all Russian Muslim irredentist activities.

As Landau puts it:

" Akçura was not only deeply involved in Pan-Turk politics in Russia in 1905-8 he had also been very active in all three congresses- and most probably was the most influential ideologue of Pan-Turkism in the Russian Empire." (8)

The crisis began with the Eastern defeat which led Russia into a relapse in the democratization process. Japanese victory over Russia, deeply weakening the latter state dashed the nationalist hopes of different ethnic groups and brought out the resurgent Turkish independence movement.

Despite the fact that Russia used all means available in order to stabilize the Central-Asian peoples the constitutional regime was in fact very expedient in the long run so that within the span of 1905-1908, the Kazan University and the like circles among Turkish intellectuals proved to be a learning process for their latent stage of nationalist struggle.

Due to the historical developments, such as the Tripolitan and Balkan Wars, concurrent with decline of the other ideologies, Turkism began its ascendancy into its eventual hegemony over the Ottoman lands.

Soon after the the leading ideologues moved to the Ottoman capital, Turkism began to take deeper roots.

Recalling the team's achievements even prior to Balkan Wars period, the struggle bore some fruits, such as the establishment of associations which chronologically follow as; The Society of Russian Muslim Students, The Student Association of Crimea, The Benevolent Society of Bouckhara.

In combination with the aforementioned Turkist based activities in the Ottoman capital, it suffices to see that the İttifâk-ül- Müslimîn (Alliance of Muhammedans) had been founded in Astrakhan in 1910 in order to see the widespread appeal of Turkism. The leaders of this association Agayef, Topçubaşlev were from Baku which was traditionally one of the most advanced among the many Turkic populated cities.

It can be argued that;

" ... in the five or six years before the beginning of World War I, Constantinople became a rallying point for Pan-Turkism and site for consolidation of the forces of Turkic emigration from Russia. " (9)

Another required feature for the recognition of an ideologically united political action was for its leaders to be elected to the central committee of CUP. The nominees to be elected to this committee were the subject of study in different sources, but the question of whether Akçura-oğlu Yusuf was actually elected is still debate among the authors. On this point both Zenkovsky and Zarevand agreed that Akçuraoğlu had succeeded in making it to the Central committee.(10) In either case however it was clear that Turkism was on the verge of take off as a revolutionary movement. After having completed the purge of the counter-ideologies, CUP was to achieve ideological homogeneity.

In order to maintain the pressure on the disienting groups to establish a deeply rooted strong social basis , some associations were to be established under the ideological leadership of Northern Turks.

In one of the chapters of this study a fully developed account of the procedure of Türk Ocakları and Türk Yurdu raised the Nationalist sentiments has been attempted.

In appearance, with the active participation of about three thousand members of Türk Ocakları in the Ottoman capital alone, it was seen as a non-partisan but culturally oriented Turkism. The movement's aim seemed merely national and cultural, but this was only true with regard to its theoretical claim. In fact, the leading team was a group which was full of Pan-Turkist ambitions.

Pan-Turkism, apart from its superficial appearance, at the surface, is a definite ideological trend embracing political ambitions, so far reaching that it presented a real danger for the Russian Empire.

Turkism seems to have evolved into a pure ideological entity after having undergone many phases. Starting from a limited programme, it finally reached a peak that the ideal of Turan became a visibly concrete objective.

The Nationalist ambitions preached by some periodicals, such as Türk Yurdu and Turan defined the boundaries of Turkish World.

According to Kasımzadeh, a Nationalist journalist, the Turco-Tatar World, that is the prospective Turanian State, included Asia Minor, Iraq, Northern Iran, Azerbaijan, Crimea, all the plains between the Volga and Ourals, the vast steppes of Caussacks, banks of the Amur river to the Pasific coast. (11)

The outbreak of World War I appeared to be the historical turning point for Turkism now taking a concrete form, with a potential for fulfillment. The reasons that paved the way towards the entry of the Ottoman State into World War I on the side of Germany and the question of whether a policy of neutrality could have been maintained have been the subject of numerous studies.

The discussion on how Ottoman Empire decided to take part on the German side in alliance with the Central Powers and against the old Entente Powers of Europe has been continuing in many respects.

As a distinct factor, it can be stated that Ottoman intellectuals, after the defeats in Tripolitan and Balkan Wars, could not see anyway other than to do so. It is also true that this was the time in which the ruling elite was facing an identity crisis.

Even though many Turks favored, in the face of the then obvious realities, France and British; the traditional enemy namely Russia was in concert with the two Western democratic countries, under such circumstances the neutral policy option within such a world-wide conflict could hardly be possible.

" The choice was essentially Enver's. Enver Paşa, ... undoubtedly thought that Ottoman interests could best be served by siding with the powerful Germans against Russia. He was always somewhat of a dreamer about Pan-Turkish expansion into the Russian Caucasus. " (12)

In the eyes of some Ottoman-Turkish intellectuals, the final objective to be aimed for in the Turkic World was to liberate the Turks under the Russian Empire. (13)

They seemed certain that the winning side would reshape the Middle East according to its own interests and desires. (14) On the other hand, in Halide Edip Hanım terminology, employed in Tanin (Booming) dated 28 Teşrin-i sâni 1330 (11 December 1915), the war could be defined as Halâs Muharebesi (The War for Independence). (15)

In summary, let us examine the concepts that help to clarify the subject of the ideological elements upon which Pan-Turkism was founded.

It is true almost by definition that all pan movements primarily aim at promoting the union or solidarity of social groups dwelling in different sovereign states because they feel the bondage of common cultural elements.

It was towards the end of nineteenth century that a meaningful type of nationalism appeared in the form of "Diasporal Pan-Nationalism", which hoped a gathering of exiles and brothers scattered around somewheres in the world on a real on imaginary but on the historically meaningful land.

The primary characteristics of Pan-Turkism were somewhat the same or typical of many other such movements, with respect to its inception and early developments.

It can convincingly be argued that it was the late nineteenth century Tsarist Russia in which Turkism with a moderate tune, appeared at the expense of Pan-Slavism. This movement was reinforced by the Turks in the Ottoman Empire early in the twentieth century after the Empire got into trouble with its own non-Turkish subjects. With the help of the rich ancient culture of steppes, Pan-Turkism, like the other pan-movements, formed the basis for an attempted revival of the classical culture.

The fact that the two other potentially powerful arguments, the religious and economic ones, did not play

a great role in Pan-Turkism was really a distinctive character. Even though the attitude of Pan-Turkism toward religion seems a bit dubious, the early team of Pan-Turkism, Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, Ağaoğlu Ahmet, Hüseyinzade Ali, who undertook the greater part of the task along with their Ottoman colleagues were somewhat suspicious about the function of Islam in the nation-making process. Contrary to the Slavian pan-ideology, Pan-Turkism, for the most part, kept religion out of their ideological formulation.

Regarding its irredentist dimension as a basic component, it was because of this feature that it differed from Turkish Nationalism prevailing after the establishment and consolidation of the Republic. Within this context, the initial conflict, under Mustafa Kemal Paşa's rule, were almost inevitable because not only did he forsake the Pan-Turkist argument but also focused his attention only into Anatolia, making this new understanding the official ideology of the state. (16)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. David Kushner, The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876-1908 (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.,1977), p.2

2. Zarevand, United and Independent Turania: Aims and Designs of the Turks (Leiden: E.J. Brill,1971), p.15

3. Although an attempt has been made in this study to devote a chapter dealing primarily with the great names of Turkism, such as Gasprinsky, Akçuraoglu, Ağaoğlu, considerations of time and the limited scope of this study would not permit a thorough coverage of the available material. Lacking the time for further elaboration, a brief exposition of the significant role played by especially İsmail Bey Gasprinsky in Nationalist struggle in Russia has been made.

To have an idea of the important role played by this personality it is useful to quote from Ayas İshaki's İl (Province), that was a newspaper widely distributed in St.Peterbourg;

" Rusya Türklerindeki herhangi bir milli, manevi, medeni, ... her şeyin başlatıcısı, İsmail Beydir. "

" İsmail Bey'e Dair Şimal Türk Matbuatının Efkârı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.7 No:1 (İstanbul,1330), p.2421

5. Gasprinsky, after having achieved a mushrooming growth of the mekteps (schools) using his usûl-ü savtiyye (Teaching Method), took trips from Egypt to India, the last of which was to India via the Suez Canal. His success made great reflections upon both in Indian Muslim newspapers, such as İhbar-ül İslâm and some English newspapers. Using his usûl-ü savtiyye, the Indian Muslim students in Bombay learned with Arabic script for instance, within forty days. The success was great enough so that Gazi Mehmet Ali, the Kadı of Bombay, and Gazi İsmail Efendi of İhbar-ül İslâm newspaper expressed outright gratitude to him. For further details see both;

Seyyah, " Hususi Muhabirlerimizden: Hint Yolundan ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:10 (İstanbul,1328), pp.308-10 ;

_____, " Hint'ten Dönerken ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:12 (İstanbul,1328), pp.369-71

6. For Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset (Three Pathways of Policy) made powerful reverberations among the intellectuals and was astutely studied by many authors on various occasions. For the reflections and critics, see the following;

Yusuf Akçura, Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1976), pp.17-18, 37-55

François Georgeon, Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), (trans: Alev Er), (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1986), pp.35-45 ; and as a interesting point of view was also useful;

Zarevand, op.cit., pp.26-28

7. S.A.Zenkovsky, Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia (Cambridge,1960), p.105

8. Jacob M. Landau, Pan-Turkism in Turkey: A Study of Irredentism (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1981), p.14

9. Zenkovsky, op.cit., p.108

10. An objection to this point can be found in François Georgeon's thesis, who argued against the other two author's claim that Akçuraoğlu never attempted such an infiltration. To make a comparison between the different views;

Zenkovsky, op.cit., p.107 , and Zarevand, op.cit., p.30 , see for the opposite; Georgeon, op.cit., p.55

11.Zenkovsky, op.cit., p.111

12. Roderic H. Davison, Turkey: A Short History (N.J. : Eother Press, 1981), p.115

13. In order to ascertain the meaning of new year, Akçuraoğlu used to write a critic analyzing what had happened during the previous year. By the time, Ottoman armies were fully equipped and stepping overwhelmingly into the Rumanian Front.

Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Siyaset ve Askerlik Yılı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:1 (İstanbul,1333), p.3349

14. In grips with the Entente Powers, Turkists knew very well what they had attempted to do.

Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Türk Dünyasında: Cihan Harbinde Türkler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.7 No:1 (İstanbul,1330), p.2427

15. Ibid., p.2428 ; and in connection with this Halâs Muharebesi , it is worth mentioning here that a total of 200.000 Turks in Russian side had to rage war against Magyars under official oppression of Russian Government. Out of this number, about 40.000 Northern Turks lost their lives at the front while struggling against their racial brothers, the Magyars.

Ibid., p.2426

16. Landau, op.cit., pp.176-182

APPENDIX

1.

" Türk Yurdu'nun bu cılız ve hastalıklı kıtalarında, bir hayal-i azim dolaştırarak onları tahrik etmek ve bu suretle heyecân-ı efkârı, İtalyan siyasetine memnu olan Balkan sahasına nakle muvaffak olmak, ... "

Ahmet Ferit, "Kuvvet ve Siyaset Muharebesi", Türk Yurdu Vol.2 No:13 (İstanbul,1328), p.390

2.

" Bu şayan-ı hayret medeniyet (civilisation surprenante) hakkında dediklerimin tab'ına mani hiçbir sebep yoktur. "

" Çistani İli Beyinin Hikayesi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:8 (İstanbul, 1328), p.226

3.

" Fransa ve Almanya'da bunlara benzer hiçbir şey yok iken, güzel ve büyük bir medeniyetin sahibi olan bu ecdadınızla bihakkın müftehir olabilirsiniz. "

Ibid.,p.227

4.

" Bununla beraber ben Türk oğlu Türk her türlü taraf-
tarlık isnadından masun kalmak için Mösyö Cahun'un vesaik
ile müeyyed olmayan iddia ve tasdiklerini kabul etme-
dim. "

Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Müverrih Leon Cahun ve Muallim
Barthold'a Göre Cengiz Han ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:7
p. 203

5.

" Medeniyet-i İraniye din-i İslâmı da maksadı uğrunda kullandı. Biz Türkler, hala bu tefsirin taht-ı te'sirindeyiz. "

Ibid., No:5,p.141

6.

" Her kişinin el ve ayağına iş buldu. İle rahat ve vukut kazandırdı. Büyük Hakan'ın ili kadar müsterih ve kuvvetli bir halk başka ülkelerde yok idi. "

Ibid., No:8, p. 240

7.

" Bari bundan sonra ümid edelim ki ruh-ı Cengiz'in ulviyet ve azametine lâayık bir Türk kalemi çıksın da mazi-i millimizin O en yüksek simasını bize tanıtsın. " Ibid., No:10 p.305

8.

" O Hakanlığı kuran, onu bir müddet devam ettiren Türk-Tatar-Moğol milleti elyevm mevcuttur, ve bu millet o zamandan beri asla eksilmemiş; bilakis artmıştır. " Ibid., No:11 p.330

9.

" Türkler çok yayılmış, bugünkü medeniyet aleminin bile menşei olmuş bir ırktır. "

A. Avni Candar, Türklüğün Kökleri ve Yayılışı, (İstanbul,1934), p.8

10.

" İki yıl kadar oluyor, İngiltere ulema ve seyyahlarından Mr. Douglas Carruther, Mr. J.H. Miller ve Mr. P.M. Price adlı zatlar Türk ırkının beşiğini bulmak niyetiyle Asya'nın ortalarına seyahat ve keşfe gitmişler idi. "

" Türklük Şunu : Türk Irkının Beşiği ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:7 (İstanbul,1328), p.214

11.

" Devletimizin hüviyetini teşkil eden esas vasıflar, uzun felaket asırlarının tecrübe mahsulü ve gelecek asırların en feyizli gelişme prensibi olarak bulunmuştur. Milliyetçi Türkiye, Anayasanın tarif ettiği Türk Vatandaşına vatansever bir Türk milliyetçisi olmanın bütün imkanlarını vermiştir. Devletimiz milli bir devlettir. "

Irkcılık-Turancılık (Ankara: Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları No.4, 1944), p.5

12.

" Memleketimizde politika garezleri için uydurulan ırkçılık önderlerinin çok acıklı faciaları hatıralarımızda canlıdır. 1912 senelerinde Rumeli'de tutunmak için tırnaklarıyla kayalara yapışarak son gayretlerini.... "

Ibid.

13.

" Bu Türkiye'yi içinden dağıtıp tahrip etmek için bir bela ısmarlansa, ırkçılıktan beteri inemez. Bu Türkiye'yi dışında can düşmanlarıyla çevirtmek için ikinci bir bela ısmarlansa, İslam İttihatçılığı ham hayali yerine Turancılık ütopyasını geçirmekten âlâsı bulunamaz. "

Ibid., p.36

14.

" Gerek bir şahısta, gerek bir hey'ette millî suurun yakazası, beşerî tekamülün muayyen bir noktada, tabii ve lüzumlu olarak tezahür eden arzıdır.

Artık bu şuur, denizin med-ü ceziri, yazda güneşin harareti gibi tevkif ve ne de men' edilebilir. "

" İçtimaiyat: Milliyet ", mütercimi: Tekrim Boyacı,
Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:8 (İstanbul,1331),p.2647

15.

" Ben beşeriyetin hayatında asıl müessir-i ihtiyaç; maddî, ve ondan mütevellid kuvvayı maddiye olduğuna inananların şakirdlerindenim. Cemiyet-i beşeriyenin menbaı, tekâmülü olduğuna zahibim. Bu zehabım Fuye'nin fikir kuvvettir nazariyesini bir netice bir mahsule olarak kabule mani değildir. Kuvvet olan fikirlerin en mühimleri, din fikri ile milliyet fikri zannediyorum. "

Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Milliyet Fikri ve Millet Muharebeleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.3 No:9 (İstanbul,1329), p.260

16.

" Kezalik madem ki insanlar ferden hür ve birbirine müsavidirler. Efradın biraraya gelmesinden tekevvün eden cemiyetler de birbirine müsavi ve yekdiğerine karşı hürdürler. "

Ibid., p.262

17.

" Avrupa milletleri tarihinde Cermenlerin, Cermen akvamının tuttuđu mevki akvam-ı müslime tarihinde, tabii bazı farklarla, Türkler, Türk kavimleri tutar. Cermen kavim ve kabilelerinin Avrupa tarihindeki hayat ve vekayii ile Türk kavim ve kabilelerinin akvam-ı müslime tarihindeki hayat ve vekayii arasında bir nevi muvazilik vardır. "

Akçuraođlu Yusuf, " Akvam-ı Müslime Tarihinin Devrelere Taksimi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:2 (İstanbul,1333), p.3571

18.

" Bir cemiyet ferdlerinin kemmi ve riyazi mecmuuna müsavi değildir. İşte cemiyeti ferdlerinin yekûnu gibi değil bir uzviyetin hücyeleri gibi nazar-ı itibare almak doğrudur. O halde cemiyet içtimai bir uzviyettir. "

İsmail Hakkı, " Türk Ocağı Konferansları: Milliyet ve Terbiye ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:3 (İstanbul,1334), p.4060

19.

" Milliyet dini müteâli bir cemiyettir:

Milliyeti diniyete mugayir zannediyorlar! milliyet diniyete mugayir, Türklük, müslümanlığa muarız değildir.

Milli bir hayatın zuhuru ile din ölmüyor. Belki bütün müesseseler gibi o da millileşiyor. "

Ibid., p.4063

20.

" Bence tamamiyle mütecanis ve aynı derecede mükemmel bir Türk Milleti yoktur. "

Ibid., p.4065

21.

" Milliyetten irtidad edenler: Bunlar memleketin en zavallı tabakasıdır.

İkinci tabaka: hastalar

Milletin eski zihniyetinden kurtulmuş fakat yeni hayat ve zihniyete aşılammamış olan gençler, mekteplilerdir. milliyet hissine, milliyet ruhuna birincisi derecede namzet olan işte bu hasta gençlerdir.

Üçüncü tabaka: henüz millî hayata giremeyenler

Dördüncü tabaka: Göçebe ve aşiretler (Onların massedilmesi; bunlar İslâmi hayata bile tamamiyle girmemiş olan cemaatlerdir. "

Ibid., p.4066

2.

" Yalnız memurluk etmek, muttasıl kan vergisi vermek, azançlı işlere rağbet göstermemek, Türkleri eksiltmiş ve akirleştirmiştir.

Türklerin arazi sahibi olan birkaç yüz bininden gay-ısı hep memurluk, askerlikle geçinen, (ve) shab-ı ihtiyaçtır. Bunlar açlıktan ölmeyecek kadar bir aaşla iktifa ederler. Türkler zaten şayan-ı hayret bir erecede kanaatkârdırlar. "

Paul Risal, " Türkler Bir Ruh-ı Millî Arıyorlar.", Türk Yurdu, Vol.2 No:24 (İstanbul,1328), p.775

3.

" Türkler nihayet millî bir ruh buldular. ... kçura ile Agayef, bütün gazeteler tarafından büyük gürül-ümlerle neşr edilen propaganda konferansları veriyorlar. Bununla beraber Türkçülük hareketinin müfrit milliyetçi (Chauviniste) bir seyr ibraz etmediğini söylemek lazımdır; çünkü avamdan zuhur etmiyor. "

Ibid., Vol.3 No:4 (İstanbul,1329), pp. 107-9

24.

" Ocak, tesisi zamanından itibaren hükûmetten hayırhahlık ve müzaheret görmüştür.

... Ayda muayyen bir küçük tahsisat ile beraber ayrıca birçok defalar yardımlar aldık. "

" Türk Ocakları İdare Raporu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:9 (İstanbul, 1334), p.4265

25.

" Rodop Dağları eteklerinde Bulgarlardan örfünden Türklere karşı belg-ü temessül (assimilasyon) kemâl-i şiddetle vuku bulmuştur. "

Yavuz, " Mektuplar: Köprülü'den ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:11 (İstanbul, 1328), p.342

26.

" Ey ümmet-i Muhammed!... uyanınız, uyanınız!...
Sonra rahat rahat uyuyacak yatak değil, rahat gömülecek mezar da bulamayacağız. Herkes dinine nasıl sarılırsa, diline ve kavmiyetine de öyle dört elle sarılmalıdır. "

Ibid., p.341

26.2.

" Ey Türkler! bizi kaygusuzluk yüzünden yılan gibi sarmış olan bu kara cahilliği düşününüz. Türk diyarında bir Bulgarın bir Türke Türkçeden tercümanlığı...."

Ibid.

27.

" Her yerde olduğu gibi Manastırda da memurluğa karşı büyük bir heves uyanmaktadır. Bir baba çocuğunu okutur. (Amacı) O'nu bir memur, bir hazır yiyici yapmaktır. "

Ethem Nejat, " Hususi Muhabirlerimizden:Manastırdan "

Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:8 (İstanbul,1328), p.241

28.

" Bir içtimaf mefkûremiz yok, iktisadî bir esarete düşmüşüz. Mülkün her tarafında garizi bir sefalet hüküm sürüyor. "

Kazım Nami, " Yeni Hayata Doğru ", Türk Yurdu,

Vol.3 No:2 (İstanbul,1329), p.42

29.

" Sark meselesinin düğümü boğazlardadır.

1329'da tasarlanan Asya-yı Osmaninin iktisadi nüfuz mintikalarına ayrılmasının siyasi bir taksim mahiyetini iktisab eylesine artık mani kalmayacaktı. ...
Cihan Harbi, ... kısmen bizim yorgan için kopmuştu(r). "

Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, " Geçen Yıl:1330 Senesi ", Türk Yurdu Vol.8 No:1 (İstanbul,1331), pp.2516-17

30.

" İran-Türkiye ve Avusturya-Macaristan bir buçuk asırdan beri aynı tehlikeye Moskof tehlikesine maruzdurlar.

Bu veçhile Galiçya'da Habsburglar memleketini müdafaa eden, Lehistan ve Ukraynayı Moskof boyunduruğun kurtarmaya çalışan Osmanlı kahramanları, aynı zamanda Kafkasya ve Kırımı da kurtarmaya çalışıyorlar demektir. "

Sin. Ayn., " Türk Dünyasında: Nemçe ve İran'da Osmanlı Orduları ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:12 (İstanbul,1332), pp. 3139-40

31.

" Asırlardan beri ademin ve alelhusus ümmed-i Muham-
medin kanını emen pek büyük Britanya'nın denizlere ve
karalara sığmayan gurur(u) ... eski Nemrutların azamet-
leri gibi artık gayretullaha dokunmuş olsa gerektir. "

" Türklük Suunu: Kitchener'in Batması ", Türk Yurdu,
Vol. 10 No:8 (İstanbul,1332), p.3078

32.

" Anadolu kıt'asına neşr-i medeniyet ve bahusus
oranın ahval-i sıhhiye ve ziraiyesinin islâhı gerekiyor. "

Dr. Martin Hartmann, " Mektuplar: Almanya'dan Gelen
Bir Mektup ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.7 No:5 (İstanbul,1330),p.2485

33.

" Türklük burada tembel bir hayat içinde yüzüyor.
İnsan, her yerde dağınık, perişan duran yüz binlerce
.... Türkleri gördükçe ağlayacağı geliyor. Çünkü İzmir
gibi bir şehrin Türkleri bu halde ise Anadolu'da kimbilir
hangi haldedir. "

Nafi Atuf, "İzmir ve Türkler", Türk Yurdu, Vol.1 No:7
(İstanbul,1328), p.211

34.

" Anadolu anamızdır. Onun altın başaklı memelerin den hayat emeriz. ... Anadolu velinimatimizdir. "

" Anadoluya Dair ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:4 (İstanbul, 1332), p.2999

35.

" Haşmetmeap İmparator Hazretlerinin bu defaki ziyaretleri, İstanbul'a üçüncü ziyaretleri olup evvelki ziyaretleri 21 Teşrin-i evvel 1305 ve 6 Teşrin-i evvel 1314 tarihlerinde vuku' bulmuştu. "

" Alman İmparatoru II. Wilhelm Hazretlerinin İstanbul'u Ziyaretleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:6 (İstanbul,1333), p.3644

36.

" Abdülaziz Çavuş tarafından (Arapça) nutuk veriliyor. ...Alemlen Efendi tarafından (da) Şimal Türkçesine tercüme olundu. "

Ayn. Elif, "Almanya'da Müslüman Esir Ordugâhlarında Kurban Bayramı", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:10 (İstanbul,1332), p.3307

" Birkaç gün evvel pek parlak ve mutantan bir surette sm-i küşadını icra ettiğimiz Balkan Sür'at Katarının emmiyetini aynı derecede takdir etmiyoruz. "

Tekin Alp, "İktisadiyat: Berlin-İstanbul Yolu", Türk Yurdu, Vol.9 No:10 (İstanbul,1331), p.2896

" Basra Körfezi ticarete serbest kalmalıdır. nun için İngiltere'nin mezkur körfezdeki nüfuzu,hiç çilse mutlakiyet ile hakimiyeti kırılmalıdır."

R.M. Fuad, "Müttefiklerimizin Düşündükleri: Türkiye Arabistan", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:4 (İstanbul,1332),

39.

" Tuna Boylarından İstanbul'a doğru bağır açılıyor. Kollar uzatılıyor. Bin yıllık ayrılığın sonunda gönlümüzde birbirine kavuşmuş iki kan kardeşinin sevgisi uyanıyor; gözümüzde eski ocağımızın koruları parlıyor. "

Dr. Mesaroş, " Matbuat ve Yeni Eserler: Yeni Doğu'ya Doğru: Turan Mecmuası ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:8 (İstanbul, 1333), p. 3465

40.

" Zamanımız, hayatta pek ve sağlam olmayanlara insafsızdır, kıyar. Yeryüzünde benim, bizim diyebileceğimiz toprağımız, malımız olmasını istersek, pek çetin ve sağlam olmalıyız. "

" Türklük Şunu: Yarışta Türklük ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.6 No:3 (İstanbul,1330), p.2112

41.

" Bu itibarla iptidai mektepler, halk mektepleridir. İptidai mekteplerin gayesini çok iyi anlayan Cerman mekteplerinde, İhtilâl-i Kebirin zâdesi olan iptidai mektebi tabiri yoktur. "

Nafi Atuf, " Terbiye ve Talim: Maarifimiz Hakkında ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:11 (İstanbul,1332), p.3116

42.

" Ben terbiyede milliyet hislerinin verilmesine yalnız taraftar olmakla kalmıyorum. Bir de bunu kendime pedagojik bir düstûr telakki ediyorum. "

Halide Edip, " 1332 Senesi Vakıf Kızlar Mekteplerinin Senelik Raporu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.11 No:2 (İstanbul,1332), p.3165

43.

" Mektep cemiyetin küçük bir modeli haline getirilmeli.

O vakit mektebi ikmal eden gençler, hayat-ı hakikiye sahnesinde şaşırıp kalmaz. "

Mim Rahmi, " İş Mektebi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:7
(İstanbul,1333), p.3648

44.

" Biz adam olmak için içtimaf ve fikri, daha çok, pek büyük inkılâblara muhtacız. Bu inkılâblar olmadıkça adam olamayız. "

Mehmet Abdullah, " İslâm Kadınları ", Türk Yurdu,
Vol.2 No:24, (İstanbul,1328), p.761

45.

" Bugün kadınlık meselesi iki nokta-i nazardan mütalaa edilmelidir:

1. Harbin doğurduğu iktisadî, ticarî ve ailevî ve içtimai vaziyet ki her gün bir yenilik ve bir başkalık meydana getiriyor. ...

2. Bu yeni vaziyetle milli hususiyetimizi birleştirebilmek için milli hususiyetin mahiyetini ve onu vücuda getiren amilleri tetkik etmek (lazımdır),

Bu iki şıktan yalnız birini ihtiyar edersek ifrat veya tefrite gitmekten kendimizi kurtaramayız. "

Ziynetullah Nişurevan, " Türk Kadınlığı ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:6 (İstanbul,1333), p.3643

46.

" 6 Mayıs 1918'de Cenevre'de Kadınlara mahsus Ulum-ı İçtimaiye Mektebi açılmıştır. ... Harbi müteakip, ... (kadınlar) birçok hayat-ı içtimaiye işlerini (...) görmeye mecbur olacaktır. "

Mim Rahmi, "Cenevre'de Kadınlara Mahsus Ulum-ı İçtimaiye Mektebi ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:8 (İstanbul,1334), p. 4233

47.

" Bugün için, kadın gibi kadınlık da kafes arkasından sıyrıldı. ... Kızlarımızla erkeklerimizin hissi ve fikri temaslarına hizmet edecek vesileler ihsar etmek hepimize vazife(dir). "

Nafi Atuf, "Aile Münasebetlerimiz", Türk Yurdu, Vol. 14 No:8 (İstanbul,1334), p.4226

48.

" Türk kadınlığının, ... vaziyeti tam manasıyla esarettir. ... İstanbul'da on beş kadar kadın cemiyeti vardır ki; ... şefkat işleriyle tevaggul ederler. Bu cemiyetlere burjuvazinin kadınları da iştirak ediyorlarsa da, umumiyetle bu sınıfın kadınları sıcak apartmanlarda ve konaklarında hodkamane bir hayat sürmektedirler. "

Mete Tunçay, Eski Sol Üzerine Yeni Bilgiler (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları,1982), p.130

49.

" Biz yalnız bir şey istiyoruz: Dil birliği ile Vicdan birliği. Uzak yakın bütün Türklerin kalpleri aynı duyguyla çarpsın. "

" Türklük Şunu: Kurtuluş Günlerinde Kardeş Musahabeleri ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.14 No:7 (İstanbul,1334), p.4207

50.

" Cebr-ü şiddet, gasp, kadın, çocuk ve ihtiyarlaraya tecavüz ve gençlerin katl-i âmı buralarda açıktan açığa yapılmış ve failleri düçar-ı mücazat olmamıştır. "

" Türk Dünyasında: Türkiye Haricindeki Türkler ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.10 No:3 (İstanbul,1332), p.2997

51.

" Füyûzatın tuttuğu yol Türklük, Müslümanlık ve Avrupalılıktır. Türk hissiyatı ile mütehassis, İslâm dini ile mütedeyyin ve Avrupa medeniyet-i hazırası ile mütemeddin olmaktır. "

Sa'fes, " Terceme-i Hal: Hüseyinzade Ali Bey ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.8 No:4 (İstanbul,1331), p.2567

52.

" Bu yıl Mart iptidalarında Rusya'da patlayan umumi ihtilâl harekâtına 25-30 milyonluk Türk Dünyası da karıştı. Türklük, kendine doğru, kendi muhtariyet, istiklâl ve hürriyetine doğru yürüyor. "

" Türklük Suunu: Rus İhtilâlinde Türkler ", Türk Yurdu , Vol.12 No:11 (İstanbul,1333), p.3534

53.

" Müslümanların ekseriyeti müstakbel Rusya'nın usûl-ı idaresi demokrat cumhuriyet olmasına taraftar olacaklar zannındayım. Lakin o cumhuriyet şiddetli merkeziyet esasına müstenid olmamalıdır. "

" Türk Aleminde: Sadrettin Efendi Maksudi'nin K.D.'ler Kongresinde Söylediği Nutku ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.12 No:11 (İstanbul,1333), p.3531

54.

" Rusların bu meşhur Pan-İslavist gazetesi bakınız ne diyordu: Yirminci asrın iptidalarında bütün dünyadaki ahali-i İslamiye asırlardan beri uyumuş olduğu uykusundan kalktı. Rusya hususiyle Türkiye'deki inkılâbı dikkatle takip etmelidir. "

Mehmet Muhlis, "Türk Sözü ve Rusya Müslümanları ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:4 (İstanbul,1333), p.3609

55.

" Rus İhtilâlinin ikinci safhası, ... İfratçı Sosya - listler (Maksimalistler), Rus Amele ve Asker Cemiyetleri ... Kerenski'yi ıskat edip, ... kendi fırka reisleri olan Lenin'i hükûmetin başına geçirmişlerdir. "

" Türklük Suunu ", Türk Yurdu, Vol.13 No:7 (İstanbul, 1333), p.112

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