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Ways of Building a State Ideology in the Novel by Halide Edip Adıvar "Yeni Turan" ("New Turan")

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ABSTRACT

This article presents an analysis of political ideas and views on the future structure of the country in the novel "Yeni Turan" ("New Turan") by the famous Turkish writer and public figure Halide Edip Adıvar (1884-1964). The purpose of the study is to find out what way Halide Edip Adıvar sees for her country and how she expresses it through the prism of the political parties described in the novel. At the same time, the analysis of the ideas of the New Ottomans and New Turan parties is based on a deep analysis of the entire political thought of the Ottoman Empire, starting with the New Ottomans movement.

Keywords: "New Ottomans", "New Turan", political party, decentralization, centralization, Turkish Turkism.

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1. INTRODUCTION

After the victory of the Young Turks movement (Jön Türkler movement) and the establishment of the period of the Second Constitution in the Ottoman Empire, it became obvious that a deep crisis in all spheres of society could not be resolved only by changing the ruling elite. Fundamental changes were required to overcome the pressing problems, and the question of which path of development the country should take became a cornerstone among the politically active intelligentsia. Halide Edip was also involved in the political life of the empire and was one of the leading writers of the period of the Second Constitution. Collaborating with the "Türk Yurdu" magazine, she meets such ideologists of Turanism and Turkism as Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp. Their ideas, in particular those of Zia Gökalp, had a great influence on the formation of the political views of Halide Edip Adıvar. Inspired by these views, Halide Edip decides to present his vision and try to give her own answer to the question of what should be the future of the Ottoman empire. The answer was the novel "Yeni Turan" ("New Turan") written in 1912. In the novel, the main confrontation exists between two parties: the "New Ottomans" and the "New Turan". These parties act as translators of the main political ideas of the era.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL THOUGHT AS A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION FOR THE CREATION OF THE NOVEL

The views on the future structure of the state, reflected in the novel "Yeni Turan", have a real basis. A deep socio-political crisis, aggravated by the Zulüm policy (1878-1908), economic dependence on the Western powers, which, with the creation of the Ottoman Debt Administration in 1881, were able to openly influence some state monopolies, the growth of the national self-consciousness of the peoples of the Ottoman Empire, resulting in an open struggle for independence, led to the intensification of the growth of opposition sentiments among the politically active intellectuals. At the same time, in the environment of the opposition itself there were different views on the solution of urgent problems. Calls for the creation of a constitutional system were heard back in the 60s and 70s. of the 19th century and were part of the unification program of the "New Ottomans", who wanted to achieve "the replacement of the feudal-absolutist regime with a constitutional monarchy and the unity of all peoples of the multinational Ottoman Empire" (Petrosyan & Petrosyan, 1993, p. 129).

The leader of the "New Ottomans" was Namık Kemal, who, like most representatives of the movement, began his career as a translator in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They defended the ideas of enlightenment and made attempts to synthesize modernization and Islam. Moreover, in the pages of their press, including the emigration press, they insisted that the constitutional system fully complied with Islamic norms. However, the rethinking of Islam as an essential component of Ottoman society was carried out in different ways by such representatives of the "New Ottomans" as Namık Kemal and Ali Suavi.

Namık Kemal considered one of the shortcomings of the Tanzimat to be the emergence of an ideological vacuum that arose as a result of the displacement of Islam from the public sphere (its transfer to the private sphere). He attempted to establish strong links between modernization and Islam and looked in Islam for references to the possibility of a parliament. Namık Kemal was also against the secularization of law in the Tanzimat and saw Sharia as the basis for much of society. He believed that the Ottoman empire was in decline, and tyranny and injustice prevailed everywhere precisely when Sharia was not taken into account (Poulton, 1997, p. 56).

Another prominent representative of the "New Ottomans" is "a revolutionary in a turban - an Ottoman politician, teacher and theologian Ali Suavi (1839-1878). He was a great patriot and an ardent supporter of Islam, calling on the people to fight against tyranny and despotism, "a radical fanatic whose particular religious demagoguery seems to be the most predominant at the end of the 20th century" (Poulton, 1997, p. 57).

"Extreme Islamic purism and a call for civil disobedience" (Petrosyan, 1971, p. 122) led to a rupture in 1867 between Namık Kemal and Ali Suavi. At the same time, it should be noted that Ali Suavi's views on the institution of parliamentarism were not always consistent. Initially, he also spoke in favor of the creation of a parliament. Then Ali Suavi put forward the idea of "direct Islamic democracy", where in an Islamic state everyone has equal access to the ruler and where everything is regulated only by Sharia. Parliamentarism and the creation of representative bodies in such a state are not needed (Poulton, 1997, p. 57). Regarding Ali Suavi's views on patriotism, he also used the term "Türk" very often and viewed the Central Asian Turks as "brothers".

Thus, already at the initial stages, the ideas of the "New Ottomans" were not homogeneous - the difference was already felt in the methods necessary for the development of the Ottoman empire. If Namık Kemal stood for peaceful constitutional reformism, then Ali Suavi spoke in his program about universal equality and freedom, which could only be achieved as a result of open struggle (Petrosyan, 1971, p. 123-124).

In his writings, Namık Kemal, following the example of Ibrahim Şinasi (1826-1871), used a simple language, so some of his works are still used in Turkish schools to absorb the feeling of "fatherland". He was also very successful in appealing to patriotism and is credited with the first use of the term *hürriyet* (freedom) and the first widespread use of the term *vatan* (fatherland), both of which he popularized. However, he never made a clear distinction between Ottoman and Islamic identities. For example, in the newspaper "Hürriyet" in 1868, he listed Arabs and Persians as Muslims, as well as the Arab Caliphate itself, as part of "Ottoman" pride (Poulton, 1997, p. 57).

Influenced by the ideas of European Enlightenment thinkers, the "New Ottomans" also considered enlightenment to be an integral part of the progress of society. They argued that the lack of education in most of the empire was a clear obstacle to the economic progress of the Ottoman Empire, leaving it far

behind the developed European states. In order to overcome this lag, it is first necessary to overcome the cultural backwardness of the country and raise the level of public education. At the same time, the "New Ottomans" pointed to the difference in the level of education between the Christian and Muslim-Turkish population of the empire. Due to the fact that the non-Muslim population enjoyed some school autonomy within the religious community, the literacy rate among this part of the population was significantly higher than that of the Turkish part of the country. Under the influence of the ideas of the "New Ottomans" in 1865, the "Educational Muslim Society" was opened, under which a lyceum was opened in 1873, and in 1869 the Organic Law on Public Education appeared (Petrosyan, 1971, p. 112-113).

Views on the national question occupied an important place in the program of the New Ottomans. In this case, they acted from the right positions, extremely disapproving of the national liberation movements and calls for a national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Ottoman Empire, openly expressed the ideas of Turkish domination over other peoples of the empire. Preventing the division of the empire was one of the priorities of their program. Therefore, in order to stop the wave of nationalist sentiments among the non-Turkish population, the doctrine of Panosmanism (*osmanlılık*) was developed, the "New Ottomans" put forward "the idea of equality and unity of all peoples of the multinational Turkish state within the "common homeland" - the Ottoman Empire" (Petrosyan, 1971, p. 126-127).

With the help of the doctrine of pan-Ottomanism, the "New Ottomans" proved the possibility of preserving an indivisible empire, because in a homogeneous Ottoman society there should be no conflicts on national or religious grounds. The only thing that is a stumbling block is the existing regime of despotism, which must be eliminated. In other words, according to the New Ottomans, only a constitution could save the empire from collapse, since in this case the confrontation on a national and religious basis would be eliminated. However, the actually introduced constitution would not mean at all that the rule of the Turks over the Greeks, Armenians, Kurds and other peoples would also be eliminated. Moreover, according to the New Ottomans, it should have been preserved in any case.

Thus, for the first time in the Ottoman Empire, it was the New Ottomans movement that made patriotism part of its ideology. The activities of the movement became the impetus for the awakening of the national identity of the Turks, and the next generation of young Turkish patriots was brought up on the works of its main ideologists. Despite the fact that the movement collapsed and gradually ceased its activities, their ideas were not forgotten, on the contrary, in the conditions of that era, they were actively supported and formed the basis of the ideology of the Young Turks.

In the last decades of the 19th - early 20th century, the situation in the Ottoman Empire worsened significantly, the reactionary policy of the authorities could not suppress the growth of opposition sentiments. The "New Ottomans" society, which actually ceased to exist, had successors. Little by little,

the representatives of the reformers' movement were consolidated again, at the origins of which at one time stood both the dignitaries of the empire who carried out reforms, and intellectuals from among the "New Ottomans". The "New Ottomans" under the conditions of the Zulüm were replaced at the end of the 19th century by Young Turks". The Young Turks movement was formed both within the country, mainly among students of military schools, and outside the empire among emigration.

The strongest bond that united all the Young Turks was their goal of overthrowing the regime of Abdul-Hamid II. They were not united in their views on the subsequent structure of the country, as a result of which the divergence in methods and views resulted in a split among the Young Turks already at the first congress in 1902. Subsequently, the most significant divergence was observed in the views of Prince Sabaheddin and representatives of the "Union and Progress" society (after an attempted counter-coup on the orders of the Ittihadists, Prince Sabaheddin was even arrested as a potential participant). However, they all positioned themselves as the successors of the "New Ottomans", and the political doctrine of Ottomanism was common to both the Ittihadists and Prince Sabaheddin. "The idea of uniting all the "Ottomans" within the boundaries of the "common homeland" (Petrosyan, 1966, p.222-223), as opposed to the national movements of the peoples of the empire, became the main position of the Young Turks on the national question.

The consolidation of the forces of the Young Turks was formed around the society "Unity and Progress" ("Ittihat ve Terakki"), which came to power after the 1908 revolution. The Society of "Unity and Progress", one of the founders of which was Ahmed Rıza, following the "New Ottomans", considered the establishment of a constitutional order and the overthrow of absolutism as a priority, after which progressive transformations should begin in the country. Just like the "New Ottomans", they considered the education and enlightenment of the people one of the main conditions for achieving progress. At the same time, Ahmet Rıza saw the reasons for the defeat of the constitutionalist movement of the 60-70s of the 19th century in the unpreparedness of society for the perception of the ideas promoted by the "New Ottomans" (Petrosyan, 1993, p. 131). Considering the culprit of all the troubles of the country of Abdul-Hamid II and his Zulüm regime, Ahmed Rıza and his associates believed that it was enough to overthrow the Sultan, leaving the monarchy itself, albeit not an absolutist, but a constitutional one.

2.1. Ideas of Prince Sabaheddin influencing the novel "Yeni Turan"

More radical methods for solving pressing problems were proposed by Prince Sabaheddin (1877-1948) (nephew of the Sultan). He believed that it was not the form of government that needed to be changed, but the very structure of society, since it would be impossible to achieve real progress without changing the existing way of life. Prince Sabaheddin began active work while in exile, organizing the Society of Private Initiative and Decentralization in Paris. His outlook was formed under the influence of famous European thinkers and sociologists, such as Pierre Guillaume Frederic Le Play and Edmond Demolin, Elise Reclus (Petrosyan, 1978, p. 202).

Frederic Le Play was the founder of the new sociological school "Social Science". "The main principle of his theory was the position that the basis of progress can only be the moral and social improvement of the individual. In his sociological writings, Le Play formulated the idealistic "theory of social selection", according to which social progress and human happiness are ensured not by improving the forms of social management, but by the comprehensive development of the individual. In other words, progress can only be realized in a society where every individual is fully developed. It was this idea that Prince Sabaheddin later developed when he spoke about what education should be like in the Ottoman Empire and what kind of person this education should form.

However, at the beginning of his political activity, Prince Sabaheddin spoke with a fairly general idea about the need to unite the entire population of the empire in order to overthrow the regime of Abdul-Hamid II. He published his ideas in the then-published brochure "The Universal Declaration". He, like other Young Turks, was a supporter of the idea of Ottomanism put forward by the "New Ottomans", calling on all the peoples of the empire to unite, while, in addition to propaganda views, he had no real political program at the initial stage (Petrosyan, 1978, p. 203). At that stage, it seemed most important to achieve the consolidation of all opposition forces, but after the congress of 1902 this turned out to be impossible. Over time, the ideas of Prince Sabaheddin changed, and in 1906 he openly declared that he was a supporter of the "Sociological Science" school of Frederic Le Play, and also founded the newspaper "Terakki", in which he published his main program ideas (Şen, 2013, p. 306). It should be noted that the idea of developing personal initiative occupied a special place in his works. According to him, in a society where personal initiative is not developed, there is no progress either cultural or economic. Prince Sabaheddin also suggested creating a new school system based on the examples of England, France and the United States, assigning a specific mission to it - educating personal initiative in children (this upbringing should also take place in the family). He visited several times the schools created by Le Pre, and then described in detail their structure. He drew attention to the fact that education is structured in such a way that students develop a sense of independence and personal responsibility, and as an auxiliary means of education, such schools have their own farm, where all the work was done by students. Thus, it was to "better prepare students for life" and develop in them a sense of personal initiative. In other words, Prince Sabaheddin entrusted the schools with something more than an educational mission. "In his view, it was important not only to improve the school business, making it a tool for disseminating knowledge, but to turn schools into centers for the formation of an initiative, ready for life's trials and struggle of a human personality" (Petrosyan, 1978, p. 209).

Almost the main issue on which Prince Sabahedin disagreed with the Young Turks was the issue of decentralization (adem-i merkeziyet) of the Ottoman Empire. This topic became a stumbling block and served as the basis for the reproaches of Prince Sabaheddin that he panders to the centrifugal forces of the empire, undermining its unity. In response, Prince Sabahedin repeatedly stated that "Ottoman unity"

was necessary and every effort should be made to maintain it. He saw the essence of decentralization somewhat differently, while sharing political decentralization and decentralization of government (Petrosyan, 1978, p. 209). "Adem-i merkeziyet" in his understanding is not the creation or expansion of the political autonomy of the vilayets, but the granting of expanded rights and freedoms to the vilayets. He argued that for the general development of the country, such a situation is necessary so that the vilayets receive expanded rights and, in particular, the terms of reference of the governor and other officials are increased; in addition, it is necessary to create public councils so that the people would be involved in the control of local revenues and expenditures. At the same time, Sabaheddin emphasized that his proposals follow from article 108 of the constitution of 1876" (Petrosyan, 1978, p. 210). Thus, he proposed, simultaneously with the expansion of the powers of the local administration, to put the activities of the administrative apparatus on the ground under the control of society, which he thought of as an "Ottoman unity". In other words, Prince Sabaheddin proposed the decentralization of government under the banner of the Ottoman doctrine.

2.2. Ideas of Ziya Gökalp influencing the novel "Yeni Turan"

The main ideologist of the nationalist direction within the framework of the Young Turk movement was Ziya Gökalp. It was his ideas that largely influenced the work of Halide Edip during the period of the Second Constitution. In 1911, his work titled "New Life and New Values" was published in the journal "Genç Kalemler", in which he describes what the new "ideal" Turkish society will be like and emphasizes the advantage of Turkish civilization over European: "'New life" is a new economics, family, aesthetics, philosophy, morality, law, politics. We will create a new civilization, we will find true values in contrast to the rotten, sick, corrupted foundations of European civilization. The true civilization is the Turkish civilization, which will be formed by the "New Life". The Turkish race will not perish from drunkenness and debauchery like many others. In glorious battles, Turkish blood was rejuvenated and tempered. New life is the mother of our youth, has Turkism as its source" (Fadeeva, 2001, p. 44-45). Ziya Gökalp also put forward his concept of an ideal Turkic society (mekûre). According to this concept, in order to achieve an ideal society, the Turks must follow the same path, be one culture and be reborn from their own national spirit. "Trying to be like other nations, the Turks are divided, but when they "become Turks" (Türkleşmek) and try to be like themselves, then national unity gains strength. The result of strengthening this unity will be that the various names given to the Turks will not matter and the boundaries of the homeland of the Turks will be outlined (Gökalp, 2007, p. 358). His poem "Turan", written in 1910, can be seen as a turning point in the expression of his ideas of Turanism. Turan in the understanding of Ziya Gökalp is the great homeland of the Turks, which existed in the past and exists in the future. This work contains such ideas as "a feeling of admiration for past victories, the need to study the history of the Turks and the conviction that European studies on this issue are biased, as well as pride that the blood of a heroic and magnificent past flows in our [Turkic] veins" (Karaca, 1990, p. 118). Ziya Gökalp also praises Oguz-Khan and emphasizes that his image

served as an inspiration in the formation of the “ideal” of Ziya Gökalp. This distant ideal should unite the Oguz, Tatars, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks in terms of language, literature, culture into a country under the common name of Turan (Karataş, 2013, p. 42).

French sociology and the ideas of the founder of this school, Emile Durkheim, had a great influence on the worldview of Zia Gökalp. Zia Gökalp also formed his views on society under this influence. He understands society and the role of man in this society as follows: “society is not an accident, it is what brings a person into action. It is an image of unification that exists above those who create it. It is not only a rallying spirit, it is the reason for existence. According to the views of Ziya Gökalp, a person realizes himself only in “sociality” (Şen, 2013, p. 302). That is, each person must contribute to social unity.” In other words, a person could not exist if there were no society, and therefore his significance is much higher than the significance of a single person. The interests of the individual in this case are completely subordinated to the interests of the public. “Thus, Zia Gökalp attaches the highest value to society, since, in his opinion, society is the highest being to which a person should devote himself, and the value of a person is determined only in accordance with what he has done for society. Society is an ideal for which man must sacrifice himself. In short, society is what gives a person the very existence and mode of existence. <...> Moreover, according to Zia Gökalp, the only way to save the country from political, economic and cultural destruction is through “social efforts and strengthening of social solidarity” (Şen, 2013, p. 303). Thus, in order to build an ideal society, people need to mobilize all their forces, while sacrificing their personal interests. Only by strengthening the cohesion of people within society and activating them for socially significant activities, one can achieve the ideal.

Thus, the "New Ottomans" act as the basis for all subsequent political movements, and their ideological principles do not lose their relevance even after the Young Turk revolution. The axis of continuity “New Ottomans” - Young Turks - Party of “Unity and Progress” is being formed, and the ideas of Prince Sabaheddin and Ziya Gökalp are being developed within the framework of the Young Turks.

Returning to the characterization of the era of the creation of the novel "New Turan", it is worth noting that during the period of the Second Constitution, the new government, led by the Ittihadists, could not resolve the problems that existed in the Ottoman Empire, and soon the fallen Zulüm regime was replaced by the no less rigid regime of the “Unity and Progress” Party. In the context of the aggravation of nationalist sentiments in the Balkans and the actual collapse of the empire, the question of choosing a further path for the development of the country was extremely acute and worried the minds of the politically active intelligentsia. Halide Edip, who largely shared the views of the Turanists and was greatly influenced by the ideas of Ziya Gökalp, in the novel offers her improved path of development and achievement of an ideal state, while synthesizing various ideas of famous politicians of the Ottoman Empire.

3. REFLECTION OF POLITICAL IDEAS IN THE NOVEL “YENI TURAN”: “NEW OTTOMANS” AND “NEW TURAN” PARTIES

The ideological basis of the novel "Yeni Turan" was all the previously considered views of the progressive intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, it cannot be said that the program ideas of real-life political associations are presented in their unchanged, original form. The program settings of the two opposing parties in the novel (“New Turan” and “New Ottomans”) are an interweaving of various reformist points of view, covering the most progressive views of that time. As a result, despite the fact that real political forces act as prototypes, the parties in the novel are already the result of a synthesis of the above ideas and have serious differences from their fundamental principle.

"New Turan" - the desire for a New Turkey, through which the author comments on the various reform ideas of that period, expressing her own vision and her own desires. In this novel, Halide Edip touches on both the ideas of Turanism, which had a great influence on her, and the decentralization ideas of Prince Sabaheddine (Enginün, 2006, p. 398).

3.1. Party "New Ottomans" ("Yeni Osmanlılar")

The "New Ottomans" party in the novel is one of the two opposition parties. This is a fairly strong party, which was at one time the first opposition party and with its political slogans and ideas earned the right to stand at the head of the Ottoman Empire. However, with the formation and strengthening of the "New Turan" party, the "New Ottomans" party begins to lose their positions and foresee the victory of the Turanists in the upcoming elections.

It should be noted that the ideas of the "New Ottomans" party are not described in the novel in as much detail as the ideas of the "New Turan" party. At the same time, in their description there is mainly a negative connotation. Basically, these ideas are voiced by the hero-narrator Asım, who is the nephew of the leader of the "New Ottomans" party, Hamdi Pasha:

“Even the name of their party [İttihat ve Terakki] has become more meaningful. Our policy, social ideology has a definite goal, the image of which is by no means vague.

But the “İttihat ve Terakki” Party, in which a large number of politicians were young Turks, and which expanded its social branches, today taking the name “Yeni Turan”, united all aspirations and goals. Our opposition party, in contrast to the party that attaches such great importance to the Turkic element, took the name that reveals our policy - “Yeni Osmanlılar” (“New Ottomans”). Only the true form of our politics has been changed in a logical but strange way. “Yeni Turan” became a supporter of decentralization of power, even rather federalization, while our party began to defend the interests of centralization of power” (Adivar, 1982, p. 14).

The main ideas of the "New Ottomans" in the novel are the doctrine of Ottomanism and the policy of centralization.

These ideas are seriously criticized by the "New Turan" party. In particular, during his speech to supporters, the leader of the "New Turan" party Oğuz says the following:

“So the Ottoman Turks want the rights and the ability to be able to live and become civilized. But as soon as the national dominance they wanted falls into their hands, a very strange national domination is obtained. Yes, at that time national domination is acceptable in France, in England, in Germany, everywhere, but in Turkey it is difficult. National domination within the confused Ottoman nation takes on a rather strange and ornate meaning. Greeks, Bulgarians, Turks, Arabs, Albanians all derive completely different meanings from this concept; besides, even within the same nation, different classes derive different meanings. Part of the Greeks want to join Greece, the Bulgarians want to join Bulgaria, the Albanians in general want something incomprehensible, the Turks want some kind of obscure centralization (merkeziyet), which is not able to control its own strength, quantity and capabilities. Suddenly, the Ottoman Empire became very weak, began to rot, it collapses at the base” (Adıvar, 1982, p.35).

Thus, Oğuz argues that centralization and the doctrine of Ottomanism that accompanies it, cannot be embodied in real life, since such a thing as an Ottoman nation does not exist in nature. Moreover, the phantom of this idea, supported by the "New Ottomans", has a detrimental effect on the country, it undermines the stability and prosperity of the Ottoman Empire.

However, the New Ottomans, in turn, are convinced that the policy of decentralization proposed by the "New Turan" will be a turning point for the final collapse of the empire. When "New Turan" wins the elections, Hamdi Pasha tries to predict how events will develop in the country and in the parliament itself. In his letter to Asım says that their success is transient, and they will not be able to fulfill the expectations of the people, since the destruction mechanism is embedded within their very program:

“Oğuz's speech is strong, but as strong and sincere as it is, there are so many weaknesses in it. First of all, these are the privileges promised to the Turks. How will the non-Turkish population perceive this? Most disputes will arise on this basis. In these aspects, the "New Ottomans" will be able to stop the Turkish deputies. But what will the Greeks do when they are deprived of most of the income coming from Anatolia? These privileges provide absolutely no guarantees. And this sincere and open policy? Where is it seen that such a policy was carried out?” (Adıvar, 1982, p.77).

According to the "New Ottomans", it is impossible to keep various peoples together if a state is built on the basis of one nation, even if it is a titular one. During his speech in Meclis, Hamdi Pasha cites the American society as an example to confirm the possibility of implementing the project of the “Ottoman nation”. American society, according to Hamdi Pasha, is an ideal society in which different nations

peacefully coexist with each other and identify themselves as "Americans". The example of this society should become a benchmark to which the Ottoman Empire should strive.

"He exclaimed: "You are doing wrong, compatriots. As an elderly and experienced warrior and politician of the motherland, I tell you that these Turkish nationalists, and together with these Turkish nationalists, some kind of decentralization is a tragedy, this is division and destruction. In essence, the direction of nationalism and the direction of decentralization are tragedies that generate each other! Do you think that seven or eight nationalities with different languages, with different backgrounds, with different aspirations, will remain loyal to the government despite the fact that the political organizations will be different? No, we're falling apart. Believe that the Turks are you who turn away from the ideas of Ottomanism, sever the only connection between you and your other compatriots. The Ottomans who are not Turks are you who are falling apart, as it is the natural result of each of you having your own laws, aspirations, languages. Your connection with your belonging to Ottomanism is broken. You don't think you can create your own special government, do you? The answer to this question is also "no"! All of you, one by one, will become a tasty morsel for countries that do not follow these nationalist tendencies of yours. With the illusion of building a Turkish empire, you mix everything you have: your name, your nationality, your identity along with the nations and maritime powers that rule the Armenians in Russia, the Arabs in England, the Greeks in the Mediterranean. Don't you Turks understand that after you tear off large parts of this homeland with your own hands, you will all find yourself one by one in the state of small nomadic tribes in Anatolia, you will be left with only horses, and you will turn towards Central Asia? Stop before you have your last word and think again!"

If the cries that because of centralization "the Turkish nation is suffering losses", "the Turkish nation is disappearing", the cries that are the only weapon and the only force of the policy of the New Turan party, which was originally pursued by the Minister of Internal Affairs, are true, then for decentralization, the entire Ottoman Empire disintegrates. Why do you constantly shout about the "Turkish element"? If the Turks want, they will be destroyed, the Turks did not leave the individuality and "Turkishness" living in the Ottoman people. What Englishman in America is in litigation with the Italians, Spaniards and other peoples who built America and opposes them with the idea of "the English, the English nation"? Did not today's American government and the American people, who are neither Anglo-Saxon nor Latin, created an "American nation" by eradicating private nationalism and taking a common nationality as a basis?" (Adivar, 1982, p. 82).

In spiritual terms, the worldview of the "New Ottomans" is mainly admiration for the West and blind adoption of European values as opposed to the "New Turan" party. Imitation of the West comes to the point that the "New Ottomans" no longer remember their roots and even in conversation they often use borrowed vocabulary. Moreover, they treat the Turanists and their educational activities with obvious disrespect and hatred, and believe that if they come to power, a catastrophe will come. So, for example, in a conversation with the turanist Sabih Asim, he uses the French address "moncher" and allows himself

to be treated with open disdain for the women of the “New Turan”, without realizing the full extent of the significance of their activities for society:

“- But today our leader Oğuz will speak, besides, Kaya will also speak. Have you never heard of Kaya?

- No, monsher, and besides, who is the leader, is this the one who is your "leader"?

“First of all, I ask you not to say “moncher”, these foreign words get on my nerves. And besides, I can't believe at all that you don't know Kaya. It's good that you at least know Oğuz.

- How should I know! Now, under the masquerade with robes, so many strange women of the “New Turan” divorced with such names as Taş (“Stone”), Kaya (“Rock”), Ay (“Moon”) and other names taken from the names of everything that covers the earth, and from the knowledge of the stars.

Sabih shook his head with the expression of a seasoned missionary.

“If young people like you, who do not know who true Turkish women are, do not know things related to the Turkish nation, then it is really a pity for our country” (Adivar, 1982, p.83).

Moreover, the main tool for attracting the population to their side for the "New Ottomans" is not real activities aimed at the benefit of society (as in "New Turan"), but the propaganda press. Moreover, the propaganda is arranged in such a way that the rise of the "New Ottomans" occurs due to the humiliation of the "New Turan". So, for example, the "New Ottomans" rather dismissively describe the fact that teaching in the schools of the "New Turan" is conducted by women:

“You see, some women of the “New Turan”, like the old Arab Muslim women, want to “get permission” and teach in mosques and supposedly already teach, you see!” (Adivar, 1982, p. 19).

Thus, in addition to the ideas of Ottomanism in the national question and the ideas of centralization in the question of the political system, other aspects of the policy of the "New Ottomans" are not considered. Perhaps Halide Edip did not set herself the task of describing in detail the ideas of each party, since it was more important to show the general vector of the movement of the "New Ottomans" on those issues that most worried the public of her day.

As for the name of the party, it seems not entirely correct to draw a complete analogy between the "New Ottomans" party in the novel and the party that actually existed in the 60s and 70s. of the XIX century by the movement of "New Ottomans". As follows from the above characteristics of the constitutionalist movement, indeed, it was they who first put forward the ideas of building an “Ottoman nation” and adhered to extreme right-wing views on the national question, that is, they were categorically against granting any autonomy to the non-Turkish population of the empire. However, it should be borne in mind that the constitutionalist movement served as a common foundation for all other political forces in the future, including those who later began to defend the ideas of decentralization, and for supporters of the nationalist movement. It was the Ittihadists who came to power after the Young Turk Revolution who were staunch supporters of centralization and Ottomanism. Realizing that centrifugal forces had

reached their apogee and the country was torn apart like a patchwork quilt, they saw the salvation of the country only in the Ottoman nation and centralization. Therefore, Ottomanism begins to position itself as an official ideology. Thus, it cannot be said that only and precisely the constitutionalist movement served as the prototype of the "New Ottomans" party in the novel. A more likely prototype is the "Unity and Progress" Party ("İttihat ve Terakki") ruling during the period of the Second Constitution.

3.2. Party "New Turan" ("Yeni Turan")

The New Turan Party in the novel is the successor to the Unity and Progress Party ("İttihat ve Terakki"). The activity of the party goes beyond the framework of political association, it is aimed at a radical change in the social structure. "New Turan" is not only a political course, it is a way of thinking and a way of life. Turanists put the values of the Turks in the era before the creation of the Ottoman state as the main moral guidelines. A return to the original sources, to one's historical roots, occupies an important place in their program. National motives can be traced even in the interior, in music, in the food they eat.

Giving a brief description of the history of the formation of the party, the hero-narrator describes that initially the movement that swept the whole country was only a small group of people whose ideas seemed vague and unstructured to society. But time passed, and thanks to hard and continuous work, the turanists managed to convey their ideals to society. About the origins of the formation of the "New Turan" Asım says the following:

"It would not be entirely correct to take for the tendencies that the "İttihat ve Terakki" party awakened and for the results of its activities those scattered and unrelated undertakings of a society that in every issue sets the Turkish nation as its greatest goal. The new direction in the language of that time, the national education in the "İttihat ve Terakki" schools, their mournful cries with warnings that the Turkish race is declining - all this was seen and heard only by a small group of people, even without a name. Even Turkish feminism, which is different in its form from the European one, waking up Turkish women with calls to wake up, existed and seethed somewhere in a vague and obscure environment called "İttihat ve terakki". Or so it seemed from the outside. At that time, the social direction of our party seemed to me more understandable, perhaps even more political. Maybe because our party was among the first opposition associations, I don't know. All these things, which were incomprehensible then, have become clearer today" (Adivar, 1982, p. 14).

In its political views, "New Turan" is in complete opposition to the "New Ottomans". First of all, this lies in the two main ideas declared by the Turanists - decentralization and Turkism. So, for example, during his speech, Oğuz, referring to the history of the Ottoman Empire, says that in this state other nations have always been placed higher than the titular nation itself - the Turks, while the main share of responsibility has always fallen on their shoulders. And as a result, it was the Turkish nation that suffered the most:

“We need to stop hating the Turks who break up fights, guard the borders, die for all nationalities except their own country, except their own nationality, who have not received even a little happiness in this country. It is necessary to stop calling the Turks unjust tyrants, who could not plow their fields because they guarded the borders of the state, who paid taxes for the cultures and roads of other countries, and left their own country in the dark. Moreover, since they did not even have enough time to raise children for the country, the generations of other nationalities expanded so that they no longer fit on their territory, while their [Turkish] hearths, fields, all prosperity and the nation itself decreased and faded away” (Adıvar, 1982, p. 37-38).

Thus, the image of the Turks is formed as sufferers, brought to a hopeless situation and on the verge of extinction as a result of the imperial ambitions of the ruling circle of the Ottoman Empire. The expansion of their territory by capturing other lands did not bring them any benefit. On the contrary, due to the Ottoman expansion, the Turks lost themselves. The whole gloss of a huge empire turned into a tragedy for its own people, who now do not remember their roots. Moreover, the Turks cause an irreconcilable feeling of hatred on the part of the conquered peoples. In his speech, Oğuz convinces his supporters that everything can still be corrected, measures can still be taken so that different peoples live in peace and harmony, and the Turkish national spirit is revived. But there is only one way to achieve this - the path of the "New Turan". The "New Turan" program is as follows:

“So, the "New Turan" program is as follows: mutual benefit and love, linking the government and broad decentralization, which has a strong link in the basis of federalization ideas. Today, there is no other salvation for us but to accept the "New Turan" program and the foundations of the "New Turan". Allowing its neighbors to develop their lands in accordance with their intellectual abilities, "New Turan" itself will make every effort to comprehensively develop and improve the lives of the children of "New Turan". "New Turan" will try to achieve happiness and well-being for everyone, including women and children. In addition, the "New Turan" has another duty. "New Turan" will certainly provide its neighbors with the freedom of madhhabs and for the first time will prove to the world that it is not an obstacle to Islamic civilization” (Adıvar, 1982, p. 39-40).

Another important idea sounds here - the attitude of the Turanists to the Islamic religion. Despite the fact that the "New Ottomans" in their propaganda have repeatedly pointed out that the activities of the "New Turan" are contrary to Islamic norms and threaten to oust Islam from the life of society, in reality, "New Turan" did not pursue such a goal, rather, on the contrary. Adherence to the Islamic religion was an integral part of their ideas. The attitude of the "New Turan" to religion also reflected the views of Halide Edip herself, who considered religion as a cultural phenomenon. In her understanding, “this is a necessary element in order to revive the nation (millileşmek). Religion is at the same time one of the main forces that can ensure mutual understanding and harmony with other people. Therefore, receiving

a religious education for the young generation of the "New Turan", who grew up in liberal and democratic values, is necessary" (Gözütök, 2010, p. 433).

Subsequently, during his speech in Meclis, Oğuz, responding to the criticism of the "New Ottomans", emphasizes that nationalist ideas are not a harbinger of the collapse of the country, this is an inevitable phenomenon that is caused by the development of the national identity of each people. Thus, this is a natural stage in the development of the thought of society, and many states have gone through this. Therefore, no matter how hard the New Ottomans strive to eradicate these ideas, they will not be able to change the natural processes.

"I declare that decentralization is not a tragedy, not a division and not a downfall. Neither decentralization gave birth to nationalism, nor nationalism gave rise to decentralization. Since the nineteenth century, nationalism has been what every people has gone through, and whatever it may be, whether it has brought good or not, this is an inevitable era"(Adivar, 1982, p. 84).

At the same time, Oğuz emphasizes that those painful manifestations of nationalism that occur in the Balkans are the result of the destructive rule of the Ottoman Empire. According to Oğuz, if the enlightenment of the people had begun earlier, and Turkish values would have been accordingly instilled through education, then perhaps the militant nationalism of the Balkan peoples could have been avoided.

"The existence of 7-8 nations and 7-8 languages in our country is not a manifestation of the awareness of decentralization and not a manifestation of nationalistic feelings. This is what was revealed due to the ignorance and indifference of the former Ottomans. If Turkish schools had been opened much earlier, if Turkish education had been carried out, then we would not have faced the movement of Albanian nationalism" (Adivar, 1982, p. 84) .

Thus, despite the peaceful policy of recognition and respect for each nation, pursued by the "New Turan", Turanists believe that enlightenment should be carried out only on the basis of the Turkish element, Turkish values. Decentralization does not mean that Turkish domination will no longer exist. On the contrary, it will continue to be such, only now it will receive official recognition and consolidation as a political course.

If the "New Ottomans" pursue a policy of Ottomanism in order to preserve the unity of the empire and try to keep all the peoples living on its territory together, then the Turanists do not set themselves such a task. The main thing for them is the revival of the original Turkish or, rather, Turkic values, the national spirit. Therefore, in his speech in Meclis, Ertuğrul, who is the right hand of Oğuz, declares that the Turkish nation will live and prosper even if all other nations secede.

"Imagine that everything falls apart, and only the Ottoman Turks themselves will remain from the constantly growing and trying to increase and promote only their civilization of the Ottoman Empire. Haven't the Turks been the force that protected and promoted freedom since ancient times in history, if

this did not work in Turkestan, Arabia and Byzantium, then at least in Europe? Today I speak exactly as a Turk. By giving both my neighbors and myself the same strength, I also receive my right to live. Do not think that just because our neighbors leave, the Turkish nation will cease to exist. There are 80-100 million Turks in this world. Constantly growing, having the ability to live without destroying anything, the great Turkish nation will always live and grow. But now the result of this dream should not be the capture of other countries and peoples by the sword and the erection of an immovable throne over them. It is necessary to build the foundations and principles of the immortal Turkish people with its civilization, with its labor, with its abilities, which are embedded in the people themselves and in their lives” (Adivar, 1982, p. 86).

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the political ideas described above that existed during the period of the Second Constitution, it can be concluded that the main ideas of the "New Turan" party are a synthesis of various views. First of all, these are the views of such politicians as Ziya Gökalp and Prince Sabaheddin.

Ziya Gökalp was not only the leader of the nationalist movement during that period, but he was also one of the most important defenders of women's rights and also supported the inclusion of women in the social life of the country. He defended the idea that even during the time of the Turkic Khaganate, the role of a woman in society was the same as that of a man, so the recognition of women's rights in the contemporary Ottoman Empire is not a pursuit of European trends, but a return to the original Turkic values (Fadeeva, 2001, p. 65). Along with this, in the ideological disputes of that time there was an irreconcilable contradiction between Prince Sabaheddin, who defended the ideas of decentralization, and Ziya Gökalp, who advocated decentralization. Equally irreconcilable was the dispute between them as supporters of Ottomanism and nationalism, respectively. In these disputes, Halide Edip supported the ideas of decentralization, however, with regard to Ottomanism and nationalism, she did not refuse either one or the other. It is worth noting that the very concept of “ırk” in the meaning of “nation” (millet) Halide Edip uses after Gökalp, who first began to use such a concept in such a context (Tokluoğlu, 2013, p. 124).

In her works, she resorts to a synthesis of ideas and creates an ideal image of the "New Turan". According to Turkish researchers, such as, for example, Alkim Saygın, this ideal image goes beyond the unknown and ideal "Turkic homeland" that will be built sometime in the future. It already expresses the political and social system that will be built in Anatolia under the rule of the Turks and the patronage of other ethnic elements. Halide Edip is convinced that in this system, decentralization will strengthen nationalism and take on a key role in the revival of the Ottoman Empire.

Of course, "New Turan" and his ideas are a reflection of the views on the future structure of the state of Halide Edip herself, and it is this party that the author sympathizes with in the novel, while the antagonist

of "New Turan" "New Ottomans" embody all the vices of the modern author of public and political structure. In her memoirs, Halide Edip talks about the original intention of her work. She sought to create a political and national utopia. Introducing a new Turkey in the future, she describes the period when the power was in the hands of the "Unity and Progress" Party, which learned from their mistakes and changed the course of their policy. Halide Edip declares labor and simplicity, reminiscent of asceticism, to be her highest ideal. New Turkey in the writer's view is not only a state that has received the features of a national state, it is also a liberal and democratic policy. In addition, there are no ideas of chauvinism in the administrative structure (Adivar, 2005, p. 332).

Thus, we can conclude that the "New Ottomans" party and the "New Turan" party are two stages of the then ruling "Unity and Progress" Party. Only by creating the "New Ottomans" party, Halide Edip sought to expose the errors in the political course of the party and point out that this course leads to degradation. At the same time, "New Turan" is a "corrected" version of the "Unity and Progress" Party, which, realizing all the destructiveness of its policy, moved away from the course of Ottomanism, and it is not for nothing that in the novel "New Turan" it is the successor of the Unity and Progress Party. According to Halide Edip, only such a transformation of the views of the Ittihadists can bring positive results for the country and ensure the formation of the "New Turkey".

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