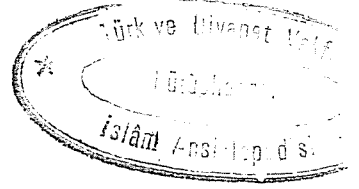


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OSMANLI ARAŞTIRMALARI

III

Nesir Heyeti — Editorial Board

HALİL İNALCIK — NEJAT GÖYÜNÇ

HEATH W. LOWRY

THE JOURNAL OF OTTOMAN STUDIES

III

İstanbul - 1982

'Kasabu's-sabk' deyimi bir Arap âdetinden gelmedir. Bu âdete göre, iki binicinin yarışacakları meydana bir kamaş dikilir; yarışçılardan, önce hangisi yetişip bu kamaşı çıkarır, onu ötekinin önüne fırlatırsa, yarışı o kazanmış olurdu. Yazarın *sabk* kelimesini, ders anlamına gelen *sebak* deye yanlış okuyup *ders kamaşı* dediği işte budur.



Sonuç.— Belli! Yalnız işin takdir edilecek bir yanı vardır. O da kitabı hazırlayanın bu bilgi (!) sermayesiyle böyle bir kitabı türkçeleştirmeye gösterdiği cesarettten ibarettir.

Orhan Şaik Gökyay

Jacob M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism in Turkey: A Study of Irredentism*, C. Hurst and Company, London, 1981, IV+219 sahife.

Nationalisms, especially of the irredentist types, have always been very controversial issues, for value judgements can often prevent the emergence of dispassionate presentations. This is particularly true of Pan-Turkism at a time when the Pan-Turkist groups led by the Nationalist Action Party are being tried for attempting to change the constitutional order in Turkey. As early as 22 July 1918, the Allies believed that Pan-Turkism was «primarily a Teutonic conception... adroitly moulded and directed by the German masterminds controlling the Committee of Union and Progress.»¹ According to the documents, imperialist Germany, by provoking the Ottoman Turks towards their ancestral home, hoped to establish her hegemony over the lands stretching from Berlin to Bokhara. The same tune was played just before and during the Second World War. It is interesting to note that this view found so many adherents in the Turkish left and used as a pretext to discredit the nationalists in Turkey². Pan-Turkism has also been under attack by the ultra-religious rightists in Turkey, who, basing their bias on a misleading British intelligence report of 1909, believed the movement was given birth by the Salonika Jews [dönmes] controlling the Committee of Union and Progress, the Pan-Turk party of the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1918)³. According to this line of thought,

1 National Archives (United States): Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations Between Turkey and Other States, 1910-29, 363/29.

2 N. Berkes, *Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu*. Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 1975, pp. 76-78.

3 This is discussed in length in my *Siyonizm ve Filistin Sorunu (1880-1914)*, Üçdal Neşriyat, İstanbul, 1982, pp. 116-126.

Zionists provided the Young Turks with an ideal (Pan-Turkism) and the financial means to pursue it in return for Palestine, then one of the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire. It is perhaps surprising that such a topic, clouded with political slogans and myths, has never been subject to serious and partial examination, with the possible exception of Bayur⁴, Akçura⁵, and Orkun⁶, whose works still lacking definiteness and clarity.

It is against this background that Prof. Jacob Landau's 220-paged work should be considered. Certainly not a newcomer to the history of Turkish political developments⁷, Prof. Landau achieves an objective stand with a rather relaxing, fluent style. *Pan-Turkism* will not only be marked by its objectivity, but also, judged by the wealth of its sources, it must and will be considered as the most definitive survey on Turkish irredentism from Ismail Gasprinsky to Alpaşlan Türkeş. Prof. Landau, not only consulted the Public Record Office and German Foreign Ministry Archives, but also made an exhaustive investigation of all the Pan-Turk publications (totalling to more than eighty journals) issued in Turkey and in the Turkish Diaspora.

Perhaps the table of contents would give the reader an idea about the author's treatment of Pan-Turkism: (1) The Outside Turks: the Rise and Fall of Pan-Turkism Abroad, (2) Pan-Turkism in the Ottoman Empire: Genesis and Bloom, (3) Pan-Turkism in the Republic of Turkey: the Latent Stage, (4) Pan-Turkism in the Republic of Turkey: Resurgence, (5) Pan-Turkism in the Republic of Turkey: Back into the Mainstream, (6) Conclusion: Pan-Turkism as an Irredentist Phenomenon. Throughout the book, Prof. Landau discusses that Pan-Turkism enjoyed an era of flourishing and great hopes from its inception to the end of the First World War, encouraged by the state leadership during the Young Turk rule. This was followed by a latent period in the Kemalist-led Republic until some time during the Second World War, which again fanned Pan-Turkist hopes everywhere. This resurgence reached its peak during the 1944 demonstrations and subsequent trials, then continued more moderately in seminars and other ideological and organisational efforts. Since 1965 Pan-Turkism has re-entered the mains stream of politics, having been adopted as an ideological component of the Republican Peasants and Nation Party, later renamed the Nationalist Action Party.

In the conclusion, Prof. Landau attempts to an analysis of Pan-Turkism. He asserts that Pan-Turkism began as Diaspora nationalism in Czarist Russia, late in the nineteenth century. Pan-Turkism, according to the author, was a «reaction to Pan-Slavism and forced Russification». «Pan-Turkism itself had

4 Y.H. Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1963, vol. II, part 4, pp. 398-436.

5 Y. Akçura, *Türkçülük: Türkçülüğün Tarihi Gelişimi*, İstanbul, 1978.

6 N.H. Orkun, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1944.

7 See also Prof. Landau's *Radical Politics in Modern Turkey* (1974) and *Politics and Islam: the National Salvation Party in Turkey* (1976).

started largely as a counter movement to Pan-Slavism and later provided the Ottoman Empire with a weapon against its old enemy, Czarist Russia, just as Russians had earlier employed Pan-Slavism against the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary». The Turks, living under the yoke of Russian imperialism, sought and found in Pan-Turkism a self-defence mechanism to preserve their cultural unity. Pan-Turkism became a political force, once it was caressed by the Turks living in the Ottoman Empire, this time as a tonic to revitalize the decadent empire against the disintegrative forces of the national-separatist movements.

Despite its defensive character, Prof. Landau brands Pan-Turkism as an irredentist phenomenon. At first, he argues, the irredentist element was only implicit, displaying mere sympathy and concern. As Pan-Turk ideology developed, however, it became ever more explicitly irredentist, first indicating the need for protecting the Turkic groups abroad, then seeking to assist in their liberation, and in their union-first among themselves and afterwards with Turkey. Avowedly or not, this union was also to include the territories they inhabited. Pan-Turkists frequently spoke and wrote of a 'Great Turkey', stretching from the Mediterranean nearly to the Pacific - a powerful and affluent state, with its ancient glories restored and old customs revived.

Finally, Prof. Landau offers an explanation for the failure of Pan-Turkism to achieve its goals. According to the author, part of the answer lies with the lack of any significant political support among governments and states. No Pan movement as such was successful unless, it is supported by a Great Power. The Italians set up an Italian Kingdom largely thanks to the active leadership of King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, aided by the French Emperor, Napoleon III. Zionism had the support of the British, French, and Germans, though at changing degrees of commitment. Pan-Turkism has failed to obtain any support from any of the Great Powers. Contrary to the conventional wisdom. Germans in the First World War had their own designs - often contradicting ones with the Pan-Turkist Enver's - for Caucasia⁸. Moreover, Pan-Turkism has not only failed to obtain state support, except during the First World War, but has also never had quite the same appeal, in the Republic of Turkey, as the nationalism sponsored by Mustafa Kemal. Additional causes for the failure of Pan-Turkism were its very limited support outside a small number of intellectuals; its inability to put across a programme which could easily be grasped by a partly illiterate population; and its almost total disregard for Turkey's socio-economic problems, currently considered by most Turks to be the major issues affecting their lives.

Mim Kemâl Öke

⁸ U. Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire 1914-1918*, Princeton, 1968, pp. 167-200.