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### Politics of Change from The Ottoman Empire to Republic

Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Değişim Siyaseti

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**Abstract:** Although kings and princes were in power in Europe, states acted as a single Christian nation. However, this situation changed with the age of Reformism. Although the ideology of the Catholic Vatican church to create a single Christian community made its presence felt, it would lose its influence by the end of the 16th century. The intellectual developments in the West also affected Turkey and formed the basis of the years-long conflict between modernism and traditionalism. In this study, reciprocal analyzes were performed. The findings of many domestic and foreign researchers were included. Thus, it was tried to gain a critical perspective to the reader. The intellectual transformation of intellectuals and ruling elites in Turkish political history from the Ottoman Empire to the Young Republic was tried to be explained. The stages of Turkish intellectual life were examined. It was necessary to attempt realistic and intellectual solutions to developments in social relations and emerging new social needs to understand and solve the problems brought by the previous development processes of society.

**Keywords:** Atatürk, Republic, Ottoman, Nationalism, Turkey.

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**Öz:** Avrupa'da her ne kadar krallar ve prensler iktidarı olsa da devletler tek bir Hristiyan ümmeti gibi hareket etmiştir. Ancak bu durum Reformizm çağı ile birlikte değişti. Katolik Vatikan kilisesinin tek bir Hristiyan ümmeti oluşturma ideolojisi varlığını hissettirir. Ancak 16.yüzyıl sonlarından itibaren etkisini kaybedecektir. Batı'da düşünsel anlamdaki gelişmeler Türkiye'yi de etkilemiş ve yıllar süren modernizm-gelenekçilik çatışmasının da fitilini ateşledi. Bu çalışmada karşılıklı analizler yapılmıştır. Yerli ve yabancı birçok araştırmacının bulgularına yer verildi. Böylece okuyucuya eleştirel bir bakış açısı kazandırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Genç Cumhuriyet'e Türk siyasi tarihinde aydınların ve yönetici seçkinlerin entelektüel dönüşümü anlatılmaya çalışılmıştır. Türk düşünce hayatının aşamaları incelenmiştir. Toplumun önceki gelişim süreçlerinin getirdiği sorunları anlamak ve çözmek için toplumsal ilişkilerdeki gelişmelere ve ortaya çıkan yeni toplumsal ihtiyaçlara gerçekçi ve düşünsel çözümlere girişmek gerekiyordu.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Atatürk, Cumhuriyet, Osmanlı, Milliyetçilik, Türkiye.

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## 1. Introduction

It is seen that a different process started in the West as of the 15th and 16th centuries and accelerated in the practice of political thought. Overseas colonialism in Europe gained momentum after the developments in the shipping industry. The colonial action, which started with the sailors of Spain and Portugal, became the dominant power in the oceans of the Netherlands, France and England, respectively. European countries, especially England, accumulated incredible treasures due to the looting of the Colonies for centuries. Money, power and fame motivation of individual capitalists who could invest their money in all kinds of ventures would contribute positively to the developments in the industry. By the middle of the 17th century, England prospered in industry, agriculture, and commerce. The first period of the civil war that started in England in 1640 was called the "bourgeois revolution". The second period of this war ended with the collapse of feudalism, proclamation of the republic, and the king's public execution that were the culmination of the class struggle. The third period covered the republic and protectorate (Military Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie). This process was followed by the re-establishment of the royal regime that continues in present-day England (Yeliseyeva, 2009: 27). The bourgeois revolution in England affected the history of European countries as well as the history of the world. National identities replaced sectarianism with the reformist movements that started the transition to national states in Europe. This situation became a factor that also affected the political developments (Vergin, 2010: 224). According to C. Tilly's determination, there was no remarkable development in Europe a millennium ago. There was no reason for people to introduce themselves as Europeans in Europe. But the formation of the nation-state could take place over a very long period of time, lasting several centuries. After the fall of Charles V from the imperial throne in 1556 at the end of the Thirty Years' War, that is, after the Treaty of Westphalia, the foundations of the state's system were laid in Europe (1648). National states had been shaped as a form of "government that had a certain autonomy and realized the possibility of control over the peoples of the centralized, organized and bordered states" (Tilly, 1992: 269-302; Vergin, 2010: 227). Tilly made a distinction between the national-state and the nation-state form. He stated that all the states established in Europe after the Renaissance were shaped as national states and their characteristics were absolutist monarchies. Being a nation-state gained a legal dimension with the French Revolution. It was stated that the most obvious feature of the nation-state ideology was that the sovereignty belonged to the nation, not to the king, to the dynasty, or to God. It revealed the conceptual differences between being a nation in a legal sense and being a nation in a sociological sense. The sanctification of militarism among the people created national states (Köprülü, 2012: 126). The factors that accelerated the transition from the nation-state to the formation of the nation-state, especially the territorial variables, had an impact besides economic reasons (Tilly, 2001: 224). The first question that comes to mind was, "What is the underlying reality that these developments did not have a revolutionary effect on the Ottoman state?". The answer to this question was that the specific conditions in Europe did not suit the Ottomans.

To give an example, there was no feudal structure based on the noble class in the Ottoman Empire. Turkey became a country organized on the basis of a nation-state with the Anatolian Revolution that took place in Turkey after the First World War. As a result of this process, which started with the Young Turks, a regime emerged in which sovereignty unconditionally belonged to the nation.

## 2. The Period of Change in East and West

The backwardness of the Ottoman Empire vis-à-vis the West became more evident from the middle of the 17th century. At the same time, there was a regression in the history of thought. However, radical innovations in the Western world affected the Ottoman Empire deeply. The Ottomans had previously considered their own cultural values superior to those of the West, but they were astonished by the developments in the West. The main destruction of the West would be experienced in the spheres of influence revealed by the developments in the intellectual and intellectual life. Ottoman intellectuals began to think that they could only reach a place by imitating the West. Peyami Safa expressed the idea of being inclined to accept all aspects of the West with the concept of "Arab-Frank muğ" (Safa, 1953: 5) If we

express this situation with a right determination: "Turkey's development is completely unique; because there was no feudalism in the Ottomans." (Ateş, 2007: 42) Ottomans did not experience the Enlightenment, individualism, liberal philosophy, and class conflicts. The civil, military and judicial organization of the Ottoman Empire was essentially a continuation of the Anatolian Seljuks and was partly under the influence of the Ilkhanids and partly the Mamluk organization (Köprülü, 2012) As the Ottoman lands expanded, they formed civil, military and judicial organizations within their own cultural basin by being influenced by Rome and Byzantium (Köprülü, 2009). Turkish tribes, who started to settle in Anatolia at the beginning of the 10th century, also encountered a new economic life and different thoughts in this new geography. In adapting to these new conditions, the lower classes kept their traditional lifestyles, beliefs and ideas. The administrators in the upper classes formally experienced the experiences they had in the near eastern border regions (Ögel, 1984: 325). There were significant differences in culture and belief during the Establishment and Rise of the Ottoman Empire. During the establishment process, there was a tremendous tolerance on the axis of religious belief and culture. The most important sects in the Anatolian cities of the establishment phase of the Ottoman State were the Mevlevi, Rifaiye and Halvetiye sects. These sects, based on the high bureaucracy and the high and middle bourgeois class, were against heterodox groups and tried to preserve the existing social and political order. As its lands expanded, the Ottoman Empire created civil, military and judicial organizations within its own cultural basin, not from Rome and Byzantium (Köprülü, 2012: 115). With this feature, they did not feel the need to react negatively to different cultural groups. After the state completed its foundation and its strong organization emerged, it started to come into conflict with separate faith and cultural masses. The war of the Ottoman Empire with the Turkmen tribes living in the Anatolian provinces in the 16th century had historical characteristics. The emergence of the Iranian Shiite Safavid State as another power in the early 15th century would start a process that would upset the balance. The rivalry between Sunni Islam and Shiites would accelerate. In particular, the Shiite propaganda of the Iranian Safavid administration was one of the reasons that pushed the administrators and madrasah scholars into bigotry in the Ottoman World. In the 16th century, Mustafa Ali of Gallipoli saw the first signs of deterioration in the madrasa system. He stated that the ulema were unable to produce important works and that favoritism in the field of science had become widespread. He also added that the positions of muderris and qadis were given with bribes (İhsanoğlu, 1999: 245). The Ottoman Empire was ethnically and religiously cosmopolitan. Although the founding elements of the Ottoman State were largely Turkish, the emphasis on Turkish identity was not visible within the urban segment and the Ottoman bureaucracy. In fact, when the word "Turk" was mentioned, "vulgar, ignorant, mindless" used for Anatolian peasants or nomadic Turkmens came to mind (Somel, 1997). It can be stated that the Ottoman elite remained unfamiliar with the Anatolian Turkish identity because of its relations with different cultural societies.

In the system of the Ottoman State, everyone, including the sultan himself, was the servant of the state. The order in the Ottoman economic system could be maintained for many years due to the great influence of Islam. The sustainability of the social order built on delicate balances was based on immutability. Later on, the Ottoman Empire would have a hard time against the developing industry in Europe. Ottoman Westernization generally remained in the form of formal changes. The biggest problem of western intellectuals was to prevent the disintegration of the state. In the early stages of Ottoman Westernization, new interpretations of religion or modernization of religious culture were not a priority. Westernization in the Ottoman Empire was a problem that had to be brought along with Islam.

### **3. Intellectual Developments in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century (1839-1913)**

The Islamist political thought movement emerged in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century. The basic idea of this movement was that the idea of innovation-renewal should not be approached through modernity. Their over-reliance on the evolutionary course caused this movement to remain within a static framework (Oktay, 2000: 335-355).

Movements toward westernization in the Ottoman Empire were essentially a reflection of a desire for the empire to revert to its earlier, more prosperous days. The repeal of the Janissaries, the proclamation of the

Rescript of Gülhane, and the Reform Edict all contributed to the modernizing of Ottoman society. However, the point to be noted was that these actions were carried out under pressure from the West. In this period, currents of thought such as Islamism and Ottomanism emerged in order to save the country. In his article, Şükrü Hanioglu talked about the four periods of Ottomanism thought in the 1839-1913 period: The first period was the years 1830-1875 which was the authoritarian centralist policy of Sublime Port; the second period was the years 1868-1878 which was Ottomanism in the framework of the new Ottoman opposition and constitutionalist pragmatism; the third period was Ottomanism in the Young Turk opposition to 2. Abdulhamid's absolutism; and the fourth period was Ottomanism in the Second Constitutional Era (Hanioglu, 1985: 1389-1393). The Ottoman Empire formed under the pragmatism of forging a new identity. It first appeared in the 1830s as a quest for an identity outside of its Islamic heritage. It garnered interest from intellectuals in Ottoman society and even persisted in the Young Turk movement's criticism. However, the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) accelerated the disintegration process, and in this direction, the idea of Ottomanism was pushed into the background. As a precaution against rising nationalist movements, Midhat Pasha, Halil Şerif Pasha, had planned in 1872 to transform the country into a federal empire in the style of the newly established German Empire. According to this idea, federated regions would be represented by a federal council in Istanbul. This federal approach, which can be regarded as a kind of "loose" constitutionalist Ottoman model, failed due to the strong opposition of Romania, Serbia and Russia (Somel, 2001: 105). Semseddin Sami Bey of Albanian origin, who defended the Ottomanism view during the 1877-1878 Constitutional Monarchy period, opposed the independence of Albania and emphasized the unifying of Islam while defending the development of Albanian culture. Semseddin Sami Bey described the region and ethnicity of the lower identity, and Ottomanism as the upper identity, in the discussions of Lower and Upper identity. He used the phrase "*The delegation, which is very sacred in my opinion, is the Ottoman delegation*" (Somel, 2001: 107). In the Imperial Edict (Hatt-ı Hümayun), the most comprehensive Ottoman Basic Law (Kanun-i Esasi) in the official dimension of Ottomanism and sent by Abdulhamid II to Mitat Pasha regarding the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution in 1876, it was emphasized that all Ottoman subjects should be in unity and solidarity for the material and economic progress of the Empire (Somel, 2001: 105). After Abdulhamid abolished the constitutionalism in 1878, the Young Turk opposition and many opposition groups converged on a common point, the Ottoman Basic Law, the support of the Constitutional Monarchy, and especially in their oppositional stances against Abdulhamid. There were also differences in the idea that many opposition groups were formed within the Young Turk movement, and there were also differences in political opinions. In the Young Turk Movement, which was split into rival factions between Islamism and Ottomanism, there was ambiguity around what was meant when the name "Ottomanism" was employed. Ahmet Rıza and the people around him expressed the term "*Ottoman*" rather as "*Turkishness*" (Mardin, 1984: 59-60). On the other hand, İsmail Kemal Bey or the Dashnak Party saw Ottomanism as a tool for minority nationalism (Hanioglu, 1985: 1391). Although the name "*Turk*" in Ottomanism and Islamism political ideas was used only as Turkish-speaking nomadic Yoruks and Turkmens, Europeans recognized the Ottoman Empire as a Turkish state. Europeans adopted the fact that Turks were Ottoman subjects on the occasion of their loyalty to Islam. Until 1923, the concepts of Turkish and Turkish nationalism were never used.

Political ideas began to be discussed more freely with the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908. The nationalist groups that emerged in the Christian Ottoman subjects' minorities grew widely and pursued a separatist stance. A common theme in the political philosophy of the Muslim minority subjects was the Ottoman Empire's unity and lack of segregation. In the period of the Union and Progress Government, the dominant idea developed in the form of a state structure based on the dominant culture of a nation. The fact that the multi-religious and multi-national structure of the Ottoman Empire brought many problems was among the many reasons for this. Journalists who came together with the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy (1908) established an association under the name of Ottoman Press Society. In the ten days following the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, the number of newspapers exceeded fifty, and as many magazines were published. Three

hundred and fifty newspapers were published in Istanbul within a year following the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy, and these newspapers became the representatives and defenders of political ideas as a political party (Şapolyo, 1971: 173). Since 1913, it was seen that the increasing Turkist tendencies in the Committee of Union and Progress were on the rise. As a result, it was observed that political debates accelerated in articles written in newspapers and magazines. Among these names were Süleyman Nazif Bey, and Mustafa Satı Bey. Süleyman Nazif, who wrote in the journal "İçtihat" published by Dr Abdullah Cevdet, defended the thought of Ottomanism and criticized the Turkism thought movement. While arguing with Ahmet Agayef, one of the "Türk Yurdu" writers, it was known that Süleyman Nazif said in his article titled "Cengiz's Disease" that "We have a very special blood in our veins today, which is Ottoman blood" (Hanioğlu, 1985: 1392). In his criticisms of Turkism, especially regarding Turkish intellectuals who immigrated to Russia, Süleyman Nazif stated that Turkism involved divisive ideas and that they corrupted the Ottoman conscience (Bayur, 1983: 426-427). Ali Kemal Bey, one of the supporters of Ottomanism, criticized Turkism in his 1914 piece "Ataletit-i Fikriye," which appeared in the Peyami newspaper: "Ottomanism is the Truth. Those who established Ottomanism are not Yusuf Akçora and his ancestors" (Bayur, 1983: 427). In the discussion on education between Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Satı, Satı Bey advocated taking psychology as a basis instead of sociology against Gökalp's ideas that emphasized Emile Durkheim's sociology of collective consciousness in 1911.

The Union and Progress government emerges as groupings formed by different ideological ideas. The people supporting Ziya Gökalp represented the ideological circle. The group formed by Cavit and Karasu represented the liberal circle. The circle of ideas created by Ali İhsan Bey and Kara Kemal represented the left, secular, materialist group. During the constitutional monarchy proclaimed in 1908, the Guild organization, which was previously abolished with the Tanzimat, continued as the "Stewardship of Craftsmen". In 1909, the Union and Progress government decided to reorganize the tradesmen and established the Union of Tradesmen and Chambers (Ağaoğlu, 1943: 36-39). Ali İhsan, who played an active role in the establishment of the chambers of tradesmen, was seen as the representative of the ideology of Mahmut Şevket (Esental) and Kara Kemal Populism, and of tradesmen and small entrepreneurs. With the new regulation adopted in 1910, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry were established instead of the Chambers of Commerce. The dispute between the Cavit and Karasu groups, who supported the liberal theses, and the left group composed of Ali Hasan, Kara Kemal, and Mahmut Esental, had also come to light. (Sav, 1950: 136-137). Within the Turkism intellectual and political movement, it was aimed to ensure that the chambers of tradesmen were taken over by the Turks and that the Turks would take a more active role in trade. It was aimed to break the dominance of non-Muslim minorities in trade. Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, who heavily criticized the policies of the Union and Progress government, stated in his articles in the newspaper "Hikmet" that he was an Ottoman Turk and the unifying factor was Islamism. Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi stated that he was trying to weaken the Islamic union and discredit the Muslim elements in the eyes of Europe by using the ideals of PanTurkism and Pan-Islamism in the formation of politics close to the Germans (Ekici, 1997: 46). It was seen that a new idea and changes in the life of thought began to occur between the bureaucracy and the intellectuals among the Ottoman intellectuals in the 18th Century. Western philosophy especially began to make its impact felt. The idea of prioritizing the mind independent of religion and traditions, its entry into the Ottoman world, the books brought from Europe by the intellectuals who knew foreign languages, the Ottoman intellectuals working in the translation rooms and the effects of the French Encyclopedias were also observed. There were reasons for the establishment of modern educational institutions during the reign of Abdülhamid II, such as sending students to Europe and translating foreign works into Turkish. The effects of positivism and evolutionary theory and biological materialism led to the change in the intellectual life of the Ottoman intellectuals (Çetinkaya, 2002: 65-91). By the 19th century, religion was accepted as an "outdated social institution" among Ottoman intellectuals (Ülken, 1994: 161). The most important solution that the Ottoman intellectuals, who defended materialism and positivist views, agreed to save the state in the collapse stage, was their determined attitude that change should be based on reason and science. The works of Hodja Tahsin, Beşir Fuat and Ahmet Mithat Efendi in the 19th century prepared the ground for the spread of this thought in the Ottoman Empire. Baba Tevfik, Dr. Ethem Necdet, Celal Nuri, Suphi Ethem, Memduh Süleyman and Abdullah Cevdet had

turned materialism into a systematic intellectual movement in the Ottoman Empire with their political struggles (Hanioglu, 1981: 12-13). Baba Tevfik, Celal Nuri and Abdullah Cevdet defended the scientist materialism represented by Büncher and his friends in the 19th century rather than Classical Materialism after the Rescript of Gülhane, especially the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy (Akgün, 1988: 50). From the perspective of Ottoman intellectual history in the 19th century, it would be referred to as the conflict between the Westernist, Modernist, Rationalist, and Positivist movements and the Islamist, Traditionalist, and Conservative movement. A modernist positivist philosophy would be formed as a reaction against these currents of thought, which accelerated after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. The discussions focused on the heterogeneous social structure of the Ottoman state and the identities of the nations within it would also initiate a process that would be a political and cultural extension in the context of the identification of the Turkish military bureaucracy and intellectuals with the Turkish identity.

#### 4. The Relationship of the Nationalist-Islamist Tradition during the Republican Era (1923-1938)

The republican period had a special effect on the social structure in relation to the army, politics and party. It can be stated that the Islamic tradition contains a mental integration function with its unique features. Carl Schmitt said that "*all the important Concepts of modern theory of the state are secularized concepts of theology*" (Schmitt, 2002: 41). Between the years 1919-1923 of the National Struggle period, the emotional and mental unifying effect of the sacred texts, which were in the content of the concept of religion, was most intensely utilized. Between 1924 and 1929, there was a time when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk determined the borders and the ideology of the Republic of Turkey was felt strongly. It developed in a positivist, secular, secular line, in line with the nationalist understanding of Western culture. It has been demonstrated that each nationalism is moulded within the Modernist Paradigm in connection to distinct occurrences, and that the appearance of several nationalisms even within the same political unit during this formation may be a result of the nature of Nationalism. (Altınkoz, 2015: 87-88). Etienne Balibar has argued that at least some of Historians have argued that Racism developed on the ubiquitous Ground of Nationalism in the Modern Age, and said, "Nationalism is the condition, if not the only cause, of racism" (Balibar, 1988: 50). After the Second World War, the influence of racist nationalist ideology diminished. The racist ideology became an idea that was legally prohibited and not viewed with sympathy with the establishment of a new world system. The dimensions of the political danger posed by biological racism were directed towards a more moderate definition of nationalism, which was seen to pose a very risky threat to world peace.

It has been seen since the first years of the Republic that there are efforts to create a new nation and a new Turkish identity. Identity debates within the Ottoman state and Ottomanism as a monolithic mass were tried to be shaped around the identity of Islamism within the framework of İttihad-ı Anasır-ı İslamiye. The Islamic identity, which was internalized in this framework, was used extensively during the National Struggle period. It is more appropriate to explain the careful avoidance of nationalist discourses during the years of national struggle with the political realities of the period. Although it is not said how and when the Republic turned into Turkish Nationalism, it can be said that the regime has made progress as it tries to reach the target by walking consolidated rather gradually (Özbudun, 1997: 64). Regarding this issue, Immanuel Wallerstein said: "*Nationalist movements demanding the establishment of a new and sovereign state in many regions certainly emerged after the interstate system began to function. In the interstate system, a state's becoming a nation means a change in its place in the hierarchical order. As the national feeling develops, the threats of fragmentation and division decrease*" (Wallerstein, 1992: 103). A more dignified state may be seen in the homogenized nation's improved interstate ties. The adventure of nationalism in Germany serves as a different illustration of the nationalization process that is occurring in the West. Let's call attention to Ayşe Kadolu's research results on this issue: "*In the expression "nation seeking its state", which includes religion, a nationalism based on the understanding of organic society, Western thinkers state that the religion of Christianity lies in the original identity of German society. With the transformation of cultural determinism into*

romantic nationalism, the idea of the secular state struggled with the church. It is said that while the secular state tries to legitimize itself, it does so by instrumentalizing religion (Kadioğlu, 1995: 91-101). German nationalism accepted that the nation-state was formed from the bottom up, first the nation and then the state, and it resulted in the ethnic and cultural elements in German nationalism being prioritized. It was also influential in shaping the German political culture. German nationalism was not influenced by Enlightenment philosophy, but by Romanticism, which was a critique of this philosophy. This type of nationalism was also the determinant of German political culture with its anti-Enlightenment features. In addition, it was stated that the nationalism of France was the lesser evil and that its universality, cosmopolitan content, interaction with political culture stemmed from the foundations of the Enlightenment philosophy. Turkish nationalism was influenced by both the French and German schools. In other words, Turkish nationalism is both civilizational and culturalist because it has adopted the basic principles of enlightenment and romanticism." (Kadioğlu, 1997: 277-281). Nationalism stated in the theoretical framework is not a political culture created by the state. It is stated in the sentence "The founding myths produced in the context of state-building or political society-building processes should not be confused with the myths developed by the nationalist intelligentsia during nation-building" (Öğün, 2000: 103) that nationalism is not an emotional and mental unity produced later, but an already existing reality. Western philosophers defined the link between nationalism and religion while putting forward various theoretical viewpoints. Hobsbawm stated that "Nationalism has an emotional disposition with both modernity and religion. It is the birth of a new mystic at a time when the idea of nationalism became realist and rationalized. Religion is a paradoxical cement to be used as a precursor to pro-nationalism or nationalism. Religion is both an adhesive bond in the construction of the nation and keeps alive the threat of nationalism to hinder its modernization mission" (Hobsbawm, 1993: 89). Against the thesis that "the state produces nationalism", P. Birnbaum said: "Nationalism is an ideology developed against a particular state, not by the state. In other words, the state does not produce nationalism. The modern state arose as the extreme stage of feudalism before economic modernity. It is necessary to look for the traces of nationalism not in the state-building processes, but in the reactions of the civilian population who have been exposed to these processes" (Birnbaum, 1992: 376). Seyfi Öğün wrote in his article, "Nationalism, as a social solidarity, is precisely in the tension of political society and civil society" (Öğün, 1997: 208-209). In the work of E. Weber (1976) the following sentence was written: "Even centuries after the French revolution, French Identity did not apply to the great Majorities living in the French provinces" (Weber, 1979; Öğün, 2000: 208). W. Connor, who researched this thesis, suggested that Weber's thesis should be viewed as a mass phenomenon that includes not only France, but also the periphery of the world (Connor, 1990: 94-95). In the context of the Origin of Nationalism, Cassirer stated that "The concept of history is primarily based on the knowledge of origin, according to which Man must locate his projection in the mythical past in order to comprehend both the social and physical worlds." (Cassirer, 1980: 164-165). In Ayhan Bıçakçı's work, it was stated that "The idea of history reveals the conditions of the emergence of the position of man in the universe and creates a general framework of how he followed the characteristics of his origin in the historical process." (Bıçakçı, 2004: 73-74). In myth-based cultures, there are two types of time periods, Sacred and non-religious, where the Sacred is cyclical and the non-Religious is the time when ordinary events take place (Eliade, 1991: 48). When it comes to sacred time, first of all, it is necessary to go down to the origin of the existence in which the universe was founded. Since the origin was created by Gods or ancestors, every element that took place in the origin is considered Sacred. Therefore, Origin creates an intense emotional state that is at the center of our mentality (Bıçakçı, 2004: 73-74). In the creation process of the universe, a separate myth was created with the acceptance of the appearance of the First Ancestors as Divinity, and this period was called the "Golden Age". It is stated that, "After the time period when the first ancestors lived, the interprocess degeneration of the new generation or the change in mentality and its progressive deterioration brought the closure of the Golden Age civilization." The idea of a "Golden Age" in which mythological history and sacred creation are in search of origins without any problems, peace and tranquility is present in all ancient cultures. Golden Age mythology is also found in old Turkish epics. The mythology of Er-Sogotoli-Ak-oglan is an epic from the Yakut Turks. This epic was collected by N.Gorobhov. To give a short example from the epic: / In the navel of the heavens, sorrow was lacking / There was no winter in this navel, but an indefinite summer / There was a Cuckoo, this cuckoo would become a reed for everyone / The Ancestor of the First Man Was Created Here / His name was "Beyaz-Oglan (White Son)", he was born there / (Ögel, 1985: 101) The White-Boy squeezed iron, fire, and water

into his hand just in case God required it during the decline from the Golden Age. Water and Fire are the most needed Element in the world and have the feature of making life easier. Iron is a sacred substance in ancient Turkish culture. The expression of symbolic value means that life on earth will be difficult and tough. The material data obtained from archaeological excavations are insufficient to explain the periodical beliefs and spiritual issues of humanity. This inadequacy, ancient cultures should also benefit from mythologies in order to clarify their understanding and understanding of the special world.

## 5. Efforts to Define Turkish Identity in the Republican Era (1923-1938)

The fact that the Turkish identity was not used especially during the years of national struggle stems from the special conditions of the period. The dominant identity within the Ottoman state was shaped around the Islamic Ummah. Religion provides political unity within the sociology of religion. Nationalism also emerges as an ideology that plays the role of integrating the same political community. While conceptualizing the Turkish national identity, it will be understood that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk put forward a non-othering idea that he especially focused on. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's words containing citizenship information are as follows: *"So, the state is an entity that consists of all individuals who are settled in a certain region and have their own power. When describing the power of the state, we describe this power as unique. In fact, the power of authority of the nation that established a state was not given by anyone as a person. It is a political authority and is at the core of the concept of the state. The state has the authority to exercise this power over the people. Based on the State-Society identity, it has integrated the Turkish political culture with the concept of "indivisible unity with the State and the Nation". This part continued as follows: "The Turkish nation lives in a world-renowned large homeland bordered by land and sea borders, from the west of Asia to the east of Europe. They call it "Türkelî" or "Turkish Homeland". The Turkish homeland is larger. Considering the recent and distant ages, there is not a single continent that has not been a homeland of the Turks. Asia, Europe and Africa have been home to Turkish ancestors. Starting from the valleys of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and starting from the steppes of Siberia before known history, Central Asia, Anatolia, Greece, Crete, and central Italy before the Romans: In a word, they spread to the shores of the Mediterranean, settled there, and lived for thousands of years with people of other ancestry under the influence of different climates"* (Tezcan, 1989: 28). It is understood from these sentences of Mustafa Kemal that he wants to achieve his goal of grounding a non-racist nationalism with a socio-political upper identity.

Ziya Gökalp defined the concept of Nation as a community of individuals who constitute the unity of religion, language and morality, not race, tribe or unity. The institutions that make the nation are culture, the element that makes the ummah is religion, the element that makes civilization is science. While culture is national, civilization is universal. Turkey has been under the influence of various existing civilizations. In Ziya Gökalp's words: 1-People came from the Far East (Shaman) civilization. 2-The people of madrasahs came from the Eastern (Islamic) Civilization. 3- Scholars, on the other hand, came from Western civilization. *"It would not be possible to become a nation and gain a national identity without combining the educations of these three groups that make up the Turkish society"* (Gökalp, 1977: 27). These thoughts of Gökalp laid the intellectual foundations of the Law of Unification of Education (Tevhid-i Tedrisat) of the Republic. In addition to Ziya Gökalp's thoughts, Yusuf Akçora made important contributions to the establishment and the direction of the reform movement of the Republic of Turkey. Yusuf Akçora Küçükçaplı wrote in his book *"Three Styles of Politics"*: *"The effort to create the nation out of Ottomanism was in vain. This method has been tried but unsuccessful. Secondly, even if it was possible to unite the Islamic nation, it was very difficult. Third, it remained to resurrect the Turkish nation"* (Akçora, 2012: 12-13). Therefore, it was tried to reveal the principles of the understanding of culture and civilization in the Turkish Revolution realized by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. It is also seen that Mustafa Kemal's understanding of freedom and independence was influenced by the revolution that took place in France. In Mustafa Kemal's statement to Le Matin newspaper and in the Hakimiyet-i Milliye dated March 8, 1928, the relationship between the French revolution and the Turkish revolution was stated as follows: *"The French Revolution spread the idea of Freedom to the whole World, and this idea has its main source today. But*



*humanity has progressed since then. Turkish Democracy has followed the path opened by the French Revolution, but has developed with a distinctive characteristic. Because each nation determines the situation and position of its revolution, which depends on the pressures and needs of the social environment, according to the time of this revolution.*" (Turan, 2010: 10). As can be understood from this text, Mustafa Kemal was influenced by the ideas of the French revolution. According to him, the required revolution, specific changes, and circumstances were consistent with the realities of the nation and were created in line with the realities of the Turkish nation under the circumstances of his time.

Nationalism has an important place in the construction of nation-states. It is not a process that comes out of nothing. There are reasons that affect the order of the stages of Turkish nationalism. These reasons can be listed as follows: Nation-state establishment stages that started in Europe, Ottomanism, Islamism, Turkism debates that started in the Ottoman Empire, the impact of nationalist movements in the Balkan Wars on Ottoman officers. The process that started after the First World War and the National Liberation War, which started after it, has also developed in the form of nation-state formation. There was no objection over Turkish identity and a new state establishment; there was a complete alliance. The only condition for the Muslim minority was the acceptance of a system established by Islamic values and the caliphate, which was its unifying feature and symbolic value. The founding leaders of the Republic, who severed their links with the Ottoman Empire, did not challenge the dominance of Islamic ideology in Turkey, a relic of the Ottoman Empire, or the conflict between the principles of nation-building and state-building. (Bora, 2017: 22). Even if there was tension, this balance was due to the Turkist, later on, Mustafa Kemal's exaggerated Sun Language Theory of the Founding ideologists of the Republic, who later settled on moderate nationalism. The opposition of the Islamist (Ummatist) structure, which came from the Ottoman mentality, to the mentality brought by the Republican regime, the experiences of the Republican Party and later the Free Republican Party, and the Sheikh Said rebellion were seen as the weaknesses of the New Republic in generating consent (Bora, 2017: 22). During Mustafa Kemal's lifetime, there was no biological racism or nationalism based on ancestry between 1923 and 1938. The emergence of groups that interpret nationalism differently coincided with the period of World War II. This kind of extreme racist nationalism was completely banned after the War. The unity of nationalism and religion in Anatolia created a meaningful and prestigious mentality. When the Turkish Right is mentioned in Turkey, the inseparable sympathy of nationalism and religious unity, which fills its content, followed a linear line in the same period. The society, which has Islamic Conservatism sensitivities that marginalizes within the modernist discourses of the republic, was defined as "reactionary-reactionary" and a conscious counter-enemy was created. Conservatism was determined and defined as a product of the Counter-revolutionary moment (Filippe, 1991: 49). Conservatism was in line with its technological development. It drew a reactive cultural framework with its stance against the negative aspects of Capitalist Modernism. Karl Manheim said, "*Conservatism is self-consciously rationalized traditionalism. The Enlightenment appears as a challenge to the "arrogance" of rationality to modify and shape it with reason and Theory*" (Bora, 2017: 54). The fact that conservatism is reacting to capitalist modernization in terms of feeling and thinking does not mean reacting to everything new. In this context, Turkish conservatism could be included in the modernization process of the Republic. They were politically excluded. Republican elites, who described themselves as progressive, faced the label of reaction against the dominant secularism. The extremism of the French laicist policies between 1923 and 1930 would be at the center of the reactions. In the early 1930s, the polemics that started with the socialist intellectuals gathered around the "Kadro" magazine (1932-1934) and the Republican Conservative names like Samet Ağaoğlu, Peyami Safa, Mustafa Şekip Tunç, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, who opposed their comments on the Turkish revolution took a radical-culturalist shape by developing in the political process along the republican conservative nationalist line. It has resulted in the rise of a contemporary conservative climate among the republican elite, both philosophically and politically, in response to contemporary ideologies like liberalism and socialism. (İrem, 1999: 140-180). It was shaped in the philosophical dimension of the Republican conservative thought and within the framework of the criticism of the scientific reformist foundations of Kemalism. The Republican Conservative critique rejects the "politics of action based on opinion", which is an expression of the dominant politics of politico-cultural change that aims to reorganize society as predicted by science. It opposes the idea-based action politics that the

Enlightenment thinkers put reason to the forefront. This situation emphasizes that at the beginning of the twentieth century, it caused deep crises in Western cultural life, and that these crises will be experienced in Turkish society again if it is implemented in Turkish modernization. They launch a broad intellectual offensive against the rational and scientific foundations of Kemalist politics (İrem, 1999: 109-110; Tunç, 1953: 11-12). Peyami Safa was one of the pioneers of the Republican Conservatism movement in the 1930s. He collected his published articles in the "East-West Synthesis" in the 1950s. He took a harsh stance in the criticism of the Turkish Revolution, and said, "*There has been no change in my view of history and philosophy. Under the state pressure of the 1930s and the censorship in my writings, I felt obliged to conform to the ideology of the Revolution movement. I am expressing my true beliefs in the atmosphere of freedom created and defended by the democracy of the 1950s*" (Güvenç, 2010: 43). Peyami Safa's view of the Turkish Revolution has three aims and these were listed as follows: 1- The Republican Revolution was inspired by the Constitutional Monarchy. 2- Questioning the Philosophy of History of the Revolution, 3- Researching the Sources of Turkish, Islamic and Western Thoughts. 4- Questioning the Turkish Revolution in the East-West synthesis. Safa thinks that: 1- There is no progress without gaining historical consciousness. 2- A society without a philosopher cannot be a nation. 3- There is no magical formula for modernization, the real revolution is the transition to Pluralism. 4- A nation that denies its history is doomed to perish. 5- Literate part of the population should be functional. Peyami Safa's criticisms of the Turkish Revolution were as follows: 1- After thirty-five years of revolution, we neither industrialized nor became westernized, 2- The Turkish revolution is not the work of a single leader. 3- Secularism cannot be a prerequisite for modernity. 4- There is no conflict between science and religion, there is respect. 5- Religion and civilization are not identical, there is no civilization without religion. 6- The problem of identity can only be resolved within cultural continuity. 7- Republic is not democratic (Güvenç, 2010: 43).

## 6. Conclusion

To comprehend and address the issues caused by earlier social development processes, practical and intellectual solutions must be made to changes in social connections and newly developing social requirements. The attitude of "It will be as I say" should not have been used. In addition, showing secularism as an alternative to religion would initiate a process that would lead to the complete politicization of religion. Republican elites began to see for themselves a legitimate right to impose the principles of secular, positivist, secular thought on the minds of society. The Progressive Republican Party and the Free Republican Party were a reaction to the initiatives, but it appeared as a movement that was blocked and eliminated. The revolutions, which were handled on a rationalist/positivist basis, were placed in a completely formal westernist framework. Republican principles demonstrated numeric divergences from Western values, but when Republican leaders, who felt they were justified, implemented dramatic top-down reforms, there was societal pushback. The most important target of this reaction was shaped around the principle of secularism. The statement "It is not possible to object to the Theocratic State" in the Turkish and Muslim society, which is the product of the mentality of the Ottoman period, was among the reasons why the society did not react excessively. The politicization of religion in Turkey has never been so intense at any stage in history. The fundamental cause of this was that the idea of secularism originated from the technique issue in how it was applied. After the first assembly was opened in the 1920-1923 period, the first group, the second group conflict had put the concepts of progressive and reactionary into a religious perspective. As stated in many sources on this subject, there were three groups in the assembly during this process. This Third group had a religious and caliphate view and they openly expressed this view as well. Therefore, there was no disagreement between the First group and the Second group on issues such as secularism, the Republic and the abolition of the Caliphate. The separation between the groups was due to the difference in method. Although there were no group factions in the First Assembly, the First group was formed with the aim of gaining control over the assembly and having a binding effect on the decisions to be taken. The establishment of the Republican People's Party and the 1923 elections resulted in the complete liquidation of the second group. At the opening of the Second Assembly, it was shaped as a single-party government without any opposition.

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