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MASTER THESIS

Mehmet Ali AKKUŞ

T.C.

ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

THE IDEAL OR ACTION: MEHMET İZZET BEY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF NATIONALISM IN TURKEY

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PLAGIARISM

"I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work; otherwise I accept all legal responsibility".

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, after examining nationalism conceptually and theoretically, the adventure of nationalism in the history of Turkish thought is discussed and the views of Mehmet İzzet Bey, a thinker who witnessed the transformation processes of nationalism, were analyzed.

Nationalism has experienced radical changes in both thought and fact. As a result of the changes in the meaning and manner of realization, nationalism has moved away from its original context. Nationalism was reinterpreted, especially in times of crisis and chaos, under the influence of different approaches. The understanding of ummah-based nationalism that emerged in the history of Turkish thought in the 1860s has turned into a homeland-based nationalism over time. Later, a nationality / race-based approach came to the fore. With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, nationalism has been turned into an ideology by Kemalism. As to today, nationalism is perceived in a very different way. This context-based transformation has removed the notion of nationalism from its core.

Intellectual nationalism deals with nationalism conceptually and theoretically with an academic method. Mehmet İzzet Bey is the pioneer of *intellectual* nationalism. He treats nationalism as a stage that must take place before reaching the humanitarian patriotism stage. He regards nationality and nationalism as a higher notion than race, geography, economics, language, tradition, history, and civilization. Mehmet İzzet Bey and his *intellectual* understanding of nationalism have been ignored because it addresses nationalism regardless of politics and context. Philosophical debates were not considered remarkable by the society and intellectuals when a hasty approach to seek solutions to current problems. In this study, it was revealed that Mehmet İzzet Bey was as valuable as many names such as Ziya Gokalp, Yusuf Akçura, Ismail Gaspıralı for Turkish thought. Mehmet İzzet Bey, who defines nationalism as a sacred goal, is an intellectual who is uncommon even today with his critical and questioning thought method. The views of Mehmet İzzet Bey should be introduced to the world in order to understand nationalism correctly and find a useful direction to humanity.

Keywords: *Intellectual Nationalism*, Mehmet İzzet Bey, Nation, Nationality, Nationalism, Humanitarian Patriotism

ÖZET

Bu tezde milliyetçilik kavramsal ve kuramsal olarak incelendikten sonra Türk düşünce tarihindeki serüveni ele alınmış ve bu bilgiler doğrultusunda milliyetçiliğin dönüşüm süreçlerine tanıklık etmiş bir düşünür olan Mehmet İzzet Bey'in görüşleri analiz edilmiştir.

Milliyetçilik hem düşünce hem de olgu olarak köklü değişimler yaşamıştır. Anlamında ve gerçekleşme biçiminde yaşanan değişiklikler neticesinde milliyetçilik asıl bağlamından uzaklaşmıştır. Özellikle kriz ve kaos dönemlerinde milliyetçilik farklı yaklaşımların etkisiyle yeniden yorumlanmıştır. Türk düşünce tarihinde 1860'larda ortaya çıkan ümmet-temelli milliyetçilik anlayışı zamanla vatan-temelli bir milliyetçiliğe dönüşmüştür. Daha sonra milliyet/ırk temelli bir anlayış öne çıkmıştır. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşuyla birlikte milliyetçilik Kemalizm tarafından bir ideolojiye dönüştürülmüştür. Günümüzde ise milliyetçilik çok farklı bir biçimde algılanmaktadır. Bu bağlama dayalı dönüşüm milliyetçiliğin mefhumunu özünden uzaklaştırmıştır.

Fikrî milliyetçilik ise milliyetçiliği kavramsal ve kuramsal olarak akademik bir metotla ele almaktadır. Mehmet İzzet Bey ise *fikrî* milliyetçilik anlayışının öncüsüdür. Milliyetçiliği insani vatanperverlik aşamasına varmadan önce gerçekleşmesi gereken bir aşama olarak ele almaktadır. Milliyeti ve milliyetçiliği ırk, coğrafya, iktisat, dil, gelenek, tarih ve medeniyet unsurlarından daha üst bir mefhum olarak görmektedir. Mehmet İzzet Bey ve *fikrî* milliyetçilik anlayışı siyasetten ve bağlamdan bağımsız bir şekilde milliyetçiliği ele aldığı için göz ardı edilmiştir. Felsefi tartışmalar aceleci bir yaklaşımın çözüm arayışı esnasında dikkate değer görülmemiştir. Bu çalışmada Mehmet İzzet Bey'in Türk düşüncesi açısından Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, İsmail Gaspıralı gibi birçok isim kadar kıymetli olduğu ortaya konulmuştur. Milliyetçiliği kutsal bir amaç olarak tanımlayan Mehmet İzzet Bey, eleştirel ve sorgulayıcı düşünce metoduyla günümüzde dahi benzerine az rastlanacak bir fikir adamıdır. Mehmet İzzet Bey'in görüşleri milliyetçiliğin doğru anlaşılması ve insanlığa faydalı bir yön bulması açısından tüm dünyaya tanıtılmalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Fikrî Milliyetçilik*, Mehmet İzzet Bey, Millet, Milliyet, Milliyetçilik, İnsani Vatanperverlik

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1. INTRODUCTION

Nationalism has gradually started to gain importance in most of the spheres such as politics, economics, academy, and philosophy. It has both positive and negative results for the world. Despite it is even seen in statistical data that this rising nationalism has led to many negative consequences such as armed conflicts, hate crimes and xenophobia (Bieber, 2018; Centre for Systemic Peace, 2018); three are also many important developments that beneficial to both a nation and all the world like the space race, environmental studies and so on. At the same rate, there is a great increase in the number of studies on nationalism in the world (Özkırımlı, 2008). Nationalism has gained such importance in today's world that there are even those who think that it almost replaced religion (Hayes, 2010; Erdoğan, 2018; Wright, 1988; Stevens, 1997).

While nationalism has become such an important subject, "the number of original studies is almost nonexistent" which examines the theories of nationalism in Turkish (Özkırımlı, 2008, s. 19). People do not value the theoretical studies of nationalism enough because "politics and social engineering intertwined with politics are more attractive." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 11). However, it can be seen that if the content of nation, nationality and nationalism is not built on stable principles, an unconscious, senseless and unjust world emerges (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 79).

Nationalism studies in Turkey mostly focused on thinkers who were engaged in politics such as Namık Kemal, Abdullah Cevdet, Prens Sabahaddin, Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, İsmail Gaspıralı and Halide Edip Adıvar[1]. However, the views on the ideas (*mefkûre*) that constitutes the concept (*mefhum*) and content (*muhteva*) of nationalism should be handled rather (Fındıkoğlu, 1940).

For this reason, in this study, the views of Mehmet İzzet Bey, who searched the synthesis of the nation, nationality and nationalism through deep questioning, with a Socratic method and the result of the thesis, anti-thesis collision, were examined.

[1] It is necessary to mention a few exceptional works here and give them credit for:
Bora, T., & Gültekingil, M. (Dü). (2008). *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce -4: Milliyetçilik* (3. b., Cilt 4). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. And 2 March 2012 dated Journal of Türk Yurdu Volume 32. (64.) Number 295. (656.)

It is worth to examine Mehmet İzzet Bey, who has made significant contributions to the development of the idea of Turkish Nationalism but has not been studied in the field of Political Science until today, how he has been affected, how he has developed a perspective and how he has influenced. What kind of contributions Mehmet İzzet has contributed to the basic codes of today's Turkish Nationalism should be researched and specified. İzzet Bey, who argues that nationalism is an contemplation, reveals a new way of thinking by claiming that a nationalism based on one of the elements of race, geography, economics, language, seciye, history, tradition, culture and civilization is not correct.

Mehmet İzzet Bey, who produced highly valuable works in the fields of philosophy, sociology, morality and nationalism in his 39 years of life, and worked as a professor of philosophy, morality and sociology at Darulfünun, where the most valuable education institution of the time, and translated many valuable works into Turkish. For this reason, in this study, it is aimed to better understand the ideas of İzzet Bey's contributions in the field of Political Science within the literature of Nationalism.

In the second part of the study, a deep literature review has been made on the concepts that İzzet Bey deals with. Because both of conceptual and theoretical debates about these concepts need to be handled broadly in order to understand the deep questioning of İzzet Bey about the concepts of nation, nationality and nationalism.

Therefore, in the first part of the second chapter, to understand nationalism, the concept of nation is explained; to understand the nation, the concepts of ethnic community and ethnicity are explained; and to understand ethnicity, the concept of identity is explained. In other words, this section includes a literature review that proceeds on the context of identity-ethnicity-nation-nationalism. In the second part of the second chapter, three basic theories about nation and nationalism, the primordialist approach, the modernist approach and the ethno-symbolist approach, are discussed in detail in this section. In the third part, the types of nationalism are mentioned. In the last part of the second chapter, the historical development of nationalism in the world is tried to be given as briefly as possible.

In the third chapter of the study, the development and transformation of nationalism in Turkish thought is evaluated. This transformation process, which we have limited to the dates that shaped the ideas of Mehmet İzzet Bey, covers the dates between 1860-1940 approximately. In Turkish thought, it was scrutinized how nationalism transformed from ummah-based (*ümmet*) to homeland-based (*vatan*), from homeland-based to race-based

(nationality) understanding and then to a Kemalist ideology in 60 years. In addition, the understanding of *intellectual* nationalism led by İzzet Bey is explained in the last part of this chapter.

After all these conceptual, theoretical and historical background information, the ideas were analyzed in the last and main part of the study after the review of his life, education, personal character (*seciye*), works, method, thoughts and influences of Mehmet İzzet Bey were discussed. The transnational views of a Turkish thinker who came to the world in Istanbul in 1891 and was known less than a very limited environment when he passed away after 39 years should be discussed in order to get rid of the recent situation (being without a conception and ideal / *mefhumsuzluk and mefkûresizlik*) of today's understanding of nationalism.

1.1. Purpose of the Research

This research basically has three objectives. The first is to provide an analysis of the views of an important thinker such as Mehmet İzzet Bey to the Political Science literature. It aims to reveal how Mehmet İzzet Bey, who has not been studied in the field of Political Science before, reflects his understanding of nationalism in his works, his contemplation, who he was influenced and how he approached it, and who influenced him.

The second aim of this study is to contribute to the literature by revealing the neglected aspects of academic studies on nationalism debates during the collapse of the multinational Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the nation state, the Turkish Republic. Besides, this study argues that the basis of nationalism has been changing in the historical process. Within the scope of this study, it is tried to clarify this transformation through the political and intellectual developments.

Thirdly, the aim of this study is to question the scientific, philosophical and theoretical aspects of nationalism and deepen the discussions in the literature.

As a result of this study, Mehmet İzzet Bey's understanding of nationalism and his questioning methodology, which has not been studied and ignored before, will be brought to the literature of Political Science. In addition, this study will be an answer to the perceptions of misleading nationalism created by the deadlock stemming from the increasing racist approach of nationalism.

1.2. Methodology of the Research

In this study, a literature review was carried out on the basis of qualitative research method and after this literature review, data obtained from primary and secondary sources related to the thesis were analyzed.

Among the primary sources used are Mehmet İzzet Bey's book "Milliyet Nazariyeleri ve Milli Hayat" and other books, as well as articles he wrote. Secondary sources are books, theses, articles and columns that were previously written about Mehmet İzzet Bey.

An archive research was carried out both to access these resources and to access printed publications such as works, newspapers, magazines and journals from the period of Mehmet İzzet Bey. In this archive research, the libraries with printed works and digital works, primarily the Presidential Millet Library Archive and the National Library Archive, and databases of these libraries were used.

As the libraries are closed during the research process due to the global virus pandemic, the literature and literature review conducted over internet databases were used in a large part of this study.

One of these internet databases, which covers the period between 1928 and 1942, has national and local newspapers, images from the newspaper, which was launched by the Istanbul University Library and Documentation Department. In addition, the Ottoman Newspapers (https://www.osmanlicagazeteler.org/), Islamist Journals Project (İDP) (http://katalog.idp.org.tr/), TDV İSAM Ottoman Articles Database (http://ktp.isam.org.tr/makaleosm/findrecords.php) and many more online databases were used in this study.

Following the provision of this data, in the light of the information obtained from the sources, the opinions and expressions of Mehmet İzzet Bey were analyzed through his works, and his position in the nationalism literature and his contributions to the literature were tried to be specified.

Lastly, it should be noted that the expressions of Mehmet İzzet Bey quoted at the footnotes in the original form. There are lots of words and concepts that I could not translate it as perfect. Therefore, I preferred not to translate his expressions, but also quote it originally.

2. PRIMORDIAL OR CONSTRUCTED: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism, which has a significant impact on politics, academia, social life, economy, tourism, trade, and many other fields, has become more effective since the French revolution. From the 18th century onwards, nationalism, where philosophers, statesmen and thinkers declared ideas and conducted discussions, started to be seen as an idea that should be examined academically and systematically after the two world wars that took place in the 20th century. The academic community could not remain more indifferent to a situation that affected humanity. According to Özkırımlı (2008), nationalism started to be handled academically since 1945 and serious discussions were made on what nationalism is, how it came about, what its source was and when it emerged. After the Cold War, which ended with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, a new era has begun in which the discussions of nationalism are deeper and more diverse (Özkırımlı, 2008).

It will be sufficient to briefly touch on the historical development of nationalism here. As a matter of fact, the historical development of nationalism in the world will be discussed later in this section. In this chapter, the conceptual and theoretical development of nationalism will be mentioned. As stated above, discussions about what nationalism is, how and when it emerged, started to be handled academically and systematically, especially after the Second World War.

It can be said that there is no exact definition of nationalism accepted by everyone due to these discussions. However, it is possible to explain nationalism in general terms. In order to understand nationalism conceptually and theoretically, the concepts of identity, nation, ethnic group / ethnicity must first be understood and then the concept of nationalism must be examined in detail.

After these examinations and definitions, theoretical debates and approaches on nationalism should be addressed. As a matter of fact, there are those who claim that nationalism is an ever-present and innate phenomenon, as well as those who claim that it is an artificial phenomenon created by people. Apart from these, there is also an approach that claims that nationalism is neither innate nor eternal nor artificial, and that it is a phenomenon that emerged later with the influence of symbols. These approaches will be dealt with in detail in this chapter.

In another part of this chapter, the classifications made so far on nationalism will be addressed. Finally, the historical development of nationalism in the world will be discussed and historical examples of the discussions will be briefly mentioned. In general, in this chapter, discussions about whether nationalism is a primordial or a constructed thing will be investigated, and a basis will be created for Mehmet İzzet Bey's questioning attitude.

2.1. Main Concepts

2.1.1. Identity

People have been looking for an identity throughout history (Maslow, 2001). Because identity affects the meaning of people's life, their thoughts, the way they perceive events, the language they speak, their religious beliefs and many more features (Altunoğlu, 2009). Since humanity has existed, people have always been questioning who they are, where they came from, where they went, what purpose they lived, what they should do and where they belong. People seeking answers to these questions over the centuries have created an identity based on their answers. In certain periods of history, people were satisfied with the answers given by religions and believed in these answers and established their identities based on religion (King, 2003). However, not only religious belief determines the identity of human. Nationalist movements, which started especially after the French Revolution in Europe, have been the product of a search for a new identity and finally a new understanding of identity has emerged (Armaoğlu, 1997, s. 41). It should be explained in more detail what is the phenomenon of identity, which affects the entire life of the person, to identify himself/herself and find the place s/he feels belonging to. Because the understanding of the nation is essential for the understanding of nationalism, and the understanding of the identity is essential for the understanding of the nation.

Identity has been handled in the discussion areas of various academic fields and tried to be defined. The concept of "identity" in English is based on the concept of "identité" in French[2]. The meaning of "identité", which is defined as "sameness, similarity, unity-oneness", also means similar to the concept of "identitatem" in Latin. It is clear from the root of the concept that there is an emphasis on "sameness" and "similarity".

[2] For detailed information on the etymological origin of the concept, see. Online Etymology Dictionary https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=identity

The concept of identity is defined as follows in terms of dictionary: “who a person is, or the qualities of a person or group that make them different from others” (Cambridge University , 2020). On the other hand, while defining the concept of identity, the Turkish Language Association used the expressions of “the signs, qualities and features that show what a person is as a social entity.” Based on the definitions and the etymological origin of the concept, it is seen that the concept of identity is a phenomenon that separates the human from the "other" and brings it closer to the "similar" ones.

Identity is a more comprehensive and superior phenomenon than the ones that define the person such as personality, self, subjectivity, character, race, religious belief, gender, language, color, citizenship etc. In fact, the concept of identity is quite a new concept in the literature. In its current sense, the history of its use can only be taken until the 1960s. Prior to that, in the fields of sociology, anthropology and criminology, the concept of "identification", which is used only for defining the identity of the person and for criminological researches such as fingerprints, is found in encyclopedias (Gleason, 1983).

Contributions from various disciplines have been very important for the use of the concept of identity in today's sense. Especially in disciplines such as sociology, psychology, social psychology, philosophy and political science, the concept of identity has gradually become the center of discussions and more attention has been given to the concept. It should be noted that the basis of this is modernization and a new world understanding in which the individual is emphasized. According to American Psychologist Erik Erikson, who has made great contributions to the widespread use of the concept of identity in today's sense, identity is related to a process that takes place in the essence of the individual and social culture and shapes the identity of both (Erikson, 1994).

In addition to all these definition discussions, classification discussions on the concept of identity also increase the confusion about the concept. Because there are many different approaches whether identity is individual, social, public, mass, national, innate or artificial[3]. For example, one of these discussions is addressed in John Rawls' book "A Theory of Justice". According to Rawls, a person has two identities, namely public identity and non-public identity (Rawls, 1995). When we look at the general discussions, we see the view that “identity can manifest in different ways if the person is alone and not alone”. Although this

[3] For detailed information on identity and identity building, see. Altunoğlu, M. (2009). Kimlik'in Modern İnşaı, Kimlik Politikaları ve Türkiye’de Kimlik Tartışmaları. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yayınları (Doctoral Thesis)

strengthens the views that a person may have multiple identities, it has not been able to refute the opinions that a person's identity can occur with different masks in various environments.

Today, with the proliferation of the internet, the advancement of technology and the globalization of the world, a new dimension has been added to these discussions. Virtual identities have begun to form in virtual environments where people can shape their identities as they wish, and even the use of fake IDs has become increasingly common[4]. The concept of identity needs to be reconsidered at a time when fake accounts can be opened by adopting very different identities regardless of the conditions and current identity. However, since the main subject of this study is not identity discussions, it is sufficient to mention only briefly.

Just as we will talk about nationalism in the future, one of the areas where the issue of identity is controversial is the way identity emerges. Questions like "Does the person have an identity and is it clear?" and "Or is identity an artificial thing built by various factors?" are at the core of discussions on identity. In fact, the issue of identity is the basis of the conceptual discussions of facts such as ethnicity, nation, nationality and nationalism. Because nationalism does not occur without nation, and nation does not occur without people. Every person has a different identity. However, it is also very important that what kind of identity is considering as identity in a discussion of nationalism. Just as there are those who oppose a racial identity, like Mehmet İzzet Bey, there are also completely opposite views. At this point, it would be appropriate to move from the person's identity to discussions about the identity of the community.

2.1.2. Ethnic Group/Ethnicity

People have tended to coexist since the beginning of being (Giddens, 2012). The motivation source that brought people together was sometimes basic needs, shelter, nutrition and protection, sometimes beliefs, emotional ties or common ideals (Giddens, 2012). However, besides all these and another stronger source of motivation is that people belong to a common ethnicity. Communities of people can come together for different reasons and motivations. Ethnic groups are also a kind of community. In order to examine ethnic groups conceptually, it is necessary to ask the following questions: “What is ethnicity?”, “What is /

[4] For the number of fake accounts that Facebook, a social media site, deleted at the beginning of 2020 and for more detailed information, see https://tekno10.com/sosyal-medya/facebook-7-milyari-askin-sahte-hesap-sildi/

what makes an ethnic group different from other communities?" Because it is difficult to fully understand the concept of *ethnic group* without explaining the concept of *ethnicity*.

The modern use of the concept of ethnicity is quite new. However, the origin of the concept goes back much earlier (Özkırımlı, 2008). Ethnic is explained in the dictionary as "relating to or characteristic of a large group of people who have the same national, racial, or cultural origins, and who usually speak the same language." (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). However, it has been used in history in a way that can mean much different from today's meaning. As a matter of fact, the concept of ethnicity is associated with the word *ethnos,* meaning "suitable for the attitude and language of the foreigners", as well as the words *ethnicos,* which means etymologically, Latin, which means pagan or irreligious. (Online Etymology Dictionary, n.d.). In addition, although it was used as a concept used for Jews and non-Christians in various periods, it has been used in the meaning of "peculiar to a nation or a race" since 1851 (Online Etymology Dictionary, n.d.).

As a concept, it is not often used alone, but it is also common to use it with a name, verb, or an attachment. Expressions such as ethnic group, ethnic identity, ethnic cleansing, ethnicity, ethnic origin have become very popular both in the literature and in the current political life. In this part of the work, the concept of ethnic group / ethnicity will be examined, and the definition of the nation will be made in the next section and the differences between the two will be revealed.

The concept of *ethnic group,* in its simplest and summarized terms, is the community that people with the same ethnic identity come together to form. However, for a community to be an ethnic group, it is not sufficient for them to have the same ethnic identity. Because, according to Anthony Smith, many differences such as history, culture, institutions, language, religion and tradition determine the ethnicity of the community. In fact, Smith (1994) stated in his work "National Identity" that ethnic groups have six basic features:

1. *"A collective proper name"*
2. *"A myth of common ancestry"*
3. *"Shared historical memories"*
4. *"One or more differentiating elements of common culture"*
5. *"An association with a specific 'homeland'"*
6. *"A sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population."*

Although this definition and framework of Smith is quite inclusive and successful, the fact that a community has the above six characteristics is not enough to make them ethnic groups. Because we can see something that should not be ignored in the definition of Anthony Giddens for the ethnic group. According to Giddens (2012), “Members of ethnic groups see themselves separately from other groups in the society, whereas other members of the society look at them.” As can be seen from here, the communities that have the six conditions mentioned by Smith must also have an awareness and consciousness. Even the society in which they live must be aware of this group and see them as an "*other*". It is precisely at this point that the word “ethnos” (suitable for the attitude and language of the foreigners), which is located in the Greek origin of the concept, still seems to have an effect. Giddens' emphasis is on the understanding of an ethnic group that can change according to the view of "others" about them and their views about "*others*". “There is nothing innate about ethnicity. Ethnicity is a purely social phenomenon, produced and repeated over time.” (Giddens, 2012).

Based on these ideas of Giddens, when looking at these six characteristics stated by Smith, it is very important that there is a common name that characterizes a community in the first place. Because, as much as the community it*self*, the *others* have a share in how the community is defined. On the other hand, he regarded the conditions such as having the same blood, feeling the same pain or joy in the history and having the same cultural traditions among the absolute characteristics of ethnic groups. In the last two articles, there are features that have the greatest similarity and greatest difference between an ethnic group and the nation. Because ethnic groups only accept the region of their ethnic communities as their homeland and attribute a blessing and bond. However, the community that makes up the nation connects the places where there are different ethnic groups but which it sees as the land of its country by attributing blessings. On the other hand, in ethnic groups, the population is in solidarity only with those of its own ethnic group, whereas in the communities that make up the nation, this situation is still broad and comprehensive (Smith A. , 1986). The main discussion here is what are the differences between the ethnic group and the nation. In the next section, after the conceptual and theoretical analysis of the nation, the differences between the ethnic group and the nation will be discussed.

2.1.3. Nation (*Millet*)

Defining the concept of nation is a very difficult concept. It is a more complex and superior concept than the concepts we tried to define above, and we have conveyed some of the definitions previously made. In particular, it is a very difficult issue to define the concepts of nation and nationalism separately. Therefore, in order to better understand the definition of the nation from time to time, we will also discuss nationalism debates –which will be described in more detail in the next section. In addition, although the concepts of *millet* and *ulus* have very close meanings, they are different from each other. For this reason, we will use all three concepts of *millet*-*ulus*-nation in similar meanings in this section. However, to clarify briefly, we should state that religious identity in the concept of *millet*, race and secularism in the concept of *ulus* are at the forefront, and the idea of sovereignty in the concept of nation. Although these three concepts do not fully meet each other's meaning, it is a common situation to be used interchangeably. It will not be possible for us to escape from this situation.

In this part of the study, we will consider opinions that try to explain *what* the nation is, *how* it came about, *when* it appeared and *where* it originated. Because it is necessary to know how it emerged in order to define what the nation is. In order to understand the emergence of a phenomenon, its conditions, its location and time must be known. Based on this, we will first make an introduction to the definition of the concept of nation.

Millet means, in the sense of the dictionary, “The community of people living on the same lands, which have a unity of language, history, emotion, ideal, tradition and tradition, *ulus*.” (Türk Dil Kurumu, n.d.). Despite it seems like a very comprehensive definition, the discussions about the concept of nation show that this definition has inadequate aspects. For example, the definition of the nation is different in the Cambridge Dictionary: (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.): “a country, especially when thought of as a large group of people living in one area with their own government, language, traditions, etc.” As can be seen here, while a state is not mentioned in the first definition, a country and a government are mentioned in the other definition. The dictionary definitions of the nation today are quite a new phenomenon. Because Eric Hobsbawm, who has done important studies on nation and nationalism, emphasized that the elements that make up the nation are not very old in his work titled “Nations and Nationalism since 1780”. For example, he stated that the definition of the concept of "nation" in the dictionary published by the Royal Academy of Spain is defined as “the sum of the residents of a state, country or kingdom” (Hobsbawm, 1993).

From this approach of Hobsbawm, it is seen that the definition of the concept of nation has changed in the historical process.

The concept of the nation changes spatially as well as it changes over time. In the period when the concept of *millet/*nation in Europe was defined as "a sovereign people and one of the indispensable elements of a state", the concept of the *millet* was mostly used for the Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish non-Muslim Ottoman communities. In fact, this concept of *millet* in Ottoman and the concept of *millet* used in today's sense are quite different from each other. Because the Arabic term in the expression "... *millet-i İbrahim* ..." (el-Bakara 2/135; Ali İmran 3/95; en-Nisa 4/125) in the Qur'an should be taken into account at the basis of the concept of the *millet* in the Ottoman Empire. It will be explained in detail in the future that there are similar views of Mehmet İzzet Bey regarding this concept complexity.

In Turkey, instead of the concept of "*millet*" in Arabic, the concept of "*ulus*" has been derived and this concept has started to be used in response to the term *nation*.[5] However, the religious emphasis in the content of the concept has not been completely eliminated. Today, the concept of *millet* in Turkey continues to be based on religion rather than on a race basis. Indeed, it would be useful to state that the perception of Turkish in Europe also contributed to the development of this concept. Because, as we mentioned above, one of the most important factors shaping a community is the "other". One of the main factors that make the perception of the nation in Turkey inseparable from religion and increases the integration of race-religion is that Europe brings the Muslim identity to its mind as a pre-acceptance when Turkish is mentioned.

In the thoughts about the definition of the concept of the nation, we see that many names such as Anthony D. Smith, Heinrich von Treitschke, Jules Michelet, Eprahim Nimni, Otto Bauer, Ernest Renan, Michael Hechter, Tom Nairn, John Breuilly, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, Miroslav Hroch, Ernest Gellner, Richard Handler, John Armstrong and Michael Billig lead in the Western literature. The same people also worked on nationalism.

[5] We should mention that the term "*ulus*" has been used by the Turks even before the Islamic period. For example, in the Mongolian language, a related-language of Turkish, the term "*ulus*" used to define "Country, state, share allocated to each member of the ruling family." Later, in 1872, Ahmed Vefik Pasha has been used *ulus* in its modern meaning. See. Uzun, T. (2015). OSMANLI DÖNEMİNDE TÜRK MİLLİYETÇİLİĞİ İDEOLOJİSİNİN KAYNAKLARI. Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, (28). Retrieved from https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/dpusbe/issue/4770/65642 and for further detail see. Tezcan, B. (2010). *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization).* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

In fact, it is not possible to consider nation and nationalism separately. In Turkish thought, thinkers such as Şemsettin Sami, Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Mehmet Akif Ersoy[6] and Mehmet İzzet Bey come to the forefront among those who have in-depth conceptual and theoretical discussions on nation and nationalism. In this study, we will try to summarize only some of these prominent names about the nation.

In the Western literature, three approaches generally come to the fore among the approaches to the nation and nationalism: those who argue that the nation existed before nationalism, primordialists; those who claim that the nation has been around for the last two centuries and that it is modern and artificial, such as capitalism and industrialization, has been built after nationalism, modernists; finally, ethno-symbolists, who emerged in response to the modernists and tried to find the middle way of the two views. These approaches also form the basis of nationalism theories, which we will explain in more detail in the next sections.

In addition to the theoretical approaches to the nation, we see practical approaches in the West and the East in different ways. Anthony D. Smith (1994, p. 29) states that the nation is a rational and civic model in the West, while it is considered an ethnic and cultural model in the East. He listed the elements of the nation and national identity model as follows(Smith A. D., 1994, p. 28):

1. Historic territory,
2. Legal-political community,
3. Legal-political equality of members,
4. Common civic culture and ideology.

In the model of the nation and national identity in the east, these elements were replaced by “Secerecilik (genealogy) and hypothetical lineages, mobilization of the people, indigenous language, customs and traditions ...”(Smith A. D., 1994). At this point, Smith was inspired by the 'Eastern / Organic' and 'Western / Optional' models previously introduced by Hans Kohn.[7]. After examining and comparing various national and national identity models, he listed the five elements that are generally accepted in all national models (Smith A. D., 1994):

[6] Although Mehmet Akif Ersoy was an *ümmetçi* (defending the Islamic unity among the Islamic societies) rather than nationalism, he has conceptualized a nation in his own world of thought.
[7] For Hans Kohn's nationalism classifications, see: Kohn, H. (1944). The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background. New York: Macmillan.

1. An historic territory, or homeland,
2. Common myths and historical memories,
3. A common, mass public culture,
4. Common legal rights and duties for all members,
5. A common economy with territorial mobility for members.

Albeit Smith stated that the importance of ethnic core[8] in understanding nations and nationalism cannot be denied, it does not include ethnicity among the elements here. Because this is a list that includes the common elements of the nation models[9]. According to Smith, the way to understand who and what the nation is to investigate the ethnicity of today's nations. Smith, who thinks that the formation process of nations covers centuries and that national identity is a multi-dimensional identity that cannot be reduced to a single element, uses the following expressions when defining the nation:

> *"It is a community of people who share a historical land, have common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, common economy, rights and duties that apply to all members, and a specific name."*

Özkırımlı (2008, s. 213) expresses that this definition of Smith reveals the abstract and complex structure of national identity, and also summarizes Smith's ideas about the formation processes of the nation. We have made this approach summarized by Özkırımlı into a diagram below and made it more understandable.

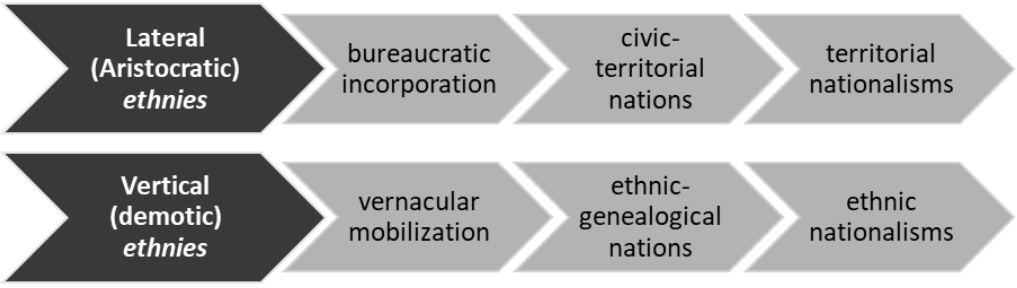


Figure 2.1 Anthony D. Smith's approach to the formation processes of the nation (Özkırımlı, 2008, s. 221)

[8] For detailed information about the ethnic core, see: Özkırımlı, U. (2008). Milliyetçilik Kuramları: Eleştirel Bir Bakış. s.215 Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları.

[9] Although some works claim that Smith's understanding of the nation is based on citizenship, it is clear that this is not so. I also think that Smith's understanding of nation is based on ethnicity, like Özkırımlı. Moreover, while Smith stood before us as a name identified with an ethno-symbolist approach, it was most likely caused by a misunderstanding or incomplete reading of his understanding of the nation as 'citizenship-based'.

The nation was tried to be explained in very opposite ways by people who lived in the same period in the 19th century. For example; For the German historian Heinrich von Treitschke, the nation was a community that aspired to establish its own state and aimed to unite all the peoples that formed the nation under the roof of the state it founded. Contrary to this view, French historian Jules Michelet thought that the nation was the guarantee of individual freedom. The famous British philosopher John Stuart Mill, who lived in similar periods, described the nation / nationality as a community of people. He argued that the closeness he meant may sometimes be based on shared ethnic identity, sometimes shared language, religion, and common history and memories. So much so, according to Mill, "the nation was a prerequisite for free government." (Özkırımlı, 2008, s. 43).

Another conceptualization of the concept of nation was put forward by the Marxist thinker Ephraim Nimni. According to Nimni (1992), the nation is a term used for state owned communities. If a community does not own a state, it means that the community can be 'nationality' and that 'nationalities' can become 'nation' if it establishes its own state. He advocates that the peoples who cannot establish their state will remain as "peoples without history". In his work titled "Origins of the Constructivist Theory of the Nation" (1995), Nicholas Stargardt stated that another Marxist, Otto Bauer, used the concept of 'community of fate' when describing the nation and that nations have their own unique characters and cultures. In addition, it is imperative for Bauer to form a common 'high' language that everyone can understand during the formation process of the nation. Because, according to him, a community first comes to a cultural community stage, and then it can become a nation thanks to the beliefs and feelings of its common destinies.

Another approach to the nation in the 19th century is the views of the French historian Ernest Renan. He opposed that the nation was explained with objective elements such as race, religion and language, and claimed that nations were not eternal but had a beginning and an end (Özkırımlı, 2008, s. 56). According to Renan, "the nation was a popular vote repeated every day" and required the constant approval of the individuals who formed it. Also, according to Renan, the nation was a spirit and spiritual principle, one direction in the past and the other in the present and future. Nations would exist both with heroic past, and with their suffering. For a community to remember epic people and events as well as its painful and terrifying memories, it would make it a nation (Renan, 2016).

Those who ask perhaps the most daring questions in debates about the definition of the nation, and those who present a very different perspective from the approaches put forward so far are modernists. Modernists argue that the nation is not an existing and innate phenomenon, as the primordialists advocated. According to them, nations are the product of nationalism and are artificial. In fact, nations are 'invented traditions' according to Hobsbawm and 'high cultures' according to Gellner, 'imagined political communities' according to Anderson[10]. They argue that nations are the product and result of events that have developed over the past few centuries, or that it is a modern phenomenon, such as secularization and urbanization, such as capitalism that emerged with industrialization.

Eric J. Hobsbawm's most striking ideas about nation and nationalism are included in his book "The Invention of Tradition", which he edited with Terence Ranger in 1992. According to Hobsbawm, nations and nationalisms are associated with historical innovations and emerged after the development of the territorial state understanding. Also, nations are not spontaneous phenomenon. On the contrary, it emerged as a result of social engineering (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 13). Those who invent traditions and make up the nation by doing this social engineering are the elite classes who "…fear that the participation of large masses of people in politics will destroy the old order…" (Özkırımlı, 2008, s. 147). In addition to these views, Hobsbawm argued that it is not right to deal with the facts of the state and nation separately. Because Hobsbawm, who was inspired by Gellner's conceptualization of state-nation-nationalism and adopted this approach: "Nations do not create states and nationalism, it is actually the opposite." He argued that nations are a result, invented products

Czech-born philosopher Ernest Gellner, who seriously influenced Hobsbawm, was very ambitious with his work called "Nations and Nationalism" and made a unique contribution to the debate on nation and nationalism[11]. According to Gellner, nations were the product of nationalism, and nationalism was strengthened and tightened by a "high culture" enhanced by the state. The assumption that there will be no nationalism where the state is absent and that the nation cannot emerge, shows that Gellner attaches great importance to the relationship between the state and the nation.

[10] Among the modernists, the thinkers who have contributed the most to the fields of nationality and nationalism are the most cited, Czech-origin philosopher Ernest Gellner, British Marxist historian Eric J. Hobsbawm and American political scientist Benedict Anderson. These three important names were among the thinkers who left their mark on the 20th century.

[11] So much so that Anthony Smith, one of the most critical names working in this field, wrote his doctoral thesis under the consultancy of Gellner.

Gellner examines human history in three phases to explain why nation and nationalism are needed in modern industrial societies, not pre-modern societies: hunter-gatherer, agricultural and modern-industrial societies. In hunter-gatherer and agricultural societies, the division of labor was certain, social classes and possibilities were of certain criteria. The place where every person could come was determined with limited and precise lines. However, in the industrial society, both the workflows have become more complicated and a much more egalitarian and uncertain situation has emerged compared to the previous periods. This confusion and uncertainty mobilized societies significantly and increased the possibility of turmoil. In this case, the elite groups mentioned above, fearing mass movements, have built a new "high culture" with the power of the state, to which people will adhere faithfully. Loyalty to the king, land, or faith in previous periods disappeared in the new period. In order to eliminate the atmosphere of insecurity without loyalty, they have ensured that the communities have a loyalty to a 'high culture' over their pre-existing cultures. In summary, Gellner also argues that nations are an artificial phenomenon and built.

The views put forward by another modernist thinker, American political scientist Benedict Anderson on the nation, deeply affected those working in this field. Because Anderson has shown in depth that nations are artificial facts and made an important contribution to the field with the method he followed. According to Anderson, “The nation is an imagined political community - a community that is both limited and sovereign.” (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). In this definition, four basic characteristics of the nation are emphasized: being imagined, limited, sovereign and being a community. (1) The nation is imagined; because the members of all nations, small or large, keep on living their dream in their minds without knowing each other, meeting them and even hearing a word about them. (2) The nation is limited; because no matter how big a nation has a limit to other nations and no nation dreams of itself to cover all of humanity. (3) The nation is sovereign; since the Enlightenment philosophy and revolutions that brought the end of the dynasties who claimed to have taken their legitimacy from God when the concept was born were on the stage of history. Therefore, if nations will establish a bond with God, they preferred to establish it "directly" and without intermediaries. (4) Finally, the nation is imagined as a community; because “regardless of the inequality and exploitation that actually prevails inside, the nation is always perceived as a deep companionship.” In fact, with this last feature, Anderson has also revealed how great the sacrifice people can make for their nations.

In addition to these definitions, Anderson also proposed important theories about the emergence of these imagined communities. Basically, he accepts that nationalism is the most important factor in the emergence of nations and states that the rise of nationalism is accelerated by the weakening of religion and dynasties. He argues that people are looking for a new purpose to believe with the weakening of their religious feelings, and that this is nation and nationalism. In addition, the conditions of the period also have an important effect. Anderson particularly underlines 'print-capitalism', that is, the cooperation between capitalism and printing. It considers the publication of books in local languages and the emergence of newspapers that everyone can access simultaneously. In summary, Anderson does not think that it is a purely artificial and spurious phenomenon like Gellner, although he is among those who think that nations are products of nationalism. According to him, although the nations are the products of the last two centuries, they are not "fake" and "spurious" phenomenon, but "imagined" and "invented" phenomenon.

The thinkers of the Ottoman Empire in the east have dealt with the concept of "*millet*" in a very different way. Particularly, the debate at that time is not about the definition of the concept of *millet,* but rather of loss of meaning. Some of the Ottoman thinkers argue that the meaning of the concept of the *millet* is the meaning in the Qur'an and that this definition is a supra-racial, trans-spatial and trans-language definition. However, by arguing that the concept of nation used in the West does not fully meet the *millet*, it is opposed to the use of these two concepts as synonyms. On the other hand, some thinkers use the *millet* as the equivalent of the nation concept in the West and develop definitions by adopting the views of Western thinkers. In a recent article published in the journal Diriliş, Hasan Çınaryerli (1966) explains this situation as follows:

> *"... In the Western literature, where many nationalities and nationality views and researches play a big role, the word 'nation', which is used instead of the word 'millet', is mostly based on a weave where it creates one or more of the natural features that make up the material structure of the nation such as the reality of blood, language and geography. This means that Western Civilization, even in the theoretical plan and reality, has not yet understood the concept of and reality of "millet" brought by Islam. Even the understanding of the nation of the West today, in accordance with the understanding of the "millet" of Islam, is faltering in full primitiveness."*

The discussions of finding a concept in exchange for the concept of *nation* in the west have an important place in the 19th century Ottoman thought world. A similar view of this view expressed by Çınaryerli in 1966 was voiced by Şemsettin Sami Bey in the 19th century. Sami Bey opposed the use of the *millet* in response to the nation. "However, the word *millet* gradually moved away from the meaning of the religious community, and as it was called the "*Osmanlı milleti"*, it experienced an expansion of meaning to show a political community and then an ethnic and linguistic community." (Çalen, 2016, s. 253).

For example, Ziya Gokalp, one of the leading figures of the Nationalism movement, argues that the nation is not a group of people who believe in the same religion as mentioned above. At the same time, according to Gökalp, "the *millet* is neither a geographical nor a racial, political or administrative community. The *millet* is a cultural union consisting of individuals whose language is common, that is, the same education." (Gökalp, 1923). Spiritual values such as religion, tradition and custom have an important place in the culture that forms the cultural unity here. Though Gökalp attaches importance to religion, he did not accept the definitions of the nation put forward by Islamists and Ottomanists regarding the concept of nation in his work called "Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak". After giving detailed answers about these discussions in his book, he used the following expressions as a summary (Gökalp, 1918):

> *"The Turkicists make the following two results after criticizing the interventions of these two groups:*
>
> *The Ummah is something else, folks are something else.*
>
> *The state is one thing, the nation is another."*

On the other hand, according to his definition, the nation is a community of people who speak the same language. Moreover, according to Gökalp, People who will speak this language in the future are also included in this nation (Gökalp, 1918). Of course, the views of an important personality such as Ziya Gokalp on the concept of the *millet* are not limited to this much. He thinks that the *millet* is formed around a common language and that even people have a nationality on the decency they receive. He defends his views by giving detailed examples of this claim. On the other hand, he handled the relationship of nations to religion with a Durkheimian approach and regarded religion as the cement of society.

One of the most important definition of *millet* in the Turkish literature was made by historian and nationalist Yusuf Akçura. According to Akçura, who is the first personality

(Berkes, 1976) to consider Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism approaches comparatively, the nation is "a group of people who have become united in their social conscientious sense due to the essential unity of race and language." (Akçura, Yeni Türk Devletinin Öncüleri: 1928 Yılı Yazıları, 2001). As can be understood from the definition here, Akçura differentiates Gökalp from the foreground and does not see the bond of religion as a necessary bond.

As well as discussions about the definition of the nation, questions about when the nation emerged and how it emerged were also asked. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, one of the few thinkers who stated that when the nation appeared when compared to other thinkers who lived in the same period, asks the following question about the concept of the nation: "Did the social whole that we wanted to express in this term exist in every period; or did it happen at the end of a historical evolution?" (Ülken, 2016). In his reply, he stated that *"... the nation is not always a social present; it is the product of a social evolution and only today's subject.*" With the answer he gave after the question he asked, we see that he actually took an ethno-symbolist approach. He has more than one definition in his book about what the nation is. He states that in the first of these definitions, the nation is an ideal to be reached, but at the same time it is a reality because it is a collective committee formed in the course of history. In another definition, he argues that the foundations of the nation are "the homeland drawn by will and independence, based on a clear historical consciousness, and the material and spiritual resources of this homeland." (Ülken, 2016).

One of the leading Islamists of the period, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, on the other hand, fought with his poetry, speech and phrases against ethnicity (*kavmiyetçilik*) by keeping the concept of *millet* equal to the ummah. Especially in his poems, he distinguished the concepts of nationality and ethnicity and regarded the ethnicity as the main enemy of nationality. We can see the clearest manifestation of his ideas in a poem entitled "Hani Milliyetin İslam İdi?" by Mehmet Akif (Ersoy, 2008):

"Wasn"t your nation Islam... What is ethnicism?

Wish you held your nationality tight.

What does Albanian mean? Does it have a place in the Shari"a?

Infidelity it is, nothing else, asserting the ethnicity.[12]

[12] The English Translation of the Text is taken from page 91 of the master's thesis prepared by Kemal Ufuk. Its original form is as follows:

As can be understood from these verses, Mehmet Akif shows an approach that deals with nationality through religion and handles the *kavmiyet* through ethnicity. According to him, the *millet* is the *millet* of Islam and anyone who is a Muslim regardless of race, language and color is a member of this *millet*. He also objected to the movements of nationalism, which started to grow stronger during his lifetime, by claiming that *kavmiyetçilik* was infidelity.

We see that there is no consensus on what the nation is, how it originated, when it appeared, and where it originated. We will examine how these approaches and admissions affect their understanding of nationalism after mentioning the prominent thoughts about the nation in the West and Anatolia. These four basic questions intertwined each other. As we mentioned above, these discussions are difficult to convey independently. Therefore, in this section, we will briefly touch on the approaches that differ fundamentally from each other and move on to the next section. Because we will consider the ideas of the thinkers who try to explain the answers to these questions about the emergence of the nation in the "Basic Approaches" section.

2.1.4. Nationalism

Nationalism is a concept that is as hard to define as the nation and has very complex discussions. The concept of nationalism, which has more than one meaning, even in the dictionary, according to the Cambridge English Dictionary: “(1) a nation's desire and initiative to become politically independent; (2) feelings of love and pride for people in their country; (3) Nationalism is also a desire for political independence in a country controlled by another country or part of another country.” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). Nationalism, which has definitions that can have very different meanings even in the sense of a dictionary, according to Özkırımlı (2008, s. 14) “first of all, a discourse that gives shape to our consciousness and enables us to make sense of the world; in other words, a way of seeing and interpreting, perceiving our collective identities, directing our daily conversations, behaviors and attitudes.” Since this definition is a very broad and open-ended definition in

Hani milliyetin İslam idi? Kavmiyyet ne?
Sarılıp sımsıkı dursaydın a milliyetine!
Arnavutluk ne demek? Var mı şeriatta yeri?
Küfr olur, başka değil kavmini sürmek ileri.”

terms of scope, Özkırımlı believes that its definition is more useful than all other definitions if it is not accepted as a single and absolute definition.

The truth is that there is no single definition of nationalism. It does not seem possible to make a definition that everyone can agree on. Considering that nationalism as a concept is derived from the concept of "nationality" and that the concept of nationality was first used at the end of the 1700s (Online Etymology Dictionary, n.d.), it can be said that the meaning confusion of the concept has not ended for more than 300 years. On the contrary, nationalism is a concept that is becoming more complex and diversified day by day. Because nationalism does not have a single meaning, nor does it have a single type. As can be seen in the types of nationalism, which will be discussed in detail in the next sections, it is possible for a different kind of nationalism to emerge in every situation and condition. Although there are different types of phenomena, this does not change the fact that different types are nationalism.

Since the concept of nationalism will be examined in detail later in the study, both theoretically, historically and in terms of its types, we will not go into details in this section. Because the answers about what, when, how and where nationalism emerged vary according to theories. By examining the prominent of these theories in detail, we will discuss their answers to these four basic questions under the title of "Basic Approaches".

Nationalism is not a concept that can have a fixed definition. As time changes and conditions and opportunities change, nationalism emerges with new versions by adapting itself to the new situation. To give an example, a new type of nationalism, which was unknown even 20 years ago, not 200 years ago, has started to be discussed today: cyber-nationalism. Many studies have been conducted on this subject, especially in China, and surprisingly, concepts and theories have been introduced[13]. Evaluating the emergence of nationalism in different ways, Anthony D. Smith said that “nationalism, like chameleon, takes its color from its context.” (Smith A. D., 1994, p. 129).

On the other hand, nationalism consists of an ideology that changes the flow of history according to some thinkers; a social phenomenon that shapes the structure of societies for some; or an artificial tool professionally used for social engineering. British historian John

[13] For an example of a study on cyber-nationalism, see: Wu, X. (2007). Chinese Cyber Nationalism: Evolution, Characteristics, and Implications: Evolution, Characteristics, and Implications. Washington: Lexington Books. Retrieved in April 2020

Breuilly, a respected academician in the field of nationalism, states that there are different approaches that see nationalism as “an idea, an emotion or a political movement.” (Breuilly, 1993).

There are different opinions about how nationalism emerged. On the one hand, those who think that nationalism create the nation and those who think that nationalism is formed by the nations; those who defend that nationalism is promoted by the state and those who believe that the state may emerge as a result of the idea of nationalism are on one side. In addition, some thinkers base the basis of nationalism on physical characteristics such as race, language, color, while others base spiritual values such as religion, belief, culture and tradition. It should be known at this point that there are nationalism approaches that care both of them. Mehmet İzzet Bey was one of those thinkers who think that nationalism cannot be understand, if physical characteristics and spiritual values don't handle together.

It is very important for the integrity of the idea in the study, to summarize the opinions of the thinkers, whose views on the definition of the nation above, on nationalism. Because, as we have already mentioned, it is not possible for the studies on the nation to be independent from nationalism, and the studies on nationalism are not independent from the nation. A thinker's view of nationalism is closely related to how he accepts the nation, and vice versa. In other words, a thinker's view of the nation is about how he accepts nationalism.

British sociologist Anthony D. Smith begins by stating in his book National Identity (1994, p. 121), stating that nationalism can be understood in five different ways:

1. *“The whole process of forming and maintaining nations or nation-states”,*
2. *“A consciousness of belonging to the nation, together with sentiments and aspirations for its security and prosperity”*
3. *“A language and symbolism of the 'nation' and its role”*
4. *“An ideology, including a cultural doctrine of nations and the national will and prescriptions for the realization of national aspirations and the national will”*
5. *“A social and political movement to achieve the goals of the nation and realize its national will”*

Based on these five usages of nationalism, he has also provided a very broad definition of nationalism. According to Smith, nationalism emerges as an "ideological movement for a nation to gain autonomy, unity, identity and sustain them." (Smith A. D., 1994, p. 121). Nationalism is an ideological movement, as can be understood from Smith's book and this definition. In this case, nationalism has the quality of being both an ideology and a movement. In fact, according to Smith, the nationalist movement cannot be understood separately from the nationalist ideology. If there is a nationalist movement somewhere, it is imperative that there is a nationalist ideology, but it is not the opposite. The nationalist ideology can be where there is no nationalist movement. The point where this approach takes us is that nationalism is essentially an ideology such as liberalism and socialism. According to Smith's understanding, the transition of the ideology of nationalism from abstract to concrete takes place through national ceremonies and symbols[14]. In this respect, the views of Smith, an ethno-symbolist, are similar to Michael Billig's conceptualization of "banal nationalism"[15].

Eric J. Hobsbawm, who is considered to be one of the pioneers of the modernist approach and died in 2012, is a Marxist thinker who foresees the innovations brought by the 21st century and his new understanding of nationalism in his work "The Invention of Tradition" in 1983. In addition, with his book entitled "Nations and Nationalism: Program, Myth and Reality since 1780", he has become a groundbreaking name in nationalism studies. According to Hobsbawm, nationalism is a concept that has undergone transformations in the historical process but reached its peak in the late 20th century. Claiming that nations and nationalism are produced as a result of social engineering, Hobsbawm explains these two concepts as "invented traditions". In addition to this, according to this view, it is seen that nationalism has an important place while inventing nations. Unlike the primordialists, Hobsbawm argues that nationalism precedes nations and that nations do not create states and nationalisms, and that what is right is the opposite (Hobsbawm, 1993, s. 24).

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[14] Smith cited the following sentences for the aforementioned ceremony and symbols: "*These symbols and ceremonies are so much part of the world we live in that we take them, for the most part, for granted. They include the obvious attributes of nations — flags, anthems, parades, coinage, capital cities, oaths, folk costumes, museums of folklore, war memorials, ceremonies of remembrance for the national dead, passports, frontiers — as well as more hidden aspects, such as national recreations, the countryside, popular heroes and heroines, fairy tales, forms of etiquette, styles of architecture, arts and crafts, modes of town planning, legal procedures, educational practices and military codes - all those distinctive customs, mores, styles and ways of acting and feeling that are shared by the members of a community of historical culture."* (Smith A. , 1991, p. 77)

[15] For detailed information on the concept of banal nationalism, see: Billig, M. (2002). *Banal Milliyetçilik* (Türkçe 1. b.). (C. Şişkolar, Çev.) İstanbul: Gelenek Yayıncılık.

Ernest Gellner, who inspired many studies in the field of nationalism, argues that nationalism is “a political principle that essentially predicts the coincidence of the political unit with the national unit.” (Gellner, 1983, p. 1). According to Gellner, the nationalist emotion stems from either the anger that occurs if this principle is broken, or the satisfaction that will arise if this principle is realized. Nationalist movements take action from these feelings. In addition, Gellner has uncovered the possibilities that the practice of nationalist principles may not cause very peaceful results.

He argued that the emergence of nationalism historically was in the modern period and that nationalism could not be found in the pre-modern period. As we have mentioned while defining the nation, Gellner stated that the 'high cultures' that emerged with industrialization also caused nationalism and nationalism gave birth to nations (Gellner, 1983). Gellner, which we can consider as a modernist, accepts that nationalism is an artificial phenomenon belonging to the modern age and also suggests that nationalism is the creation of an anonymous society made up of interchangeable individuals. Nationalism selectively transforms one of the pre-existing cultures and takes advantage of its cultural wealth. According to Gellner, the cultural pieces that are used here are “mostly constructed historical inventions.”

As we have mentioned while discussing the debates about the definition of the nation, Benedict Anderson, who criticizes Gellner's understanding of inventions, states that nationalism is not a fake and fabricated invention, it is "imagined" and "created" (Anderson, 2006). According to Anderson, nationalism emerged in the eighteenth century and then began to spread in different societies and geographies. According to this view, the weakening of religion and dynasties has been extremely effective in the emergence and rapid progress of nationalism (Anderson, 2006). The reason for not having reached a clear and generally accepted definition of the concept of nationalism since its birth is because, according to Anderson, nationalism is considered as an ideology. However, nationalism is not a phenomenon that related with a political ideology that is consciously adopted, but a phenomenon that must be associated with the broad cultural systems that preceded it. In addition, nationalism should be handled with facts such as religion and kinship rather than an ideology. In this respect, the views of Mehmet İzzet Bey are actually close to those of Anderson[16].

[16] Mehmet İzzet Bey's understanding of nationalism will be discussed later in the study.

Ziya Gökalp, the leading name of the Turkish thought literature on nationalism, adopts an understanding of nationalism "based on unity in language, sharing in culture and religion" by evaluating nationalism in the form of cultural nationalism. Gökalp opposes ethnic nationalism and the understanding of race-based nation, arguing that nationalism is transferred not through inheritance but through education and culture. In addition to all these, it emphasizes the action aspect rather than the theoretical aspect of nationalism. He regarded nationalism as a dynamic 'social reality' rather than a theoretical vision. Nationalism according to Gökalp, as the discussions about whether nationalism is an idea or an action, as will be mentioned in the following sections of the study, in more detail:

> *"It means that the individual shows respect, love and loyalty to the existence, unity, culture, language, history, belief of the nation to which he belongs, and for this purpose, the individual is ready for all services and sacrifices for the nation's present and future. Nationalism is a work of consciousness, faith, perseverance, determination and honesty. In this respect, it should not be confused with those who are truly nationalists, and the spectacular types that seem nationalist just for their political, social and economic interests. (Göçgün, 2011)"*

Gökalp's idea of nationalism is more clearly understood in his work called "Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak". Gökalp, contrary to Yusuf Akçura, does not see nationality, religion and civilization as identities that can be separable or should be preferred interchangeably. On the contrary, as we can understand from the expressions "I am from the Turkish nation, the Islamic community, the Western civilization" (Gökalp, 1968, p. 61), he accepts that these identities can be used together.

Yusuf Akçura, who is the author of *"Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (*Three Ways of Politics*)" articles and discusses the concepts of Ottomanism, Turkism and Islamism, advocates that one of these understandings should be preferred. He conducts inquiries about which of these views would be most beneficial to carry out. The place of religion in Akçura's understanding of nationalism is not as critical and important as in Gökalp. Because Akçura did not express a clear view about the position of religion in nationalist thought and reflected his hesitations in his articles.

"What is Nationalism and is it necessary?" "How did nationalism emerge?" and "What are the elements of nationalism? Like as there are different opinions regarding the questions,

also there are different opinions in the answers given to the "When did nationalism come about?" question. On the one hand, the primordialists argue that nationalism has always been present throughout history and since the day of human existence, while on the other hand, modernists argue that nationalism has emerged with new and modern processes as much as capitalism, industrialization and urbanization. Apart from these two approaches, there is also the way ethno-symbolists deal with nationalism. According to them, nationalism is a product of the modern age, but its development is based on a much longer historical process. It would be appropriate to consider these three basic approaches in detail under a separate heading.

2.2. Main Approaches

Despite all the controversy, the world has been undergoing changes under the influence of the phenomenon of nationalism for more than two centuries. Especially in the 21st century, globalization and the relationship between the nation-state have started to be more controversial, while the number of stateless nations in the quest to establish a state has increased while questioning the existence of nation-states. It is extremely necessary and difficult to analyze such an important phenomenon. Many approaches have been put forward to analyze nationalism. In essence, these approaches are looking for the answer of three main questions (Özkırımlı, 2008):

1. How should nationalism be defined? What is Nationalism?
2. When did nationalism emerge? What is its origin?
3. How can nationalism be classified? What are their types?

Approaches can be separated and categorized according to their answers to these questions. According to Özkırımlı, the theories of nationalism can be considered in three categories: (1) Primordialist approach, (2) Modernist approach and (3) Ethno-symbolist approach.

2.2.1. Primordialist Approach

Nations and nationalism, which are considered as the most important actors of the world conjuncture, politics, trade, literature, art, agriculture, industry and all other fields, in short, every field that concerns people, are natural according to the primordialist approach. In addition, nationality and nationalism are innate/given and they are not built and artificially

produced. This is the point that the primordialist approach is based on, but we can say that it is a top category that includes different views and includes fractions. As a matter of fact, Özkırımlı (2008) states that primitivism may be more of a comment and point of view than a theory and furthermore it shows differences within itself. From this point of view, it is possible to consider the primordialist approach as a category of theories rather than a theory. The theories that can be evaluated within the category of the primordialism are "naturalists", "ancientists", "biological primordialists" and "cultural primordialists".

According to the “naturalism” approach, which is the first and most extreme understanding evaluated in the primordialist category, nations and nationalism are based on ethnicity. In addition, our ethnic identities, which indicate these ethnic origins, are part of us that is determined by birth, like our gender and skin color. Naturalists claim that the nation and the ethnic group are not separate, and that each nation has natural boundaries, a certain origin, personality, mission and fate (Özkırımlı, 2008, s. 83). The most extreme of the views of this approach is that there is no one who has adopted this view in recent years, the view that nationalism is the basic feature of humanity at all times.

The "ancientists" who differ from the naturalist approach with a fine line is a theory named by Smith to name approaches that do not have as extreme views as naturalists. According to this view, nations and nationalities are ancient, dating back to ancient times. However, as naturalists claim, nation and nationalism are not a natural part of us. Smith argues that it is not imperative that an approach that claims that nations are ancient is not necessary for nations to accept that they are part of 'natural' order. The ancientists argue that the nation is a community of people united around a common culture, language, history and land, and whatever the 'national essence' they call the essence of the nation will not perish. Although the ancientists had similar views about what the nation was, they have deep discussions among themselves about when the nation appeared[17]. Nations have been around for a long time, but when is the starting point?

Another approach that can be addressed in the primordialist category is “biological primordialism”. This approach adopts a racist approach rather than nationalism. It is argued that in people's relationships with each other, due to instinct of reproductivity, they feel

[17] For examples of these discussions, see: Llobera, J. R. (1996). *The God of Modernity: The Development of Nationalism In Western Europe*. Oxford: Berg Publishers; Hastings, A. (1997). *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Özkırımlı, U. (2008). *Milliyetçilik Kuramları: Eleştirel Bir Bakış*. Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları.

closeness to people of similar ethnic origin, and the blood bond forms the nation. The main factor that helps people get to know each other and helps determine who will feel closeness is culture match. According to this view, people with the same blood bond have similar cultural myths, stories and traditions. From this point, Pierre van den Berghe states that ethnic groups are "super families" and they are the extension of the family (van den Berghe , 1978).

On the other hand, “cultural primordialists”, which are among the primordialist category, deal with the origins of nationalism in a metaphysical way. According to this approach, common religion, language, history or blood ties are not essential in defining ethnic communities and the nation. The main thing is the belief that these are common. So, what is emphasized is that belief is natural, not elements. According to Özkırımlı (2008, s. 91), “this belief gives these items a mystical atmosphere and spiritual significance.”

2.2.2. Modernist Approach

The modernist approach opposes the view that nations and nationalism are a natural part of social life, in contrast to the primordialist approach. Nation and nationalism are new and artificial concepts brought by the modern age. Nations and nationalism, constructed consciously or unconsciously by a certain process or by various actors, are as new as capitalism and industrialization. As can be seen from this sentence, the modernist approach agrees that nations and nationalism emerged and constructed only in modern times. However, there are important differences about how this construction works. New theories have been introduced by highlighting various actors around the basic argument advocated by the modernist approach. Modernists, who met on the common ground that nationalism came before and formed nations, divided into three: some of them brought forward the developments in consciousness / social-cultural area, some emphasized the changes in economic conditions and some brought political transformations to the fore.

One of the modernist theories that tries to explain the formation processes of nationalism and nations by emphasizing social-cultural transformation is Ernest Gellner's theory that can be called "high cultures". Gellner, whose views are generally outlined in the definition of the nation above, prefers to reject the theories he deems unrealistic to explain nationalism. The four theories that Gellner rejected are:

1. The theory that acknowledges that nationalism is natural and occurs spontaneously

2. The theory that evaluates nationalism as a movement of thought
3. “False Consciousness Theory” put forward by Marxism
4. The theory that sees nationalism as a reflection of the dark side of man

After explaining that these theories are illogical, Gellner explains his view. According to Gellner, nationalism is primarily a phenomenon specific to the modern age. By definition, nationalism is “a principle that advocates that the political unit and the national unit should be compatible with each other.” (Gellner, 1983).” The reason for the emergence of nationalism in the modern era is that the conditions that could constitute nationalism and the nation did not occur in the pre-modern ages.

Gellner argues that in the hunter-gatherer phase, which is the first phase of human history, which he thinks consists of three phases, no nation and nationalism can emerge because there is no political and central power. In the second phase, agricultural societies, even though there were central and political structures, social status was certain and the level of power and culture available to everyone was limited. In this phase, culture prevented homogenization in the population by separating castes from each other. From this point of view, he argued that there were no necessary conditions to create an environment for the emergence of nation and nationalism. Finally, in modern-industrial societies, social roles and statuses were uncertain, and statuses were not acquired by birth, but could be obtained later. For this reason, the need for the homogenization of the population increased at this stage, individuals became interchangeable, and everyone could speak a common language. As a result, people have cut off their loyalty to a king or faith they have in the pre-modern period. Nations and nationalism should have replaced this loyalty. “Nations and nationalism were required in this phase.” (Özkırımlı, 2008). Finally, after explaining this process, Gellner defines nationalism as “imposing a 'high culture' on a society that previously had many subcultures” and says that “nationalism creates the nations.” (Gellner, 1983).

One of the leading names in the modernist approach was Benedict Anderson. Like Gellner, Anderson accepts the view that 'nationalism creates nations' and at the same time adopts the view that nations and nationalism are constructed phenomenon. However, Anderson criticizes Gellner at one point. According to him, although nationalism was invented/constructed, there is no fabricated and false inventions as Gellner claims. On the contrary, this invention was related to 'imagination' and 'creation'. Indeed, according to Anderson, “nations are imagined, limited and sovereign political communities” (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). As we have mentioned in the part of the definition of the nation (above) in

Anderson's definition of the nation, nationalism had the opportunity to spread thanks to the capitalist publishing (*print-capitalism*), which caused primarily the formation of unity in the language. Ultimately, with the weakening of religions and dynasties, nationalism and the nation filled this vacant space.

Tom Nairn is one of the modernist thinkers who try to explain nationalism and the birth of nations through developments in economic conditions. He argues that the idea of nationalism and nations emerged from the economic inequalities through the concept of 'uneven development'. Nairn argues that the roots of nationalism should be sought in the unequal-uneven development between the periphery and the central countries arising from the capitalist economy. In summary, according to Nairn, nationalism is a phenomenon that arises due to the order brought by the modern capitalist order, but it is not the product of industrialization and urbanization, as other modernists claim.

Critical names such as John Breuilly and Eric J. Hobsbawm appear in the view that emphasizes that nationalism and nations are products of political transformation as much as modern. In his work “Nationalism and the State”, Breuilly considered nationalism as “a form of politics" and defined it as "political movements that aim to seize or use state power and try to make it legitimate based on nationalist claims.” According to Breuilly, one of the three functions of nationalism is legitimacy. He claimed that other functions are 'cooperation' and 'mobilization'. On the other hand, he thinks that nationalism should be examined, and nationalisms should be categorized and analyzed comparatively. Indeed, in this work, he divides nationalisms into categories by following this method. As will be seen in more detail in the next section where we will deal with the types of nationalism, Breuilly is a thinker that makes important contributions in this field.

According to Hobsbawm, nationalism is a phenomenon that product of "social engineering". In his own words, as a result of the continuous repetition of 'invented traditions', these traditions are internalized by the society and there is a sense of continuity between the past and the present (Hobsbawm, 1992). Hobsbawm adopts an approach that argues that nationalism emerged before the nations, and nationalism creates nations, not the opposite. In addition, he makes an instrumentalist statement by mentioning the existence of actors who use nationalism as a means of creating a nation. The elite, who were afraid that the crowded masses would join the political arena by breaking the existing order, aimed at consolidating the peoples by using the nationalism tool. Invented traditions -nation is the most concrete example of it, according to Hobsbawm - that form a link between the past and

the present and the future will provide the necessary consolidation and ensure the continuation of the current order.

As a result, although there are perspectives that view the importance of political, economic and cultural changes differently, what modernists advocate is the idea that nationalism is an artificial phenomenon and exists before nations. When considered as a critique of the primordialist approach, the arguments of the modernist thinkers have refuted the primordialist approach to such an extent that almost no one can defend it. However, harsh criticism has been made by ethno-symbolists to the approaches proposed by modernist thinkers.

2.2.3. Ethno-Symbolist Approach

Ethno-symbolist approach, which emerged as a reaction and critical view to modernist theories, emphasizes the influence of spiritual phenomenon such as collective memories, ethnic cultures, symbols, myths and sacred items on nationalism. He argues that modernists are unable to grasp the importance of these spiritual phenomenon and cannot adequately explain their influence on nationalism. According to Smith (1996), ethno-symbolist thought is approach and perspective, not a theory. Although it is not yet a theory, it makes important contributions to three issues and enables us to understand nationalism:

1. "It allows us to understand which peoples will initiate a nationalist movement when sufficient conditions arise and how these movements will emerge."
2. It helps us to understand the effect of myths, sacred and collective memories, symbols that materialist and modernist approaches cannot explain. It helps us to understand the power of education in the same language, of the television channel in the mother tongue, of the worshiping in the same direction or having the own court, school or media.
3. On the mobilization of the masses, the intelligentsia can politicize by manipulating society. But "why does the people respond to this call?" It is not possible to explain this only with materialist interests. At this point, the ethno-symbolist approach ensures that the process is illuminated.

One of the leading names in the ethno-symbolist approach is John Armstrong. Armstrong is a thinker who advocates against the view that "nationalism is before the nations", which is the claim of modernists. Even the name of the book he wrote in 1982 is a

direct criticism of the modernist approach: Nations Before Nationalism. Although he argues that nations precede nationalism, he claims that nations are not eternal structures as the primordialists claims, and that they have been "invented" at some point in history. In fact, the main point of Armstrong's conflicted with modernists is the date of the emergence of nations. The main point from which the primordialists differ is both the date of emergence of nations and the way they were formed.

Looking for the origins of nations in ethnic groups, Armstrong emphasizes ethnic consciousness, symbols and myths that make ethnic groups different from each other. This consciousness, symbols, and myths are rooted and permanent to last for centuries. According to Armstrong, the factors that provide this deep-rooted existence are (1) lifestyle, (2) religion, (3) form of organization and (4) language (Armstrong, 1982). The author, who comprehensively addresses these factors with his examples, states that one of the most important things to raise awareness of an ethnic group is “discovering differences”.

2.3. Types of Nationalism

Nationalism, as we mentioned earlier, takes the color of the context in which it resembles a chameleon according to Smith (1994, p. 129). Hans Kohn, who has done considerable work in the field of nationalism, says that nationalism can occur in many different kinds and forms, like religion (Kohn, 1965, s. 4). We have mentioned that new versions of nationalism can emerge according to time, place and conditions. In this part of the study, we will mention the main types of nationalism that have emerged to date.

First of all, evaluating the approach that classifies nationalism as "good nationalism" and "bad nationalism" will facilitate our examination of other types. Nationalism can be called bad when it is practiced by the 'other' and can often be identified with terrorism, separatism or betrayal in today's world. Nationalism can be called bad when it is practiced by the 'other' and can often be identified with terrorism, separatism or betrayal in today's world. On the other hand, nationalism carried out by nation-states is seen as a 'bad' nationalism, according to the understanding of 'others'. In short, whether nationalism is good or bad is entirely subjective and biased. Therefore, it cannot be right to categorize nationalism as “good nationalism” or “bad nationalism” (Nairn, 2003).

Although there are many typologies and categories about nationalism, we will be content to convey the best known. First of all, Anthony Smith treats nationalism as two types

-as we mentioned above: 'territorial/land-based' and 'ethnic' nationalism. He also divides these types into two, nationalism that emerged 'before independence' and 'after independence'. He emphasizes that these two types are opposite approaches.

Another classification mentioned above was made by John Breuilly. According to this classification, nationalist movements are divided into three according to their aims and then into two according to the type of organization they oppose. As can be seen in the table below, Breuilly considered the aim of nationalism as three types: "separation", "reform" and "unification". He divided nationalism into two: 'against the nation-state' or 'against non-nation-state'.

Type* / Aim*	Opposed to non- nation-states	Opposed to nation states
Separation	Magyar, Greek, Nigerian	Basque, Ibo
Reform	Turkish, Japanese	Fascism, Nazism
Unification	German, Italian	Arabs, Pan-African
Type and Purpose expressions are not included in the original table. These statements have been added to make the table more understandable.		

Table 2.1 An example of Breuilly's nationalism typologies and categories.

In addition, nationalism may differ when it is in a relationship with ideologies. "It has also been associated with almost all the major ideological traditions." (Heywood, 2013, s. 164). For example, Approaches such as liberal nationalism, Marxist nationalism, conservative nationalism, imperialist nationalism, anti-imperialist nationalism and anti-colonial nationalism have adopted quite different methods.

To summarize these approaches, it will be sufficient to consider liberal and conservative types of nationalism. Because it can be said that Mehmet İzzet Bey's understanding of nationalism is at a point between liberal-conservative nationalism.

According to liberal nationalism, "every nation should have the right to self-determination". Liberal nationalism can be seen as a universalist understanding of nationalism, which advocates that all nations should be equal (Heywood, 2017, s. 157). It is

a very similar understanding with the humanitarian nationalist approach of İzzet Bey, which we will see in the next chapters.

Conservative nationalism, on the other hand, gives importance to national patriotism and public order, as opposed to liberal nationalism. Conservative nationalism, which clearly shows a critical attitude towards globalization, is based on the perception that the nation faces internal and external threats (Heywood, 2017, s. 159).

2.4. Historical Development of Nationalism

Nationalism is a highly controversial phenomenon in terms of historical development as well as in other subjects. Kedourie stated that nationalism was invented in Europe in the early 19th century (Kedourie, 1961). In contrast, Hans Kohn argued that nationalism emerged in Western Europe in the 18th century, and spread to the entire Europe in the 19th century (Kohn, 1965, s. 4). Contrary to these two approaches, the advocates of the primordialist approach, which we explained in detail above, claim that nationalism has existed throughout history. The important point to be noted at this point is that the date of the emergence of nationalism has not been clearly revealed. Some of the studies claim that nationalism explains the historical development by taking the historical development of the West. However, nationalism does not occur in the same way everywhere and all the time. Because nationalism "is determined by the political ideas and social structure of the various lands that it takes root because it is a historical phenomenon." (Kohn, 1965, s. 4). For this reason, a comparative historical analysis should be done to understand nationalism. As it will be almost impossible to examine and compare all the communities in the world, it is not possible to reach a definitive judgment. However, if we consider it as a hypothesis, it can be said that, apart from the primordialists, mostly nationalism is a phenomenon that emerged in the 18th century and later. It can also be argued that the 1789 French Revolution was symbolically addressed as the birth date of nationalism.

Tom Nairn (2003), one of the modernist thinkers who argues that nationalism emerged with or as a product of these developments, such as industrialization, capitalism and urbanization, explains nationalism as a historical-social result of capitalism. He states that nationalism has spread all over the world due to the "uneven development" of the states and nations in the post-capitalist process.

Another modernist thinker who consider nationalism as a social engineering and introduces the concept of 'invented traditions', Eric Hobsbawm claims that nationalism is a phenomenon that emerged as a result of the political transformations in the 18th century - as can be understood from the title of his work: "Nations and Nationalism since 1780". However, Hobsbawm showed a great interest in this period by stating that many traditions were invented during the period from 1870 to World War I and that many nations were created in America and Europe during these periods (Hobsbawm, 1992). The author, who examines the development of nationalism in three periods, considers the period between the French Revolution and the end of the First World War as the birth and formation period of nationalism. He describes the subsequent process as the period when nationalism reached the 'peak', since 'anti-fascist' movements gained speed until 1950. Finally, he claims that during the period from 1950 until 1990 when he wrote his work, nationalist movements mostly came to the fore with their separatist and factionist aspects (Hobsbawm, 1993).

Ernest Gellner also examined the historical development of nationalism by considering the history of humanity over three periods. According to the author, nationalism is a phenomenon that is not in much of human history and can only occur in modern industrialized societies and in environments with political authorities (Gellner, 1983). After stating this important point, we can summarize Gellner's explanation about the emergence of nationalism over three periods. People first started living in hunter-gatherer societies, but since there was no political authority in such societies, it was not possible to see any nationalism. Secondly, Gellner deals with agricultural societies, mentions that the masses do not have the means to enable the emergence of nationalism because the social classes are clearly defined in these societies. Third, and lastly, he argues that developments have occurred in modern-industrialized societies that will enable the emergence of nationalism. According to Gellner, social roles have become accessible to everyone in this period, and their loyalty to 'a high culture' has been replaced by people's loyalty to the king, the land or faith. This high culture has been carefully promoted and protected by the state apparatus and has become the source of legitimacy. On the other hand, nationalism has created an anonymous society, consisting of individuals who can replace each other in industrial societies. Gellner states that there are five phases in the transition from the second period to the third period. These stages are 'beginner', 'expansionist nationalism', 'victory and self-destruction of national expansionist nationalism', 'night and fog (nacht und nebel)', and

finally 'decrease in the intensity of ethnic emotions' where nationalism has reached saturation point but not disappeared (Gellner, 1996).

Benedict Anderson, who treats nation and nationalism as artificial cultural productions, argues that nationalism "emerged at the intersection of developments that did not relate to each other in the late 18th century." (Anderson, 2006). He states that after religion and dynasties have lost their influence, nationalism has found a ground for development, and as a result of the developments in the printing house, it has been rapidly 'copying and spreading' to different geographies.

In general terms, it is seen that the historical development of nationalism has a structure that focuses on Europe in the eighteenth century. However, even though the opinions of the thinkers we are trying to convey are based on examples, they are mostly opinions that address the development of nationalism in theory. Although it has been suggested that nationalism emerged in different parts of the world at different times, it will be accepted in this study that nationalism is based on 18th century Europe. Because the idea of nationalism that spread from Europe has influenced the geography where Mehmet İzzet Bey -thinker that forms the main theme of the study- lives. In order to better understand the understanding of nationalism of Mehmet İzzet Bey, it is very important to consider the historical development of nationalism in his geography, so we will consider the development of the idea of 'Nationalism from the Ottoman to the Republic' in the next chapter.

3. THE IDEAL OR ACTION: NATIONALISM FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

Mehmet İzzet Bey started publication in the late Ottoman period and witnessed the beginning years of the Republican period. In this respect, in order to fully understand Mehmet İzzet Bey, it is necessary to grasp the understanding of nationalism during his time. Because even though Mehmet İzzet Bey is not known much by the nationalists of today, he has been a very discussed thinker with his ideas and works during his life.

In this part of the study, the idea of nationalism from the Ottoman to the first years of the Turkish Republic will be discussed chronologically. First, in order to understand the intellectual environment in which Mehmet İzzet Bey was born in 1891, the concept of nationalism of the period will be addressed through the "*The New Ottomans Community (Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti)*", which started operating in the 1860s. Then, the period when the views of Mehmet İzzet Bey were shaped and started his publication, the period when the Young Turks and the Unionists (*İttihatçılar*) were strong will be discussed. Thirdly, Kemalist understanding of nationalism that was prevail in the period before Mehmet İzzet Bey's death will be emphasized. Ultimately, the idealist (*intellectual*) approach, in which Mehmet İzzet Bey can be included, will be examined.

In this section, because of the main subject of the study is the process of the evolution of nationalism, historical events will be conveyed briefly. In addition, since thoughts such as Ottomanism, Islamism and Westernism do not constitute the main theme of the study, it will be mentioned in short without examining in detail. In the first place, how nationalism moves from "ummah (*ümmet*)" thought to "homeland (*vatan*)" thought will be discussed. Then, the process of transformation of "homeland" based nationalism to a "race[18]" based understanding will be analyzed. In the next part, we will consider the conversion of the concept of nationalism built on "race" into "Kemalist nationalism" which is a "nation-state ideology". In the last part, the issue of "philosophical and idealist (*intellectual*)" nationalism, which has existed throughout this historical flow but continues to exist without being prominent, will be emphasized.

[18] An important footnote is attached to the title of the related section. See. 3.2

3.1. From Ummah Nationalism to Homeland Nationalism: *The New Ottomans*

The New Ottomans Society, which was founded shortly before the birth of Mehmet İzzet Bey, who was born in a period when the effects of nationalism was just beginning to be felt in the Ottoman geography, although it is an organized structure, there are few points where they meet intellectually. *The New Ottomans Community* established by members of the *Meslek Community*, who worked in the translation room of the palace but were the focal names of the opposition ideas of that period, after fleeing to Europe, produced analyzes and recommendations on the problematic situation of the Ottoman Empire and the ways of liberation from this situation, and did not refrain from the junta activities. Because *The New Ottomans* became a junta consisting of statesmen, military leaders and ulema (Mardin, 2008, s. 33). When we look at the position of *The New Ottomans Community* in the spectrum of the development of Turkish nationalism in general, it is seen that the transition from Ummah nationalism to homeland nationalism is at the breaking point.

The intellectual, who was disturbed by pressure, economic problems, political corruption, and the regulations brought by the Islahat and Tanzimat Edicts, came together in certain places, mansions (*mahfil/konak*) and various public spaces to express their discontent. Especially the reforms brought by the Reform Edict on equality with non-Muslims / foreigners were unacceptable for Turks / Muslims, the ruling nation in the Ottoman Empire (Mardin, 1991). It is clear that the thinkers, activists and scientists who worked to ensure the survival of the Islamic Ummah until that period were very disturbed by this situation. The increasing political, military and economic superiority of the West and the Christian world has revealed the need for the redefinition and reposition among the Ottoman intellectuals.

Although *the New Ottomans* were trying to define a new definition by staying in the traditional context, they could not completely escape the influence of modernization. They attribute the bad political situation of the state to "the absence of parliament and the constitution". On the other hand, they believed that "Mehmed Emin Âli and Fuad Pashas makes benefits available the state economically to the Europeans", and considered them as the biggest obstacles to their targets. According to Şerif Mardin, *the New Ottomans*, who argued that some of the political institutions of Europe and some fundamental rights arising from natural law should be taken, were fiercely objected to the imitation of Europe culturally

(Mardin, 1991). Because the basic principles of what Europe called ‘political democracy’ at that time were already present in Islam, according to t*he New Ottomans*.

In an environment where these political issues are experienced, an ideological awareness period has been experienced in order to take the technical development of Europe but to avoid its cultural imitation. *The New Ottomans*, supported by important statesmen such as Midhat Pasha and Mustafa Fazıl Pasha, made publications in order to mobilize the public in a massive way through the newspapers led by names such as Ali Suavi, Namık Kemal and Şinasi. “According to people such as Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha, and Ali Suavi, the Ottomans had passively resisted the politics of the European great states in the Tanzimat years until then. By overcoming this, it was necessary to put the country's people and especially the Muslim people, who could be trusted in them, into a resistance movement.” (Mardin, 1991).

One of the important contributions of *The New Ottomans* to the development of nationalism is that the works published in Europe are translated and published in newspapers in a way that the masses can reach. The reading of articles written on the fundamental rights and freedoms of Western thinkers and discussions on the political order in the West has had serious effects on the people's thoughts about the current order. *The New Ottomans* aimed to gather supporters through these publications and to displace their grand vizier (*sadrazam*) and government, which they saw as the basis of the country's problems, with a great demonstration. Believing that the Constitutional and parliamentary regime would save the state, homeland and nation, *The New Ottomans* conveyed their ideas to the masses, while actually contributing to the common language of the masses. In this way, they prepared the opportunity for the masses to share similar views, to feel common feelings and to make them suffer the same problems.

Ottoman intellectuals searched for the backwardness of the state against the West and put forward different opinions on the solutions. In the period up to Tanzimat – especially in the 17th and 18th centuries – the reform recommendations that were put forward refer to the tradition, while *The New Ottomans* took the West as a reference to the tradition (Mardin, 1962). Over time, there have been shifts in the views adopted by intellectuals and the social movement based on "ummah" and mass consciousness have turned into a "homeland" based nationalism.

Namık Kemal is the most visible representative of the transition from "ummah" nationalism to "homeland" nationalism. The idea of "each nation having its own state" that started to spread from the West posed a great danger for multinational states such as the Ottomans. In the face of such a situation, Namık Kemal put forward opinions on the idea of an understanding based on "homeland" and "patriotism" around the idea of "Ottomanness (*Osmanlılık*)" (Mardin, 1991).

On the other hand, Namık Kemal, who wrote an article titled "Hubbü'l-Vatan Mine'l-Iman[19]" in the first issue of Hürriyet Newspaper published by the New Ottomans, emphasized the duty of "saving the homeland" in many of his works. The concept of homeland, which has gradually become politicized, has become known and adopted by the masses, as well as in the intellectual, with newspaper publications that are open, understandable and widespread.

Namık Kemal, who influenced the public very seriously with his theater works as well as the newspaper, describes the obligations of the Ottomans about his homeland, which he describes as "a divine being whose head, body and feet are on three continents" in his work named "Vatan Yahut Silistre" (Namık Kemal, 1872). According to Namık Kemal, the concept of "homeland", which he sees as a common ground over religion, language and races, is a way of salvation, since the Ummah based (*Ümmetçi*) understanding cannot save the Ottoman Empire.

Namık Kemal's theater work "Vatan Yahut Silistre" contains very striking sentences about the politicization of the concept of "homeland" and the creation of a common "us". For example.

> *"Homeland is the mother of all of us*
> *Feeding everyone with his grace*
> *The enemy stepped on his chest while we were alive*
> *Get up, valiant, to the rescue of the homeland"* [20]

As can be seen in his poetry, the homeland is in danger and is an entity that feeds us with the grace of "all of us." In fact, the term "homeland" mentioned here is a multinational

[19] Homeland love comes from faith.
[20] Cümlemizin vâlidemizdir vatan
Herkesi lütfuyla odur besleyen
Bastı adû göğsüne biz sağ iken
Arş yiğitler vatan imdadına

geography, which is controlled by the armies of the state rather than a national concept (Aydemir, 2006). In a doctoral dissertation on the political discourses of the New Ottomans, Yahya Kemal Taştan (2010, s. 488) states the main important point to be noted here: "*Sacrifice and the desire to mobilize society are hidden in the word 'all of us', which is actually the first word. When the society united under threat gets rid of this threat, it will create a new identity around its mother who feed her with her grace.*" Taştan associated the situation mentioned here with Ernest Renan's theory on remembering and forgetting the common pain and joys of the past.

The concept of "the other", as well as the concept of "we/us", which Namık Kemal emphasized, was a major factor in the politicization of the concept of homeland. The fact that the Ottoman domestic trade and foreign trade was seized by foreigners with the concessions and that the Turks, who are the main element of the state (*millet-i hakime*), were away from art, science, ingenuity, trade and crafts created a deep discomfort. Mustafa Fazıl Pasha, Namık Kemal, Şinasi and many other names have criticized this situation through *arizas*[21], newspapers and literary works.

Criticisms made sparked the polarization between the people and the distinction of "we" - "other". The idea that the principle of equality (*müsavat*) that comes with Tanzimat brings an unjust and unfair attitude in practice has triggered the idea that the country should be protected not only in its territory, but also in political, economic and social areas. According to Namık Kemal, "If there is a privileged group in a country, unprivileged groups cannot compete with it. Indeed, the supernumerary and deficient can never be equal.[22]" (Namık Kemal, 1868). *The New Ottomans*, which established an opposition on national economic mobilization, were the first intellectual group to oppose in this sense (Mardin, 1990, s. 67). Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, a conservative reformer, is on the opposite side of these economic debates.

The New Ottomans had strong reactions not only economically but also politically from important names such as Ahmed Cevdet Pasha. Cevdet Pasha, who thinks that bringing the love of the country to the fore rather than the love of religion will weaken the state and the army, thinks that the consciousness of the homeland will take a lot of time and the army will lose its soul in the course of time (Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, 1980). As can be understood

[21] Letters and evaluations submitted to the Sultan.
[22] Bir memlekette imtiyâzlı bir fırka oldukça imtiyâzsız fırkalar onunla rekâbet edemez. Nitekim hiçbir vakit zâ'id nâkısla müsâvî olamaz.

from here, the change of understanding did not occur suddenly, but in a certain process, despite the opponents.

Most of *The New Ottomans*, who carried out most of their activities from Europe, returned to Istanbul with the abolition of Sultan Abdülaziz and the throne of V. Murad, who was also the friend of the society, and aimed to continue their activities there. Following the short reign of V. Murad, the second Abdülhamid was ascended to throne with the promise of constitutional monarchy and declared the constitutional monarchy, the biggest target of *The New Ottomans*. Mithat Pasha, who is seen as the leader of the opposition, was appointed as the Grand Vizier and parliamentary work was started. However, this victory was also very short-lived, Mithat Pasha was exiled in 1877 and then the parliament was vacationed because of the 1877-78 Ottoman-Russia War. After these events, *The New Ottomans* were dispersed and resolved.

The New Ottomans worked with an understanding that knew the culture and language of the West but did not break with tradition. It is seen that the New Ottomans, both the idea (*mefkûre*) and the action side, used the ideas (*mefkûre*) as a tool to access the action. Although they were aiming to achieve their goals, they lighted the fuse of the concepts that were the basis of nationalism in Ottoman society with the ideas they put forward. Although they dissolved as a community, they played an important role in the establishment and development of political opposition organizations that formed after them.

3.2. From Homeland Nationalism to Race Nationalism: Young Turks[23]

The people, especially young people, who were affected by the West in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, started to express their discomfort from the current government system. Opposing views, which previously referred to ancient traditions and laws, began to

[23] Before entering the conceptual discussions on the concept of race here, it should be noted that Niyazi Berkes' view on this issue was adopted in this study. The concept of "race", which we mainly use in this section, corresponds to the idea of "Turkishness" and its nationality. Although the word "*ırk*" is used today as equivalent to the concept of "race" and even if it is controversial whether "Turkishness" is a "race", the thinkers of that period also used the concept of "race" to express "Turkishness". Even the thinker Mehmet İzzet Bey, who is the subject of the study, evaluated the concept of "race" as an anatomical phenomenon, and considering these evaluations made in the early 1920s, evaluating the conditions of that period will drag this study into an anachronism trap. Niyazi Berkes stated the point to be noted here as follows: “In the years when the term «race» was used, this word had not yet taken its meaning in Ottoman Turkish. There was no such concept in the ancient Ottoman tradition.” (Berkes, 1976)” As can be understood from these statements, the concept of "race" mentioned in this section is essentially equivalent to "*milleyet*", that is, "nationality" and was used with reference to the idea of "Turkishness". Otherwise, the concept of "*ırk*" used in this period has nothing to do with "race".

refer to the slogans "liberty, equality, fraternity" (*Liberté, égalité, fraternité*) that spread in Europe after the French Revolution. However, according to Bernard Lewis, these slogans showed up in the Ottoman Empire as “liberty, equality and nationality” (Lewis, 2015, p. 55).

In this part of the study, it will be chronologically analyzed how the previously mentioned ideas turned from "homeland" nationalism to "race" nationalism in the post-New Ottomans period. It will be evaluated how the transformation that started with the establishment of Ittihad-ı Osmani Community in 1889, transformed until the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

Until the period when the New Ottoman Society was active, the media that the society expressed opinion about politics and the administration of the country were very limited, and with the spread of newspapers, magazines and journals, political issues began to spread to the lower class. The names, which are the pioneers of spreading these ideas to the lower class of the society, had to continue their activities in Europe for a certain period, as mentioned above. The term “Jeune Turces”, which means “Young Turks”, has started to be used in the European media to identify members of *The New Ottomans Community* who fled to France in particular and the opposing personalities who fled to Europe after them. This nomenclature has gradually become a name used for young people and intellectuals who are opposed to the sultan and the current administration, and the phrase “Young Turks” has become a general name.

As in the new Ottomans, even though they could not establish a consensus within themselves, the Young Turks have organized congress to become an institutionalized, and have effort to "organizing the liberation of the homeland and the nation to be free of the sultan". Şerif Mardin states that the Young Turks are devoid of philosophical depth and that even though there are serious debates among them, what keeps them together is "the purpose of saving the state":

> *“A movement that emerged with very idealistic goals, soon became a place that has incredibly intense intrigue, accusation and gossip. (…) Since the Young Turks could not find a secular-philosophical speculation environment in their history, they did not know how to carry out such an idea; more precisely, they were not interested in such types of thinking. Their goals and greatest concerns, the beginning and end of their thoughts, were ‘saving the state.’ (Tunaya). (Mardin, 2008, s. 14-16)”*

It is this purpose that holds the Young Turks together: the way of saving the state is depend on the get around from Abdulhamid and re-establishing the constitutional monarchy and consultancy. Although there were people who adopted opposite methods such as positivist, traditionalist, centralist and decentralist views, being anti-oppressionist (*istibdat karşıtlığı*) motivated the Young Turks to delay these separations for a while. Because, in the article entitled "Young Turk and Armenian" written in the Hak Newspaper published in Egypt in 1900, there is a definition of Young Turk: "What does Young Turk mean? It means having intellectual ideas against the repressive regime.[24]" (Jön Türk ve Ermeni, 1900).

Towards the 1900s, it is seen that the ideas of the people educated in the West affected the Ottoman society. Especially the works of Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha (whose real name is Constatine Borzecki), French orientalist Leon Cahun and a Hungarian scientist named Arminius Vambery had a great impact on Ottoman intellectuals (Lewis, 2015). The thoughts on "Turcology" and "nationality" as well as the ideas of freedom and democracy coming from the West have been especially influential on young people.

The opposition grouping that began among military medicine students a year after the death of Namık Kemal (1888) started to be reorganized in 1889 with the *Ittihad-ı Osmani Community* founded secretly under the leadership of Abdullah Cevdet, İbrahim Temo, İshak Sükûti and Çerkez Mehmed Reşid. Although opposition groups, which gradually diverged from religious references, considered the works of the New Ottomans, they tended to use religion as a tool, not as a basic reference. These medical students, who saw "demolishing religious dogmas" and "biological materialism" as a driving force to move the society forward (Hanioğlu, 1981, p. 21), highlighted the criticism of the political opposition with the concern that spreading these views would move them away from society over time (Hanioğlu, 1981, p. 273).

The members of the Ittihad-ı Osmani Community, who had been secretly administering the community for six years following its establishment and occupied with raising awareness of those who joined the community, were either exiled or fled to Europe after the street demonstrations of the Armenians in 1895. In Europe, the majority of the Young Turks, who disagreed, organized a congress in 1902 with the suggestions of Prince Sabahaddin, who had fled to Egypt at that time. Congress participants were divided into two

[24] "(Jön Türk) ne demektir? İstibdadın aleyhinde bulunan efkâr-ı münevvere sahibi." (Jön Türk ve Ermeni, 1900)

groups between Ahmet Rıza Bey, who supported the centralist view and Prince Sabahaddin, who promoted decentralization and freedom of enterprise. This separation, which will continue in the next period, is actually a clear indication that the Young Turks have no consensus among themselves.

It is possible to find clear traces of the transition from "homeland" nationalism to "race" nationalism. The group, which has the view that if a unity to be formed in the empire should be formed around the Turkish nation, strongly opposed foreign intervention in the activities. The expressions of “The term "*Ottomans*" refers to Turks, Muslims in particular. Because everybody knows that the improvement of the Ottoman government is not dependent on the revolt of a handful of Armenians or Bulgarians, but on the turmoil of the Turks who constitute the main element of the Empire.” in an unsigned article published in Şuray-ı Ümmet newspaper 3 years after the congress is a very clear transformation statement. “What is meant here by the Ottomans is especially Turks and Muslims. Because everybody knows that the reform and improvement of the Ottoman government depends not on a revolt of a handful of Armenians or Bulgars, but on the uprising of the Turks, which constitute the main element of the empire.[25]” (Küstahlık, 1905).

At this point, Şerafeddin Magmumi and his friends have a critical place. Because the Turk Newspaper, which they started to publish in 1903, became the voice of the idea of nationalism. “In this newspaper, the article titled "Three Ways of Politics" published by Akçuraoğlu Yusuf in 1904 was the first voice of the nationality theory among the Turks.” (TDV, 2016). However, harsh criticism of these ideas of Akçura was also published without delay.

The fragmented structure of the Young Turks due to these differences of opinion continued until 1907, and groups such as the Committee of Ottoman Progress and Union (*Osmanlı Terakki ve İttihat Cemiyeti*), The Private Enterprise and Decentralization Society (*Adem-i Merkeziyet ve Teşebbüs-i Şahsi Cemiyeti*), and the Mizancı Murat Group emerged. In 1907, besides these societies, the Armenian Dashnaksutyun Organization reunited against Abdulhamid and organized the Second Young Turk Congress. As a result of the congress,

[25] “Burada Osmanlılardan murad, bilhassa Türkler, İslâmlardır. Zira herkes bilir ki hükümet-i Osmaniye’nin ıslahı bir avuç Ermeni veya Bulgar’ın isyanına değil, unsur-u esasiyi teşkil eden Türklerin kıyamına vabestedir.” (Küstahlık, 1905).

a declaration was issued under the title of "Declaration of the Congress of Ottoman Opposition Groups" and to overthrow Abdulhamid, a call was made to all opponents.

The opponents, who succeeded in the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908, strengthened their powers after the 31 March Incident and turned into a group controlling the government formed after the Hareket Army which came from Thessaloniki suppressed the rebellion. However, the opponents, who are not quite prepared for what to do after the military coup and have deep differences of opinion, were divided into many factions, mainly the İttihatçılar and the İtilafçılar. The Committee of Union and Progress (ITC), which successfully passed the elections in 1908 and gained political power, turned into a political party and led the country's administration. The ITC period continued intermittently and turbulently until the committee dissolved itself after the thrashing and fiascos in 1918.

The transformation of the nationalist thought was very fast during the periods when the ITC was in power. Because at that time, “The losses in Albania, Yemen, Libya and Balkan fronts (...) were forced Turks, to revise the Ottomanism and decentralization policies.” (Ahmad, 1999, p. 165). The armed and political struggles of the Bulgarians, Greeks and Arabs to leave the empire were sufficient to form "the other" necessary for the transition to "racial" nationalism. As of 1906, the ITC has adopted “transforming the Ottoman Empire into a nation state around the Turkish ethnicity” as its 'secret' program (Yıldız, 2001, s. 73). In the words of Feroz Ahmad, it is possible to see the ITC-guided government period established by the Grand Vizier Sait Halim Pasha as “the period when the seeds of Turkish nationalism were laid.” (Ahmad, 1999, p. 170).

During the ITC period, Ottoman nationalism based on equal rights and constitutionalism and the understanding of homeland-based nationalism gradually turned into "Turkish" nationalism and nation-based nationalism (Hanioğlu, 1986, s. 72). In this transformation, the effect of the losing Ottoman lands in Rumelia was enormous. Because it is the Rumelia region that gave the Ottoman Empire its multi-nationality (Ahmad, 1999, p. 186). These land losses, which caused the ITC to begin to focus on Anatolia, also accelerated ideological and political transformations. The nationalist attitudes and uprisings of the Albanians, who had served in the important positions of the empire for many years, surprised the Turks and pushed them to think more nationalist (Ahmad, 1999, p. 188). The emphasis on "Turkishness", which was expressed more cautiously in the previous periods, started to come to the fore with the separation of other nations on the territory of the empire (Çalen,

2016, s. 261). Indeed, the emphasis of this "Turkish nation" expression was perceived as a necessity (Tunaya, 1999, s. 109).

This understanding of nationalism, which developed in line with the policies of Enver, Talat and Cemal Pashas in political and military fields, has also developed significantly in philosophical and literary fields. However, these developments realized in the intellectual freedom environment that occurred when the ITC government did not turned into a more severe repression regime than Abdulhamid II regime yet (Lewis, 2015, p. 212). The longing for freedom of thought and expression, which was accumulated due to the intense censorship applied during the reign of Abdulhamid II, has appeared on as a big explosion after the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. During this period, philosophical, social, religious, economic and political intellectual discussions that had the opportunity to develop reached the public in a short time through newspapers, magazines and books. On the other hand, associations and societies have started to be established and “cultural and 'less political' Pan-Turkist activities have gained momentum with a lively newspaper and magazine literature and a network of Turkic groups.” (Lewis, 2015, p. 347).

Starting from 1908, the Turkish Association (*Türk Derneği*) (1908), the *Türk Yurdu* (1911) and the *Türk Ocağı* (1912) were established respectively. These organizations started to publish literary publications, especially magazines, and organize conferences. The nationalist line gradually strengthened through these institutions. Prominent thinkers of that period such as Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, İsmail Gasprinski (Gaspıralı), Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul), Necip Asım Efendi, Rıza Tevfik (Bölükbaşı), Mehmet Ziya Bey (Gökalp) and many others wrote articles and organized conferences within these associations. As stated above, the view that the emancipation of the country and the state will be not through the concepts of Ottomanness and homeland but directly through the concept of "Turkishness" began to be seen as an undeniable situation in this period.

The works published in this period should be examined to see the intensification of studies on Turkishness and the emergence of a nation and nationality concept based on the concept of "race". However, since it is not possible to include the ideas of all thinkers and important figures who have produced works and ideas in this period, it is necessary to include only the ideas of the most important ones.

The definition of the nation that Akçura made during this period is important in terms of seeing that the "race" element has become a basic element for nationalism. According to

Akçura, the elements that make up the nation are race and language. In describing the nation, he defined it as “a human society whose unity and solidarity occurred in his social conscience due to the essential unity of race and language.” (Akçura, 1978, s. 35).

Although they have carried out studies under the same roof, Akçura and Gökalp, who have different thoughts with each other, the main point of their discussion is "race"[26]. While Akçura regards the race as an essential element of the nation, Gökalp argues that the nation is a “cultural union consisting of individuals whose language is common, that is, the individuals who have received the same education, rather than being a community based on geography, race or political issues.” (Gökalp, 1923). Also referring to the concept of race as an anatomical concept, Gökalp first tried to explain "what the nation is not" to understand what the nation is.

There is no doubt that the persecution of Muslim Turks in Russia and the anti-imperialist Islamic Union theses of Cemaleddin Efgani are as important as the ideas of Western thinkers in nationalist thinkers stepping into debates in the "race-based" world of thought.

Ottoman writers, who closely followed the persecutions in Russia, “carefully followed the efforts of the Russians to conquer the Russian Turks in terms of culture and recommended that the same methods be used to ensure the invariance of the Ottoman Empire.” (Mardin, 2008, s. 168). In addition, names such as İsmail Gasprinski (Gaspıralı), Ağaoğlu Ahmet (Agayev) and Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, who were actively struggled against that persecution in Russia, have important effects on the rise of the Turkism movement.

These names both turned towards Turkish nationalism with the influence of the events in Russia, and they became more determined in the direction they were influenced by the views of Cemalleddin Efgani. “The role played by Cemaleddin in shaping the Turkism movement that influenced the Young Turks after 1900, if not the Young Turk movement, is obvious.” (Mardin, 2008, s. 68). The following sentences are included at the bottom of a portrait of Cemaleddin Efganî, which the Türk Yurdu magazine gifted its readers on the occasion of the third year of its establishment (Hanioğlu, 1981, p. 155): *The late Sheikh Cemaleddin Efgani, a fierce supporter of race and nationality ideas, working for the*

[26] For the differences of opinions between Gökalp and Akçura see. Berkes, N. (1976). Unutulan Adam. *Sosyoloji Konferansları XIV* (s. 194). İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları.

awakening and rising of the entire Muslim world.[27]*"* (Türk Yurdu, 1914). Among those who were most affected by Efgani's ideas, there were names such as Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul) Bey (Mardin, 2008, s. 68) and Abdullah Cevdet, (Hanioğlu, 1981, p. 151) as well as the New Ottomans.

Speaking of the influence of Cemaleddin Efgani, who was in close contact with the new Ottomans, it would be worth mentioning the Turkish poetry book written by Mehmet Emin Bey in 1897, who was seriously affected by Efgani. Because, Mehmet Emin Bey took pride of use of the term "Turkish", which was used to describe peasants and ignorant people who were contemned and despised in the daily language until that day (Lewis, 2015, p. 341; Yıldız, 2001). Turks, the dominant nation of the multinational empire, have been reluctant to focus on "Turkishness" for a long time because they were afraid to activate the nationalist feelings of other nations (Yıldız, 2001, s. 65). However, Mehmet Emin Bey radically used the following expressions in his poem entitled "*Cenge Giderken*[28]":

"I am a Turk, my religion, my kind is great.
My chest and my essence are filled with fire.
The human is the servant of his homeland.
Turkish man does not stay at home, I go [29] *(Yurdakul, 1897)."*

Although he used Turkish in a way that identified with Islam, he contributed greatly to Turkish nationalism, which became secular in the following periods and shifted more to the "race" basis.

Another name influenced by Efgani's ideas is Doctor Abdullah Cevdet, as we mentioned above (Hanioğlu, 1981, p. 151). Abdullah Cevdet has long explained his imaginations about the dream of a secular and modern/western state in his article titled "*Pek Derin Bir Uyku*[30]" published in İçtihat journal in 1912. (Hanioğlu, 1981; Lewis, 2015; Yıldız, 2001). In this article, he listed the things to be done to establish a modern and secular country in 18 articles. In summary, a new social, political, economic and even military arrangements are proposed in this text. Many issues were touched upon, from women's

[27] Bütün Müslüman âleminin uyanmasına ve yükselmesine çalışan, ırk ve milliyet fikirlerinin şiddetli bir taraftarı olan merhum Şeyh Cemaleddin Efgani. (Türk Yurdu, 1914)
[28] While Going to the War
[29] Ben bir Türk' üm dinim, cinsim uludur.
Sinem, özüm ateş ile doludur
İnsan olan vatanının kuludur
Türk evlâdı evde durmaz, giderim
[30] A Very Deep Sleep

clothing to the shaving of the soldier; from the political functioning of the government and the parliament to the closure of dervish lodges and Islamic monasteries; from the simplification of the Ottoman language and its manifestation as a separate language to the translation of the Qur'an and hadiths. Although these thoughts were considered to be quite radical at the time of their writing, it seems that they formed a clear outline of the revolutions made in the Republic of Turkey ten years later (Hanioğlu, 1981, p. 383). It can be said that Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, who especially touched on the simplification of the language and increasing the level of public understanding, actually contributed to the formation of a common language in the nation-building process.

Abdullah Cevdet, who also offered suggestions for the acceptance of Latin letters in his articles in İçtihat Journal, thought that “Turkish language should be used as a common language by all nations and ethnic groups within the borders of the Empire.” (Hanioğlu, 1981, p. 228). Despite his criticism toward the Unionists (*İttihatçılar*), they met at a common point about the dissemination of Turkish language.

Especially in the period when the Committee of Union and Progress reinforced its strength in power and started to carry out its activities for the "secret" agenda, which we mentioned earlier, there are some steps such as making compulsory to learn Turkish across the country, establishing many new institutions with the word "national". It is in these periods that nationalist attitudes based on secular and "race" are encountered.

From 1908 to 1916, the ITC carried out its activities on this "secret" agenda in an implicit and slily manner, as it could not achieve its strength in power and could not find the necessary political and social environment. At the congresses held in 1913 and 1916, the Turkist side of the Committee began to emerge (Yıldız, 2001, s. 75-76). In particular, after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, the dream of pan-Turkism, which has been revived regarding the Turkish presence in Asia, has been the clearest indication of the Turkist side of the ITC (Yıldız, 2001, s. 76).

Although there are various opinions, it is possible to say that an understanding of nationalism based on the "Turkish" race shaped the conditions of this period and left its mark on the next period. It is for this reason that the period when the Young Turks and the Union and Progress dominated coincided with the transition from "homeland" nationalism to "race" nationalism. The views put forward during this period support the basis of the idea of nationalism, which would later turn into a nation-state ideology (Tunaya, 1999, s. 107).

After the Enver, Talat and Cemal Pashas left the country after the Mudros (*Mondros*) Armistice, the government founded by Hürriyet and İtilaf Fırkası started a witch hunt against both the nationalist movement in Anatolia and the Unionists (*İttihatçılar*) (Yıldız, 2001). However, Turkish nationalism developing in Anatolia declared its victory by establishing a new nation-state based on a republican principle. Later on, this nationalist approach became an official ideology by adopting a "Kemalist" structure. Again, according to Yıldız, “The legacy of the Unionists' Turkism was inherited in the spirit of the Turkish nationality (*kuvay-ı milliye ruhu*) in Anatolia. The ideal of creating a national community that boasts of being Turkish is the core of the legacy of Kemalist nationalism, which limits itself to Anatolian geography, from the Union and Progress.” (Yıldız, 2001, s. 86)

3.3. Transition to Nation-State Ideology: Kemalist Nationalism

The wars, losses and defeats experienced during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire created a serious despair and frustration in the society. After the First World War, the desire to get rid of this predicament emerged in cities outside the capital, especially in Anatolia, and a new liberation movement emerged. After the Mondros Armistice, the incapacity of the Istanbul government has created a serious uneasiness in the society as well as individuals working at various levels of the state and the army. This uneasiness opened the way to a national resistance and then to the establishment of a national state in the process.

The idea of nationalism, which initially began to form on the basis of "ummah" and then on the "homeland" and then on the "race" (nationality / Turkishness), turned into a new form when it did not achieve its goal of "saving the state". This new form of nationalism, which emerged, first prioritized the liberation of the original lands of the country from the enemy invasion and then political, economic and social-cultural independence. As a result, a nation-state was built. According to Yıldız (2001, s. 16-17), the formation of the nationalism understanding of this new nation-state can be divided into three periods: 1919-1923, 1923-1929 and 1929-1938. The Kemalist understanding of nationalism, which matured at the end of the three periods, undersigned radical reforms in the society and went to “invent” a contemporary, deep-rooted and civilized nation.

In this regard, shifting the ground of political loyalty from the sultan-caliph to the Republic, and from the Islamic community to the nation which has a limited and determined boundaries is truly radical transformation. The beginning of the period when this radical

transformation took shape was the years of National Struggle (1919-1922) (Yıldız, 2001, s. 87-88).

3.3.1. 1919-1923: Nationalism During the National Struggle

In the last period of a 600-year-old empire that was heavily defeated and occupied in most of the fronts, statesmen were discussing about to prefer either British or American mandate (Lewis, 2015, p. 241), state was incapable of saving the nation. As a result of the war with the great states, the nation sought a way of liberation through itself. The Empire has largely lost its territory outside Anatolia and other nations have declared their independence except for the Turks, the dominant nation of the empire, or opened the doors to the occupations of other countries. Military officers, patriotic intellectuals and the public, who do not want to leave loyalty to the sultan and the state on the one hand, but also want to stop the course of the country, react against to this situation. This reaction is organized in the political field by such as the National Congress (*Milli Kongre*) initiative of Doctor Esat (Işık), Ahmet Rıza's National Block (*Milli Blok*) and Rauf Bey's (Orbay) Felah-ı Vatan Group; it was realized in the military field through secret structures such as the Karakol Committee (Zürcher, 2005).

The people have started to be organized all over Thrace and Anatolia for a national struggle, especially the Association for Defense of National Rights (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti*), which mainly work on "the salvation of the country and the defense of the rights of the nation". In this organizational process, the provincial branches of the ITC (as it was called as Teceddüt Fırkası at that time) in the provinces and the provincial branches of institutions such as the Turk Ocağı played an important role (Zürcher, 2005).

In addition, prior to the National Struggle, an intellectual preparation was tried to be created in order to organize the people and to initiate a national resistance. In this sense, in 1916, the Committee of National Morality and Education (*Milli Talim ve Terbiye* Cemiyeti) was established and it was aimed to spread nationalist ideas to the society through the education system (Zürcher, 2005, s. 114).

The event that started the wave of national struggle all over Anatolia and aroused great indignation in the society was the occupation of İzmir by the Greeks on May 15, 1919. With this incident, nationalism started to take on a new state. “While the nationalist ideology transformed the Greek nation into the Greek nation, at least within the elites, the Ottomans

started to look at themselves as Turks." (Yıldız, 2001, s. 59). Despite the losses and despair that emerged after the great defeat, the occupation of İzmir has revealed a serious belief among the Turks to revolt and to resist to Greek occupation. The main reason for this, according to Lewis (2015, p. 241), "The dismantling of the distant provinces where foreign nations lived could be swallowed, (...), but pushing a neighboring and old subordinate nation into the heart of Turkish Anatolia was an unbearable danger -and an embarrassment."

What the people who had come to expect had been waiting for a total struggle was a leader who would manage the struggle and did not lose his reputation (Lewis, 2015, p. 242). Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk surname and title were given later), who was seen as a hero who won a victory among Ottoman officers at that time, was sent from occupied Istanbul to Samsun to inspect the army's demobilization. However, instead of carrying out the task given to him, Mustafa Kemal started to organize the National Struggle movement that started in Anatolia. Since the main subject of the study is related to the evolution of nationalism rather than historical and political developments, historical and political events will be mentioned in a very short way.

The main indicators of the nationalism understanding that emerged during the National Struggle period are concepts such as "people's (*milli*)", "national (*ulusal*)", "sovereignty of the nation (*hakimiyet-i milliye*)", "independence (*istiklal*)". An understanding of nationalism based on the idea that "the sovereignty of the nation is based on the determination and tenacity of the nation" came to the fore in this period. These thoughts were emphasized in all areas such as Amasya Circular, Erzurum Congress, Sivas Congress and "Misak-ı Milli" which was accepted in the last Ottoman Deputy Council; and national feelings were instilled through the opinion leaders to the people. All in all:

> *"The National Struggle was a struggle aimed at instilling national consciousness into a community of peasants that had no relation to national consciousness, by turning the public's determination to fight against Christians into feelings of homeland and nation." (Yıldız, 2001, s. 89)*

With a pragmatic approach, the position of religion, in this process of national consciousness inoculation, was never discussed and the discourses that the society would be uneasy were avoided. In short, in the understanding of nationalism, which was tried to be

created in this period, there is an ethnic basis as well as a religious basis - albeit for pragmatic purposes.

Mustafa Kemal, who organized the National Struggle and achieved significant success in both military and political fields, and his accompanying people started to establish a new order in Ankara due to the dysfunction of the government in Istanbul and the parliament's dissolution. On April 23, 1920, the Grand National Assembly was established and managed to carry the struggle in Anatolia from national to international. On this occasion, the administration and sovereignty of the country were taken from the sultan's command and transferred to the "nation's command".

In these unnamed radical changes, during the nation-building process, Rousseau's understanding of "popular sovereignty" and Smith's theories towards nation-building are observed as a prototype (Yıldız, 2001, s. 88). The acceptance that “sovereignty belongs to the Nation without any restriction or condition” has been further strengthened by the new Constitution put into force by the parliament in 1921 despite the opposition and objections. By 1922, the sovereignty of the people was manifested, and the 621-year sultanate regime was abolished by parliament. After a year passed, the Republic was declared, and the Republic of Turkey manifested as a nation-state. There were also debates about the determination of the name of the state and eventually a decision was made on the name of "Turkey", which means "the place where the Turks live", which is frequently used in the West (Yıldız, 2001, s. 106). After the National Struggle against the West, a state was established that accepted Westernization as modernization. This situation literally finds its equivalent in Tunaya's (1999b, s. 21) sentence, “to fight against the West, to want to accept Western civilization.”

3.3.2. 1923-1929: Radical Revolutions and New-Nation Building

The second phase of Kemalist nationalism started with the declaration of the Republic and it was a period in which radical reforms were made and new political and legal institutions were arranged. The aim of these reforms is to transform the society living within the borders of the state into a "civilized" "nation". The founders of the Turkish Republic have made various reforms to turn subjects into citizens and to build a national identity by uniting citizens around a common “language, culture and ideal.”

At the beginning of these reforms, radical changes made in the fields of manifestation and appeal of the current beliefs of the society such as the abolition of the Caliphate, the removal of the Ministry of Shariah and Foundations, the closure of the dervish lodges, clothing reform, the alphabet reform. A struggle has been started against all other identities so that the national identity desired to be created in public spaces can be dominated. "In the Kemalist nation-building process, while Islamism and Turkism, which were formed according to Ottoman empire relations, were thrown into the garbage of history, the principles of nationalism and civilizationism were replaced as the determinants of the new individual and collective identity." (Yıldız, 2001, s. 295)

The most critical development that distinguishes the nationalism understanding of this period from previous periods is the conversion of nationalist ideas from thought to action. The divergent and diverging thoughts of the nationalist thinkers of the previous period were united and implemented under an ideology in the Republican era. According to Karpat (2015, p. 15), this is the case: "The effort to gather three different Turkish nationalism movements under a single ideology started with the Young Turks and blossom forth in the Republican period."

Turkish ethnicity, secularism and "modernization, which is understood as westernization" are among the founding elements of the nationalism understanding that prevailed in the process until 1929 (Yıldız, 2001, s. 243). As a result of these elements, "Westernization by Turkification[31]" was preferred in both ethnic and religious issues, such as amendments to the laws that concern the nation, especially the civil law.

On the other hand, nationalism, which is becoming more and more secular, aimed to create a nation with the republican approach. The sense of nationalism brought about by historical events and common suffering created the nation, as Renan suggested. However, the point that should not be overlooked is that nationalism is in the passive position. In other words, nationalism was able to build the nation by being used by an external actor, constructor. The builder mentioned here is none other than the nation-state. "In this approach, the state first wants to have its own nation and nationalize it; but for this, first there must be a homogeneous society, a nation." (Güzel, 1995; Alakel, 2015).

[31] This statement was used by Ahmet Yıldız. For the source, see.: Yıldız, A. (2001). *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene: Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-seküler Sınırları (1919-1938)* (1. e.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları s.104.

For this period of Turkish nationalism, the approach of "nationalism constitutes the nation" is possible only if an instrumentalist-structuralist view is accepted. Because, as mentioned above, the understanding of nationalism created by the suffering includes religious and ethnic elements. However, in the post-1923 period, the element of nationalism that Kemalists used as a tool to create a nation has a secular structure.

The nation, which was built as a result of the reforms made within the framework of nationalist and Westernist elements, was intended to be detached from its past and to be civilized in legal, political, scientific, economic, social and other fields. This is clearly seen in a speech made by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), the pioneer of the reforms, in 1928, on the reform on the alphabet:

> *"We are now in a time to eradicate the mistakes of the past. We will correct the errors. (...) Our nation will show that it is accompanied with the whole world of civilization with its alphabet and mentality*[32] *(Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006, p. 379)".*

In fact, it can be said that the hostility of Kemalist nationalism to the past is only related to the previous period. For as much as a great interest has been shown regarding the pre-Ottoman and even pre-Islamic Turkish past, and it has been tried to darken the recent past and establish a connection with the distant past. In summary, in order to provide the "common history" needed in the process of building the nation, "Islam was removed, and a non-Islamic past was replaced." (Yıldız, 2001, s. 119). The elements of religious identity began to be removed one by one from life and the pages of history, and in 1928 the nation-state officially took a step closer to secularism after the phrase "the religion of the state is Islam" was removed from the constitution.

Kemalist nationalism, which has attempted to erase Islam from history, the public sphere and the constitution, has attempted to search for a non-Islamic past and replace it, as mentioned above. This substitution process could not be done quickly, nor was it easy. As a matter of fact, the most main difficulty faced in the process of building a new national identity is expressed in a very specific way in the expression of Çelik and Çaylak (2018, p. 138):

[32] Artık mazinin hatalarını kökünden temizlemek zamanındayız. Hataları tashih edeceğiz. (…) Milletimiz yazısıyla, kafasıyla bütün alemi medeniyetin yanında olduğunu gösterecektir.

"One of the main challenges of building national identity is to create a perception that members of the nation that are intended to be built come from a common past. (...) History was invented in the construction of the Turkish national identity (as in all other identity constructions). The center of this invented history was the history of Turkish ethnicity before the Ottoman and Islam."

These inventions of history were manifested as Turkish History Thesis as of 1929.

3.3.3. 1929-1938: Maturation of Kemalism, and Eugenics Discussions[33]

In the last decade before the death of Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Ataturk), nationalism has manifested itself in two main areas: economics and genealogy. The nationalism developments in the field of economics is not be the main subject of this study and so that it will be briefly mentioned. On the other hand, Kemalist nationalism, which develops over "genealogy" and "race" and even turns into an "eugenic" approach to nationalism under the influence of a positivist belief, will be discussed in this section (Yıldız, 2001).

The year 1929 was entered with the global economic crisis. This global crisis brought more attention to the national economy. Many factories, businesses and organizations operating in the fields of economics and industry were nationalized. Banks, railways and economic enterprises have also been established to ensure national development. The people were consolidated through economic independence and the feeling of being a nation was tried to be instilled.

In the early years of the Republic, a liberal understanding was adopted in order to compensate for the basic fields of economy and production such as trade, industry and crafts developed outside the Turks in the Ottoman Empire. However, after the global economic crisis of 1929, the policy of statism was adopted.

In addition to the efforts to develop the economy, the 1930s were a period when Kemalist nationalism approached an ethno-secular structure (Yıldız, 2001). At the point of "inventing history", which has been briefly mentioned above, a Turkish History Thesis has

[33] It is important to note that, there is a huge difference between the discussions in Turkey and Europe, especially in Germany. In Turkish thought and politics, eugenic discussions has been made on the creation of a healthy and conscious society rather than killing or destroying disabled, old or sick people. There has never been any kind of similarity.

started to be discussed since 1929, claiming how deeply rooted the history of Turks was before Islam, and that even civilizations in the world were born from Turkishness[34].

In the process of national identity building, nationalists based on "ancestry" and "ethnicity" started to come to the fore after the names such as Ziya Gökalp, who is the defender of cultural nationalism, either died or lost his influence. Turkish History Thesis was also the product of this nationalist understanding. Turkish History Research Society was established and History Congresses were organized in order to evolve the Turkish History Thesis, which emphasizes that the Turkish race is a special, superior, deep-rooted and great race (Ersanlı, 2008).

In the congresses, besides the discussions about history, language discussions emerged and studies on the Sun Language Theory (*Güneş Dil Teorisi*), which claimed that all languages were derived from Turkish, were started. There was a general belief that one of the most basic conditions of being Turkish is to speak Turkish, and even Atatürk showed clear support for this sentence:

> *"Language is one of the most important features of the nation. The person who considers himself a member of the Turkish nation should speak Turkish first and foremost. If a person who does not speak Turkish claims to be a member of Turkish culture and society, it would not be right to believe it.[35]" (Akt. Çağaptay, 2008)*

On the other hand, history and language have taken a special place among the basic elements that make up the Turkish nation. According to Atatürk, "the natural and historical facts that appear to be influential in the rooting of the Turkish nation are: (1) Unity in the political entity, (2) language unity, (3) homeland unity, (4) race and origin unity, (5) historical intimacy and (6) moral intimacy." (Atatürk, 2010). "Unity in language", which can be seen among these items, is considered as one of the main elements.

Undoubtedly, this language union to be created must be a "national language". Turkish Language Research Society was established to create the national language and to clear it

[34] On Turkish History Thesis see: Ersanlı, B. (2008). Bir Aidiyet Fermanı: Türk Tarih Tezi. T. Bora, & M. Gültekingil (Ed.) in, *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik* (3. b., Volume IV, s. 800-810). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

[35] Ulusun en mühim özelliklerinden biri dildir. Kendisini Türk ulusunun bir üyesi sayan kişi, her şeyden önce ve ne olursa olsun Türkçe konuşmalıdır, Türkçe konuşmayan bir kişi Türk kültürüne ve toplumuna üye olduğunu iddia ederse, buna inanmak pek doğru olmayacaktır. (Akt. Çağaptay, 2008)

from foreign words. In the Turkish Language Congress that was held immediately afterwards, an institutional framework was drawn to the national language desired to be created. The insistence of Kemalist understanding of nationalism on language has found its essence in the following statements of Atatürk: “The Turkish nation, who knows how to protect its country and its high independence, should also save its language from the yoke of foreign languages.”

According to the determination of Bingöl (2004, s. 157), the path followed by Kemalist modernists in achieving the goals of "independence in the language" and "unity in the language" that Atatürk has shown consists of two main elements: “(1) Acceptance of a new alphabet based on Latin letters, (2) and simplifying the language provided that the words of Arabic and Persian origin used in Turkish are removed from the language and replaced with old or new derived Turkish words.” Expressing that the old Ottoman language does not meet the needs of the modern era, Bingöl emphasizes that the Kemalists' understanding of nationalization in the language cannot be handled independently from the consensus and standardization in the Ottoman language (Bingöl, 2004). As can be seen from here, Kemalist nationalism represents an understanding in which the movements from the past have matured, although it claims to introduce a new and unique understanding.

Studies on Turkish History Thesis and Sun Language Theory on the other hand triggered a eugenic approach. The eugenics discussions started to come to the agenda in Turkey after the close contact of many intellectuals, especially Afet İnan and Doctor Fuad, with the eugenists (Alemdaroğlu, 2008). After the idea of eugenics, which is basically aimed at the improvement and development of the human race, came to the agenda in Turkey, Kemalist modernists adopted this idea as "the improvement of the Turkish nation and the control of the population" through their inclinations to positivism, science and progress. In the thirties, when the control of the one-party regime over society, the state and the country was reinforced, “the idea of eugenics (...) appears as a dimension of the politics envisaged by the modernization and civilization project on the population and the human body.” (Alemdaroğlu, 2008, p. 415).

This understanding has also shown itself in Atatürk's statements. Alemdaroğlu explained the approach of the Republic regarding the issue as follows:

> *“The importance the republican regime attaches to the issue of eugenics found its most obvious expression in Ataturk's words "sturdy and robust*

generation is Turkey's yeast[36]" and in his speech on the 10th anniversary of the Republic. He considers protecting the nation from degeneration dangers and creating a population density that is spiritually and physically fit as one of the most fundamental pillars of the Republic Revolution.''

3.4. Humanitarian Patriotism (*İnsani Vatanperverlik*)[37] and Philosophical Nationalism: *Intellectual* Nationalism

As we mentioned above, there was not a single understanding of nationalism in the process of transformation of the understanding of nationalism from the way it emerged in Ottoman Istanbul to the way it emerged in Ankara, Turkey. On the contrary, nationalism has been handled by quite different views and thoughts have been put forward in political, legal, social and literary, intellectual and even biological fields. However, in addition to all these understandings, a different understanding of nationalism emerged in this period, although it was influenced by all of these understandings: humanitarian patriotism and philosophical nationalism based on concepts and ideas.

The approach of "humanitarian patriotism and philosophical nationalism" is based on discussing "what is" and "what constitute" the nationalism, and ultimately claiming that nationalism is a "goal". It is the basic principle of this understanding to come up with a synthesis by dealing with every argument with thesis and anti-theses by opposing opinions that try to recourse nationality and nationalism to just a material or spiritual element.

This understanding is an understanding that tries to explain nationalism as a concept by benefiting from various branches of science and, moreover, to explain the essence of nationalism. While taking this approach, which is a very complicated approach, we will call

[36] "Sağlam ve gürbüz nesil Türkiye'nin mayasıdır."

[37] The concept of humanitarian patriotism (*insani vatanperverlik*) was conceptualized and grounded by Hilmi Ziya Ülken, who adopted the method used by Mehmet İzzet Bey. According to Ülken, man can only be a "humanitarian patriot" when he reaches the "love decency (*aşk ahlakı*)". In order to reach this stage, it is necessary to exceed the previous three stages and the three ranks based on them. According to Ülken, the first stage is "the people" stage (*halk mertebesi*), where the "fear decency" (*korku ahlakı*) is dominant in this stage. The second stage is the "citizen" stage (*vatandaş mertebesi*), where the "hope decency" (*umut ahlakı*) is dominant. The last point before reaching humanitarian patriotism is the "patriotic" stage (*vatanperver mertebesi*). At this stage, it is seen that "pride decency" (*gurur ahlakı*) is dominant. In the "love decency" (*aşk ahlakı*) that prevails at the final point, humanitarian patriotism stage, one leaves his own "self" and participates in the formation of existence and sets out for maturity. In addition, according to Ülken, all of the phenomenon-beliefs unite around the notion of "homeland" and all of the ideal-beliefs unite around the notion of "humanity"(Ülken, 1932). For more detailed information, see: Ülken, H. Z. (1932). *İnsanî Vatanperverlik*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi. ve Ülken, H. Z. (2010). *Aşk Ahlakı*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

it “*Intellectual* nationalism”. Because in this approach, nationalism is considered as a concept, therewithal it focuses on the ideal (what should be) rather than the fact (what happened). The representative of this approach, which deals with nationalism in a conceptual and philosophical way, away from ideologies and politics, is almost nonexistent within the date range we evaluated within the scope of the study (1860-1940). According to Ülken, idealist nationalism in philosophical sense does not exist in Turkish thought before Mehmet İzzet Bey (1891-1930) (Ülken, 1956; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 360).

The discussions on the concept of nationalism, which had logged a certain improvement in the Western world at that time, had just begun to come to the agenda during the Ottoman and Republican periods. In the first part of the study, we referred the discussions on nationalism in detail. Unfortunately, in the last period of the Ottoman Empire and in the first years of the Republic, the main effort in the Turkish thought is to offer a remedy for the current bad situation. We have mentioned the crises and depression experienced in the historical and intellectual development process in detail above. Because of these crises and depression, deep thinking and philosophical debates about the notion and even addressing these debates have not been found acceptable.

Even Ziya Gökalp, the most prominent name in the field of nationalism, is in a hurry, actionary and even dogmatic to some extent due to his search for a remedy (Ülken, 1931, p. 6). Since the thoughts produced to meet the need of the moment do not have time to devote to deep details, they “want to inspire and apply their works personally for the sake of fast results.” (Ülken, 1931, p. 6).

Intellectual understanding avoids dogmatic thoughts and applies to the criticism procedure to investigate the details of the notion. Opposed to a determinist method and approach, *intellectual* nationalism treats notions such as nation, nationality, nationalism as "*mefkûre*" and "ideal" to be examined in the universe of thought rather than facts/phenomenon. As Ülken stated, “in the sight of *intellectual* understanding, all value is in ideas.” (Ülken, 1931, p. 6).

Adopting such an approach led to accusation of being indifferent to the needs of the people, given the conditions of the period. For this reason, neither the thinkers and researchers working in this field, nor the public did not appreciate the popularity of the *intellectual* approach.

It was precisely at this time that Mehmet İzzet Bey, who approached the notion of nationalism in Turkish thought as an ideal, started to bring up the agenda. A context-beyond concept debate on notion was held, even in an environment of great depression and chaos in political and economic terms. Mehmet İzzet Bey, who will be discussed in detail in the next chapter of the study, dealt with the conceptual studies on nationalism at that time with a "criticist style for the first time." (Dağtaşoğlu, 2010, s. 117).

Later, Hilmi Ziya Bey (Ülken) made serious contributions to this style and method and tried to clarify the mentality that Mehmet İzzet Bey, who died at an early age, tried to develop but could not complete. The mentality that Mehmet İzzet Bey advocates "one cannot be humanitarian without being a patriot"; this mentality appears first in Hilmi Ziya Ülken's work named "Aşk Ahlakı" and later in his work named "İnsani Vatanperverlik".

The view that fact/phenomenon and ideal/*mefkûre* are the inseparable whole forming the truth also shows the scientific method in the understanding of *intellectual* nationalism. We see the reflection of this view on the idea of nationalism, especially by Mehmet İzzet Bey's reference to the French nationalist thinker René Johannet:

> *Johannet says: "The nation is a realized/manifested nationality. The nationality is a nation in the form of seeds." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 85)*

Intellectual nationalism, which accepts the nation as a phenomenon (fact/case/normative) and treats nationality as a mefkûre (ideal/notion/positive), maintains that nationality is a goal to be reached (to be manifested). Because "nationalism is the highest point and peak of the modern ideal." (Ülken, 1939). Claiming that the way humanitarianism manifested in our century is through nationality, Ülken also says that nationality is a great move towards humanitarianism (Ülken, 1939).

Later, the understanding of nation and nationality, which this *intellectual* approach adopted and put forward, has been transformed into the "Anatolian Nationalism[38]" movement by a group of thinker such as Ülken and Fındıkoğlu, out of its original context. According to Ülken, this movement of thought, which includes very important names from

[38] For more detailed information about Anatolian Nationalism, see: Bingöl, Y., & Pakiş, A. (2016, Mart 1). Milliyetçiliğin Anadolucu Söylemde Yeniden Üretimi. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 49(1), 1-27. To examine the relationship between Anatolian Nationalism and the trends that preceded it, especially with the Three Styles of Politics, see: Bingöl, Y., & Pakiş, A. (2011). Anadoluculuk Hareketi ve Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset. *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi* (50), 113-134.

the point of Turkish thought history, “started to occur in 1917 in the form of "small Turkism" or "Turkeyism" against "great Turkism" in the Türk Ocağı.” (Ülken, 2005, s. 477).

The stance of the *intellectual* approach to carrying out deeper and more scientific studies by considering the approaches produced for context and politics as populist and temporary and claiming that efforts to seek remedies lead to haste, has turned into something that it opposes over time:

> *“The Anatolianism Movement has a symbiotic relationship with the Turkism-Turanism movement, which it criticizes strongly, that serves the reproduction and/or reconstruction of nationalism.[39]” (Bingöl & Pakiş, 2016, p. 3).*

Preserving the *intellectual* understanding of nationalism is not easy in environments with political and military turmoil and struggle for existence. As we have stated before, when the purposes such as "saving the state, the nation, the homeland or the ummah" come to the fore, it takes a great sense of maturity and patience with regards to scientific and moral to pursue only the "intellectual" and "thinking" action. Şerif Mardin has also tied the cause of our unchanging philosophylessness to the effort of producing practical solutions for the benefit of the state and "valid for the state" even after many years (Mardin, 2008, s. 16-17).

It is seen that *Intellectual* nationalism was founded on five principles in general:

- Based on concepts and ideas (not based on events and people)
- Context-beyond/ Being regardless of context (Not focusing on temporary daily solutions)
- Producing and Publicate deepened works (not being superficial)
- Being critical and questioning (not being dogmatic)
- Being Unityist (*vahdetçi*) (not separatist)

As can be understood from these principles, there is a series of principles such as “being” and “not being”. It would be appropriate to briefly explain these principles, which represent a methodological framework.

Based on concepts and ideas (not based on events and people): *Intellectual* nationalism addresses the conceptual dimensions of the issues and examines and criticizes

[39] Anadoluculuk Hareketi’nin şiddetle eleştirdiği Türkçülük-Turancılık akımı ile arasında milliyetçiliğin yeniden üretimine ve/ya yeniden inşasına hizmet eden simbiyotik bir ilişki vardır.

the nonmaterial/intellectual dimensions of the events and the ideas of the people. It is against the nature of this understanding to convey the events and work only on isolated events. Or debates about people in areas other than ideas and person-oriented structures are not seen as areas of discussion of *intellectual* nationalism. For example; in the period when there is an agenda for the clothing revolution, it is a product of *intellectual* nationalism, to make a conceptual and intellectual discussion about "fashion", not whether the clothing revolution is right or wrong or who was the realizer of the clothing revolution.

Context-beyond/ Being regardless of context (Not focusing on temporary daily solutions): According to the understanding of *intellectual* nationalism, seeking answers to questions such as "how to save the state/nation/ummah/homeland" is only an effort to find a temporary, hasty and practical solution. Instead, originality, freedom and progress are much more important in the world of ideas, which is the core of the issue. It is far from establishing a tradition of ideas, seeking daily solutions and discussing the ever-changing context. The *Intellectual* nationalism approach envisages a long-term solution seeking by establishing a trans-context and beyond-context tradition. The construction of an ideal of nationalism that grounds on moral, philosophical and intellectually strong foundations means to unite future generations in the way of serving both the nation and humanity in line with principles and basis.

Producing and Publicate deepened works (not being superficial): *Intellectual* nationalism predicts that superficial studies should be avoided in accordance with the first two principles. A temporary, event/person or context-based nationalism ideal is a shallow, populist and non-comprehensive ideal. *Intellectual* nationalism, on the other hand, advocates that a tradition of ideas that encompasses every area and every moment of life, based on the principle of deepening should be put forward. As we have mentioned above from Şerif Mardin, the effort to produce ideas that are relevant to the state and will be valid for the state has led to philosophylessness in our world of thought (Mardin, 2008, s. 16-17). *Intellectual* nationalism is an approach that aims to overcome this situation.

Being critical and questioning (not being dogmatic): The point that distinguishes *Intellectual* nationalism from other thoughts is that it is united around the method, not an idea. In other words, *intellectual* nationalism has no fixed and dogmatic provisions. It is an understanding aimed at asking questions and seeking the truth with a critical approach, rather than being a nationalism that defends the conclusions or ideas reached. It is one of the

principles of this understanding that concepts such as nation, nationality, nationalism, homeland, state, ummah, justice and liberty are handled in a questioning style.

Being Unityist (vahdetçi) (not separatist): In line with the first four principles, it is seen that *intellectual* nationalism is not "an approach that responds to every issue with dogmatic provisions by creating an integrity of opinion". On the contrary, *intellectual* nationalism argues that, with a unifying approach, "facts (what is/happened)" and "ideal (what should be)" is part of the whole. Instead of defending any of the thesis and anti-thesis, he argues that both the thesis and the anti-thesis must exist, and neither is wrong, by looking at the synthesis that will emerge from their combination. *Intellectual* nationalism also addresses the elements that make up the nation and nationalism in this direction.

In summary, *intellectual* understanding of nationalism, working on the analysis of the notion, based on humanitarian patriotism and the methods of the science of philosophy, questions the relationship between existing nationalisms and the notions of nationality and nationalism. Focusing on the ideal/*meſkûre* rather than the case/phenomenon and bringing philosophical depths to notions and in summary, "thinking on thought" are the primary goals of the *intellectual* approach. The leading nationalist philosopher and thinker of this approach is Mehmet İzzet Bey.

4. THE PIONEER OF *INTELLECTUAL* NATIONALISM: MEHMET İZZET BEY

"If the Turkish thought, who lost his move after Ziya Gökalp and his effort after Mehmet İzzet and was forced to influenced by foreign scholars, because it was getting intellectual barrenness; if wanted to take lessons and examples from the past; In my opinion, he should focus on the philosophical personality of Mehmet İzzet, who is more scholar and more philosopher than Ziya Gokalp, and make his intellectual activity a tradition.[40]"

Fındıkoğlu Ziyaeddin Fahri

In this chapter of the study, primarily the life, education and character, works and methodology of a highly valuable and international philosopher will be discussed. Then, the movements and thinkers influenced Mehmet İzzet Bey will be emphasized, and then it will be tried to determine who, and which thoughts affected by his thought. In the last part of the chapter, after analyzing İzzet Bey's views on nation, nationality and nationalism, what the reflections of these thoughts are today will be discussed.

4.1. His Life, Education and Character

Mehmet İzzet Bey was born in the middle of the Second Abdulhamid era in 1891 in Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire. His father Nazmi Bey, a retired district governor, is one of the respected figures of the period[41]. The only known thing about Mehmet İzzet Bey's childhood is that he made a trip to Anatolia, according to his son Orhan İzzet. He went to his uncle who served as a governor in one of the eastern provinces of Anatolia. Although this trip was made at a young age, it must have gained a very nice place in the memories of Mehmet İzzet Bey; "It is said that his love for Anatolia owes this trip." (Açıkgöz, 1981).

At the time when social life was constantly changing and developing, Mehmet İzzet Bey completed his first education in various schools, including a French school. When he

[40] "Ziya Gökalp'tan sonra hamlesini, Mehmet İzzet'ten sonra da gayretini kaybeden ve gittikçe kısırlaştığı için yabancı uzviyetlerin kanıyla beslenmek mecburiyetinde kalan Türk tefekkürü, eğer geçmişten ders ve ibret almak istiyorsa, kanaatimce, Ziya Gökalp'a nispetle daha alim ve daha feylesof olan Mehmet İzzet'in feylesof şahsiyeti üzerinde durmalı ve onun fikir faaliyetini an'aneleştirmelidir."

[41] The conviction that his father was a respected and wealthy name was expressed on the basis of an assumption, considering the general financial situation and respectability of the people who could send their children to Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani at that time.

was 10 years old[42], he was enrolled in Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani, which provided a highly qualified and new format education at that time., Mehmet İzzet, who was the number 116 student of Sultani (Özemre, 2006, s. 273), graduated in 1907 after a total of 6 years of education, 3 years of Ordinary Level (*Kısm-i Adi*) and 3 years of Upper Level (*Kısm-i Ali*)[43].

At this point, the importance of Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani should be emphasized. In studies on Mehmet İzzet, it would be wrong to give Mekteb-i Sultani a sentence and only give information about his graduation from there. Because the influence of Mekteb-i Sultani in Mehmet İzzet Bey's world view and being open minded, respectful and opposed to dogmatism was enormous.

In the Ottoman Empire, which has a very cosmopolitan structure, the social structure shows a heterogeneous feature. Even though different cultures share the same city with each other, the areas where they coexist at the level of society are limited. Especially this is not even the case with education. In this sense, Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi, where Mehmet İzzet Bey was enrolled and educated (in today's understanding it was a kind of high-school), is accepted as the first school where students from all religions and nations can get the same education together (Demirel, 2007). It should also be taken into consideration that important intellectuals of the period gave lectures in Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani, which implemented a very intensive and disciplined program as a curriculum.

This structure of *sultani* has led Mehmet İzzet Bey not to grow up in a single world view and to be aware of different cultures. After graduating from *sultani* due to his intelligence and curiosity, he started to study at the Faculty of Law at Istanbul University

[42] When it was accepted that Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani of that period gave a 6-year education as 3 + 3 and Mehmet İzzet graduated from Mekteb-i Sultani in 1907, the registration date for Sultani should be 1901. Bu durumda Mehmet İzzet 10 yaşında olmalıdır. Besides, there is a requirement for Sultani to be between the ages of 9-12 among the registration requirements. Mehmet İzzet also fulfills this requirement. For detailed information on the educational structures of the *idadi*s and *sultani*s of the period, see: Demirel, D. (2007). *Osmanlı Devleti'nde İdadiler ve Sultaniler (Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi).* Samsun: Samsun Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yayınları

[43] Ahmed Yüksel Özemre also includes Mehmet İzzet Bey on the 224th of the list of graduates from the sultani on page 273 of his book "Galatasarayı Mekteb-i Sultânî'sinde Sekiz Yılım". According to Özemre, who conveyed a very short data on the student number, the year of graduation and what task he was engaged in, İzzet Bey graduated in 1905. However, this should probably be written in error. Because it is not possible for İzzet Bey to graduate in 1905. Registration is required in 1899 to complete 6 years of education. However, this possibility is not true since İzzet Bey was only 8 years old at that time and *sultani*s did not record those younger than 9 years old as we mentioned in the above footnote. Özemre, A. Y. (2006). *Galatasarayı Mekteb-i Sultani'sinde Sekiz Yılım* (1. b.). İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyat. s. 273. Besides, all sources except Özemre for the date of graduation accept 1907.

(*Darulfünun*). He started to wonder about European ideas during his law education here. He followed the ideas in the West with his fluent French.

With the Second Constitutional Monarchy declared a year after his graduation, he participated in the competitions that the Ottoman government opened in 1909 to send students to Europe. Mehmet İzzet Bey was one of the 28 students who deserved to go to Europe in these competitions. According to the report of Değirmencioğlu, "İzzet Bey spent his first years in Paris at Louis le Grand High School." (Değirmencioğlu, 1987, p. 1). After the time spent here, Mehmet İzzet Bey enrolled at Sorbonne University's Faculty of Philosophy.

İzzet Bey, who studied philosophy, sociology and moral lessons from important thinkers such as Durkheim, Rauh and Brauhl in Sorbonne between 1909-1913 (Adıvar, 1940); After graduating in 1913[44], he returned to Istanbul due to the Balkan War and took his first step into the world of thought with his work called "Zenon and His Followers". For the first time among the names contributing to the Turkish thought world, a Turkish student returned to his country by studying philosophy in Europe.

On the other hand, he started to work in Red Crescent (*Hilal-i Ahmer*) after being successful in competitions opened. The Head of the Red Crescent General at that time was Adnan Bey (Adıvar), who would later become a close friend. The information that Adnan Adıvar conveyed about İzzet Bey is of great importance among the information about İzzet Bey. It was Adnan Bey, who would appreciate his knowledge and diligence in his mission at Kızılay, who would open the way towards Istanbul Darulfünunu for İzzet Bey.

Adnan Adıvar conveys the following reminder about Mehmet İzzet Bey's competition process in Kızılay and the process of admission to the University as a lecturer:

> *"It was the first time that I saw İzzet among friends while studying at Louis le Grand High School in Paris in 1910. Then, before the big war, I got to*

[44] Although there is a discussion about whether he graduated or not, as well as a date ambiguity about his education here, we accept that Orhan İzzet and Mehmet İzzet Bey's statement written in his book is correct. Because, the document submitted by Değirmencioğlu, who claims that İzzet Bey was not graduated, is the document dated 20 November 1973, sent by an office staff in Sorbonne in response to the question asked about Mehmet İzzet. In this document, it is stated that there is no document other than the Third Class registration related to Mehmet İzzet Bey and his name is not seen among the graduates. However, the reliability of the response sent by a French office staff who "did not even know who Mehmet İzzet Bey" at least 60 years after his graduation date is controversial. Instead, the statements used by Mehmet İzzet Bey in his book "Philosophy Lessons" that he graduated from Sorbonne are more reliable and precise. For details of these discussions, see: Açıkgöz, H., *Mehmet İzzet* Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, E., & Taştan, Y. K. (2018). *Milliyet Nazariyeleri ve Millî Hayat* (3. ed.). İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat. s. 21-22, footnote:1.

know when he entered the clerk competition in Hilal-i Ahmer, (...) We worked together for many years. But I understood more and more that every day his talent would lie fallowed by working as a clerk at the office, and I was grieved with this understanding. At that time Darülfünun was in a closed system for young people. Finally, the madrasah of the Minister of Foundations, Hayri Bey, with a new method, came to our rescue. I recommended İzzet as a philosophy teacher there. This young Sorbonne graduate was now beginning to teach European philosophy to bearded, cloaked, turbaned and "lying on mats" fanatics. Because he started this business, both he and I were very comfortable with conscience[45]*." (Adıvar, 1940).*

Until the end of the First World War in 1918, he carried out his administrative work in the Red Crescent meticulously and continued his training activities in various schools. He has taught French at the Mülkiye and Tıbbiye schools thanks to his fluent French. (Değirmencioğlu, 2002).

After 5 years of his administrative career, which he started at the age of 22, he left his job at Red Crescent on October 21, 1918 and was appointed as the Director of the Faculty of Literature at Istanbul University, where he previously entered as a student. However, he "resigned from his duty with a one-sentence text" on 5 December 1918 in order not to submit to the political demands of the Hürriyet and İtilaf Fırkası, who were in government during the armistice years (Selçuk, 2010, p. 225)[46].

According to information obtained from Vakit and Zaman newspapers at the time, Ziya Somar reports the event as follows:

[45] "İzzet'i ilk defa 1910' da Paris'te Louis le Grand lisesinde tahsilde iken arkadaşlar arasında görmüştüm Sonra geçen büyük harpten evvel Hilal-i Ahmer açılan katiplik müsabakasına girdiği zaman tanıdım. (…) senelerce beraber çalıştık. Fakat onun istidadının büroda katiplik etmekle körleşeceğini her gün daha ziyade anlıyor ve bu anlayışla kahroluyordum. O vakit Darülfünun, gençler için kapalı bir sistem halinde idi. Nihayet Evkaf Nazırı Hayri Bey'in yeni usulde medresesi imdada yetişti. İzzet'i oraya felsefe hocası diye tavsiye ettim. Bu genç Sorbonne mezunu şimdi sakallı cübbeli, sarıklı ve hasırlar üzerine uzanmış softalara Avrupa felsefesi okutmağa başlamıştı. Bu işe başlamaktan hem o hem ben ne kadar vicdan rahatı duymuştuk." (Adıvar, 1940).

[46] Regarding the date Mehmet İzzet Bey resigned, Coşkun Değirmencioğlu gives the date of 30 December. However, according to Mustafa Selçuk, who determined the date of the petition for resignation of Mehmet İzzet Bey from the Ottoman Archives by doing a doctorate study on Istanbul *Darulfünunu*, as 5 December, the date of 30 December is wrong. For the study on Istanbul *Darulfünunu*, see:Selçuk, M. (2010*). İstanbul Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi (1900-1923) (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis).* İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü. s.225

> *"In the years of the Armistice, during Rıza Tevfik's Ministry of Education, Mehmet İzzet was a director at the Darulfünun. One day, Rıza Tevfik declared that a building used by the literature madrasah would be given immediately because it would be used by the Hürriyet and İtilaf Fırkası. Mehmet did not obey this strange and irrelevant order and (...) resigned." (Somar, 1956, s. 4)*

Mehmet İzzet Bey's, whom we see to be recusant and righteous, distance from politics is understood from his stance here. In fact, Adnan Adıvar conveys İzzet Bey's distance from politics and his relationship with science as follows:

> *"After the armistice, he devoted himself to knowledge and I -what a shame- completely devoted myself to politics. Our ways broken up and places were separated." (Adıvar, 1940; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 301)*

With this situation, Mehmet İzzet Bey started to work as a History of Philosophy Teacher at Istanbul University Faculty of Literature, where he previously worked as a director, as of April 3, 1919[47] (Açıkgöz, 1981). As of the same period, we can see in the records of Darulfünun that he teaches Moral lessons in the faculty (Güneş, 2015)[48].

Mehmet İzzet Bey, who restarted the academy and the world of thought, translated many works from German and French (Değirmencioğlu, 1987, p. 8). During the National Struggle period that started in Anatolia, Mehmet İzzet Bey lives in occupied Istanbul. However, these negative conditions cannot stop the scientific studies of İzzet Bey. During the period until the proclamation of the Republic, İzzet Bey has tried to give the lessons he has given with great care and has expanded his research at the scientific point.

Hatemi Senih Sarp, one of the students of Mehmet İzzet Bey about the courses he taught at the *Darulfünun*, wrote the following lines ten years after his death:

[47] There is also a complexity of date regarding the date of Mehmet İzzet Bey's appointment to the university. According to his son Orhan İzzet, the date he was appointed was April 3, 1919, and according to Turkish Encyclopedia writer Hasan Eren, March 24, 1919.

[48] In the 1334-1335/1918-1919 Student Yearbook of Istanbul *Darulfününu* it is stated that: "The address of the moral lecturer İzzet Bey is number 21 at Mezarlik Street in Ayas Pasha." Here we understand that İzzet Bey taught Morality. See also the content of the lectures he gave, his weekly plan and which courses he taught in which year: Güneş, M. Y. (2015). Darülfünun'da Ahlâk Dersleri ve Temayülleri. *IV. Türkiye Lisansüstü Çalışmalar Kongresi Bildiriler Kitabı - V (Felsefe - Eğitim - İletişim)* (s. 59-77). İstanbul: İlmi Etüdler Derneği.

> *"At the lectern, İzzet Bey with a clean face, with his bag, his notes, and the watch he took out of his pocket and put it in front of his eyes; he was talking with a pleasure that could be a composition of styles like addressing and talking with excitement. (...) İzzet Bey has all the qualities of a scientist and university man should have: He had no other purpose but to learn and teach." (Sarp, 1940)*

Mehmet İzzet Bey, who attended his university courses until 1919, shortly before his death; relaying on his great effort and successful works, he was promoted from lectureship to professorship in the year after the Republic was announced. In this promotion, the effects of the copyrighted works and translations made by him are great. In his work titled "Milliyet Nazariyeleri ve Millî Hayat" published two months before the declaration of the Republic, he emphasized the harmony and closeness of the nation and nationality with democracy.

Particularly, his views (despite he has said his ideas independent of context, not to support) supporting the understanding of the Republican period were found to be remarkable. As Fındıkoğlu stated, if İzzet Bey had an interest in politics, perhaps he would have been more known than names such as Namık Kemal, Ahmet Rıza, Prince Sabahaddin and Ziya Gökalp (Fındıkoğlu, 1940; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 315). However, İzzet Bey remained distant from politics. Adnan Adıvar explains this distance as follows: "After the armistice, he devoted himself to knowledge and I -what a shame- completely devoted myself to politics." (Adıvar, 1940; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 301).

İzzet Bey, who was 33 years old in 1924, turned to science more intensively and taught history of philosophy, sociology and morality at Istanbul *Darulfünunu*. The systematic and methodical working method he applied in his lectures was appreciated by all. As a matter of fact, according to Sadreddin Celal, one of his contemporaries and colleagues, İzzet Bey "was a professor who worked in a systematic manner with a scientific method and tried to bring this method to his students with his work style and lessons. He had the qualifications that a professor and a scientist should have." (Antel S. C., 1940; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 309)

In the first periods when he started university, İzzet Bey's method and temperament were met with surprise both by his colleagues and his students. Because, İzzet Bey has adopted as a principle to use ridicule (*istihza*) as a "discipline weapon". Following these criticisms

directed against him, İzzet Bey published a newspaper article titled "İstihza Cennetten mi Çıkmıştır?[49]" In his article, he stated that those who opposed ridicule were accustomed to be pampered and applauding, and revealed his clearest stance on "ridicule":

> *"Everyone is against "ridicule". I'm in its favor. If you want, ridicule with my provision. But since the beginning of this article, are you sure I am not having fun with you?[50]" (Mehmet İzzet, 1927; Değirmencioğlu, 2002, p. 254)*

Mehmet İzzet Bey, who does not like dogmatism and preconception, is known as a person who applies this critical and sarcastic temperament not only to those around him but also to himself. The statements of Sadrettin Celal regarding this nipping/cynical attitude are remarkable:

> *"It would be a big mistake to portray İzzet as a person acting with the pleasure of mocking others, humiliating them. Undoubtedly, there was a cynical skepticism in İzzet resembling Socratic ridicule. But he used this ridicule as a weapon against dogmatism and conformism, which he hated the most, as a means of warning and guidance to reveal the mistakes in the thoughts of his interlocutors. (...) İzzet started the criticism on his own and first saw his own mistakes. In order to hold others as responsible, he first charges himself." (Antel S. C., 1940; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 308)*

Mustafa Şekip Tunç, a close colleague of İzzet Bey, remarked on this method and temperament; when the students and their colleagues heard the name of İzzet Bey, the first impression that came to their mind was that he was "a very serious, hardworking, investigative and conscientious professor, a meticulous scholar, a thinker who always acts with suspicion." (Tunç, 1940).

İzzet Bey, who worked with an intensive tempo for about fourteen years, being a professor for the last four years since his return to Istanbul, was infected with leukemia in

[49] Is the ridicule originate from heaven?
[50] Herkes istihzanın aleyhinde bulunur. Ben onun lehindeyim. İsterseniz siz de benim bu hükmümle alay edin. Lakin bu makalenin başından beri, benim sizinle eğlenmediğimden emin misiniz?"

1927. His illness did not put him back from his studies, although he was clearly known that he had short life to live, he continued his lessons and publications without a break.

Since his illness started to progress badly in 1928, doctors obligated him to rest. The situation was conveyed to the Ministry of Education at that time and the Ministry appointed İzzet Bey as a student inspector first to Paris and then to Berlin. Thus, it is aimed that İzzet Bey get a better treatment and rest for his disease in Europe. However, he did not hesitate to work there, and regularly sent copyright and translation works to the *Hayat Mecmuası* published in Ankara.

He returned to Istanbul for 3 months in 1929 and started teaching sociology at Istanbul University. However, since his illness is now at its final stages, the Ministry of Education, this time, assigns İzzet Bey to Berlin as a cultural attaché. It was told by Takiyettin Mengüçoğlu to Hilmi Ziya Ülken that İzzet Bey was in search of a scientific and philosophical ground in the last period and was interested in Husserl's "phenomenologie".

He passed away on 8th of December, 1930, at 14.50 on Monday, in Berlin and was buried in a grave that digged by the Ministry of Education and his family at the Turkish Cemetery in Hasenheid (Açıkgöz, 1981; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 21).

In his 39-year life, he produced 5 copyright books and 5 translated books in addition to nearly 100 copyright and translation articles/corner posts in a 17-year production phase. The death of such a productive and hardworking nationalist philosopher at a young age is a great loss for Turkish thought. Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu states that Mehmet İzzet Bey is a much more valuable thinker than well-known figures:

> *"A few Turkish thinkers, whom we think they cannot compete with Mehmet İzzet, owe their recognition to uniting philosophy and politics against unrequited thought as a result of their time." (Fındıkoğlu, 1940; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 315)*

4.2. The Works of Mehmet İzzet Bey

Although Mehmet İzzet Bey's life was quite short, he produced many works and made great contributions to the Turkish thought world with his translations and works. Since the explanation of the works of Mehmet İzzet Bey one by one will be out of the scope of this study, we will only quote the list prepared by Ötüken Neşriyat here. Then, the parts of

Mehmet İzzet Bey's views that are the basis for this study will be discussed in the following sections. However, it should be known that the method he produced these ideas is worth mentioning, as well as the ideas he put forward in his works. Because the method of Mehmet İzzet Bey is not a method encountered in Turkish thought before him. Following the list of his works, the scientific method of İzzet Bey should be examined.

4.2.1. The List of His Books

COPYRIGHTED WORKS	1.	İstanbul – 1333 – Matbaa-i Amire	Felsefe Dersleri, Birinci Kitap: İlmi-i Ruh
	2.	İstanbul – 1339 – Kanaat Kitabhane ve Matbaası	Milliyet Nazariyeleri ve Millî Hayat
	3.	İstanbul – 1926-1927 – Devlet Matbaası	Yeni İçtimaiyat Dersleri
	4.	İstanbul – 1933 – Devlet Matbaası	İçtimaiyat (Lise 3. Sınıf Ders Kitabı)
TRANSLATION WORKS	1.	İstanbul – 1336 – Darülfünun Matbaası	Kant'ın Âmal-i Felsefesi
	2.	İstanbul – 1336 – Darülfünun Matbaası	Abel Rey'in Felsefe ve Ruhiyat Eserinden Ameli Ahlak Mebahisi
	3.	İstanbul – 1339 – Darülfünun Matbaası	Nazari Ahlak: Abel Rey'in Felsefi ve Ruhiyat Dersleri
	4.	İstanbul – 1924 – Matbaa-i Amire	Terbiye ve Ahlaka Müteallik Tatbikatıyla İçtimaiyat Dersleri (H. Glaise- A. Hess)
	5.	İstanbul – 1927 – Evkaf-ı İslamiyye Matbaası	Felsefe Tarihi, Birinci Kısım: Medeniyet-i Kadime ve Kurun-ı Vustada Felsefe (Karl Vorlander)

Table 4.1The list of Mehmet İzzet Bey's books

4.2.2. The List of His Articles/Corner Posts

A. In Peyam Newspaper

1. “Oyuncaklarımız ve Düşüncelerimi I”, 4 Teşrinisani 1329
2. “Kadınlara Dair", Peyam, l1 Teşrinisani 1329

B. In Bilgi Journal (Mecmua)

1. "Eski Yunan'da Ahlaki Felsefe: Zenan ve Muakkipleri", 1/2 (Kanunuevvel 1329), s. 135-143

C. In Büyük Journal (Mecmua)

1. "Kin Devri", 12 (3 Teşrinievvel 1919), s. 178-179.
2. "Kurtuluş Kılavuzları", 13 (16 Teşrinievvel 1919), s. 202-203.
3. "Tanzimat'a Dair", 15 (13 Teşrinisani 1919), s. 227-229.

D. In the Journal of Faculty of Literature (Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası)

1. "İçtimaiyat: Muasır Hayat ve Büyük Adamlar", [U/6 (1339), s. 503-519; III/1 (1339), s. 51-61; 111/2-3 (1339), s. 91-102.
2. Kitabiyat: "Devr-i kadimin Hakim'inden Modern Hemşeriye Kadar", II/2 (1338), s. 164-166.
3. Kitabiyat: "Sosyalist Peygamberler ve Değerlerin Tekamülüne Dair İçtimaiyat Dersleri, II/3 (1338), s. 266-273.
4. Kitabiyat: "Çin’de ve Avrupa’da Hayat Meselesi", III/1 (1339), s.62-68.
5. "Durkheim Tercümelerine ve Bazı Felsefe ve İçtimaiyat Istılahlarına Dair", III/7 (1340), s. 323-340
6. "Darülfünunda Felsefe Dersleri" IV/2 (1925), s. 120-132.
7. "Spinoza" (V. Delbos'dan tercüme), IV/6 (1926), s. 406-449.
8. "Sokrat" (Th. Gomperz'den tercüme), V/6 (1927), s. 576-646.
9. "Amerika'da İçtimaiyat Tedrisatı", V/6 (1927), s. 647-658.

E. In the Journal of Faculty of Theology (İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası)

1. "Aile ve Semiyye'nin Menşeleri" (Frazer'den tercüme), 1/1 (1925), s. 1-38; I/2 (1926), s. 5-35; I/3 (1926), s. 52-111; I/4 (1926), s.211-246].
2. "Hindu-Avrupai Alemde Totemcilik" (G. Dumezil'den tercüme), I/2 (1927), s. 117-135.
3. "Kelbiler" (Gomperz'den tercüme), II/5 (1927), s. 78-110.
4. "Ahlak Hükümlerinin Afakı Kıymeti" (D. Parodi'den tercüme), II/9 (1928), s. 132-171.

F. In Hayat Journal (Mecmua)

1. "İçtin1aiyata ve Ahlaka Dair Fransızca Eserler I", I/6 (6 Kânunusani 1927),
2. s. 116-118.
3. İçtimaiyata ve Ahlaka Dair Eserler: Spengler'e Göre Devlet Adamı ve Siyaset", I/9 (2 7 Kânunusani 192 7), s. 165-166.
4. İçtimaiyata ve Ahlaka Dair Eserler: Cemelli'nin Kitabı", I/10 (3 Şubat 1927), s. 185-186.
5. "İki Yoldan Biri", II/33 (14 Temmuz 1927), s. 121-122.
6. "Felsefeye Merak Neden", II/34 (21 Temmuz 1927), s. 145-146.
7. "Kur'an ve İsyan", II/35 (28 Temmuz 1927), s. 164-165.
8. "Vakıa ve Mefkure", II/36 (4 Ağustos 1927), s. 187-188.; II/37 (11 Ağustos 1927), s. 207-208 [İş: Felsefe, Ahlak ve İçtimaiyat Mecmuası, 23-24 (1940), s. 101-110].
9. "İslam'da Zühd", II/38 (18 Ağustos 1927), s. 227-228.
10. "Sevdirmek Usulü", II/39 (25 Ağustos 1927), s. 241-242.
11. "Arılara ve İnsanlara Dair (Maurice Maeterlinck'ten)", II/39 (25 Ağustos 1927), s. 253-255.
12. "Spengler'e Göre: İngilizler", II/41 (8 Eylül 1927), s. 288.
13. "Stuart Mill'in Terbiye ve Tahsili", II/42 (15 Eylül 1927), s. 307-308.
14. "Gestalt Nazariyesi ve İçtimaiyat", II/43 (22 Eylül 1927), s. 326 [İş: Felsefe, Ahlak ve İçtimaiyat Mecmuası", 23-24 (1940), s. 110-113].
15. "İçtimaiyatta İş bölümü", II/44-(29 Eylül 1927), s. 342-343 [İş: Felsefe, Ahlak ve İçtimaiyat Mecmuası, 23-24 (1940), s. 113-116].
16. "Yamalı Ruh Yekpare Olamaz mı?" II/45 (6 Teşrinievvel 1927), s. 362-363; II/ 46 (l3 Teşrinievvel 1927), s. 382-383.
17. "Akıl ve Gönül", 11/47 (20 Teşrinievvel 1927), s. 402; II/48 (27 Teşrinievvel 1927), s. 428
18. "Boutroux'e Göre İlim ve Din", II/49 (3 Teşrinisani 1927), s. 444-445.
19. "Türk'ün Rolü", II/50 (10 Teşrinisani 1927), s. 463-464.
20. "Kitabiyat: İçtimaiyat ", II/ 50 (10 Teşrinisani 1927), s. 479.
21. "Feylesof ve Haşmetpenah, II/51 (17 Teşrinisani 1927), s. 484.
22. "Modaya Dair", II/ 52 (24 Teşrinisani 1927), s. 502-503.
23. "Kömürcünün İmanı, III/53 (1 Kanunuevvel 1927), s. 8, 13.
24. "Hegel'in Beraati", III/54 (8 Kanunuevvel 1927), s. 24-25.
25. "Fikir Hayatındaki Durgunluk Neden", III/55 (15 Kanunuevvel 1927), s. 41-42.

26. “İstihza Cennetten mi Çıkmıştır?”, III/57 (29 Kanunuevvel 1927), s. 82-83.
27. "İçtimaiyatın Bugünkü Eksiklikleri", III/58 (5 Kanunusani 1927), s. 102-103.
28. İçtimaiyat ve Siyaset", III/59 (12 Kanunusani 1928), s. 122-123.
29. "Fikirde Adem-i Merkeziyyet", III/61 (26 Kanunusani 1928), s. 161-162.
30. "Alimler Aleminde", III/62 (2 Şubat 1928), s. 185-186.
31. “İçtimaiyatçı Bakışından Fransa'da Fırkalar", III/63 (9 Şubat 1928), s. 202-203; III/64 (16 Şubat 1928), s. 226-227.
32. "Fransa'da İçtimai Meseleler: Bir Siyasi Teşkilat Programı", III/65 (23 Şubat 1928), s. 243-244.
33. "Bırak Olsun'un Sonu", III/66 (1 Mart 1928), s. 263-264.
34. "Türkiye'de Felsefe", 111/67 (8 Mart 1928), s. 282-283.
35. “Meşru Kazanç”, 111/68 (15 Mart 1928), s. 301-302.
36. "Rusya'da İçtimaiyat", 111/69 (22 Mart 1928), s. 325-326.
37. "Medeniyet Ölçüsü I", 111/70 (29 Mart 1928), s. 342-343.
38. Medeniyet Ölçüsü II, III/71 (5 Nisan 1928), s. 363-364.
39. "Medeniyet Ölçüsü III: Cürüm ve Medeniyet" III/72 (12 Nisan 1928), s. 382-383.
40. “Medeniyet Ölçüsü IV: Maddi Refah Vesaiti”, III/73 (19 Nisan 1928), s. 402-403.
41. "Medeniyet Ölçüsü V: Netice", II/74 (26 Nisan 1928), s. 428.
42. "Cemiyet, Gaiyyet ve Muayyeniyet", IV/90 (16 Ağustos 1928), s. 227-228; IV/94 (13 Eylül 1928), s. 311-312.
43. “İçtimai Hayatta Kadın", IV/92 (30 Ağustos 1928), s. 268-269.
44. “Bir Sosyolog: Max Adler”, V/116 (14 Şubat 1929) s. 222-223
45. "Ruhiyatta Buhran", V/121 (21 Mart 1929), s. 322-323.
46. “Muhabbetimizin Hudutları”, V/126 (25 Nisan 1929), s. 422-423.
47. "Usul Kavgası”, V/127 (2 Mayıs 1929), s. 445-446.
48. "Dinlere Dair", V/128 (9 Mayıs 1929), s. 463-464.
49. "Aciz İnsan”, V /129 (16 Mayıs 1929), s. 484-485.
50. "Kurban", V /130 (23 Mayıs 1929), s. 50l-502.
51. "Gene Usul Kavgası", VI/131 (30 Mayıs 1929), s. 4-5.

G. In Millî Journal (Mecmua)

1. Ziya Gökalp'i Tebcil İçin", l/24 (5 Teşrinisani 1340), s. 382-383.
2. "Bir Lütufkar Münekkide Cevap", II/26 (1 Kanunuevvel 1340), s. 416-421.
3. "Tahlil ve Tenkit: Şekip Bey'in Ruhiyat Dersleri", II/38 (1 Haziran 1341), s. 624-625.

4. "Türkiye'de Felsefe Tetkikleri ve Mehmet Emin Bey'in Son Eseri", II/40 (1 Temmuz 1341), s. 655-675.

H. Translations Added to the Latest Edition of the Book "New Sociology Lessons (Yeni İçtimaiyat Dersleri)"

1. "Cemiyet, Zümre Mefhumları" (Franz Oppenheimer'in System der Soziologie, Bd. 2, s. 458-466'sından tercüme)
2. "Maşeri Ruh Nedir?" (Lazarus ve Steintheil'in "Einleitende Gedanken über Völkerpsychologie" makalesinden tercüme)
3. "İçtimai Vakıa Nedir?" (Durkheim'ın Les regles de la methode sociologique'inden tercüme)
4. "İçtimaiyat İlminin Diğer İlimlerle Münasebeti" (Ch. Elwood'un "Das seelische Leben der menschlichen Gesellschaft" isimli eserinin s. l-l4'ünden tercüme)
5. "İçtimai Bakıştan İktisadi Hadise" (R. Stammler'in Wirtschaft und Recht nach der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung eserinin s. 228-231 'inden tercüme)
6. "Asrımızda İktisadi Teşebbüs, Fabrika" (Smoller'in Pricipes d'Economie politique, II'sinden tercüme)
7. "İktisat Mevzuunun ve Gayesinin Tasavvurunda Tekâmül" (Charles Gide'in Bir Konferansından)
8. "İktisadi Faaliyetin Ruhi Sebepleri" (Bougle, Les sciences sociales en Allemagne, s. 74-79, Bougle et Raffault, Elements de sociologie, s. 354-358'den tercüme)
9. "Cemiyette ve Uzviyette Tahallüf (Herbert Spencer, Principes de Sociologie, T. il, s. 7-9'dan tercüme)
10. "İçtimai İş Bölümünün Envaı Vardır" (Bougle, La democratie devant la science, s. 141-143'ten tercüme)
11. "Mübadelenin Kadim Şekilleri Nasıl Tetkik Olundu?" (R. Maunier, "Recherches sur les echanges rituels", Annee Sociologique, nouvelle serie, II, s. 13-19'dan tercüme)
12. 12. “Rekabetin İçtimai Mahiyeti" (Simmel'in Soziologie'sinin s. 213-218'inden tercüme)
13. "Asrımızda Aile" (Paul Janet, La Famille, s. 268-271, 289-29l'den tercüme)
14. "Aşiret ve Devlet" (W. Wundt'un Völkerpsychologie, Bd VIII: Die Geselischaft, s. 214-220'sinden tercüme)
15. "Bir Millet Bir Büyük Manevi Tesanüttür" (E. Renan, Qu'est ce qu'une nation? adlı nutkunun tercümesi)

16. "Vatandaş" (R. Hubert, Le principe d'autorite dans l'organisation democratique, s. 37-40'tan tercüme)
17. "Cemiyet Manevi Bir Uzviyettir" (P. Barth'ın Die philosophie der Geschichte als Soziologie, s. 103-108'inden tercüme)
18. "Hukukun Suri Mahiyeti" (Tanon, L'evolutiou du droit et la consciece sociale, s. 267-169'dan tercüme)
19. "Hukukun Terakki ve İnkişafı" (Tarde, Les transformations du Droit, s. 59'dan tercüme)
20. "Cürmün Sebepleri" (F. Larnaude, Berthelemy, Garçon etc., Les methodes juridiques, s. 231-235'ten tercüme)
21. "Dahi Nedir?" (Guyau, L'art au point de vue sociologique, s. 27-45'ten tercüme)

4.3. The Scientific Method of Mehmet İzzet Bey

The method of a scientist who produced a large number of copyrighted works and writings was as important as his personality in a short period of 17 years since 1913, the first date he started publishing his writings. Mehmet İzzet Bey's method is closely related to his work ethic, scientific depth, and questioning character. It is important to convey a general description of the way that his colleagues and students have said about İzzet Bey's scientific method, as well as the path he followed in his works.

İzzet Bey is a scientist who “does not like dogmas at all and can see all matters from various fronts.” (Erişirgil, 1940; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 307). According to Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, İzzet Bey has a mind that can examine philosophical issues comprehensively and understand his nature properly. İzzet Bey is one of the leading professors who brought genuine philosophical thought to *Darulfünun*.

As we emphasized earlier, İzzet Bey, who does not like dogmatic thoughts very much, according to Halil Açıkgöz, “is a representative of a rationalism that is deep knowledgeable and also non-cartesian against all kinds of dogmatism.” (Açıkgöz, 1981; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 27).

It is seen that İzzet Bey, who criticizes determinism in history, sociology, philosophy as well as in nationalism discussions, adopts idealism. While İzzet Bey appreciated Ziya Gökalp's ideas, he criticized him for his opposition to determinism in terms of method. Especially in the discussions about the responsibility of the society and the individual, İzzet

Bey found Gökalp to some extent justified, but explained that he left with a basic question he asked:

> *"Suppose that morality is explained by social determinism; then what will be the role of responsibility? If it is society that imposes obligation on the individual, what is the value of whether this or that moral act is preferred?*[51] *"*

Ziya Somar -since the method applied by Mehmet İzzet Bey in the subject of individual and society could not be applied by Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Şekip Tunç- he criticized their views and expressed İzzet Bey's approach as follows:

> *"Here, this idea of philosophy, which will find the rational perception above the empirical experience, the transcendent order of the senses, beyond the individual; at least in the lines of the first movement and vision, perhaps deficient; but it was Mehmet İzzet who gave it with all the constructive elements of his future development."*

Despite being influenced by similar movements, İzzet Bey's method difference made his thoughts deeper and more scientific than his contemporaries. According to Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, İzzet Bey is a thinker who accepts the idea for an idea in the history of Turkish thought. The main purpose of İzzet Bey is not "to settle the issues, but to search for new ways of thinking while doing it". In this direction, the method is based on a dialectical progress by constantly asking questions with a Socratic method. According to Ülken, İzzet Bey was "always looking for a thesis and an anti-thesis to reach every composition." (Ülken, 1931). It is also seen in the works of İzzet Bey, where he handles every idea in depth, as if he defends the thesis and then goes to the other side and defends the anti-thesis. With both a compositionist and unityist (*terkipçi ve vahdetçi*) approach, he finds both thesis and anti-thesis incomplete and combines them in unity and sees them as the missing parts of the truth (Levend, 1946).

Because of this method, people who seek definitive answers and final provisions could not understand İzzet Bey's ideas by finding them complicated and inconsistent. İzzet Bey's "hesitations and doubts about various issues were to reach the truth confidently." (Ülken,

[51] Farz edelim ki ahlak, içtimai determinizm tarafından izah edilmiş olsun; o zaman mesuliyetin rolü ne olacaktır? Ferde mükellefiyet yükleyen eğer cemiyet ise, şu veya bu ahlaki fiilin intihabının kıymeti nedir?"

1931; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 244). In general, the thoughts of İzzet Bey, seems to be far from integrity and not gathered around the main idea, but in fact it should be regarded as the "defense of a very clear humanitarian opinion." (Ülken, 1931).

As it can be understood from these, İzzet Bey's purpose is not to memorize an idea, knowledge or thought, but to make people think. The method of İzzet Bey, who thinks that ideas and opinions should not take the form of a dogma, can be understood more clearly in the statements of Sadrettin Celal Antel:

> *"İzzet advises the thinkers to consider relativity of an idea while thinking about ideas, that is, the new principles they will impose may be overcome in the future." (Antel S. C., 1931; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 253)*

His colleagues, friends or students, who convey the method and scientific stance of Mehmet İzzet Bey, often preferred to compare İzzet Bey with Ziya Gokalp. Because they saw İzzet Bey both as a complement and successor to Ziya Gokalp and a correctionist who handled it with a critical approach (Mehmet Servet, 1929; Ülken, 1931; Baltacıoğlu, 1931; Mustafa Şekip, 1931; Halil Nimetullah, 1931; Ülken, 1939). Contrary to Gökalp's dogmatic philosophy, İzzet Bey adopted the skeptical philosophy. "Ziya Bey made a philosophy to prove and suggest that he found it right, and İzzet Bey made a philosophy to find something worthy of proof and suggestion." (Mehmet Servet, 1929).

It was stated by many of his friends and contemporaries that Mehmet İzzet Bey's method in his life, scientific research and works reduced his recognition. In particular, Hilmi Ziya Ülken (Ülken, 1931; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 246) says, "It is necessary to look for the way and style of İzzet Bey":

> *""In fact, we coincide with two types of intellectuals which controversial to each other: in one, ideas are able to quickly act and practice. They can never compliment with the construction; they want to inspire and apply their works. The need for this act and suggestion is so much among them; they often give up even working on the details of their ideas because of the imperative to take action. Such thinkers apply to every form of expression and every means in order to spread an opinion as faith. They have to be more or less dogmatic to ensure the strength of the suggestion. Here Ziya*

Gokalp is one of such thinkers. The reason why he was popular in a short time should be sought at this point."

"The second type of thinkers, on the contrary, follows a rational method. In their understanding, all value is in ideas. And it is necessary to work on it for a long time with a painter's care and fantasy. These kinds of thinkers do not have time to think about the needs of the people. They expect the work they generate to be applied by second hand. In order not to lose the idea of criticism, which is the distinctive feature of thought, they avoid the beliefs that are quickly transformed into action. İzzet Bey was one of those thinkers. It is for this reason that his ideas did not resonate with this small Turkish intellectual community."

In summary, İzzet Bey, who is an idealistic and romantic philosophical thinker who opposes dogmatism, determinism, abusing science for politics, superficial studies and believing without questioning, has adopted a metaphorical, unityist and constitutive understanding and method. As a result, it can be said that the method used by İzzet Bey at the scientific point reflects his own character. Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani, which he went as a child, and his philosophical education in Europe have a great influence on the development of this character and method. On the other hand, the effects of following the thought world in the West are clearly seen in the method of İzzet Bey. The method of İzzet Bey, who was influenced especially by French and German thinkers and thought currents in Western thought, was influenced by the "pantheist principles of Baldwin, Croce and Spinoza inspired by Schelling and Hegel."

4.4. The Movements and Thinkers Influenced Mehmet İzzet Bey

Mehmet İzzet Bey was a philosopher and sociologist who studied philosophy abroad and speaks Turkish, French, Arabic and learns German to strengthen his intellectual basis in his later years (Antel S. C., 1939; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018). Considering all these features and those mentioned above, İzzet Bey must be influenced by the West. However, İzzet Bey "was able to make himself independent of this foreign language and the borrowed information that came with it, and to improve himself in his philosophical thinking and life with his original personality, which was the full and self-identical of the philosopher." (Somar, 1983; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 405).

Mehmet İzzet Bey, who has a philosophically unique frame of mind and idea, is what makes it original, that he receives information from many sources, not from a single source. He analyzed the ideas of the important names of the Western and Eastern intellectual world and analyzed their ideas and tried to produce new ideas. He brought an original approach, in his own frame of mind and philosophy, by blending the ideas of people from different schools of thought such as Socrates, Hegel, Durkheim, Frédéric Rauh, Dominique Parodi, Edward Westermarck, James Baldwin, Ernest Renan, Spinoza and Friedrich Schelling from the West. On the other hand, he examined the ideas of Islamic philosophers such as Imam-i Ghazali, Muhyiddin İbn-i Arabi and Hallac-ı Mansur in the Eastern world of thought (Ülken, 1931; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018).

İzzet Bey, in the beginning of his scientific and thought life, started to consider sociology in a naturalist way with the influence of the education he received in France and the thinkers he knew. However, the purpose of handling the issues in a naturalistic way is to move towards idealism by revealing the shortcomings of this kind of work. (Karaca, 2009; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 459).

İzzet Bey, who took lessons from Durkheim in the field of sociology, has moved away from this trend of thought due to the determinist and dogmatic approach of Durkheim and Ziya Gökalp, one of the pioneers of this thought in Turkey. In the periods when French thought influenced intensely with the effects of Durkheim and Bergson, the most important factor in Mehmet İzzet Bey's ability to go beyond French thought was learning German and receiving the German thought directly from its source.

The main point of conflict between Gökalp and İzzet Bey is seen in the question that İzzet Bey conveyed about the frame of mind on individual-society-morality:

> *"Suppose that morality is explained by social determinism; then what will be the role of responsibility? If it is society that imposes obligation on the individual, what is the value of whether this or that moral act is preferred? (Ülken, 2005, s. 435).*

Although his opinions diverged on many issues, even if it is known that the book "Milliyet Nazariyeleri ve Milli Hayat" and the article series "İçtimaiyat: Muasır Hayat ve Büyük Adamlar" are criticisms of Gökalp, İzzet Bey thought that disagreements in ideas would not be a problem.

We can see that Mehmet İzzet Bey, whose main purpose is to create a tradition of thought in Turkey, applies this purpose as an example in his frame of mind. As a matter of fact, İzzet Bey "did not take a hostile attitude or defend one side because he found all the Turkish thinkers and works that came before him are valuable." (Karaca, 2009). In this context, although he was seen as an opponent of Ziya Gökalp, he showed great respect and appreciated his intellectual effort.

Mehmet İzzet Bey is confronted with the philosophy of "evolution" led by Riza Tevfik, religious Islamists, materialists and the sociology of Ziya Gokalp. However, he was shine amongst other ways of thinking. First, he got rid of Gökalp's dogmatic understanding and analyzed and criticized the ongoing social problems. In time, he found himself in philosophy and used sociology only in a negative nature (Levend, 1946; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 349).

Perhaps the most important of the thinkers that İzzet Bey was influenced are Baldwin and Schelling, as we mentioned above. It is seen that Mehmet İzzet applied the views of Baldwin about the phases of societies in human history especially for nationality. As a matter of fact, İzzet Bey argues that societies go through three phases. He states that in the first stage, the soul and matter/material are not aware of each other and that they are not aware of this unawareness. It seems that this period corresponded to primitive societies. In the second phase, he says that material and soul are separated from each other, but that people are moving away from nature through withdrawing to oneself. It is seen that this phase coincides with the Middle Ages, where religions prevailed. The last stage is the age of nationality according to İzzet Bey. In this period, matter and soul wish to develop and progress by uniting versus nature.

We will explain these views of İzzet Bey in detail in the future, but the point to be mentioned at this point is that these ideas were actually inspired by Baldwin's ideas.[52]

[52] It is possible to come across such thought similarities in İzzet Bey's thought. However, a point should be emphasized. İzzet Bey does not copy a thought as it is and does not present it as though it is his own. It was appreciated by his friends that he clearly stated the sources he was influenced by his ideas in his works (Antel S. C., 1939; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 280). He also explicitly criticized that this type of plagiarism. He stated that it would be done only to stun middle-minded people, in his article titled "Felsefeye Merak Neden?". It is useful to mention a few important sentences in this article of İzzet Bey here:
"For some, our curiosity for philosophy is just a show. It emerges in the desire to be visible by imitating Westerners. There is no difference in nature between those who try to fit the latest fashion clothes from Europe and those who talk about the philosophy of Bergson, Durkheim, Kant. They are both "snob", both of which aim (…) to stun those an honest joe and middle-minded men. No matter how severe this provision is, I admit it is to some extent justified. The writers of philosophy in our country have such a talk about the prominent issues of philosophy that it seems that their purpose is to make the credulous reader, "Wow, How deep man."

(Levend, 1946; Ülken, 2005, s. 437-438). As a matter of fact, the three phases that Baldwin has revealed regarding the development of humanity are as follows: (1) *Prelogique* phase where nature and human are intertwined; (2) the *logique* phase, which corresponds to religious times when the nature-human, body-soul and God-universe dilemma emerged; and (3) the *hyperlogique* phase in which human beings re-orient nature and rise to the age of nationality (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 349).

İzzet Bey saw it as a duty to introduce the thoughts and thinkers to whom he was influenced and inspired. In this direction, as we have mentioned in the "his works" section above, İzzet Bey preferred to express the opinions of many thinkers directly, not indirectly. He not only translated these works, but also tried to overcome them by criticizing, analyzing and analyzing these views in his own works.

For example, he translated Renan's article "What is a Nation?" with the title "One Nation is a Great Spiritual Solidarism[53]" and presented it to the reader's discretion. While Renan described the nationality as a spiritual reality that could not be recourse to scientific theories, İzzet Bey used the same method at this point. However, İzzet Bey has taken a step forward. Ülken expressed the transcending of İzzet Bey and Renan beyond:

> *İzzet Bey makes comparisons between various spiritual lifestyles. According to him, religious life is spiritual just like national life. The only difference is that the spirituality of religious life is without content. The spirituality of religion disappears in inner life, in its most confidential style, completely turning away to things and nature. However, the spirituality and content of national life is the form taken into consideration with its content. National life is a spirituality that is passionate about nature."*

On the other hand, Mehmet İzzet Bey, according to Hilmi Ziya Ülken, must have been influenced by philosophers such as Spinoza, Eckhart and Croce (Ülken, 1931; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, pp. 244-245).

As can be seen, İzzet Bey, who is not connected to a single philosophy, thought or idea and trying to reveal a unique concept, tried to gather it to a point without distinguishing the

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Especially those who point to the bla bla pages of books that they have not read or even seen their paperbacks…" (Mehmet İzzet, 1927; Değirmencioğlu, 2002, p. 165).

[53] "Bir Millet Bir Büyük Manevi Tesanüttür"

rays around it like a lens. As a result, there were names and thoughts that he influenced as well as the names he influenced. Although his influence is not political, though, his thoughts are not visible, it is the exact opposite of what is actually happening today.

4.5. The Thinkers and Thoughts Influenced by Mehmet İzzet Bey and His Thought

"The power of Mehmet İzzet was his personality. And even if it is on a small group, the effect he has made is enormous.

Mazhar Şevket İbşir

"However, if the name Mehmet İzzet was a name spread among the masses such as the names of Namık Kemal or Ziya Gökalp, the situation would be different."

Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu

Mehmet İzzet Bey is one of the most important names of the idealist philosophical movement and the *intellectual* nationalism in Turkish thought history, but he is also considered among the founders of sociology in Turkey (Bayraktar L. , 2007; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 434). He made great contributions to Turkish thought on morality, sociology, nationalism, political philosophy, philosophy, history of philosophy and methodology. İzzet Bey, who appreciated all the ideas that preceded him with great respect in terms of being "output of thinking", compose these ideas within his own lens and reproduced them in an original form. These thoughts were not recognized later, as during his lifetime. For this reason, the influence of İzzet Bey remained "on a small group" as we mentioned above from Şevket İbşir.

However, according to Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, this is not a situation that Mehmet İzzet Bey is disturbed. The name of İzzet Bey remained an unknown name except for a narrow intellectual group. Although Fındıkoğlu knew that İzzet Bey intentionally wanted to stay in a narrow intellectual environment, he was upset that İzzet Bey was not known. The sentence we conveyed above is quite meaningful.

"However, if the name Mehmet İzzet was a name spread among the masses such as the names of Namık Kemal or Ziya Gökalp, the situation would be

different." (Fındıkoğlu, 1940; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 324)

Fındıkoğlu attributed İzzet Bey's limited influence on the society and among the thinkers to he does not interfere with political and practical life; and stated that "İzzet Bey was a sultan in his frame of idea, he could not be properly recognized except for his professional environment, he could not make a wide impact as a result."

Although the influence of İzzet Bey remains in a limited environment, it can be accepted that the influence he left on them can spread to the whole society, considering the faces around him. As a matter of fact, there are many professors, thinkers, bureaucrats, students and important figures around İzzet Bey who accept or criticize his ideas. It will be enough to mention the names of a few of them here: Many names such as Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, Rıza Tevfik Bölükbaşı, Mehmet Fuat Köprülü Adnan Adıvar, Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, Mustafa Şekip Tunç, Mehmet Servet, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Mehmet Ali Ayni, Hatemi Senih Sarp and Necmettin Sadak were in the close vicinity of İzzet Bey.

In addition, İzzet Bey made an important contribution to and influence on both the thoughts of his period and the generations to come through the Turkish Philosophy Society that he pioneered in 1927.

From this point of view, we can see the contribution and influence of İzzet Bey not only in the approaches maintained by those who adopt his thoughts, but also in the criticisms against his ideas and the developments in the approaches criticized by İzzet Bey[54]. However, in this study, we will be contented to convey the influences of İzzet Bey in the views of Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, who only adopt the views of İzzet Bey and regard them as his students. Then, we will touch on the "Anatolianist Nationalism" approach at the point where this tradition is maintained and evolves and emerges as a new version.

Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu is one of those who accepted being a student of İzzet Bey. Seeing the method of İzzet Bey as one of the most productive ways for Turkish thought, Fındıkoğlu stated that this way of thinking is a recipe for liberation from Sufism, stagnant

[54] For his influence on names such as Mustafa Şekip Tunç, İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, where Mehmet İzzet Bey was involved in the idea debate, see: Bayraktar, L. (2007). Mehmet İzzet'in Ardından. *Prof. Dr. Nihat Nirun'a Armağan*, 235-243.

and dogmatic character coming from Asia. He also said that the way to get out of the problem of "being a substitute of the influence of other nations" and lead to a genuine way of thinking is in the character of İzzet Bey (Fındıkoğlu, 1941, p. 171).

Instead of treating Mehmet İzzet Bey as a thinker alone, Fındıkoğlu tried to evaluate him in a school of thought. In particular, he addressed the names he saw similarities in terms of concepts and ways of dealing with problems in a series on a historical basis. Accordingly, he claimed that there was a very close philosophical closeness between Mehmet İzzet Bey and Namık Kemal (Fındıkoğlu, 1941). Looking ahead, he suggested that Nurettin Topçu is a follow-up thinker of this school of thought. According to Fındıkoğlu, the common point of the Namık Kemal-Mehmet İzzet-Nurettin Topçu path in terms of philosophy of ethics and philosophy of law is revolt against social and moral conformism (Fındıkoğlu, 1941; Bayraktar L. , 2007; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 321;441).

The influence of İzzet Bey on Ülken is clearly demonstrated by Ülken himself. As a matter of fact, when his works are examined –especially "*Aşk Ahlakı*" and "*İnsani Vatanperverlik*" - deep traces are seen from the ideas of İzzet Bey. Although Ülken expressed this situation in many places, the clearest of them can be seen in the letters he wrote to Coşkun Değirmencioğlu.

> *"He was my teacher in faculty of politics and faculty of literature. He had a huge impact on me. Although my book called **İnsani Vatanperverlik** is my personal work, İzzet Bey has an effect." (Ülken, Akt. Değirmencioğlu, 2002 s.11)*

> *"My book, where I extended the ideas of İzzet Bey, is **İnsani Vatanperverlik**. (...) The effect of İzzet Bey in my book **Aşk Ahlakı** is not very clear. With reference to İzzet Bey and his Western sources, I improved his thought." (Ülken, Akt. Değirmencioğlu, 2002 s.15)*

As a matter of fact, Hilmi Ziya Ülken became the representative of a sociological effort for the ontological basis of a philosophical understanding of sociology or ontological grounding of sociological knowledge after Mehmet İzzet (Şahin, 2017).

In terms of movements of thought, the most important of the movements influenced by İzzet Bey is "Anatolianist Nationalism" movement. In particular, the views of the names we have mentioned as the students of İzzet Bey above, who they have been leading this

movement for many years, clearly show that İzzet Bey's work is the intellectual basis of this trend (Ülken, 2005, s. 480; Bayraktar L. , 2007).

However, it should be noted at this point that even though the starting point of the Anatolianist Nationalism approach is seen as the work of İzzet Bey, it has moved away from the understanding of İzzet Bey as the point it transformed. Because "othering" and "exclusion" are not in question in İzzet Bey's understanding of nationalism. However, as Bingöl and Pakiş (2016, p. 24) stated, “Despite their territorial emphasis on the notion of the nation, Anatoliaists have adopted an exclusionary nationalism understanding which exclude the Turks living outside Anatolian geography and peoples other than Turkish ethnicity living in Anatolia.”

Therefore, as Dağtaşoğlu stated (2010, s. 118), Mehmet İzzet Bey has been influential in the Turkish thought world with his students as well as his own ideas. According to Fındıkoğlu, one of the most prominent differences of İzzet Bey is, “İzzet Bey's effort to discipline a member for our scientific life.” He made great efforts to "discipline Orhan Sadeddin after him" but not to live long enough to (Fındıkoğlu, 1940; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 319).

4.6. The Ideas of Mehmet İzzet Bey

Until this part of the study, the conceptual dimensions of concepts that İzzet Bey discussed, his political environment and intellectual developments during his life, and the life, works, method of him, and the people influenced İzzet Bey and those who influenced by him were discussed. In this section, the ideas of İzzet Bey in the light of all these things will be analyzed. While this section constitutes the main part of the study, it aims to establish the connection between the issues mentioned in all previous sections and the ideas of İzzet Bey.

Some points should be clearly underlined before moving on to İzzet Bey's ideas. First of all, it should be noted that the concepts İzzet Bey deals with are probably the most controversial concepts of the last three centuries. It is crucial to state that the date of İzzet Bey's handling of these concepts was a very early period. It is clear that concepts such as nation, nationality and nationalism are only seen in the events in practice and in the political field, and very few thinkers address this issue in academic, conceptual and philosophical terms. Indeed, in the first part of the study, the views of Özkırımlı, who examined the

development of nationalism in four periods[55], were accepted. If we look at these four periods, it will be seen that we can evaluate İzzet Bey in the first two terms.

İzzet Bey is a thinker who produces ideas at the end of the "period when the idea of nationalism was born" and at the beginning of "the first period when nationalism was the subject of academic studies". While the first period of nationalism was still experienced in Turkey's thought world during his lifetime, İzzet Bey tried to evaluate nationalism in an academic way and even discuss on it. At this point, it can be said that even though İzzet Bey's works and ideas were assumed in the first two periods, might be transcend his age and be included in the discussions in the third and fourth periods.

The analysis of the ideas of İzzet Bey through the discussions between the Second World War and the end of the Cold War -although there is no historical relation between them-, where the discussions of nationalism were discussed most intensely and academically, is valuable in terms of revealing that İzzet Bey made a transnational contribution to the Turkish thought world.

The expressions of "an internationally valued professor" (Antel S. C., 1939) for İzzet Bey, "an intellectual man who has earned not only the domestic and national scale but also the philosopher compared to the international" (Fındıkoğlu, 1940) are insufficient to express how great a thinker he is. Because the main reason for not being understood in his period was that he made works beyond the era by staying in the academic and philosophical circle without getting into the politics. It was likely that if İzzet Bey stayed alive and continued to express his ideas, we might be talking about a great thinker in the international academic and philosophical field in the discussions of nationalism.

The second point to be mentioned is the conditions of İzzet Bey's period. While evaluating the ideas of İzzet Bey, the information we provided about the historical process in the previous sections should be taken into consideration. Because İzzet Bey was the thinker of a period of depression in which wars, conflicts, political turmoil and disasters were experienced. In his 39 years of life, he saw the regime of oppression, constitutional

[55] According to Özkırımlı (Özkırımlı, 2008), four stages in the development of nationalism can be explained chronologically:
- "The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the idea of nationalism was born."
- "The first period in which nationalism was the subject of academic research (1918-1945)"
- "The second period when the debate on nationalism developed (1945-1990)"
- "The third period in which the debate on nationalism was deepened and expanded to new dimensions (since 1990)"

monarchy, the Balkan wars, the First World War, the periods of occupation and armistice, the period of the National Struggle, the foundation of the Turkish Republic and the periods in which most of the reforms were implemented and lived in this atmosphere.

On the other hand, it also witnessed the transformation of mainstream movements such as Ottomanism, Islamism, Turkism and Westernism, accompanied by deep discussions. He became aware of not only the developments in his own geography but also political and intellectual developments in many parts of the world and produced ideas in the atmosphere of these developments. For example, he expressed his thoughts on political events happened or movements emerged in France, America, England, Germany and Russia.

Many developments[56], such as the polarization that started in Europe on the one hand, the independence struggles of Latin American countries, the Bolshevik Revolution in Tsarist Russia and ultimately the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish Republic, have influenced social sciences and political sciences, as well as politics and society. The period of armistice, which left deep marks in the Turkish world of thought, was one of the main reasons İzzet Bey turned towards mysticism and idealism. In addition to this reason, Ülken also counts the religious feelings that have lost their political power (...) and the development of humanism in the new generation (Ülken, 1939; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, pp. 285-286).

After all these reminders, İzzet Bey's ideas about nation and nationality and nationalism can be deal. It is necessary to take into account that İzzet Bey mostly produces ideas in order to raise a new question rather than present a provision. We will go on to convey the ideas of İzzet Bey by passing on the following sentence of İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu about İzzet Bey.

> *"İzzet Bey is this in all his writings. It is noteworthy that the main function of this mentality is not to get things done, but to search for new ways of thinking." (Baltacıoğlu, 1931).*

[56] To examine the political developments in the world from the French Revolution to World War I, see: Armaoğlu, F. (1997). *19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi (1789-1914).* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları. For developments in World War I and beyond until 1995, see: Armaoğlu, F. (2015). *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi 1914-1995* (20. b.). (A. Koçal, Z. Berktaş, & R. Kızıltuğ, Dü) İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları.

4.6.1. The Ideas of Mehmet İzzet Bey on Nation and Nationality

"A nation is a community consisting of individuals who want to live together or do not want to "live with others or be subordinated by others.[57]*"*

Mehmet İzzet

"The feeling of nationality is a religious bond, a faith.[58]*"*

Mehmet İzzet

In this part of the study, we will consider the answers that İzzet Bey has given or sought to the basic questions that we have insisted on since the beginning of the concept of nation. Therefore, it would be appropriate to remind our questions once again: (1) What is the nation? (2) What are the elements that consists the nation? (3) When did the nation appeared? (4) How did the nation emerge? Is it artificial or innate/natural? Examinations on these questions will be discussed under two sub-headings: Conceptual discussion and the formation of nations. In the first subtitle, the opinions and questions of İzzet Bey about "what the nation is" discussed. In the second subtitle, the answers given / sought for the remaining questions will be explained in connection with each other.

Conceptual Discussion

The concept of the nation has experienced great changes in the Turkish intellectual evolvement. Just before İzzet Bey expressed his views on the concept of nation, he emphasized this change, which we discussed in previous chapters. He cited Ziya Gökalp's view of the concept of the nation:

> *"Although the words of nation and nationality, which we use a lot in our language, have passed from Arabic to Turkish, the meaning we give to them is new and came from the West." (Gökalp, 1918 Akt. Mehmet İzzet,1923)*

İzzet Bey thinks that the *millet* is used not with the meaning of Arabic origin, but with the meaning of the nation taken from the West. It also draws attention to the re-examination of the relationship between the concepts of nation and nationality:

[57] "Bir millet, beraber yaşamak isteyen veya başkalarıyla beraber yaşamak veya başkalarına tabi olmak istemeyen efradın, hey'et-i mecmuasıdır."
[58] "Milliyet hissi dini bir bağdır, bir imandır."

> *"According to the bases of our language and Arabic, there is no fundamental difference between nation and nationality. As seriousness is used to mean being serious in Turkish, nationality should mean being national, that is, belonging to a nation.[59]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 84)*

However, İzzet Bey states that there is a serious difference between this use and the use in the West and a distinction is made between the concepts of nation and nationality in the West. He criticizes Vierkandt's[60] and Otto Braun's[61] distinction between the nation and nationality as an exaggeration. Stating that it will not be possible to make a definite distinction between the nation and nationality, İzzet Bey finds the ideas of the French thinker Johannet[62] about the nation-nationality relationship more accurately. Later, he focused on the views of Zangwill[63], a Jewish writer, that the nation could contain various nationalities.

He made it clear that he would use the nation on the basis of nationality, not on a state basis, by criticizing the approaches of thinkers who especially identify the nation with the state (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 86). Thus, instead of accepting the nation and the state as the same, he treated the nation and the state as separate notions.

By revealing that the concept of nation was used in different meanings from different perspectives, it clearly revealed that there was a conceptual discussion about the concept of nation at that time. Although he did not give a clear answer to the question of what the nation was ultimately, he stated that it was a very broad and uncertain definition. However, he made the following definition in the introduction to study in detail:

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[59] "Lisanımızın ve Arapçanın kaidelerine göre, millet ve milliyet arasında esaslı bir fark yoktur. Ciddiyet Türkçede ciddi olmak manasına isti'mal olunduğu gibi milliyet de millî olmak yani bir millete mensup, bağlı olmak manasına gelmek lazım gelir."

[60] For Vierkandt's views, see: Vierkandt, A. (1923). *Gesellschaftlehre: Hauptprobleme Der Philosophischen Soziologie.* Stuttgart: Verlag von Ferdinand Enke. (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 84)

[61] For Otto Braun's views, see.: Braun, O. (1913). *Geschichtesphilophie.* Berlin: Teubner. (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 85)

[62] René Johannet says the following about the relationship between nation and nationality: "The nation is a realized/manifested nationality. The nationality is a nation in the form of seeds ." (Johannet, 1923; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 85) For Johannet's ideas on the subject, see: "Johannet, R. (1923). *Le Principe des Nationalités.* Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale."

[63] For Zangwill's views on the subject, see: "Zangwill, İ. (1918). *Le Principe Des Nationalités*. Paris: Henri Didier. s. 17-18" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 86).

"A nation is a community consisting of individuals who want to live together or do not want to "live with others or be subordinated by others." (Mehmet İzzet, 1928; Değirmencioğlu, 2002, p. 527)

Moreover, it is seen that Ernest Renan also had a great influence on İzzet Bey's conceptual discussions on the concept of nation. In particular, the translation of Renan's speech titled "Qu'est ce qu'une nation?" is sufficient to understand its influence on İzzet Bey. Because İzzet Bey accepts Renan's view that "the nation is a popular vote repeated every day":

"Nation is a natural organism, but it is an organism that continues to exist with a social contract in terms of the fact that our activity matures at all times and therefore is the subject of our will.[64]"(Mehmet İzzet, 1928; Değirmencioğlu, 2002, p. 527)

The view of İzzet Bey, who sees the nation as "a society created in the consciousness, will and thoughts of the individuals who consists the nation", is similar to Benedict Anderson's conceptualization of "imagined communities" approximately 60 years after him. But at this point, İzzet Bey takes the discussion further and asks the question of what could be the "facts/phenomenon" that inspired this will and thought. He then questions why national life is an ideal and something that needs to be worked out to make it happen:

"What are the facts that inspire these desires of people who say they want to live as a nation? Why is it necessary to lean in front of them? Why is national life an ideal and working for it to be realized is seen as a duty?[65]" (Mehmet İzzet, 1928; Değirmencioğlu, 2002, p. 528)

İzzet Bey, who examined the nation under two separate titles as facts and ideal, followed a method of inquiry that addressed the material and spiritual elements of the nation at this point. After discussing *what the nation is* conceptually, the questions of *what the elements of the nation are, when the nation emerged and how the nation was formed* can be followed after the following questions of İzzet Bey:

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[64] "Millet tabii bir uzviyettir lakin her an faaliyetimizin tekemmül etmesine bais olduğu ve binaenaleyh irademizin mevzuu bulunduğu cihetle, sanki bir sosyal akit ile varlığını idame-i mevcudiyet eden bir uzviyettir."

[65] "Bir millet halinde yaşamak istediklerini söyleyen insanların bu arzularını ilham eden vakıalar hangileridir? Neden bunların önünde eğilmek vaciptir? Neden millî hayat bir mefkûre oluyor ve onun tahakkukuna çalışmak bir vazife addolunuyor?"

"On which subjective or objective basis is the ideal that prompts people to seek the political and social, material and spiritual life they call national?[66]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 86).

"What is nationality? When we say we are national, what are we? What do we want to be when we want to be national?[67]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 87).

İzzet Bey, who stated that nations and nationality is actually an ideal that cannot recourse to one element such as race, language, character, soil, economics, history and tradition, nevertheless tried to reveal the philosophical meaning of this ideal and give it a humane value. Although he thought that there were "indescribable elements" in the nationality issue, he concluded that, in the clearest expression of nationality, it was a sacred goal:

"Nationality is an ideal when that would be free from the domination of politics which want to imprison itself within the boundaries or the records of the race, the language, the land, the economy or the history. In other words, it is a sacred purpose, unconditional and unquestioning, that demands absolute sacrifice from us and demands obedience.[68]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 83).

It is not acceptable for İzzet Bey to see this holy aim as "a cannonball that should be used against the enemy when the opportunity is stated" stated in the statements of Ziya Gökalp. İzzet Bey refused to handle the feeling of nationality from a political perspective and abusing science for politics:

"We are completely stranger to this political view. We will try to determine the meaning and importance of the nationality according to the human values, not the political interests. Is the essence and basis of the nation in race, in language, in religion or in the land or in the economic

[66] İnsanları millî dedikleri siyasi ve içtimai; maddi ve manevi hayatı aramağa sevk eden mefkûre hangi enfüsi veya afaki [sübjektif veya objektif] esasa istinad eder?"
[67] "Milliyet nedir? Millîyiz dediğimiz vakit neyiz? Millî olmak istediğimiz vakit ne olmak istiyoruz."
[68] "Kendini kâh ırk, kâh lisan, kâh toprak, kâh iktisat veya tarih hudutları ve kayıtları dahiline hapsetmek isteyen siyasetin tahakkümünden kurtuluncadır ki milliyet bir mefkûredir. Yani bizden bila kayd-ü şart [kayıtsız ve şartsız], suret-i mutlakada [mutlak surette] fedakârlık talep eden, itaat isteyen mukaddes bir gayedir."

interest or in culture, will, spirit or character?[69]*" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 81).*

Formation of the Nation: Nationality and Elements

First, İzzet Bey avoided making definitive provisions about the formation of the nation. Because the subject of falsifiability and relativity of information is part of the scientific method of İzzet Bey, as we have already mentioned. He emphasized a very important point regarding this situation in the last sentences of the preface part of his book "Milliyet Nazariyeleri ve Millî Hayat":

"We do not hesitate to admit that this opinion has not yet been based on sufficient examination and observation." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 83).

After stating this point, İzzet Bey tried to reach a conclusion with the method of inquiry regarding the concept of nation. First of all, he claims that the elements that make up the nation cannot be handled with a determinist approach, and any one of these elements cannot form the nation alone, and even if all elements come together without the ideal of nationality (*milliyet mefkûresi*), a nation will not be formed anyway. Each element can be within the nation, but it is not its creator. As an example of these elements, İzzet Bey counted the material elements such as race, geography, economics as well as spiritual elements such as language, character, tradition, history, culture and civilization. He addressed each element in turn and explained why the nation could not be recourse only to this element.

First, he questioned whether race, soil (geography) and economics are elements of the nation because of the fact that man has a *body*, a *geography* and a "*relationship between body and geography*." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 103).

Race as an Element: İzzet Bey gave many examples from the history in order to explain that the nation does not and cannot be a racial union. He stated that the Czechs and Germans hate each other even though the skulls are the same, as opposed to those who try to segregate races according to the phrenology. İzzet Bey, who joined Ziya Gökalp at this point, stated that the race is not only a biological phenomenon, but it is almost impossible to find a pure race today. To summarize, İzzet Bey, who acknowledges that it is proved that

[69] "Biz bu siyasi bakışa tamamen yabancıyız. (…) milliyetin manasını ve ehemmiyetini siyasi menfaatlere göre değil beşerî kıymetlere nazaran tayin edilmeğe çalışacağız. (…) Milletin esası, temeli ırkta mıdır, lisanda mı, dinde yoksa toprakta veya iktisadi menfaatte yahut harsta, iradede, ruhta veya seciyede mi?"

there is no relevance between the nation and race, says that with reference to Celestin Bougle:

> *"Accepting nation, which is a social community, as a consisted of one race, can help some interests or political ambitions. But science seems to be giving up such thoughts.[70]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 114).*

According to İzzet Bey, races are results rather than reasons. In other words, it is not an actor that creates and constructs anything, but it can be a constructed artefact. However, he still reminded that "those who want to protect the national race have applied to the science of Eugénique"[71]. At this point, İzzet Bey formed the following sentence, which is the key to transition to other elements:

> *"Consequently, if we look at the race to understand national life, we must first pay attention to the natural environment (geography) and the artificial economy in seconds to understand the race.[72]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 114).*

Geography as an Element: After this question, he asks a new question and discusses the nation-geography relationship. Is it necessary to have a certain geography or homeland for the nation to form:

> *"Is the nation essentially consist of a national homeland, that is national land? Are geographical, territorial differences the reason why nations feel separate and that people distinguish national groups? Is national ideal the sign of territorial certainty?[73]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 115).*

After conveying the opinions that the homeland was necessary for the formation of the nation, İzzet Bey asked the question of "what will be the criteria to determine the boundaries

[70] "İçtimai bir hey'et olan bir milletin bir ırktan ibaret addolunması bazı menfaatlere veya siyasi ihtiraslara yardım edebilir. Fakat ilim gitgide bunlardan feragat eyliyor gözükmektedir."
[71] Considering that this book was published in 1928, İzzet Bey must have seen that the Turkish History Thesis discussions began to shift to an eugenic point that he considered a criticism necessary in this regard.
[72] "Binaenaleyh, millî hayatı anlamak için ırka bakarsak, ırkı anlamak için de evvela tabii muhite (coğrafyaya), saniyen sun'i iktisada dikkat eylemekliğimiz lazım gelir."
[73] "Millet has manasıyla millî vatandan yani millî topraktan ibaret midir? Milletlerin kendilerini ayrı hissetmeleri ve ayrı vaz etmeleri, insanların millet zümrelerini ayırt etmeleri toprakların, iklimlerin başka başka olmalarından mıdır? (…) Millî mefkûre toprak belirliliğinin ifadesi midir?"

of the homeland?" Should the boundaries of the homeland be determined according to our sense or our interests? (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 117).

İzzet Bey, who has deepened his inquiries about whether geography is an indispensable element of the nation, has demonstrated that the boundaries of a country cannot be determined by natural borders such as mountains, seas, plains and deserts. He accepts the view that the borders that are not based on natural boundaries and which are politically determined are null, nor can they determine the borders of nations. After all his inquiries and discussions, İzzet Bey concludes the following regarding the nation-geography relationship:

> *"There is no alliance between political and national geography and natural geography. Maybe there is conflict. A nation is not subject to the boundaries of nature, the forms of the earth, in order to neither be formed nor manifest unitedly; perhaps the borders are subject to nations. In other words, the nation is not the product of the border, but the border is the product of national life.[74]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 122).*

İzzet Bey accepted the view that the borders are the creation of the nations. However, he also claimed that geographical and natural borders were used as tools for nation building:

> *"Geographical boundaries and natural boundaries are desired to be corrected; even if the unity of the national country does not exist, it is desired to be created.[75]" (Mehmet İzzet, 1928; Değirmencioğlu, 2002, p. 533).*

Addressing the relationship between the climate issue and the nation, which is another dimension of the geography, with a very deep discussion, İzzet Bey conveyed various views of Montesquieu, Herder, Ritter, Le Play-Demolins and Ratzel on the impact of climate on the nations, by criticizing them. He put forward the opposite of each view and after explaining the invalidity of these views, he put forward a view similar to that of Durkheim. According to İzzet Bey, the effect of nature and climate is shaped according to the relationship of man with nature (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 133). In short,

[74] "Siyasi ve millî coğrafya ile tabii coğrafya arasında ittifak yoktur. Belki ihtilaf vardır. (…) Bir millet ne meydana gelmek ne de vahdet halinde inkişaf eylemek için tabiatın hudutlarına, arızalarına tabi' değildir; belki hudutlar milletlere tabi'dirler. (…) Yani millet hududun değil hudut millî hayatın mahsulüdür."
[75] "Coğrafi hudutlar, tabii hudutlar tashih edilmek, millî ülkenin birliği mevcut değilse bile, yaratılmak istenilir."

İzzet Bey's conclusion about this issue is: "territory is not a sufficient basis for explaining national life."

Economics as an Element: The point that İzzet Bey states that it should be considered as the second is the nation-economy relationship. As in the previous elements, İzzet Bey again conveyed the prominent views one by one and criticized them one by one. İzzet Bey, who began to question with an Arab proverb[76], that says that a long time relationship has been established between the nation and economics, treated the socialists' view of the nation as "the illegitimate child of capitalism" as a sign of the relationship between economics and the nation. He also emphasized the importance of the nation-economy relationship by mentioning the developments in Ireland regarding the role of economics in the formation process of the nation. İzzet Bey's view that "it will not be right to overemphasize the importance to the economy" in the formation process of the nation is understood from the criticisms he made to the views of the German thinker Friedrich List:

> *"Is the effort of today's nationalities to lead a sovereign national life and to create a sovereign political organization is a consequence of an economic trend? Is the ideal of the human being the product of and obliged to the tool he uses? Is our national life a temporary expression of economic interests?[77]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 139).*

Addressing the views of Marx and Engels after this question, İzzet Bey states that these views are insufficient to explain the nation. However, İzzet Bey finds the views of Karl Kautsky more explicitly in terms of science, revealing the views of socialism on the formation of nations. However, the conclusion reached by all inquiries is similar to the previous ones:

> *"It can be seen with this explanation that the concept of nationality is neither the product nor the subject of economic coercion. It needs its independence to be born or to grow. If we look back at the previous issues and remember that nationality cannot be explained by race or geographical conditions, we have to accept that nationality is not the*

[76] Related Arab proverb: "The place where I earn my keep is the largest of the homeland acquired for me. We count the community that shows honour to us as us." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 136)
[77] "Müstakil millî bir hayat sürmek, müstakil siyasi bir manzume [organizasyon] teşkil eylemek için bugünkü milliyetlerin cehdi [çabası] iktisadi cereyanın bir mahsulü müdür? Beşerin mefkûresi kullandığı aletin mahsulü ve esiri midir? Millî hayatımız iktisadi menafi'in [menfaatlerin] muvakkat bir ifadesinden mi ibarettir?"

result of any material determinism factors.[78]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 148).

İzzet Bey, who has reached an advanced question by examining the material elements one by one and criticizing and investigating, continues his research by addressing the spiritual elements. Indeed, the existence of the nation and the necessity of the national ideal/mefkûre will emerge as a result of these inquiries:

"In order to reveal the existence of the nation and the necessity of the national ideal, we need to examine the spiritual stage of national life and identify the direction of the national soul, to be conquered by tradition and history, national character and national language, civilization and culture.[79]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 148).

As seen in this statement, İzzet Bey deals with the spiritual elements of the nation as "language, character, tradition and history, culture and civilization." In his book "Milliyet Nazariyeleri ve Millî Hayat ", these elements were examined and criticized, respectively.

Language as an Element: First of all, İzzet Bey quoted Ziya Gokalp's view that "The nation is a linguistic community and the nation is the sum of individuals speaking the same language" and tried to prove that this was wrong. He reminded that the fact that nations are not a language union, the fact that three languages are spoken in Switzerland does not constitute an obstacle for the Swedes to become a nation. Likewise, he emphasized that not all French people speak French in France with reference to French sociologists Hesse and Gleyze. From another point of view, the fact that the nations living in South American countries are not Spanish, although they speak Spanish, was also handled by İzzet Bey for the criticism of such an approach. In short, İzzet Bey shows that both contradictory claims have their own proof, but they are not sufficient to prove that the nation is a language union.

İzzet Bey examined the "qualities that language could possess towards the nation" one by one and investigated how accurate these were. He stated that the importance of language

[78] "Bu izahat ile görülür ki milliyet mefkûresi iktisadi ilcaların ne mahsulü ne de tabi'idir. Doğmak için de büyümek için de istiklaline muhtaçtır. Evvelki bahislere de irca-ı nazar eder [geri dönüp bakar] ve milliyetin ne ırk ile ne coğrafi şerait ile izah olunamadığını hatırlarsak, milliyetin maddi muayyeniyet [determinizm/belirlenimcilik] amillerinden hiçbirinin eseri olmadığını kabul etmemiz lazım geliyor."

[79] "Milletin vücudunu [varlığını] ve millî mefkûrenin vücubunu [gerekliliğini] te'sis edebilmek için millî hayatın manevi safhasını tedkik eylemekliğimiz, an'ane ve tarih, millî seciye ve millî lisan, medeniyet ve hars ile zapt olunmak istenen millî ruhun istikametini teşhis etmekliğimiz lazımdır."

is that it preserves the national history and institutions and transmits it from generation to generation even if language is not always a "genuine symbol of a nation".

> *"The importance of language is that it is both the protector and the transmitter of all national history and institutions.[80]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 156).*

İzzet Bey, who thinks that it would be inconvenient to overemphasize this kind of importance, underlined that the language is not consists the whole memory of the nation, as well as that all the memories in this memory may not be national. As a matter of fact, this paraphrase of İzzet Bey about historical memory is quite correct:

> *"Can we be completely successful if we try to describe the values summarized by a mosque, a fountain, a composition for Turks in "language"? Secondly, not all the memories that the language conveys to us are national. Therefore, from time to time, nations endeavor to discard foreign words from their languages.[81]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 157).*

Addressing the view that nations can be diagnosed according to languages, İzzet Bey emphasized the question: "You say that we diagnose nationality by national language, but how do you identify national language?" He highlighted that the borders of languages are too complex to be a measure of nationality. In addition, although there are some examples in which the contribution of language to the formation of nations cannot be denied, national language is perhaps not the creator of the ideal of and necessity of nationality, but perhaps its creature, it is not overlord, it is relier[82]. (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 161).

As a result, İzzet Bey claims that language is a tool and that national life can create the tool that is needed in the material and spiritual field, but he thinks that nation should not be the creature of this tool. As a continuation of this view, it has been made clear that nations

[80] "Lisanın ehemmiyeti bütün milli tarihin ve müessesatın [kurumların] ham hafızı hem nâkili [hem koruyucusu hem aktarıcısı] olmasındandır."
[81] "Türkler için bir cami, bir çeşme, bir bestenin hulasa eylediği kıymetleri lisan ile anlatmağa çalışırsak tamamen muvaffak olabilir miyiz? Saniyen lisanın bize nakl eylediği hatıraların hepsi millî değildir. (…) Bundan dolayı zaman zaman milletler dillerinden yabancı kelimeleri atmak için gayret ederler."
[82] "Millî lisan milliyet vücubunun [gerekliliğinin], milliyet mefkûresinin halıkı [yaratıcısı] değil, belki mahlukudur, metbu'u değil, belki tabi'idir [tabi' olunanı değil, tabi' olanı'dır]."

may have a language difference with each other, but not every language difference will necessitate a nationality difference (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 161).

National Character (Disposition / Creation / Temperament) as an Element: Another factor that is claimed to be the nation and nationality both in fact/phenomenon and ideal dimensions is the character/*seciye* element. İzzet Bey stated that this element was accepted as the main factor that distinguishes the nations from the nations, especially in the first half of the 19th century, but it cannot be accepted anymore. It is not possible for every nation to have a unique and personal personality and character in today's world. For example, considering the view that "Turks have a characteristic like hospitality", "the shortest history is sufficient to show that the allegations of exclusivity are empty" in this respect. "Hospitality is not just a Turkish character." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 168). According to İzzet Bey, such opinions show "dreams of national pride rather than the truth of national existence".

After conveying many examples and historical truths, after "showing how expanded the idea of the character of the nations", İzzet Bey stated that "if the national character is the average and common quality of the individuals who consists the nation, it will be necessary to consider the geniuses outside the nation". Therefore, "national unity is another and character unity is another" issue. Because according to İzzet Bey:

> *"If the national character was the basis and drive of national history, it should not have changed and should have been continuous. However, as much as possible to see national characters, their changes are seen.*[83]*"* *(Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 177).*

In summary, İzzet Bey has revealed that no conclusion can be reached in this element, and that the character cannot be claimed to explain and determine the life, history and ideal of a nation:

> *"Because we can only understand the national character - as far as possible to see - from history. History, however, shows us very continuous customs, livelihoods, and trends, but it is not possible to accept that any*

[83] "Eğer millî seciye millî tarihin esası ve muharriki olsaydı (…) tahavvül etmemesi [değişime uğramaması] ve devamlı olması iktiza ederdi. Halbuki millî seciyelerin iraesi [görülmesi] kabil olduğu nisbette tahavvülleri de gözüküyor."

of them dominate national life as an essential ore, due to continuous changes.[84]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 178).

National Tradition and History as Elements: Has the nation been constructed on unique traditions? İzzet Bey basically started to question whether the national tradition and history factor is the main factor that constitutes the nation. Before proceeding to answer this question, he expressed the discussions he had expressed in the previous element, namely, the national character:

"If we accept that the nations have independent, stable and intact characters, the traditions must be in a way that can adapt to them.[85]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 179).

İzzet Bey has revealed from the very beginning that this is not true, as he expresses his criticism about the immutability of the characters. However, since the national tradition and history element was highly underlined, he explained this element through criticism.

According to İzzet Bey, what is seen as a national tradition is "usually just random constructions of history." From time to time, nations can love and embrace them with the thought that they are their symbol. However, it is not understandable that a nation is "a creature to tradition and history" and "believing to being free in this captivity".

He accepted that there was an inverse proportion between the strength of national traditions and the strength of national life, based on Durkheim's view.[86] According to İzzet Bey, who argues that national life generally begins to emerge in big cities, "the big city kills the tradition as it creates national life." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 182).

[84] "Çünkü millî seciyeyi – kabil-i irae [görülmesi mümkün] olduğu nisbette – ancak tarihten anlayabiliyoruz. Tarih ise bize oldukça devamlı adetler, maişet tarzları, temayüller gösteriyorsa da bunların herhangi birinin esaslı bir cevher olarak millî hayata hâkim olduğunu kabul eylemek, daimî olan tahavvül ve tedebbüllere binaen kabil değildir."

[85] "Milletlerin müstakil, sabit ve layetegayyer [bozulmaz] seciyeleri olduğunu kabul edersek, an'anelerin de onlarla i'tilaf edebilecek [uyum sağlayabilecek] mahiyette olması" gerekmektedir.

[86] İzzet Bey cited Durkheim's views on this issue as follows: "The societies where proverbs are used the most are primitive societies. Most of the West African tribes have a large collection of proverbs. At least there is one for every vital situation. This state is common among tribes that have made little progress in civilization. In more developed societies, the abundance of proverbs is only in the first stages of their existence. Later, as new proverbs were not created, the old ones were gradually neglected. Another case that proves this is the use of proverbs only in the lowest layers in the societies that have reached a high maturity. A proverb expresses social and traditional feelings about a particular subject. The abandonment of this situation indicates that it is no longer possible to imprison life within the fixed and narrow cadres of traditions. (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 182).

In addition, İzzet Bey also finds it wrong to accept national traditions mostly without being questioned and instinctively. As a matter of fact, İzzet Bey thinks that dogmatic and uncritical thoughts will not be sound:

> *"Beyond any criticism, it can be argued that national life, rather than traditions and feelings, is perhaps close to critical and destructive science and reason, perhaps in many manifestations.[87]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 184).*

İzzet Bey also showed a critical attitude about the relationship between the nation and history. Although he sees nationality as a historical product, according to İzzet Bey, what constitutes the nation is not the history itself, but the way the nation perceives history:

> *"What keeps the nation alive is not that it knows what it is in terms of historical truth, but assuming itself as something. In fact, those who think they were something in the past show only what they want to be in the future.[88]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 185).*

Considering the issues discussed during his lifetime, it is a great far-sightedness that İzzet Bey stated that "societies focus on certain periods of their own history and ignore some parts of them". As a matter of fact, before the establishment of the Turkish Republic and the Turkish History Thesis, İzzet Bey presented this situation independent of the context in the world of ideas, and in a sense, he guided:

> *"When we look at the volumes of history to understand the state of the nation today and to determine its future duties, the reason why we should be careful about bla bla page more than the other pages, isn't our current interests and concerns?[89]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 186).*

At this point, İzzet Bey claimed that nations could invent a history that was not in order to develop (*inkişaf ettirmek*) themselves. The similarity between Eric Hobsbawm's

[87] "Millî hayatın bugün her türlü tenkidden müctenib [öte] an'ane ve hissiyata değil belki birçok tezahüratı i'tibarıyla daha ziyade tenkitçi ve tahripçi ilim ve akla yakın olduğu iddia olunabilir."
[88] "Milleti yaşatan kendinin tarihî hakikat i'tibariyla ne olduğunu bilmesi değil, bir şey olduğunu zannetmesidir. Hakikatte ise mazide bir şey olduklarını zannedenler, sadece istikbalde bir şey olmak istediklerini irae ederler [gösterirler]."
[89] "Milletin bugünkü halini anlamak ve istikbaldeki vazifelerini tayin eylemek için tarih ciltlerine baktığımız vakit filan sahifeden ziyade diğerine dikkat eylemekliğimizi icab ettiren sebep bugünkü alakalarımız, endişelerimiz değil de nedir?"

"Invention of Tradition" about 60 years after him and what İzzet Bey emphasized here is remarkable:

> *"This is so genuine that any national development-selfishness will invent itself a history from the air.[90]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 187).*

In his article titled "The Role of Turk" published in the Hayat Periodical, İzzet Bey stated that he is not one of those who believe in the historical destiny, and that the nations cannot be seen as "players who memorize their roles in advance". In this context, it is seen that İzzet Bey has reached the conclusion of continuing his research clearly.

National Culture and Civilization as Elements: What is the civilization? While evaluating the relationship between nationality and civilization, İzzet Bey first mentioned in what meanings civilization was used. Because, putting forward a detailed attitude in criticism is one of the most basic methods of İzzet Bey. Summarizing civilization as the living and livelihood principles that distinguish people from animals, İzzet Bey basically builds an idea through housing and dressing. A series of views that suggests the national architecture and national dress may distinguish the nations from each other was handled by İzzet Bey. He stated that architectural structures cannot always represent the nation, and that different architectural methods have become visible in every country. As for the national dress issue, even if there was such a way of living in the past, this situation started to disappear with the new order brought by internationalization and urbanization:

> *"The specialty of the clothes as well as the features of the buildings are gradually disappearing. In advanced nations, clothing no longer serves to distinguish nationality, perhaps social classes. Old esoteric clothes are only left in pathless villages with little participation in national life.[91]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 190).*

The village emphasis here strengthens İzzet Bey's thesis on the influence of big cities in the formation of nations. According to İzzet Bey, the century we are in is "century of nationality, and civilization today is city civilization." Hereby, İzzet Bey, who argued that

[90] "Bu o derece hakikidir ki herhangi bir millî inkişaf hodgamlığı [bencilliği/egoizmi] kendine hiç yoktan bir tarih ihtira' eder [icad eder/türetir]."
[91] "Binaların hususiyeti kadar kıyafetlerin hususiyeti de git gide zail oluyor [ortadan kalkıyor]. (…) İlerlemiş milletlerde kıyafet artık milliyeti değil, belki ictimai sınıfları tefike yarıyor. Eski hususi kıyafetler ise ancak millî hayata pek az iştirak eden ücra köylerde baki kalıyor."

the cosmopolitan structure in big cities is more effective in the emergence of nations, also accepted Durkheim's view that “for the presence of the individual ego (I), other egos must be present and be perceived as "other".” Based on this, he claims that internationalism is essential for the emergence of nationality.

From this viewpoint, İzzet Bey also considered it necessary to criticize the views that the relationship between culture and civilization is parallel to the relationship between nation and internationalism. He also stated that the views that Ziya Gökalp has suggested that “culture is peculiar to the nations and civilization is the life that is common among the nations” have some aspects that need to be explained, by expressing the opinions of thinkers like Socrates[92], Novicow[93] and August Wolf[94].

According to İzzet Bey, who thinks that civilization has started to spread all over the world and a unity of civilization can be established over time, “when civilization unites, culture will unite.” In fact, “despite the unity of civilization, the opinion that cultural difference constitutes national purpose mostly relies on a false understanding of psychology.” (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 195).

According to İzzet Bey, opinions suggesting that there is a contrast between nation and internationalism and that the unification of civilizations will cause the nations to disappear. As a matter of fact, İzzet Bey, who has a unityist mindset, argues that there is a similar point between the nation-internationalism and the individual-society opposition in this matter. Just as the belief that individuals can attain real freedoms in society has gained strength in today's world, the same should be true for nations. At this point, it will be more effective to convey the views of İzzet Bey, as long as it is:

[92] İzzet Bey stated the views of Socrates as follows: “Our city state has dominated the nations of the world over eloquence and philosophy. Those who have apprentices in Athens are considered masters in other cities; It is thanks to our institutions that the Greek title is not given to a certain nation, but to a community of intelligent and sophisticated people, not to those whose origin is with us, but to those with discipline.”(Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 193)

[93] İzzet Bey stated the views of Novicow as follows: “A tribal is the community in which its self-forming individuals (genuine or hypothetical) are connected by kinship ties; the state adds land contact to these ties, and nationality finally brings spiritual and moral ties. The occupation that a society deems important shows its maturation period. Political issues in the national period remain secondary. Then the most important personalities are artists, actresses, scholars ... A nation is a social organism that has a mental and moral life ... Every complete nationality must have created a religion, a philosophy, an art, a literature and specific ways of knowledge.” (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 193)

[94] İzzet Bey conveyed the views of Friedrich August Wolf as follows: “In a nation, culture is spiritual life in which all people participate.” (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 193)

"Nations can only realize and comprehend their liberty among the ties of a larger human organization. Humanity is not just about hate shouts that arise from the collision of opposing nations. Humanity is harmony, even if it is not in "facts/what happened", it must be in harmony.[95]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 196).

İzzet Bey himself responded to the claims that this idea would cause the nation and national values to erosion and weakness:

"The existence of such an ideal is not a weakness for nationality, but rather a strength. Psychology teaches us that an individual feeling is strengthened by communicating a more common feeling. For example, love rises by connecting to feelings wider than itself, combined with a sense of nature or religious feelings. A person strengthens his love for his nation by believing that he defends his own nation and protects a human ideal.[96]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 197).

Consequence: İzzet Bey, by addressing the elements of the nation one by one, revealed that none of these elements were satisfactory. He stated that the material elements are unable to explain the ideal/mefkûre with "facts/happened" and that soil, race, economy and language are tools. He stated that these tools can be used to diagnose the nationality as well as to diagnose the internationality. With examples and proofs, he proved that spiritual elements can also be servants of nationality but cannot establish the national ideal/mefkûre:

"Race or language or land, etc. cannot be the basis of nationality separately, nor can a nation emerge from their composition. Nationality, living with the ideal/mefkûre and living to realize the ideal/mefkûre, finds both its motivation and target in culture; With this feature, it rises beyond the historical and spiritual determinism which means both material and spiritual nature. Nationality manifests a free effort as in respect of it is

[95] "Milletler de ancak kendilerinden daha geniş bir beşerî manzumenin [organizasyonun] bağları arasında hürriyetlerini idrak edebilirler, tahakkuk ettirebilirler. Beşeriyet yek diğerine zıd milletlerin çarpışmasından çıkan tenafür-i asvatdan [nefret haykırışlarından] ibaret değildir. Beşeriyet bir ahenktir, vakı'ada [olan'da] değilse bile bir-ahenk olması vacibdir [ahenk üzere olması gereklidir]."

[96] "Böyle bir mefkurenin mevcudiyeti ise milliyet için zaaf değil ekseriya bir kuvvettir. Ruhiyat [Psikoloji] bize öğretiyor ki, ferdî bir his daha umumi bir hisse irtibat peyda ederek kuvvetlenir. Mesela aşk kendinden daha geniş hislere bağlanarak, tabiat hissiyle veya dini hislerle birleşerek yükselir. Bir insan da kendi milletini müdafaa ederek bir beşerî mefkûreyi himaye eylediğine inanmakla milletine olan muhabbeti kuvvetlenir."

conscious and tries to realize the maturation of humanity in a certain direction.[97]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, pp. 198-199).

Consequently, İzzet Bey, who stated that nationality is not a composition of elements or a phenomenon formed by any element, he reached the idea that nationality could be an ideal that originates to the heart and that based on the heart. Associating the feeling of nationality with a religious connection, it brought the discussion to a higher level, that is, a comparison of nationality-religion (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 199).

Formation of the Nation: Emergence Time

The question of "when the nation first appeared" was asked many times and very different answers were given. In the theoretical framework of the study, we conveyed the views of primordialist, modernist and ethno-symbolist approaches on the emergence of nations. Now, we will consider İzzet Bey's views on this issue, and as a result, we will reveal the criticisms of İzzet Bey's views on these three approaches or points which he accepted similar ideas.

İzzet Bey, who started his views on the nation's appearance on the stage of history with a question, questioned whether the nations were formed at a certain moment in history or whether they existed from the beginning:

Has the national feeling always been present in people belonging to various political forms? In other words, is nationality a social phenomenon that occurs at a certain moment in history? Or is it a general necessity root / first principle that dominates human history and life, is a common necessity, which can be observed more or less clearly in every moment of human societies?[98]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 88).

[97] "Irk veya lisan veya toprak, ilh… hususiyetleri ayrı ayrı milliyetin esası olamadığı gibi bunların toplanmasından da bir millet çıkmaz. (…) Mefkûre ile yaşayan ve mefkûreyi tahakkuk ettirmek için yaşayan, harsta hem saikini hem hedefini bulan milliyet, bu vasfıyla gerek maddi tabiatın gerek manevi tabiat demek olan tarihi ve ruhi muayyeniyetin [determinizmin] fevkine yükseliyor. Şuurlu olmak itibarıyla hür bir cehd ibraz ediyor [ortaya koyuyor], insaniyetin muayyen bir istikamette kemalini [olgunlaşmasını] tahakkuk ettirmeye çalışıyor."

[98] "Millî his muhtelif siyasi eşkale [şekillere] mensup insanlarda daima mevcut olmuş mudur? Diğer bir ifadeyle milliyet tarihin muayyen bir anında meydana çıkan içtimai bir vakıadan [toplumsal bir olgudan] mı ibarettir? Yoksa beşerî tarihe ve hayata hâkim, umumi bir zaruret, insan cemiyetlerinin her anında az çok vuzuhla müşahedesi mümkün külli bir mebde' [genel geçer bir kök/bir ilk prensip] midir?"

İzzet Bey states that the views of the Zionist writer Israel Zangwill, who defends the view that nations exist in every period of history, is wrong and accepts that the nations were not present in the Middle Ages and before then. At this point, it is seen that İzzet Bey criticized the views of the today's primordialist approach.

İzzet Bey, who accepted the sentence of the historian Ernest Lavisse as "There was no real nation before our time in Europe," (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 97) raised a new question after this: Did the nations emerges consciously and independently as a result of a nationality movement?

Formation of the Nation: Process and Actors

"So, according to this view, nationality is neither the product of the sultan's family, nor the product of democracy that sees each individual as a sultan, maybe it is the work of nature![99]"

Mehmet İzzet

The question of "when the nation was formed" and the question of "how the nation was formed" are closely related. Since the answers of these questions cannot be separated from each other in a precise way, it would be more appropriate to continue with the subject since İzzet Bey's question above is deeply related to this part.

Regarding the formation process of the nations and the actors affecting this process, İzzet Bey first revealed that, as we have mentioned before, the nation and the state are different from each other. Because there are big differences between the emergence of the state and the emergence of the nation in terms of both process and actors:

> *"Nation life is not just state life. (...) The nation wants to dominate politics, but it is not the creature and product of politics.[100]"(Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 87).*

It is acknowledged by İzzet Bey that the national existence first of all looking for the political freedom and tries to establish an independent organization. This process of seeking freedom and independence was evaluated through a three-step process in the formation of the nation. First, "the political community of tribes, which has grown to its mature form, that

[99] "Demek ki bu bakışa göre milliyet ne sultan sülalesinin ne her bir ferdi sultan tanıyan demokrasinin mahsulü [değildir], belki tabiatın eseri[dir]!"
[100] "Millet hayatı devlet hayatından ibaret değildir. (…) Millet siyasete hâkim olmak ister, fakat siyasetin mahkûm ve mahsulü değildir."

is, to the phase of old city life.” In the second phase, "the great empires gathered different foreign races, languages and even religious communities under the same political order. In the third and final stage, there are “current political society cadres that strive to be national.” (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 88)

In all three phases - as we mentioned above - there is no national feeling in societies. According to İzzet Bey, the thinkers who found that they had a national feeling through a love of "homeland and land" that existed at all stages are far from the truth. Because “we should not forget that there are differences on the understanding of and love of homeland between yesterday, today, and the primitives.” (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 92).

Expressing that the feelings of loyalty and love for homeland change over time, İzzet Bey stated that even though there was a perception of a homeland in the most primitive societies, this is not a sign of nationality. Religion and dynasties have a great influence on the idea of homeland in the Middle Ages. However, according to İzzet Bey, neither dynasty nor religious ties are not essential for the nation. The biggest examples of this situation are the nationality ideal that emerged as a result of the struggle in the establishment of the USA despite the dynasty and the fact that the concept of nationality increased instead of decreasing after the Bourbon Dynasty in France (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 95).

On the other hand, although religions and dynasties often perceive the ideal of nationality as enemies, the ideal of nationality has always been handed together with “revolutionary currents”, regarded as “the idea of republic and democracy.” (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 97). At this point, a subject has emerged that Benedict Anderson's approach and İzzet Bey's approach are similar. Because Anderson, too, states that the weakening of religions and dynasties had a great impact on the emergence of nationalism (Anderson, 2006). In addition, İzzet Bey admitted that “the ideal of nationality is allied with the idea of political freedom and democracy.”[101] (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 97).

[101] From this point of view, it is very meaningful that the pro-freedom and constitutionalist movements in the Ottoman Empire were influenced by the idea of nationality. As Bernard Lewis said (Lewis, 2015), the ideas of "freedom, equality, fraternity" were manifested in the Ottoman Empire as "freedom, equality and nationality.”

According to İzzet Bey in the formation of nations in the meaning of today, "it seems that there is no successful nationality movement without acting upon the idea of democracy." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 97). However, democracy, and the individual will, which is the basis of democracy, should not be seen as a major actor in the formation of the ideal of nationality. Because democracy is a system based on the interests of the people. The interest of the people is temporary. "We tend to accept that nationality is continuous." On the other hand, the interests may vary depending on the circumstances. "The national ideal commands us absolutely and claims to surround our lives and demand endless sacrifices from us." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 99).

Since the individual will, which is the basis of democracy, is shaped according to the desires of the individual, it cannot be an actor that can establish the national ideal:

> *"If joining to or leaving from a nation only depends on the individual's desire (...), if the nationality was determined by individual will and could be realized, we would have to accept that the same individual will could ruin nationality.[102]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 100).*

At this point, the issue of "the nation cannot be the product of human will only" has been clearly revealed. Referring to the British historian Arnold van Green, İzzet Bey agreeing with the idea that, "a nation is very real/actual, so genuine; It is neither possible to create nor to destroy it." With this view, it is seen that İzzet Bey does not accept the modernist and constructivist approach.

Just after this point, İzzet Bey has reached a new question: If it is not possible to create or destroy the nation with a human will, what is the thing that constitutes the nation and nationality? İzzet Bey's search for an answer to this question is mentioned in the lines above.

As a result, according to İzzet Bey's understanding of nation and nationality, the nation is neither artificial nor innate/natural. The nation can neither be recourse to a single element nor can it be established if all elements come together without the ideal of nationality. In summary, according to İzzet Bey, the nation: "seems to consist of the composition of both material nature and "spiritual institutions that gather and shape in the course of history". Besides, while none of them is dominant alone, none of them is not absolutely necessary."

[102] "Eğer bir millete dahil olmak veya ondan hariç olmak sırf ferdin arzusuna tabi' olsaydı (…), milliyet sırf ferdi irade ile taayyün ve tahakkuk edebilseydi [belirlense ve gerçekleşebilseydi], aynı ferdi iradenin de milliyeti mahvedebilmesini kabul etmek lazım gelirdi."

(Mehmet İzzet, 1928; Değirmencioğlu, 2002, p. 527). At this point, it turns out that İzzet Bey does not accept the ethno-symbolist view, too.

4.6.2. The Ideas of Mehmet İzzet Bey on Nationalism

Nationalism was handled very differently in İzzet Bey's thought compared to his contemporaries. İzzet Bey is not in an effort to interpret nationalism for the interest of political ideologies. On the contrary, he has only treated nationalism as a scientific matter. İzzet Bey's nationalism is neither for the explanation of the Kızılelma and Turan ideals such as Ziya Gökalp and for explaining the source of Turkish nationalism, nor for establishing a political ideology that will bring the Turks together by separating the Turkish nation from other nations.

As a philosopher and scientist, İzzet Bey explained his own thoughts after dealing with nationalism both conceptually and theoretically. According to İzzet Bey, "nationality is both a fact/phenomenon and an ideal, but nationalism is an ideal." (Mehmet İzzet, 1928; Değirmencioğlu, 2002, p. 535; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 212). Nationalism is a step before humanitarianism[103], which is the ultimate place for humanity, and it should be.

People's devotion to religion is gradually decreasing. There is no spirit and nature relationship in contemporary societies, as in primitive and medieval societies. As we have already stated, in the contemporary period, the human desires to re-establish a relationship with nature. However, this time it is not possible to have an unconscious relationship like in primitive ages. On the other hand, it is not possible to be like the relationship established through the religions that advocate reaching freedom by isolating oneself from nature, as in the Middle Ages. Therefore, humanity needs an encompassing purpose and ideal to

[103] As it will be remembered, we mentioned in the "4.4. The Movements and Thinkers Influenced Mehmet İzzet Bey" title of the study that İzzet Bey took inspiration from Baldwin and discussed the development of humanity in three phases:

1. *Primitive Societies:* the soul and matter/material are not aware of each other and that they are not aware of this unawareness. It seems that this period corresponded to primitive societies.
2. *Middle Ages:* In the second phase, material and soul are separated from each other, but that people are moving away from nature through withdrawing to oneself. It is seen that this phase coincides with the Middle Ages, where religions prevailed.
3. *Period of Nationality:* The last stage is the age of nationality according to İzzet Bey. In this period, matter and soul wish to develop and progress by uniting versus nature.

After these 3 stages, nations will adopt a humanitarian nationalism for the interests of humanity and will try to contribute to their nation with determination to contribute to humanity.

determine a new method of spirit-nature relationship. The goal and ideal that will meet this need is nationalism. (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 205).

In this view of İzzet Bey, nationalism can be seen almost in a way that corresponds to the feeling of religion. In the words of Değirmencioğlu (2002, p. 105), the ideal of nationality is "rising to an ideal orientation / *tendance*[104] value." It is clear what a great goal İzzet Bey sees nationalism:

> *"M. İzzet, who recourse all the relations between human, nature, society and values, in other words, to the whole being to thought, will tend to explain these relations with a reason, according to him, this reason is nothing but an ideal purpose.*[105]*" (Değirmencioğlu, 2002, p. 105).*

Nationalism is a great goal that requires great effort to serve the whole humanity through serving to the nation. As we mentioned above, nationalism reveals a new spirit-nature relationship. In this relationship, human and soul have the awareness that they are separate from nature. However, it does not desire to reach a freedom by abstraction from nature and despite nature. Instead, the relationship between spirit and nature, which is at the core of nationalism, draws a different path:

> *"The spiritual type that is at the core of the national movement is completely different; Its aim is to create the ideal by virtue of nature and in nature, and to ensure human liberty.*[106]*" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 208).*

This goal of nationalism, which will guide humanity in the way of establishing a freedom within the nature and which is at peace with nature, brings people to a new position towards nature. According to İzzet Bey, primitive people accepted nature and society as they were and thought that it could not be improved or changed in any way. However, "for the

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[104] Coşkun Değirmencioğlu especially used this word and made a very striking explanation in the footnote. It is important that his explanation, quoting Armand Cuvillier, is cited in this work, albeit from a footnote. "İdeal tandanslar, büyük beşerî değerlerle uyuşan tandanslardır. Önce gruplara bağlı (mesela, dinler önce millî dinlerdir) bu tandanslar, evrenselleşme olayı sayesinde gruplardan koparlar. Şu anlamda ki, gruptan ayrılan bu tandanslar, içselleşir ve git gide bizde en derin olan duyguları davet ederler. Bu tandanslar son derece karmaşıktır. (Bkz. A. Cuvilier. Nouveau Précis de Philosophie. Paris. A Cotin. L'action. s.29." (Değirmencioğlu, 2002, p. 105)

[105] "İnsan, tabiat, toplum ve değerler arasındaki bütün münasebetleri, bir başka deyişle bütün varlığı düşünceye irca eden M. İzzet, bu münasebetleri, bir sebeple açıklamaya yönelecek ki, ona göre bu sebep, ideal bir gayeden başka bir şey değildir."

[106] "Millî cereyanın esasında olan ruhi enmuzec [tip/tür] ise büsbütün başka, onun gayesi tabiata binaen ve tabiat içinde mefkûreyi tecelli ettirmek, beşerî hürriyeti te'min eylemektir."

contemporary person, society always needs correction; it needs to be perfected by literature, science, industry, and justice." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 212).

Humanity must work very hard to achieve this perfection. As a matter of fact, national life "does not use hands only for prayer; using heavy equipment, working, cultivating the soil and sowing the seeds of the future is very important for it." (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 208). According to İzzet Bey, the most basic direction that these efforts should turn to is undoubtedly the industry. Because the "existence of a nation without industry" in national life will reveal a society deprived of culture that constitutes the national ideal. This situation is unfavorable according to İzzet Bey.

İzzet Bey thinks that it is not against nationalism that the nations are getting more and more alike. Indeed, he adopts the view that there is a God's mercy in the unification of nations. In addition, as we have already mentioned, nationalism can only be developed in the international field (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, pp. 196-197).

Değirmencioğlu (2002, p. 123) expressed İzzet Bey's understanding of nationalism in the most clear way and narrowed down:

> *We have a responsibility towards nationality, just as people feel responsible for God, with their deeds, services, obedience and worship. (...) This aim is to exist as a nation in this land that we still own, and to become a nation to exist.*[107]"

Claiming that nationalism is a great goal to unite humanity, İzzet Bey also admits that the same nationalism can set the nations against to each other. With a Socratic inquiry technique, revealing that each thesis has an anti-thesis, İzzet Bey argues that his thesis has also an anti-thesis and that the notion of humanity will emerge from the combination of these two theses (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 214):

> *"This conflict of selfishness within nations and even between nations is in a position to put each other in a neutral and ineffective state at the end of the day. But again because of this, this notion of humanity, which is the inevitable complement of nationality, which seems to have been erased*

[107] "İnsan, amelleri, hizmetleri, taat ve ibadetleriyle, Allah'a karşı kendisini nasıl sorumlu hissediyorsa, milliyete karşı da sorumluluğumuz vardır. (…) Bu gaye de halen sahibi olduğumuz bu topraklarda millet olarak var olmak, var olabilmek için de milletleşmektir."

among opposing hatreds and inconsistencies, rises in our hearts suffering from seeking the ultimate refuge, as a harmonious whole that gives peace and tranquility to those who are included in it, like the totality of the opposites, like the sense of godhead of the ecstatic Sufists. There are many ways going to Allah. [108] ''

[108] "Milletler içinde ve hatta milletler arasındaki bu hodgamlık tesadümü [bencillik çarpışması] nihayetü'l-emr [işin sonunda] yekdiğerini bi-taraf ve gayr-ı müessir [etkisiz] vaziyete sokacak mahiyettedir. Fakat yine bundan dolayıdır ki bu tenafürler ve bu ıttıradsızlıklar [karşılıklı nefretleşmeler ve tutarsızlıklar/ritimsizlikler] arasında silinmiş gözüken insaniyet mefhumu, milliyetin bu na-kabil-i ictinab mütemmimi [kaçınılması mümkün olmayan tamamlayıcısı], vecdli mutasavvıfların uluhiyet duygusu gibi, cami'ü'l-ızdad [tezatların toplamı] olmak i'tibarıyla sinesine dahil olanlara huzur ve sükûn veren bir ahenkli bütün halinde, nihai melce' [sığınak] arayan muzdarip kalplerimizde yükseliyor... Allah'a giden yollar çoktur…"

5. CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

Nationalism is a conceptually and theoretically controversial concept and phenomenon. In the first part of the study, these discussions are dealt, and it is understood that it is not possible to make a clear and exact definition of nationalism. However, these discussions mostly focus on the factual aspect of nationalism and its practical aspect in real life. It was observed in this study that Mehmet İzzet Bey deals with the issue of nationalism both in terms of fact/phenomenon and ideal. Therefore, it was understood that İzzet Bey made a questioning about what nationalism was as a notion.

In order to form a theoretical and conceptual framework on the issues Mehmet İzzet Bey has addressed, a detailed literature review has been conducted on the formation of the nation and the elements that consist the nation. Then, the period of İzzet Bey's life was examined in historical, political, economic and intellectual terms. As a result of this study, it was concluded that the understanding of the nation and nationalism approach in Turkish thought had experienced a radical change. The concept of "*millet*", which means a completely religious meaning, has become the same meaning with the concept of *nation*, a secular and Western concept, in a short period of 80 years.

Nationalist thought experienced the first change in its meaning in the process of transition from ummah-based nation understanding to homeland-based nation understanding. Then it turned into a nationality / race-based nation understanding. Finally, it began to become an ideology and was shaped by the understanding of the nation of the Kemalist regime.

As a result of this study, it was determined that there was another conceptual and theoretical understanding of the nation and nationalism during the periods in which these changes and transformations continued. The *intellectual* nationalism approach has adopted a purely scientific method. The method of *intellectual* nationalism has five main principles: (1) Based on concepts and ideas (not based on events and people), (2) context-beyond/ being regardless of context (not focusing on temporary daily solutions); (3) produce and publicate deepened works (not being superficial); (4) being critical and questioning (not being dogmatic); and (5) being unityist (vahdetçi) (not separatist).

Intellectual nationalism aimed to produce a universal idea in a period of great crises and problems. Ideas produced solely as a solution to the problems of the period in which they were written cannot form a school of thoughts/tradition of ideas. *Intellectual* nationalism, on the contrary, aims to build a tradition of ideas. In addition, unlike other intellectual traditions, *intellectual* nationalism has sought to create a non-dogmatic and method-based tradition of ideas. It was revealed that Mehmet İzzet Bey, who was examined within the scope of this study, could be evaluated within the tradition of *intellectual* nationalism.

İzzet Bey was born in Istanbul in 1891. He studied university on philosophy in France and returned to Istanbul in 1913. Considering his life and education, İzzet Bey has been significantly affected by Europe. However, this influence is neither as in Westerners nor in Turkicists. Or it is not like the Ottomanists who say that we should only take the technique and not culture of the West. İzzet Bey was influenced by the scientific method of Europe. He adopted critical thinking and questioning philosophy as a method. Therefore, İzzet Bey is at a point other than the four major currents (Ottomanism, Islamism, Westernism, Turkicism) that stand out in the transformation processes of nationalism.

Mehmet İzzet Bey, who lived as an idealist sociologist and a universal philosopher in the most difficult and depressed periods of Turkish thought history, melted all the issues mentioned in the first parts of the study in his philosophical thought pot and re-discussed it with a philosophy method never seen before in Turkish thought (Ülken, 1956; Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 360). He discussed the debates in the Western world and his environment in line with the aim of reaching humanity through the West's philosophy and science method.

In the Turkish world of thought, his inquiries, discussions and analysis of nationality and nationalism issues are beyond the age. Despite the context in which he was present, Mehmet İzzet Bey has addressed the issue of nationality with a trans-contextual and universal style from philosophical and scientific theories. Mehmet İzzet Bey, who adopted a discussion framework very close to the conceptual and theoretical debates we discussed in the first part of the study, made criticisms at some points both on the primordialist approach and the ethno-symbolist approach and the modernist approach. Although it is not historically possible to say that there is a criticism directed directly towards these approaches, the questions he asked and the ground he discussed extends beyond his time.

When İzzet Bey's works are examined, it is seen that nationalism perceived as an ideal of nationality (*milliyet mefkûresi*). As to the ideal of nationality (*milliyet mefkûresi*) cannot be explained by material factors such as race, geography, and economics. Spiritual elements such as language, culture, history, tradition, and civilization cannot explain the ideal of nationality, too. A nation cannot form without the ideal of nationality. Even if all the elements come together, the nation cannot be created without the ideal of nationality. In short, it was understood that while İzzet Bey was explaining nationalism, not based on material or moral elements. İzzet Bey sees nationalism as an ideal. He points out that the goal of nationalism is to achieve a great goal, such as serving humanity.

> *"Nationality is an ideal when that would be free from the domination of politics which want to imprison itself within the boundaries or the records of the race, the language, the land, the economy or the history. In other words, it is a sacred purpose, unconditional and unquestioning, that demands absolute sacrifice from us and demands obedience.[109]" (Mehmet İzzet, Kılınç, & Taştan, 2018, p. 83).*

Mehmet İzzet Bey named the period he was in as the era of nationality. He argued that this was a period that had to take place to reach the humanitarian nationalism period.

[109] "Kendini kâh ırk, kâh lisan, kâh toprak, kâh iktisat veya tarih hudutları ve kayıtları dahiline hapsetmek isteyen siyasetin tahakkümünden kurtuluncadır ki milliyet bir mefkûredir. Yani bizden bila kayd-ü şart [kayıtsız ve şartsız], suret-i mutlakada [mutlak surette] fedakârlık talep eden, itaat isteyen mukaddes bir gayedir."

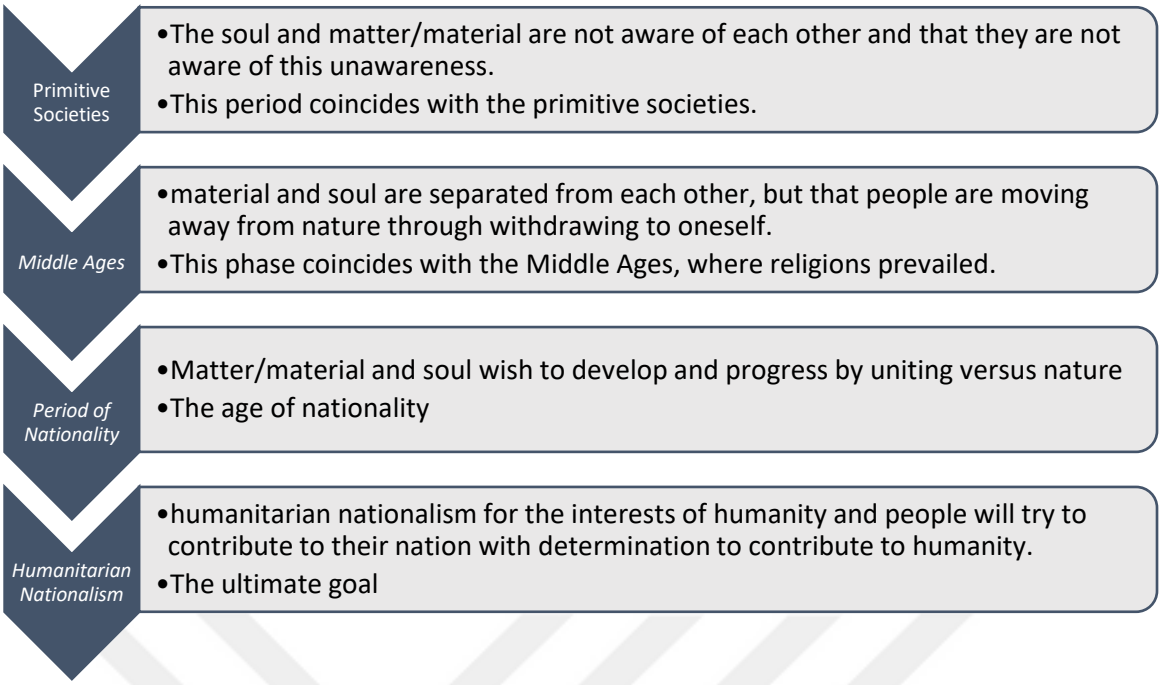


Figure 5.1 Phases of humanity in terms of material-soul relationship, according to Mehmet İzzet Bey

As can be seen from the diagram, it is seen that İzzet Bey is actually a humanist. As a result of the study, it was understood that İzzet Bey regarded nationalism as one of the stages of human development and civilization. The ultimate goal in human development is humanitarian nationalism.

After the Second World War, there is a period when the legitimacy of nationalism started to be discussed. Because an idea has emerged that nationalism can reach dangerous extents for humanity. The transformation of nationalism into racism and then Nazism in Germany has also affected the studies in the field of nationalism. Many thinkers have pondered for the correct understanding of nationalism and its development in a beneficial direction for humanity. 22 years before the Second World War, Mehmet İzzet Bey made a nationalism inquiry after the results of the First World War. And the value of the work put forward by İzzet Bey was not understood in Turkish thought and was not introduced to the international community. The views of Mehmet İzzet Bey should be introduced to the world in order to understand nationalism correctly and find a useful direction to humanity.

6. REFERENCES

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