

**THE CREATION OF THE PALATABLE CITIZEN
PROJECT DURING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN
TERM: THE LAST TYPOLOGY**

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ABSTRACT

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THE CREATION OF THE PALATABLE CITIZEN PROJECT DURING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN TERM: THE “LAST” TYPOLOGY

This M.A. thesis attempts to analyze the emergence and development of the official Turkish national identity and Kemalist variety of Turkish nationalism, through examining the definitions of “Turkishness” and palatable citizen type. The main goal of this thesis is to explain the origins and use of the image of Turkishness called LAST: Laicist (Laik), Atatürkist (Atatürkçü), Sunni and Turk. To construct this, Kemalist Republican nationalist elite referred to a mythical past. This study restricts itself to the components of the national identity from the announcement of the Republic in 1923 to 1938. In those years, the national identity was manifested in two dimensions: judicial-political and practical. The national identity raises ethnic and civic issues. Modern Turkish nationalism, came in the Republic depend not citizenship but on deeper currents of ethnic nationalism. With the aim demonstrating this transition, we first of all, consider prevailing views in the literature related to the concepts of nation, nationalism, ethnicity and the position of Kemalist nationalism on nationalism theories. Then we, observe of the entering of nationalism into Ottoman society, in the late Empire, finally, we note how during the Republican term, in accordance with Kemalist nationalism, an ideal of the Turkish citizen was formulated.

Keywords: Nationalism, Turkism, nation-state, Kemalistnationalism, LAST.

KISA ÖZET

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Eylül 2012

ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE MAKBUL VATANDAŞ YARATMA PROJESİ: LAST TİPOLOJİSİ

Bu çalışmanın amacı resmi Türk ulusal kimliğinin doğuşu ve evrilmesi sürecini ve Kemalist ulusçu anlayışa göre LAST (Laikçi, Atatürkçü, Sünni, Türk) tipolojisi ile tanımlamak, makbul Türk vatandaş olgusunun ve Türklüğün inşasını analiz etmektir. Çalışmada, ulusal kimliğin unsurları 1923' te Cumhuriyetin ilanyla başlayan dönemden ele alınarak 1938'e kadar olan süreç içinde ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışmada Türk ulusal kimliğinin bileşenleri etnik/sivil bağlamında araştırılmıştır. Türk ulusçuluğunun vatandaşlığa bağlı ulusçuluk anlayışı ile organic ulusçuluk anlayışı arasındaki konumu tartışılmıştır. Bu açıdan konuya ilişkin genel bir bilgi vermek amacıyla önce ulus, ulusçuluk, etnisite kavramlarına ilişkin olarak literatürdeki hakim görüşler ortaya konulmuş, daha sonar farklı ulusçuluk tipolojilerine yer verilmiş ve Kemalist milliyetçiliğin bu ulusçuluk tipolojilerindenki yeri tartışılmıştır. Sonrasında Osmanlı toplumuna ulusçuluğun girişi, geç Osmanlı döneminde ulusçuluk ve nihayetinde de Cumhuriyet döneminde Kemalist ulusçu anlayışa göre ulus ve vatandaş inşa süreci ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Ulusçuluk, Türkçülük, Kemalizm, Türk vatandaşı

LIST OF CONTENTS

Approval Page	iii
Author’s Declaration	iv
Abstract	v
Kısa Özet	vi
List of Abbreviations	ix
Acknowledgment	x
I. Introduction	1
I. Background	1
II. Methodology of the Study	5
III. Literature of the Study	6
Chapter I	9
THEORIES OF NATION AND NATIONALISM	
1.1. Nation and Nation State	9
1.2. Nationalism – Theoretical Framework	15
1.3. The Position of Kemalist Nationalism in the Nationalist Typologies	19
Chapter II	22
ENTERING NATIONALISM INTO OTTOMAN EMPIRE	
2.1. The Question of National Identity in the Ottoman Empire	23
Hata! Yer işareti tanımlanmamış.2.2. From ‘Ottomanness’ to ‘Turkishness’	
33	
Chapter III	
Hata! Yer işareti tanımlanmamış. 42	
THE CREATION OF PALATABLE TURKISH CITIZEN PROJECT: THE TYPOLOGY OF “LAST”	
3.1. The Kemalist Ideology	45

3.2. Laicist	51
3.2.1. Secularist Policies to Create the Ideal Turk in the Republican Era	56
3.2.2. The Project of Creation Secular History: Turkish History Thesis	61
3.3. Atatürkist (Kemalist)	63
3.3.1. The Atatürkism (Kemalism): Westernization and Civilization	64
3.3.2. Reforms and Executions	66
3.3.3. The Creation of the Western Turk Project: The Ideology of National Education	69
3.4. Sunni	72
3.4.1. The Lausannian Islam and Protestantization of Islam	73
3.4.2. The Creation a Sunni Nation Project: Faculty of Divinity	77
3.4.3. The Rejection of the Alevism and Adoption of the Sunni Islam	79
3.5. Turk	81
3.5.1. The Project of Creation “Turkishness”: Turkish History Thesis and Sun-Language Theory	83
3.5.2. The Turkification and Ethnicity in Laws	88
3.5.3. The Law of Surname	89
3.5.4. The Settlement Law in 1934	89
3.5.5. The Turkification Project of the Kurds and the Islahat Reports of the East	91
3.5.6. The Turkification Project of Non-Muslim Minorities	93
CONCLUSION	98
Bibliography	105

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CUP	IttihatTerakkiCemiyeti
RPP	The Republican People's Party
LAST	Laicist (Laikçi), Atatürkist (Atatürkçü), Sunni and Turk.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Background

This research intends to study the creation of the “palatable” Turkish citizen and nation by the Kemalist nationalists during the early Republican term. The main goal of the this thesis is to clarify the ideal type of the Turk and “Turkishness” called LAST Laicist (Laikçi), Atatürkist (Atatürkçü), Sunni and Turk. The Kemalist Republican nationalist elite, did this by referring to a mythical past. The main theoretical framework in this study will be based on the understanding that nations are distinctively modern political phenomena. Conceptually, “nation” and “nationalism” in the modern sense are starting points for this thesis. Thus the Kemalist nation and citizen building process will be analyzed within the framework of “nation”, “nationalism” and “nation building” in their modern sense. In this context this thesis will try to find an answer to the question of “Who must the Turk be” in accordance with Kemalist nationalist nation building practice? In other words, who is a “good” Turk according to the official ideology?

According to Anthony D. Smith, all states that exist today, have built their national identity on two different categories. One of them is ethnic or nation states which are shaped by solidarity of ancient ethnical identity. The second one is a territorial definition which explains the nation within the framework of citizenship

emerged with modernization.¹ However, it is not always possible to place an actual nation into this one of the these two categories. So, to try to determine the position of Kemalist citizen and nation building practice within these two possible extremes classification is the main subject of this study.

Nationalism as a most significant political event has been shaping human history since the last quarter of the 18th century. As Smith notes, “nation-states with their flags, capitals, educational systems, anthems, military parades, national museums and embassies have been recognized as only political organizations of the contemporary world”. As a result of the idea of nationalism every nation in the world had the idea of establishing its own national state.² In the literature on nationalism, nationalist movements emerged first in Europe and then spread to the rest of the world. Surely, the Ottoman Empire as a multinational empire was affected by nationalism sentiment wide-spreading all over the world such as another empire. Although Ottoman statesmen tried to preserve the integrity of the country from the influence of nationalism, the rising of nationalism led to the inevitable end for the Empire. Briefly in the 19. century on independence movement of non-Muslims and non-Turkish Muslims developed within the Empire. However, Turkish nationalism emerged among the Turks and this nationalism sentiment became the main implement for nation building in the late Ottoman and early Republican term. This study, analyzes how Turkish nationalism was used by Kemalist nationalists to build the ideal citizen and nation.

¹ Anthony D. Smith, *Milli Kimlik*, çev. Bahadır Sina Şener, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2010, pp. 31-32, 2010.

² Anthony D. Smith, *Milli Kimlik*, pp. 119.

Benedict Anderson, in his book on nationalism, states that “the nation is an imagined political community”³. Within the framework of Benedict Anderson’s analysis, it can be said that “Turk”, “Turkish citizen” and “Turkish nation” were imagined by the Kemalist nation engineers. Imagined because, restrictions on Turkishness and the form of citizenship were determined by Kemalist nationalist elites. Imagined because, Kemalist nationalists were concerned with question of “Who must the Turks be?” ideally rather than “Who is the Turk?” actually. Definition and restriction of the Turkishness, the ideal Turkish citizen and nation were imagined, determined and built by Kemalist nationalist nation engineers. In the literature, a form of palatable Turk which can be described with the acronym “LAST” was imagined and tried to be built. That means the ideal Turkish citizen must be **Laicist** , Ataturkist , **Sunni** Muslim and (ethnically) **Turk** such as WASP version in North America.

The WASP means the presumably white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant palatable American citizen and upper middle class who participated in the creation of the ideal American nation by American elites in USA. The WASP is an informal term, often, for a special group of high-status Americans mostly of British Protestant ancestry. The WASP had financial and social power in society, political and economic life. These minority groups who did not belong to WASP were historically excluded by American elites.⁴ The WASP connotes White Anglo-Saxon Protestant American citizen. The WASP was the prototypical American. The WASP was more than just the prototypical American. The WASP has come to represent not only a

³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso Editions and New Left Books, 2006, pp. 6.

⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White_Anglo-Saxon_Protestant, 01.05.2012

*Researcher Note: I prefer using word of Türkiye to using Turkey in this study.

type of person but also an ideology, an ethic, and indeed a culture.⁵ The WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants) was a dominant minority in Canada and the United States would strike readers at the beginning of the twentieth century. These both groups still comprise a demographic majority of ‘their’ respective nation’s population and have great impact on social, political and economic life in Canada and the United States.⁶ Similarly, during the early Republican term, in Türkiye*, in our process of nation building, the ideal Turkish nation was consisted of the LAST typology. And the LAST had impact on Turkish society. In this context, each citizen who did not match this citizen typology had to be assimilated or relocated.

Where did all of this come from? As a matter fact, Kemalist nationalism, sought to overcome the “backwardness” and system of the ancien regime (the Ottomanism and Islamic thought) and instead create a territorial nation based on ethnicity.⁷ Specifically, they drew on Anatolian Turkism. This definition of the Kemalist Turkish typology based on ethno-secular features was solidified by the Lausanne Treaty signed by Türkiye and the victors of World War I. Subsequently, the government modified Turkish history and language to stress the new unity. Then a series of reforms and legal regulations such as Law of Settlement were implemented to create ethno-secular LAST Turkish citizen profile and nation. In other words, the “Turkishness” was restricted to those ethno-secular features attributed to the Turkish nation which was the biggest group in the new Republic.

⁵ Marshall Tracy, “Racism And Immigration in Ireland: A Comparative Analysis”, in Mphil In Ethnic And Racial Studies, Trinity College, Dublin, 2000, pp. 16.

⁶ Eric P. Kaufmann, The decline of the 'WASP' in Canada and the United States, Birkbeck Institutional Research, Birkbeck University of London, Routledge, 2004, pp. 39.

⁷ Yılmaz Çolak, “Nationalism and the State in Turkey: Drawing the Boundaries of ‘Turkish Culture’ in the 1930s” Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2003, pp. 4.

This arbitrary restriction in the original design of the Kemalist Turkishness and nation will be focused on this study.

II. Methodology of the Study

This study is intended to examine the creation of the official Turkish identity and nation building process in accordance with Kemalist nationalist practice. The analytical framework will involve three main discussions:

(i) a summary, historical and theoretical concept of the different approaches regarding modernity, nationalism and ethnicity, and also Kemalist nationalism regarding nationalism in modern sense,

(ii) the entry of nationalism into Ottoman society and the relation between Turkish modernity and nationalism,

(iii) an examination nation building process and creation of the ideal Turkish citizen called LAST by the Kemalist nationalists during the early Republican term, and its influence on the ethno-secular restrictions of the Turkishness and Turkification process.

The research is intended to cover concepts of nation and nationalism within the theoretical framework and their relation to Turkish nationalism and Kemalist nation building process. And also this study is intends to cover to find the answer to

the question of “Who must a Turk be”? in accordance with Kemalist nationalist sense. In this context this study tries to answer this question with reference Kemalist nationalism.

Chapter two involves both the theoretical discussion and the critical review about “nation” and “nationalism” in the modern sense in order that we may analyze Kemalist nationalism in its relation to nation building process. We also relate Kemalist nationalism to the concept of nationalism in the modern sense. In this context, the conceptualization of nation and the emergence of nationalism in the modern world are used as references to understand this topic.

After this theoretical prologue, the historical background of the Turkish national identity will be the topic of the second chapter. This chapter analyzes the emergence of the Turkish national identity within the Ottoman society and focuses on cultural and political background Turkish nationalism. Also this chapter discussed how Turkish nationalism shaped Turkish political and social transformation.

In the last chapter of this thesis, we focus finally on creation of Turkishness and the image of an ideal citizen form by Kemalist nationalism. In this chapter, the efforts to create a palatable Turkish citizen called LAST and Turkification to build a monolithic Turkish nation based on secular Turkish ethnicity will be discussed.

III. Literature of the Study

In order to fulfill the aim of this study, the research tries to make use of diverse sources as much as possible. The literature is chosen mainly according to the

aim of the study and the sources which might reflecting the creation of a Turkish citizen and nation building process during the early Republican term in Türkiye.

At first, many academic books related with the nation and nationalism are used in this study on chapter two. The argumentative discourses will be analyzed in order to concretize the concepts of “nation” and “nationalism”. In this chapter the books related with nation and nationalism such as *Imagined Community* by Benedict Anderson, *National Identity* by Anthony D. Smith, *Nation and Nationalism* Ernest Gellner are used to highlight the emergence of nation and nationalism on this chapter.

The third chapter analyzes the emergence of the Turkish national identity within the Ottoman society and focuses on the cultural and political background of Turkish nationalism. Also this chapter discusses how Turkish nationalism shaped Turkish political and social transformation. In this chapter, books about Ottoman and Turkish history and the modernization process such as *Turkey: A Modern History* by Erik J Zürcher, *Ottoman Studies* by İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlıdan Günümüze Kimlik ve İdeoloji* by Kemal Karpat, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma* by Niyazi Berkes are used as historical data to elaborate the debate on the emergence of Turkish nationalism at the late Ottoman Empire.

In fourth and last chapter the nation building process, the creation of the Turkish citizen and official national identity, in the Kemalist nationalist practice in term of early Republican. On this chapter the sources are chosen mainly according to the aim of the study the creation Turkish citizen and nation building process during the early Republican term in Türkiye. In this respect, the books related with nation building process in Kemalist nationalism practice such as *Ne Mutlu Türküm*

Diyebilene by Ahmet Yıldız, Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde by Füsun Ustel, İktidar ve Tarih by Büşra Ersanlı are used to understand the some important details about application of nationalist policies in the country by the Kemalist elites.

CHAPTER I

THEORIES OF NATION AND NATIONALISM

In this chapter, we review the literature on nation and nationalism and analyze the main concepts regarding this subject. Also we analyzed the concept of how communities are imagined by elites. After discussing the social, economic and intellectual background of the emergence of nation and national identity, we examine in this chapter, the position of the Kemalist nation building project within the framework of the theoretical background of nationalism.

One of the theories that this chapter deals with is the origins of nations and nationalism. We analyze the roots of nations and nationalism and the emergence of national identity consciousness in modern sense within the framework of theoretical concepts.

1.1. Nation and Nation State

Since the emergence of the concept of nationalism, scholars cannot come to an agreement as to what nation and nationalism exactly are. Hence, today, there are varieties of theories of nationalism in political literature. As Benedict Anderson admits, “Nation, nationality, nationalism – all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyze.”⁸

⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp.3.

Originally, the word of nation comes from the Latin language, *natio*, which means birth, tribe or people of common origin and territory. Within the framework of this definition, there is a belief about common origin which in turn makes *natio* a natural and God-given structure. In this context the word of nation denotes the idea of common blood and descent.⁹ On the other hand, the Oxford English Dictionary defines nation as “a large aggregate of communities and individuals united by factors such as common descent, language. “In early examples notions of race and common descent predominate. In later use notions of territory, political unity, and independence are more prominent, although some writers still make a pointed distinction between nation and state.”¹⁰ As it seen, in the second part, the Oxford dictionary points out the evolution in the character of nation, from an idea of fraternity to a political structure, culture and history. At the beginning of seventeenth century, the word of nation was used to denote the inhabitants of a country regardless of that populations ethno-national composition such as sense of citizenry in today’s American society.¹¹

Conceptually, nation, can be defined as a social construct, a given group of people who speak common language, who live on the same territory, who have similar socio-political and cultural heritage and who believe in their membership of that society. Thus, a common language is one of the bases of a nation. That means a common language for every nation. Secondly a common territory is another basis of a nation. A nation is formed as a result of people living together generation after

⁹ Ahmet Yıldız, “Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene” Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Ethno-Seküler Sınırları, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2010, pp. 27.

¹⁰ <http://www.oed.com/> (accessed 17 May 2012).

¹¹ Walker Connor. “ A Nation is a nation, is a State, Is an Ethnic Group, is a...” , in Nationalism, Edited by John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 38.

generation. Thirdly a common economic life, economic cohesion is one of the basis implement of a nation. And finally, psychological make-up is one of the significant characteristic features of a nation. Nations differ not only in their conditions of life, but also in spiritual aspect of nations. Hence, the psychological make-up which manifests itself in a common culture is one of the roots of a nation.¹² So, the concept of nation can be defined; a nation is a group of people who live on the same territory, have common language economic life, share similar social, historical and cultural features and believe in the idea of being a nation. In accordance with Ernest Renan, to have common glories in the past, a common will in the present; to have accomplished great things together are essential condition for being a nation.¹³

Anderson states in his book that the roots of nation stem from religious groupings. So, nation is an identity form which is both similar but at the same time different from other identities and social groups such as class membership, being a countryman, an association affiliate or follower of a religious community. According to Anderson, in the 18th century, nationalism emerged from wide cultural societies such as great empires and religions. These were the biggest systems of mankind for the time being, but for several reasons, these two systems began to decline in the 17th century. So, Anderson focuses on religious structures and their connection with national affiliations. Over time, as religions lost their reliability and left their place to “nations”, the world entered into its modern and secular form. At this juncture, nationalism appeared as a solution for the infinite search by people for meaning in

¹² Joseph, Stalin. “The Nation” in Nationalism, Edited by John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 19-20.

¹³ Renan, Ernest. “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?” in Nationalism, Edited by John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp.17.

their lives. Hence, nationalism has sprung from these previous systems and made them mostly invalid.¹⁴ Hence, Anderson stresses that, “to think of the imagined communities of nations as simply growing out of and replacing religious communities and dynastic system”.¹⁵ The imagined nation took many features from religion and there are even some nations which give importance to their religious unification under their national identity. Although modern nation-states generally are seen as secular actors within international relations, the linkage between religion and nation is still a matter of discussion. Hence, the influence of previous systems, thoughts or states cannot be excluded from the structure of the nation.

When we address the concepts of nation, ethnic and national identity come into question. Anthony D. Smith has drawn attention to the point of ethnic ties. According to him, that the roots of today’s modern nations are formed in accordance with the ethnic cores-these ‘cohesive and self-consciously distinctive ethnies of pre-modernity.’¹⁶ In those times, people were already united around a common heritage, traditions and a common language and an organized religion.¹⁷ And also national identity consist of five components (i) constituted by shared belief and mutual commitment, (ii) extended history, (iii) active in character, (iv) connected to a particular territory, and finally (v) marked off from other communities by its distinct public culture. These components are basic implements to constitute a national identity.¹⁸ And also, myths, symbols and memories are three important dynamics

¹⁴ Anderson, 12-19.

¹⁵ Ibid, 22.

¹⁶Anthony D Smith, *Ulusların Etnik Kökeni*, çev. Sonay Bayramoğlu, Hülya Kendir, Dost Kitabevi, Ankara, 2002, pp.37.

¹⁷ Anthony D Smith, *Ulusların Etnik Kökeni*, pp. 50-57.

¹⁸ David Miller, *On Nationality*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995, pp. 27.

which create this identity. Creating an ethnic and national identity firstly requires establishing cultural and institutional distinction between “we” and “they.” hence “we,” as sharing common bonds and a common identity, starts from defining the “Other.” Historically, this method has been used by every nation-building ideology. So it can be said that nationality is a significant source of personel identity.¹⁹ There we must mention the link between nation, nationality and nation state in order to grasp nationalism ideology. To understand nationalism it can be useful to comprehend the dynamics of nation and state, in this sense. Hence, a nation became more like a state. Because, nationalism can be defined as the nationalism of nation-state, not of state-nation. In this context “nation-states with their flags, capitals, educational systems, anthems, military parades, national museums and embassies have been recognized as only political organizations of the contemporary world”. As a result of the idea of nationalism which dominates the last two centuries, every nation in the world has had the idea of establishing its own state. Nationalism then is located in time and space relative to the modern sovereign nation-state. It was designed to define a territorial-political unit (a state) whose borders comply with the territorial distribution of a national group. It can be defined a situation in which a nation had its own state.²⁰

Taking into account the above mentioned points about nation, the term can be defined as a social construct, a given group of people who live on the same territory, who have similar socio-political and cultural features and who believe in their membership of that society. Above any other physical factors, people’s belief in

¹⁹ David Miller, *On Nationality*, pp. 68.

²⁰ Walker Connor, “ A Nation is a nation, is a State, Is an Ethnic Group, is a...” , in *Nationalism*, Edited by John Hutchinson&Anthony D. Smith, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp.39.

its existence and necessity is the most important factor which reproduces the idea of nation. The social vacuum, which is created during the modernization of economic systems, demolishing political structures or weakening local relations, is filled with a new kind of identity; nation. Nation supplies the trustful and “eternal home” for the people during this deterioration. Feeling oneself to be one of the residents of this “home” generates a collective identity for the people.

More than any other collective identity, a nation has a large vision of history and territories. Possible or impossible, real or fake, or rational or irrational, every nation has its own mythical history from the eternal past to infinity and convinces its members about how they sacredly deserve the territory. Almost all nations have this mysticism and to interrogate them would be accepted as a betrayal for any of its members. Therefore national identity has been more extended, permanent and dominant compared with all other identities. In practice, national identities generally combine with an administrative unit, the state.²¹

The economic and political structure, educational system and internal and external security of the nation from other national threats. In fact, a state’s existence is the main reason of the power of national identity against any other identities today. As a result, to have a state of its nation became the most important aim of a national unification movement during the modern times. To generate a state requires nationalism. People are bound to each other via state power, military power, political participant and other institutional structures and so constitute a nation state.²² Most

²¹ Craig Calhoun, *Milliyetçilik*, çev. Bilgen Sütçüoğlu, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, pp. 33.

²² Craig Calhoun, *Milliyetçilik*, pp. 33.

nationalist movements, contain demands about a state. In general, nations want to found an independent state and also represent equal in the world system and national unification.²³ Hence, nation and nationalism require an independent nation-state.

The state and the people are linked to each other with the national identity aspect, which reconstructs and feeds itself every day. Ernest Gellner, who is one of the scholars pointing out the constructed nature of nation, describes nationalism as a principle which assumes that a nation (meaning people) should have its nation (meaning state).²⁴ In other words, in terms of Gellner, nationalism is the power engine of the states in order to construct their socio-political structure upon the idea of a nation. Thus the concept of nation is the product of the state during the modern times within nationalist movements. As it seen this principle of nationalism is proposing the belief that there should be political entities as national peoples in the world. Therefore nationalism consequently declares and legitimizes the right of the nation to construct its own national identity and nation-state.

1.2. Nationalism – Theoretical Framework

The ideology of nationalism still sustains its significance as forming the sources of contemporary modern states and societies. The emergence of nationalism was first witnessed in Western Europe in the 18th century. After the French Revolution, the sense of nationality, especially due to Napoleonic wars, started to

²³ Ibid, 165.

²⁴ Ernest Gellner, *Milliyetçiliğe Bakmak*, çev. Simten Coşar, Saltuk Özertürk, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

spread throughout Europe. The French revolution had so important an affect of the political system of Europe because of its causing a new political order, due to the rise of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism. As a matter of fact, the emergence and ascendance of nationalism in Europe was a result of a variety of event in history.

We must draw attention to the point that there were several significant events which contributed to the advent of nationalism. In this respect, special events which occurred in the years of 1775 (the first partition of Poland), 1776 (the American Declaration of Independence), 1789 and 1792 (the commencement and second phase of the French revolution), and 1807 the Napoleonic Wars can be accepted as signals of advancing nationalism. Actually, all these events accelerated the process of turning a population into a nation.²⁵

Nationalism is a political doctrine which emerged in Western Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century and then moved to the rest of the world. Nationalism provides for a unit of people who live on common land and enjoy a government of their own added force of the legitimate power of the state.²⁶ In nationalist doctrine, language, race, culture and religion constitute the nation.²⁷ According to Gellner, nationalism is the power locomotive of the states in order to impose their socio-political structure upon the idea of a nation. Thus the concept of nations is the result of nationalist movements during the modern times. Obviously, this principle of nationalism is accepted: the belief that there should be political

²⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, J. 1780 den Günümüze Milletler ve Milliyetçilik "Program, Mit, Gerçekçilik" çev. Osman Akinhay, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993, pp.125-156.

²⁶ Elie Kedourie, Nationalism, Blackwell Publishers, Massachusetts, 1998, pp.1.

²⁷ Elie Kedourie, "Nationalism and Self-Determination" in Nationalism, Edited by John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp.49.

entities as national peoples in the world. Therefore, nationalism consequently declares and legitimizes the right of the nation to construct its own national identity and nation-state. And also Gellner states there is link between cultural roots and nationalism. The cultural backgrounds have great impact on formation nationalism.²⁸

After describing what nationalism means, it is necessary to mention classification of nationalism. As a matter fact many nationalism typologies have been used in order to classify nationalism. Hans Kohn uses categories of typology of Western and Eastern nationalism. According to him view, state and nation-building went together in the West, while nation-building is the primary goal of nationalism in Eastern part of the world. In other words, nationalism was conceptualized in connection to the state; therefore, it must be named as state- nation.

In Eastern countries, on the other hand, nationalism moved in different directions since the nation was not correlated with the state. Rather, “political organization was organized in relation to the nation. Therefore, the nationalist movement can be called as a nation-state.”²⁹ In spite of Western nationalism, based on concepts of individual liberty and cosmopolitanism, Eastern nationalism is not based on political and social reality or individual liberty but also based on soul, myths, mission of the nation.³⁰ The German philosopher Johann Herder has drawn attention point of to the romantic/cultural nationalism in his concept, *volk*. The *volk* is a community having a common language, religion, race, land and culture as different from West European kind of nationalism in which civil and political

²⁸ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1998, pp. 40.

²⁹ Hans Kohn, “Western and Eastern Nationalism” in *Nationalism*, Edited by John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 164.

³⁰ Hans Kohn, “Western and Eastern Nationalism”, pp. 164-165.

boundaries were given more attention. In Eastern-romantic type of nationalism, distinguishing factors of a nation are the historical base of nationalism, ethnic heroes, myths and legends. All these shaped the general features and determinants of Eastern type of nationalism.³¹

Anthony Smith uses classification of ethnic and territorial nationalism. Ethnic nationalism, depends on birth. It based on common identity consciousness within a group that relies on a common belief in ancestors and culture. It is based on the ethno-nation idea. Territorial Nationalism: The feeling of belonging to the same territory, regardless of religion, language, culture and ancestor. Territorial nationalism is open for everybody who is citizen of country live within border of country or birth there.³²

Obviously the basis of nationalism is proposing the belief that there should be political entities as national peoples in the world. Therefore nationalism declares and legitimizes the right of the nation to construct its own national identity and nation-state. The will of the people is the catalyst of the nation-state, which requires a civic nationalism. Legitimacy and hegemony of state structure depend on active representation and ratification of its citizens. In this sense, nationalism is the desire among people who believe they share a common ancestry and a common destiny to live under their own government on land sacred to their history.³³

³¹ Ahmet Yıldız, "Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene", pp. 33.

³² Anthony D Smith, Milli Kimlik, çev. Bahadır Sina Şener, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2010, pp. 182-184.

³³ Joseph, Stalin. "The Nation" in Nationalism, pp. 18-21.

1.3. The Position of Kemalist Nationalism in the Nationalist Typologies

In previous sections, the concepts and typologies about nation and nationalism have been analyzed. In this section, the position of the practice of Kemalist nationalist nation building in the typologies of nationalism will be discussed. Turkish nationalism is composed of both ethnic and territorial nationalism. Between the period of 1919-1929 Kemalist nationalism has religious and pluralist character. So, it is more close to territorial nationalism. Under the framework of the Turkish state, everybody has been accepted as a Turkish citizen, regardless of their ethnic, religious or racial bonds. The desire of common life, a basis implement for Kemalist nationalism. In fact, the definition of the Turk has been made according to this inclusive outlook in the Turkish constitutions since the formation. This inclusion has to be stimulated for a democratic and civic structure.

During the period of between 1929-1938 Kemalist nationalism was based on ethnic nationalism. During this period the ethnic root and Turkishness were emphasized and a palatable citizen model has been tried to be created called the LAST (Laicist, Atatürkist, Sunni and Turk) typology. The good citizen type who was formulated by the Kemalist elites was named by academics and scholars as “LAST” typology in Türkiye. The ideal citizen model which was formulated by the Kemalists called LAST is an acronym for Laicist, Atatürkist, Sunni, Turk. It is the

first-class citizen in Türkiye.³⁴ The LAST model will be treated extensively in last chapter. Hence, Kemalist nationalism tried to build a nation which consists of palatable citizens who matched the LAST typology.

Benedict Anderson stresses that “the nation is an imagined political community.” It is imagined, because “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” According to Anderson, it is the sense of fraternity which keeps people together by imagining a certain kind of bond among them.³⁵ He claims that nations are built by nationalism and nationalism has to be considered within the context of larger political structure of empires, because it came into being out of and also as a reaction to the religious community and the dynastic realm.³⁶

Within Anderson’s framework it can be argued that the Turkish nation is an imagined community because it was imagined by Kemalist nation building engineers. The Turkish nation is a product of the project of Kemalist nationalism. They tried to form a national consciousness using the question of “Who must the Turk be?” rather than the question of “Who is the Turk?” In this context, ethnicity, blood and race were drawn upon to define the Turkish nation.³⁷ We can link the Kemalist nationalism to an Eastern nationalism typology. While Kemalist

³⁴ Ihsan Yılmaz, “Lausannian Turks and their adventures”, Today’s Zaman, 04 May 2012, accessed August 29, 2012, <http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist-279438-lausannian-turks-and-their-adventures.html>

³⁵ Anderson, 6-7.

³⁶ Ibid, 4.

³⁷ Sezgin Durgun, *Memalik-i Şahane’den Vatana*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2011, pp. 55.

nationalism tried to make nationalists of the Turk, Kemalist elites insisted on a special kind of nationalism based on Kemalist principles. They planned to create a modern and western country. State and society were informed by official Kemalist nationalism.³⁸

³⁸ Peter, Sugar, "Nationalism in Eastern Europe" in *Nationalism*, Edited by John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 176.

CHAPTER II

ENTERING NATIONALISM INTO OTTOMAN EMPIRE

As it stated in first chapter, this thesis intends to study the creation of an “ideal” Turkish citizen and ideal nation by the Kemalist nationalists during the early Republican period. The main goal of this thesis is to clarify the Weberian ideals Turk typology and “Turkishness” called LAST (which means Laicist, Atatürkist, Sunni and Turk) created by the Kemalist Republican nationalist elite, using a mythical past. We have so far analyzed nation and nationalism theories in order to grasp the concept of nationalism in the Ottoman society and early Republican period as they led to Kemalist nationalism and its nation building project. Having given information about nations and nationalism in the previous chapter, we will now discuss Ottoman social structure in general terms and the emergence of nationalism, national identity and the Turkification project in the late Ottoman Empire.

This chapter attempts to review the historical background of Turkish national identity formation. Hence, some important aspects of the Ottoman history such as the Millet system are going to be magnified and examined more than others. Later, after the decline of the Millet system, we see the rising of the national identity consciousness among the non-Muslim and Muslims and the subsequent formation of Turkish national identity among the Turks. This methodology is going to help us understand the transition from the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire to the nation-state of

Turkish Republic and how Turkish nationalism shaped the Turkish nation during the early Republican period.

2.1. The Question of National Identity in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire was founded by Turkish tribes who emigrated from Central Asia and a small principality turned into a big world empire within a short time. As a result of expanding the Ottoman territory, various ethnic and religious communities were incorporated into Ottoman social structure. Owing to the conquest numerous Muslim and non-Muslim countries from Eastern Europe to Africa and Middle East joined the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman State became a multi-national Empire with many distinctive nations and different ethnic and religious communities.

The Ottoman Empire has been formed as a central state and governed by absolute sovereignty by family of Ottomans for several hundred years. In fact, the Ottoman State was founded by Turks who immigrated from Middle Asia to Anatolia and they were the basis of the Ottoman state organization and structure of the society. We must first analyze the political features of Ottoman Empire. Politically, the Ottoman Empire was neither a feudal state nor a theocratic state. The Ottoman state regime came from a different origin than the most Western Europe political and religion traditions.³⁹

³⁹ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları İstanbul, 2003, pp. 27.

The Ottoman administrative system depended on Islamic rules (şharia) but that does not mean that the Ottoman was a theocratic state. Despite its links to Islam it can be said that the Ottoman Empire was not a theocratic state. The most significant aspect of the Ottoman regime was conventionalism rather than religious. In accordance with the Ottoman administrative tradition order (nizam or nizami alem) had been settled on by Allah and it cannot be changed. Within this framework, Allah chose the Sultan as a caliph of Allah to save and ensure the continuity of the order (nizam).⁴⁰ And the society can be defined as a herd (reaya) and the sultan is the shepherd of the reaya as caliph of Allah. The dynamics of Ottoman administrative and social life were based on old Middle East concepts. The structure of state and society seems to have come from an traditional pre Islamic state, Abbasids. It is known that Persian bureaucrats have served as Abbasid caliphs during the Abbasid dynasty and this was further developed Sassanids and therefore introduced into Islamic Middle Eastern civilization.⁴¹ The fundamental basis of political and social organization of the Ottoman Empire is explained by Shaw:

The philosophical basis of political organization was analyzed in the writing of Nizam ul Mülk and Ghazzali, who emphasized justice and security for the subjects. The seventeenth-century Ottoman chronicler Mustafa Naima presented this view as a “Cycle of Equity”. He pointed out that: (1) There could be no mülk (rule) or devlet (state) without the military; (2) maintaining the military required wealth; (3) wealth was garnered from the subjects; (4) the subjects could prosper only through justice; (5) without mülk and devlet

⁴⁰ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, pp. 31.

⁴¹ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Otoman Empire And Modern Turkey*, Cambridge University Pres New York, 1995, pp.112.

there could be no justice. Thus the production and the exploitation of wealth for purposes of supporting the ruler and the state and securing justice for the subjects were expressed as the basis of political organization and practise.⁴²

As we have seen, fundamental principles of the Ottoman state structure were inspired by the philosophy of the pre-Islamic states. Politically, Ottoman society was divided into two main groups; society and the military. The society, the tax-paying subjects of the Ottoman state, (reaya) and ruling class, members of the arms-bearing, tax-exempt, ruling elite of the empire, consisting of the sultan's servants (askeri). The society, reaya consisted of Muslim and non-Muslim communities. The ruling elite consisted of two parts; one of them is the representatives of the sultan's power and the second one is the guardians of the moral order (ulema).⁴³ The ruling elite, designated as askeri (military), consisted of all the servants of the sultan; the military (askeri), is consisted of the clerks of the scribal (kalemiye) institutions and the royal household, palace institution (hanedan). The ulema is the religious scholars. The main task of the Sultan was to control the society and ensure the justice and order by using elements of the ruling elites.

The Ottoman Millet system which depended on religious affiliations. It was impossible to separate the similar people of the same regions according to some ethnic identities, but only the different religious beliefs could be used as the determining criteria to draw the boundaries. Although the concept of millet means "nation" in Turkish, it was used as the synonym of the term cemaat (religious

⁴² Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire And Modern Turkey*, pp. 112.

⁴³ Erik J.Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, London and Newyork, I.B. Tauris 2004, pp. 11.

community) in the Ottoman Empire. İlber Ortaylı points out the difference between millet and nation:

Millet does not denote a nation, (not an ethnicity) but a forms of social organization, based on religion, a state of mind and the subjects' mutual consideration of one another. The term ekalliyet (minority) was introduced into the life of our state and society in the last decades of the Empir. It was a form of organization and legal status arising from the submission of followers of monotheistic religions (ehl-i zimmet) to the authority of Islam after the annexation of a religion to the Empire, under an ahidname or treaty granting protection.⁴⁴

As we have shown, more than ethnic origin or linguistic differences, religion was taken as the ground of identification. But in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, Ottoman history became the stage for national revivals and ethnic consciousness. At first among the non Muslim communities in the Balkan and secondly within the Anatolian land and finally among the Muslims' ethnic identification consciousness began to emerge. This process was based on socio-cultural changes in the Empire and external developments in the Western Europe.

It can be said that the emergence of “nationality”, accordingly “nationalism” and “nation-states” are part of the specific process of state, social and political changes.⁴⁵ These developments were the result of religious identities giving way to national identities among the different social groups within the millet system. At first

⁴⁴ İlber Ortaylı, *Ottoman Studies*, İstanbul Bilgi University Press İstanbul, 2007, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁵ Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Değişim, Modernleşme ve Uluslaşma*, İmge Kitapevi, İstanbul, 2006, pp. 96.

the major differentiating factor among the different millets was religion. The Ottoman ruling class did not interfere with their internal affairs. Instead, Ottoman statesmen preferred to provide autonomy to each millet. As a result, this system prevented minorities from developing social ties with the Muslims through marriage, inheritance, and attending same places of worship. Such restrictions preserved the boundaries of minorities as a separate group. This mentality had great impact on the process of forming a national identity consciousness within the non-Muslim groups in the Ottoman Empire. So, a minority's religious representatives came from among themselves and they inculcated ethnic consciousness within their own groups. Consciousness of ethnicity has formed the infrastructure of political organization among the non Muslims.⁴⁶ All these millets had a great deal of power, which means that they could set their laws and collect and distribute taxes.

During the nineteenth century the Ottoman land system began to change and economic and cultural relationships with Western Europe developed and non-Muslim people living within borders of the Empire became rich by dealing in trade. As a result of the economic development of non Muslim communities, they were educated at the Western schools and some of them went to Russia and studied at Russian schools. Therefore non Muslim Ottoman people began to be affected by European and Russian ideas such as liberty, freedom and nationalism. This was a huge opportunity for them in the long run to realize their national identity.⁴⁷ But emergence of the nationalist consciousness was different from Western one. Ilber

⁴⁶ Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Değişim, Modernleşme ve Uluslaşma*, pp. 264.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, pp.269.

Ortaylı points out the difference between Western nationalism and non Muslim nationalism in the Ottoman land:

The nationalist movement of the Balkan peoples, and the way in which these movements developed, were quite different from those to be found in the various countries of Western Europe. They are also different – I am speaking of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Balkans- from the nationalist movements of today's world. Under the socio-economic and legal order imposed by the Ottomans, the hereditary aristocracy in the Balkans ceased to develop, and native aristocracy in existence before the fourteenth century had all but died. So it was that the nationalist movement of the Balkan Slavs developed, first and foremost with the participation of the church, to which starting in the eighteenth century was allied a rising commercial bourgeoisie and in time the peasantry... The Church conducted a campaign in which Christianity and nationalist ideology were at the very least conjoined, and in doing so played a highly active ideological role in the national movements and liberation.⁴⁸

As it seen above nationalism developed in different way from western context. In contrary to Europe, in the Ottoman lands, church and its educations on non-Muslim people played as a locomotive role. Because the formation of the nation was shaped by socio-ethnic structure and the religious identity caused by millet system. In the Ottoman Empire the path to the nation-state passed through various ethnic and linguistic groups based on family. They turned into bigger social and

⁴⁸ İlber Ortaylı, Ottoman Studies, pp. 94.

economic units and in time, came to the point of demanding the right to independence.⁴⁹ By decline of the millet system, communities and social groups protected themselves within the millet has cultivated sense of national identity by ethnic values, cultures and futures.

In fact there are several factors behind the rise of nationalism in the Ottoman and the establishment of many states in the Ottoman lands. One of them was as it discussed above social roots and another one was political developments which affected the whole world and other nations such as French revolution.⁵⁰ There was a national awakening of the French revolution and the European Enlightenment. Actually European modernity in its cultural-philosophical forms had great impact on the rise of the national consciousness period in the Ottoman Empire.⁵¹ The French revolution was a turning point in the rise of nationalist ideas. After the French Revolution the world entered a new era and encountered the new concepts such as liberty, equality, freedom, nation and nationalism. These ideas gradually influenced the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire. As is known, the 19. century was a nationalist century in Europe. The political concepts concerning the nation-state and national sovereignty were promoted by the French revolution.⁵² During this term, various ethnic groups divided numerous kingdoms, counties and counterpart small states were gathered under the governance of Empires, began to question the legitimate resources of sovereignty.

⁴⁹ Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Değişim*, pp. 292.

⁵⁰ Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlıdan Günümüze Kimlik ve İdeoloji*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009, pp.35.

⁵¹ Nergis Canefe, "Turkish Nationalism and Ethno-symbolic analysis the rule of exception", *Nations and Nationalism* 8 (2), 133-155. ASEN, 2002, pp. 134.

⁵² Günay Göksu Özdoğan, "Turan"dan "Bozkurt"a Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük (1931-1946), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006, pp. 41.

The defining problems of the basis of national unity and the root of the nation were significant of European states and publics. In this regard the Western communities entered under the influence of race theories at the second half of the nineteenth century. It was the term for theories of racist that explain of the development of humankind, the rise and collapse of civilization based on features of racial development. The communities under the domination of empires began to read their status from a framework of nationalism. The most significant effect of French revolution on the political system of the world was to trigger the collapse of empires and rise of the nation-states.⁵³

The early half of the nineteenth century was the time when many new ideas fermented; nations and groups converted passing these new ideas into new fields of activity. At the beginning of the century the French revolution and the Napoleon Empire made trouble all over the Europe. The Germans, Italians, Spanish based on the idea of nationality carried out the uprising against Napoleon and accomplished it. And also these nations worked on areas of nationalism law, history and literature were preparing the national unity. The ideas freedom, liberty, populism and socialism expanded completely on this term.⁵⁴ These events that took place in the Europe affected Ottoman Empire and Ottoman elites in particular.

Up until the late eighteenth century the Ottoman Empire roughly consisted of the Balkans, Anatolia and most of the Arab world and also North Africa. In this state, various communities have clustered under the umbrella of the sovereignty of the

⁵³ Günay Göksu Özdoğan, "Turan"dan "Bozkur"ta Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük, pp.42.

⁵⁴ Yusuf Akçura, Türkçülüğün Tarihi, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, pp. 22.

Ottoman Empire⁵⁵. But with the French revolution this structure began to crack, there were upheavals caused by the French revolution in the Empire. The communities living under the Empire entered into the influence of ideas of the French Revolution. Among the Ottoman Empire's varied peoples the Jews and Muslims were the least affected by revolutionary ideology. For Christians the effect was more substantial. The ideas of the French Revolution marked effect on the literate members of the Christian communities of the Ottoman Empire. The first to be influenced were the Greeks, and secondly the Serbians.

The ideas of revolution especially three catchwords: "liberty, equality, fraternity" had great deal impact on Christian communities. One of them "liberty" was caught on among these people. But for them "liberty" did not mean a guarantee of civic and fundamental rights but national independence.⁵⁶ So, nationalism was introduced into the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the revolution. During this term Ottoman history encountered nationalist movements at first among the Christian communities. At the time, nationalistic movements affected the minorities of the Empire, which caused inner unrest, and also caused some land to be lost in the Balkans. At first the Greeks and then the Serbian gained their independence, later the Asiatic provinces were to prove an important factor in the destruction of the Ottoman state.⁵⁷

From the late nineteenth and early twentieth century until the collapse of Empire, Turks has tried to suppress the rebellions and national movements which

⁵⁵ Zürcher, Turkey: A Modern History, pp. 9.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 26.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 27.

took place consecutively. At first Ottoman statesmen had scoffed at the French revolution. In fact the revolution had profound impact on Ottoman elites.⁵⁸ The Turks had the opposite stance against nationalism and tried to protect integrity of Empire but in the end, they adopted the nationalism, struggled for themselves and finally founded their own national state.⁵⁹ So, the ideas of French revolution were disseminated throughout the empire immeasurably. Lots of the Ottoman intellectuals succumbed to the effects of nationalism and adopted the romantic nationalism rising up from the empire.⁶⁰

Eventually it can be said that political and sociological developments caused great changes in the Ottoman Empire. The social structure of Ottoman, millet system which had been cultural and ethnic independence was to play a main key role in the rising of the national consciousness at the end of the Ottoman Empire. And also as stated above, one of the most prominent incident of change was that the French Revolution left deep scars on the empires and communities, which lived under sovereignty of empires. The Ottoman Empire was the most empires affected by the French Revolution and its influence. The revolution accentuated nationalism consciousness within the non-Muslim population and accelerated the collapse of Empire. Initially, to protect the integrity of the country, the Ottoman Turkish intellectuals and people had a negative stance against nationalist movement among the non-Muslims. But afterwards, the Turkish nationalism emerged and emerging of

⁵⁸ Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History Of The Late Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, pp.2008, 51.

⁵⁹ Feroz Ahmad, *Making Modern Turkey*, Routledge, New York, 2003, pp.36.

⁶⁰ Hanioglu, *A Brief History Of The Late Ottoman Empire*, pp.51.

the Turkish nationalist movement became a keystone of modernization process of the Empire.

2.2. From ‘Ottomanness’ to ‘Turkishness’

As we have reviewed, social structure based on the millet system and sentiment of the Empire. We have seen that the Ottoman Empire was governed by absolute sovereignty and patrimonial nature that based on the personal delegation of authority by the Sultan. Muslim communities formed one millet, religious community; under the umbrella the non-Muslims formed three principal communities. It can be claimed that the principal characteristic of the millet system, was it organized the multi-cultural Ottoman society on the basis of inequality legally and socially.⁶¹

During the 18th. century, the French Revolution had a great impact on minorities and non-Muslims who lived in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire faced the movements of the independence and nationalism. The ideas of revolution especially three catchwords: “liberty, equality, fraternity” had great deal of impact on Christian communities. One of them “liberty” caught on among these people. But for them the “liberty” does not mean guarantee of civic and fundamental rights but national independence.⁶² For instance, nationalism, as proved by the Serbian uprising of 1804 and Greek rebellion in 1821 turned against the Ottoman state and especially

⁶¹ Nesim Şeker, “Identity Formation And The Political Power In The Late Ottoman Empire And Early Turkish Republic” HAOL, Num. 8 (Otono, 2005), pp. 60.

⁶² Zurcher, 26.

among the Christian communities became the language of social and political discontent from the Ottoman's sovereignty and the millet system. Aftermath in the Ottoman state began to attempt of modernization to prevent the collapse of the Empire and the nationalist threat toward its integrity. But these attempts could not any solution for threat towards collapse of the Empire and the Ottomanism and millet system began to lose their values and impacts.⁶³

To protect the Empire and as a reaction against uprisings and independence movements the Turkism nationalism emerged in the 19th century as an alternative ideology among the Turks living in the Ottoman Empire. In fact until the second half of 19. century, on the Ottoman State, Turkish (Türklük) was not a true indicator of identity. Generally, "Turk" meant the Muslim who spoke Turkish in the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁴ To the people living in the Ottoman Empire it did not matter which nation they belonged to as long as they were Muslim. For the Ottomans, description of the "Turk", "Arab", or "Circassian" were important just to understand where they came from.⁶⁵

During the Ottoman Empire, the term "Turkishness" was considered an epithet which meant rude or wild. Especially in the capital, İstanbul, Ottoman Turks were considered themselves as an "Ottoman" rather than "Turks". For them, to be called Turk was a cause of humiliation. By the eighteenth century, talking about Turkish culture, language and the history of the Turks in Asia was found funny and embarrassing. During this term the only feature which was known to be Turkish was

⁶³ Şeker, Identity Formation And The Political Power In The Late Ottoman Empire And Early Turkish Republic, pp.60.

⁶⁴ Özdoğan, 2006, 55.

⁶⁵ Şerif Mardin, Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006, pp. 217.

the language. The monolithic Turkish language has been spoken by broad masses of the Turkish people who lived in Anatolia. But in spite of the official language being Turkish at the palace and in government, the Turkish was under influence of Arabic and Persian. Culturally, the Ottoman language was Muslim rather than Turk. Muslims in the Ottoman converged under the umbrella of Islam and being a Muslim was necessary to reach to the top of the government.⁶⁶

At the beginning of the 19th century Turkish national consciousness began to rise and develop. One source by which national consciousness reached the Turks was the students' contribution. The students went to European universities and academies were inevitably affected by new ideas under effects of French revolution and ideology of liberty and national identity. Another source was a group of Hungarian and Polish exiles. They took refuge in the Ottoman lands after unsuccessful revolutions of 1848, and brought with them the romantic nationalism of central Europe within the border of Ottoman Empire.⁶⁷

By the nineteenth, most important factors affecting the emergence of Turkism ideology was the formation of the science of Turcology in Europe. Then century, some Orientalists working on Chinese and the Islamic sources investigated pre-Islamic Turkish history and language. By then new information once rejected and forgotten became available to the Turks.⁶⁸ Articles and comments on the newspapers of European about Turks that Turks was barbarian caused defensive Turkism thought

⁶⁶ Fatma Müge Göçek, "Osmanlı Devletinde Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Oluşumu", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik*, Cilt 4, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp.63.

⁶⁷ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3. baskı, New York, 2002, pp.345.

⁶⁸ Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*, İstanbul, Kitapzamanı, 2008, pp.10.

in the Ottoman Empire. There is no doubt about the beginning of the idea of Turkism. This ideology became very effective in the Ottoman Empire. Some books included historical sections about studies of ancient Turkish history based on the examinations and writings of European Turcologists. This emphasis the great role on the Turkish people in human history played a significant role on raising the sentiments of Turkism among the Ottoman Turks.

In particular, two books of Western Turcological studies had considerable influence. One was the Grammar of the Turkish Language including a long introduction about Turkish history, published in London in 1832 by Arthur Lumley Davids. It helped to inspire the Turkish thinkers and people. Another book which influenced the growth of Turkish consciousness among the Turks was the *Introduction the History of Asia*, published in France in 1860's by Leon Cahun a French teacher and writer. Cahun's book was published in Turkish translation in 1899 and had major effects on Turkish writers, thinkers and people. At the second half of the century, a well-known Hungarian Turcologist Arminius Vambery was of far greater importance as a scholar.

The activity of the Hungarians on Turcology and on Turanism, especially that of Vambery's (1831-1913), was another important development that affected the emergence of Turkish nationalist ideology. He came into contact with Turkish intellectuals and Young Turks and contributed the development of Turkish nationalism and Turanism.⁶⁹ Vambery (1831-1913), had a great deal impact on development and emergence of Turkish nationalist ideology. Vambery affected the

⁶⁹ The Emergence of Modern Turkey, pp.347.

Turkish nationalists to a great extent. Celaleddin Paşa originally a Polish nationalist reformist, drew attention to Turkism using Leon Cahun's book of Introduction of Asian History.⁷⁰ Celaleddin Paşa specifically indicated the contribution of the Turks to world civilization. He stated that there was an ethnic and linguistic link between the Turks and Mongols and argued that the Turks, Hungarians, Finnish and Estonians were ancestrally related nations; all of them constituted the Turanian groups which refer to linguistic family called Ural Altaic.⁷¹

By the nineteenth century, it is encountered for the first signs of rising Turkish national consciousness among the Ottoman Muslim. This researchers had begun to influence thinkers in the country about Turkism ideology. At the first period of Sultan Abdulhamid two researchers, the professors at university of Darülfunun, Ahmet Vefik Paşa and Suleyman Paşa contributed to the development of Turkism by then studies of Turkism and Turkish history and language. And also Turkic historians, professors of literature and researchers on language of Turkish and history of Turks like Celaleddin Paşa, Şinasi and Ziya Paşa made a great effort to contribute to the development of Turkism by their research, books and articles. Probably the most important Turkish intellectual was Necip Asım. He was the first real Turcologist in Türkiye. He was influenced by Leon Cahun and he translated Cahun's Works into Turkish and also he had close connections with European and Hungarian Turcologists.

⁷⁰ Inalcık, Halil, Rönesans Avrupası Türkiye'nin Batı Medeniyetiyle Özdeşleşme Süreci, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, pp.301.

⁷¹ David Kushner, Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Doğuşu, Kesit Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009, pp. 29.

Some Turkists emigrated from Russia such as Yusuf Akçura, Ağaoğlu Ahmed and Hüseyinzade Ali contributed to emergence and development of Turkish nationalism with their efforts, ideas, articles, books and journals. They helped move Turkism out of the cultural sphere into the political ground. Yusuf Akçura was the one of the first of them. He garnered most attention for his 1904 work Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset (Three Policies), which was originally printed in the Cairo-based magazine Turk. The work called on Turks to abandon the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire and instead to turn wholly to their Turkish identity. With a growing feeling of nationalism in the country, he returned and founded the journal Türk Yurdu, which sought to become the intellectual force behind the growth of nationalism.

The basis of the Yusuf Akçura's thoughts the ground of the cultural and political unity of Turks. One of the important figures in the impact of the development of Turkism is Ziya Gökalp. He played a central role in the current of Turkism. The articles and poems about Turkish nationalism published by Ziya Gökalp left a lasting impact on the younger generation of Turkists. According to Ziya Gökalp, Turkism means to raise the Turkish nation. In terms of his understanding of Turkism, the deprivation of ideals of nation deprived Turk of national economy and prevented the emergence of national identity on the fine arts.⁷²

The Turkish nationalist consciousness emerged in the cultural area at first and maintained its development by Turkist clubs. The first one of them was the Türk Derneği. The name of Turk emerged from the obscurity and Turkist movement acquired its first platform in the Türkiye. The Türk Derneği was followed by a

⁷² Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak, pp.12.

Turkist journal *Türk Yurdu*. It became rapidly cultural as a political implement of the Turkist movement. Later came the *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearts) founded in 1912, which was closely associated with the *Türk Yurdu*. It aimed to advance the national education, cultural, economic and political progress of Turkish people. So the *Türk Ocağı* increased rapidly in number on most of the Ottoman border and became most effective organ of the Turkist movement. Another organization was *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens) it contributed with the literary reviews the Turkism movement.⁷³

As stated above, the ideology of Turkism emerged at the late of the Ottoman Empire and developed by actions of Young Turks and *İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti* (CUP). And also the ideology of Turkism had important impact on the Turkish modernization period and formation of the new Republic and its own ideology. In *Türkiye*, nationalism has been a modernizing ideology. The construction and the implementation of Turkish nationalism is clearly related to the transformation of a traditional society into a modern one. Kemalist nationalism, with the civilizing mission, purposed creating a citizen-nation with European view.⁷⁴

After the Balkan wars the idea of Ottomanism completely lost its value. Whereas the importance Anatolia and the majority of the Turks in Anatolia in turn increased. Balkan wars have accelerated the political side of Turkism. Leaders of the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (CUP) have seized the government completely. Applications of Turkification, then formed the basis of the political policies of CUP's leaders.⁷⁵ The political, economic and social era was regulated by the CUP based

⁷³ Çetin, 2004,350.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Özdoğan, 77.

thoughts of Turkism and independence of the Turkish nationalism. The CUP advocated a much more nationalist economic policy and aimed to encourage the growth of trade and industry by removing traditional barriers and modernizing legislation on transactions and ownership.⁷⁶

Leader of the Young Turks (Jön Türkler), Mizancı Murat drew attention to history of Turks before birth of Islam in his book, *Tarih-i Umumi*. Also his publication, *Mizan*, he tried to make Turkism worthwhile and protect of national culture. During these periods there were not yet any attempts to build the formation of political Turkism a nationalism based on Turkism. These studies about Turkism were primarily cultural and scientific rather than political one. As a result of independence movements in the Empire as a reaction against this independence movement, Turkism nationalism had taken on a political identity. Especially during the 1908-1913 the political perspective of Turkism of Young Turk purposed to form an Ottoman State organized and dominated by the Turkish national identity.

After the Balkan wars the idea of Ottomanism completely lost its value. Whereas the importance Anatolian and the majority of the Turks in Anatolia in turn increased Balkan wars has accelerated the political of Turkism. Leaders of the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (CUP) have seized the government completely. Applications of Turkification that formed basis political policies of CUP's leaders. Some Turkish thinkers like Yusuf Akcura, Ziya Gökalp acted the great role that Turkism out of the cultural sphere into the political ground. As stated above, the ideology of Turkism

⁷⁶ Zürcher, 2004, 123-125.

was born at the late of the Ottoman Empire on cultural area and developed by actions of Young Turks and Ittihat Terakki Cemiyeti (CUP).

After the collapse of Ottoman Empire, the new, modern nation state, Republic of Türkiye emerged from wreckages of Empire. The concepts of nationalism played an essential role in reconstructing the new Republic and establishment fundamental principles in Türkiye's modernization process. The ideology of Turkism had an important impact on the Turkish modernization period and formation of the new Republic and its own ideology. In Türkiye, nationalism was used as an implement of modernization project. The construction and the implementation of Turkish nationalism is clearly related to the transformation of a traditional society into a modern one.⁷⁷ During the early republican period, Kemalist nationalist elites used the Turkish nationalism to shape society, build a new nation and create ideal Turkish citizen. In the next chapter, this topic is going to be discussed widely.

⁷⁷ Akcura, 2008, 42.

CHAPTER III

THE CREATION OF PALATABLE TURKISH CITIZEN PROJECT: THE TYPOLOGY OF “LAST”

The early formation of Turkish national identity was summarized and of its theoretical and practical dimensions were provided in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the creation of Turkishness and palatable citizen typology called LAST will be analyzed. Within this context, during the early Republican period, the nation building process, formation of official Turkish national identity will be shown in this chapter. The Kemalist nationalist elites tried to form a nation which would consist of ideal Turkish citizens.

In accordance with Kemalist nationalist each Turkish citizen must match the definition in ideal model and this model must be the roots of the new nation. Within the framework of this citizen definition each citizen must be secular sense, must accept western life style, have belief of sunni Islam and must be Turk. And the Turkish nation must be consist of components of Turks who matches this definition. In fact, the comprehensiveness of Turkish citizenship was frequently underlined during the very first year of the Republic. So, Mustafa Kemal preferred to use “Nation of Türkiye” (Türkiye Milleti) instead of “Turks” during the War of Independence. This preference can be seen as an extension of the Ottomanist idea. Non-Muslims and non-Turks were included within this definition. This pluralist

approach was used as an implement to win War of Independence.⁷⁸ But after the proclamation of Republic, especially after 1929, Kemalist elites left this plüralist definition and prefer a Turkish citizen definition based on LAST typlogy and tried to shape people and nation in this context.

Ihsan Yılmaz points out in his article about perfect citizen type which was formulated by the Kemalists:

“The Kemalists’ ideal model is encapsulated by the acronym LAST, which is similar to WASP (White Anglo Saxon Protestant). LAST stands for Laicist, Atatürkist, Sunni, Turk. Laicist does not mean a secular minded person, it refers to a person who is aggressively secularist and is not pleased with public manifestations of Islam even though he does not care much about other religions’ public visibility. Atatürkism is a softer version of Kemalism and as long as you love Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, deeply respect him and do not think he made mistakes, you are considered an Atatürkist. You do not have to be a proactive and ideologically minded Kemalist. To be a first class citizen one needs to be Sunni and an ethnic Turk. All others outside of these four parameters are not fully trusted by the Kemalists and their state. Non-Muslims, practicing Muslims, non-Atatürkists such as leftists and liberals, Alevis and Kurds have always been discriminated against by the Kemalist state whenever these identities become manifest in the public sphere.”⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Yıldız, 2010, pp.104.

⁷⁹ İhsan Yılmaz, “The last of the ‘LASTmen’ and the new constitution”, Today’s Zaman, 14 March 2012, accessed August 29, 2012, <http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist-274316-the-last-of-the-lastmen-and-the-new-constitution.html>.

As it seen above, the perfect Turkish citizen type which was tried to be create by Kemalists had to have four basic criterion. According to Kemalist elites, to be palatable Turkish citizen, each citizen needs to be Laicist, Atatürkist, Sunni, Turk. The Kemalist elites counted on only citizen who Laicist, Atatürkist, Sunni, Turk is. This ideal type was considered by Kemalists as real children of Republic and real owner of the country.

In terms of Kemalism, a palatable Turkish citizen must be Laicist. For Kemalists, being Laicist does not mean irreligion but the laicist must live him/her religion in him/her heart and does not need to live the practices of Islam in daily life. The palatable citizen must be Atatürkist. It is necessary to love Atatürk and follow his way and principles to be first class citizen.⁸⁰ The members of other religions such as Christians and Jews and sects of Islam including Alevism except Sunni Islam were considered by the Kemalists as a threat. For Kemalists the Sunni Islam was the most convenient belief to form national identity. Hence, in terms of Kemalists to be first class citizen it is need to be believer of Sunni Islam. Finally, being ethnic and nationalist Turk is one of the most prominent criterion to be first class citizen.⁸¹ The non Turkish citizens such as non Muslim minorities and Kurds were excluded even deported by the Kemalist elites.

⁸⁰ İhsan Yılmaz, "Who has infiltrated the Turkish state?", Today's Zaman, 23 May 2012, accessed August 29, 2012, <http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist-281269-who-has-infiltrated-the-turkish-state.html>.

⁸¹ Yılmaz, "Who has infiltrated the Turkish state?".

3.1. The Kemalist Ideology

The Kemalist ideology is the ideological, cultural and philosophical root of the LAST typology. Hence, in order to grasp this typology and nation building process during the early Republican period in Türkiye, it is necessary to analyze the Kemalism ideology and its sources. So, this part will be devoted analyse the Kemalist ideology. But before analyzing Kemalism, it is need to refer to Mustafa Kemal's world of ideas.

Mustafa Kemal, founder of the Republic, grow up on military environment, so, his non-military intellectual background was limited in his youth because it was forbidden to read any book except school curriculum. Knowing a foreign language was a plus for him and when he was at military school he began to French read books and was impressed by Rousseau and Montesquieu.⁸² Mustafa Kemal's political and world view was shaped by the French revolution and its ideas such as liberty and freedom.⁸³ Afterwards, his thoughts were shaped by Namık Kemal and Ziya Gökalp. As it known, the pillar of Kemalist ideology is nationalism. Both Namık Kemal and Ziya Gökalp are the most prominent figures of Turkish nationalism. So, Mustafa Kemal, said that his father of senses was Namık Kemal and father of thoughts was Ziya Gökalp. When we look at the Republican ideology and its institutions, it is impossible not to see the pionerr position of Ziya Gökalp. Gökalp's ideas on

⁸² Murat Belge, "Mustafa Kemal ve Kemalizm", in Kemalizm, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 2 İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, pp.33.

⁸³ Andrew Mango, Atatürk, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul,2010, pp.70.

nationalism have played great role on Mustafa Kemal's world of thoughts.⁸⁴ Gökalp formulated his ideas as Turkification, Islamization and civilization in his book "Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak. Mustafa Kemal was inspired by these ideas of Gökalp. "Türkleşmek" formulates Mustafa Kemal's Turkish nationalism and Turkification sense. "İslamlaşmak" formulates his Lausanne Sunni İslam. "Muasırlaşmak" formulates his westernization and civilization process.

After ending World War I the main goal of Mustafa Kemal was to found an independent Turkish state on the roots of Turkishness, western type modernity and secularity. In the beginning of the National Struggle, he aimed to found a completely independent country which would be based on national sovereignty. As it stated above Mustafa Kemal was inspired by Rousseau's ideas of national sovereignty when he proclaimed the Republic and tried to shape Turkish nation and state within the framework of those ideas.⁸⁵

As it stated above, Mustafa Kemal's main purpose was to found an independent country, not formulate a doctrine. It is clear that he did not want to form an ideology. But his ideas, aims and actions became an ideology, Kemalism.⁸⁶ Kemalism consists of six basic principles called six arrows – they formulate the principles of the RPP party's program. They were: Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Reformism, Secularism and Statism. These principles became the six arrows of the RPP, the symbol on the party's emblem. On 5 February 1937 they were incorporated into the constitution so that the amended Article 2 read: "The Turkish

⁸⁴ Belge, "Mustafa Kemal ve Kemalizm" pp. 33.

⁸⁵ Yıldız, 2010, pp. 97.

⁸⁶ Belge, 2002, pp.36.

State is Republican, Nationalist, Populist, Statist, Secularist, and Revolutionary-Reformist”.⁸⁷

Republicanism was understandably the first of these principles. It aimed to found a complete independent country which would be based on national sovereignty. For Atatürk, the Republic also meant a democratic state. He believed that popular sovereignty ought to be protected by new laws, a new cadre of legalists and a two-party system (which he tried twice). Bülent Daver states in his book, “Atatürk mainly adopts a democratic regime as political regime. He believes in the value and supremacy of this regime strongly. However, in the beginning he did not reveal much this opinion. The main target of the Mustafa Kemal was to found a modern and western country. If his main goal was modernization and westernization, he would aimed to construct a democratic regime.”⁸⁸ In this context, we can argue that Mustafa Kemal aimed to constitute the democratic regime after proclaiming of the Republic.

Nationalism was another principle of the Kemalism. In the beginning of the national struggle, Kemalists used pluralism to define the nation but after the Independence War it was abandoned and the government began use Turkish nationalism based on Turkish ethnicity and culture.⁸⁹ We can see that at first, Kemalist nationalism is closer Ziya Gökalp’s nationalism which defined as a cultural

⁸⁷ Ahmad, *Making Modern Turkey*, pp. 63.

⁸⁸ Bülent Daver, "Atatürk ve Sosyo-Politik Sistem Görüşü". *Çağdaş Düşüncenin Işığında Atatürk*, in *Modernleşme Kemalizm ve Demokrasi*, ed. Levent Köker, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, pp. 216-217.

⁸⁹ Erik J. Zürcher, "Kemalist Düşüncenin Osmanlı Kaynakları", in *Kemalizm, Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*, Cilt 2 İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, pp.49.

nationalism rather than Yusuf Akçura's ethnic nationalism. After the founding the Republic, nationalism was used in every area to shape state and society.

The policy which Mustafa Kemal considered to be clear and enforceable was nationalist policy. Just as Turkish nationalism was not racist and irredentist, it was based on "full and complete independence", by which Atatürk meant "unfettered independence in the political, economic, juridical, cultural, in fact, in every sphere. Lack of independence in any one of these spheres," he said, was "a negation of independence within the fullest meaning of the term." Our nationalism opposed all particularisms, respected the patriotism of others and favored movements of national liberation.⁹⁰

Populism was, in part, the result of Mustafa Kemal's early reading in history, philosophy and government. He added a populist dimension to the democratic concepts of the French Revolution. He fully believed that the people were the real fountain-head of every secret of success and of every kind of power and authority. Populism is also a vague notion which stressed popular sovereignty, the mutual responsibility of state and individual and the absence of social class. In addition Populism, attempts to formulate national will and national sovereignty by proclamation of the Republic.⁹¹

Revolutionism entailed the orderly transformation of society to bring it into the family of advanced nations. This meant transforming the outlook of people, the adoption of Western ways, confronting ignorance and superstition, and importing

⁹⁰ Zürcher, *Kemalist Düşüncenin Osmanlı Kaynakları*, pp. 50.

⁹¹ Levent Köker, *Modernleşme Kemalizm ve Demokrasi*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, pp.149.

new techniques together with the promotion of economic development and science. In accordance with Kemalists the reforms must be state-led and the reforms must transform all society in modern and Western sense with the state hand.⁹²

The secularism which Türkiye created during the early Republican period was the result of the part of a plan which had come up in the late Ottoman Empire to save the country.⁹³ In this context, a series of reforms were made. Kemalist secularism did not merely mean separation of state and religion, but also the separation of religion from educational, cultural and legal affairs. It meant independence of thought and independence of institutions from the dominance of religious thinking and religious institutions. Thus, the Kemalist revolution was also a secularist revolution. Many Kemalist reforms were made to bring about secularism, and others were realized because secularism had been achieved. The Kemalist principle of secularism did not advocate atheism. It was not an anti-God principle. It was a rationalist secularism. The Kemalist elites tried to control Islam by taking Directorate of Religious Affairs within the state organization. So, we can argue that Kemalism adopted version of Islam, “Lausannian- Islam” (Lozan İslamı). Thus, the main task of the Directorate was to create a secular, modern, national, official “Lausannian-Islam.”⁹⁴

Statism became an officially adopted policy in 1931, the influence of the state in economic life had been a reality since the proclamation of the Republic. In the

⁹² Zürcher, 2002, 51.

⁹³ Nuray Mert, “Laiklik ve Karşı Laikliğin Düşünsel Boyutları”, in *Kemalizm, Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*, Cilt 2 İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, pp. 198.

⁹⁴ İhsan Yılmaz, State, Law, “Civil Society and Islam in Contemporary Turkey”, *The Muslim World*, Volume 95, July, 2005, pp. 38..

early years of the regime, there was scarcity of capital, knowhow and an experience entrepreneur class. According to Kemalism, statism was necessary to strengthen the private sector and economic development of the country.⁹⁵

As stated above Kemalism did not begin as an ideology but it came to shape state and society and transformed itself into as an ideology. In the nation building period, nationalism which is one of the six principles of the Kemalism was used by the Kemalist nationalists to build state, society and national identity. Hence, Türkiye witnessed that nationalism becoming an official ideology. The nationalism of the Turkish Republic (founded in 1923), also called Kemalist nationalism, was totally different from the Turkist/ Turanist nationalism which had emerged in the late of the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁶ Kemalist nationalism was based on the principle of territoriality, pragmatically conditioned within the confines of Anatolia. Also, it was distinguished from the views of Ziya Gökalp, who was the main theoretician of Turkism.

While Ziya Gökalp placed a significant emphasis on authentic and religious values, Kemalist nationalism came to be a reaction to “backwardness” (regarded as resulting from the philosophy and system of the ancien régime, or the Ottoman/Islamic Empire). Kemalist nationalism, unlike Gökalp’s views tried to formulate secular national identity and followed secular way.⁹⁷ Kemalist elites, after founding Republic, in 1923, aimed a transformation of civilization defined modernity

⁹⁵ Köker, 189.

⁹⁶ Çolak, “Nationalism and the State in Turkey: Drawing the Boundaries of ‘Turkish Culture’ in the 1930s”, pp. 4.

⁹⁷ Kerem Ünüvar, “Ziya Gökalp” in Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik, Cilt 4, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp.35.

fundamentally to shape nation.⁹⁸ Kemalist nationalism was top-down, or state-led, nationalism. Its main goal was to modernize the state and social structures via a project of social engineering. It was a vigorous search from above for the creation of a new nation and ideal type of Turkish citizen. Kemalist nationalism tried to build a new nation and create a ideal Turkish citizen typology within the border of the Anotalia by refusing other ethnicities such as Kurd, Laz and Arab.⁹⁹ The main goal of the Kemalist nationalist was to build a new nation which consisted of ideal Turkish citizen called LAST. As we have mentioned before, the LAST typology consists of Laicist, Atatürkist, Sunni and Turk. From now on we will discuss the LAST typology and its dynamics.

3.2. Laicist

Being laicist is one of the components of the LAST typology. In accordance with Kemalist nationalism, the ideal Turkish citizen type must be secular in form and in this context, the Kemalist elites tried to create secular citizen and nation. The religion of Islam was excluded from definition of national identity by the Kemalist elites, and instead, the non Islamic past was substituted. In accordance with Kemalist nationalism, everything which related with Islam, was the a memory of ancient regime which had to be abolished. For this reason, the Kemalist History Thesis as a secular form was developed to formulate national identity.

⁹⁸ Ayhan Akman, "Etnik-Sivil Kuramsal İkilemin Ötesinde: Modernist Milliyetçilik", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik, Cilt 4*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp. 89.

⁹⁹ Eren Deniz Göktürk, "1919-1923 Dönemi Türk Milliyetçilikleri", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik, Cilt 4*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp.110.

The most prominent goal of Kemalism was to form a modern and western nation and state. In fact, the Kemalism is a desire for “civilization” which was caused by the inferiority complex felt against the West. The basic of this will consisted of a secular sense against the religion and Kemalist nationalism was shaped with the requirements of this process. The national consciousness of the new ideal Turkish citizen was formulated as non-religious and against the religion according to the creed of science of the Kemalist positivism.¹⁰⁰ Hence, the Kemalist elites believed that to be modern, it is necessary to be western, to be western it is necessary to be secular. According to them the West was modern and secular, so we have to be secular to be modern. The ideal type of Turk must be modern, western and of course secular.

According to the Kemalist elites, the Kemalism contains both democracy and secularism. Within the framework of this idea the West is secular and democratic. In that case, we have to be democratic and secular. We have to be democratic in order to be strong. Because the democratic West is strong.¹⁰¹ Kemalist elites, expended great deal efforts to shape the nation and create the secular Turk. In this context, the Kemalist ideology, made every endeavor to exterminate the religious soul which generally each Turk has. Thus a series of secular reform was made and the Public Houses (Halk Evleri) were founded all over the country to establish the Kemalist nationalist ideology.¹⁰² And also the Sun Language Theory and Turkish History

¹⁰⁰ Ahmet Yıldız, “Kemalist Milliyetçilik” in *Kemalizm, Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*, Cilt 2 İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, pp.229.

¹⁰¹ Gellner, *Milliyetçiliğe Bakmak*, 2012, pp. 117.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 123.

These were developed in order to create the secular Turk who has secular language and history.

The Kemalist elites believed that there was only one way for the Turkish society to progress, and that way was the elimination of religious ideology as well as those institutions of the Ottoman Empire which were the main reasons for its decline. This idea, having its origins in Ottoman modernization as well as the thought of Ottoman Westernists, gained a clear and open voice in Kemalist secularism and led to the replacement of religion by science under the influence of a very powerful positivist ideology.

Secularism, as a principle, at first entered into program of the Republican People Party and secondly, it entered into the Constitution of 1924. As a matter of fact that was before the official declaration of secularism, when the article declaring Islam as the official religion of Turkish Republic was eliminated from the constitution in 1928. The official declaration and inclusion of the principle of secularism came in 1931, in the first program of the Republican People's Party. In this document, in addition to the three principles declared in 1927, the party added three more principles: Devletçilik (Etatism), İnkılâpçılık (Revolutionism), and Laiklik (Secularism).¹⁰³ Then these six principles entered into Constitution in 1937, therefore the new Republic became a secular state officially.

In accordance with Mustafa Kemal's speeches and declarations, it is also possible to see how secularism gradually evolved in his mind and how this evolution

¹⁰³ Taha Parla, Türkiye'de Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları Cilt 3: Kemalist Tek Parti ideolojisi ve CHP' nin Altı Oku, Deniz Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, pp.35.

ran parallel to the secularist policies of the regime. First of all, it should be underlined that during the national struggle, Mustafa Kemal, did not make any statements opposing the office of the Caliphate and Islam as the official religion of the state. On the contrary, especially during the War of Liberation, he constantly used religious ideas supporting the Sultanate and Caliphate in order to mobilize people and to avoid awakening any opposition to the liberation movement. In the declarations of the Erzurum and Sivas Congresses, we see that there is a clear emphasis on the protection of the Caliphate and the Sultanate. This emphasis also continued during the era of the First Parliament until the abolition of the Sultanate in 1922, which created a contradictory situation as the parliament was also arguing for sovereignty based on popular consent.¹⁰⁴

After the Independence War, Mustafa Kemal, proposed to form a nation which would consist of Muslim people. The main parameter was to be Muslim when the nation was built. In this context, the Bosnians, Albanians and Circassians were accepted within the border of the new Republic to build a nation as citizens even though they were not Turk. And the Gagauz Turks did not accept as citizen because of they were Christian, even though they are Turk.

We can see it clearly in the Lausanne Treaty of 1923 between Türkiye and the European powers. In accordance with the Lausanne Treaty, population exchange contract signed between Greece and Türkiye. It was based upon religious identity, and involved the Greek Orthodox citizens of Türkiye and the Muslim citizens of Greece. It was a major compulsory population exchange, or agreed mutual expulsion.

¹⁰⁴ Yıldız, 2010, pp.128.

The "Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations" was signed at Lausanne, on 30 January 1923, by the governments of Greece and Türkiye. Approximately 2 million people (around 1.5 million Anatolian Greeks and 500,000 Muslims in Greece), forced to emigrate their homelands.¹⁰⁵

The criterion for the population exchange as codified in the Convention was religion, not ethnicity or mother language during the project of the nation building process.¹⁰⁶ Then, the Muslim population which immigrated from the Balkans and stayed in Greece or another Balkan region as a minority were defined as having Islamic identity, not Turkishness. So, the Karamanlides (Karamanlılar), who were Turkish-speaking were deported from their native regions of Karaman and Cappadocia in Central Anatolia to Greece as well because they were Christian.¹⁰⁷ In the same way, as it stated above the Gagauz Turks who were a Turkish-speaking Turkish people did not let to immigrate to Türkiye because of they were Christian.¹⁰⁸

Thus, the basic criterion was religious identity when the nation built. But, after establishing of the Republic, the Turkish state and society were transformed from a pluralistic- religious character to a secular form by the Kemalist nationalists. The main goal of the Kemalists was secularization. According to the Kemalists, there was an organic link between secularization and Westernization. Then, a series of reforms and regulations were performed to create new ideal Turkishness which is

¹⁰⁵ Ibid 132.

¹⁰⁶ Fuat Dündar, Milli Ezber: Saf Türk-Karışık Öteki, in Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik, Cilt 4, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp. 912.

¹⁰⁷ Foti Benlisoy, “ Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Katedilmemiş Bir Yol: Hristiyan Türkler, in Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik, Cilt 4, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp.932.

¹⁰⁸ Dündar, Milli Ezber: Saf Türk-Karışık Öteki, in Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, pp. 912.

secular, western and modern.¹⁰⁹ This was carried out under the direct control and regulation of the state and for the purpose of creating a an ideal Turk imbued with the Kemalist principles.

3.2.1. Secularist Policies to Create the Ideal Turk in the Republican Era

The secularist policies and reforms of the Kemalist regime began to be instituted even before the declaration of secularism as an official principle of the state. As mentioned in the previous sections, the Kemalist elites attempted at the secularization of the nation and the creation of the ideal Turkish citizen.

The first step, and one of the most important step which taken toward secularization was the declaration of Teşkilât-ı Esâsî (1921 Constitution). It came to reforms relating to the administrative and legal system. This document established the basis for the theoretical and practical transformation of sovereignty in secular Türkiye. The 1921 Constitution was the root of the transition to a legal and secular order. And also the 1921 Constitution meant the termination of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of the Türkiye State instead.¹¹⁰

After the declaration of the Constitution, Mustafa Kemal and his government embarked on an extensive program of reforms. In this regard the Sultanate was abolished on 1 October 1922. This separated the political and religious authority. Secularization of the source of political sovereignty was complemented with the

¹⁰⁹ Murat Belge ,“Türkiye’de Zenofobi ve Milliyetçilik” in Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik, Cilt 4, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp. 187.

¹¹⁰ Bülent Tanör, Osmanlı-Türk Anayasal Gelişmeleri, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 254.

establishment of the Republic on 23 October 1923, and then finalized with the abolition of the Caliphate on 3 March 1924. The Caliph was exiled from the country.¹¹¹ This last step was one of the most radical one. Because it openly pointed to a radical separation from the Islamic past. In the words of Karpat:

“The cultural and historical meaning of the decision to abolish the Caliphate was of much greater significance than its visible political aim. It meant the victory of a secularist-modernist group against a religious-conservative one in a struggle that had been continuing since the beginning of the 19th century. This victory could be possible only in the appropriate political situation led by a secularist-modernist group between the years 1920-1924, a period which would never repeat again.”¹¹²

The same day, 3 March 1924 in fact was a very important date in the history of Turkish secularism. Two reforms the abolition of the Ministries of Shariah and Evkaf and unification of education under the authority of the Ministry of Education has a great role in the secularization process. The first one included the dissolution of the office of Şeyh-ül-İslâm to be replaced by the Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Reisliği). This limited the authority of the new presidency and transferred much of the power of the old ministry and Şeyh-ül-Islam to the government.¹¹³ It also created the Directorate-General of Pious Foundations (Evkaf Umum Müdürlüğü) which responsible for the administration of the Evkaf. The

¹¹¹ Kemal H. Karpat. *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi*, Afa Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1996, pp.58.

¹¹² Karpat, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi*, pp.58.

¹¹³ Zurcher, 2004, 173.

second one, that is the unification of education under the authority of the Ministry of Education, meant a radical step in the area of public education.

The new regime unified all the schools under the secular and homogeneous administration of the Ministry of Education, abolished the medreses, and instead opened new schools called Imams and Preachers (İmam-Hatips) and Faculty of Divinity (İlahiyat Fakültesi), for the sole purpose of training religious personnel. These schools would also be under the control of the Ministry of Education. After this regulation the duality between *mektep* and *medrese* on education system which had been lasting since eighteenth century was ended.¹¹⁴ Needless to say, this education reform of the Kemalists was something which would directly influence the social and cultural setting of the future Turkish society and creation of the secular Turkish citizen.

Afterwards, in September 1925, the religious shrines (türbes) and dervish convents (tekkes) were closed down and then in November some religious clothes such as the turban and fez, the red felt cap were prohibited and replaced by the Western-style hat or cap. Many people opposed against these deeds. But they were suppressed by the Independence Tribunals. As a result, under the Law on the Maintenance of Order nearly 7500 people were arrested and 660 were executed.¹¹⁵ According to the Kemalist elites there was a lot of work to shape the nation and create western style secular Turk. So, they continued to reform in every field. The

¹¹⁴ Selami Kılıç, II. Meşrutiyetten Cumhuriyete Türk Devrimi ve Fikir Temelleri, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, pp.120.

¹¹⁵ Zurcher, 2004, 173.

main goal of the Kemalist elites was to break the ties of Turks with Islam and old life.

Many laws were taken directly from Western countries, such as the Civil Code (Medeni Kanun) from Switzerland and the Penal Code (Ceza Kanunu) from Italy in 1926. Article 163 of this Penal Code, it should be added, prohibited propaganda against the principle of secularism. The major new step towards secularism was the secularization of family law, which, through the abolition of religious marriages and polygamy, touched the daily life of the population.¹¹⁶ The religious tribunals were closed. And then, the prohibition of alcohol was abolished.¹¹⁷

As we shown above, at the beginning of the Independence war, Islam was the most prominent criterion in the forming the nation. But after the Independence War, the Kemalist elites tried to reduce influence of religion on the daily life and shape the people western style secular Turk.¹¹⁸ Then, secularism entered into the state system officially in 1928. In that year, the second article of the 1921 and 1924 constitutions declaring Islam to be the religion of the state was abolished. Similarly, the religious duties of the parliament decreed by the article 26 were eliminated. In the same year, the oath taken by the members of parliament, also included in the constitution, was secularized as well (the phrase “vallahi” was removed). Through these last steps, secularization of the administrative and judicial areas was, to a great extent, completed. This also marked the termination of a dual situation: on the on hand,

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Mango, Atatürk, pp. 472.

¹¹⁸ Yıldız, Kemalist Milliyetçilik, pp. 221.

there was the sociological fact that the laws of the revolution were going faster in terms of secularization, while on the other hand the religion of the state was determined by a clause in its constitution. Elimination of the second article put an end to this contradiction between the sociological reality and law.

The final move in terms of the secularization of the state came in 1937. The six arrows of RPP, the principles of Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Statism, Secularism, and Revolutionism/Reformism became the symbol on the party's emblem. On 5 February 1937, these principles were incorporated into the constitution so that the amended Article 2 read: 'The Turkish State is Republican, Nationalist, Populist, Statist, Secularist, and Revolutionary-Reformist.'¹¹⁹

The Kemalist elites wanted to see Türkiye transformed into a modern and secular nation state. In accordance with the Kemalists a nation would have to consist of secular and rational Turks. They made many reforms in order to create a secular and modern Turkish citizen and nation. Kemalists were willing to have recourse to the most radical solutions in order to guarantee the creation of a new Turk.¹²⁰ After making many secular reforms in social life, they adopted the "six principles of Kemalism", as was required by the constitution. Hence, secularism became official discourse of the Republic. It played great role in the creation of the new state and secular Turkish citizen.

¹¹⁹ Ahmad, *Making Modern Turkey*, pp.63.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

3.2.2. The Project of Creation Secular History: Turkish History Thesis

After the establishment of the territorial secular nation-state in Anatolia, the main target of the Kemalist elites was to create a new ideal secular Turkish identity and culture in line with the modernist secular ideology of the nation-state. They emphasized the common national culture based on nomadic Turkish roots, not Islamic Ottoman culture and history. The rejection of Islamic heritage was also on the scene. The real map of Kemalist elites was to build a secular history which depended on a pre-Islam age. Therefore, Kemalist nationalists tried to show an existence of Turkish history which started before Islam. The main goal was to break the links between Turks and Islamic past. In this context, the Turkish History Thesis was written and developed by the Republican elites. In this section we will show the secular aspect of this thesis and how it was used to create secular Turk and nation during the early Republican period.

The Turkish History Thesis and creation of Turkishness began under the control of the Turkish State. This implies that this was a political project, not a scientific one. At first a history commission was established as a branch of Turkish Hearths in 1930. Its members included leading nationalists-politicians of the day, such as Afet Inan (1908-1985); Mehmed Tevfik [Bıyıkoglu], the General Secretary of Mustafa Kemal and President of the Commission, Samih Rifat (Deputy to Çanakkale); Akçura (Deputy to Istanbul and Professor of law); Resit Galip (Deputy and the General Secretary of the Commission); Hasan Cemil [Çambel] (1879-1967), (Deputy to Bolu); Sadri Maksudi [Arsal] (1880-1957), Deputy; Semseddin

[Günaltay] (1883-1961) (Deputy to Sivas); Yusuf Ziya [Özer] (1870-1947), Professor of law at Istanbul University.¹²¹

Under the direction of Mustafa Kemal and at the request of the Ministry of Education, the commission wrote a new textbook titled *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* (The Main Tenets of Turkish History) in 1930. However it was found unsatisfactory by Mustafa Kemal; only its summary was published in one hundred copies and distributed.

The Kemalist History Thesis was one of the the most prominent supplementary parts of the Kemalist ideology. Positivism and Secularism generated the basic philosophies of this ideological formula.¹²² The Kemalist History Thesis was the product of the rejection of Islamic and Ottoman heritages; and so that the projection of present to the past with a golden age discourse. However in order to eliminate Ottoman and Islamic roots, the Kemalist History Thesis pushed for Central Asian roots and the glory of the Turkish race. The Kemalist History Thesis, on the other hand, also looked for ancient Greek roots in order to explaining Turks existence in Anatolia without making any Islamic or Ottoman reference¹²³

The product of these efforts was the Turkish History Thesis which was prepared with several considerations such as anti-Islamicization and anti-Ottomanization. Therefore the Kemalist elite took the roots of Turks back to Central Asia in order to claim antiquity and non-Islamic origins which were at the same time

¹²¹ Büşra Ersanlı, "Bir Aidiyet Fermanı: Türk tarih Tezi" in in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik*, Cilt 4, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp. 804.

¹²² Ersanlı, "Bir Aidiyet Fermanı: Türk Tarih Tezi", pp. 801.

¹²³ Özdoğan, 44.

secular. By this way, the Thesis claimed that the Turks was an ancient nation which had established many states. This Thesis actually served for westernization project through stripping the ‘nation’ of its barbaric and religious image while at the same time ‘proving’ that Turks were as talented as Europeans in establishing civilizations. Then a mass pumping of Central Asian roots came through education and communications media in the same vein with many racist and exclusive policies of the government.¹²⁴

As a result, the Turkish History Thesis was used to shape nation and create secular Turkish citizen. This thesis became the main implement for the rejection of backwardness, Islamic past and Ottoman history. The Kemalist nationalists tried to form the non-Islamic Turk who does not bound with religion and ancient regime. The Turkish History Thesis will be discussed in last section elaborately.

3.3. Atatürkist (Kemalist)

The second component of the LAST typology is to being *Atatürkist* (Kemalist). Kemalist nationalism aims to build a nation which consists of Turkish citizen who has Atatürkist thought and modern-western life style. Atatürkism, in other words, Kemalism aims to transform Turkish society and state from traditional Ottoman-Islamic life to modern and western life.

Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the Republic, was a cultural revolutionary and planned to embark on an enlightenment process by modernization of legal system

¹²⁴ Ibid, 44.

and society. So, Mustafa Kemal stated in his speech; "...our way is the civilization way." According to him, the civilization and westernization are the basic roots of the Kemalism.¹²⁵

Kemalism signified the centrality of the state in the politics of the country. Namely, the Kemalism-Atatürkçülük would be the source of state initiatives and regulations, rather than the social groups, which shaped the social and political realm. Mustafa Kemal embraced the West with all its philosophy of life, symbols and mentalities.¹²⁶ He states in his speech "the people of the Republic of Türkiye who say we are civilized, has to prove and demonstrate that they are civilized in mentality." And also he stressed "I should say that we uses every instrument for only one idea. It is: to upgrade Turkish nation to the floor which Turkish nation competed with civilized societies".¹²⁷

3.3.1. The Atatürkism (Kemalism): Westernization and Civilization

Civilization is the starting point of the Kemalist-Atatürkçü thesis. Hence, one of the most favorite word of Mustafa Kemal was civilization and he used this word a great deal in his speeches. He stated in his speech; "...we have to be civilized in all respects..." Thus, the main line of the program of Atatürkism was finalized. This

¹²⁵ Abdullah Erol, "Kemalism ve Demokrasi" in Demokrasi Sorunu ve Türk Demokrasisi, Der. Davut Dursun, İstanbul, Şehir Yayınları, 2001, pp.257.

¹²⁶ Inalcık, Rönesans Avrupası Türkiye'nin Batı Medeniyetiyle Özdeşleşme Süreci, 2011, pp.359.

¹²⁷ Kemal Atatürk, Nutuk, İnkılap Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2009, pp.702.

was stressed in his speech “we will try to convey the nation to blessings of the civilization. We are compelled to it. This is hhe main principle of the revolution.”¹²⁸

The dominant thesis of Kemalist political thought defined the main goal of the Turk revolution: “Being a civilized and modern society. Mustafa Kemal stressed in his speech in 1925, “we undertook to build entirely new laws and destroy the principles of the old law”.¹²⁹ They shows us clearly, the main target of the Kemalism-Atatürkçülük was the rejection of the old order and the building of new, modern, western and civilized nation. Then this nation would have to consist of modern and western Turkish citizens. In this context, a series of reforms and regulations were made by the Kemalist in order to destroy the old legal and life style and instead build a new and modern one. In accordance with Atatürkism, the ideal Turkish citizen must be civilized and modern and the nation must consist of these Turks.

The ideology of the Atatürkism was based on the reaction by the elite to the personal rule of the Sultan and the Islamic basis of the Ottoman Empire. The Kemalist elites aimed to create a nation-state distinct from the person of the sultan and secular enough to reduce Islam and create a ideal Turkish citizen who has modern and western life style. In this context, Mustafa Kemal began to make reforms and regulations to create civilized and western Turk. The westernization project, during the early republican period was an abandonment of Islam. The rejection of Islamic life style and adoption of the West and westernization was the main objection

¹²⁸ Zafer Tarık Tunaya, *Devrim Hareketleri İçinde Atatürk ve Atatürkçülük*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, 161-163.

¹²⁹ Tunaya, *Devrim Hareketleri İçinde Atatürk ve Atatürkçülük*, pp.163.

to the Kemalist nation building project and creating an ideal secular Turk along a secularist line, eroding the influence of Islam in society and politics.¹³⁰

Kemalism as the ideology of Westernization in Republican Türkiye was described as the force of modernism. In this context the Kemalism meant a continual effort towards modernism and progress. According to the Kemalist modernization paradigm, religiously observant Muslims were viewed as backward, non-modern and uneducated. Modernity and Islamic life style were considered to be opposite poles.¹³¹

Hasan Kosebalaban states in his article “...secular analysts regard religiously observant people who have a modern outlook and way of life as Islamists because their religiosity is an indication of an ideology of protest rather than as an integral part of their identity. They are perceived as ‘victims’ of modernization who turn to Islam in their search for an ideology that expresses their disillusionment with the alien political and economic system. In other words, if the secular political elite had allowed or facilitated their mobility, the there would not be a need for them to turn to Islam”.¹³²

3.3.2. Reforms and Executions

The Kemalist elites made a series of reforms to transform Turkish society and create western and modern Turkish citizen. The adoption of the Western clock and

¹³⁰ İhsan Dağı, Transformation of Islamic Political Identity in Turkey: Rethinking the West and Westernization, Turkish Studies, Vol 6, No 1, 2005, pp.4.

¹³¹ Hasan Kösebalaban, The Rise of Anatolian Cities and the Failure of the Modernization Paradigm, Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies Vol. 16, No. 3, 229–240, Fall 2007, pp.231.

¹³² Kösebalaban, The Rise of Anatolian Cities and the Failure of the Modernization Paradigm, pp. 231.

calendar in 1926 were the first step towards westernization. Later, Western numerals in 1928 and of Western weights and measures in 1931 were adopted. These, not only gave Türkiye a more European image, but also made communication with the Western world much easier. Also they caused Türkiye to cut links with the Islamic world and ancient regime.¹³³

Mustafa Kemal sympathized a granted with western dress. According to him, Turks should get rid of the Eastern soul and join the Western world by wearing western clothes. For this reason, in 1925, the Hat and Dress Revolution was made. The Dress Code Revolution started at Kastamonu by Atatürk on August 23, 1925. Atatürk made his historical speech concerning about the "Hat and Dress Revolution" in 1925 at his visit to Kastamonu. Mustafa Kemal explained the main target of the revolutions was to create civilized society with its all respects.¹³⁴ Mustafa Kemal aimed to break the links between Turks and old style life, instead shape the nation in modern and western sense. The ideal Turk would have to be western and modern. This Turk matches the LAST typology.

The Westernization process had a great place in the Kemalist nation building project. Although, Hat Law reforms had little to do with accepted indices of modernization, it was considered essential to the Kemalist program of reform because it played a great role on the Kemalist revolution and transformation of the Turkish society from an Islamic into a Western setting.¹³⁵

¹³³ Zurcher, 2004, 188.

¹³⁴ Kılıç, II. Meşrutiyetten Cumhuriyete Türk Devrimi ve Fikir Temelleri, pp.195.

¹³⁵ Aaron Johnson, The Road to Turkish Language Reform and the Rise of Turkish Nationalism, Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University, Montreal, August, 2004, pp.76.

Probably, the most prominent reform towards westernization was the adoption of the Latin alphabet in 1928. Ottoman Turkish was written with a version of the Arabic/ Persian alphabet. It was highly unsuitable for expressing the sounds of the Turkish part of the vocabulary. Also, Arabic language was rich in consonants but very poor in vowels while Turkish is exactly the opposite.¹³⁶ So, the Republican elites decided to change the Arabic/ Persian alphabet which had been used by Ottoman Turks for hundreds years, in order to have an easier letters to close Western world. Mustafa Kemal stated in his speech, “.... the Turkish nation even only can get rid of illiteracy via easier way. The Latin alphabet more is suitable for Turkish language, the Turkish boys can read and write in Latin alphabet easily...”.¹³⁷ Finally, on 1 November 1928, the Turkish parliament adopted law introducing the new Latin/Turkish alphabet.¹³⁸

On May 20, 1928 the international numerals were adopted, and three days later the Dil Encümeni (Language Commission) was established. It was immediately split into two commissions, one to look at the question of the alphabet and one for grammar. The modified Latin alphabet that was adopted in place of the Arabic script was the result of six weeks of work by the Alphabet Commission under the direction of Mustafa Kemal himself. The attempt to construct a national consciousness was operated by Mustafa Kemal. The language reform initially aimed at getting rid of the

¹³⁶ Zurcher, 2004, 188.

¹³⁷ Afet İnan, Atatürk Hakkında Hatıralar ve Belgeler, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 369.

¹³⁸ Ahmad, 81.

Persian and Arabic influences in the language. Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti (Society for the Study of Turkish Language, later Türk Dil Kurumu) was founded in 1932.¹³⁹

The alphabet reform was considered a significant step to attain the modern civilization dreamt by the Kemalist elites. For the project of adapting Western civilization and cultural, language and education became incontestably the most effective instruments. The Republican elites saw secularization as essential to the creation of a modern and western Turkish citizen. Indeed, the Kemalism ideology considered the secularism and Westernization as the ideological basis of the modern Turkish Republic. Many aspects of Turkish society from education were officially secularized and westernized over a relatively short period of time.¹⁴⁰ For instance, Mustafa Kemal ordered to execute the using the Latin alphabet instead of Arabic one within the six months. Whereas, Ismet İnönü thought that reforms of alphabet needed at least six years to be executed totally.¹⁴¹ It shows that Kemalism tried to transform Turkish society to western life as soon as quickly.

3.3.3. The Creation of the Western Turk Project: The Ideology of National Education

Kemalist elites established new and modern education institutions in order to create western and modern Turkish citizen. According to the Kemalists, the old style education institution such as medrese were the most prominent reason of

¹³⁹ Johnson, *The Road to Turkish Language Reform and the Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, pp.78.

¹⁴⁰ Faruk Öztürk, "Cumhuriyet ve Ütopya", in *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, Cilt 2 İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, pp. 494.

¹⁴¹ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Atatürk, İletişim Yayınları*, İstanbul, 2010, pp.143.

backwardness.¹⁴² So, Turkish education system should be reformed in order to re-create the new Turk man.

The religious colleges (medreses) were brought under the Ministry of Education and a new Ministry of Religious Foundations was created to administer the evkaf (charitable foundations). At the same time the curriculum of the higher school was modernized, even the study of European languages being made compulsory.¹⁴³ In this context, during the early Republican period many Western style schools opened to educate the “Western Turk”. On this term, the enrollment ratio grew constantly in the Republic. On this term, the first regulations made in the teaching program were changes of lesson programs in the primary, secondary and high schools by the Kemalist elites.¹⁴⁴

The main target of the Kemalist national educational system was to educate a republican, nationalist, secular and western citizen. In accordance with the Atatürkist- Kemalist education program each degree of the education, namely, primary, secondary and high education institutions would have to adopt to educate republican, nationalist, secular and western citizens.¹⁴⁵ Also, the national education, during the early republican period, aimed to unify the citizen by teaching nationalist and western lessons such as “*Malumat-ı Vataniye*” and “*Yurt Bilgisi*”. These lessons were intended for educating modern, secular and nationalist Turkish youth.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Ibid, 157.

¹⁴³ Zurcher, 2004, 122.

¹⁴⁴ Fusun Üstel, “Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde” II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, pp.129.

¹⁴⁵ İsmail Kaplan, Türkiye’de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, pp.173.

¹⁴⁶ Üstel, Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi, pp. 49.

A large scale operation was carried out at the premier higher education institute in Istanbul. When it proved too difficult to enforce change on an individual level, the whole organization, which had been running under the name Darulfünun was closed down overnight. In its place, named Istanbul University was established the next day, but in the meantime, the contracts of many “old mentality” professors were not renewed. Now, Kemalism presented this change in the cadres as another proof of that Türkiye’s face was changing and radical reforms were under way¹⁴⁷. Hence, western education style was taken as model in Turkish national education and religion were excluded from the schools as an element which was thought to be incompatible with modernity.

The Kemalist cadres, made great deal efforts to create “the Western type Turk”. In this context Atatürkism-Kemalism played a significant role to transform society and Turks from the old life style to Western and modern one. The westernization became a starting point for the Atatürkism. In accordance with Kemalist elites the Turkish nation could be developed as long as it westernized. Also each Turkish nation must be western and modern. The ideal Turkish citizen was a western citizen. By the westernization progress, Kemalism ideology tried to form an ideal Turkish citizen who match the LAST typology.

¹⁴⁷Ismail Kaplan, “Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi”, in Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik, Cilt 4, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp.792

3.4. Sunni

Sunni Islam is the largest branch of Islam. Sunni Muslims are referred to in Arabic as Ahlu-s-Sunnati wa-l-Jamaah, "people of the tradition of Prophet of Islam and the consensus of the Ummah". They are known as Sunni Muslims, Sunnis or Sunnites. The word "Sunni" comes from the term Sunnah which refers to the sayings and actions of Prophet of Islam that are recorded in hadiths collections of narrations regarding Prophet of Islam. The primary hadiths Al-Kutub Al-Sittah, in conjunction with the Quran, form the basis of all jurisprudence methodologies within Sunni Islam. People claiming to follow the Sunnah who can demonstrate that they have no action or belief against the prophetic Sunnah can consider themselves to be Sunni Muslims.¹⁴⁸

As it known the LAST typology which was to be created by the Kemalist cadres, consists of four components. One of these components is having a Sunni Muslim identity. The Sunni belief became a main parameter to build the nation. The Kemalist elites considered this criterion when they created the nation and ideal Turk. According to the Kemalist nation building engineers, each palatable Turkish citizen must have Sunni identity. Kemalist elites aimed to shape the nation by using advantage of unifying feature of the Sunni Islam.

The Kemalist regime had efforts to dominant appropriate Sunni Islamic practices and structures by using Imams and Preachers schools (İmam-Hatip), Faculty of Divinity (İlahiyat Fakültesi) and Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet

¹⁴⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni_Islam, accessed 22.07.12

İşleri Başkanlığı). These institutions were founded by the state and played significant role on Sunnification project of Kemalism in Türkiye. The Republican cadres considered Sunni Islam more suitable secular regime and other versions of Islam, such as Alevi, Shias, or Sunnis following the Shafi. Hence, the Kemalist elites tried to create a Sunni nation based on monolithic understanding of religion¹⁴⁹

The members of other version of Islam such as Alevi were not fully trusted by the Kemalist elites. Also Alevi have always been discriminated against by the Kemalists.¹⁵⁰ Although Alevi supported the Kemalists and their reforms in all respects and adopted secular regime easily, the Kemalist elites looked at them askance. Because, since the Ottoman Empire, Alevi have been the pioneer of rebellion against authority. That is why they were never fully trusted by the Kemalist elites.

3.4.1. The Lausannian Islam and Protestantization of Islam

As we have shown before, after the National Independence war, the belief in Sunni Islam was the main criterion in nation building. After Independence War, Mustafa Kemal, imagined forming a nation which would consist of Muslim people. When the nation was built, the building block was being Muslim. In this context, the Bosnian, Albanian and Circassian were accepted within the border of the new Republic to build a nation as citizen even though they are not Turk. And the Gagauz

¹⁴⁹ Srirupa Roy, "Temple and dam, fez and hat: the secular roots of religious politics in India and Turkey", *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* Vol. 48, No. 2, April 2010, pp. 166.

¹⁵⁰ Yılmaz, "Who has infiltrated the Turkish state?".

Turks did not accept as citizen because of they were Christian, even though they are Turk.

We can see it clearly on Lausanne Treaty of 1923 between Türkiye and the European powers. In accordance with the Lausanne Treaty, a population exchange contract was signed between Greece and Türkiye. It was based upon religious identity, and involved the Greek Orthodox citizens of Türkiye and the Muslim citizens of Greece. It was a major compulsory population exchange, or agreed mutual expulsion. The "Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations" was signed at Lausanne, on 30 January 1923, by the governments of Greece and Türkiye. Approximately 2 million people (around 1.5 million Anatolian Greeks and 500,000 Muslims in Greece), were forced emigrate their from homelands.¹⁵¹

The criterion for the population exchange as codified in the Convention was religion, not ethnicity or mother language during the project of the nation building process.¹⁵² Then, the Muslim population which immigrated from Balkans and stayed at Greece or another Balkan region as a minority were defined by Islamic identity, not their Turkishness. So, the Karamanlides (Karamanlılar), who were Turkish-speaking were deported from their native regions of Karaman and Cappadocia in Central Anatolia to Greece because of they were Christian.¹⁵³ In the same way, as it

¹⁵¹ Ibid 132.

¹⁵² Dündar, 2003, 912.

¹⁵³ Benlisoy, Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Katedilmemiş Bir Yol: Hristiyan Türkler, pp. 932.

stated above the Gagauz Turks who were a Turkish-speaking Turkish people did not let to immigrate to Türkiye because of they were Christian.¹⁵⁴

After changing of population, Kemalist elites began to secularize the Muslim population which came from out of the border, Balkans or Greek, and the resident Muslim population in Anatolia. Then, the Republican elites, began to control the religion and daily life Islam. We can say that after proclamation of the Republic Kemalist cadres tried to formulate an official state *sunni Islam*, in other word, “*Lausannian Islam*”.¹⁵⁵ Turkish secularism more closely resembles a French laicism style. In accordance with the French laicism, the religion is controled by the state. So, laicism (laiklik) in Türkiye strives to bring religion under the control of the state and also religion is tightly defined by the political establishment. Religion is controlled by the state, the Directorate of Religious Affairs, whose main task, according to the Turkish constitution, is to regulate Islam.¹⁵⁶ Then the religious services were institutionalized within the state structure and religious needs were serviced by the branch of state, Directorate of Religious Affairs. The religion was subordinate to the political government.

İhsan Yılmaz states in his article “In the state version of Islam, there is already no conflict between the religion and Turkish modernity that covers the modern nation-state, secularism, democracy and no public role for religion. The *raison d’être* of the Directorate of Religious Affairs has been to create a tailor-made national modern Turkish-Islam, definitely suppressing the transnational links and

¹⁵⁴ Dündar, 912.

¹⁵⁵ İhsan Yılmaz, *State, Law, “Civil Society and Islam in Contemporary Turkey”*, pp. 388.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

role, cut off from all international and transnational ties, specific and limited to the nation-state's official borders that were drawn with the Lausanne Treaty of 1924 between Türkiye and the European powers. Article 27 of the Lausanne Treaty reads:

No power or jurisdiction in political, legislative or administrative matters shall be exercised outside Turkish territory by the Turkish Government or authorities, for any reason whatsoever, over the nationals of a territory placed under the sovereignty or protectorate of the other Powers signatory of the present Treaty, or over the nationals of a territory detached from Türkiye.”¹⁵⁷

Hence, during the early Republican term, the Turkish government, tried to formulate a religion which would be taken under control of the state and consistent with legal secular system. Controlling religious people was the main target of the Kemalist elites. They put all education under the control of the Ministry of Education and all religious services were put under control of the Directorate of Religious Affairs. Therefore an official education and religion discourse were formed by the Republican elites and they tried to create a “*sunni Islam Turk*” who consentient with the new Republican principles.¹⁵⁸

We can say that there was a “Protestantization” of Islam during the early Republican period in official attitudes toward religious practice and education. In accordance with the official Sunni Islam, religious belief is something of the heart, and is restricted in application. As Ihsan Yılmaz puts it, “In Republican epistemology, religion is imprisoned in the conscience of the individual and in places

¹⁵⁷ Yılmaz, 388.

¹⁵⁸ Yasin Aktay, *Türk Dininin Sosyolojik İmkânı İslam Protestanlığı ve Alevilik*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2011, p. 69.

of worship in society and is not allowed to mix with and interfere in public life”.¹⁵⁹ According to the Kemalist elites, belief is more important than deed and it is not necessary refrain from alcohol or pray five times a day to be a “true” Muslim. Binnaz Toprak puts it in her article, “during the our childhood, the little girls have never wore headscarf, and the man who pray five a days could drink alcohol”.¹⁶⁰ In accordance with the Kemalist elites, a Turkish citizen could be a Sunni Muslim, at the same time secular and compatible with the Republican principles.

Since the first years of the Republic, the basic theme which determined the religion policy of the state was the pursuit of an Islam which would carry out the mission of Christianity in European. The religion which was intended by the Kemalist elites, was to be European, did not interfere to daily life and isolated itself from political and social developments. The Kemalist elites saw such a religion as an unique remedy which would abolish all identities which could possibly restrain the formation of the national identity.¹⁶¹ Therefore the Republican cadres tried to find the most suitable religion for the Turkish identity and the religion of Islam was transformed by ideological material to create national identity.

3.4.2. The Creation a Sunni Nation Project: Faculty of Divinity

After abolishing the medreses, and instead Faculty of Divinity (İlahiyat Fakültesi) was founded for the sole purpose of training religious personnel for the

¹⁵⁹ Yılmaz, 392.

¹⁶⁰ Binnaz Toprak, “Şehirli Müslümanlık”, Radikal, 29.11.2010.

¹⁶¹ Aktay, Türk Dininin Sosyolojik İmkânı İslam Protestanlığı ve Alevilik, pp. 170.

religious education of Turkish society. Then the Faculty of Divinity played a significant role in the “Protestantization” of Islam. The Republican cadres planned to educate the Turkish nation within the framework of a Turkish style Islam which would be compatible with secular legal system. A result of this plan, at the Faculty of Divinity, only the history of *Fıkıh* (the Law of Islam) was taught, not Fıkıh itself, because the science of *Fıkıh* was in contradiction with the secular Republican principles.¹⁶² Also, Faculty of Divinity was expected to have a discourse against the secular Republican to legitimate it.

In order to form a national identity, during the early Republican term, as a project of creating a nation which would consist of Sunni Muslims and at the same time be secular and modern, the belief of Sunni Islam was preferred rather than the belief of *Alevilik*. Nonetheless; Alevis supported the Kemalist reforms, especially, the abolition of Caliphate and other secular steps because the Alevis’s belief and life style were more compatible with secular life. Belief of Alevi is separated from Sunni Islam on many aspect. The basic necessities of Sunni Islam such as *namaz*, *oruç* and *hac* are unfamiliar to the Alevis.¹⁶³ Hence they adopted secular Republican principles easily.

Although the Republican regime paid attention to Alevis initially, it adopted Sunni Islam as an official religion by establishing Directorate of Religious Affairs and Faculty of Divinity and paying religious officers and teachers’ salaries. Also Kemalism tried to unify the society by putting at distance every kind of diversity and

¹⁶² Ibid. pp. 179.

¹⁶³ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kürtlük, Türklük, Alevilik, Etnik ve Dinsel Kimlik Mücadeleleri, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, p.118.*

opposition.¹⁶⁴ The Alevi movement was represented an opposition since the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the Republican regime looked at Alevis with suspicion and preferred Sunni Islam as an official religion discourse to shape and unify the Turkish society.

3.4.3. The Rejection of the Alevilik and Adoption of the Sunni Islam

The Republican regime ensured the continuity the structure of the *ummah*. Patriotism, community and the sense of being threatened by others were significant factors in keeping the sense of *ummah*. At the Republican schools, students were educated about patriotism, being together, flag and land.¹⁶⁵ Even at the most secular institution of the Republic, Military, soldiers and officers believed that they would be *şehit* when they die. These was heritage of the consciousness of the *Sunni Islam*. For that reason, instead the belief of Alevilik, the Republican cadres preferred Sunni Islam in order to shape the Turkish nation and create Sunni and also secular “Turk”.

After founding the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal and his friends aimed to create a nation-state. It was necessary to melt and assimilate other ethnic groups within the nation which was imagined by the Kemalist elites. The Eastern Anatolia where different ethnic and religious especially Kurds lived in a problem for the new Turkish state. The Kurdish population that was residential in Eastern Anatolia

¹⁶⁴ Elise Massicard, *Türkiye’den Avrupa’ya Alevi Hareketinin Siyasallaşması*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, p.46.

¹⁶⁵ Şerif Mardin, *Din ve İdeoloji*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2010, p. 148.

especially Dersim was generally Alevi. There was a feudal structure in the Dersim region and Kurdish Alevis was reluctant to legitimize authority of the Republican.¹⁶⁶

There was tribal structure in Dersim and the tribes of Dersim had never been subdued by any previous government; the only law they recognized was traditional tribal law. The Dersim Rebellion in 1937-38 occurred against the government and the rebellion was suppressed by the state. In fact, the origin of rebellion was not the belief in Alevilik, but Kurdish ethnicity. But the people who joined the rebellion was Kurdish and Alevi. Then, this event caused the Republican regime to put a distance between state and Alevis. So, the Kemalist elites were concerned that Kurds and Alevis were two significant obstacle for the imagined nation which was planned to be formed.¹⁶⁷

Therefore, the Turkish state adopted the Sunni Islam officially and never recognized the Alevilik as a religion or a sect of Islam. Nowadays, the Alevilik are still nor recognized as a religion or a sect of Islam and *Cemevi* is recognized not a place of worship in the strict sense of the term by the Turkish state.¹⁶⁸

As a result, we can say that the Republican regime preferred the sunni Islam and used it in order to unify Turkish society and rejected other beliefs and sects in order to suppress all diversities. The Kemalist elites tried to protestantize the Sunni Islam by taking it under control of state and create Sunni and secular Turkish nation. In accordance with the Kemalist regime, the ideal Turkish citizen was Sunni Muslim,

¹⁶⁶ Mahmut Akyürekli, *Dersim Kürt Tedibi 1937-1938*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2011, p.65.

¹⁶⁷ Akyürekli, *Dersim Kürt Tedibi*, 71.

¹⁶⁸ "Tarihi Cemevi kararı Yargıtay'dan döndü", *Cumhuriyet*, 25.07. 2012.

at the same time republican, secular and Atatürkist. This type matched the LAST typology which was imagined by the Kemalist elites.

3.5. Turk

As we have shown, the typology of the LAST consists of four components. Being “Turk” is the last and most prominent component of the LAST. In accordance with the Kemalist elites, one of the most significant characteristic of the ideal Turkish citizen was being “Turk”. Hence, the Kemalist elites tried to create a nation which consists of monolithic Turks or Turkified people who have assimilated to Turkishness.

During the early Republican period, nationalism meant a common culture of different ethnicities. At the time, it did not mean having ideological or ethnic roots. The War of National Independence brought the interpretation of the identification of Turk and Islam, which gave the impression of “Turkifying of Islam”¹⁶⁹. The idea of creating a nation from the legacy of Ottoman Empire “turned to be an idea which was marking the beginning of a state-centered socialization process.”¹⁷⁰ In this period, the Turkish nationalism idea of Ziya Gökalp, which was stressing political and cultural unity, was preferred by the Kemalist elites as it well suited the principle of national sovereignty. Later in coming years, however, Ziya Gökalp’s “intense religious, lingual and moral thoughts” were taken out of official nationalism and

¹⁶⁹ E. Deniz Göktürk, “1919-1923 Dönemi Türk Milliyetçilikleri” p.106.

¹⁷⁰ Fethi Açıkel, “Devletin Manevi Sahsiyeti ve Ulusun Pedagojisi”, Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, p. 118.

ethnic themes were more stressed in order to build a common or a collective comprehension.¹⁷¹

By the 1930s, the Kemalist elites infused the revolution with a new Turkish identity in order to indwell the Kemalist revolution. In this context, the main target of this project of new identity creation was to form an ideal Turkish identity based on the grounds of secular legitimacy.

There were some reasons for Kemalist elites to prefer ethnic Turkish nationalism over a common or a collective national identity not having been successful in forging an inclusive a comprehensive identity of Kemalist secularism, Kemalist nationalism now shifted to a racial and ethnic axis.¹⁷² In accordance with the Kemalist elites, it was necessary to find a new which compete with Shariah and replace it. Republic, in order to place the Republic in safe hands, they needed an organic link to society.

Secondly, the defensive psychology which was provoked by the Western prejudices and the memory of foreign invasions that saw the Turkish race as a “secondary class” race, caused the Kemalist nationalism to shift in an racial and ethnic axis. The Turkish History Thesis and Sun-Language Theory emerged within the framework of the idea that the superior Turkish race was the source of all civilizations.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Nevzat Kösoğlu, “Türk Milliyetçiliği İdeolojisinin Doğusu ve Özellikleri”, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, p.210.

¹⁷² Yıldız, 2010, 159.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, 160.

Lastly, the suspicion felt for “the other” and the formation of a defensive Turkishness exacerbated ethnic Turkish nationalism. This was developed to create a strong Turkish identity and nation which would not be susceptible to other threats. Hence, the Republican cadres began to create a new Turkish identity based on ethnicity and blood. This new identity generated the “Turk” which is the last component of the LAST typology. The Turkish History Thesis and the Sun-Language Theory were developed, the ethnic laws were enacted and Turkification policies against the “other” were developed by the Kemalist nation building engineers in order to create an ideal Turkish identity.

3.5.1. The Project of Creation “Turkishness”: Turkish History Thesis and Sun-Language Theory

The Turkish History Thesis, which was one of the main dimensions of the process of constructing the national identity, was an attempt for a cultural revolution and the creation of a new ideal Turk. In other words, a nationalist reading of history was one of the most important elements of Kemalism’s nation building project.

The single-party period (1923-46) was the term that the Kemalist ideology matured and implemented. During this term, the Kemalist history thesis became the most important integrative part of the Kemalist ideology. As well as nationalism, positivism and secularism generated the philosophical basics of this ideological

formula.¹⁷⁴ Turkish historiography was very important for the nationalist cadres to create both national and modern citizens:

Our party attaches utmost importance to teaching our citizens the deep-rooted history of the Turk. This insight, which would cultivate the Turk's faculties and strength, his self confidence and his unbreakable endurance against any currents that may harm our national existence, is a sacred essence.¹⁷⁵

Hence, the most significant Kemalist attempts to invent a national history and to create the ideal Turkishness. In accordance with the Turkish History Thesis Turks are tantamount to the creators of the civilization. The cultural cradle of humanity was Central Asia where a brachycephalic race has once lived. Therefore, the comprehension of the Kemalist nationalist nation building project, attached importance to a common ethnic tie in the creation of a common history. The main target of Mustafa Kemal, was to get rid of inferiority complex against the West. In the Western world, there was an outlook about Turks that the Turks were barbarian, un-civilized and belonging to a second-class race. This caused an inferiority complex among the Kemalist elite against the West. For this reason the Kemalist elite, tried to a new history to convince the Turkish nation was one of the most civilized nation ever and had great contribution on development of the civilization.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Büşra Ersanlı, İktidar ve Tarih Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, p.105.

¹⁷⁵ Parla, Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları, C.3 p.292.

¹⁷⁶ Suavi Aydın, Cumhuriyetin İdeolojik Şekillenmesinde Antropolojinin Rolü: Irkçı Paradigmanın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü, in Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce- Kemalizm, İletişim Yayınları, 2002, p.353.

As a result of the “creation of the nation project”, the history of the “imagined nation” was created a bogus and archaeological and anthropological past was built by the Republican cadres. To these efforts, books on Turkish history were written and History Congresses were convened. In accordance with archaeological and anthropological researches and Turkish History Thesis, the Turks were the descendants of the founders of important civilizations in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Egypt and the Aegean and thus implying that many major nations descended from the Turks. Also the thesis claimed that all inhabitants of Anatolia were Turks.¹⁷⁷

The Turkish History thesis, the discourse on the existence of high Turkish civilizations was used by the Kemalist modernization attempts among people. According to this thesis, when all the nations all over the world lived in primitive conditions, the Turks took the very first steps towards civilization. Europe acquired all the components of its civilization from Central Asia. Accordingly, the Hittites - Central Asian Turks- carried the centre of Turkism and civilization from Central Asia to Anatolia. The Turks played a bridge role to transport the civilization from Central Asia to Europe. The significant aspect of the Turkish History Thesis was it based on a conception of history which was race based. Many anthropological researches were studied on craniums buried in Anatolia and it tried to be convinced that Turkish race was Aryan race and brachycephalic. In accordance with the Thesis Turkish race was Homo Alpinus and it could not to be thought different from the European race.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Şeker, 65.

¹⁷⁸ Zafer Toprak, Darwin’den Dersim’e Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul.2012, p.152.

During the Republican period, the main target of the anthropological researches was to demonstrate that Turks were belonging to a first class race who has brachycephalic skull. The main institution that led studies on the History of Turks was the Society for the Study of Turkish History (Türk Tarihini Tetkik Cemiyeti), which was founded upon Mustafa Kemal's instruction in 1931. After Turkish History Thesis and anthropological researches studied by Afet Inan, the Western world accepted that the Turks were belonging to high race such as European people.¹⁷⁹

The Turkish History Thesis played the significant role attributed to history in nation building and the creation of national identity on the one hand, and the particular focus given to racial characteristics in defining nationality on the other. Moreover, the main purpose of the Turkish History Thesis was to form a Turkish national consciousness. The Turkish identity was defined by the Kemalist cadres within the framework of this Thesis. The Kemalist ideology tried to create a new Turk who belonged to first class race via Turkish History Thesis.

The language reform and the Sun-Language Theory were other important attempts for the creation of the ideal Turkish citizen. Kemalist nationalists tried to create a standardized and homogenized language, in order to construct the national identity. In accordance with this theory, the basic language in the human history was the Turkish language. The other languages have been derived from the Turkish language since the first language all over the world was the Turkish language.

The Turkish language and Sun-Language Theory were used by the Republican cadres to define the new nation and create an ideal Turkish identity. In

¹⁷⁹ Zafer Toprak, Darwin'den Dersim'e Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji, p.182.

this context, in the beginning of the 1920s, Turkish Language Institution, Turkish History Institution and Faculty of Language, History and Geography were found in order to rebuild Turkish language and identity.¹⁸⁰

The Republican cadres tried to clean Turkish language from Ottoman and Islamic words and create secular, modern and pure Turkish language. According to them the Ottoman language was an unknown language for most of the Turkish people; their daily speech was very different from the Ottoman language and the pure and real Turkish language could be found among noble Turkish people. For this reason the Turkish language Congress gathered and in the Congress it was emphasized that the civilization came to world via the Turks and all languages inspired from Turkish language.¹⁸¹

Kemalists also thought that Islam was an imposed alien culture, for that reason, the legacy of the Islamic past had to be cleaned from the Turkish language and culture in order to rebuild the honor of the Turks.¹⁸² Hence, the Turkish language was used to create monolithic Turkish nation and Turkification process during the early Republican period by the Kemalist nationalists. In this context, the Turkish language became the most prominent instrument to Turkify the nation and create the new Turk.

As a result, the Turkish History Thesis, the Sun Language Theory and language reforms became significant instruments to Turkification process and create

¹⁸⁰ Toprak, 420.

¹⁸¹ Soner Çağaptay, "Otuzlarda Türk Milliyetçiliğinde İrk, Dil ve Etnisite, in Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik, Cilt 4, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2003, p.255.

¹⁸² Soner Çağaptay, "Otuzlarda Türk Milliyetçiliğinde İrk, Dil ve Etnisite, p.255.

an ideal Turk in Türkiye. By the Republican cadres, to build a monolithic nation which consists of ideal Turkish citizen, the Turkish ethnicity was emphasized in every field. Afterward, ethnicism and Turkification became an official policy of the state.

3.5.2. The Turkification and Ethnicity in Laws

After beginning the 1920s, Turkification became main official policy of the Republican government. The 1924 Constitution and legal regulations played significant role in legal Turkification in Türkiye. In the early republican years, the Turkification policies carried out by the Republican government. These policies and conceptions were named to be “differentialist practices of citizenship” in Türkiye. For instance, in Constitution of 1924, article 88, it a distinction was made between “being Turkish citizen” and “being Turk”. Thus, according to article 92, the each “Turk who has political rights” (not Turkish citizen) can be officer for government. In accordance with the Officer Law (Memurin Kanunu) enacted 1926, it was necessary to be “Turk” to be government employee.

The Law on Pharmacies, enacted in 1924, it was necessary to be “Turk” to open a pharmacy. Hence, it was not allowed to open pharmacy for the minorities.¹⁸³ The Law on Medicine, enacted in 1928, prohibited to be doctor for the non-Turks. Therefore only Turks could be doctor in Türkiye. The Law on Economic Company enacted 1927, enforced writing Turkish in every contractss and “being Turk” every

¹⁸³ Yıldız, 2010, 234.

workers in the companies.¹⁸⁴ These regulations show us “Turkishness” sense of the Kemalist nationalists clearly. The Kemalist elites tried to form Turkishness by using the legal regulations.

3.5.3. The Law of Surname

Surnames show the relations of relatives within the nation and it is the main signal of national identity. In this context, in 1934 The Law of Family Names accepted and it made mandatory for everybody to take a family name. However the law prevented the adoption of names of tribes, foreign race and nations as family names. In accordance with surname regulation, using the any surname which related another nation such as Arnavutoğlu, Kürdoğlu was banned. Also other names was Turkified by dropping the “yan, of, ef, viç, iç, dis and pulos” suffixes.¹⁸⁵ The Greeks and the Jews would Turkify their names and surnames by finding a Turkish equivalent for each Greek or Jewish name. The Surname Law was important for assimilation and Turkification project of the Republican cadres.

3.5.4. The Settlement Law in 1934

The Settlement Law is one of the most prominent examples of the Turkification project of the Kemalist nationalists in Türkiye. It marked the period which the trio of “language, culture and ideal” of the Kemalist nationalism gave it

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 235.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 236.

place to the trio of “language, culture and blood”. The main target of this law was to assimilate non-Turk Muslim population, in particular Kurds and Arabs.¹⁸⁶ Another significant point of this law was to determine conditions of acceptance to Türkiye. In this context, the definition of immigration based on the criteria of being an exemplary Turk.

The Settlement Law of 1934 was a notorious example of the program of assimilation in the early Republican period. The aim of this law was as follows: “The Republic of Türkiye could not condone those who would enjoy Turkish citizenship and all the rights law provided without having a devotion to the Turkish flag. It is for this reason this law has specified the ways of assimilating such people in the Turkish culture. In the Republic of Türkiye, Turkishness of anyone who says s/he is Turkish must be evident and clear for the Turkish state”.¹⁸⁷ In these cases, many Kurds were deported from their native places and the estates of some were confiscated. However, Kurds were allowed to experience citizenship rights without discrimination provided that they assimilated into Turkishness.

The Settlement Law, attempted to assimilate the non-Turk Muslims via settlement. In this way, the Republican regime began to accept immigrants in order to increase the indigenous Turkish population and deport the Kurdish people from the East to West. This regulation included also the non-Muslims in Anatolia. So, the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 249.

¹⁸⁷ Mesut Yegen, Turkish nationalism and the Kurdish question, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 30 No. 1 January 2007, pp. 145.

Armenians who lived in the middle Anatolia were exiled to Istanbul and the Jews were exiled from Thrace to Istanbul.¹⁸⁸

3.5.5. The Turkification Project of the Kurds and the Islahat Reports of the East

The Kurdish issue is one of the most prominent problems of Türkiye. In fact, the mentioning the existence of a separate Kurdish origin of Turkish citizens was taboo in Türkiye up until recently. Unlike Christian and Jewish communities, the Muslim population was treated as a homogenous whole. Furthermore, citizens of Kurdish origin were regarded as having Turanian origins and as such being ethnic Turks. They were concerned “mountain Turks” by the official state discourse.¹⁸⁹

The Kurdish identity was erased by banning the use of Kurdish names, restricting the use of the Kurdish language. Also the towns and provinces place names in the Southeast were Turkified in the Turkish state. The Kemalist nationalists tried to assimilate the Kurdish population into the Turkish “melting pot”.¹⁹⁰

The paradox is the Kurdish people rejected being “Turk” and resisted the the Turkification and assimilation project of the Kemalist nationalists. During the 1930s the authoritarian “lineage Turkish nationalism” led to the rejections of existence of Kurds. However, the authoritarian Turkification and assimilation project to build a

¹⁸⁸ Yıldız, 2010, pp. 253.

¹⁸⁹ Nathalie Tocci, 21st Century Kemalism Redefining Turkey-EU Relations in the Post-Helsinki Era CEPS Working Document No. 170, September 2001, pp.5.

¹⁹⁰ Nathalie Tocci, 21st Century Kemalism Redefining Turkey-EU Relations in the Post-Helsinki Era, pp.5.

Turkish nation-state was hardly welcomed by the Kurds and the Kurdish rebellion arose.¹⁹¹

Until the 1960s the Kurdish population remained largely unconscious of its separate identity. The Kurdish uprisings of the 1920s and 30s were religious character against Kemalist secularization and not separatist insurrections based upon the consciousness of a distinctive Kurdish identity.¹⁹²

The Kurdish issue and rebellions was perceived by the Kemalist elites, as an obstacle to modernization.¹⁹³ The Republican cadres suppressed the resistances and rebellions of the Kurds in a hard way and prepared the East Reform Reports (Şark Islahat Raporu) in 1925, in order to modernize and Turkify the Kurdish population including Arabs who lived in the Kurdish region.

In accordance with the East Reform Reports; speaking any languages except Turkish, in the East and West of Türkiye must be banned. The East must be governed by the central government and martial law sharply. The Turkish people must be settled in the east and the Kurdish people must be settled in the West. The state and bureaucracy must be cleaned from the Kurds in the east and the Kurdish region must be governed by the idealist nationalist Turks. And finally, the Kurdish population must be Turkified via the nationalist education system.¹⁹⁴

On the other hand, there were non-Muslims, these should be assimilated somehow. This is the “dark side” of Kemalist nationalism within the borders of the

¹⁹¹ Mesut Yeğen, *Müstakbel Türk'ten Sözde Vatandaşa Cumhuriyet ve Kürtler*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, pp. 126.

¹⁹² Nathalie Tocci, pp. 5.

¹⁹³ Mesut Yeğen, *Müstakbel Türk'ten Sözde Vatandaşa Cumhuriyet ve Kürtler*, pp.127.

¹⁹⁴ Yıldız, 2010, 247.

Turkish state. The unification and Turkification were made visible through various policies and laws. At that point, law, legal regulations, science, and history were used for legitimizing the nation's existence against the non-Turks and also to create attachments among the Turks.¹⁹⁵

3.5.6. The Turkification Project of Non-Muslim Minorities

During the early Republican period in Türkiye, the Turkification project became an dominant official ideology of the state in every field from language which was spoken on the street to settlement of the population of Anatolia,. The main reason of Turkish nationalism taking place as a systematized political ideology was the acceptance of this ideology by the political elites in government.

The basic distinction of all nationalism movements is between “us” and “other”. The “we” was defined by the Kemalist nationalist elites as “the people who belonged to Turkish identity”. At the initial years of the Republic, the Turkification policies which were executed by the Single-Party government had a discriminatory feature for the non-Muslim minorities. In other words, each social group which could not be Turkified by the state, was treated with discrimination by the Kemalist Single-Party elites.¹⁹⁶

The Republican of Türkiye inherited a population structure which consisted of variety of religious and ethnic groups from the Ottoman Empire. After the

¹⁹⁵ Taha Parla, Türkiye'de Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları, pp. 210.

¹⁹⁶ Ayhan Aktar, Varlık Vergisi ve “Türkleştirme” Politikaları, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 102.

Independence War, Türkiye faced the minority issue. Contrary to current standards of minorities in the world, the minorities in particular, Armenian, Jews and Greeks was considered by the Kemalist nation building engineers in Türkiye as non-Muslim citizens. The non-Turk but Muslim people were not considered as minority.¹⁹⁷ It can be explained that the reasons why only non-Muslim groups was considered as minority by the Kemalist elites was, in many respects, the Republic of Türkiye is continuation of the Ottoman Empire and the millet system. Türkiye's major political gain was to rid her domestic affairs of interference from the Great Powers. Again, to protect the integrity of the state, the Republican cadres could not put up with the minorities.¹⁹⁸ Hence, the Turkification of the non-Muslims has been seen a unique solution by the Kemalist cadres.

In the Lausanne Treaty, non-Muslim minorities were accepted as Turkish citizen. Then in 1926, the Swiss civil code and the Italian penal code were adopted. Therefore, the Republic of Türkiye took the minorities under its control. Officially, each Turkish citizen including non-Muslims had to abide by the Turkish legal system and they were equal before law. The new national Turkish state found an opportunity to control the private life of every citizen via adoption of the Turkish Civil Code. Afterward, the non-Muslims renounced the some rights which had been given by the Lausanne Treaty as a result of pressure from the state. In this way, non-Muslim citizens were Turkified legally by removing all the privileges of being a minority.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Baskın Oran, Türkiye'de Azınlıklar, Kavram, Teori, İç Mevzuat, İçtihat, Uygulama İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, pp.47.

¹⁹⁸ Baskın Oran, Türkiye'de Azınlıklar, pp.48.

¹⁹⁹ Ayhan Aktar, Varlık Vergisi ve "Türkleştirme" Politikaları, 113.

Afterwards, the minorities in Türkiye were assimilated and Turkified in many respect. The Kemalist nationalism aimed to Turkify all different social groups, especially non-Muslims and developed an anti-non-Muslim reflex. For instance, in 1937, some municipalities prohibited speaking any foreign language except Turkish in public.²⁰⁰ The non-Muslims fulfilled military obligation its as an unarmed insignia. They could hardly find any place in civil bureaucracy and political life. The traveling rights of Armenians and Greek in Istanbul, were limited.²⁰¹

Within the Turkification project of non-Muslim, the economic life was Turkified. The Republican cadres tried to Turkify all economic life and companies which belonged to non-Muslims went under control of state. In this context, the Law on Cabotage was enacted. In accordance with Cabotage Law, all commercial shipping and related activities between the ports of Türkiye's and at Turkish ports were granted to Turks. In this way, all commercial shipping was given only to Turks and Turkish companies. It was ordered to employed at least %75 Turkish workers for the non-Muslim companies and banned to speak and write any language but Turkish.²⁰² Also the Law on Pharmacies, enacted in 1924, it was necessary to be "Turk" to open pharmacy. Hence, it was not allowed to open pharmacy for the minorities.²⁰³

The most notorious example of official discrimination against non-Muslim citizens of the Republic was the Capital Tax of 11 November 1942. In accordance with the Capital Tax, eligion and ethnicity were the criteria to determined how much

²⁰⁰ Yıldız, 2010, pp. 269.

²⁰¹ Ibid, pp. 275.

²⁰² Yıldız, 2010, pp. 285.

²⁰³ Yıldız, 2010, pp. 234.

tax a person had to pay. In fact, the non-Muslims paid up to ten times as much as Muslims. Aftermath many non-Muslims had to leave Türkiye and emigrated from their homeland.²⁰⁴

In the framework of the Turkification project, the state's departments were cleaned from non-Muslims. For that, according to 1924 Constitution, article 92, the each "Turk who has political rights" (not Turkish citizen) can be officer for government. In accordance with the Officer Law (Memurin Kanunu) enacted 1926, it was necessary to be "Turk" to be government employee.²⁰⁵

Finally, the campaign of the the "Citizen, Speak Turkish!" was the one of the most prominent dimension of the Turkification project during the early Republican period. In this context, the "Citizen, Speak Turkish!" campaign, which aimed to put pressure on non-Turkish speakers to speak Turkish in public. Hence a state-centered the nation-building process embarked on in Türkiye by the Kemalist media. The process of Turkification embarked on with the first years of the republic with the "Citizen speak Turkish" campaign to Turkificate non-Muslim minorities and Muslims who don't speak Turkish in Türkiye.²⁰⁶ This campaign so spread that Muslim or non-Muslim minorites were not allowed to speak their languages except Turkish in public even hotels, steamboats, theaters.²⁰⁷

After population change, most of the Armenians and Greeks left the country leaving the Jewish community as the largest minority. After the definition of Turkish

²⁰⁴ Ahmet Köroğlu, "İlk Dönem Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Türkleştirme Politikaları", in İLEM Yıllık, yıl 4, sayı 4, 2009, pp.133.

²⁰⁵ Yıldız, 2010, 234.

²⁰⁶ Yıldız, 2010, 286.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 287.

citizenship, the all minorities in Anatolia were accepted as Turkish. Generally, Greeks and Armenians who lived within the boundaries of Türkiye could speak Turkish but Jews used Ladino Spanish and most of them could not speak Turkish. They responded positively the campaign to the speak Turkish and then began to speak Turkish.²⁰⁸ The “citizen speak Turkish” campaign was also used for Turkification of the Muslim minorities such as Arabs and Kurds. The non-Turks population of Anatolia was forced to speak Turkish via campaign by Kemalist elites.

To sum up briefly, in order to create a monolithic Turkish nation which consisted of ideal Turkish citizen, in other word, the LAST typology, all non-Turk and non-Muslim ingredients in ethnically and religiously homogenous Türkiye, were assimilated, Turkified and otherized by the Kemalist nationalist nation building engineers. In this way, other social, religious and ethnic groups such as non-Muslims, prayerful Muslims, Alevis, Kurds, leftists and liberals was discriminated and considered as a secondary class citizen by the Kemalist elites and their state.

²⁰⁸ Ayhan Aktar, pp. 131.

CONCLUSION

In this study, we have tried to discuss the creation of an ideal Turkish citizen type called “LAST” – Laicist, Atatürkist, Sunni Muslim and Turk and monolithic Turkish nation which consisted of the ideal “Turk” during the early Republican period. This study claimed that the Kemalist nationalist nation building engineers, tried to shape the Turkish society within the framework of Kemalist nationalism and form a new Turk. In accordance with Kemalist elites the Turkish nation would consist a new Turk called LAST typology and this typology was the real citizen and owner of the new Turkish country.

Before discussing the creation of the ideal Turkish citizen project during the early Republican period, we discussed the “nation” and “nationalism” within the theoretical framework and the position of the Kemalist nationalism in the concept of the nationalism. Later, we discussed the entering the national identity consciousness in the Ottoman Empire and emergence of the Turkish nationalism in the Empire.

After the Renaissance and Reformation movements, dramatic changes had started in the political, economical and social spheres in West European countries. In fact, these changes were the result of the rapid developments in technology, population growth, education, secularization. All of these developments triggered the idea of nation and nationalism.

Nationalist movements that have directed world politics for such a long time developed in two different ways. In Western countries, the creation of nation and the building of the state developed step by step. A nation in these countries was defined

as the people having the same rights before the law. At the end of the 18th century, nationalist movements that were transferred to Central and Eastern Europe had entirely different traditions and social structures. In Eastern countries, on the other hand, nationalism moved in different directions since the nation was not correlated with the state. Rather, “political organization was organized in relation to the nation. Therefore, the nationalist movement can be called as a nation-state.²⁰⁹ In these lands nationalism became a trend towards collective self-assertion and emphasized the natural peculiarities of different nations. Moreover, there was a focus on the role of intellectuals, artists and humanity’s yearnings for the infinite. Turkish nationalism was quite influenced from this type of nationalism. We can link the Kemalist nationalism to an Eastern nationalism typology. While Kemalist nationalism tried to make nationalists of the Turk, Kemalist elites insisted on a special kind of nationalism based on Kemalist principle. They planned to create a modern and western country. State and society were informed by official Kemalist nationalism²¹⁰

After the French revolution, the ideology of nationalism began to influence social, political and economic life of the Western Europe and later rest of the world. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was one of the state which was under impact of the nationalism idea. The French Revolution had a great impact on minorities and non-Muslims who lived in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire faced the movements of the independence and nationalism. The ideas of revolution especially three catchwords: “liberty, equality, fraternity” had

²⁰⁹Hans Kohn, “Western and Eastern Nationalism”, pp. 164.

²¹⁰ Sugar, 1994, 176.

great deal of impact on Christian communities.²¹¹ This situation endangered the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, to protect the Empire and as a reaction against uprisings and independence movements the Turkism nationalism emerged in the 19th century as an alternative ideology among to Turks who lived in the Ottoman Empire. Initially, the Turkish nationalism emerged as a cultural movement among the Ottoman Turks and then, in the late 19th century, it transformed into political nationalism.

The rise of Turkish nationalism went parallel to modernization attempts of the Ottoman officials. In the 19th century, the Ottoman bureaucrats considered modernity as a goal to overcome the difficulties of the Ottoman Empire. Ottomanism and Islamism were the ideologies of the state, which were essential for its survival. Despite their failure, in some aspects, these policies speeded the emergence of Turkish nationalism. Young Ottomans who graduated from Western type of schools and who were the outcomes of modernization attempts were the first group to increase the nationalist sentiments among the Turks. Inspired by Turkology studies, they paid special emphasis on Turkish culture, language and history. Thereafter, the Young Turks, with the help of Russian Turks gave a new meaning to the movement and transferred Turkish nationalism into a political movement.²¹² Later, the Turkish nationalism became an official ideology of the state and the government of the CUP used it so shape and transform state and society.

After the collapse of Ottoman Empire, the new Republic of Türkiye was founded from wreckages of Empire. The Turkish nationalism played an essential role

²¹¹ Zurcher, 2004, pp. 26.

²¹² Ibid, pp. 123-125.

in reconstructing the new Republic. The ideology of Turkish nationalism was used by the Republican cadres to build nation and create a new ideal Turkish citizen type. Hence, in Türkiye, nationalism was used as an implement of creation an ideal “Turk” called LAST, a new nation and modernization project by the Kemalist nationalists.

After establishment of the Republic of Türkiye, Kemalist nationalists embarked on to shape society and create the new Turk type – the typology of the LAST within the framework of the Kemalist ideology. In accordance with the Kemalist elites, the ideal new Turkish citizen type would match the LAST typology. Also the Turkish nation would consist of the palatable Turkish citizen type. According to them, each ideal Turk would be secular, Atatürkist, Sunni believer and of course Turk. In this context, the ideal Turk would not be religious person but secular, the ideal Turk would adopt Western life style and live as a western person but, he/she would be Sunni Islam believer. Also the ideal Turkish citizen would be “Turk”. The other Turkish citizens who were not belonging to the Turkish ethnicity were considered as a secondary citizen by the Kemalist elites. According to them, the ideal Turkish citizen would be Turks and Muslim population such as Circassians, Bosnians and Pomaks who immigrated from Balkans and Caucasia to Anatolia and Kurds lived in Türkiye would be melted within the “Turkishness”. These groups did not have to be ethnically Turkish and as long as they were assimilated in Turkishness.²¹³

As we have shown in this study, the main goal of the Kemalist nation building engineers was to build a new nation which would consist of the ideal

²¹³ Ihsan Yılmaz, “Lausannian Turks and their adventures”.

Turkish citizen type, the LAST typology. After foundation of new Turkish state, the Republican cadres, made a series reforms to shape society and create the palatable Turkish citizen. Also, non-Muslims and non-Turks who did not match the LAST typology, were Turkified, or otherized and even deported by the Kemalist elites.

As it stated above, being secular was the first components of the LAST typology. The Kemalist elites wanted to Türkiye transform into a modern and secular country and create secular Turkish citizen. According to them the Turkish nation would have to consist of secular and rational Turk. In this way, they made many reforms in order to create a secular and modern Turkish citizen and nation. Also, they tried to secular past by using the Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory. The Kemalist nationalist cadres were willing to have recourse to the most radical solutions in order to guarantee the creation of secular Turk. The practicing Muslims were excluded and not fully trusted by the Kemalist elites.

Atatürkism - Atatürkçülük in other words, Kemalism, is the second components of the LAST. The ideal Turkish citizen type would love Atatürk and follow his way. Atatürkism is a softer version of Kemalism. According to Kemalist elites a person are never perfect Turkish citizen as long as he/she loves Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, deeply respects him.²¹⁴ The non-Atatürkists such as leftists, religious Turks who were against the secular policies of Atatürk and liberals were have always been discriminated by the Kemalists.²¹⁵ The main target of the Kemalism-Atatürkism was the rejection of the backwardness and the building of new, modern, western and civilized nation. Then, the Turkish citizens were westernized by the Kemalist elites

²¹⁴ Ihsan Yılmaz, "Who has infiltrated the Turkish state?"

²¹⁵ Ibid.

by using many reforms and regulations. After the efforts of the westernization, the Turkish nation began to transform into modern and western one.

During the early Republican period, the Kemalist nation building engineers, used the Sunni Islam to shape nation and form a new Turkish citizen type. For the Kemalist elites, being a Sunni believer was the significant criterion of the ideal Turkish citizen. Being Sunni was the prominent components of the LAST typology. Other religions such as Christianity and Judaism were considered as a threat and each Islamic belief such as Alevilik except Sunni Islam was rejected by the Kemalism ideology. The Republic Kemalist elites tried to form an official *Sunni Islam*, in other word, *Lausannian Islam* and protestantize the Sunni Islam by taking it under control. The Republican cadres, regulated daily religious life by using Faculty of Divinity and Directorate of Religious Affairs in order to create ideal Turk who compatible with the secular Kemalist regime.

Being Turk and Turkification project generated the most prominent pillars of the LAST typology. Being Turk was considered by the Kemalist elites a vital criterion of the new ideal Turkish citizen type. During the Republican period, it was witnessed a great Turkification project in Türkiye. The Republican elites had great deal efforts to Turkify non-Muslim minorities and non-Turk Muslims, in particular Kurds. Many non-Turk elements were assimilated or deported by the Kemalist elites in order to create a new monolithic Turkish nation. The non Muslims and Kurds were considered as secondary citizen and excluded by the Kemalist elites. In accordance with the Kemalist elites, the Turks was a real citizen and they real owner of the Republic of Türkiye.

To conclude, the findings of this study steers us toward more crucial questions. According to Kemalist nationalist elites, “Who is the ideal Turkish citizen”? and “Who is the real owner of the Republic of Türkiye”? This thesis tried to answer these questions. In accordance with this thesis, the palatable and real Turkish citizen is secular, Atatürkist, Sunni and Turk. In other words, in terms of Kemalist ideology, the real Turkish citizen is a type which matches the LAST typology. Also the LAST typology is the real owner of the Republic. Since early Republican period up to a decade ago, the center of the Republic of Türkiye was represented by the LAST. All social, religious and ethnic groups such as non-Muslims, practicing Muslims, non-Atatürkists, Alevi and Kurds which don't match the LAST have always been discriminated by the Kemalist elites. The LAST dominated all state institutions, from army, the judicial system to educational system. The civil society and public opinion was controlled by the LAST. State and society have been governed under tutelage of LAST typology for many years.

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