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**THE CONCEPT OF STATE IN SAİD HALİM PASHA AND ZİYA  
GÖKALP**

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*To my Husband and Children*

## APPROVAL PAGE

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## **AUTHOR DECLARATIONS**

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for any award or any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution.

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## **ABSTRACT**

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**January, 2010**

### **THE CONCEPT OF STATE**

#### **IN SAİD HALİM PASHA AND ZİYA GÖKALP**

This thesis is a comparative study of concept of state in Said Halim Pasha (1865-1921), a considerable thinker and activist, and Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924), a Turkish publicist and precursor sociologist. It alleges that the conflict among the Ottoman intellectuals of the last period is caused by the difference of ideals between those who claim to modernize the state on the basis of social sciences and those who want to reshape it by keeping dependant on fiqh, the Islamic law.

Gökalp initially tackled the problems of how far Turkey should adopt Western culture and how far the traditional Islamic civilization should accordingly change in the direction of a European-type nation-state. Gökalp who was a synthesist in his first ideological period (1918-1923) had defended a western concept of state on the basis of positive thinking and social sciences after the foundation of the Republic. Said Halim Pasha, who is commonly seen as one of the best representatives of the Islamist school, made important contributions to the ideological debates on the state. Said Halim Pasha, unlike Gökalp, rejected a Western concept of state and defended an Islamic political approach to politics based on fiqh.

**Key words:**

Said Halim Pasha, Ziya Gökalp, State, Westernization, Islamism, Turkism.

## ÖZET

Elçin Karlı

Ocak, 2010

### SAİD HALİM PAŞA VE ZİYA GÖKALP'TE

#### DEVLET KAVRAMI

Bu tez önemli bir İslamcı düşünür olan Said Halim Paşa (1865-1921) ve siyaset yazarı ve Türkiye'de sosyolojinin kurucularından biri olan Ziya Gökalp'in (1876-1924) devlet hakkındaki fikirlerinin karşılaştırılmalı bir incelemesidir. Gökalp Türkiye'nin Batı kültürünü hangi oranda adapte edilmesi gerektiği ve buna göre İslam medeniyeti hangi oranda Avrupa-tarzı ulus-devlet yönünde değişmeli problemleri ile öncelikli olarak uğraşmıştır. İlk dönemlerinde sentezci olan Gökalp Cumhuriyetin kuruluşundan sonra Batıcı bir anlayışa bürünmüştür. İslami ekolün en iyi temsilcilerinden biri olan Said Halim Paşa ise devlet konusundaki ideolojik tartışmalara önemli katkılar yapmıştır. Ziya Gökalp'den farklı olarak Said Halim Paşa Batılı bir devlet anlayışını reddetmiş onun yerine İslam'a dayalı bir siyaset yaklaşımını savunmuştur.

#### **Anahtar Kelimeler:**

Said Halim Paşa, Ziya Gökalp, Devlet, Batılılaşma, İslamcılık, Türkçülük.



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## INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, the opinions of Ziya Gökalp<sup>1</sup> and Said Halim Pasha, who had different understandings about the modernization of the state within the period of transformation from traditional Ottoman state to modern state of Turkey, about the concept of state will be comparatively analyzed. The thesis aims at finding an answer to the question how far a state should be modernized by deriving cues from the thoughts of Ziya Gökalp and Said Halim Pasha. Our study is constructed upon the theory of modern-traditional conflict set forth by Anthony Smith in his work *Theories of Nationalism*. Smith develops his theory by predicating on the scientific state emerged as a result of enlightenment period in Europe. The main purpose of the scientific state is to homogenize the population within its boundaries for governmental reasons by employing scientific techniques and methods so that its efficiency can improve.<sup>2</sup>

As a reflex to this attitude of the scientific state, three reactions are supposed to occur. The first reactionary group is *traditionalists* who completely refuse both the structure of the scientific state and its newly put values. The second group named *assimilationists*, contrary to *traditionalists*, adopts the values of the scientific state as they are. *Reformists*, as the third group, try to pacificate between the assumptions of *assimilationists* and

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<sup>1</sup> In this thesis, I will use Turkish spelling of proper names.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, Anthony (1971), *Theories of Nationalism*, London: Oxford, p.230, quoted in Ozan Erözden (1997), *Ulus Devlet*, Ankara: Dost, pp. 22-23

*traditionalists*.<sup>3</sup> Settling the place of our two thinkers in this classification, it can firstly be alleged that Ziya Gökalp, by dividing the evolution of his thought into two periods, was a reformist since he advocated the Turkish-Islamic synthesis in the first period and was an assimilationist in the second. Said Halim Pasha, on the other hand, though commonly accepted as a traditionalist in general sense, he can be accepted a eccentric<sup>4</sup> with his moderate approach which does not refuse the technological channel of the Western civilization and with his ideal of forming a new state and society on the basis of the perfect Islamic state of the past.

The traditionalists assert that the legitimate authority can only be acquired from a sacred source and so they are against the scientific state. However, the assimilationists, since they claim that the future of the society can only be guaranteed by the incessant development based on scientific data, highlight the temporal or secular authority of the scientific state. As for reformists the transcendental source of legitimacy is the perfect society of the past which should replace the degenerate society of today. "By featuring the theme of distinguished people, religion and religious values will be receded into background and the transcendental values of the past will be secularized."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Erözden, pp. 22-23

<sup>4</sup> Lindersfarne, Nancy, (2002), *Elhamdüllah Laikiz; Cinsiyet, İslâm ve Türk Cumhuriyetçiliği*, İstanbul: İletişim, p.11

<sup>5</sup> Kongar, Emre (1985), *Toplumsal Değişme Kuramları Ve Türkiye Gerçeği*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, quoted in Ozan Erözden, *Ulus Devlet*, Ankara: Dost, p. 23

Nur Vergin points out the motion of defining the modern state concept as a kind of political administration that belongs to the west in contemporary political approaches and she comments that not mentioning the Ottoman State that had the same characteristics with the modern state formation that has a territorial feature, central governance structure, regular army and bureaucracy, is an exposition of systematic ignorance.<sup>6</sup>

Although the aim of the Ottoman Empire was to modernize the necessary institutions in order to compete with the West, it can not be alleged that this transformation was experienced as the same with Western countries. Since the state tradition of the Ottoman Empire was different than those of Western countries, it is natural that the Ottomans experienced the modernization in a distinct way from West. If we adapt the Smith's classification to the Ottoman intellectuals of the late period, we see that those who can be accepted as traditionalist base their aim of making a new state on the sacred source (namely Quran and the traditions of Prophet Muhammad), but some of them are also not against some of the innovations of the scientific or modern state. They can be accepted also as reformists from this point of view and it is seen that they want to reform the state again by keeping dependent on *fiqh*. Those intellectuals, on the other hand, who can be accepted as assimilationist, base their purpose of creating a new state and a new society on the positivist thinking and social sciences. Hence,

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<sup>6</sup> Vergin, Nur (2008), *Siyasetin Sosyolojisi Kavramlar; Tanımlar, Yaklaşımlar*, İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, p.42

as Şentürk claims, it is seen that the real reason of the political conflict among the intellectuals of the last Ottoman period was, rather than a combat between traditionalists and assimilationists, a conflict between fiqh and social sciences. Şentürk defines fiqh which shapes the state understanding of Said Halim Pasha as a theologically based discipline which is the official ideology of the Ottoman state and interested in the social, religious, legal and political life of both Muslims and non-Muslims in individual, community and state level. Şentürk also claims that the concept of Islamic law used today is nothing more than a bad translation which ignores the very dimensions of fiqh.<sup>7</sup>

By staying in line with these dissertations, this thesis is prepared in three chapters. In the first two chapters of the study, the political careers of Said Halim Pasha and Ziya Gökalp will be mentioned to be able to understand which conditions became influential on their opinions.

"Modernization which is still a formal policy of Turkish State gained different dimensions after the revolution of 1908 and especially that of 1913 through Gökalp's regardable contribution."<sup>8</sup> Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924) as one of the most important theorists of Westernization formulized it as the access of Turks to a new civilized sphere by preparing the ideological

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<sup>7</sup> Şentürk, Recep (2008), *Türk Düşüncesinin Sosyolojisi, Fıkıhtan Sosyal Bilimlere*, İstanbul: Etkileşim, p.78

<sup>8</sup> Kaçmazoğlu, H.Bayram (2000), *Türkiye'de Siyasi Fikir Hareketleri*, Ankara: İletişim, p.26



structure of Westernization. Gökalp claims that religion and civilization or Islam and Westernization can harmonize with each other.<sup>9</sup>

According to H. Ziya Ülken, When Ziya Gökalp says "Turkification" he accepts national consciousness. By this he means that Turkish nation will take their culture from their own history and folklore. However, he is certainly against the ones who define Turkism as a backward nationalism, a simple pastism or racism.<sup>10</sup>

In the first chapter, firstly the state understanding of Said Halim Pasha on the basis of his work "The Political Structure in Islamic State" will be handled to indicate the conflict between fiqh and social sciences. Said Halim Pasha asserts in this work that there exists a strong and typical state settlement in Islamic societies. Moreover, he stresses the problems of western political construction in his work, too. Then, in the second chapter the career of Ziya Gökalp and his work, "Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak" (1918) will be examined within the concept of modernization of state. Next, his other work "Türkçülüğün Esasları" (1923) that was considered as the change in author's mind about modernization and reflects his positivist and western understanding that would be ideology of the nation

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<sup>9</sup> Gökalp, Ziya (1976), *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Çağdaşlaşmak ve Doğru Yol*, İstanbul: İnkilap, p.26

<sup>10</sup> Ülken, Hilmi Ziya (2006), *Seçme Eserler I, Ziya Gökalp*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, p.11

state<sup>11</sup> of new Turkish State, different from his synthesist and reformist approach.

In the third chapter of the thesis a comparison between Said Halim Pasha and Ziya Gökalp will be made. This chapter will also reveal the difference between the state concept based on fiqh and the one based on social sciences.

In conclusion, I will look at the living legacy of Ziya Gökalp and Said Halim Pasha. I will also discuss whether their ideas are still relevant today.

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<sup>11</sup> Şentürk, Recep (2006), *İslam Dünyasında Modernleşme ve Toplum Bilim*, İstanbul: İz, p.147

## CHAPTER I

# SAİD HALİM PASHA'S POLITICAL CAREER AND IDEAS ON THE STATE

In this chapter, I will briefly discuss Said Halim Pasha's career and his books and understanding of state in a detailed way. Within this frame, the concepts such as sovereignty, democracy, the method of nation's representation, right of legislation, executive power, presidency and senate will be examined through Pasha's point of view.

### 1.1 Life and Political Career of Said Halim Pasha

#### 1.1.1. Pasha's Life Before the Grand Vizierate

Said Halim Pasha, according to the Register of Events, was born in Cairo on 19 February 1864 (11 Ramadan 1280).<sup>12</sup> Said Halim is the grandchild of Kavalalı Mehmet Pasha. His father the Grand Vezir Halim Pasha was born in 1830 and died in 1894.<sup>13</sup>

Said Halim Pasha's grandfather was born in Kavala. In some sources the family is said to be Albanian or Arab,<sup>14</sup> however, during his governorship in Cairo, Mehmet Ali Pasha's designation of Turkish as the official language in the schools he established and in the government offices

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<sup>12</sup> İnal, İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal (1982), *Son Sadrazamlar 4 vols.* İstanbul: Dergah, p.1893; Bostan, Hanefi (1992), *Bir İslâmcı Düşünür Said Halim Paşa*, İstanbul: İrfan, p.19

<sup>13</sup> İnal, (1982), p.189; Bostan, (1992), p.17.

<sup>14</sup> Kuran, Ercüment (1994), *Türkiye'nin Batılılaşması ve Milli Meseleler*, Ankara: Diyanet, p.70

and his ban of Arabic speaking in his palace and his publication of the first Turkish newspaper, refute all the allegations on Mehmet Ali Pasha's being Albanian and Arabic origin.<sup>15</sup>

The first Khedive Ismail Pasha, after he was appointed to this position, grew away from Halim Pasha. Because of this, Halim Pasha, along with his family, needed to leave Egypt and settle in Istanbul. Said Halim Pasha's Istanbul life starts when he was about 6 years old. Pasha learns Arabic, Persian, English and French from private tutors. Afterwards, together with his brother Abbas Halim Pasha, he went to study political science at the Swiss University. Pasha returned to Istanbul after the completion of his secondary and higher education.<sup>16</sup>

### **1.1.2. The First State Services and Committee of Union and Progress**

Said Halim Pasha's life as a state employee starts after he returns home after the completion of his education abroad. The Sultan of that period was Abdulhamid II who ascended to the throne in 1876. Pasha, on 13 May 1888, was rewarded the grand badge award from the second rank. Shortly after, he was appointed at the membership of the Council of State at the age of 25. Pasha was rewarded the exalted medal of the Ottoman from the second rank and later from the first rank respectively. Afterwards, on the

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<sup>15</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.18.

<sup>16</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.19.

account of his achievement in his post, he was given the well-known bejeweled grand medal.<sup>17</sup>

On 22 September 1990, he was elevated to the post of Rumelian Governorship. Pasha's connection, during this position, starts with the Young Turks. Pasha, on the account of his marriage, had a waterside residence built in Yeniköy commemorated with his own name and filled inside with the Islamic and the old Ottoman works, which he was fond of.<sup>18</sup> However, after becoming the Rumelian Governor and occupying an important position in the palace, he became subjected to false accusations by some people. With the accusations of keeping harmful documents and weapon, he was denounced in the palace<sup>19</sup> and Said Halim Pasha, in the period of Avlonyali Mehmet Ferit Pasha's the Grand Vizierate, was banished from Istanbul.<sup>20</sup>

Going to Egypt, Said Halim Pasha, financially supported Ethem Ruhi who was situated there for publishing Ottoman Newspaper and, after sometime, made immediate contact with the Young Turks by going to Europe. Pasha, according to the Communication Registry Book of the Committee of Union and Progress, took office as an inspector. Meanwhile, Pasha also financially supported the expansion of the Committee's activities.

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<sup>17</sup> İnal, (1982), p.1893. ; Bostan, (1992), pp.19-20

<sup>18</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.21

<sup>19</sup> İnal, (1982), p.1893

<sup>20</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.22

Pasha, on 23 July 1908, returned to Istanbul after the declaration of the Second Constitution.<sup>21</sup>

Despite being in Egypt, his membership of the Council of State continued for a long time but, in the same year of his return, on 21 August 1908, he was left off duty owing to the scarcity of staff. Said Halim Pasha, having been removed from this position, was elected as the president of the Office of Municipality from the list of the Committee of Union and Progress in the 1908 elections from Yenikoy, which was his own neighbourhood. Upon his removal from this position, in 1911, later on, he was elected to the second presidency of the Committee of the Communal Municipality.<sup>22</sup>

Pasha participated as a chief member in the Congress of Union and Progress in Salonika. He was, then, one of the notables of the Committee of Union and Progress. He participated de facto in Committee's work of the abolition of the parliament. After the abolition of the parliament, he worked for the inclusion of the some members of the Committee of Union and Progress to the cabinet.<sup>23</sup> As a result of this, with the Grand Vezir's (Said Pasha) proposal, he entered the cabinet by his appointment as the president of the Council of State, which he was, before, removed from, with a salary particular to the chief member.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p.23. ; İnal, (1982), p.1893

<sup>22</sup> İnal, (1982), p.1893. ; Bostan, (1992), p.26

<sup>23</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.26

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.27. ; İnal, (1982), p.1894

About this time, owing to the war burst out at Tripoli, Pasha, secretly, met with the delegation of the Italian Government on 12 July 1912 in Lausanne for mediating a peace treaty, on 17 July, when, the Grand Vezir Said Pasha government retired from the office and when, the new government did not renew his position, the negotiations yielded no result. Pasha left the presidency of the Council of State position with the arrival of the new government.<sup>25</sup>

After the Said Pasha government, in the Congress of the Union and Progress, in 1912, Said Halim Pasha, according to one claim, was elected as CUP secretary,<sup>26</sup> yet according to another, to the central public membership of the Committee.<sup>27</sup> After this congress, the Committee started to establish good relations with the notables of the state. For example, Said Halim Pasha, who was in good terms with the Minister of War, Nazim Pasha, conducted some meetings in his water residence in Yenikoy. With the change of positions as a result of these meetings, the important majority of the soldiers in Istanbul fell into the hands of the Committee of Union and Progress. Said Halim Pasha was alleged to have been among the ringleaders of the Babiali Raid organized by the Committee of Union and Progress staff on 23 January 1913.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> İnal, (1982), p.1894. ; Bostan, (1992), p.27

<sup>26</sup> İnal, (1982), p.1894

<sup>27</sup> Tunaya, Tarık Zafer (1989), *Türkiyede Siyasi Partiler, 3 vols.* İstanbul: Hürriyet, p.240

<sup>28</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.28

As a result of the Babı Ali raid organized by the attempts of Union and Progress, the government was forced to resign and Mahmud Şevket Pasha was appointed to form the government. In list of the government members presented to Mehmed V Said Halim Pasha's name was also appeared. Pasha, in this cabinet, served as the president of the Council of State. However, after two days, on 27 January 1913, was assigned to the Foreign Ministry. This government was formed mainly from the people with the Union and Progress inclination.<sup>29</sup>

### **1.1.3. Said Halim Pasha's Grand Vizierate Period**

On 11 June 1913, after the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha while going to Babı Ali from the Foreign Ministry, the members of the cabinet immediately assembled to select a delegation and informed the Sultan of the situation. This delegation consisted of the chief religious official Esad Efendi and the Law Minister Ibrahim Bey. Meeting with the Sultan Mehmed Reşhad, the delegation, saying the position of the Grand Vizierate need not to be left vacant even a single minute, recommended the Foreign Minister Said Halim Pasha for the position. The Sultan, even though he said he was thinking of the Vienna Envoy Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha, on 11 June 1913, appointed Said Halim Pasha as a representative to the Grand Vizierate for not leaving the position of the Grand Vizierate vacant on such an occasion.

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<sup>29</sup> İnal, (1982), p.1894. ; Bostan, (1992), p.28



Afterwards, Said Halim Pasha, became a Grand Vezir after the delivery of the rank of Vizierate. Upon his refusal of the Foreign Ministry in the cabinet of Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha, later, the Grand Vezir to be, the Sultan tried to find another way out but as a result of both the lobbying missions of the Unionists and the Courts of Said Halim Pasha, Mehmed Reşat, this time, appointed Said Halim Pasha principally to the position of the Grand Vizierate. Furthermore, Said Halim Pasha, besides his position as the Grand Vezir, assumed the position of the Foreign Ministry too.<sup>30</sup>

The first action of the Said Halim Pasha cabinet was to form the Martial Court for people involved in the assassination of Mahmud Şevket Pasha. Many people charged with the event were punished.<sup>31</sup> Edirne was lost with the London Peace Treaty. As a result of Said Halim Pasha's efforts, on 29 September 1913, Istanbul Treaty was made with the Bulgarians. According to this treaty, Edirne, Kırklareli and Dimetoka were handed over to Ottoman Empire and the Maritsa River was accepted as border between two countries. In recognition to his success shown in retrieving Edirne, he was rewarded the bejeweled medal of privilege. This medal, with a specially organized ceremony, was personally affixed by the Sultan.<sup>32</sup> The congress of the Committee of Union and Progress gathered in 1913 and Said Halim Pasha was elected to the general presidency in this congress. Said Halim Pasha, getting into the Committee as an inspector in 1903s, assumed the

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<sup>30</sup> İnal, (1982), pp.1894-1895; Bostan, (1992), pp.33-35

<sup>31</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.35

<sup>32</sup> İnal, (1982), p.1896; Bostan, (1992), pp.36-38

position of the president. However, Pasha, on 19 October 1913, left the presidency to the Foreign Minister Talat bey under the title of general deputy.<sup>33</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, despite being the president of the cabinet, was not informed of the common affairs and was left isolated within the cabinet. Talat Pasha, on the one hand, by keeping his influence strong within the cabinet, on the other, by holding tight connections with the leading personalities of the Unionists, wanted to become the Grand Vezir. The Unionists allowed Talat Pasha to form a cabinet before the resignation of Said Halim Pasha. Said Halim Pasha got irritated with the law, regarding the salaries to be allocated to the women masters, which was prepared without being consulted to him. The tension, intensified with this incident, came to an end by the resignation of the Grand Vezir Said Halim Pasha from his position on 3 February 1917 on the account of his health condition. Mehmed Reşad V accepts Pasha's resignation and, shortly after that, appoints Talat Pasha to the position. Talat Pasha, is the only Grand Vezir who is appointed to the Grand Vizierate without no rank. Said Halim Pasha continued the membership of chief after the resignation from the Grand Vizierate. Pasha, in the Congress of the Union and Progress Party in 1917, did not break his ties

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<sup>33</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.41

with the party by his appointment to the central public membership. Pasha's term of the Grand Vizierate lasted for 3 years 7 months and 21days.<sup>34</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, was a unique person with a reflective mind. His comprehension of the political problems properly, his far-sightedness, his talented perception of the results can not be denied. Together with these, a different period and a place were required for the development of his political personality.<sup>35</sup>

#### **1.1.4. Pasha's Life after the Grand Vizierate**

Said Halim Pasha, after leaving the Grand Vizierate, continued to write works or after in order to find solutions to the problems of the Ottoman society by withdrawing to his waterside residence. Meanwhile he was continuing his chief membership as well.<sup>36</sup>

On 10 March 1919, the cabinet of Damad Ferid Pasha arrested 66 people consisting of the former ministers, military officers and the leading notables of Union and Progress, who were accountable for war, involved in the "Emigration" incidents. Among the arrested were the names like the former Grand Vezir Said Halim Pasha, Musa Kazim Efendi, Fethi (Okyar) Bey, Abbas Halim Pasha and Ahmed Emin (Yalman). Those arrested were brought

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<sup>34</sup> İnal, (1982), pp.1906-1908; Bostan, (1992), pp.71-73

<sup>35</sup> Edip, Eşref(1922), *İslam Alemi için Pek Büyük Bir Kayıp 12 vols.* İstanbul: Sebilürreşad, p.257

<sup>36</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.75

to the Bekiraga squadron.<sup>37</sup> The Bekiraga Squadron, today, is the building in the backyard of Istanbul University and formerly used as a military prison.<sup>38</sup>

The prisoners situated in Malta, after the decisions taken in the Sevres Treaty, were administered to stand on trial in the courts of the allied forces as the "criminals of war". Thus, the judicial process for the prisoners restarted. In the lawsuit brought against Said Hilmi Pasha, the process of the evidence search for the "Armenian Tahjir" was entered upon. However, the wanted documents were not provided by the British and the American archives. The office of chief British prosecutor on 21 July 1921 informed the Foreign Ministry with a note stating "the likely impossibility of sentencing the criminals" with the present proofs.<sup>39</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, on 29 April 1921, went first to Sicily and later on to Rome after he was freed. Pasha's banished friends returned to Istanbul but he could not return. During his banishment in Malta, the Dasnaksutyun Committee sent a letter bearing the death sentence for Pasha. Said Halim Pasha's friend Talat Pasha, who became the Grand Vezir after Pasha himself, was killed in Berlin. Pasha could learn this after his release.<sup>40</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, at the age of 57, was killed on Tuesday evening on 6 December 1921 by an Armenian in front of his house and embraced martyrdom. The activist known as Arshavir Chiraciyen was later on,

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<sup>37</sup> İnal, (1982), pp.1909-1910; Bostan, (1992), p.84

<sup>38</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.84

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, pp.99-100

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, pp.103-104

announced as a national hero by the Dasnaktsutyun Committee and the Italian police did not even bother to catch Said Halim Pasha's murderer.

The British Intelligence Agency was thought to be effective in the deaths of Talat Pasha and Said Halim Pasha. The letters Pasha wrote were known to have become effective particularly on America or it was asserted that the Britain had Pasha killed due to its disturbance caused by these letters.

The funeral of Said Halim Pasha, who was not allowed to enter his country, was brought to Istanbul on 29 January 1922 and, taken from his water residence in Yenikoy, was laid to rest with a great ceremony. Said Halim Pasha's body was buried right next to his father in the garden of the tomb of Sultan Mahmud II.<sup>41</sup>

#### **1.1.5. His Books**

Said Halim Pasha's scholarly personality is more important in respect to his political personality. His most important characteristic was his "thinking mind". Every work he produced and every thought he had shows how a deep viewpoint he has and what sort of an analyst mind he possesses. As he has a special way of thinking, the principles he put forward, too, carry a composition embracing the whole Islamic.<sup>42</sup> For instance, Ahmet Şeyhun claim that Said Halim's political theory is similar to Ibn Taymiyya's thought,

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid, pp.104-105; Şimşir, (1976), pp.262-263; İnal, (1982), p.1912

<sup>42</sup> Edip, (1922), p.257

who equally declared, in his work entitled *Siyasa sharia* that the sovereignty of the shariah must be supreme authority in any Muslim society.<sup>43</sup>

Said Halim Pasha's works, despite being small booklets not voluminous books, possess deep contents each of which could fill volumes. In every work of Pasha a novelty attracts attention. His works, because of this, carry values all by themselves.<sup>44</sup>

Hasan Kayalı claims that Said Halim addressed in his book at length a theme that Mehmet Akif had harped upon since 1912, namely the destructive effects and insidious advance of nationalism among Muslims. Mehmed Akif referred to ethnic nationalism as "kavmiyet" (racism) with the negative connotations of the word in Turkish suggesting tribalism.<sup>45</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, spending a long period of his life in Europe, possessed a complete power of comparison between the institutions of the West and the East. Because of this, he properly discovered and comprehended the damages that the Western civilization inflicted on to the Islamic world.<sup>46</sup> Pasha, in *Ta'assub* (Religious Fanaticism), emphasizes on the reasons behind the animosity between the West and the East. West's attribution of religious fanaticism on Muslims, in fact, was the result of the

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<sup>43</sup> Şeyhun, Ahmet (2003), *Said Halim Pasha: Ottoman Statesman and Islamic Thinker*, İstanbul: The Isis Pres, p.148

<sup>44</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.111

<sup>45</sup> Kayalı Hasan (2001), "Islam in Thought and Politics of Two Late Ottoman Intellectuals: Mehmed Akif and Said Halim", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, p.19

<sup>46</sup> Edip, (1922), p.258

injustice and the oppression committed towards them. Pasha specially expresses the Muslims' this manner of fanaticism was nothing more than a righteous grudge.<sup>47</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, in *Mukallidlerimiz* (Our imitators), stresses on the disasters that we experienced of will experience while imitating the political and social institutions of the West. Pasha expresses that the thought of every change bearing good results is a mere negligence and the changes in the customs and the traditions, particularly, would lead to the start of deterioration and collapse.<sup>48</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, in his work titled as "Meşrutiyet" (Constitution), stresses on what would be the impact and the results of the constitutional monarchy. Pasha writes that a constitution adapted from the foreigners through translation would, in no way, be compatible with our political and social lives. He, clearly, states that this imported law would only bring harm and yield no benefits.<sup>49</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, in *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz* (Our Social Depression), stresses on the reasons of how the once powerful, strong and vigorous Ottoman society deteriorated in a short time. Pasha writes that in order to regain its power and vigor, the Ottoman society needs to prefer the ethical

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<sup>47</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.112

<sup>48</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.112

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p.113

virtues and good manners to science and the virtue to the knowledge. <sup>50</sup>  
According to Esref Edip, there was never seen a scholarly person, who observed our social depression as highly and deeply as he did, who put them forward as seriously and thoroughly as he performed in order to examine minutely. <sup>51</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, in *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz* (Our Depression of Thought) name of which is mentioned, emphasizes on the Western admiration of the Turkish intellectual. He points out that this admiration is a disease and the Turkish independence will be harmed, if we do not recover from this it. Pasha writes that a total recovery will only be possible by adopting our own civilization. <sup>52</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, in *İnhitat-ı İslamiye Hakkında Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemiye* (A Written Experience on the Decline of Islam), tried to determine the reasons behind the Muslims' decline and their descent into disaster, specially, in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries with a scientific approach. Pasha states that if the Muslims apply the Islamic principles better, with a deeper knowledge and virtue, they will recover from the declination. <sup>53</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, revealing the truth, in his previous work, *İslamlaşmak* (the Islamization) in such a way even an obstinate critic would find no strength to deny, presented his masterpiece to the Islamic

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<sup>50</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.113

<sup>51</sup> Edip, (1922), p.258

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p.114

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p.114



community "Islamization" <sup>54</sup> Said Halim Pasha, in this work, stresses on how the term "Islamization" should be comprehended. Again, Muslimism is being a complete whole encompassing belief, ethics, social and political systems and he explains the birth of these systems from one another in a nice way. Pasha, specifically, stresses that Islam is a universal and a humanitarian system. The great Islamic Scholar, D. Muhammed Ikbal, having discussed Said Halim Pasha's thoughts on "Islamization", firmly states the accuracy of these evaluations. <sup>55</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, in his work called *Islam'da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye* "The Political Organizations in Islam", stresses on the political and social problems of Islam. He also, specifically, indicates the dissimilarity of these institutions after comparing the Western political and social institutions with the Islamic institutions and Islam's being a different world perspective. Said Halim Pasha, in the "Head of Government" section of the above-mentioned work, wants that the president should be elected by people, the Parliament should consist of the distinguished people of the nation, and the government activities should be supervised of by this parliament. According to Pasha, the president is responsible against both the Islamic Laws and the nation. He also writes that people representing the nation should answer to the president. Pasha's support of a kind of republic is clearly indicated even

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<sup>54</sup> Edip, (1922), p.258

<sup>55</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.115

before the establishment of the government of the Turkish Republic".<sup>56</sup> This last work, which he wrote in Malta, is especially important for the all newly established Muslim countries to take into consideration.<sup>57</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, in Mektuplar (Letters), mention the letters during his banishment in Malta, sent one each letter to the American President Wilson, to the British Prime Minister Lloyd George and to the French Prime Minister Monsie Clemencea. These letters, according to the testimony of Esref Sencer, are 38 pages each. The contents of the letters are same too. Pasha, warns the leading personalities of this state who were trying to establish the "People's Assembly" by reminding them of the mission the Ottoman Empire had in the world.<sup>58</sup>

It is understood that Said Halim Pasha wrote his political memories Hatıraları (His Memoirs). Pasha could not complete his memoirs due to his martyrdom. Some of Said Halim Pasha's memories were published in the Sebilürreşad "fountain of the true path" magazine under the title of the "Reasons for Turkey's Entry to the World War I". What happened to this remaining part of memories is not known. The memories, appeared in the "fountain of the true path" magazine, were simplified and published by Ertuğrul Düzdağ.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.117

<sup>57</sup> Edip, (1922), p.259

<sup>58</sup> Bostan, (1992), p.117

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, p.118

Said Halim Pasha, as one of the foregoing men of Islamism movement, claims that the westernization of Islamic society is the most frightening mistake of all.<sup>60</sup>

Pasha states that the road to acquiring material power and happiness passes through recognizing the rules of nature created by God and the knowledge coming out of these rules. He sets forth that the backwardness of Muslims stems from their unconsciousness of these kinds of knowledge and sciences. As to Pasha, this backwardness which he sees as a big trouble for Islamic world is not of an ethical or social one but of an economic and material one.<sup>61</sup> To compensate it, it is necessary to welcome the missing parts of sciences from West immediately.<sup>62</sup>

In addition, what Islamic society will take from West should never be political and social.<sup>63</sup> This is because the most suitable political regime for a society is the one which makes the most of its social structural needs and supplies it with the best required political principles.<sup>64</sup> For a society whose social needs are not same as Western ones, to implement the Western kinds of methods will certainly result in calamity.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Devletinin Siyasi Yapısı*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.250

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, p.234

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, p.250

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, p.250

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p.249

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, p.250

Said Halim Pasha, as a bureaucrat who knows both Western and Islamic societies very well tried to specify the most proper political regime and related foundations for Muslims by taking the social and structural needs of Islamic society into consideration.

## **1.2 Intellectual Base of Islamism**

Political and social life of Islamic principles in every aspect of life set to re-defining the terms of the thesis became the basic idea of the Islamism current. According to this current, social, political, economic, etc.. with the regulations in many areas, Islamic societies have their own value and without losing the essence they will be able to protect the existence.<sup>66</sup>

The Islamic scholars strongly opposed the thought of Islam's prevention to the development. According to these scholars, the Ottoman society, for developing and re-establishing an effective scheme, should get rid of the many harmful habits and superstitions it gained in its past and return to the root of Islam from which it moved away and alienated, in the real sense, render Islamisation as target.<sup>67</sup>

Although Islamist thinkers are basically divided as modernist and fundamentalist, many internal discords are seen among themselves too. Because of these differences, they are classified in various ways. However,

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<sup>66</sup> Kara, (1997), p.15

<sup>67</sup> Mardin, (1997), pp. 26-27

these differences, in terms of being a political Islamists, remained among the secondary issues.<sup>68</sup>

Despite the nuance differences between themselves, in the context of the acceptance of civilized constituents, even though partly, they accepted the necessary idea of Westernization, adopted a picky-compilator way. They aimed at uniting the West's the civilized, scientific, industrial and technical superiority with Islam's cultural and ethical characteristics.<sup>69</sup>

### **1.3 Political Thought of Said Halim Pasha**

According to Said Halim Pasha, the difference in thoughts, ideas, and faiths have always been resulted in political parties. In western political life these differences are the result of competition and hostility among the various social classes. Such kind of differences in Islamic life is to improve the social regime and to make it stronger. Therefore, the duty of political parties in western world is to change existing social system. The duty of Islamic political parties is nothing but to save the existing regime.

Said Halim Pasha, as one of the foregoing men of Islamism movement, claims that the westernization of Islamic society is the most frightening mistake of all.<sup>70</sup> According to Said Halim Pasha the difference in thoughts, ideas, and faiths have always been resulted in political parties. In

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<sup>68</sup> Kara, (1997), pp.27-28

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, pp.12-13

<sup>70</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Devletinin Siyasi Yapısı*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.250

western political life these differences are the result of competition and hostility among the various social classes. Such kind of differences in Islamic life is to improve the social regime and to make it stronger. Therefore, the duty of political parties in western world is to change existing social system. The duty of Islamic political parties is nothing but to save the existing regime.

Pasha states that the road to acquiring material power and happiness passes through recognizing the rules of nature created by God and the knowledge coming out of these rules. He sets forth that the backwardness of Muslims stems from their unconsciousness of these kinds of knowledge and sciences. As to Pasha, this backwardness which he sees as a big trouble for Islamic world is not of an ethical or social one but of an economic and material one.<sup>71</sup> To compensate it, it is necessary to welcome the missing parts of sciences from West immediately.<sup>72</sup>

In addition, what Islamic society will take form West should never be political and social.<sup>73</sup> This is because the most suitable political regime for a society is the one which makes the most of its social structural needs and supplies it with the best required political principles.<sup>74</sup> For a society whose

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<sup>71</sup> Said Halim Pacha (1921), *Les Institutions Politiques Dans La Société Musulmane*. Rome: Imperie Editrice p.7

<sup>72</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), p.250

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p.250

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, p.249

social needs are not same as Western ones, to implement the Western kinds of methods will certainly result in calamity.<sup>75</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, as a bureaucrat who knows both Western and Islamic societies very well tried to specify the most proper political regime and related foundations for Muslims by taking the social and structural needs of Islamic society into consideration.

For Said Halim Pasha the most appropriate political regime for a society is the one that answers the needs of its social structure and manifests the principles of its politics in the rightest way.<sup>76</sup>

Said Halim Pasha thinks that Islam has its specific believes and some moral regularities based on these believes and an understanding of social life that is the result of that morality. As a natural result of this unity Islam has some completely original political rules.<sup>77</sup>

The political rules of Islam have come out from its social principles. Islam doesn't let opposition and competition among the various social classes and political parties. It sets and limits the relations between the rulers and the ones being ruled. In that way it realizes the political balances. It doesn't make people accept a certain way of administration. Islam' lets people

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid, p.250

<sup>76</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E-İslamlaşmak*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.185

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, p.185

establish governments suitable for their needs on the conditions that it respects and obeys mutual rights and duties.<sup>78</sup>

Said Halim Pasha states that like other methods of politics western political methods originate from its social fundamentals in order to help its own development and he adds 'The political structure of west has to experience the path that its social structure followed before. This necessity will make it unstable.'<sup>79</sup>

### **1.3.1 The Concept of Sovereignty; National will and Divine will**

According to Said Halim Pasha the welfare and material power of western societies have dazzled the Muslim intellectuals' eyes and they claim that it is the miracle result of national will's sovereignty. On the other hand the principle of national will's sovereignty is something new. But it is regarded as unmistaken and true. Although it hasn't been able to have any results anywhere it is thought as the owner of the absolute power.<sup>80</sup>

Said Halim Pasha asserts that like the other principles of western world the national will's sovereignty principle is wrong and the result of the sovereignties that put power into its center will be the struggle of power.<sup>81</sup>

Besides, the national will's sovereignty, the latest a cure-all principle of west is wrong as wrong as the earlier cure-all principles of west. This one imitates

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<sup>78</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Dünyası Neden Geri Kaldı?*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.172

<sup>79</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Devletinin Siyasi Yapısı*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.245

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, p.225

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p.226



its former masters, kingdoms and church, that announced them as powerful irresponsible and unmistakable sovereignties and it based on an illusion, the nation undertook its own administration.<sup>82</sup>

All these sovereignties always have the only basis, power. The result is the continuous struggle of power that breaks national unity and power and worsens hatred in society.<sup>83</sup>

Said Halim Pasha sees national will as the will of a society whose representation of majority of nation is suspicious. Even whether that society represents half of the nation or not is also suspicious. He explains the reason as follows:

We have said that national will is artificial and doesn't represent the majority. Let us suppose that it is not artificial and rarely does it represent a real majority. Any how it can not be true. Because according to that principle the decision of the majority is the law and the majority gets its power from its quantitative majority. Such a crowd is the one that wisdom and right affects the least.<sup>84</sup>

Despite all these difficulties and drawbacks Pasha thinks that it is not rights to accept or ignore the value of the national will that has been fully conducted. National will should be respected in some degree. Nevertheless, this respect is big there are some facts should not be ignored.<sup>85</sup>

Everything that exists on the earth is dependent on laws of nature and realities of social life. In any field human will has been directed by their laws.

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid, p. 226

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, p. 226

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, p. 227

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, p. 228

Just as National will does not have any power and hegemony against nature and obey its laws it can not claim sovereignty in spiritual and social fields, It also has to obey that field's laws. Additionally, deciding on the moral and social laws to be obeyed is not as easy as deciding on the laws of nature. These laws can not be found through observation and reasoning. In such case national will should respect and obey the social and moral order that shariah shows. So national will is going to find a secondary place and the sovereignty of Shariah will make itself accepted.<sup>86</sup>

Said Halim Pasha expresses that there are big differences between social laws and laws of nature such as physics and chemistry. Human being can discover the laws of nature that are objective through observation and ability of analysis However since the social laws are sensual and spiritual they are subjective. And human being is insufficient to discover he social laws. Therefore it is believed that social laws have decent as a divine declaration. Pasha names social laws as Sheriah.<sup>87</sup> He thinks that Islam is superiority over other societies in terms of social institutions is that its principles have been extracted from divine laws.<sup>88</sup>

Islam society obeys and is bound to Sheriah's sovereignty. Said Halim Pasha explains this as follows:

Each person will obey the moral and social laws that Sheriah makes him responsible about. All individuals of Islam nation are in the charge of controlling whether the whole society obeys and respects those laws. In that case there is an unchanging duty that manages the political attitudes of Muslims. It is each Muslim's religious duty to demand

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid, p. 228

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, p. 223

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, p. 225

the government to obey and respect Sheriah and to apply all its judgments.<sup>89</sup>

Pasha notes that important results appeared in the societies where the divine sovereignty exists. He also notes that an original society that is different from the Pasha lists the results of divine will sovereignty: Islam brotherhood, Islam family, beloved state, immovable trust, happy individual and society.

Islam has built a social construction that is based on a true equality and freedom principles. This social construction has cleared all class and political clashes and no objection has been noticed against freedom and equality. As a result of that Islam society has known humanistic solidarity and mutualisation, and this mutualisation has created a unique Islam brotherhood among Muslim countries. And it has unified 400 million members from different races under the roof of the Islam family.

Sheriah regime have directed Muslim nations such a different and common target that this target orders them to advancement. State has been loved. Because it has been resulted from Sheriah to serve Sheriah and to make others respect it. Therefore it has a pure legitimacy. This makes it free from all kinds of distortion domination and accusation.<sup>90</sup>

According to Said Halim Pasha Muslim nations have always preserved the following believes:

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid, p. 251

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p. 229

Existing despotism and unfairnesses are not the result of Shariah. Neither states and laws nor institutions are responsible for them. They are the result of the devilry of people who have seized the power of administration and have claimed that they are ruling in the name of law.

Therefore, Muslims neither have had any objections to the legality of their state nor have they tried to coup the government. In order to stop all the evils and unfairness they search for no other ways but to give the Shariah's social regulations has created a miraculous authority of representing the government and practicing the laws to the competent.<sup>91</sup>

According to Said Halim Pasha the sovereignty of Divine will has caused such a social construction that this structure has all the necessary conditions to get the real happiness as an individual and society civilization in a very short time.

It has enlightened the humanity with Sheriat's social regulations light of science, wisdom and justice and has made him live in a unique happiness in terms of social moral and worldly aspects.<sup>92</sup>

### **1.3.2 Democracy**

Said Halim Pasha claims that Ottoman Empire has a democratic structure, but there is a difference between the democracies that Pasha mentions and classical democracy that depends on the sovereignty of nation. Because he states that the understanding of sovereignty in Islamic states

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid, p. 230

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, p. 231

bases on the sovereignty of Divine will. It is easily understood that democracy that Pasha talks about means social solidarity, justice and humanism

Islamic society is divided into three layers, lower middle and high classes since its members do not have equal abilities. Individuals can move up through their own efforts and works. Said Halim Pasha states that this structure of Islam society is both democratic and aristocratic. Islam society is democratic because of the characteristics such as solidarity, justice and humanism and It is also aristocratic with some other characteristics such as obedience to the law, tradition and rulers and respect to personal superiority, virtue and science.<sup>93</sup>

Said Halim Pasha gives the details of democracy and aristocracy in the social order that Islamic morality puts forward,

In fact, it is the personal ability and superiority that provides happiness and welfare in a society. It appreciates the one who properly moves up and shows amity and respect. It finally submits its administration with a full trust. Therefore, the high societies in Islam society tends to democracy and lower classes tend to aristocracy.

High classes are democrats because they preserve the poor's rights and ensure the common happiness by improving their worldly and spiritual conditions.

Lower classes have some aristocratic feelings because the personal superiority that they want to reach but cannot is there. They respect, appreciate and accept it.

The ones who respect the democratic features and virtues are from the lower classes. The formers are representative of superiority and latter are nominee of superiority and eager in it.

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<sup>93</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Dünyası Neden Geri Kaldı?* ed , M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.172

These ambitious candidates are the non drying source that feed the improvement wish in the society with a full sincerity.<sup>94</sup>

Because of it Said Halim Pasha thinks that a revolutionist's mission is to support and improve sometimes democratic sometimes aristocratic characteristics and sometimes both characteristics of the society he belongs to depending on the situation. Because;

Islamic society needs to be both democratic and aristocratic equally. Political and social structure of the society will fail in case one of the two balanced supporters weakens.

A society loses its democratic features if solidarity, equality and justice feelings which are the basic characteristics are shattered consequently, respect to the authorities and traditions are weakened and moral and mental qualities not appreciated and if scientific and talent superiorities are not appreciated it causes lack of aristocratic characteristics.

The society is in a full decay if both democratic and aristocratic features are lost.<sup>95</sup>

European nations wanted to establish equality that is needed among people within themselves. For this as an individual and as a society they tried to make themselves free from regulations that prevent them from their activities and to acquire more social and political freedom.<sup>96</sup> Said Halim Pasha points out that western societies first were under the clerical dominance and then this domination was transferred into the worldly power

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<sup>94</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E-İslamlaşmak*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.192

<sup>95</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Dünyası Neden Geri Kaldı?*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.172

<sup>96</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- Meşrutiyet*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.66

of kingdoms and the latter one was replaced by democracy that was appeared through the process that bourgeois gained welfare and wealth.<sup>97</sup>

Because of this, Said Halim Pasha, underlines that the democratization of Islamic communities deprived of democracy will not take place as it did with the western nations. Islam community can not democratize through fighting the aristocrats and elite. This fight is unnecessary. The public have nothing to expect the aristocrats, for they share the same rights.<sup>98</sup>

Said Halim Pasha's proposal to the democratization of Islamic community is as follows,

The democratization of Islamic community, the public's voice already present in the upper class, is possible through developing traditions and feelings. On the other hand, aristocracy is only possible through feeding the granny rather than oppressing the rights of poor individuals; a sense of attainment and respect to the upper class already present in lower class. According to this state, it means that in the Islamic community democratic characteristics are maintained by the upper class, while aristocratic characteristics are survived by lower class.<sup>99</sup>

Said Halim Pasha stresses that the Western democracy to be applied is a recent revolution, which is a reform emerged among several movements such as long history of aristocracy and supporters of equality.<sup>100</sup>

On the other hand, Pasha describes Ottoman democracy as a deep rooted circumstance and adds: this is a logical result of the principles of life

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<sup>97</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Devletinin Siyasi Yapısı*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.240

<sup>98</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- Meşrutiyet*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.66

<sup>99</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- Meşrutiyet*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.66

<sup>100</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- Taklitçiliğimiz*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.88

we have experienced. It has rooted and has got a principal situation. We tied to it with strong ties. Cutting these ties boring disaster.<sup>101</sup>

Said Halim Pasha states that Ottoman is a democratic nation that has lived in a real democracy since it was established. Therefore instead of importing a new democracy we should try to improve our existing democracy.<sup>102</sup>

### **1.3.3 The Method of Representing the Nation: National Assembly, Political Parties and Parliament**

According to Said Halim Pasha, Western political regime depends on the principle of "nation sovereignty". Representation of nation which is resulted from the application of this principle at the stage of politics is the most important political institution and the fundamental of the political structure.<sup>103</sup>

European nations have been composed of different social classes that have opposite wishes most of the time. Therefore National assemblies have been composed of representatives of social classes that are rivals. Said Halim Pasha explains the appearance of political parties as follows,

These representatives cooperate in order to defense the ideas and benefits of the classes they represent and establish some political institutions. They are the political parties that struggling each other now.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, p. 88

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, p.88

<sup>103</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Devletinin Siyasi Yapısı*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.246

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, p.246



Pasha, also states that because of this characteristic of the political parties parliaments in western countries turns into places where the parties fight each others to get the power and use it in a way as they wish and this will go on unless there is an atmosphere of understanding and peace.<sup>105</sup>

Said Halim Pasha expresses that the method of representing nation and the basic duty of parliament is to make minorities get out of the will of majority. Because the rights and privileges of the method of representing the nation is limitless Parliament has all kinds of rights in order to perform the duty of control over the power of execution. Moreover, only it has the right to legislate. Thus, it is in the position of legislature. It has the privilege of recognition and approval of laws.<sup>106</sup>

In sum, Said Halim Pasha emphasizes that in the method of representing the nation the right of inspection granted to parliament is not to force the minorities to submit the commands of majority but to use it to ensure an honest administration.<sup>107</sup>

As it is mentioned before Islam society is subject to and tie to the sovereignty of Divine Will according to Said Halim Pasha that's meaning is as follow:

Each individual will obey the moral and social rules that Sheriah burdens him. Again all members of Islam nation are responsible for controlling the laws being respected and obeyed

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid, p. 247

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, p. 247

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, p. 248

It's the duty of each Muslim to ask government to obey and respect the Sheriah, and to practice all its judgments. Therefore political regime in Islam will be in the way only if representing the nation. But he emphasizes that the method of "representing nation" will be completely different from the western one.

Said Halim Pasha explains the nation and the characteristics of the representatives as follows,

The assembly that will be established to represent the Muslim society is responsible for applying the existing solidarity in society to the political field.

The representatives in this assembly will be the people whose aim is to apply the orders of Sheriah in the best way. If a disagreement occurs among the representatives it will be about choosing the best way to serve the common purposes more.

So the deputies of the nation will not struggle to overwhelm and rule each other. They will help one another for their mutual goals. They will perform their inspection on the government being indifferent to the feelings such as passion, jealousy hatred and competition. They will work regarding the most useful and fruitful conditions of human labor.<sup>108</sup>

For Said Halim Pasha the rights and privileges of parliament ensure the inspectatiton of the government most perfectly and the most detailed way. However this will not make it the only authority to make law. Because the authorization of a political community to make law on the behalf of Islam nation is against the wisdom and justice in Sheriah's spirit.<sup>109</sup>

Pasha states that in western political regimes there are some private reasons that makes it necessary to authorize the parlament to legislate and it is a good target for them to make laws in order to facilitate the social

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid, p. 251

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, p. 252

changes that society always demands there. However these reasons do not exist for Islam nation assembly and our target is not to change the existing one but to save it by making it more perfect and stronger.<sup>110</sup>

So the power that represents people in Islamic society is an inspector but not a law maker. Because the goal of an Islamic parliament is to provide an honest administration and to dominate the high justice among people and help them progress.

According to Said Halim Pasha the differences in ideas, understanding values and believes always result in political parties in politics. In the western political life these differences are resulted in competition and hostility among nations. Such differences in Muslim's political life are for a method to improve existing regulations of society and to make it stronger. Therefore the duty of political parties in west is to change existing social system. The duty of Islamic political parties is nothing but preserving existing social system.<sup>111</sup>

Said Halim Pasha claims that the structure and regulation in Islamic societies are superior to western societies and therefore the activities of the political parties are decreasing and getting less important. Because if political parties in a country are having the hatred feelings towards each other and fighting each other all the times this is understood from it:

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid, p. 252

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, p. 258

A social goal that a party aims does not correspond the other's forever. And this shows how the social regulations are decayed in that country. <sup>112</sup>

After the declaration of constitutionalism, Said Halim Pasha states that some political parties were established with the help of the "western masters" and these parties are in hatred as the ones in the west. Moreover he criticizes the understanding that these fights make the activities of assembly more productive and asks these questions:

Do the political parties have to continue their activities in a separating way in any place where constitutionalism is manifested? Is it a necessity for an assembly consisting of intellectuals and patriots to serve the country to be separated into parties that are hostile to each other? Does it have to be the reason for separation and hostility among the people having good intentions and sincere opinions in case their means and methods that are used to serve the country are different from each others? Is this that explains and justify the dreadful scenery political contentions cause?<sup>113</sup>

As answer to these questions Said Halim Pasha exemplifies the working models of scientists and advices apolitical activity based on consensus not clash. According to Pasha since scientists are away from some wrong and selfish feelings such as occupational competition and they work together with the thought of serving humanity their efforts have surprisingly progressed. Pasha advices politicians the method of with the idea of serving mankind <sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid, p. 258

<sup>113</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- Mukallitlerimiz*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.80

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, p.80

#### **1.3.4 Legislation Right**

According to Said Halim Pasha western political regimes where legislation right belongs to one political group government is not independent and cannot care the justice a lot. The laws being legislated will turn into a mean to legislate tyranny, because, in such case, the legislated laws aim to serve mostly the political goals and to satisfy personal benefits. The social benefit that is more important is ignored as a result it becomes inevitably shady through supporting one side.<sup>115</sup>

Moreover the group that owns the authority of making laws has become the slave of very strong political competitions and passions. It is clear in such a case that it is inevitable to ignore the wisdom and composure while legislating the laws. Such laws will harm the feeling of trust and respect towards government.<sup>116</sup>

Said Halim Pasha finds the great efforts of nations being ruled by such administrations to save judges from all kinds of effects while applying and interpreting the laws independently and perfectly strange. Because those people accepts the wrong attitude in the legislation of laws Pasha states that it is more important to show such independence and wisdom while preparing the laws than application of laws.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Devletinin Siyasi Yapısı*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.248.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, p.248

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, p. 249

Said Halim Pasha claims that it is a political matter to legislate laws in western world but a social one in Islamic society and he underlines that making laws is not the matter of majority or minority but the matter of competency. He exemplifies it as follows,

It is of course nothing but authorization that makes doctor responsible to protect the physical health of an individual. On the other hand how can we submit the right of management on nations to the one who is not authorities? Since a nation's social and moral health is more important than the health of an individual.<sup>118</sup>

Said Halim Pasha lists the authorities that a law maker should have as follow:

The law maker should know the facts of Sheriah very well and should have high moral values in order to show independence wisdom composure, caution and foresight. Law maker should observe the people's spirit and know their characters ideals and tendencies very well. Only if he does so the laws will be useful for them. Because a law is valid and useful if it evokes the feelings such as love hatred and fear on individuals otherwise it will be just police regulations nothing more.<sup>119</sup>

According to Said Halim Pasha the legislative right should belong to man of law and professional class that have gained the respect and trust of nation with their virtues experiences and knowledge. Therefore this right should be given to the board composed of scholars of law. This board will be

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid, p. 253

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, p. 253

independent like parliament. It will work to make absolute sovereignty of Shariah strong and continuous.<sup>120</sup>

Said Halim Pasha states that only if all the conditions are provided the laws compose a well thought and logical laws' corpus and gains the acceptance and confirmation of common sense. Only in that way it will be possible to discipline the society.<sup>121</sup>

The laws that are made without considering these conditions are issued either to satisfy the personal benefits and passions or to answer the needs that are suddenly appeared.<sup>122</sup>

Such laws do not represent justice but tyranny. Despotism causes to appearance of two evils that degenerate the society. The first evil is that despotism gives the right to the powerful to use the laws in order to tyrannize over the poor. The second one is that it forces the poor that wish to be free from oppression not to obey the law of refuse the law. These two evils are enough to seduce the society.<sup>123</sup>

### **1.3.5 Executive Power**

Said Halim Pasha states that the parliament that represents the national sovereignty in western political regimes has an absolute power and

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid, p. 254

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, p. 254

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, p. 254

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, p. 254

a great domination Executive power is a functional power in such a parliament.<sup>124</sup>

According to Said Halim Pasha each authorization brings a right and each right acknowledges an authorization. The combination of right and authorization results in independence. The parliament that represents the nation has the right to inspect the government. This right is based on the thought that the authority of adjudication whether the government is doing good or bad belongs to the nation. Just like this the right of legislation results from the board having the most authorized people to make law.<sup>125</sup>

Therefore in order to manage the government it should have the authority in the same way. The authority that executive power has gained through long term experience gives the right to govern.<sup>126</sup>

Pasha draws attentions to the dangers that are caused by executive power that has lost its independence. The power that has lost its character and the ability of doing its duty begins to serve parties and the people having political power at the parliament, It creates jobs with high salaries and dispatch and tries to gain new members to win the elections. It is ready to give all kind of privileges to the members of the party in power and to make deals. It's so natural that such actions will deprave the state administration and will make it costly day by day.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p. 247

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, p. 256

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, p. 257

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, p. 257



In a political regime whose base is full of clashes, executive power will not establish a good working administration and will have more disadvantages than advantages.<sup>128</sup>

### **1.3.6 Separation of powers**

Said Halim Pasha claims that just as Assembly and legislative power are free in their own fields power of executive should also be free in its place of activity. He also stresses the principle of separation of powers.<sup>129</sup>

Both executive and legislative powers get their independences from rights and authorities they have. Pasha states that the efforts of assembly to perform its inspection right and duty don't mean that it attacks the freedom and independence of executive power. The executive has to perform according to its inspiration and belief of its conscience.<sup>130</sup>

Pasha states that the head of government should solve the problem in a way that makes people happy incase there is a disharmony or collusion between the assembly and government.<sup>131</sup>

However Said Halim Pasha underlines that the necessity oh making people happy would not be a reason to limit the freedom of executive, because, its reason of existence and only target make up of that. Therefore

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid, p. 257

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, p.256

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, p.256

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, p.256

the aim that is the reason of the establishing an institution has never regarded as the reason of attacking its freedom and independence.<sup>132</sup>

### **1.3.7 President**

According to Said Halim Pasha the government of Islamic society is based on the Shariah that he explain as "the part that belongs to mankind of divine truth that embraces the universe "Government is the one that applies and follows Shariah The frame of facts and duties of Islamic government; providing welfare and happiness to the people as a state owning the maximum authority and power. Because the best government is the strongest, the most cautious and that serve mankind the best. Therefore in Islamic society in order to make the government powerful and effective should have all privileges and rights all these authorities should belong to one person.<sup>133</sup>

If these rights and privileges are divided into pieces and are given to different political groups and people they will try to make one another invalid and this will result in making the government powerless and out of function this is always a very dangerous social disaster.<sup>134</sup>

Accordingly the one who is nominated as a president gathers all rights in his hand and all others obey him. But meanwhile all the things he has

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid, p.256

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, p.255

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, p.255

performed are subject to a very close inspection and pursue, because He is the only one that responsible for the welfare of all nation.<sup>135</sup>

This high position is given by the nation on the condition that it should be governed in a way that the best fit the benefits of nation In case an opposite opinions derives it is taken back by nation immediately. Therefore the real sovereignty belongs to the nation the leader that uses this sovereignty becomes representative of nation as long as he deserves this position. The president himself has to act that is appropriate to Shariah.<sup>136</sup>

The leader of Muslim country is the head of executive He gives the rights and authorities to his representatives to serve in the best way.

The political life is regulated by him because of high position. It is also his duty to inspect the regular operation of this political system. Moreover he preserves the harmony and peace among different powers.<sup>137</sup>

According to Said Halim Pasha, Sultan is the most natural protector of morality, wises and scholars. Besides supervising social conditions of the country he also looks for some ways for continuous amends of these conditions by encouraging these high elements. This duty of president is much more important than his duties. Because the duration of national existence and depends on this.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslamlaşmak*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.193

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, p.194

<sup>137</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Devletinin Siyasi Yapısı*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.255

<sup>138</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- Cemiyet Burhanlarımız*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.246

According to Pasha in case of the failure of sultan and executive power it is not only the assembly to question him it will be the nation that will file a complaint against the head of executive who fails to perform the duty he has been assigned by nation.

On this complaint Board of scholars will listen to the nation and decide to withdraw the head of government. In that way that man who had an absolute power the previous day will be an ordinary person the next day.<sup>139</sup>

Said Halim Pasha, advises presidential system Because of the system differences between the western societies and Islamic societies there will be great differences about the duties of president. The president in the system suggested by the Pasha is equipped with authorization that will keep his movement area at highest level. His most important duty is to become executive and follower of Shariah. However The President is not Sultan. He was given the duty by people and he might lose his right of being voted.<sup>140</sup>

### **1.3.8 Senate (Ayan Meclisi)**

For Said Halim Pasha Senate was a necessity to save the rights and privileges of elite people and classes Therefore it has an aristocratic character. Therefore such an institution does not have any place in Islamic societies. Because, Islam does not accept inequality among neither classes

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<sup>139</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Devletinin Siyasi Yapısı*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.255

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, p.255

nor people.<sup>141</sup> Composure and well directed ideas that are needed on the way of improvement of Islamic society will always be declared by the National Assembly. It will get the close support of board of scholars.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid, p.259

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, p.259

## CHAPTER II

### ZİYA GÖKALP'S POLITICAL CAREER AND IDEAS ON THE STATE

In this chapter, ideology and political life of Gökalp are stressed. In this frame, his relationship with İTP (İttihat ve Terakki Partisi) in Istanbul, Diyarbakır and Salonika, his authorship, his exile life in Malta and his works in the early years of Turkish Republic have also been examined closely.

#### 2.1 Life and Political Career of Ziya Gökalp

Mehmet Ziya<sup>143</sup>, rather reputed as Ziya Gökalp, which is the name he preferred in his writings, was born in the Melik Ahmed<sup>144</sup> quarter of Diyarbakır on 23rd March 1876.<sup>145</sup>

His known-oldest predecessor, Hacı Ali Ağa, settled in the city centre of Diyarbakır coming from Çermik, which was completely a Turkish town in the northwest of Diyarbakır<sup>146</sup>. Both Gökalp himself and the authors, like Ali Nüzhet and Enver Benhan Şapolyo, who wrote biographies of him set forth that Çermik, though surrounded by Kurdish villages, was a place of Turkish settlement. Nevertheless, his political opponents claimed that Gökalp had a Kurdish origin. Gökalp always rejects these claims one of which was in his

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<sup>143</sup> Heyd, Uriel (1979), *Türk Ulusçuluğunun Temelleri*, Ankara: Başbakanlık, p.23.

<sup>144</sup> Şapolyo, Enver Behnan (1943), *Ziya Gökalp İttihat Terakki ve Meşrutiyet Tarihi*, Ankara: Güven, p.9.

<sup>145</sup> Tanyu, Hikmet (1931), *Ziya Gökalp'in Kronolojisi*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, p.1.

<sup>146</sup> Nüzhet, Ali (1931), *Ziya Gökalp'in Hayatı ve Malta Mektupları*, Ankara: İktal, p.10; Şapolyo, (1943), p.9.

first arrival (1896) in Istanbul by saying "I felt as if I am a Turk" and he adds, "Even if my ancestors would come from a non-Turkish region, I consider myself as a Turk. This is because what determine a man's nationhood are his education and emotions, not his racial origin."<sup>147</sup>

Gökalp's assertion of Turkish origin comes from his affinity by father. He may have 'Kurdish blood' owing to his maternal kinship since his mother is claimed to belong to a famous Kurdish family, *Pirinççizades*.<sup>148</sup>

No matter what origin he has, it is no doubt that Gökalp was brought up in a Turkish milieu. He could speak Kurdish. Even he did some researches on Kurdish. However, his native tongue was Turkish. Gökalp's family had quite significant posts in the service of government. His grandfather Mustafa Sıtkı, the son of Mufti Sabri Efendi who was a revolutionist scholar, was appointed to duty positions in Van and Nusaybin in the reign of Mahmud the Second, and died while he was the *qaimaqam* of Nusaybin.<sup>149</sup> Gökalp's father was the director of Diyarbekir state archive. Later he published the official newspaper of the province and issued Diyarbekir yearbook respectively. The Ministry of Education appreciating this yearbook granted to him the honor of *mütemayiz* (distinguished person). He became head of the registry office of the province before he died in an early age while leaving three kids and a fair sum of debt.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.25

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, p.25

<sup>149</sup> Nüzhet, (1931), p.11

<sup>150</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), p.11; Heyd, (1979), p.27

Ziya reads folk tales such as Aşık Garip and Şah İsmail when he was around eight. After, he turned his attention to dramas, novels and poems. He read every book he gets. Another person influential on Ziya Gökalp was his uncle, Hasip Efendi, who retired from his duty as Malatya Judge and came to Diyarbakir.<sup>151</sup> Hasip Efendi was among *ulama*. He was very competent on eastern literature and also a native speaker of Arabic and Persian languages. With the help of his uncle Hasip Efendi, Ziya also improved on eastern knowledge. Hasip Efendi who settled in Diyarbakir after the death of his brother Tevfik taught Ziya Arabic and Persian. Ziya learnt the works of great Islam philosophers like Gazali, Ibn Sina, Farabi, Ibni Rüşd and of far famed *sufis* like Ibn Arabi and Celaleddin Rumi in the guidance of his uncle<sup>152</sup>.

### **2.1.1 His Intellectual Life and Committee of Union and Progress**

In those years the ideas arising from the French Revolution were warming the hearts of Turkish youth. Ziya started to read the writings of Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha, and Ahmed Midhat who were the avant-gardes of modernization movement. Also, together with some of his friends they ordered the revolutionary publications of Turkish authors living in Paris, Cairo and London.<sup>153</sup> When Doctor Abdullah Cevdet came to Diyarbakir because of epidemic cholera early in 1900's<sup>154</sup>, Ziya got deeper contact to underground activities. This young doctor, Abdullah Cevdet, was a well-known atheist who

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<sup>151</sup> Tanyu, (1931), pp.10-11

<sup>152</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), p.17; Nüzhet, (1931), p.17

<sup>153</sup> Nüzhet, (1931), p.20

<sup>154</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), p.29



was impregnate with the ideas of Haeckel, Buchner, Spenser and Le Bon. When he was a student in *tıbbiye* (school of medicine), he played an active role in forming of a secret organization. This organization was the seed of famous committee of Union and Progress (*İttihad ve Terakki*) which would make the revolutions of 1908 and 1909. Although his uncle prohibited him from contact with that dangerous libertarian, Ziya carried on his friendship with the young doctor. Possibly, Cevdet already drove him in the secret organization. He is the one who attracts Ziya's attention towards social and political issues and especially to French sociology.<sup>155</sup>

This time of his life was a crisis for him because his unmatured idealism collapsed with the rationalist evidences set forth by his teacher of natural history in *idadi*. This doctor was a *Rum* (Greek of Turkish nationality) who was also interested in modern and classical philosophy. He caused an abysm between Ziya's beliefs and mind. As enthusiastic about Abdullah Cevdet's revolutionist ideas, Ziya thought that he could not maintain his ideological fight in Diyarbekir which was an underdeveloped and conservative city.<sup>156</sup>

He decided to go to Istanbul after graduating from the school. He was planning to continue his education in Istanbul which was the centre of politics and civilization. His family drastically objected to this decision. His uncle Hasip Efendi wanted him to marry to his daughter and settle in

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<sup>155</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.29

<sup>156</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.30

Diyarbakir. Ziya set forward that he was too young to marry and should complete his education, but no one gave heed to him. All these pressures and difficulties caused him disappointed and he attempted suicide. He fired a bullet to his head but by good fortune it did not harm the vital part of his brain. He was saved with a surgery by his friend Abdullah Cevdet together with a Russian doctor. However, they could not take that bullet out. He carried it in his head to death.<sup>157</sup>

A while after this, under favor of his brother Nihat who attended the military high school in Erzincan, Ziya found way to go to Istanbul. Since Ziya arrived in the Capital without any money, he enrolled in Veterinary School which was giving free boarding education (1896).<sup>158</sup>

He also met Mehmed Akif Ersoy in the Veterinary School who later said for Ziya "I did not see any Turkish man knowledgeable with Philosophy except Ziya of Diyarbakir who was a student like me in the Veterinary School. Only he was understanding the Philosophy writings he read".<sup>159</sup>

Then he came across with his old teacher who was a *Rum* doctor. He was also seeking revolution, but he wanted not a regime which imitates the western democracy but applicable for Turkish national spirit and social body of the homeland. Firstly the psychology and sociology of the Turkish Nation should be examined and then the Turkish Revolution should be grounded on this baseline. This idea affected Ziya very much. He decided to develop a

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<sup>157</sup> Nüzhet, (1931), p.21; Heyd, (1979), p.31

<sup>158</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), p.39; Nüzhet, (1931), p.22

<sup>159</sup> Tanyu, (1931), p.18

scientific ground for Turkish nationalist movement which he would name Turkism in following years. Actually Ziya Gökalp's belief of Turkism started when he was fifteen, as he said, after reading two books; *Lehçe-i Osmani* by Ahmed Vefik Pasha and *Tarih-i Alem* by Süleyman Pasha.<sup>160</sup> During his first times in Istanbul he read the book *Asya Tarihine Medhal* by Leon Cahun and started to talk about Turkism with Hüseyinzade Ali Bey. In the Veterinary School he was like a politician rather than a student. He was accepted as a member to the secret committee (Union and Progress) after a ceremony similar to those held by Freemasons. He paid most of his money coming from his family as contribution to the Committee.<sup>161</sup>

Ziya's revolutionist behaviors could not be disguised for long time. As a matter of fact the members of Union and Progress were being pursued. Especially after the students of *Harbiye* demonstrated against the *Sultan* (Abdulhamid the Second), the state officials launched investigations everywhere. They found a letter among many other forbidden publications in the house of one of his friends in Diyarbekir. In this letter Ziya was criticizing the rule of Abdulhamid clearly.<sup>162</sup> After being informed the authorities in Istanbul let Ziya away from the Veterinary School firstly and was arrested after a while. He was committed to prison for one year. During the first ten month of his imprisonment he was put to *Taşkışla* in which the

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<sup>160</sup> Tanyu, (1931), p.10

<sup>161</sup> Ibid, p.16; Heyd, (1979), p.33

<sup>162</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), p.40

political prisoners were held and in the rest months he was transferred to two other prisons in Istanbul.<sup>163</sup>

Ziya Gökalp mentions about his duration in Taşkışla as such: "I confronted here to an old revolutionist named Naim Bey. I always listened to the idealist, hopeful and exerting words of this bright graybeard".<sup>164</sup> Naim Bey is a reformist veterinarian about whom Ziya mentions as "my third real master" after his father and *Rum* teacher. He accepted his advices as "a divine testament" and made vow to stick to them. That old veterinarian gave notice that the despotism period would come to an end with the reestablishment of the Constitutional Monarchy. This new period would last short and the duty of the national intelligentsia was to educate the masses and prepare them for democracy. In 1922 Ziya stated that he fulfilled the wishes of his old teacher.<sup>165</sup>

On 23 July 1908, after the declaration of the Second Constitution, there became exciting demonstrations led by Ziya Gökalp. The secret organization which he founded with his friends in high school years emerged as Diyarbakir Branch of the Committee of Union and Progress after the declaration of the Second Constitution. Ziya became the leader of the Branch thanks to his conferences on the issue.<sup>166</sup> Also he contributed to publishing

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<sup>163</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.34

<sup>164</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), p.41

<sup>165</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.34

<sup>166</sup> Tanyu, (1931), p.28

the papers of *Peyman* and *Dicle* in Diyarbekir and wrote articles and poems in these papers.<sup>167</sup>

The autumn of 1909 became a new corner for Gökalp's life. He was invited to the Congress of Union and Progress held in Salonica as the representative of Diyarbekir. He was selected a member of the central office.<sup>168</sup> This appointment continued till 1918 when the Party was abolished.<sup>169</sup>

Ziya who settled in Salonica turned out to be a national figure from then on. The new executives especially Talat Bey who was the future *sadrizam* adopted him as a close friend. Ziya contacted with liberal Turks and European supporters in Salonica. In those years, the ones who played dominant role in Salonica's intellectual and economic life were non-Muslim communities such as Jews, Christians and Renegades (those allegedly called Sabetayists) who constituted the majority of Salonica population. These communities having crucial functions in the Committee of Union and Progress were brought up with Western culture, exclusively with French one. Ziya's political attitude, like those of any other *Young Turks*, was under the effect of this cosmopolitan environment. In this time Ziya believed in Ottomanism i.e. the equality of all citizens without discrimination of race and religion. Moreover, the national tendencies and struggles which converted

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<sup>167</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), pp.70-71; Heyd, (1979), p.37

<sup>168</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), p.71; Tanyu, (1931), p.53; Nüzhet, (1931), p.74

<sup>169</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.37

Salonica possibly into the most critical region of world politics soon before the time of Balkan Wars sealed Ziya's thoughts.<sup>170</sup>

Mehmet Ziya dived into detailed readings developing a passion for European philosophy and sociology. His friends state that he made examinations on French thinkers like Fouillee, Tarde, and Le Bon in Salonica of 1909.<sup>171</sup> Ziya was said to read early in those days the works of French sociologist Durkheim (1858-1917). Durkheim would become his main master later.<sup>172</sup>

In years of 1911-12, Ziya was appointed as philosophy and sociology teacher to *İttihad ve Terakki Lisesi* in Salonica.<sup>173</sup> The course of sociology entered the Turkish Education Syllabus in that time. Undoubtedly, this innovation emerged by means of Ziya Gökalp. What is more, he became the president of the youth branches of the Party of Union and Progress. His speeches in conferences gathered masses and affected especially the young Turkish generation day by day. Even the party leaders accepted him as the foregoing intellectual dynamic of the movement. Nonetheless, Ziya never took part in politics actively. He did not enter the cabinets formed by the Party. Instead he preferred theoretical and academic researches. According to him, academic study and politics conflict with each other.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.38

<sup>171</sup> Tanyu, (1931), p.54

<sup>172</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.39

<sup>173</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), p.71; Nüzhet, (1931), p.74

<sup>174</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.39

He was an active political journalist in Salonica. As from 1911 he published articles and poems in several journals with the pen names of Tevfik Sedat, Demirtaş, and Gökalp. Later on, Gökalp which means hero became his permanent pen name.<sup>175</sup>

The most outstanding journal of the time was *Genç Kalemler* which was issued by Ali Canib with the contribution of the well-known writer of Salonica, Ömer Seyfeddin. The Journal was challenging to push the foreign words which were not understood by public out of the Ottoman language. It was seen vital to form a Turkish national language in order for cultural improvement. Gökalp who wrote poems in public language early in 1900's supported this attempt from heart.<sup>176</sup> However, it is not enough only to make reform in language. Social reforms and related national resurrection was required to take place in all parts of the life. That was the turning point of his ideology from Ottomanism to Turkism. These ideologies were shoulder to shoulder in the articles titled "Yeni Hayat" and "Yeni Kıymetler" which mean "New Life" and "New Values" respectively. But, as Ziya stated, his poem "Turan Manzumesi" published early in 1911 was the 'abstract' of his thoughts as a whole.<sup>177</sup>

While the Balkan Wars were going on, the centre of the Committee was transferred from Salonica to Istanbul and Gökalp settled in Istanbul. He

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid, p.40

<sup>176</sup> Tanyu, (1931), pp.71-72

<sup>177</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.40

continued his writings in the journal of "Türk Yurdu".<sup>178</sup> In Istanbul Ziya Gökalp made systematic researches on social and cultural topics on the basis of Durkheim Sociology which had a deep impact on his thoughts. Gökalp had the intention to constitute a new Turkish community by pursuing the directions of Durkheim Sociology.<sup>179</sup> This was the most important stage of his life while the end of Ottoman Empire was coming up. As a result of Balkan Wars, Turks lost all the lands in Balkans and the dreams of Ottomanism came false. The Sunnite Muslim circles who were loyal to Chaliphate were still keeping their hopes to save the lands left by the Empire. Unfortunately, the revolts in Muslim provinces like Arnavutluk (1912) and Hicaz (1916) wrecked these expectancies. Thus, the nationalist and pan-Turanist ideologies started to attract the Turkish intellectuals much more than before. One of the first defeaters of these ideas was Ziya Gökalp who would now spend all his efforts to explain these ideas theoretically.<sup>180</sup>

He was a member of *Türk Ocağı* in Istanbul where the hearts of Turkish nationalists were beating. Later he was suggested the editor of the journal *Türk Yurdu* issued by his friend Yusuf Akçura. He published a series of articles in this journal. These articles were later printed as a book under the name of "*Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*". In these writings he manifested the bases of new Turkism ideals by exclaiming "I belong to

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<sup>178</sup> Tanyu, (1931), p.73

<sup>179</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), pp.96-99

<sup>180</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.41



Turkish Nation, Muslim *Ummah* and Western Civilization.<sup>181</sup> Most of his writings were issued in the journals of "Halka Doğru", "İslam Mecmuası", "İctimaiyyat Mecmuası" and especially "Yeni Mecmua". This last one was being accepted the best journal published in Turkey. Famous writers, the historians and the poets of the time contributed to this journal. The political line of the journal was actually that of Ziya Gökalp. All the articles written were under his effect and control. "Yeni Mecmua" was closed in 1918 soon after it reached 66 issues. Gökalp had writings in all of them. In addition, Gökalp published two poetry books named "Kızıl Elma" (1914-15) and "Yeni Hayat" (1918).<sup>182</sup>

After the military coup of 1913 the notables of Union and Progress offered him the Ministry of Education, but he politely rejected this proposal. Instead, he preferred to be sociology teacher in the Faculty of Arts. He had the university reestablished and buckled down to rearrange it. In fact, the place to where he was appointed as sociology teacher was already established by Ziya Gökalp himself (1915).<sup>183</sup> His influence on young generation increased after being a university lecturer. Some parts of his lectures were published and the rest was kept as notes. Together with the economy professor Yusuf Kemal they founded the Association of Economy. Ziya also gave classes here on economy and social issues in general.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Tanyu, (1931), p.76

<sup>182</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.42

<sup>183</sup> Tanyu, (1931), pp.82-83

<sup>184</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.43

As a member in the central office of Union and Progress, Ziya was interested in social, legal and cultural problems naturally. He examined the history of Turk guilds, the development of mysticism and the issue of minorities especially Armenians. Upon the demand by the Party leaders he prepared a report on national education. He took an active role in reforming libraries, the University of Istanbul and schools. He offers a long memorandum to the Congress of the Party in autumn of 1917 suggesting the closing of *madrasas* and the abolishment of the position of *Shaikh al-Islam*. He wanted to be made radical reforms in the system of *waqfs* and family law. Many of these suggestions were adopted by the Party and brought into effect during the World War I.<sup>185</sup>

Gökalp's works in Istanbul came to an end following the defeat of Ottoman Empire in World War I. After the Armistice of Mondros (1918) the notables of Young Turks left the country. Gökalp, though warned by Talat Pasha and other friends, stayed in the Capital. He said to Talat Pasha leaving Istanbul "I have no crimes of any kind; political, ethical or legal so I will never escape from this country. If I die, I die in this country". He resumed his position in the journal and the courses in the university.<sup>186</sup>

When the Allied Forces occupied Istanbul, Ziya Gökalp, like many others, were arrested by the new government (1919) and thrown into the prison of famous *Bekirağa Bölüğü*. He was with other members of Union and

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<sup>185</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.42.

<sup>186</sup> Nüzhet, (1931), p.91;Şapolyo, (1943), p.133; Tanyu, (1931), p.121.

Progress committed into trial by Turkish Military Court. He was accused of participating in the provocations, which caused to so called Armenian 'genocide'. According to Hakkı Süha, Ziya Gökalp totally rejected this blame of genocide. The Military Court exiled Ziya and his friends from the country to Malta escorted by an English ship in the Summer of 1919.<sup>187</sup>

Gökalp did not stand idle in this island, too. He founded a kind of university here with one lecturer. He gave 4 conferences (Malta Conferences) on philosophy, sociology and literature to his friends of fate among whom there were old ministers and deputies.<sup>188</sup> He helped his friends to improve their moral resistance. He wrote letters to his family especially to his daughter, Seniha. Both in his letters and in Malta conferences he kept his ideas of national resurrection. Neither the defeat of Ottoman Empire followed by the occupation of the country nor the anarchy, which prevailed the country after the treaty of Sevres, could break his faith. He defines despair as the biggest enemy which destroys the spirits.<sup>189</sup> He was sure about the reimprovement of the Turkish country. The first news about the Independence War led by Mustafa Kemal encouraged him further. After the defeat of Greek army by Turkish forces in 1921, Gökalp and others gained their freedoms and turned back to Turkey.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Tanyu, (1931), pp.122-124; Nüzhet, (1931), p.94.

<sup>188</sup> Tanyu, (1931), p.125; Nüzhet, (1931), p.99.

<sup>189</sup> Nüzhet, (1931), p.97.

<sup>190</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), pp.139-145; Heyd, (1979), p.44.

### 2.1.2 Ziya Gökalp during The Republican Period

When he returned to homeland he was not welcomed warmly by the new statesmen in Ankara because they were charging the members of Union and Progress of the defeat in the war and causing the country occupied. The administrators of *Darülfunun*, though educated by Ziya Gökalp himself, did not remit him to his old stand as professor.<sup>191</sup> He could not find any employment in Ankara so he turned to Diyarbakir with his family.<sup>192</sup>

He gave psychology and literature courses in the teacher high school of Diyarbakir for a while. Also, he prepared an extensive report for Ministry of Health on Kurdish tribes under the title of "Sociological Researches on Kurdish Tribes". The more important thing was the renewal of his journal activities. As from June 1922, with the help of his friend in Ankara he began to issue a weekly journal named "Küçük Mecmua" supporting Mustafa Kemal and his politics. The printing of the journal was poor quality due to the financial impossibilities. Notwithstanding, this lowly journal of which almost all the articles belong to Ziya Gökalp would gain an honorable place in the world of Turkish thought. Most of the articles were given place in Istanbul newspapers. Falih Rifki writes as such: "Through this journal, Gökalp leads the ideological trends of Istanbul". Until its closing in March 1923, Ziya issued more than a hundred poems and articles in "Küçük Mecmua". After that, his writings were published in the journals and newspapers of Istanbul

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<sup>191</sup> Tanyu, (1931), p.130.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid, p.134.

such as "Yeni Mecmua", "Cumhuriyet", "Yeni Türkiye", "Hâkimiyet-i Milliye".<sup>193</sup>

Gökalp was appointed as head of the Commission of Reconciliation and Translation at the end of 1922 and moved to Ankara. He planned to translate the classics of western languages to Turkish by means of these new facilities. He published a book named "Türk Töresi" on the religions of early Turks.<sup>194</sup>

Upon the victory of Independence War, the old leaders of Union and Progress tried to reestablish the party. They invited Gökalp too, but he rejected them.<sup>195</sup> He took de facto part in the election campaign in 1923 electoral period for Mustafa Kemal's party founded under the name of "*Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti* (The Committee to Defend Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia)". This party would take the name "Halk Fırkası (People's Party)" in time. In his work "Doğru Yol (True Path)" Gökalp analyzed and explained the party program laid by Mustafa Kemal with the name "Dokuz Umde (The Nine Principles)".<sup>196</sup> He represented Diyarbakir in the first session of the Parliament in August 1923.<sup>197</sup> He was selected as a member to the Education Committee of the Parliament which suggested fundamental changes in education curriculums with the help of experts who could manage to write new books. Then, Gökalp undertook the

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<sup>193</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.46.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid, p.46.

<sup>195</sup> Tanyu, (1931), p.148.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, p.156.

<sup>197</sup> Nüzhet, (1931), p.176.

reconciliation of new books. One of them was "Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi (The History of Turkish Civilization) whose first volume was published after his death in 1925. At the same period "Altın Işık (The Golden Light)" which comprised many old Turkish tales and "Türkçülüğün Esasları (The Principles of Turkism)" which can be accepted as a summary of Gökalp thought.<sup>198</sup>

Those were the times Gökalp's health began to deteriorate. Since his treatment was not possible in Ankara, he came to Istanbul. However, the doctors in French Hospital could not cure him, too. A couple of days before his death, he took a telegraph by Mustafa Kemal. He was suggested to go to Europe on the account that all charges would be paid by the government. In his reply to this telegraph, Gökalp wanted the government to help his family and publish his book on Turkish civilization.<sup>199</sup>

In 1923 before he was conveyed to Istanbul, he was in a busy schedule that probably caused him to get ill. His illness was never diagnosed even by Ord. Prof Dr. Akil Muhtar. He died on 25th October 1924.<sup>200</sup> His body was buried to Sultan Mahmut Cemetery. His funeral grew into a national phenomenon with the participation of his friends and students. The Parliament decided to put on a salary for his poor wife and children.<sup>201</sup>

Gökalp's friends describe him as a typical academician who was a serious man not talking too much and disliking twaddle and humor. He was

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<sup>198</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), pp.159-165.

<sup>199</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.46.

<sup>200</sup> Tanyu, (1931), pp.155-160.

<sup>201</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.47.

not so lively and not concerned with his environment too much. He was lowly and shy by mood. His clumsiness in social intercourse reveals him as a man coming from periphery. Despite his all efforts, he could not dispose of his East Anatolian accent.<sup>202</sup>

## 2.2 . Turkism

Gökalp mentions Gaspirinski (1841-1914) among the founders of this ideological movement. Gaspirinski (İsmail Gaspıralı) who published a gazette named *Tercüman* in Crimea sets the slogan of this gazette as "Union in Language, Thought and Work" and the objective as "To constitute cultural and political integration among Turks".<sup>203</sup>

All the same, Hüseyinzade Ali is the one who affects the young intellectuals among whom there is also Ziya Gökalp. Hüseyinzade was the grandchild of an Islamic scholar who had a great respect in Kazakhstan. Hüseyinzade who came to Istanbul early in 1900's and entered *Tıbbiye* (school of medicine) began to spread the ideals of reform and pan-Turkism (Turanism) among young *Tıbbiye* students.<sup>204</sup>

"Türk Derneği (Turk Association)" which was founded in November 1908 emerged as the cradle of this movement. After the self-abolishment of Turk Association, young Turkists started to gather in "Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti (The Committee of Turkish Motherland)" established in August 1911.

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid, p.48.

<sup>203</sup> Heyd, Uriel (1980), *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Temelleri*, trans. Cemil Meriç, İstanbul: Sebil, p.78

<sup>204</sup> Ibid, p.78

Nevertheless, the main organization of Turkism came into reality after the self-abolishment of this committee as well and the foundation of "Türk Ocağı (Turkish Seedbed)" under the leadership of *Askeri Tıbbiye* (Military School of Medicine) students on 3rd July 1911. The official founders of the Association were Mehmed Emin (Yurdakul), Ağaoğlu Ahmed and Dr. Fuat Zabit. Among the administrative board of the association which was selected after the Balkan Wars, Hamdullah Suphi as chief, Yusuf Akçura as vice-chief, Halis Turgut, Hüseyin Ragıp, Dr. Akil Muhtar (Özden) and Dr. Hüseyin Ertuğrul took part. Ziya Gökalp who formulized the values in social life of the Turkish nation with scientific methods is one of the foremost names related to Turkism movement.<sup>205</sup> According to Ziya Gökalp, Turkism movement is a vital one which started with *Genç Kalemler*, continued in *Yeni Mecmua* and turned to a philosophical movement with *Yeni Hayat* and reached the level of sociology by itself.<sup>206</sup>

As to Gökalp Turkism is the way of true feeling and true thinking for Turks. True feeling is non-mistaking in value judgments and true thinking is making right in reality judgments. Religious, ethical and esthetic value judgments expect us to feel truly and the thoughts about science, technique and industry demand us to think true.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Şapolyo, Enver Behnan (1943), *Ziya Gökalp İttihat Terakki ve Meşrutiyet Tarihi*, Ankara: Güven, p.5

<sup>206</sup> Gökalp, Ziya (2008), *Bütün Eserleri, Türkçülüğün Esasları*, Ed. Mustafa Koç, İstanbul: YKY, p.270

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid*, pp.275-276



### 2.2.1. The Program of Turkism

The culture of a nation consists of six social bodies which are Language, Religion, Ethics, Law, Economy and Arts. Gökalp gave birth to a scientific movement of Turkism, first time In Turkish history, by making national researches.<sup>208</sup> Ziya Gökalp explains the program of Turkism in his book "Türkçülüğün Esasları (The Principles of Turkism)" as such:

*Linguistic Turkism:* The matters enumerated under the title "The Principles of Linguistic Turkism" indicate that Turkists had a systematic approach towards language. Hereunder, it is determined as the first principle to adopt the Turkish language, as it was, which grounds the folk literature and to write it as in the way Istanbul people speak so as to constitute our national language.<sup>209</sup> Further, it is planned to prepare a dictionary and grammar of this new Turkish under the determined principles.<sup>210</sup>

*Aesthetic Turkism:* According to Ziya Gökalp the mosques, palaces, tombs, bridges and fountains which were built in various Turkish regions by Turkish peoples and states during history are among the most beautiful artifacts of the world. What is more, the beauty of Turkish tales and folk poems indicate that Turks have a great talent in the scope of aesthetics. Gökalp alleges that in order this high aesthetical talent to flourish it is essential to make a European style of working on it.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Şapolyo, (1943), p.6

<sup>209</sup> Gökalp, (2008), p.237

<sup>210</sup> Ibid, p.254

<sup>211</sup> Ibid, p.256

Ziya Gökalp thinks that Turkish literature needs to be ameliorated by two important museums of arts. The first of these resources is folk literature and the second is western literature. The Turkist poets and scholars should take both the beauties of folk and wonders of West as models. Turkish literature cannot gain a neither enhanced nor national development without succeeding these two novitiates. Our literature should go towards folk in one way and to Europe in other way.<sup>212</sup>

Ziya Gökalp states that there are three basic musical styles in Ottoman Empire, which are Eastern, Western and Folk music. As to him, Eastern music is both diseased and non-national. Folk music and Western music are not unfamiliar to us because the former belongs to our culture and the second to our civilization. So to speak, our national music would emerge through the integration of folk music to Western music. Our folk music gave us many melodies. If we gather them together and harmonize in the method of Western music, we could have both national and western style of music.<sup>213</sup>

Gökalp claims that all the other arts are national since they were created by people such as dance, architecture, painting, carving, calligraphy, carpentry, forging, farming, dyeing, weaving, the carpet and rug business

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid, pp.259-260

<sup>213</sup> Ibid, pp.261-262

etc. The Ottoman elite left these arts to public since those are hand-craft and physical works. However, Turkism adopts them all.<sup>214</sup>

*Ethic Turkism:* Ziya Gökalp classifies the ethical ideas of Turks which correspond to different circles of ethics: Domestic ethics, Professional ethics, Family ethics, Civil Ethics and International Ethics.<sup>215</sup>

In case our domestic ethics is not strong, we cannot preserve our independence, freedom and territorial integrity. Thus, Turkism before anything else should put emphasis on the ideals of nation and motherland.

Professional ethics follows domestic ethics. Ziya Gökalp mentions about the organizations which are founded by different profession groups. In place of *loncas* he suggests these modern organizations having an administrative and legal structure in which the craftsmen would select their own leader instead of *shaikhs*.<sup>216</sup>

He attributes the personal or civil ethics to the high quality of personality. Another important aim of Turkism is to improve civil ethics.<sup>217</sup>

Gökalp sees civil ethics as being kindly towards each other between persons. Similarly the international ethics is being kindly to each other between nations.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> Ibid, p.263

<sup>215</sup> Ibid, p.266

<sup>216</sup> Ibid, pp.270-271

<sup>217</sup> Ibid, p.280

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, p.282

*Legal Turkism:* The aim of Legal Turkism is to produce a modern law in Turkey. The most principal requirement to take part in the developed nations of this age is to clear all branches of the national law from the relics of theocracy and clericalism.<sup>219</sup>

*Religious Turkism:* What Gökalp refers to with Religious Turkism is not related to the essence of Islam but to understanding of it. In his opinion, Religious Turkism requires religious books and sermons to be in Turkish.<sup>220</sup>

*Economic Turkism:* Ziya Gökalp appoints the first work of Turkish economists to search the economic realities of Turkey and then to realize a scientific and radical program for our national economy by benefiting from these researches.<sup>221</sup>

*Political Turkism:* Ziya Gökalp accepts Turkism not as a party. It is a scientific, philosophical and aesthetic school. However, it also has some principles. For example, Turkism can never be reconciled with clericalism, theocracy and despotism. It is a modern movement and only be compromised with contemporary thoughts. His slogan with respect to this issue is "Our path in politics is Populism and in culture Turkism".<sup>222</sup>

*Philosophical Turkism:* According to Ziya Gökalp, science is objective and international. No Turkism is needed in science. However, Philosophy, though dependent on science, has some differences from it. In this regard,

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid, p.283

<sup>220</sup> Ibid, p.284

<sup>221</sup> Ibid, p.287

<sup>222</sup> Ibid, pp.288-289

philosophy can be national, and thus Turkism can relate to philosophy. Though not so much developed as a discipline among Turks, philosophy implicitly exists in Turkish people's behaviors and attitudes. Philosophical Turkism is finding and revealing this national philosophy existing in Turkish people.<sup>223</sup>

### **2.3 Politics and Administrative Structure**

Ülken mentions that Gökalp makes use of the concept "social conscience" to be able to explain which the best political regime is. Since social conscience with its material and moral powers is over individual conscience and it makes all his products a source of enthusiasm for the nation, it is sacred before the eyes of Turkish People. A real understanding of government does not depend on despotism. It depends on natural superiority, a kind of governance from birth. Even the most intelligent and sophisticated philosophers should obey social conscience in his value judgments.<sup>224</sup>

Ülken claims that Gökalp comments this theory as that since social conscience appears when enthusiastic communities fraternize, the authority to which legislative and executive powers were given should be a big committee not an individual. This committee should take its power from

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid, p.290

<sup>224</sup> Ülken, (2008), p.79

people's choice. Now Turkish Grand National Assembly has all these conditions in its body.<sup>225</sup>

Gökalp sets forth that three kinds of deputies should be selected in order to reflect the "mechanic solidarity" (the primary moral connections depending on collective feelings) and the "organic solidarity" (the secondary moral connections stemming from mutual dependence for division of work and economy) to national assembly: "Local deputies" who would be selected from every province, know the regional problems very well and well-known in the region "National deputies" who would be selected on the basis of country, are aware of national benefits and known very well by the nation; "National deputies" who would be selected on the basis of country, are aware of national benefits and known very well by the nation<sup>226</sup>.

Gökalp pleads that the existing National Assembly (1920-1923) is deficient in this manner and so in the next elections 50 national and 50 occupational deputies should enter the assembly while keeping the number of existing local ones. Thus, the local and occupational deputies will check the "generalism" of national deputies while the national ones will check the "privatism" of two others.<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid, p.79

<sup>226</sup> Parla, Taha (1989), *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm*, İstanbul: İletişim, p.164

<sup>227</sup> Parla,(1989), p.164

In addition, Gökalp asserts that existing indirect suffrage system in general elections is not suitable for democratic government and it should alter to direct suffrage in next elections.<sup>228</sup>

Parla sees the reason of delaying direct suffrage system till 1946 as that Kemalists do not share Gökalp's reliance on political maturity of Turkish People.<sup>229</sup>

Gökalp alleges that most of European parliamentary systems are selected on the basis of local benefits so they are individual governments and directed by personal benefits and political desires. In a big part of Europe peoples are governed by individuals in a "sociologically false" way, but in Turkey thanks to the representation of all solidarities the country would be governed by a group of idealists, populists and specialists who would be representative cosmos of Turkish People.<sup>230</sup>

### **2.3.1. Legislative and Executive Powers**

Gökalp, in the article "*Doğru Yol (True Path)*" which he penned to announce the program of the CHP in 1923 touches upon the "Unification of Powers" coded in *Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu* (The First Constitution) and after a deep analyze on the representative system peculiar to the U.S.A. and the parliamentary system peculiar to Europe he reaches a conclusion:

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid p.164

<sup>229</sup> Ibid p.164

<sup>230</sup> Ibid, p.165

Separation of powers is nothing more than a constitutional classification because as in the U.S.A. in practice the unification of powers is valid and effectual.<sup>231</sup>

As in all assembly, the parties are dominant in the assembly of the U.S.A. too. A party, when it was selected as the first party taking the majority of ballots, makes its leader as the president of the Republic; secondly, it makes its vice leaders selected as the president of the assembly and the commissioners; thirdly, it constitutes the cabinet with its own members. It is seen that in this way determined by the party charter the legislative and executive powers which were separated by the Constitution are unified in one way or other. Legally, the executive power cannot give notice of motion to the assembly, but it can do this through the party which holds the majority in the assembly. On the contrary, the majority group which takes part in legislative power can question the ministers personally or in a group in their private sessions and even can give vote of confidence or lack of confidence for them. These decisions taken in these private sessions are immediately executed by the President because he is given his post by his party members and so needs to do what his party members expect from him. Consequently, Gökalp deduces that, though the reverse is clear even in

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<sup>231</sup> Gökalp, Ziya (2006), *Kitaplar I*, ed. M.Sabri Koz, İstanbul: YKY, pp.308-310



the constitution of the U.S.A., the unification of powers exists in practice because it is more proper to nature and truth<sup>232</sup>.

### **2.3.2. Parliamentary System**

Gökalp states in his article that in the parliamentary system peculiar to European nations as the executive powers has the right to make notice of motion in the assembly, the legislative power has the right to question the cabinet and to give lack of confidence. That means in the parliamentary system there appears a kind of check and balance between these two powers and this is called as "allocation of powers".<sup>233</sup>

Gökalp sees that the parties which have formally no political importance, just like in representative constitutionalism, have de facto political powers. When the cabinet and assembly are in the hands of a majority party, the same power extinguishes the cabinet or abolishes the assembly. Only in the situations when the majority groups in the assembly and in the cabinet are from different parties, the system of check and balance could have significance. For example, sometimes the minority group in the assembly could unexpectedly turn into the majority group and can have a hostile attitude towards the cabinet which was formed by the previous majority party. In such a case, either the previous majority party can prompt to abolish the assembly by using its cabinet's authority to abolish

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<sup>232</sup> Gökalp, (2006), p.308

<sup>233</sup> Ibid, 308

it or the existing majority party can urgently extinguish the cabinet by the help of its majority in members of the assembly and form the new cabinet among its members. In this picture, the powers which are tried to be balanced with each other are not the legislative and executive powers but two parties which take on each other.<sup>234</sup>

Gökalp sees it possible for minority party to convert into majority with the coalition of opposite parties' displeased bodies temporarily and negatively. A coalition of displeased deputies among whom there is no coherence or unity of program and organization can never form a real cabinet. Whereas this cabinet makes a coup d'état when it wants to stay in the post although it takes lack of confidence from the assembly. It is seen that the rule which is called "check and balance of powers" is a harmful rule which in jeopardy times compel the cabinet to coup d'état or to commit the country to destroying powers and anarchy deliberately.<sup>235</sup>

Parla states that Gökalp's thesis of "Allocation of Powers" set forth in the article "*Doğru Yol* (True Path)" which he wrote as a party program for the CHP in 1923 is ambiguous for the one party system and executive power in that balance of powers can compel to a coup d'état or encourage the anarchy so the unification of powers coded in 1921 Constitution is the most natural.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Ibid, 309

<sup>235</sup> Ibid, 310

<sup>236</sup> Parla, (1989), p.173

As a result, we can summarize Gökalp's conception of state with Parla's statements as such: Gökalp had no theory of chief, one party or authoritarian state. His democratic and equalist populism, his accent on occupational representation and the function of political parties, his solidarist corporatism proposing the autonomy of corporations against state, and his persistence in superiority of the assembly on executive power could not result in a theory belonging to a quasi-totalitarian statism.<sup>237</sup>

### **2.3.3. Ziya Gökalp on Politics**

The problematique in Gökalp's philosophy of idealist politics is who and how will use the will. As an author in his periodical articles published in "Halka Doğru", he underlines that political institutions and law is only conducive, the essential ones for politics are political parties. Gökalp alleges that political foundations are nothing short of some machines which are programmed to run after propulsion. They cannot move on their own, because the rules show in what forms the affairs will be done but not the affairs themselves. They are the programs which will show the affairs, but the political institutions do not have programs. This is why political institutions, when left alone, either will fail to work or will make some hazardous works for homeland with the effect of external powers.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid, p.174

<sup>238</sup> Gökalp, Ziya (1977), *Makaleler IV* ed. Ragıp Ferit Tuncor, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, p. 15

#### **2.3.4. Political Parties**

Gökalp evaluates the party organization as the heaver of national sovereignty. He implies that national sovereignty as the essence of democracy is very difficult to succeed because of the fact that people are dispersed individually and independently to the corners of homeland. The units like villages, districts or cities are nothing but machines, too. People cannot take over the state unless they gather in the form of a political power. In a word, the success of self government depends on the existence of a well based party organization. A good party organization never trusts on chances in forming the central organs other than the parliament. A party which was formed to treat the social mechanism should not organize mechanically. It should be leaded by ones whose ideas are known. Those who lead the local organizations ought to be selected from the most faithful members of the party.<sup>239</sup>

Gökalp confesses that parties have not only some benefits but also some disadvantageous parts. In order to strengthen the free and independent votes of the individuals who opt for the party, it is a necessity for all party members to obey the decisions of the party congress and for the deputy members to obey the decisions of the parliamentary group formed by the party. An old retired English parliamentarian says that "During my parliamentary post I have listened to quite rational and beneficial discretions

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<sup>239</sup> Gökalp, (1977), p.18

from thousands of opposite deputies, but none of them except one could change my opinion. However, it did not change my vote, either". As a necessity of being a party member, this condition is a fictitious goodness or just badness in a word.

Gökalp asks on himself whether governments, courts and rules are badness or not since they induce our freedom. Similar to that the decisions which are generally taken by party management and the necessary badness of obeying these decisions by party members could be evaluated as such.<sup>240</sup>

Gökalp thinks that there are also some bad parts which could be avoided in party membership. For example, patriotism does not mean chauvinism, so does partisanism not sectarianism. A good party could avoid sectarianism. What will guide in this issue is the benefits of homeland. If the members of a party love their party more than their homeland, that means they turned out to be sectarians. Those may prefer party benefits to homeland benefits. Thus, parties consisting of these kind of individuals are hazardous for homeland.<sup>241</sup>

### **2.3.5. The Political Classification of Parties**

Gökalp tries to explain the different ways of party forming through some comparisons between parties of Turkey and those of Balkans. According to him, a party unites around either individuals or principles. The

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<sup>240</sup> Gökalp, (1977), p.19

<sup>241</sup> Ibid, p.19

former kind is called "Fractured Party" and the latter "Real Party". In Balkan states the names of parties are generally given of their leaders' names. These do not have the image of a real party but the nature of a fraction. Also, they generally do not differ in their programs. On the contrary, in Turkey national sovereignty is a new concept which is set forth by a real party which gathered around the programs and principles.<sup>242</sup>

Although Gökalp emphasizes that outbalance of programs and principles on individuals in real parties does not mean that individuals have no importance at all by exemplifying the political structures of English and American parties. Therefore, in real parties the predomination of principles and programs does not imply insignificance of party leaders. In English and American parties the party leaders have great importance and authority, but their authorities come out of common ideas, programs and principles. However, in fractions the members directly gather around the individuals.<sup>243</sup>

Gökalp classifies parties firstly as "Revolutionists" and "Traditionalists". Revolutionists are those who want to reform the society and accelerate its progress and evolution. In contrast, traditionalists are ones who try to keep the old traditions and status quo.<sup>244</sup>

Parla formulizes the party classification by Gökalp as follows:

Tradionalist-Moderate: Conservatives

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<sup>242</sup> Ibid, p.20

<sup>243</sup> Ibid, p.20

<sup>244</sup> Ibid, p.20

Tradionalist-Marjinal: Reactionists

Revolutionist-Moderate: Liberals

Revolutionist- Marjinal: Radicals

Gökalp accepts conservative and liberal parties as “normal” and “essential” and reactionist and radical parties as “pathologic” and “undesirable” as being harmful for the union and survival of national society.<sup>245</sup>

Gökalp asserts that in England parties refrain each other from going marginal: “If we imagine revolution as an Arab horse, liberalism takes the role of spur and conservatism the role of bridle”.<sup>246</sup> However, Gökalp deplores that in Turkey there are still cosmopolitan, anti-nationalist, non-patriot, unreliable and so pathologic parties which compel liberals and conservatives to coalition for power as in the case of Union and Progress. Therefore, Gökalp’s point is not developing a doctrine of totalitarianism as Kemalists did but unwillingly admitting it as a temporary policy.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Parla, (1989), p.158

<sup>246</sup> Gökalp, (1977), pp.13-15

<sup>247</sup> Ibid, p.19

## **CHAPTER III**

### **A COMPARISON BETWEEN GÖKALP AND SAİD HALİM PASHA WITH REGARD TO THEIR POLITICAL IDEAS**

In this chapter of the thesis, I will compare Said Halim Pasha and Ziya Gökalp to demonstrate differences and similarities in their political ideas. Within this frame, I will examine comparatively the concepts such as democracy, the method of nation's representation, law, religion through their point of view.

#### **3.1. Democracy**

Ziya Gökalp says that the states in which every individual of the nation is fully equal and there is no individual, family or class who have special



privileges are called as "democratic states".<sup>248</sup> Gökalp states that the political system in Turkey should be "national democracy" which depends on equality within national boundaries and in international platform. This kind of a democracy, according to him, could never be implemented in Ottoman Empire which has a heterogeneous structure.<sup>249</sup>

On the contrary Said Halim Pasha defines democracy in Islamic societies with the notions of social solidarity, justice and philanthropy derived from the principle "sovereignty of divine will". He implies that Islamic society is both democratic and aristocratic. It is democratic with regard to the ideas such as solidarity, justice and philanthropy; it is aristocratic with respect to the loyalty to laws, traditions and rulers, and also the courtesy to personal superiorities, virtue and science.<sup>250</sup>

Pasha alleges that the Western democracy intended to fulfill appeared as a revolutionary act in a near past as a result of a clash between a long lasting aristocracy and some movements wanting equality. On the contrary, Ottoman democracy is a rooted and settled social attitude. Due to this, what we need to do is not to bring a new democracy but to strive for developing our existing one.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Gökalp, Ziya (2007), *Ziya Gökalp Kitaplar I*, Türkçülüğün Esasları, ed. Mustafa Koç, İstanbul: YKY, p. 283

<sup>249</sup> Heyd, Uriel (1979), *Türk Ulusçuluğunun Temelleri*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, p.25

<sup>250</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- İslam Dünyası Neden Geri Kaldı?*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.172

<sup>251</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), *B.S.E- Taklitçiliğimiz*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.248

In terms of administrative mentality in democracy we see that Pasha and Gökalp meet in a common point. Gökalp asserts that the control of state should not be left to masses of people but to some nationalist elites who have to look after national benefits. Similarly, Pacha stresses that what constitute the relief and prosperity in the society are personal aptitudes and superiorities, so it is necessary to give the power to ones who promote with deserving and to show him much respect and trust. Both intellectuals think that the rulers should be among the elites who step forward with their ration, effort and work.

### **3.2. Representation and National Assembly**

Pacha and Gökalp share the idea, though their fountains are different, that political regime could only be achieved by means of representing the nation. As to Said Halim Pasha, every individual has to obey the moral and social rules which *the sharia* loaded on him or her. Also, every individual of Islamic nation has the responsibility to control others' respect to and compliance with these rules. From this point of view, it is a religious duty for every Muslim to expect from the government to fulfill the all provisions of *the sharia* with a great regard.<sup>252</sup> This is why Said Halim Pasha supports the idea that political regime in Islam could only be possible with representing the wills of people.

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<sup>252</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), B.S.E- *İslam Devletinin Siyasi Yapısı*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, İstanbul: İz, p.225

According to Ziya Gökalp, social conscience which is superior to the individual conscience in terms of material and moral potencies is sacred in the eyes of people. Even the most clever and knowledgeable philosophers have to obey to social conscience in their value judgments. Then there ought to be a post which will represent social conscience. This post should not be an individual but a big delegation to which legislative and executive powers are granted. This delegation is the national assembly which takes its legitimization from the general elections.<sup>253</sup>

Gökalp and Said Halim Pasha couch that the assembly and deputies that will represent the nation are liable to convey the social solidarity to political platform. In this regard, Ziya Gökalp suggests three kinds of deputies in order to manage to realize the mechanic and organic solidarity of national society; national, local and occupational. Also he characterizes these deputies as idealist and populist. He thinks that the system will be governed with balance between occupational deputies together with local ones who will control the "generalism" of national deputies who will control the "privatism" of other two if the rate of these deputies is well arranged.<sup>254</sup>

In contrast, Pasha draws a general frame about the characteristics of deputies by touching that they should be ones who will implement the sacred provisions of *the sharia* perfectly. Moreover, he alleges that the power that represents the nation in Islamic society is only supervisory not legislative.

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<sup>253</sup> Ülken, Hilmi Ziya (2006), *Ziya Gökalp Seçme Eserleri*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, p. 79

<sup>254</sup> Parla, (1989), p.164

Thus, the target of Islamic national assembly should be supplying for people with a rational and respectable government and helping them always develop by maintaining the highest justice between individuals.<sup>255</sup>

Gökalp and Pasha criticize in same regards the European parliamentary system with a shared point of view. Gökalp puts forward that most of the European parliamentary systems are individual governments that are elected on the basis of localism and so they are directed by personal and political desires. Said Halim Pasha makes similar inferences. He sets forth that European nations consist of social classes who have political and social demands which are mostly in contrast with each other. Therefore, from the beginning of national representation, the assemblies had been full of deputies who represent the social classes which are at enmity with each other. In addition to this, Ziya Gökalp pens the problem of government in most of Europe which connotes that societies are governed by individuals and this is "sociologically false". In Turkey to avoid such a problem there should be a representation of all solidarities through which the country would be governed by a group of idealists, populists and specialists who would constitute a representative cosmos of Turkish People.

### **3.3. Law**

One of the topics in which Said Halim Pasha and Ziya Gökalp certainly differ from each other is law. Pasha expounds that social laws are

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<sup>255</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), p.246

exclusively different from natural laws like physics and chemistry. With his capacity of observation and research, human can explore the laws of nature which are objective. However, social laws are subjective since they are sentimental and spiritual. Thus, human remains incapable to make social laws. Owing to this, social laws are brought as godly laws through prophets and holy books. Pasha names these social laws as "*the sharia*".<sup>256</sup> On the contrary, Gökalp thinks that in order to constitute a modern state it is necessary to replace the sources of our old law which were religious (*şer'î*) and traditional (*örfî*) codes with a secular legal system.<sup>257</sup>

In this regard, all branches of national law should be rescued from the relics of theocracy and clericalism thoroughly. Gökalp supports that the system in which the laws are made and construed only by caliphs, sultans and clerical men should be abolished and legislative and executive powers should be given directly to nation through national assembly.

For Pasha's conception, legislation is not a matter of majority or minority but a question of competence. This competence necessitates scholarship on *şer'î* laws and high individual morality. According to Said Halim Pasha, the legislative power should belong to jurists who specialized in their area of expertise and gained the respect and reliance by nation. So in an Islamic society this power ought to be given to a committee comprising

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<sup>256</sup> Ibid, p.221

<sup>257</sup> Ziya Gökalp (2007), *Ziya Gökalp Kitapları I*, Türkçülüğün Esasları, Ed. Mustafa Koç, İstanbul: YKY, p. 283.

scholars of fiqh (Islamic law) and this "Committee of Scholars" will be independent just like National Assembly.<sup>258</sup>

Said Halim Pasha specifies the general nature of the needed laws by underlying that laws should arouse the feelings of love, respect and fear on people in order them to be beneficial, acceptable and influential.<sup>259</sup> However, Ziya Gökalp accents on the laws needed for the institutions constituting civil society. Also by means of civil code he aims at making laws of trade, industry and agriculture together with the ones which regulate the associations of academicians, lawyers, doctors, teachers, engineers etc. and the occupational authorities. In addition, it is required for a modern family to supply with equality between man and woman in marriage, divorce, inheritance and occupational and political rights. In brief, we should give an end to all rules which restrict freedom, equality and justice and all the signs of theocracy and clericalism in our laws.<sup>260</sup>

Said Halim Pasha is one of the Ottoman statesmen in Decline Period, who is known as the person who is the theorist of Islamism movement. He is exclusively a "thinking head" in that he never shapes his thoughts with the effect of others' ideas. He has a thinking style of his own.<sup>261</sup> Though not a sociologist, his approach towards the causality and quality of events just like

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<sup>258</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2003), p.253.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid (2003), p.254.

<sup>260</sup> Ziya Gökalp (2007), p.283

<sup>261</sup> Edip, (1922), p.41

a sociologist and his suggestions on solutions reflect a general and universal character.

Said Halim Pasha is a consistent conservative intellectual with his rational criticism of mind and his philosophically grounding the foundations and principles that are important for conservatives. He can be accepted as the leader of conservative thought since he refers to Islam for overcoming the political disorder of his time and reaching social relief through benefiting from traditions.<sup>262</sup>

Said Halim Pasha found an opportunity to examine today's civilization which was called as "Western civilization" in his time especially when he was in Europe. Hence, he gained experience in order to compare the Eastern foundations with those of the West. As one of the thinkers who know the West very well, he implies that the peace and relief in Islamic world could only be possible by thoroughly Islamization of society.

Said Halim Pasha wants the efforts of reform and innovation in Islamic societies to be realized as an extended and permanent change while keeping the national and moral values. He assumes Western civilization just as a technological and material development and modernization as development of the nation on its own by reforming its culture. He is against any change like me-tooism by imitating the social and political foundations of the West. This is because Islam already provides Muslims with a world

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<sup>262</sup> Safi, İsmail (2007), *Türkiye'de Muhafazakar Siyaset ve Yeni Arayışlar*, Ankara: Lotus, pp.114-115

view besides religion. Only technical and scientific methods could be adapted from the West. Every civilization should constitute its own organs and only in this way it may label its institutions. He takes attention to that technological adaptations between civilizations are possible but institutional ones are not so healthy. Me-tooism and excerptions could not guide a society to activation of internal dynamics.<sup>263</sup>

Said Halim Pasha states that it is necessary to depend on Islamic belief in managing to form the relations among religion, state and society and so the agreement among individual, society and state. He puts ethics and social structure on this faith base and accepts state as a political organization determined by social structure.<sup>264</sup>

Kara emphasizes that Said Halim Pasha who is also known as "Prince" I not understood very well since his thoughts are not evaluated comparatively. So he stays "a distinctive but not effective thinker". Kara's words relating him summarize the effect of Prince on our day:

When we consider Said Halim Pasha's texts we face to writings which denote that the political approaches of Islamism thought are generally false by criticizing them in a stressed manner. However, Said Halim Pasha stays as "an unknown person". Today those who read Said Halim Pasha comment "Wow! what fabulous things he says" but exactly what is so fabulous stays vague since they do not make comparative readings. For example, you can see very important things when you read his booklet on constitutional monarchy. Nevertheless, the real importance of that booklet cannot be appreciated without reading the ones written by other contemporary Islamist authors on constitutionalism. Said Halim

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<sup>263</sup> Özdemir, M. Çağatay (2008), *Türkiye'de Sosyoloji*, ed. Hanifi Bostan, Ankara: Phoenix, p.89.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid, p.89



Pasha differs from other people in content and course. In addition, he is a distinctive but not effective thinker. There is no exertion to help understand Said Halim Pasha in his time. Because Islamism is so engaged into political atmosphere and system that Islamist thinkers should change their content and course in order to start to think and discuss the arguments of Said Halim Pasha".<sup>265</sup>

As well, Bülbül claims that Said Halim Pasha's thoughts to some extent became more effective abroad by exemplifying Muhammed İkbâl and Pickthall. Some of his books like "İslâm'da Teşkilât-ı Siyasiye (The Political Organization in Islam)", first were written in French and then were published in new Turkish script, later than were translated into other languages. Muhammed İkbâl gives references to the books of Prince just after his death. Pickthall, who translated his last book to English, states that Said Halim Pasha has a quality to be the mentor of Islamic world.<sup>266</sup>

In sum, Said Halim Pasha was one of the biggest thinkers of Islamic world, and got an extensive vision, culture and experience as much to be an "advisor" for this world. When he found a chance to be in such a position he advised to Islamic world that they should be islamized but not westernized.<sup>267</sup>

The years which Ziya Gökalp lived in were the ones witnessing Balkan Wars, World War I and National Struggle extending from the decline of Ottoman Empire to the foundation of Turkish Republic. There were continuous defeats, land losses, mass immigrations, famine and misery all

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<sup>265</sup> Bülbül, Kudret (2006), *Bir Devlet Adamı Ve Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Said Halim Paşa*, İstanbul: Kadim, p.252

<sup>266</sup> Ibid, p.251

<sup>267</sup> Özdemir, (2008), p.90

around the country. On the top of them the political life was sealed by fluctuations and clashes.

Gökalp was an exile in Malta when Mustafa Kemal landed in Samsun on 19th May 1919. When this difficult time finished and he turned back to homeland, Mustafa Kemal invited him to Ankara. Gökalp came to the capital in March 1923 and was taken into state service. He made big contributions to the announcement of Republic and the restructuring the state. When we remember Gökalp's thoughts examined till here, we can easily understand that Atatürk profited much from his ideas and targets.<sup>268</sup>

Many innovations and reforms held in the period of Republic were stated by Gökalp much before. Some significant ones of these topics can be enumerated as Secularism, Civil Code, Purifying Turkish from the influence of foreign languages, Women rights, Economy, Sovereignty, Laws and Call of duty to youth.

### **3.4. Religious Insight of Said Halim Pasha**

The salvage and welfare of the Muslim states can only be realized with their abidance by the Islamic rules. We have always said this. However, "to Islamize" is suitable for the expression of various means. Hence, it is thought to be vitally important to put forward what is understood by the expression.

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<sup>268</sup> Sav, Ergun (2001), *Atatürk ve İki Büyük Türk Düşünürü Namık Kemal Ziya Gökalp*, Ankara: Bilgi, p.23

Said Halim Pasha states that Islam has peculiar beliefs, ethical orders based on these beliefs and an understanding of a social life originated from the moral values. As a spontaneous outcome of this unity, it has some political regulations of completely its own. Pasha emphasizes on the fact that, owing to its essences that form an immaculate unity, Islam is the most perfect, splendid and mature human religion.

On account of this feature, Islam is the accumulation of agents that operate and manage human life. These agents, apart from their production from one another, form a perfect unity harmoniously that can not be separated from each other. Said Halim Pasha's opinions in regard to idealism and positivism also agree and stay together with that unity. To Pasha, Islam is the religion of humanity. Islam is the most natural base of human consciousness, its guide and interpreter of its existence. Like a conscience, it embodies material sciences with metaphysical beliefs and characteristics, in other words, it has personified all the truths regardless of whether they can be comprehended by people or not. Said Halim Pasha is of the opinion that Islam is neither idealist nor positivist but along with this, both the perspectives are available in it. To Pasha, to state that it has the characteristics of only one is to deny a reality. An Idealist idea has no benefit itself nor can it exist alone. The positivism, which is thought to be completely different from idealism is also so as one of them is the result of the other.

Said Halim Pasha believes that the moral, social and political regulations included in Islam, are completely friendly to human nature and deserve to arrange the life and fate of the Sons of Adam till the Doom's Day. Moreover, he evaluates the development phases of the Western countries as a temporary astray. Pasha supports the idea that to terminate the astray, they are to accept the moral, social, and political essences of Islam.<sup>269</sup>

Furthermore Said Halim Pasha believes that improvement can be possible by the obedience to the Islamic rules and essences. By accepting Islam, the Muslim countries succeeded in establishing a great and bright civilization. As for today, if they establish a good conception of Islamic essences with a deeper and merit, and be faithful to them with a stronger tie, they can come out of the ditch they are in and establish a civilization superior to the existing one. Pasha expresses that the superiorities of the new civilization as the tolerance to be common among people, justice and opinions of equivalence and then the harmony of solidarity to be born from them, uncountable blessings and spiritual tastes.<sup>270</sup>

Gökalp says "An international system based on science and technique gradually replaces the one based on religion".<sup>271</sup>Gökalp believes that the harmful intermingling of religious institutions with the State goes back to

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<sup>269</sup> Said Halim Paşa (2008), B.S.E., *İslam Dünyası Neden Geri kaldı*, Ed. M. Ertuğrul Bozdağ, pp.179-181

<sup>270</sup> Ibid, p.182

<sup>271</sup> Ülken, (2006), p.38

early Islam. Since the pagan Arabs lacked an organized form of government, institutions of the religious community and the young Muslim State had to be established at the same time and made interdependent. Had foreign kings whom Muhammad is said to have invited to embrace Islam adopted the new religion, the political and religious organizations of the Muslims might have developed separately and therefore, in Gökalp's opinion, in a more satisfactory way.<sup>272</sup>

During the first generations of Islam the ulema (clergy) were not given any official status. They did not play any active part in Government, and the rulers, on the other hand, did not interfere with their work. However, after a short time the ulama were integrated into administration of the State. Thus they lost their ecclesiastical.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Uriel, (1979), p.56

<sup>273</sup> Ibid, 57

## CONCLUSION

In the conclusion of this thesis, I will explore the influence of Ziya Gökalp and Said Halim Pasha after their death until today. Gökalp's living legacy can be observed in the following areas: culture and civilization, democracy, bureaucracy, citizenship and nationalism, concepts. In addition, what Said Halim Pasha's criticisms on the Western world mean today will be also pointed out. Now I will briefly discuss each of these areas.

In terms of culture and civilization Ziya Gökalp states that culture is local and civilization is global. Hilmi Yavuz, by exemplifying democracy, western civilization, McDonalds, American culture, sees the distinction of civilization and culture by Ziya Gökalp as a big contribution to understand what the globalization today made globalized.<sup>274</sup> As to Yavuz, the crisis of modernization today is caused by the replacement of the concepts like democracy, human rights and civil society with some symbols.<sup>275</sup>

Today, the principles of Republican People's Party, prepared by Ziya Gökalp have shapes Turkish democracy a lot and still influences Turkish political life. The party programs of current day gained a considerable importance. This situation may be brought back to the fact that Ziya Gökalp for the first time prepared the principles of the CHP. Naci Bostancı argues that in the authoritarian regimes the people and the parliament are usually

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<sup>274</sup> Yavuz Hilmi (2009), *Alafrangalığın Tarihi*, İstanbul: Timaş, p.141

<sup>275</sup> Ibid, p. 66

replaced by the principles determined as sacred texts by parties. The real subjects of the policies, for instance people, are disregarded. There are no people but populism. When a party is so confident with its principles, it is natural for it to see the right to employ any tool for its purposes.<sup>276</sup>

In addition to Gökalp's contributions to Turkish democracy, his influence on Turkish secularism is also significant the legal Turkism, which was accepted by Ziya Gökalp as one of the principles of Turkism, aims secularism, which would be the result of deposing the religious norms from the state. That kind of secularism, with no doubt, experienced a different process from the one in the West. Çaha explains this difference with the term etatocracy with which the state determined the boundaries of the state-religion division in Islamic world while in Europe this process happened in an environment where the state and religion had different realms and independent from each other.<sup>277</sup> The emerging concept of official religion caused homogeneity in the public sphere and exceeded the boundaries of the individual rights of the people.

Another result of Ziya Gökalp's concept of nation-state is the alienation and the feeling of desolateness. As Durkheim predicates, as the traditional system and hierarchical order in which the individuals trust with loyalty has been abolished by the centralization and bureaucratic rationalization required by the development of industry, the so called famous

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<sup>276</sup> Bostancı Naci (2008), *Kurucu İdeoloji, Ekonomi ve Siyasete Dair, Cumhuriyet'i Anlamak*, İstanbul: Ötüken, p.65

<sup>277</sup> Çaha Ömer (2004), *Din ve Devlet*, Ankara: Liberte, p.31

alienation and the feeling of desolateness emerged.<sup>278</sup> This feeling of desolateness was effectively employed by the bureaucratic oligarchy. The real full coverage democracy which their administrative represents nation and works in favor them is only possible in a homogenous state. This is really unlikely for heterogeneous countries like ottoman.<sup>279</sup> This concept was based to have bureaucratic oligarchs.

Today, turkishness upper identity, which Ziya Gökalp considered as a compulsory condition to the establishment of nation state is, as Kurdish problem, one of the greatest problems to be solved by Turkish Republic. Etyen Mahcupyan assessed that the reason why the USA is the country worn out least from the ideological developments of the last quarter of the twentieth century is that its citizenship upper identity has no ethnic basis. No matter what the regime is, citizenship emerges by the suppression of lower identities.<sup>280</sup>

Mahcupyan claims that today at the democrat mentality of the identity concept, oppositions and hierarchy are out of discussion but as a matter of fact it vindicates the world valuing identical differences in the consciousness of the differences.<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> Michael, Rosen-Jonathan Wolff (2006), *Siyasal Düşünce*, Ankara: Dost, p.65

<sup>279</sup> Heyd, (1979), p.45

<sup>280</sup> Mahcupyan, Etyen (2002), "Türkiye'de Merkez Sağ Siyaset, Merkez Sağ Politikaların Oluşumu", in *Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum ve Milliyetçilik*, Yerasimos, S., Seofert G., Vorhoff, K., İstanbul: İletişim, p.591

<sup>281</sup> Ibid, p. 588



In Nuray Mert's point of view, who points that present nationalism and nationalism during the Republican era should be evaluated at different frames, an alternative identity has been formed in Turkey since the power of DP. It aimed at establishing feelings of belongings to religious and local cultural values at the base of communal identity instead of secular and western ones. It also targeted to establish a belonging that could not be made possible by nationalism between the right party community and the state. She points out that this alternative nationalistic policy can be named as right nationalism, differing it from the nationalism.<sup>282</sup>

Even if we put institutional elements of Poggi's modern state's appropriation to constitutional model and thus to state-community separation aside, the difficulties bringing important problems with it can be given as evidences. As an outcome of the depressions the West had during the 1960s and 1970s, they had problems in their political systems and lists the otherness, socio-economic non equivalences, failures of statesmen, hopelessness caused by moral erosion, the inadequacy of the safety elements of the State to protect the citizens, the insufficiency of the administration of the State to solve the problems despite the fact that it receives more share from national products, and the most important of all is

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<sup>282</sup> Mert, Nuray (2000), "Türkiye'de Merkez Sağ Siyaset, Merkez Sağ Politikaların Oluşumu", in *Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum ve Milliyetçilik*, Yerasimos, S., Seofert G., Vorhoff, K., İstanbul: İletişim, p.45

the State's policies against inflation and economical recession is decomposed.<sup>283</sup>

Said Halim Pasha has also a lot to say about democracy and politics. M. Guida criticizes his interpretation of democracy and claims that it has two unresolved problems: first, the role of the individual and second, the connection between the national sovereignty concept and the people to fulfill the conditions. In Said Halim Pasha's political opinion, the dominant role of the State and the community on the individual makes it difficult to protect the liberties and private initiatives of the individual. As a conclusion, he expressed that the sovereignty of the public is limited by the rules of the states and it is upto the restricted circle of scholars to interpret.<sup>284</sup>

A response to Guida's critical of Said Hailim Pacha might be given as; The concept of Justice that forms the basis of Said Halim Pasha's idea of democracy and Islamic politics has a quality of responding of the democracy interpretation, thought to have limited the liberties of the individual, of Said Halim Pasha.

Consequently, there are two basic reasons at the essence of distrustfulness of the intellectuals against the ulema which can interpret the Sheriath that is placed to our subconscious. First, religious schools' pressure of the public, who are not completely aware of religion, in favor of the

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<sup>283</sup> Poggi, Gianfranco (1991), *Çağdaş Devletin Gelişimi*, İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı, pp 136-137

<sup>284</sup> Guida, Michelangelo (2008), "The Life of Political Ideas of Grand Vezir Said Halim Pasha", İstanbul: Turkish Journal of Islamic Studies, p.116

wealthy and noble people and second, distrustfulness against the politicians, which Pogi sees as one of the problems of a Contemporary State.

One of the results I have reached in this thesis is that the real reason of the political discomfort during the modernization process of Turkey was the conflict between fiqh and social sciences. The relation between intellectuals and politics is an indispensable element in acquisition of political legitimacy. Ziya Gökalp who can be accepted as reformist in the theory of modern-traditional conflict since he advocates the synthesis of Islam and West in his first ideological period, and as an assimilationist in the period of the Republic (his second ideological period) since he employs the social sciences as an ideological tool in political modernization. He can be regarded as an intellectual taking part in the centre while coming from the periphery as in the famous theory of Shills as he made an alliance with the political and military elite of the first years of the Turkish Republic.

However, Said Halim Pasha was pushed to the periphery from the centre since he had a very important post in the Ottoman state as being the *sadrizam* and was an intellectual educated in Europe and regarded as one of the prominent actors of the Union and Progress. This situation has become one of the most clear and concrete examples of the fact that the determining factor of the relation between the ruler and the ruled is religion in the Turkish society.

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