

NURETTİN TOPÇU AND THE FIRST DECADE OF HIS
ANATOLIANIST JOURNAL: *HAREKET* (1939-49)

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Nurettin Topçu and the First Decade of His Anatolianist Journal: *Hareket* (1939-49)

Nurettin Topçu ve Anadoluocu Dergisinin İlk On Yılı: *Hareket* (1939-49)

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Abstract

Hareket is a journal, specifically a “journal of ideas” (fikir mecmuası) published intermittently between 1939 and 1982 in 187 issues in Turkey. Nurettin Topçu (b. 1909, d. 1975), a high school teacher, publisher, philosopher and prominent public intellectual, was the founder, and one of the chief contributors and administrators of this periodical. My research is on the first decade of the journal (1939-49), seeking out the themes of Anatolianism/Anatolian nationalism (Anadoluculuk/Anadolucu milliyetçilik), a version of Turkish nationalism centered on the idea of a homeland limited to Anatolia. Anatolianism is a relatively less studied and seemingly insignificant version of Turkish nationalism. However, it influenced a large number of political movements including the right wing of the Republican People’s Party and the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis. In *Hareket*, the narrative of Anatolianist national history begins in 1071 and pre-Islamic, pre-Anatolian pasts are barely included in a very selective and contradictory way. Sedentary life and agricultural production inherited in Anatolia and Islam are considered major constituents of the nation. The history of the Ottoman Empire is approached in a partially hated and liked periods whose chronological edges are very vague. Constitutional reforms of 1876 and 1908 are praised but considered unsatisfactory because the ultimate goal is a republic. The reign of Abdülhamit II, the rule of CUP and the Kemalist one-party era are strongly and frequently criticized. The rich republicanist discourse in *Hareket* embraces the “War of Independence” and the first national assembly but includes harsh critique of one-party rule of 1923-45 to a degree that the journal is once closed by the government. By the year 1949, the narrative of national history ends with the explicitly acknowledged transition to multi-party system, a new turning point of hope for the nation, or the “Muslim Oguz Turks of Anatolia” according to writers of *Hareket* between the years 1939 and 1949.

Özet

Hareket 1939 ve 1982 seneleri arasında aralıklarla 187 sayı olarak Türkiye’de yayınlanmış bir düşünce dergisidir. Lise öğretmeni, yayıncı, filozof ve önde gelen bir kamusal entelektüel olan Nurettin Topçu (d. 1909, ö.1975) *Hareket*’in kurucusu, aynı zamanda başlıca yazarlarından ve idarecilerindendir. Benim çalışmam derginin ilk on yıllık (1939-49) döneminde Anadolu ile sınırlı bir vatan fikrini merkeze alan bir Türk milliyetçiliği olan Anadoluculuk/Anadolucu milliyetçilik kapsamına giren öğeleri tespit amaçlı bir araştırmadır. Anadoluculuk, Türk milliyetçiliğinin görece az çalışılmış ve önemsiz görünen bir dalıdır. Bununla birlikte Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi’nin sağ kanadı ve Türk-İslam Sentezi dahil olmak üzere çok sayıda siyasi akım üzerinde etkili olmuştur. *Hareket*’te Anadolucu milli tarih anlatısı 1071 yılında başlamaktadır. Bu anlatıda İslam öncesi ve Anadolu öncesi geçmiş yok denecek kadar az bir derecede, oldukça seçici ve çelişkili bir şekilde yer almaktadır. Anadolu’da miras alınan yerleşik hayat ve zirai üretim ile İslam, milletin başlıca yapıtaşları olarak görülmektedir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarihi, kısmen beğenilen kısmen nefret edilen ve kronolojik sınırları son derece muğlak devirlerle ele alınmaktadır. 1876 ve 1908 anayasal reformları övülmekte ancak nihai amaç bir cumhuriyet olduğu için yetersiz bulunmaktadır. II. Abdülhamit’in saltanatı, İttihat ve Terakki yönetimi ve CHP tek parti devri sıkça ve şiddetle eleştirilmektedir. *Hareket*’teki yoğun cumhuriyetçi söylemde “Kurtuluş Savaşı” ve ilk milli meclis benimsenmekte fakat 1923-45 tek parti yönetimine yönelik sert eleştiriler yer almaktadır. Öyle ki bu eleştiriler derginin hükümet tarafından bir kez kapatılmasına neden olacaktır. 1949 yılı itibarıyla milli tarih anlatısı, açıkça olumlu karşılanan çok partili sisteme geçiş ile sona ermektedir. Bu geçiş, 1939-49 dönemi *Hareket* yazarlarının bakış açısında millet yani “Anadolu’nun Müslüman Oğuz Türkü” için umut adına bir dönüm noktasıdır.

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Part I

1. Introduction

Hareket is a journal, specifically a “journal of ideas” (fikir mecmuası) published intermittently between 1939 and 1982 in 187 issues in Turkey. Nurettin Topçu (b. 1909, d. 1975), a high school teacher, publisher, philosopher and prominent public intellectual, was the founder, and one of the chief contributors and administrators of this periodical. My research is on the first decade of the journal (1939-49), seeking out the themes of Anatolianism/Anatolian nationalism (Anadoluculuk/Anadolucu milliyetçilik), a version of Turkish nationalism centered on the idea of a homeland limited to Anatolia.

Nurettin Topçu and his *Hareket* are important in the intellectual history of Turkey, and studies on them provide crucial insights into various current ideologies, discourses or political events. Nurettin Topçu’s thoughts can be examined within the diverse frameworks of nationalism, conservatism, Anatolianism, Islamism and socialism.¹ According to Asım Karaömerlioğlu, analysis of his ideas may be useful or even required to grasp the actual political events, for example the Republic Protests (Cumhuriyet Mitingleri) that took place during the Justice and Development Party government years, based on the fact that a very important version of Turkish nationalism, “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” which emerged in 1970s and reached its apogee in the 1980s, has its roots in Anatolianism and

¹ İsmail Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2013), 5.

namely in one of its prominent figures, Nurettin Topçu.² Topçu is considered “the last of the Anatolian nationalists,” and the intellectual circle around him and his journal are portrayed as so influential at the time that nearly “sixty of his disciples and sympathizers” are elected from the Justice Party (Adalet Partisi) and served as MPs in 1961.³ Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and Nurettin Topçu are considered the two key Islamists of the republican era; they represent a remarkable rupture with the late Ottoman period Islamists.⁴ They “have profoundly contributed to shaping contemporary Islamism in Turkey” whose supporters “have become a powerful elite in the media, in politic, and in society in general.”⁵ Topçu’s ideas including anti-industrialism are classified by some scholars among the rare and pioneering intellectual challenges to modernity in Turkey,⁶ and he is described as a

² Asım Karaömerlioğlu, “The Role of Religion and Geography in Turkish Nationalism: The Case of Nurettin Topçu,” in *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey*, ed. Çağlar Keyder, Thalia Dragonas and Nikiforos Diamandouros (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010), 93-110. “In the postwar period, as the preceding sections have shown, certain currents within nationalist and Islamic intellectual traditions had started to gravitate toward each other. Their union as an explicit ideological expression took place in the early 1970s. The Turkish-Islamic Synthesis (TIS), as this fusion came to be called, was an attempt to create a common unified ideology of the Turkish political right. Eschewing the irredentist politics of Pan-Turkism and the internationalist elements of pan-Islam, the TIS constructed an anti-western nationalist ideology that stressed the Islamic identity of the Turks. The intellectual origins of this synthesis trace back to Nurettin Topçu and the journal *Hareket* (Movement) he founded in 1939.” Mehmet Döşemeci, *Debating Turkish Modernity* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 181.

³ Çiğdem Balım-Harding, “Last of the Anatolian Nationalists: Nurettin Topçu,” in *The Sultan's Turret*, vol. 2 of *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, ed. C. Hillenbrand (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1-18.

⁴ Burhanettin Duran and Cemil Aydın, “Competing Occidentalisms of Modern Islamist Thought: Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and Nurettin Topçu on Christianity, the West and Modernity,” *The Muslim World* 103, no. 4 (October 2013): 479–500.

⁵ Michelangelo Guida, “The Founders of Islamism in Republican Turkey: Kısakürek and Topçu,” in *Intellectuals and Civil Society in the Middle East: Liberalism, Modernity and Political Discourse*, ed. Mohammed Bamyeh (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 111-132.

⁶ Ergün Yıldırım, *Hayali Modernlik: Türk Modernliğinin İcadı* (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2012), 111-113. Tanıl Bora, *Türk Sağının Üç Hâli: Milliyetçilik, Muhafazakârlık, İslamcılık* (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1998), 90.

thinker “who rejected Turkish modernization outright.”⁷ The last point illustrating the particular significance of Topçu in modern Turkish intellectual history is the very title of an issue of *Doğu Batı* journal⁸: “Araftakiler” (souls residing in purgatory), which refers to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Kemal Tahir, İdris Küçükömer, Mehmet Ali Aybar, Peyami Safa, Cemil Meriç, Oğuz Atay, Erol Güngör, Hasan Âli Yücel, Hikmet Kıvılcımlı and Nurettin Topçu.⁹

Hareket is an intellectually rich periodical published between the years 1939 and 1982, which is quite a long period for any journal in Turkey. Its first publishing period ran from February 1939 to November 1939 and seven issues were published; the second period ran from December 1942 to May 1943 and five issues were published; the third period ran from March

⁷ “By the early 1960s, the conservative revival had coalesced around two major camps. The more extreme version centered on the Anatolianism of Nurettin Topçu who rejected Turkish modernization outright, grounding Turkish national identity in Islam and the soil. The second, more moderate wing attempted to synthesize traditional Ottoman values with the necessity of technological modernization.” Döşemeci, *Debating Turkish Modernity*, 81.

⁸ Ali Osman Gündoğan, “Nurettin Topçu,” *Doğu Batı*, no. 11, (May-June-July 2000): 89-105. In another article of *Doğu Batı* journal, Topçu is described as “eccentric” (ayrık) by Necmettin Doğan: Necmettin Doğan, “Türk Muhafazakarlığının Devlet Algısı: Nurettin Topçu Örneği,” *Doğu Batı*, no. 58, (August-September-October 2011): 213-228.

⁹ A different “thematic” list, “Horizons of Turkish Thought” (Türk Düşünce Ufukları) is a biographical book series by Alternatif Publishing House covering “24 people meaning a return to our own sources”: Namık Kemal, İsmail Gaspıralı, Mehmet Akif, Yusuf Akçura, Ziya Gökalp, Ömer Seyfettin, Yahya Kemal, Zeki Velidi, Peyami Safa, Tanpınar, Arif Nihat, Necip Fazıl, Atsız, Mümtaz Turhan, Nurettin Topçu, Sabri Ülgener, Osman Turan, Cemil Meriç, Serdengeçti, Ahmet Kabaklı, Dündar Taşer, Galip Erdem, Ahmet Arvası, Erol Güngör. Lütfü Şehsuvaroğlu, *Nurettin Topçu* (Ankara: Alternatif Yayınları, 2002), 6. The theme “return to our own source” or simply “return to our-self” is also in another volume on Topçu and *Hareket*: “Bir Düşünce ve Yarınki Türkiye Tasarımı Olarak Hareket Dergisi ve Nurettin Topçu,” *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 3-5. And a highly problematic categorization is “Rightist Islamist (supporter of Sharia) Movement” (Sağ İslamcı (Şeriatçı) Hareket) by Sina Akşin. Akşin prefers to use a very pejorative and oversimplified term “şeriatçı” to classify Necip Fazıl Kırakürek, Nurettin Topçu, İsmet Özel and Ali Bulaç. Sina Akşin, Bülent Tanör and Korkut Borotav, eds. *Türkiye Tarihi 5: Bugünkü Türkiye 1980-2003* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2004), 327-339. Akşin uses another pejorative term “tarikatçı” (meaning member of a Sufi order) for his history teacher Nurettin Topçu at Robert College. Sina Akşin, *Tarihin Deltasına Yolculuk* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2009), 41-42.

1947 to June 1949, which resulted in twenty eight issues; the fourth period ran from December 1952 to June 1953, for seven issues; the fifth period ran from January 1966 to March 1975, and 111 issues were published; the sixth period ran from January-February-March 1976 to October-March 1977, for four issues (quarterly); the seventh period ran from March 1979 to March 1982, for a total of twenty five issues. Writings of many known Turkish and non-Turkish intellectuals from a wide range study areas were published in *Hareket*. The journal which is “the first periodical with Islamic sensitivities in the republican era except *Sebilürreşad*, which was closed in 1925,”¹⁰ had also an important book publishing branch, the predecessor to Dergah Publishing House, “the premier publishing house for the right-wing intelligentsia”¹¹ in Turkey.

Anatolianism, which emerged at the beginning of the 20th century, is a relatively less studied and seemingly insignificant version of Turkish nationalism. It is based on the concept of a homeland limited to Anatolia, as opposed to various imaginary homeland concepts of the irredentist Turkish nationalisms, and it advocates a narrative of national history that begins in 1071 and embraces the foundation of Turkish Republic as a kind of rebirth. The origins of Anatolianism were evident in the writings of some intellectuals as early as the 1910s; however, this branch of Turkish nationalism was systemized particularly through two periodicals, *Dergah* and *Anadolu* in the 1920s, and developed and further spread in 1930s and

¹⁰ Metin Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP'de Sağ Kanat* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013), 175.

¹¹ Döşemeci, *Debating Turkish Modernity*, 182.

1940s through journals *Dönüm*, *Millet*, *Hareket* and *Dikmen*. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu and Remzi Oğuz Arık are among the most known and eminent Anatolianists. Figures like Yahya Kemal, Ahmet Haşim, Falih Rıfkı, Hasan Âli, Necip Fazıl, Rıza Nur, Mehmet Kaplan, Nihat Erim, Behçet Kemal, Sadi Irmak, Samet Ağaoğlu contributed to the Anatolianist periodicals. Anatolianism had both Kemalist and non-Kemalist sub-branches, and influenced many political movements including the right wing of the Republican People's Party and the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis. It played an important role in Turkish nationalist-conservatism in the first years of the 1950s and faded within the "Turkish-Islamic Synthesis," which became dominant in the nationalist-conservative right wing.

The extensive literature review of this thesis comprises of the analyses of the existing literature on *Hareket*, which consists of three master's theses and works on Topçu himself. In order to achieve a feasible and purposeful master's thesis, the first decade (or the first three periods) of *Hareket* (fourty issues in total, comprising of approximately 900 pages) between the years 1939 and 1949 has been analysed. This period corresponds to the "National Chief" İsmet İnönü's single party era of the Turkish Republic and to the period when the journal is officially and de facto published by Topçu not by others, as is the case after 1949. This particular period was chosen both for the quality and quantity of the existing literature, and the vast number of possible and exciting research topics about *Hareket*. Among these research topics, Anatolianism is the most preferred

for the writer of this thesis because it is a relatively less studied topic and a comprehensive and central one, touching upon other ideologies such as Islamism, conservatism, and nationalism. In this respect, this is a modest and preliminary but hopefully a meaningful research attempt to seek out the elements that make *Hareket* Anatolianist between the years 1939 and 1949. The *Hareket* collection of the period between 1939 and 1949 and some archival documents about Topçu's intellectual life are the primary sources used for this study. The collection of the journal under study is thematically examined. The archival documents that are used shed light on previously unknown or obscure points about Topçu's intellectual life and are also given in Appendices to facilitate further studies, particularly biographical research.

This introduction, Chapter 1 of Part I, is the presentation of the aim and scope of the work. Chapter 2 of Part I, "Literature Review" illustrates the general aspects of the secondary sources dealt with. Chapter 1 of Part II, "Nurettin Topçu: 1909-1975" is a short intellectual biography of Topçu in the context of *Hareket*. Chapter 2 of Part II, "Hareket: 1939-1982" aims to give an outline of the periodical, covering the entire collection which consists of 187 issues. In Chapter 1 of Part III, "Anatolianism: A Version of Turkish Nationalism", a brief account of Anatolianist movement within the Turkish nationalism is provided. Textual analysis of the content gives birth to Chapter 2 of Part III, including three consecutive and interpretive subchapters: 2.a. "From "Land" to "Homeland": Anatolia"; 2. b. "Our History"; and 2.c. "The "Anatolian" and the "Other"", respectively dealing

with concepts of homeland, narratives of national history and self-representation through otherization.

2. Literature Review

This literature review is an attempt to illustrate the general aspects of the secondary sources with which this thesis will be dealing. The primary focus is on the studies on *Hareket*, while the literature on Nurettin Topçu is also examined to the extent that it is related to this research.

The academic studies that exclusively tackle with *Hareket* or those which at least include the journal's name in their title consist of three theses. The first of them is a 471-page master's thesis¹² by Ensar Demirhan entitled *Journal of Hareket: Analysis-Index-Selected Texts*¹³ (Hareket Dergisi: Tahlil-Fihrist-Seçme Metinler) which has been approved at Erzurum Atatürk University in the field of Turkish Language and Literature. The thesis intends to be a rather descriptive survey of the entire *Hareket* collection (from February 1939 to March 1982) and to provide a general reference about the journal for researchers, including a complete index of all issues, a very short analysis and a selection of articles especially to show literary content. Demirhan's thesis can be assessed as a modest, descriptive and useful study given the available literature on the subject at the time.

¹² Ensar Demirhan, "Hareket Dergisi (Tahlil-Fihrist-Seçme Metinler)" (master's thesis, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2000).

¹³ Its abstract in English, quoted without any correction: "The Magazine of Hareket" was published in five seasons, between February 1939 and March 1982 with 187 numbers. In the thesis, "The Magazine of Hareket" has analyzed and all the numbers of the journal have examined in detail according to the index. Also, important texts which were related with literature and art and were published in this journal, were gathered in this thesis. This thesis was prepared as a source which the researchers can take the information about "The Magazine of Hareket" easily. This work makes known the "The Magazine of Hareket" which has a great importance in ideal and artistic life of Cumhuriyet Period, and exposes the literary side of the journal."

The second thesis on *Hareket* is entitled *Journal of Hareket's Influence on Intellectual Life in Turkey* (Hareket Dergisi'nin Türk Fikir Hayatındaki Etkileri) by Sedat Vahapoğlu.¹⁴ Given the lack of research question or an argument that would highlight the major problematique of the thesis, one needs to guess Sedat Vahapoğlu's aim in this study. It is likely that Vahapoğlu intended to describe the various influences of *Hareket* on the Turkish intellectual life in general between the years 1939 and 1949. It is quite difficult to qualify an original proposition based on scholarly research in the conclusion. This section is rather a disorganized and a very short summary of certain works on Nurettin Topçu which has been used in the thesis. The way how these works and Topçu's writings used within the entire thesis, is subject of a last and crucial remark: it almost completely consists of quotes which are indistinguishable from Vahapoğlu's own statements. An attentive reading would show that the proportion of quotations to author's own statements can itself be a subject of a content analysis to question the thesis' authorship. The quotes are rarely indicated properly; on the contrary, they are mostly incorporated without quotation marks, block quotation style or any other typographic feature that would distinguish them from the rest of the text.

Nurettin Topçu According to His Writings in Hareket and Anatolianist Nationalism (Hareket Dergisi'ndeki Yazılarıyla Nurettin Topçu

¹⁴ Sedat Vahapoğlu, "Hareket Dergisinin Türk Fikir Hayatındaki Etkileri" (master's thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2006).

ve Anadolu Milliyetçilik)¹⁵ by Kenan Alpay is the third thesis on *Hareket* that this thesis analyzes. Similar to Vahapoğlu's thesis, but apparently less serious, Alpay's thesis can also be a subject of content analysis that would question the thesis' authorship due to the proportion of quotations to author's own statements. Furthermore, some of the quotations and paraphrases are not inserted into the text properly. As a consequence, it becomes difficult to distinguish Alpay's own statements from quotations, as is the case in Vahapoğlu's thesis. The goal of the thesis is stated as "to classify and present Topçu's views about nation, nationalism, history, homeland, philosophy, religion, economy, state, and modernity by focusing on his writings in *Hareket*." However, based on such a highly comprehensive analysis suggestion, what Alpay concludes is that *Hareket* opposes the official ideology and Topçu proposes a mixture of "unity of existence" (vahdet-i vücüt) philosophy, Islamic mysticism and Christian mysticism instead of original Islam.¹⁶ Moreover, there is no genuine

¹⁵ Kenan Alpay, "Hareket Dergisi'ndeki Yazılarıyla Nurettin Topçu ve Anadolu Milliyetçilik" (master's thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 1997).

¹⁶ Alpay's conclusion can be summarized as: "The official ideology was aiming to institutionalize a Turkish nationalism excluding totally the religion from social life and introducing Western life of style. *Hareket* was opposing this official version of nationalism and other nationalisms, advocating a version of Turkish nationalism attaching importance to religion, refusing materialist side of western way of life, with ultimate goal of 'Turkish Renaissance'. However, in Topçu's formulation, the essential is Turkish nation and Anatolian land; Islam is the most convenient mean to glorify and enhance these elements. Topçu, adopted a completely "mystical" (tasavvufi) understanding of Islam and mistaken by accepting Mansur al-Hallaj's "unity of existence" (vahdet-i vücüt) philosophy as equal to Revelation in Islam (İslam Vahyi). Topçu who constantly refers to Quran, interestingly never uses a verse of it. He should not be so distant from the Holy Book that is the source of Islam. He wrongly sees model of "Ummah" (Ümmet), which is stated by Islam as the primary target to achieve for Muslims, as equal to an ideology of "Turan" model which is a product of human being. Religion-Islam is just an element that constitutes "Turkish Nation" (Türk milleti) among others, such as land, people (ulus), language, history, flag and state. Although he expresses positive opinions like returning to Quran and abolishing superstitions, there is not any real achievement based on these ideas. What Topçu proposes as Islam is "unity of existence" philosophy, Islamic mysticism and Christian mysticism." Alpay, "Hareket Dergisi'ndeki Yazılarıyla", 71-72. For a critique, see Fırat Mollaer,

discussion or any reference to the relevant sources from the fields of theology or religious philosophy in Alpay's thesis so as to support this conclusion.

The references to *Hareket* in various studies on the history of Turkish media reveal an important point about the reception of the journal. For example, in his book *History of Turkish Press from Mahmut II to the Era of Conglomerates*¹⁷ Hıfzı Topuz lists dozens of journals and magazines with their publishers' name for the republican period, but he does not mention *Hareket* or Topçu. The same omission is also noted in a similar writing, Vedat Günyol's article *Journals-Magazines of Art and Literature in the Republican Period*.¹⁸ However, in the three bodies of research in this category, there are a few sentences about *Hareket*. In his article entitled *A Century of Journals of Ideas*¹⁹ Zafer Toprak situates Topçu's *Hareket* among the non-populist journals-magazines along with Ahmet Ağaoğlu's *Akın*, Sabiha Sertel's *Projektör*, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu's *Yeni Adam* and Hilmi Ziya Ülken's *İnsan*, as opposed to the more populist publishing trend in the periodicals of 1930s. In his book entitled *Journals of Ideas and Their Effects on Sociology from Ottoman Empire to the Republic*, Recep Ercan cites *Hareket* by referring to Toprak's article.²⁰ In a recent encyclopedic

Anadolu Sosyalizmine Bir Katkı: Nurettin Topçu Üzerine Yazılar (İstanbul: Dergah, 2007), 20.

¹⁷ Hıfzı Topuz, *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2003), 388-400.

¹⁸ Vedat Günyol, "Cumhuriyet Sonrası Sanat ve Edebiyat Dergileri," in *Türkiye'de Dergiler, Ansiklopediler: 1849-1984* (İstanbul: Gelişim Yayınları, 1984), 85-122.

¹⁹ Zafer Toprak, "Fikir Dergiciliğinin Yüz Yılı," in *Türkiye'de Dergiler, Ansiklopediler: 1849-1984* (İstanbul: Gelişim Yayınları, 1984), 13-84.

²⁰ Recep Ercan, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Fikir Dergiciliği ve Sosyolojiye Etkileri* (Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık, 2011), 96-100.

work about the periodicals of the Muslim world, the journal is touched upon as “[...] an Islamic and mystic journal fostering traditional nationalist tendencies published at irregular intervals from 1318 AHS/1939 to 1360AHS/1981 whose licence holder, main contributor, and intellectual leader was Nurettin Topçu (d. 1354 AHS/1975), a PhD graduate from France [...]”²¹

Although there are a number of works on Topçu, only a few among them fulfill the established academic criteria. Given that Topçu was an influential figure for the intellectual circle around his journal, for the most part, voluminous literature on the subject consists of first-person narratives on his personality, or narratives both on his personality and ideas. There are, nevertheless, a number of independent research about his works that can be qualified as semi-academic and a few academic studies. For example, in a 640-page collected volume which is a special issue of a literature journal²² (*Hece*) dedicated to Topçu and *Hareket* it is possible to find articles for all the above mentioned categories.²³

²¹ Gholamali Haddad Adel, Mohammad Jafar Elmi and Hassan Taromi-Rad, eds., *Periodicals of the Muslim World: An Entry from Encyclopaedia of the World of Islam* (London: EWI Press Ltd, 2012), 257.

²² *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006).

²³ For a bibliography of works (books, chapters in collected works, citations in books, journal and newspaper articles, interviews, encyclopedia entries, sections in writer dictionaries-bibliographies-anthologies, special issues-supplements-writings in honour of Topçu, panel discussions, theses and dissertations, writings published by online journals and internet sites) on Topçu by the year 2006 see Yusuf Turan Günaydın, “Nurettin Topçu Bibliyografyası – II: Hakkında Yazılanlar,” *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 552-560. Books on Topçu published after 2006: Mehmet Birgül, *İrade Hareket İsyan: Nurettin Topçu'nun Entelektüel Biyografisi 1* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2013); İsmail Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2013); Mehmet Sılay, *Fikir Dünyamızın Yıldızlarından Nureddin Topçu* (İstanbul: Düşün Yayıncılık, 2011); Lütfü Şehsuvaroğlu, *Türk Sosyalizmi ve Nurettin Topçu* (Ankara: Elips Kitap, 2011); İsmail Kara, ed. *Nurettin Topçu* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2009); Fırat Mollaer, *Türkiye'de Liberal Muhafazakarlık ve Nurettin Topçu* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2008); Fırat Mollaer, *Anadolu Sosyalizmine Bir Katkı*

Our inquiries about literature on Topçu reveal that there are numerous master's theses and a few doctoral dissertations conducted at Turkish universities in the departments of Public Administration, Educational Sciences, International Relations, Sociology, Turkish Language and Literature, Islamic Sciences, Political Science and Philosophy²⁴. Within the scope of this thesis, two monographs that were originally a doctoral dissertation and a master's thesis on Nurettin Topçu particularly deserve attention for their conceptual precision, theoretical framework and contextualization, even though they do not exclusively focus on Topçu's writings published in *Hareket: Süleyman Seyfi Ögün's Communitarian Nationalism in Turkey and Nurettin Topçu*²⁵ (Türkiye'de Cemmatçi Milliyetçilik ve Nurettin Topçu) and Fırat Mollaer's *Liberal Conservatism in Turkey and Nurettin Topçu*²⁶ (Türkiye'de Liberal Muhafazakarlık ve Nurettin Topçu).

Communitarian Nationalism in Turkey and Nurettin Topçu, which is presented as a political scientist's contribution to the history of thoughts,²⁷ is originally a dissertation in the area of Public Administration. The aim of the work is to specify the populist approach expressed in nationalistic terms and to determine the complex relation between populism and nationalism focusing on the writings of Nurettin Topçu, portrayed as one of the

Nurettin Topçu Üzerine Yazılar (İstanbul: Dergah, 2007); Fırat Mollaer, *Ruhun Metafizik Ayaklanması: "İsyan Ahlakı" Etik-Felsefi Temelleri ve Nurettin Topçu'nun Felsefesi* (İstanbul: Yedi İklim, 2007).

²⁴ For a list of these theses and dissertations, see Appendix I.

²⁵ Süleyman Seyfi Ögün, *Türkiye'de Cemaatçi Milliyetçilik ve Nurettin Topçu* (İstanbul: Dergah, 1992).

²⁶ Fırat Mollaer, *Türkiye'de Liberal Muhafazakarlık ve Nurettin Topçu* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2008).

²⁷ Ögün, *Türkiye'de Cemaatçi Milliyetçilik*, 5.

prominent figures among Anatolianist thinkers and ideologues.²⁸ The main features of the ideological systems of Anatolianist-nationalist circle are explained, Topçu's philosophical opinions are examined, the characteristics of his critiques toward the modernization process in Turkey are discussed, and finally, his socio-political and economic proposals are analyzed throughout the work. One of the major conclusions by Ögün that needs to be highlighted here is that populism underlies an intense nationalist discourse, sometimes corresponds to it and sometimes exceeds it. According to Ögün, this complex causal connection is chiefly due to the lack of historical and objective dynamics of being a nation in the modern sense in Turkey, which makes nationalism quite variable in political life. It is also argued that although some concepts used by Nurettin Topçu seem to contradict with populist principles, they provide the ideal of a coherent and self-sufficient community at the end.²⁹

In *Liberal Conservatism in Turkey and Nurettin Topçu*, Mollaer focuses on conservative thought, by suggesting that early studies on Topçu did not take conservatism into account seriously or only dealt with it by a very simplistic classification.³⁰ Topçu's intellectual life and writings are elaborately examined in the light of a comprehensive analysis of French, Anglo-Saxon and Turkish conservatisms and the aspects that make Topçu's conservatism unique are meticulously clarified. It is worth mentioning that another volume by Fırat Mollaer, *A Contribution to Anatolian Socialism:*

²⁸ Ibid, 14-15.

²⁹ Ibid, 189-190.

³⁰ Mollaer, *Türkiye'de Liberal Muhafazakarlık*, 6.

*Essays on Nurettin Topçu*³¹ (Anadolu Sosyalizmine Bir Katkı: Nurettin Topçu Üzerine Yazılar) presents Topçu’s ideas using two key concepts: “Anatolian socialism” and “romantic anti-capitalism.”

It should be expressed that the only works in the English language on Topçu (except those which merely mention his name) are some articles published in various journals or edited books: “The Role of Religion and Geography in Turkish Nationalism: The Case of Nurettin Topçu” by Asım Karaömerlioğlu³²; “Last of the Anatolian Nationalists: Nurettin Topçu” by Çiğdem Balım-Harding³³; “The Founders of Islamism in Republican Turkey: Kısakürek and Topçu” by Michelangelo Guida³⁴; “Competing Occidentalisms of Modern Islamist Thought: Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and Nurettin Topçu on Christianity, the West and Modernity” by Burhanettin Duran and Cemil Aydın;³⁵ “Turkey: The Reception of Kierkegaard in Turkey” (separate sections are on Topçu-*Hareket*, Hilmi Ziya Ülken and

³¹ Fırat Mollaer, *Anadolu Sosyalizmine Bir Katkı Nurettin Topçu Üzerine Yazılar* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2007).

³² Asım Karaömerlioğlu, “The Role of Religion and Geography in Turkish Nationalism: The Case of Nurettin Topçu,” in *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey*, ed. Çağlar Keyder, Thalia Dragonas and Nikiforos Diamandouros (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010), 93-110.

³³ Çiğdem Balım-Harding, “Last of the Anatolian Nationalists: Nurettin Topçu,” in *The Sultan’s Turret*, vol. 2 of *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, ed. C. Hillenbrand (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1-18.

³⁴ Michelangelo Guida, “The Founders of Islamism in Republican Turkey: Kısakürek and Topçu,” in *Intellectuals and Civil Society in the Middle East: Liberalism, Modernity and Political Discourse*, ed. Mohammed Bamyeh (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 111-132.

³⁵ Burhanettin Duran and Cemil Aydın, “Competing Occidentalisms of Modern Islamist Thought: Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and Nurettin Topçu on Christianity, the West and Modernity,” *The Muslim World* 103, no. 4 (October 2013): 479–500.

Hüseyin Batuhan concerning Kierkegaard's reception in Turkey) by Türker Armaner.³⁶

The factual information concerning Topçu's life in this thesis is mainly based on biographies written by two researchers both of whom had access to Topçu's personal archive:³⁷ Mehmet Birgül³⁸ and İsmail Kara.³⁹ Kara, who presents himself as the last person to participate in the intellectual circle around Topçu,⁴⁰ is also the writer of the most-up-to date and detailed bibliography of Topçu's oeuvre and one of the editors of the entire corpus printed by Dergah Publishing House, which is a kind of successor to Hareket Publishing House,⁴¹ the book publishing branch of the journal of *Hareket*. Birgül's study outstands especially for its comments that reveal contradictions in the biographical information in the existing literature. Only the first volume of Birgül's book published to this day which covers the period between 1909 and 1939 is used in this thesis.

Initially a doctoral dissertation by Metin Çınar, *Anatolianism and The Right Wing in the One Party-Republican People's Party*⁴² (Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP'de Sağ Kanat) is a detailed study of

³⁶ Türker Armaner, "Turkey: The Reception of Kierkegaard in Turkey," in *The Near East, Asia, Australia and the Americas*, vol 8 tome III of *Kierkegaard's International Reception*, ed. Jon Stewart (Ashgate, 2008), 3-21.

³⁷ This archive is today kept at Dergah Publishing House. Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 35. For the story of delivery of this archive after Nurettin Topçu's brother Hayrettin Topçu's death, see İsmail Kara, *Sözü Dilde Hayali Gözde* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2005), 49-54.

³⁸ Mehmet Birgül, *İrade Hareket İsyân: Nurettin Topçu'nun Entelektüel Biyografisi 1* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2013).

³⁹ İsmail Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2013).

⁴⁰ Kara, *Sözü Dilde Hayali Gözde*, 27.

⁴¹ Dergah Publishing House, one of the major publishing companies in today's Turkey, was founded by Topçu's student Ezel Erverdi to replace Hareket Publishing House which is the book publishing branch of journal of *Hareket*.

⁴² Metin Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP'de Sağ Kanat* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013).

Anatolianism from its early roots during the First World War period until 1950s when it becomes to fade within the emerging “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis,” as suggested by the author.⁴³ Following an introductory chapter of the historical background, Anatolianism is examined mainly through journals such as *Dergah*, *Anadolu Mecmuası*, *Dönüm*, *Millet*, *Hareket*, *Dikmen*, *Çığır* and *Bizim Türkiye*. The participation of Anatolianists into Republican People’s Party, their political involvements and the making of the “right wing” of the party are subjects of the last and third chapters of the book. As far as this study is concerned, Çınar’s book is a significant study enabling us to analyze *Hareket* and Topçu both diachronically and synchronically in the context of Anatolianism.

Among the various literature on Anatolianism and Nurettin Topçu, only a number of the most significant and *Hareket* related studies are reviewed. It must be noted that research on Topçu is generally based on his books, which are almost completely the reprints of his earlier articles, with the exception of his doctoral dissertation entitled *Conformisme et Révolte*, his post-doctoral research (doçentlik tezi) *Bergson*, five high school textbooks (*Felsefe*, *Sosyoloji*, *Mantık*, *Psikoloji*, *Ahlak*), his novel *Reha* and most of his short stories in *Taşralı*.⁴⁴ It is underlined that some textual alterations occurred during reprinting for various reasons and that the researchers are advised to compare these alterations with the originals.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, bibliographies of the studies on Topçu clearly show that some

⁴³ Ibid, 274.

⁴⁴ İsmail Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2013), 11.

⁴⁵ Nurettin Topçu, *Bergson* (İstanbul: Dergah yayınları, 2006), 6.

of them disregard this advice. This is the first reason for us to pay attention using literature on Topçu to study *Hareket*. The second reason is that while Topçu is the founder and administrator of the journal until his death and the author of a considerable amount of its content, he was not the only contributor or manager. In this respect, in this thesis entitled “Nurettin Topçu and the First Decade of His Anatolianist Journal: *Hareket* (1939-49),” the studies on Topçu are used very attentively as far as the chronological and above mentioned limitations permit.

Part II

1. Nurettin Topçu: 1909-1975

Nurettin Topçu⁴⁶ was born on 7 November 1909 in Istanbul to relatively modest parents. His mother Fatma Hanım (Eğinli Kasap Hasan Ağa's daughter) was a housewife from Eğin, Erzincan and his father Topçuzade Ahmet Hamdi Bey/Efendi⁴⁷ was a trader involved in grain (alaftarlık) and livestock (celeplik) businesses and later a butcher from Erzurum. Ahmet Hamdi Bey was a man without formal education. He started to get considerable revenue by livestock trade which was initiated by Gülü Bey, a local notable from Erzurum. After a period of prosperity, Ahmet Hamdi was bankrupt towards the end of the First World War. Although Birgül qualifies the family as “eşraf” (notable), he seems to evaluate them in terms of status and reputation in social networks rather than in terms of financial well-being except this period of prosperity⁴⁸ because when Ahmet Hamdi died, his older son Hayrettin dropped out of school and started to work to look after the family while they also rented one floor of their house.⁴⁹

Chronologically, Nurettin Topçu studied at Bezmialem Valide Sultan Mektebi, Büyük Reşit Paşa Numune Mektebi, Vefa İdadisi and he

⁴⁶ A note for biographical researches: Forms such as “Osman Nuri”, “Osman Nurettin Topçu” and “Osman Nuri Topçu” are found in various official documents during Ottoman and republican periods. His name is written as “Nurettin Ahmed” or “Nouriddine Ahmed” in France. Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 22. It is “Nurettin Ahmet” in his book (originally his doctoral dissertation) published in 1934 in France: Nurettin Ahmet [Topçu], *Conformisme et Révolte: Esquisse d'une Psychologie de la Croyance* (Paris: Les Presses Modernes, 1934). “Osman Nurettin”, “Nurittin Topçu” are also used. Birgül, *İrade Hareket İsyân*, 24.

⁴⁷ “Bey”, “efendi”, “ağa” indicating one's status in society in the Ottoman Empire.

⁴⁸ Birgül, *İrade Hareket İsyân*, 21-27.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 75.

finally graduated from the prestigious İstanbul Lisesi in 1928. His two poem recitation notebooks (inşad defterleri) from the Büyük Reşit Paşa Numune Mektebi and Vefa İdadisi years give us an idea about the origins of Topçu's admiration for Mehmet Akif Ersoy and Tevfik Fikret, which is also clearly expressed in *Hareket*: The first notebook includes twenty two poems, twelve of which written by Mehmet Akif, three by Tevfik Fikret and the rest by İbrahim Alaaddin, Hüseyin Siret, Muallim Naci, Recaizade Ekrem, Ali Ulvi, Şinasi and Mehmet Emin. The second notebook includes twelve poems, five by Tevfik Fikret, three by Rıza Tevfik and the rest by Cenab Şehabeddin, Hüseyin Suad, Mehmet Akif and Recaizade Ekrem.⁵⁰ Topçu had the chance to meet Mehmet Akif in person,⁵¹ owing to Hüseyin Avni Ulaş⁵² who was a family friend as well as the father of Topçu's future wife Fethiye Hanım.⁵³ Many pages of *Hareket* are dedicated to Ulaş and Akif, both of whom had a great influence on Topçu's ideas.⁵⁴ Additionally,

⁵⁰ Ibid, 55-58.

⁵¹ Ibid, 67.

⁵² Born in 1887 in Erzurum, Ulaş studied law in İstanbul. He was a deputy both in the last Ottoman Chamber of Deputies (Meclis-i Mebusan) in İstanbul and in the Grand National Assembly in Ankara. Ahmet Demirel, *İlk Meclis'in Vekilleri: Milli Mücadele Döneminde Seçimler* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), 198-199, 233. He was an opposition leader as a member of the "Second Group" (İkinci Grup) in the Grand National Assembly and was seriously criticized in *Nutuk*, for example: Gazi Mustafa Kemal, *Nutuk* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), 423. He could not be elected in 1923. He went on trial with accusation of participating to an assassination plot against President Gazi Mustafa Kemal (İzmir Incident) in 1926. He was acquitted but quitted politics. As a result of new president İsmet İnönü's politics aiming to strengthen his position in Republican People's Party and to prevent potential opposition, Kazım Karabekir, Rauf Orbay, Fethi Okyar, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın became Mps, Abdülkadir Kemali Öğütçü judge and Hüseyin Avni Ulaş notary. Ahmet Demirel, *Tek Partinin İktidarı: Türkiye'de Seçimler ve Siyaset (1923-1946)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 23, 219-220. In 1945, with Nuri Demirağ and Cevat Rifat Atilhan, Ulaş founded the National Development Party (Milli Kalkınma Partisi) which was the first opposition party in multiparty regime in Turkey. He quitted the party due to disputes with other founders. He died in 1948.

⁵³ This marriage lasted for two years, between 1935 and 1937. Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 29. Divorced Topçu never married again and had no children.

⁵⁴ "Hüseyin Avni Ulaş, an old time friend of the family, was then in İstanbul and no doubt during his formative years Nurettin witnessed the misfortunes of this fierce opponent of

Mehmet Ulaş, the son of Hüseyin Avni Ulaş was a major contributor to *Hareket* both as a writer and translator.⁵⁵

Topçu met Hasan Âli Yücel, Celalettin Ökten (Celal Hoca) and Hilmi Ziya Ülken (Topçu's postdoctoral adviser helping his research on Bergson at Istanbul University and a contributor to *Hareket*) who were, then, teaching at İstanbul Erkek Lisesi. Topçu was informed by Hasan Âli about the opportunity of government scholarship for students who intend to study abroad.⁵⁶ After having succeeded in the examination, young Nurettin won the scholarship and went to France in 1928. Between the years 1928 and 1945, approximately 120 Turkish students each year had the chance to study with the government scholarship in Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland and England. This wave of education in Europe first started with a group of twenty two students who were sent to France and Germany in 1924, in honor of the first anniversary of the Republic.⁵⁷

Topçu moved to Aix, in France, where he (after succeeding complementary high school classes) got the French *baccalauréat* and his first undergraduate certificate at the department of psychology. He continued his undergraduate studies in Strasbourg. With certificates in history of modern art, general philosophy and logic, ethics and sociology,

Atatürk and listened to his accounts Republican political history in the making. (...) His admiration for Mehmet Akif, to whose poetry he was introduced in elementary school, must also owe much to Ulaş, who was a good friend of the poet." Balım-Harding, "Last of the Anatolian Nationalists," 1-18.

⁵⁵ Yusuf Turan Günaydın, "Hareket Dergisi Dizini," *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 561-635.

⁵⁶ Birgül, *İrade Hareket İsyân*, 82-85.

⁵⁷ Kansu Şarman, *Türk Promethe'ler: Cumhuriyet'in Öğrencileri Avrupa'da, 1925-1945* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2005), xv.

art and archeology of antiquity, he received his undergraduate degree in 1933.⁵⁸ He completed his PhD in 1934 and became probably the first Turkish citizen having completed doctoral studies in philosophy in France.⁵⁹ His dissertation was published in the same year in Paris by Les Presses Modernes. However, as Birgöl states, the doctoral advisor and the jury members were unknown.⁶⁰ Further findings of this master's thesis⁶¹ reveal that the advisor was probably Léon Brunschvicg (as his name is capitalized and underlined); the jury members were André Lalande (president), Léon Brunschvicg (rapporteur) and Jean Laporte.⁶² After dissertation defense, Laporte and Lalande asked two complementary questions about "moral certitude" of Léon Ollé-Laprune and "the theory of will" of Arthur Schopenhauer.⁶³ Topçu earned his degree with level of distinction "*avec mention honorable*" (but not "*mention très honorable*" or "*mention très honorable avec félicitations du jury*") by the unanimous decision of the jury.⁶⁴ The original dissertation in French was reprinted by the Turkish Ministry of Culture in 1990.⁶⁵ Its first Turkish edition (*İsyân Ahlakı*), translated by Mustafa Kök and Musa Doğan, was published in 1995⁶⁶ and

⁵⁸ Birgöl, *İrade Hareket İsyân*, 119-125.

⁵⁹ Fırat Mollaer, "Nurettin Topçu İçin Entelektüel Biyografi Denemesi," in *Nurettin Topçu*, ed. İsmail Kara (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2009), 22-61.

⁶⁰ Birgöl, *İrade Hareket İsyân*, 130.

⁶¹ Based on three documents from Archives Nationales in Paris (Site De Pierrefitte-Sur-Seine, Sous Series AJ/16). see Appendix II, III and IV.

⁶² AJ/16/7078, Registre des procès verbaux d'admissions au grade de docteur d'Etat (avec indication des sujets de thèse) 1923-1959.

⁶³ AJ/16/7099, Raport de soutenance de thèse de doctorants ès lettres de l'Université de Paris 1933-1934.

⁶⁴ AJ/16/7098, Avis de soutenance de thèse 1933-1934.

⁶⁵ Nurettin Ahmet Topçu, *Conformisme et Revolte: Esquisse d'une Psychologie de la Croyance* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990).

⁶⁶ Nurettin Topçu, *İsyân Ahlakı*, trans. Mustafa Kök and Musa Doğan (İstanbul: Dergah, 1995).

further prints were corrected according to Topçu's own translation notes that were discovered later.

During his studies abroad, he met several major figures from both Turkish and French intellectual circles including Samet Ağaoğlu, Ömer Lütü Barkan, Adnan Adıvar, and Henry Corbin.⁶⁷ Remzi Oğuz Arık (1899-1954) and Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu (1901-1974)⁶⁸, influenced Topçu on his dedication to Anatolianist ideology profoundly.⁶⁹ Among acquaintances in France, three figures deserve particular consideration in Topçu's intellectual life: Paul Mulla (1881-1959), Louis Massignon⁷⁰ (1883-1962) and Maurice Blondel (1861-1949).⁷¹ Paul Mulla (Mollazade Mehmet Ali Bey, Paul Mehmet Mulla-Zade, Paul M  h  met-Ali Mulla-Zad  , Monseigneur Mulla) to whom Topçu was introduced by Tevfik Bey (Mulla's sister Keyyise İdalı's⁷² husband) who was an inspector at Turkish Embassy in France responsible for Turkish students in the country,⁷³ was born as an Ottoman Muslim in Candia on the island of Crete to a notable family, Mollazadeler, and was the son of a physician, İbrahim Pertev Bey.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Birg  l, *İrade Hareket İsyana*, 74-75.

⁶⁸ Both Arık and Fındıkoğlu are prominent Anatolianists and have writings published in *Hareket*.

⁶⁹ Guida, "The Founders of Islamism in Republican Turkey," 111-132.

⁷⁰ Intellectual interaction between Topçu and Massignon, a scholar of oriental studies, specialist on Mansur Al-Hallaj is clear on reciprocal references. For Massignon's reference to Topçu, see Birg  l, *İrade Hareket İsyana*, 171-172. For Topçu's reference to Massignon, see Nurettin Ahmet [Topçu], *Conformisme et R  volte*, 124-126, 151-153.

⁷¹ Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 25-26.

⁷² As a teacher, she would be Topçu's colleague at İstanbul Erkek Lisesi. Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 133. "(...) okuldaki en yakın arkadaşı Marksist felsefe   ğretmeni Keyise İdalı'dır." Mollaer, "Nurettin Topçu İ  in Entelekt  el Biyografi," 22-61.

⁷³ Birg  l, *İrade Hareket İsyana*, 133-141.

⁷⁴ Pertev Bey was of one of the two licensed Muslim physicians in Autonomous Crete: "two Muslims, for instance, had received permission to practice the medical profession in Crete: Pertev Moulazades and Ali Rasih Sabret Babazades" Elektra Kostopoulou, "The

In 1905, when he was a student in France, he converted to the Roman Catholic faith and was baptized. As a disciple and godson of Maurice Blondel and an ordained priest (in 1911), Mulla died in Rome.⁷⁵ Mulla helped Topçu even in his everyday struggles which also include accommodation, as the correspondences between the two intellectuals show.⁷⁶ But most importantly, Topçu’s “compatriot” Mulla introduced him to Maurice Blondel, an interaction for which Topçu was deeply grateful.⁷⁷ Correspondences archived at Université Catholique de Louvain⁷⁸ in Belgium shed light on the eminent Christian philosopher Maurice Blondel’s influence on Topçu. Topçu, a member of the Association of Friends of Maurice Blondel⁷⁹, addresses Blondel as “My Dear Master”⁸⁰ and consults him, for instance, for his research on Bergson in 1942.⁸¹ Blondel

Muslim Millet of Autonomous Crete: An Exploration Into Its Origins And Implications” (PhD dissertation, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2009), 334.

⁷⁵ Birgül, *İrade Hareket İsyarı*, 141.

⁷⁶ Postcard dated 3.9.1929. Tuncer Enginertan, “Çağdaş Bir Mistiğin Hayatına Dair Bazı Notlar,” in *Nurettin Topçu*, ed. İsmail Kara (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2009), 91-105.

⁷⁷ “Je suis également reconnaissant à mon compatriote Monseigneur Mulla, celui qui m’a mis au courant de votre pensée philosophique et qui m’a approché de votre connaissance bienveillante.” UCL, PFT ALPHA, Fonds Maurice Blondel 57646. A letter from Nurettin Topçu to Maurice Blondel, dated 30.3.1942.

⁷⁸ (Les plates-formes technologiques; Fonds d’archives de littérature, philosophie et arts; Fonds Maurice Blondel). See Appendix V, VI and VII.

⁷⁹ “Membre de la Société des Amis de Maurice Blondel (signed: Nurettin Topçu).” UCL, PFT ALPHA, Fonds Maurice Blondel 57645. This letter dated 28.7.2014 from Nurettin Topçu to (according to content of the letter) Maurice Blondel’s son Charles Blondel collecting his father’s correspondences. Topçu attaches two letters (typed up forms are in UCL, PFT ALPHA, Fonds Maurice Blondel 57644) and asks their return after use. We infer from that Topçu has only two letters from Maurice Blondel in 1950. “Cher Monsieur, Ayant appris par la lettre de M. Léopold Dor, Président de la Société des Amis de Maurice Blondel, que vous êtes chargé de recueillir la correspondance de votre Père, je vous adresse deux lettres de lui que je tiens en mains. Je serais content si vous voudriez me les retourner après l’utilisation.”

⁸⁰ UCL, PFT ALPHA, Fonds Maurice Blondel 57646. “Mon chaire maitre”.

⁸¹ UCL, PFT ALPHA, Fonds Maurice Blondel 57644. Second letter dated 5.2.1942 from Blondel to Topçu.

congratulates Topçu for his doctoral dissertation⁸² of which the opening epigraph is a quotation from himself: “Action is a synthesis of man and God.”⁸³ Blondel’s first thesis Action (*L’Action*⁸⁴) impresses Topçu to such a degree that he names his journal *Hareket*,⁸⁵ meaning “action” in Turkish. He dedicates many pages of the journal to the philosophy of action; even the first issue in February 1939 includes an article that summarizes Blondel’s *L’Action*.⁸⁶

After doctoral studies, Topçu returned to Turkey in 1934 and began his career as a philosophy teacher at the well-known Galatasaray Lisesi. However, he was transferred to İzmir Lisesi in 1935 because of his objection to the high school director, Behçet Gücer’s demand of an unfair favoritism for six unsuccessful students, children of well-known families.⁸⁷ Topçu started to publish *Hareket* in İzmir (but printed in İstanbul) in February 1939. He was transferred to İstanbul Vefa Lisesi in 1939 where he could be kept under “surveillance” after the publication of a short story entitled *Çalgıcılar*⁸⁸ (musicians) which he wrote with one of his pen

⁸² UCL, PFT ALPHA, Fonds Maurice Blondel 57644. First letter dated 2.7.1934 from Blondel to Topçu.

⁸³ “L’action est une synthèse de l’homme et de Dieu.” Maurice Blondel.

⁸⁴ Maurice Blondel, *L’Action: Essai d’une Critique de la Vie et d’une Science de la Pratique* (Paris: Alcan, 1893; 2nd edn, Paris: PUF, 1950).

⁸⁵ “Hareket, Topçu’nun benimsediği ‘hareket (aksiyon) felsefesi’ bağlamında adlandırılmış bir dergidir.” D. Mehmet Doğan, “Nureddin Topçu’nun ‘Hareket’i,” *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 360-366. Topçu explains the name and philosophical standpoint of his journal quoting from Blondel, focusing on the concept of “action”: Hareket, “Bir İzah,” *Hareket* (May 1939): 127-128.

⁸⁶ Nurettin Topçu, “Hareket Felsefesi”, *Hareket* (February 1939): 22-28. With a footnote “Bu yazı asrımızın meşhur filozoflarından ‘Maurice Blondel’in ‘Action’ adlı kitabının hülasesidir.” and an epigraph “Hareket, insanla Allahın bir terkibidir.”

⁸⁷ Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 29.

⁸⁸ Nizam Ahmet, “Çalgıcılar,” *Hareket* (May 1939): 110-111.

names,⁸⁹ “Nizam Ahmet”, in the fourth issue of *Hareket. Çalgıcılar* is a short fiction centered on a nameless character, a drunken and powerful leader who sees himself as the greatest being and is admired as god by his subjects. This main character was a symbolic representation of the authoritarian one party regime and President İsmet İnönü.⁹⁰ In 1943, after four years of service at Vefa Lisesi, he was transferred to Denizli, “one of the favorite exile locations of the state for the opponents of the regime.”⁹¹ He met Said-i Nursi who was on trial in the city.⁹² This meeting did not result in a relation between the two or, in a considerable religious or intellectual interaction.⁹³ Nevertheless, it was a sign of, at least, Topçu’s interest towards an important pious Muslim activist who was on trial. Transferred once again in 1944, he worked at İstanbul Erkek Lisesi until 1946, then at Vefa Lisesi (1946-1955), Haydarpaşa Lisesi (1955-1956) and once again at İstanbul Erkek Lisesi (1956-1974) where he finally retired. He also taught, as a part-time job, at Robert College (1946-1961), İstanbul İmam Hatip Okulu (1955-1960), Hayriye Lisesi (1941-1942) and Erenköy Kız Lisesi (1965-1966). His part time jobs at Robert and İmam Hatip were ended by the 1960 (May 27th) coup d’état administrators because of Topçu’s opposition to this military intervention and rule.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Topçu’s pen names are “Osman Asyalı” (Osman is his grandfather’s name and “Asyalı” means “Asian”), “Nizam Ahmet” (Ahmet is his father’s name and “Nizam” means “Order”) and “Mücadeleci” (fighter). Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 16.

⁹⁰ Balım-Harding, “Last of the Anatolian Nationalists,” 1-18.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 1-18.

⁹² Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 31-32.

⁹³ For a narrative on this meeting, see Abdülkadir Badıllı, *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 446-447.

⁹⁴ Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 32-33.

Between the years 1948 and 1949, under the supervision of Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Topçu conducted a post-doctoral research (doçentlik tezi) at İstanbul University on Henri Bergson (published in 1968).⁹⁵ During this post-doctoral research (or between 1947 and 1950, according to another account), he had an academic title/position “Non-acting Associate Professor” (Eylemsiz Doçent), but he never acquired an academic tenure. He was a philosophy teacher in his entire life; he admired his profession to a degree that it determined his identity and social milieu. His students from various high schools in which he taught and others who attended his public speeches delivered in various associations as well as the participants of the gatherings at his home and the office of *Hareket* constitute his “students” or “disciples” in a broad sense, or even a “Hareket School.”⁹⁶ This community gives an idea about Topçu’s socialization as a public intellectual:

Meanwhile, since his return to İstanbul, the house which he shared with his mother had become the meeting place of colleagues, friends, and young university students. These were either his students from lycees, or university students mostly rural origin, who had come to İstanbul to study. It is not difficult to imagine the lost, hungry souls and minds of this youth who were searching for a community, like the ones they had left behind. If one also realizes that neither media nor communications were developed in the Turkey of the 1940’s, the environment that teachers like Topçu provided for them was perfect. It was oral, warm and sincere as opposed to the alien nature of the ideology and social structure imposed by the state. Through the words of the *hodja*, they were introduced to philosophy, history, literature and even arts. The conviviality, fellow feeling and affection between a sufi master and his disciples were revitalized.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Nurettin Topçu, *Bergson* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1968). As narrated by Ezel Erverdi, Topçu for a long time opposed its publication by saying “it will serve nobody” and “nobody will read it.” Ezel Erverdi, “Bir İzin Peşinde,” in *Nurettin Topçu*, ed. İsmail Kara (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2009), 63-89.

⁹⁶ Ali Osman Gündoğan, “Nurettin Topçu,” *Doğu Batı*, no. 11, (May-June-July 2000): 89-105. “*Hareket* mecmuası bir fikir cemaatinin naşir-i efkârı değildi. Bu hareket Nurettin Topçu’nun fikirleri ve belki de diğer bir bakışla çok cazip ve kuvvetli şahsiyeti etrafından teşekkül eden bir muhibban cemaatıydı.” Ali Birinci, “Hareket Mecmuası,” in *Nurettin Topçu*, İsmail Kara, ed. (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2009), 107-115.

⁹⁷ Balım-Harding, “Last of the Anatolian Nationalists,” 1-18.

This distinguished role as a *hodja* that resembles a Sufi master, may stem from Topçu's mystic experiences. A childhood friend Sırrı Tüzeer introduced Topçu to two sheikhs Abdullah Hasib Yardımcı (1863-1949) and Abdülaziz Bekkine (1895-1952). Topçu joined Sheikh Abdülaziz Bekkine's Naqshbandi order (more specifically its Gümüşhanevi⁹⁸ branch) in 1945.⁹⁹ Topçu's continuous and very strong relation with his sheikh¹⁰⁰ did not continue with Abdülaziz Bekkine's successor Mehmet Zahid Kotku (1897-1980): "[...] Abdülaziz Bekkine, a Nakşibendi *şeyh*, who influenced Topçu and an entire generation of like-minded conservatives, as well as bureaucrats and politicians like Turgut Özal and Necmettin Erbakan [...]. Topçu eventually distanced from the confraternity because he did not recognize the authority of Bekkine's successor, the charismatic Mehmet Zahid Kotku."¹⁰¹ Bekkine's lodge was a place of gathering for many politicians, for example a disciple of Topçu, Ferruh Bozbeyli, speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (1965-70) and Democrat Party leader (1970-78) was also attending these conversations (*sohbet*).¹⁰²

⁹⁸ "A prominent sheikh of the Hamidian period, perhaps the most important Nakşibendi associate of Abdulhamid, was Ahmed Ziyaüddin Gümüşhanevi (1813-93), who was descended from Mevlana Khalid by way of Ahmed Ibn-i Süleyman Halid Hasen al-Şami (1785-1858)." Elizabeth Özdalga, "Transformation of Sufi-Based Communities in Modern Turkey: The Nakşibendis, the Nurcus, and the Gülen Community," in *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem and Philip Robins (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 69-91.

⁹⁹ Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 34. For a narrative on this *intisap*, see Yusuf Turan Günaydın "Bağlanma: Abdülaziz Bekkine ve Nurettin Topçu İlişkisi," *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 92-97.

¹⁰⁰ Ezel Erverdi narrates a parable (*kıssa*) of Abdülaziz Bekkine's miracle (*keramet*) recounted by Nurettin Topçu. This narrative gives us an opinion about Topçu's relation with his master, as perceived by one of his students, see Erverdi, "Bir İzin Peşinde," 63-89.

¹⁰¹ Guida, "The Founders of Islamism in Republican Turkey," 111-132.

¹⁰² Ferruh Bozbeyli, "Nurettin Topçu," *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 467-469.

As many Naqshbandi order members, Topçu was always politically active, not in political parties but in associations. One exception was his involvement in the foundation of the Justice Party (1961-1980) with Ali Fuat Başgil¹⁰³ which was a consequence of his opposition to the military intervention. The effects of this political party activity on Topçu are significant:

After the 1960 coup d'état, Topçu joined the ranks of the Justice Party. In the 1961 election, he was also a candidate in the constituency of Konya, but failed to be elected to the Senate. Soon after, in order to dedicate himself more fully to the business of propagating his Islamist and nationalist ideas, he abandoned politics altogether. He also condemned all the attempts to establish political parties on nationalist or religious values. Unlike Kısakürek, Topçu never knew what it felt like to come close to achieving real political power, not being in league with Erbakan's party or a major player in the nationalist party politics of the 1960's and 1970's. After 1964, he dropped out completely from the political scene out of disgust.¹⁰⁴

As a participant or organizer, he was active in various nationalist associations, sometimes as a leader and founder. Well-known organizations to cite are: Türk Kültür Ocağı (Turkish Cultural Hearts), Türk Milliyetçiler Cemiyeti (Association of Turkish Nationalists), Milliyetçiler Derneği (The Association of Nationalists), Türkiye Milliyetçiler Derneği (The Association of the Nationalists of Turkey), Milli Türk Talebe Birliği (Turkish National Student Union)¹⁰⁵ and Komünizmle Mücadele Derneği (Association for the Struggle Against Communism)¹⁰⁶. However, when Topçu started to express his ideas containing the concept and the word "socialism" directly, his relations with some of these associations deteriorated,¹⁰⁷ despite his

¹⁰³ Başgil has two articles published in *Hareket*.

¹⁰⁴ Guida, "The Founders of Islamism in Republican Turkey," 111-132.

¹⁰⁵ Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 35.

¹⁰⁶ Guida, "The Founders of Islamism in Republican Turkey," 111-132.

¹⁰⁷ Mustafa Kutlu, "Suya Hasret," *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 7-14.

intensive anti-communist writings and speeches.¹⁰⁸ His activities in these organizations which include countless public speeches, many pamphlets and books¹⁰⁹ support the image of a “public intellectual.” His writings were published in fifty one periodicals between the years 1939 and 1975.¹¹⁰

Topçu died on 10 July 1975 in İstanbul due to pancreatic cancer, an illness unfortunately diagnosed during a surgical operation just before his decease.¹¹¹ In this study, giving a survey of Topçu’s ideas is especially avoided since such an attempt is ambitious by nature and may result in giving an inevitably selective and probably oversimplified summary of his thoughts. Topçu’s writings are diverse in terms of research fields, and contain sophisticated and changing propositions in the course of time which cannot be accurately examined without specific contextualization and expertise. For the same reasons, his ideological or discursive categories were not specified, even if there exist many, relating Topçu’s thinking in its entirety.

¹⁰⁸ A note on history of socialism reconciling with Islam: “Before the Constitutional period of 1876, the ideas of socialism and communism were regarded negatively in the Turkish-language press on the grounds of irreligiosity and immorality. Interestingly, the term most often used, Collectivism (İştirakiyyet), then evoked the old Iranian Zoroastrian religion and was represented as partaking in the sexual promiscuity attributed to it. The sole exception to this generally hostile approach was the defence by Namık Kemal and his friends of the Paris Commune, which they had witnessed at first hand. In the aftermath of 1876, some Ottoman thinkers such as Şemseddin Sami Bey (of Albanian origin) and Sava Pasha (of Greek extraction) distinguished socialism from communism and claimed that the former could be reconciled with Islam.” Mete Tunçay, “In Lieu of a Conclusion,” in *Socialism and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1923*, ed. Mete Tunçay and Erik J. Zürcher (London; New York: British Academic Press in association with the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1994), 157-168.

¹⁰⁹ For a list of pamphlets and books, see Kara, *Nurettin Topçu: Hayatı ve Bibliyografyası*, 54-59.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 125.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 35.

2. *Hareket*: 1939-1982

Hareket was a journal published intermittently between 1939 and 1982, without the late Topçu after 1975. Its category as a periodical is clearly “a journal of ideas” (fikir mecmuası)¹¹² publishing primarily essays covering the domain of culture, academic articles in social sciences, political essays to a limited number, poems and short stories. The titles of the journal in different periods were “Action: Idea-Art” (Hareket: Fikir-Sanat) between February 1939 and May 1943; “Action: Idea-Ethics-Art” (Hareket: Fikir-Ahlak-Sanat) between March 1947 and June 1949; “Action: Monthly Political Journal” (Aylık Siyasi Mecmua) between December 1952 and January 1953; “Action: Monthly Journal of Ideas” (Hareket: Aylık Fikir Mecmuası) between February 1953 and June 1953; “Action in Art and Idea”¹¹³ (Fikir ve Sanatta Hareket) between January 1966 and March 1982.¹¹⁴

Unfortunately, existing literature dealt with does not provide a historiographical periodization of the journal. However, there are some simple-technical periodizations based on publishing intervals. The most precise among them seems to be the one made by Yusuf Turan Günaydın:¹¹⁵

¹¹² “‘Hareket’ gibi bir fikir mecmuasında gayri siyasi olması zaruri bir makede Atatürk devrinin ilmi hareketlerini, cemiyette müsbet zihniyeti yaratma bakımından münakaşa edemeyiz. Zira bu devirde ilim hareketlerine siyaset ve siyaset adamları da karışmıştır. İlim de bir siyaset olmuştur.” Cahit Okur, “Garplılaşma Hareketleri III,” *Hareket* (June 1949): 4-7. Toprak, “Fikir Dergiciliğinin Yüz Yılı,” 13-84. Ercan, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Fikir Dergiciliği*, 96-100.

¹¹³ The reason of this change was Ahmet Emin Yalman’s new newspaper “Hareket”. Erverdi, “Bir İzin Peşinde,” 63-89.

¹¹⁴ Yusuf Turan Günaydın, “Hareket Dergisi Dizini,” *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 561-635.

¹¹⁵ “Belirtmeliyiz ki Hareket’in V. dönemine kadar derginin jeneriğinde kaçınıcı dönem olduğu gösterilmemiştir. Dergi yönetiminin ilk 7 sayıdan sonra çıkan 5 sayıyı II. Dönem

- First period seven issues, February 1939-November 1939 (monthly);
- Second period five issues, December 1942-May 1943 (monthly);
- Third period twenty eight issues, March 1947-June 1949 (monthly);
- Fourth period seven issues, December 1952-June 1953 (monthly);
- Fifth period 111 issues, January 1966-March 1975 (monthly);
- Sixth period four issues, January-February-March 1976-October-March 1977 (quarterly);
- Seventh period twenty five issues, March 1979-March 1982 (monthly);

There are 187 issues and seven periods in total. Topçu was both officially and de facto, “owner” and “editor in chief” (sahibi ve umumi neşriyat müdürü/yazı işlerini fiilen idare eden) until June 1949. He was the “founder” (kurucusu/müessisi) until March 1982 and a sort of “external administrator” until his death 1975. From 1949 onwards, the journal was published by different people like Turgut Evren¹¹⁶, Ercüment Konukman, Ezel Erverdi.¹¹⁷ Ezel Erverdi’s Dergah Publishing House and *Dergah* journal¹¹⁸ are seen as a sort of successor to *Hareket* and its book publishing branch Hareket Publishing House: “In 1966, *Hareket* began republication after a fourteen-year hiatus. Under the new leadership of Ezel Erverdi, the journal also founded its own publishing house, Hareket Yayınları (Movement Press), which began printing longer manuscripts by Topçu and other writers from the original journal, as well as publishing Turkish

kabul ettiklerini 1966-1975 arasında çıkan 111 sayılı dönemin jeneriğine “V. Seri” kaydını koymalarından anlıyoruz. Dolayısıyla biz de bu kabule bağlı kalacağız.” Ibid.

¹¹⁶ As official “owner” and “editor in chief”, Evren published the journal between December 1952 and June 1953 in Ankara with support of Topçu. Birinci, “Hareket Mecmuası,” 107-115.

¹¹⁷ Erverdi, “Bir İzin Peşinde,” 63-89.

¹¹⁸ “25. Sayıda, yayına ara verileceği, bir gün –belki başka bir adla- neşriyata başlanabileceği belirtilmiştir. Hareket’in yayına ara vermesinden sekiz sene sonra, yayınevi sanat-edebiyat ağırlıklı Dergah dergisini yayınlamaya başlamıştır (ilk sayı, mart 1990).” D. Mehmet Doğan, “Nureddin Topçu’nun ‘Hareket’i,” *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 360-366.

translations of foreign right-wing philosophical texts. In 1977, the publishing house changed its name to Dergah Yayınları (Convent Press) and its scope from a financial venture to one dedicated to academic works. As the premier publishing house for the right-wing intelligentsia, Dergah's books were routinely assigned in university courses taught by the right-wing sympathizers in the 1970s and were influential in raising a new generation of the nationalist right."¹¹⁹

The real reasons behind interruptions of publishing were not clearly expressed in the journal.¹²⁰ The first period ended because of *Çalgıcılar* (which also caused Topçu's transfer to Vefa Lisesi), a short story by Topçu published in the fourth issue, as explained in the previous chapter. Because there was a call for subscribing to the journal in the last issue of the first period, it was probably an unexpected government intervention. What is interesting here is that according to Çiğdem Balım-Harding, *Hareket* was financed by the government: "The financial support for the journal came from the state which since 1929 was financing the publication of newspapers and journals in order to increase the use of the Latin alphabet and to aid literacy and no doubt also to spread the ideals of the Republic."¹²¹ Another interruption of the publishing about which there is an explained reason is the end of fifth period, which also caused transformation of Hareket Yayınları to Dergah Yayınları: Topçu complained about decreased

¹¹⁹ Döşemeci, *Debating Turkish Modernity*, 182. The first book published was Mehmet Kaplan, *Nesillerin Ruhü* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1967). Erverdi, "Bir İzin Peşinde," 63-89. Titles and authors of some books published by Hareket Publishing House according to the list in Muammer Kaddafi, *Görüşlerim* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1975), see Appendix VIII.

¹²⁰ See Appendix IX for notes on publishing periods of *Hareket*.

¹²¹ Balım-Harding, "Last of the Anatolian Nationalists," 1-18.

number of essays, increasing number of academic articles and a plethora of different/unknown contributors and as a result, Erverdi had to close both the journal and its book publishing branch.¹²²

Known contributors¹²³ of *Hareket* from Turkey include Mükrimin Halil Yımanç, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Süleyman Uludağ, Ali Nihat Tarlan, Ayhan Songar, Halit Refiğ, Yaşar Nuri Öztürk, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, Orhan Okay, Cemil Meriç, Mustafa Kara, İsmail Kara, Mehmet Kaplan, Ahmet Kabaklı, Ali Münif İslamoğlu, Emin Işık, Hüseyin Hatemi, Hasan Hüsrev Hatemi, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, Ali İhsan Göğüş, Ziyaeddin Fındıkoğlu, Gökhan Evliyaoğlu, Ahmet Debbaoğlu, İsmail Hami Danişmend, Ali Bulaç, Tarık Buğra, Hüseyin Batuhan, Ali Fuad Başgil, Beşir Ayvazoğlu, and Remzi Oğuz Arık.¹²⁴

Non-Turkish known writers whose translated texts published include Stefan Zweig, Oscar Wilde, Paul Valery, Austin Warren, René Wellek, Leo Tolstoy, Rabindranath Tagore, Jacques Prévert, Edgar Allen Poe, Blaise Pascal, Charles Péguy, Madame de Staël, Frederick Mayer, André Maurois, Jacques Maritain, Robert de Lamennais, Henri Lacordaire, Irving Kristol,

¹²² “[Topçu] 1975 Şubatı’nda beni eve çağırarak, *Hareket*’in yayınından memnun olmadığını, fikri tahlillerin azaldığını, araştırma/inceleme yazılarının ve farklı imzaların çoğaldığını söyledi. Dergi umulandan çok uzun ömürlü olmuştu, kapatalım dedi. (...) Neticede, biz Hoca ile birlikte yürüdüğümüz *Hareket* tecrübesinin son sayısını (111. Sayı) Mart 1975’te çıkarıp dergiyi kapattık (...) *Hareket* Yayınları’nın Dergah Yayınları’na dönüşmesinin sebebi de budur.” Erverdi, “Bir İzin Peşinde,” 63-89.

¹²³ Known pen names in the journal are: Osman Mert, Fevzi Namıkoğlu, İlhan Eraydın (Ezel Erverdi), Mehmet Kudret (Mehmet Doğan), Bekir Su (Muzaffer Civelek), A. Hacıyakupoğlu, Selim Yağmur (Mustafa Kutlu), Yavuz Emre (Mehmet Sılay), Ali Nurettin (Ali Birinci), Nizam Ahmet (Nurettin Topçu), Alp Samet (Mehmet Necati Büyükkurt, Sarı Mehmet), K. Domaniç (Mehmet Kaplan), Seyfi Kemahlı (Dursun Özer), L. Çataloğlu (Cemil Meriç), Mehmet Ünverdi (Emin Işık), Necati Güneyceli (İsmail Kara). Birinci, “*Hareket* Mecmuası,” 107-115.

¹²⁴ Yusuf Turan Günaydın, “*Hareket* Dergisi Dizini,” *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 561-635.

Karl Jaspers, Emmanuel Kant, Victor Hugo, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Ernest Hocking, André Gide, Mahatma Gandhi, Will Durant, Georges Duhamel, Miguel de Unamuno, Anton Chekhov, Paul Claudel, Julien Benda, Charles Baudelaire, and Raymond Aron.¹²⁵

It is really very difficult to give an ideological or discursive outline of the entire collection which consists of 187 issues containing hundreds of pages written by dozens of contributors between 1939 and 1982, a timespan of political, social economic and cultural ruptures-transitions in Turkish history. Even the “paratextual” elements (epigraphs, cover art etc.) and advertisements can/should be subject of a separate study. Nevertheless, it can be argued at least that the journal was Anatolianist for its entire life.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ “Hareket (1939-1982) mecmuası, irtihaline kadar kurucusu Nurettin Topçu’nun (1909-11 Temmuz 1975) fikri muhteva bakımından damgasını taşımıştır. Ruhçu (mistik), cemaatçi (toplumcu, sosyalist) ve Anadoluçu tavrını ise bütün neşir (1939-1983) hayatı boyunca muhafaza etmiştir.” Birinci, “Hareket Mecmuası,” 107-115.

Part III

1. Anatolianism: A Version of Turkish Nationalism

Anatolianism (Anadoluculuk) is, in very basic terms, the version of Turkish nationalism centered on the idea of a homeland limited to Anatolia.¹²⁷ Its development/emergence at the beginning of the 20th century is often explained as an ideological reaction to Islamism, Ottomanism and Turkism¹²⁸ because of its background in the 19th century of the Ottoman Empire. However, it is difficult to define Anatolianism with regard to categories of “three competing ideologies” (or four, with “Westernism”) because “such a description fails to bring to life the reality of the debates, which were much more multi-faceted.”¹²⁹ In that period, “[...] the ideological currents were not mutually exclusive [...] many Young Turks

¹²⁷ It should be noted that Blue Anatolianism (Mavi Anadoluculuk) movement that emerged/developped at the end of 1950s has some common themes with Anatolianism but has no connection with it. Seçil Deren, “Türk Siyasal Düşüncesinde Anadolu İmgesi,” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekinil (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008), 533-540. However, Özlem Bülbül claims that Blue Anatolianism is the third intellectual wave of the Anatolianism between 1955 and 1960. In her view, the journals *Anadolu* and *Anadolu Mecmuası* between 1919 and 1925 represent the first wave and the decades of 1930s and 1940s constitute the second. Özlem Bülbül, “Remzi Oğuz Arık and Cultural Nationalism in Turkey” (master’s thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2006), 37.

¹²⁸ Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (İstanbul: Ülken Yayınları, 1979), 470. Mithat Atabay, “Anadoluculuk,” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasal Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekinil (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008), 515-532. Ahmet Pakiç, “Anadolucu Söylemde Öteki İmgesi,” *Spectrum: Journal of Global Studies* 4, Special Issue (Autumn 2012): 117-135. Köksal Alver, “Anadoluculuk ve Nurettin Topçu,” *Hece*, no. 109 (January 2006): 258-265. Özlem Bülbül, “Remzi Oğuz Arık and Cultural Nationalism,” 37. Examples supporting this idea are found in *Hareket*, for instance: “(...) memleket çocuğu zaman zaman İslamcılık, Osmanlılık, Türkçülük gibi yabancı sevdalar peşinde koşmaktan yorulmuş (...) İslamcılar, bir memleket çocuğunu yetiştiren emek ve toprağın hakkını nasıl inkar ettiler? (...) Osmanlılık, bir millet tarihini ve bir halkın mukadderatını bir hanedanın azamet ve şerefi bahasına çok ucuz satın alınır sanıyordu. (...) Türkçülüğe gelince, bu ülkünün daha hareket noktası çürüktü. Türkçüler, soyu milletle karıştırıyorlardı.” Nurettin Topçu, “Bizde Milliyet Hareketleri,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 74-79. There is also vagueness in some of the writings about this matter: “İslamcılık dünün en kuvvetli seciyesi ve en yüksek ülküsü idi. Bugünkü Türkçülük ne ise dünkü islamcılıkta o idi. Esasen islamcılık Osmanlı Türklerinin milli mefkuresi idi.” Ali Münif İslamoğlu, “Mehmet Akif,” *Hareket* (February 1943): 267-269.

¹²⁹ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 127-128.

rationally supported the idea of Ottomanism, were emotionally attached to a romantic pan-Turkish nationalism and were devout Muslims at the same time.”¹³⁰ Therefore, instead of locating and defining Anatolianism by focusing on dominant ideological currents of the late Ottoman period, or on the dynamic and eclectic official ideology of early Turkish Republic¹³¹, I would try to give an explanation by focusing on changing meanings of “Anatolia” from a basic geographical term to a concept of “homeland”,¹³² which is the core of Anatolianism, and on the periodicals supporting this view.

“The term *vatan*, fatherland, had had a chequered history in modern Turkey. In the mid-nineteenth century, according to Cevdet Paşa, it would have meant, to a Turkish soldier, no more than the village square; by the late nineteenth century, to Namık Kemal, it suggested the whole Ottoman Empire, including-perhaps especially-the Holy Cities of Arabia. For the pan-Turkist Ziya Gökalp in 1911, it was neither Turkey nor Turkistan but the vast land of Turan. Yet as late as August 1917, the Grand Vizier Mehmed Said Halim Paşa could still firmly assert that ‘the fatherland of a Muslim is the place where *Şeriat* prevails.’”¹³³ Thus, Anatolia the

¹³⁰ Ibid, 127-128.

¹³¹ "Official Turkish nationalism was an eclectic amalgam of three elements-ethnicity, history cum language, and territoriality, all vaguely defined and subject to modification in time by the pragmatic needs of the day." Karaömerlioğlu, "The Role of Religion and Geography," 93-110. "One of the striking features of the very early days of the Kemalist regime is the lack of any clear definition of Turkish nationality." Frank Tachau, "The Search for National Identity Among the Turks," *Die Welt des Islams* 8, no. 3 (1963):165-176.

¹³² Rezmî Oğuz Arık's book *Coğrafyadan Vatana* (From Land to Homeland) is a known example of this view and Subchapter 2.a. of Part III, "From "Land" to "Homeland"" of this thesis is named after it: Rezmî Oğuz Arık, *Coğrafyadan Vatana* (İstanbul: M.E.B., 1969).

¹³³ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 358.

birthplace, a major source of revenue and manpower for the Empire, was not attached to the concept of homeland (vatan) for Ottomans for a long time.¹³⁴ However, as early as in 1822, it is possible to find the idea of retreating to Anatolia as a solution to the dangers threatening the Empire, as proposed by Akif Efendi: “The Muslims must choose between three resolutions: either, faithful to the command of God and the law of Muhammad, we must, regardless of our property and our lives, defend to the last what provinces we still retain; or we must leave them and withdraw to Anatolia; or finally-which God forbid-we shall follow the example of the peoples of Crimea, India, and Kazan and be reduced to slavery. In fine, what I have to say can be reduced to this: in the name of the faith of Muhammad and the law of Ahmed, let us proclaim the Holy War and let us not cede an inch of our territory.”¹³⁵

At the end of the 19th century, a special emphasis on Anatolia and Anatolians was placed to an extent. One of the first manifestations of this new attitude was the particular concern for “Turks of Anatolia” during the drought which had devastating results in the region in 1872.¹³⁶ The press underlined importance of Anatolians for the Empire and called for help. In the Hamidian era, the necessity of social, economic and educational development for the region was expressed and, an essentially Turkish character was started to be attributed to Anatolia, probably first commenced

¹³⁴ David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908* (London; Totowa, N.J.: Cass, 1977), 50.

¹³⁵ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 325.

¹³⁶ David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908* (London; Totowa, N.J.: Cass, 1977), 51.

with Şemsettin Sami's efforts. At the end of the Abdülhamit II's rule, Anatolia was strongly "identified with the concept of a Turkish homeland."¹³⁷

During the Young Turk era, irredentist ideas were dominant in the Ottoman Empire. But towards the end of the First World War, re-shaped concepts of homeland with new territorial understandings resulted in non-irredentist thoughts. These new concepts of homeland giving birth to new identity perceptions started to re-form Turkish nationalisms. In this context, according to Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "Anatolianism emerged to counter the official interpretations of identity politics the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) advocated"; "[...] in particular, objections were raised against Ziya Gökalp who represented the CUP in ideological matters."¹³⁸ According to Frank Tachau, "Anatolianism" as a concept was used for the first time by Halide Edip in 1918.¹³⁹ However, it is very difficult to precise chronological start point for the Anatolianist ideology. The origins of Anatolianist nationalism were evident in the writings of some intellectuals as early as the 1910s; for instance, articles published in Nüzhet Sabit's journal *Vazife* in 1911 and writings of Musa Kazım, Mehmet Şemsettin

¹³⁷ Ibid, 51-54.

¹³⁸ Karaömerlioğlu, "The Role of Religion and Geography," 93-110.

¹³⁹ Frank Tachau, "The Search for National Identity Among the Turks," *Die Welt des Islams* 8, no. 3 (1963):165-176.

(Günaltay) and Halim Samit in 1913.¹⁴⁰ However, Remzi Oğuz Arık, an eminent Anatolianist of the future, was expressing Turanist ideas in 1917.¹⁴¹

Following the occupation of Anatolia at the end of the First World War and “Turkish War of Independence,” the establishment of the Republic of Turkey deeply affected Turkish nationalisms because it was a landmark of territorial definition, imposing a concept of homeland. “For the leaders of the new post-Ottoman state, the re-territorialization of the area within the borders defined by the so-called Misak-i Milli (specifically, a National Pact dated 1920) had to be constituted through the political principle of republicanism. The idea was implicit in the constitution of 1921, although not in its name.”¹⁴² In the first years of this decade, “Anatolia” was renamed “Turkey” as the homeland and the state:

“[...] the 1920s, was as liberal as it was turbulent, turbulent in that the whole decade was determined by the transition from a multi-ethnic empire spread over three continents to a nation-state reduced to Anatolia and a small portion of the Balkan peninsula. Geography adopted, within this formative environment, a constructive role. The loss of massive amounts of territory with the dismantling of the Empire and the threat imposed by the Treaty of Sèvres were, through the imagery of national cartographic perceptions, in other words, the frontiers appropriated by the *Misak-i Milli*, renamed as a geographic victory. [...] the early years of the Republic witnessed a contest between two names: “Anatolia” vs. “Turkey.” Although “Anatolia” referred to the territorial delimitation of the nation-state and was one the founding elements of the nationalist discourse, “Turkey” was chosen as the name of the new state. This preference meant, as a matter of fact, a renaming of Anatolia. Through the adoption of “Turkey” as the name of the country, the historical geography

¹⁴⁰ Karaömerlioğlu, “The Role of Religion and Geography,” 93-110.

¹⁴¹ “Sancağıma bütün dünya bir kurban/Sancağıma ülke: Bütün bir Turan!.”: The last verses of a poem by Arık, published in *Türk Yurdu*, in 1917. Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP'de Sağ Kanat*, 38.

¹⁴² Ayşegül Baykan and Roland Robertson, “Spatializing Turkey,” in *Identity, Culture, and Globalization*, ed. Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Yitzak Sternberg (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 177-192.

of Anatolia was rewritten to the detriment of the peninsula's ethnic diversity.”¹⁴³

In 1920s, Anatolianism was systemized particularly through periodicals: *Dergah* (1921-1923, forty two issues) and *Anadolu* (1924-1925, twelve issues). *Dergah*, a journal of ideas, art and literature (fikir, sanat ve edebiyat dergisi) was published by Yahya Kemal Beyatlı's initiatives and managed by Mustafa Nihat Özön. *Dergah* also published a book named *Göl Saatleri*, which was a collection of poems by Ahmet Haşim. Contributors of the journal were from various ideological backgrounds but had two common aims: supporting the “National Struggle” and opposing the Gökalpian sociology and positivism.¹⁴⁴ Some of the known contributors were: Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu¹⁴⁵, Mustafa Şekip Tunç, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Ahmet Haşim, Falih Rıfkı Atay, Halide Edip Adivar, Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, Mustafa Nihat Özön, Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, Fevzi Lütfi Karaosmanoğlu, Ahmet Kutsi Tecer, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Ali Mümtaz Arolat, Kemalettin Kamu, Şükûfe Nihal Başar, Hasan Âli Yücel, Nurullah Ataç and Samih Rifat.¹⁴⁶ These figures, in accordance with their support for the “National Struggle” and opposition to the Gökalpian sociology and positivism, represented a sort of

¹⁴³ Hande Özkan, “The History of Geographical Perceptions in the Turkish Republic: a Spatial Interpretation of the Republican Regime During the Single-Party Era” (master's thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2002), 111-113.

¹⁴⁴ Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP'de Sağ Kanat*, 63-65, 76.

¹⁴⁵ Yakup Kadri narrates his meeting with Hasan Âli Yücel through *Dergah*: (...) Fevzi Lütfü [Karaosmanoğlu; Yakup Kadri'nin akrabası siyasetçi] ile beraber *Dergah* diye bir mecmua çıkarıyordum. O mecmuada yazı yazmaya başladı. Birçok gençler de vardı. Fakat bütün gençlerin yazdığı yazılar içinde en ziyade hoşuma giden Hasan-Âli'nin felsefi bir yazısı oldu. Ve kendisini görüp tanımak istedim.” Canan Yücel Eronat, ed., *Yakup Kadri'den Hasan-Âli Yücel'e Mektuplar* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), 17.

¹⁴⁶ Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP'de Sağ Kanat*, 64.

“Turkish Bergsonism” (Türk Bergsonculuğu) in *Dergah*. For example, Bergsonian concept *élan vital* (vital impetus) was used to describe the “National Struggle.” Christian, Islamic and profane/non-religious mystical themes were frequent in the journal.¹⁴⁷

Hilmi Ziya Ülken, a founder of Anatolianism and *Anadolu* journal, says that the origins of the ideology (known also as “memleketçilik”) can be found in “küçük Türkçülük” or “Türkiyecilik” current which started in 1917 against “büyük Türkçülük” within Turkish Hearts (Türk Ocakları).¹⁴⁸ According to Ülken, two years later, in 1919, a new cultural movement was born in Mülkiye Mektebi which was putting Anatolia as the real source of Turkish culture, with his inspirations from Henri Lichtenberger’s *Richard Wagner, Poète et Penseur*. He published a journal named *Anadolu* (twelve handwritten issues) with Reşat Kayı between 1918 and 1919 and wrote the book named *Anadolunun Bugünkü Vazifeleri* in 1919, though it was not published but copied and read by students. According to Ülken, Mükrimin Halil Yınanç became a leader of this cultural movement and made it semi-political and eventually presenting it as a new ideology among academic circles.¹⁴⁹ Despite this separate branch within the movement, as graduates, Ülken and his friends founded Anadolu publishing company¹⁵⁰ in 1924 and started to publish *Anadolu Mecmuası*. “Figures of the older generation” like

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 65-67.

¹⁴⁸ Ülken, *Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 470.

¹⁴⁹ Ülken, *Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 471.

¹⁵⁰ Mehmet Halit wrote in the last issue of the journal: “Anadolu Komandit Neşriyat Şirketi, bir ticaret müessesesi değildir. Bu şirket, münhasıran Anadolu Mecmuasını çıkarmak, Anadolu edebiyatına, Anadolu tarihine, Anadolu coğrafyasına, hasılı Anadolu’ya taalluk eden ilmi, edebi, fenni, iktisadi hususata dair kitap halinde neşriyat yapmak arzusuyla kuruldu.” Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP’de Sağ Kanat*, 77.

Ahmet Refik, Rauf Yekta, Hamit Sadi, Necip Asım, Mehmet Emin contributed to the journal. “[...] according to Ziyaeddin Fahri, one of the contributors, the real problem was the lack of a national culture (and its scientific and philosophical formulations) deriving from Anatolia. His claim was that, the concept of culture (*hars*) of the group of Turks, as formulated by the famous Ziya Gökalp, was not acceptable, since it defied the complexity of cultures as found in Anatolia. He emphasized the need for a ‘national’ culture which would unite all minorities and ethnic groups in the body of the (Anatolian) nation.”¹⁵¹ *Anadolu Mecmuası*, aiming to be involved in development a national identity after the establishment of the Republic,¹⁵² was published by the contributions of many intellectuals including Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Ahmet Refik Altınay, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Necip Asım Yazıksız, Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Reşat Şemsettin Sirer, Rıza Nur and Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel. The journal advocated the idea of “Anatolianist history,” a history of Anatolia starting in 1071 by the Battle of Manzikert.¹⁵³ According to this view, “innocent” and “mistreated” Anatolia was colonized by the “non-Turkish” Ottoman Empire after 1453; however the pre-1453 Ottoman period, Seljuk rule and the Republican era were portrayed in favor of Anatolia.¹⁵⁴

Both the concept of Anatolia and Anatolianism were elaborately expressed and had a strong intellectual basis in 1920s. Even the Turkish

¹⁵¹ Ayşegül Baykan and Roland Robertson, “Spatializing Turkey,” 177-192.

¹⁵² Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP'de Sağ Kanat*, 79.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 80-86.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 98-102.

Hearts who were “considered as the foyers of Pan-Turkist aspirations” changed their position in such a way that “the actual interest area of the Turkish Hearts [was] restricted within the borders of the Turkish Republic” in 1927.¹⁵⁵ Anatolianism was developed and further spread in 1930s and 1940s through journals *Dönüm* (1932-1936, 1939-1940, fifty six issues), *Millet* (1942-1944, twenty four issues), *Hareket* (1939, 1942-1943, 1947-1949, fourty issues) and *Dikmen* (1941-1945, fourty four issues).

Dönüm (1932-1936, 1939-1940) was published by scientists from Ankara Institute of Advanced Studies in Agriculture (Ankara Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü), probably “as an opposition to *Kadro*¹⁵⁶ which was trying to formulate the ideology of Kemalist Revolution.”¹⁵⁷ Its editor in chief was Dr. Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu who later became a professor of agriculture, a Republican People’s Party MP (1940-1950) and the minister of education (1942-1946), the minister of agriculture (1962-1963) and the founder of the Reliance Party (Güven Partisi) in 1967.¹⁵⁸ Dr. Şevket Raşit and scientists around him were known as “Anadolucular Grubu” within the institute. Publishers of *Dönüm* defined themselves as “memleketçi”.¹⁵⁹ The name of the journal meant “acre” and “turning/returning”, referring to the idea of returning to Anatolian/native agriculture in opposition to modern/western agriculture.¹⁶⁰ The contributors of *Dönüm* advocated “Homeland

¹⁵⁵ Hande Özkan, “The History of Geographical Perceptions,” 19.

¹⁵⁶ For a short note on *Kadro* and Anatolianists, see İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü: Kadrocular ve Kadro’yu Anlamak* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), 495.

¹⁵⁷ Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP’de Sağ Kanat*, 121-122.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 121.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 122.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 122, 123.

Scientism/Native Science” (“Memleket İlimciliği/Yerli İlim”, an idea which was based on a distinction of “universal science” and “native science” which seemed to be associated with Gökalpian “medeniyet” [civilization] and “hars” [culture] concepts¹⁶¹). They supported a limited industry based on agriculture with selective technical advancement appropriate to the Anatolian land.¹⁶² They portrayed a holy Anatolia colonized by the Ottomans¹⁶³ and criticized the so-called “official peasantism” of the Turkish Republic.¹⁶⁴

Remzi Oğuz Arık who started to write regularly about villages and peasants in *Dönüm*¹⁶⁵ was the chief editor of *Millet* (1942-1944). He was described as one of the two major Anatolianist thinkers with Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu by Hilmi Ziya Ülken.¹⁶⁶ *Millet* was a “science-idea-art journal” (ilim-fikir-sanat mecmuası) containing essays, poems, short stories, proverbs, folklore studies.¹⁶⁷ Some of the contributors of *Millet* were future MPs and ministers of Republican People’s Party and Democrat Party. Some of the famous contributors included Remzi Oğuz Arık, Hüseyin Avni Göktürk, Mümtaz Türhan, Sedat Çumralı, Osman Atilla, Cahit Okurer, Nüzhet Sakir Dirisu, Turgut Evren, Fethi Çelikbaş, Sait Tahsin Tekeli, Suat Seren, Ceyhun Atıf Kansu, Sadi Irmak, Nihat Erim, Mehmet Kaplan, Hamdi Akverdi, Behçet Kemal Çağlar, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Samet Ağaoğlu, Osman Turan, Kerim Yund, Mehmet Halit Bayrı, Tahsin Tola,

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 123.

¹⁶² Ibid, 134-139.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 132-134.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 125.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 151.

¹⁶⁶ Ülken, *Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 475-480.

¹⁶⁷ Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP’de Sağ Kanat*, 153.

Tahsin Banguoğlu ve Tahir Aktan.¹⁶⁸ “Technical progress,” in the journal, “westernization,” “alienation from native culture” were criticized and the need for “preserving national identity,” a “balance between native and western values,” and a “search for Anatolian cultural treasures” were specifically expressed.¹⁶⁹

Dikmen (1941-1945) “biweekly journal of ideas, literature and art” (onbeş günlük edebiyat, fikir ve sanat mecmuası) was owned and managed by Abidin Mümtaz Kısakürek. Its major contributors were Sadi Ertem, Ercüment Behzat, Osman Atilla, Füzuan Hüsrev Tökin, Ziya İlhan, Kemal Zeki Gençosman, Murat Sertoğlu, Behçet Kemal Çağlar, Behçet Bağdatlıoğlu, Kemal Edip Ünsel, Orhan Sunar, Şevki Ayaç, Arif Nihat Asya and Oğuz Peltek. Writings of Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, Oktay Akbal and Yaşar Kemal (K. Sadık Göğceli) were also published. They defined themselves as “[...] Anatolianists. We were born in Anatolia. We will die in Anatolia.” They supported the one party rule from a Kemalist perspective. According to Kemal Edip Ünsel, the writer of ‘Qur’an Verses in Pure Turkish’ published in the journal, the sign of the contributors of *Dikmen* was the Six Arrows [of Republican People’s Party].”¹⁷⁰ Even the name of the journal was referring to Dikmen ridges where Mustafa Kemal reached Ankara during the “National Struggle.”¹⁷¹ Dichotomies of “foreigner-native” (yabancı-yerli), “urban-rural”(kent-köy), “intellectual elite-people” (münevver-halk) were dominant in *Dikmen*. Peasants and village life were

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 154.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 155-159.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 193-194.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 194-195.

dignified and the Ottoman Empire's rural policy in Anatolia were strongly criticized.¹⁷²

Metin Çınar mentions recurring Anatolianist themes in two periodicals that are not known as Anatolianist: *Bizim Türkiye* (1948-1949, 1949-1951) which was qualified by Topçu as the “advocator of the same cause as *Hareket*” (*Hareket* ile aynı davayı güden) and *Çığır* (1933-1948).¹⁷³ Because *Hareket* is the subject of this study, it is not treated here but it should be noted that Çınar situates Nurettin Topçu and his *Hareket* within the Anatolianist movement underlining the exceptional opposition to Kemalist revolutions, intense Islamic elements¹⁷⁴ and most importantly, lack of cooperation with one-party-rule unlike the others.¹⁷⁵ The Anatolianists who supported the establishment of the nation state from the beginning were not elected to the second Grand National Assembly but held positions in academia and bureaucracy by cooperating with the one-party-rule, published journals (by closing them without government intervention when it was “necessary,” as was the case with *Anadolu Mecmuası* after Takrir-i Sükun and *Millet* after the trials of Irkçılık-Turancılık¹⁷⁶). They returned to the party in 1940s. Many Anatolianists won seats in 1943 by the efforts of Mahmut Şevkat Esendal. 139 out of 455 members were elected for the first time and the contributors of *Anadolu Mecmuası*, *Dönüm*, *Çığır*, *Millet* and

¹⁷² Ibid, 197.

¹⁷³ Ibid, 204.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 190-193.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 219.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 270.

Dikmen were among them.¹⁷⁷ Remzi Oğuz Arık was writing about a group of “twenty five young and brilliant members” who would later be known as “Anadolucu Grup,” “Hatipoğlu Grubu” (Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu) and “Sirer Grubu”(Reşat Şemsettin Sirer).¹⁷⁸ The Anatolianists played a critical role in balancing Racist-Turanist (Irkçı-Turancı) current¹⁷⁹ during the Second World War and anti-communist policies after the war.¹⁸⁰ They were more powerful in the assembly of 1946 in the parliament when the right wing of the Republican People’s Party was dominant.¹⁸¹ Representing the right wing of the party, they supported their ideas for a long time even after 1950s.¹⁸²

In the first years of the 1950s, “Anatolianism played a consolidating role in Turkish nationalist-conservatism and the Anatolianists were leaders in the nationalist organizations. Vis-à-vis rising Islamism, anti-communist hysteria, demand for industrialization and technology, Anatolianism faded within “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” which became dominant in nationalist-conservative right.”¹⁸³ However, Nurettin Topçu was “the last of the Anatolian nationalists” until his death in 1975 as the very title of the article by Çiğdem Balım-Harding suggests.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 247.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 274.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 249-250.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 254-255.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 253.

¹⁸² Ibid, 268.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 274.

¹⁸⁴ Balım-Harding, “Last of the Anatolian Nationalists,” 1-18.

2. Textual Analysis

2. a. From “Land” to “Homeland”: Anatolia

In Chapter 1 of Part III, “Anatolianism: A Version of Turkish Nationalism,” Anatolianism is explained by focusing on changing meanings of “Anatolia” which is argued to be the core of this version of Turkish nationalism from a basic geographical term to a concept of homeland. As an example for the central role of the geographical visions in nationalisms, the case of *Megali Idea*, “the dominant concept of Greek official ideology from 1844 until at least 1922,” is studied by Anastasia Stouraiti and Alexander Kazamias.¹⁸⁵ To show the complex variability of national territory, they underline a process of geographical entity construction shaped by “the forces of *external resistance*, which have obliged many nations to revise, negotiate or abandon parts of their originally imagined territorial space” and “the varying levels of power and the diverse strategic choices among the different agencies leading the nation-building process (the national liberation movement in pre-independence cases or the state after independence).” As for the Turkish nationalism, the official and eventual result of this complex process was the boundaries defined by the Lausanne Treaty signed in 1923. The “Turkey” established by the Lausanne Treaty became almost a synonym for “Anatolia,” the ultimate homeland for Anatolianists. Burhanettin Duran and Cemil Aydın qualify Topçu as “a Post-Lausanne Treaty Islamist who focuses on a religiously homogenized

¹⁸⁵ Anastasia Stouraiti and Alexander Kazamias, “The Imaginary Topographies of the Megali Idea: National Territory as Utopia,” in *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey*, ed. Çağlar Keyder, Thalia Dragonas and Nikiforos Diamandouros (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010), 11-34.

Anatolia as his base to formulate a new combination of nationalism and Islam.”¹⁸⁶ This subchapter aims to inquire elements fitting to this “Post-Lausanne Treaty” concept of homeland, thus geographical/territorial aspects of Anatolianist nationalism in the first decade of *Hareket*.

As argued in Subchapter 2.c. of Part III, “The ‘Anatolian’ and the ‘Other,’” geography/territoriality¹⁸⁷ is so important in the first decade of *Hareket* that it distinguishes “Muslim Anatolian Turks” from “Turks of the Central Asia” and “non-Turk Muslims.” According to Mehmet Kaplan, “our nationality is the product of our territory, history and race”¹⁸⁸ and “the nation is created by history and territory.”¹⁸⁹ Kaplan argues that “forceful and continuous influence of territory on lives of nations is a fact, studied and accepted by scientists” and “territory affects industrial, economic, commercial, political and cultural lives of nations”.¹⁹⁰ Therefore, “it is natural that a positive nationalism accepts it as a base, a sacred homeland concept and a source of national development.” In his article “Geography/Territory of Literature” Kaplan also explains the effects of geography/territory on nations and their literatures quoting from Halide

¹⁸⁶ Duran and Aydın, “Competing Occidentalisms of Modern Islamist Thought,” 479–500.

¹⁸⁷ The word “geography” (coğrafya) is used as a synonym of “land” or “territory” in Turkish. For example, “Coğrafya veya toprak denilen bu unsur.” Nurettin Topçu, “Millette İrade,” *Hareket* (May 1948): 6-7.

¹⁸⁸ “Milliyetimiz coğrafyamızın, tarihimizin ve ırkımızın eseridir.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Milliyetçiliğe Dair,” *Hareket* (January 1948): 2-3.

¹⁸⁹ “Milleti tarih ve coğrafya yaratır”. Mehmet Kaplan, “Millet ve Milli Şuur,” *Hareket* (August 1948): 2-4.

¹⁹⁰ “Bu yeni milliyetçilik anlayışı, her şeyden önce kendisine müsbet bir temel olarak Türkiye coğrafyasını alıyor. Coğrafyanın milletlerin hayatı üzerindeki zorlu ve sürekli tesiri ilim alemince kabul ve tetkik edilmiş bir gerçektir. Coğrafya milletlerin sanayi, iktisadi, ticari, siyasi ve harsi hayatı üzerinde en mühim rolü oynar. Binaenalaeyh müsbet bir milliyetçilik anlayışının coğrafyayı temel yapması, onu hem mukaddes bir vatan mefhumu, hem de milli gelişmenin bir kaynağı olarak kabul etmesi gayet tabiidir.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Yeni Türk Milliyetçiliği,” *Hareket* (October 1947): 2-4.

Edip¹⁹¹ and in another article named “History and Geography/Territory in Yahya Kemal’s Thoughts,” he gives Jules Michelet’s sentence, “French nation was created by the French territory in one thousand years” (Fransız toprağı bin senede Fransız milletini yarattı), a sentence frequently repeated by Yahya Kemal.¹⁹²

Nurettin Topçu accentuates the importance of national territory by making an analogy with the human body and writes about "the body of the nation which consists of land (coğrafya) and history."¹⁹³ In another article, he argues that "the national land is called the homeland. It is the most solid reality on which the nation stands. This element which is called the geography or the land is like the backbone or the skeleton of the national body."¹⁹⁴ Topçu, expressing major constituents of a nation, gives special emphasis to territory and history: "The character of a nation cannot be explained by one factor but by many. These factors include the body of historical circumstances (tarihi kaderler) that covers the period between the early origins of a nation and the stage of nation building (millet halinde kuruluş) as well as territorial and economic causes. What forms the character of a nation is the essence of its races, the historical actions and the ways of life in accordance with the land."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Mehmet Kaplan, “Edebiyat Coğrafyası,” *Hareket* (May 1948): 2-3.

¹⁹² Mehmet Kaplan, “Yahya Kemal’de Tarih ve Coğrafya Fikri,” *Hareket* (June 1948): 2-4.

¹⁹³ “coğrafya ve tarihten meydana gelen millet vücudu.” Nurettin Topçu, “Millet Ruhu ve Milli Mukeddesat,” *Hareket* (June 1948): 4-6.

¹⁹⁴ “Milli coğrafyaya vatan deniliyor. Bu, milletin dayandığı en esaslı realitedir. Coğrafya veya toprak denilen bu unsur, sanki milli vücudun belkemiğidir, iskeletidir.” Nurettin Topçu, “Millette İrade,” *Hareket* (May 1948): 6-7.

¹⁹⁵ “Bir milletin seciyesini, ruhi yapısını izah eden sebepler bir değil bir çoktur. Bunlar o milletin kaynaklarından millet halinde kuruluşuna kadar geçirdiği tarihi kaderler, coğrafi ve

Ali Fuat Başgil says that humans are the children of the ground and the climate. He argues that geographical features influence individuals, society and state both physically and spiritually.¹⁹⁶ According to Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "the nation is, first and foremost, based on a homeland whose borders are defined within the limits of history. The homeland is the opinion of a society translated into territorial ground."¹⁹⁷

According to Topçu, what makes Anatolia unique as a national territory is particularly a sedentary life and an agricultural production: "The custom of realistic wisdom and moral (şeniyetçi bir hikmet ve ahlak ananesi) that the Chinese and Anatolian peasants have, comes from these two nations' tie to the land and their agricultural activities. These two nations are the best examples of the permanent and unchanging character special to farmer nations (çiftçi kavimlere mahsus sürekli ve değişmez seciye örneği)."¹⁹⁸ Topçu praises Hittites for the development of agricultural production in Anatolia and even qualifies them as the first ancestors of today's Anatolians.¹⁹⁹ Topçu describes Hittites as faithful,²⁰⁰ as opposed to

iktisadi sebeplerdir. (...) bir milletin seciyesini yaratan onun soylarının özü hem de o milletin tarihi hareketleri ve coğrafi yaşayışlarıdır." Nurettin Topçu, "Benliğimiz," *Hareket* (May 1939): 112-120.

¹⁹⁶ Ali Fuat Başgil, "Müsbet Milliyetçilik," *Hareket* (September 1948): 5-6.

¹⁹⁷ "Millet her şeyden önce sınırları tarih içinde çizilmiş olan bir Vatan'a dayanır. Vatan coğrafi bir zemine çevrilmiş olan içtimai bir kanaattir." Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Millet," *Hareket* (May 1949): 2-3.

¹⁹⁸ Nurettin Topçu, "Bizde Milliyet Hareketleri," *Hareket* (April 1939): 74-79.

¹⁹⁹ "Anadoluda kuvvetli bir ziraat iktidasını hazırlayan Eti çocukları bugünkü Anadolu köylüsünün ilk cedleridir." Nurettin Topçu, "Bizde Milliyet Hareketleri," *Hareket* (April 1939): 74-79. "...Anadoluda yaşayan Eti halkına gelince, bunlar Türkmen gibi göçebe ve tüccar değil, toprağa bağlı ve çiftçi idiler. İlerlemiş bir ziraat tekniğine sahiptiler. Toprakla kanlarını karıştırmışlardı. (...) gelen Türkmenler Anadoluda medeniyetler kurmuş olan Etilerin çocuklarıyla kaynaşmışlar hepsi onların tekniklerini temsil etmişlerdir. (...) biz Eti köylüsü değil, İslamla yeniden doğan bir Anadolu köylüsünü bizim tarihimizin öz malı olarak tanıyoruz. Anadoluya İslamın girmesi milli tarihimizin başladığını müjdeliyordu. Yalnız Anadoluda köylü halk vardı, Anadolu köyküsünün ilk cedleri Eti köylüsü oldu. Bu

Hellenes²⁰¹ who were portrayed as hedonist and unfaithful traders (thus, non-farmers). Therefore, Topçu, by omitting peoples of Anatolia like Armenians and criticizing Hellenes so hardly, acknowledges only Hittites for the inherited agricultural activity, which was a vital element of the nation in his thought.

As a result of this stress on agricultural production inherited in Anatolia, villages are considered the ultimate living territories based on a dichotomy between the rural and the urban.²⁰² According to Mehmet Kaplan, “Oguzes who emigrated from the Central Asia had a new identity shaped by the land and the climate of Anatolia”²⁰³ which “means essentially villages and towns; what supports Anatolia is the peasants and the town folk.”²⁰⁴ In his vantage point, Anatolian peasants and town people are

köylü toprağa bağlı insanın bütün tekniğini Eti köylüsünün elinde hazırlanmış buldu. Anadolu toprağının coğrafyasını asırların içinde Eti medeniyeti işlemiştir, bu alemde Etiler bir iktisadın temellerini kurmuşlardır.” Nurettin Topçu, “Benliğimiz,” *Hareket* (May 1939): 112-120. “Bin yıllık tarihi olan Anadolu milleti, İslam dini ile Eti ekonomisinin, her ikisinde Asyalı olan kuvvetlerin çocuğudur. Soyumuz Asyanın olduğu gibi ahlakımız, ekonomimiz de Asyanın namuskar eseridirler.” Nurettin Topçu, “Avrupa,” *Hareket* (February 1943): 257-261.

²⁰⁰ “Eti çocuğu ulu Tanrıya el kaldırıyordu.” Nurettin Topçu, “Bizde Milliyet Hareketleri,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 74-79.

²⁰¹ “Bu vatanda Elen nesilleri, toprağa bağlı halkın ruhi kıymetlerini tüccar milletlerin süreksiz ve renksiz seciyesiyle zehirledi. (...) Elen nesli bu topraklarda, şarap ve sarhoşluğun, şuarsuzluğun, ve insan etlerini kımıldatan mestlikle şehvetin allahı olan (Baküs)e tapınırdı. Bu vatan çocuklarının nesillerini ilk defa Elenler bozmuştur.” Nurettin Topçu, “Bizde Milliyet Hareketleri,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 74-79.

²⁰² “Şehirlerin kalabalık halkı toplayan azametli gövdesine köylü daima içini çekerek bakmıştır. Kanun şehirde yapılır, vergi şehire götürülür. Uzun asırların yakıcı tecrübelerini yaşayan köylü kendi arzusu olmadan bir kaderin kendi üzerine çökmüş olduğunu bilir.” Nizam Ahmet, “Şehirler,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 92-94. On the other hand, there is also neutral rural-urban distinctions in some articles, for example: “(...) şehirde Mevlananın ruhu zafer kazandı, köyde Anadolu Türkmeninin mistisizm ve şiir dehasını temsil eden Yunus Emre yetişti.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Oğuzlar,” *Hareket* (February 1939): 19-21.

²⁰³ “Anadolunun toprak ve iklim şartları Orta Asyadan gelen Oğuz kütlelerine yepyeni bir hüviyet vermiştir.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Millet ve Milli Şuur,” *Hareket* (August 1948): 2-4.

²⁰⁴ “Anadolu köy ve kasabadır. Anadoluyu ayakta tutan köylü ve kasabalıdır. (...) Anadolu esas itibarile dindardır ve müslümandır. Anadolu köylüsü ve kasabalısı çok mütevazı, çok gösterişsiz bir hayat sürer. Bu hayatın özünü sabahtan akşama kadar çalışma; ailede hürmet

Muslim, very humble, hard-working, religious , kind, and respectful. *Hareket* contributors pay a special attention to rural areas, people and culture to such a level that they advocate peasantism as a requisite for nationalism and even see the Lausanne Treaty as the first peasantist action of the nation-state.²⁰⁵ According to Nurettin Topçu, villages are not seeds of the cities but totally different and independent social organisms (içtimai uzviyet).²⁰⁶ From Topçu's point of view, population density of villages is low but peasants live by attaching themselves to the land for centuries and form the most loyal and conservative social strata of the earth.²⁰⁷

In brief, in the first decade of *Hareket*, the Turkish Republic whose borders were defined by the Lausanne treaty is accepted as the precise expression of Anatolia,²⁰⁸ which is the unique homeland and the core of nationalism. The sedentary life in rural areas and the agricultural production are accepted as the most important benefits of this homeland to the nation, giving a precious and solid character to Anatolians. As shown in this subchapter on perception of national territory, history is one of the major

ve sevgi, hemşeriler arasında yardımlaşma ve saygı teşkil eder.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Anadolunun Kuvvetleri,” *Hareket* (September 1948): 2-4.

²⁰⁵ “Kurulan milli devletin ilk köycülüğü, ‘Lozan muadehesi’ ile Anadolu köylüsünü ipotekten kurtarmak oldu.” Bahattin İzgi, “Köy Davası Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar,” *Hareket* (February 1948): 10-12. “Gerçek milliyetçi aynı zamanda gerçek köycüdür. Bizim Millet davamızın belkemiği Köy davasıdır.” Cahit Okurer, “Kitaplar Arasında,” *Hareket* (November 1947): 16.

²⁰⁶ Nizam Ahmet, “Şehirler,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 92-94. Additionally: “Bir avuç çavdar ekmeği bahasına doğudan batıya kadar dinlenmeden nasırlanan ellere bakın. Medeniyet ve refah vasıtalarının ilk yaratıcıları oldukları halde, bunların hiç birine baş vurmuyup sade kollarına ve ezeli iztiraplarına güvenenlere bakın.” Nurettin Topçu, “Siyaset ve Mesuliyet,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 65-71.

²⁰⁷ “Köyde nüfus az barınır. Yalnız bu nüfus sık sık değişmez. Köylü, uzun asırlar toprağa bağlanarak arzın en sadık, en muhafazakar tabakası halinde yaşar.” Nizam Ahmet, “Şehirler,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 92-94.

²⁰⁸ “Anavatan=Türkiye.” *Hareket*, “Okuyucularımıza,” *Hareket* (September 1947): 2. “Türkiyenin esas bünyesinde, Anadolu’da.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Anadolunun Kuvvetleri,” *Hareket* (September 1948): 2-4.

constituents of Anatolian nationalism in *Hareket*, as well. Historical narratives of *Hareket* contributors are the subject of the next subchapter that would try to put the concept of homeland regarding Anatolia in a broader context.

2.b. “Our History”

In the first of decade of *Hareket*, there are national history narratives covering a long period from the pre-Anatolian past (or “origins in the central Asia”) to the transition to multiparty system in 1946. This subchapter aims to provide the main aspects of these national history narratives by focusing on Anatolianist themes.

History is not considered only a major constituent of the nation but, according to Nurettin Topçu, also “a candid friend we consult”²⁰⁹ “who reminds us our responsibilities.”²¹⁰ There are even detailed book reviews of historical studies in *Hareket*. For example, in the Turkish edition of *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*,²¹¹ Cahit Okurer criticizes Paul Wittek, for not abandoning the sympathy for Byzantine civilization and not dealing with the history of the Ottoman Empire from a perspective centered on Anatolia.²¹² Enver Ziya Karal’s *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi*²¹³ is heavily²¹⁴ criticized for representing the official ideology on issues like the role of the Republican People’s Party in the “National Struggle,”²¹⁵ opposition in the first national

²⁰⁹ “Tarih bize üstat değil, samimiyetle danıştığımız dost olmalıdır.” Nurettin Topçu, “Asrımızın Hareket Adamları,” *Hareket* (March 1939): 33-39.

²¹⁰ “Tarih, gözlerimizin önüne bütün bir mesuliyet manzarası sermektedir.” Nurettin Topçu, “Siyaset ve Mesuliyet,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 65-71.

²¹¹ Paul Wittek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Doğuşu*, trans. Fahriye Arık. (İstanbul: Şirketi Mürettibiye Basımevi, 1947).

²¹² Cahit Okurer, “Kitaplar Arasında,” *Hareket* (September 1947): 15.

²¹³ Enver Ziya Karal, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi: 1918-1944* (Ankara: Maarif Vekâleti, 1944).

²¹⁴ “Enver Ziya Karal için elimizdeki kitaba göre hüküm vermek icap ederse, ya tarih hakkında en iptidai bir bilgiye sahip değildir, veya tarihi bilgiye sahiptir de, bir tarihçide değil, alalade bir insanda dahi bulunmaması lazım gelen bazı zaaf lar içerisindedir.” Lütfü Bornovalı, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi’ Hakkında,” *Hareket* (July 1948): 3-5.

²¹⁵ Lütfü Bornovalı, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi’ Hakkında,” *Hareket* (November 1948): 8-9.

assembly,²¹⁶ Independence Tribunals,²¹⁷ the nature of the official republicanism²¹⁸ by Lütfü Bornovalı in a review of six parts published between July and December, 1948.

As illustrated in Subchapter 2.c. of Part III, “The “Anatolian” and the “Other,” national history starts in the Central Asia according to Mehmet Kaplan; however, according to Nurettin Topçu, the pre-Anatolian period is obviously attached to the “other” by the criterion of “moral values” based on nomadic life style. Kaplan mentions the Orkhon Inscriptions and legends as part of the literary-linguistic heritage of the nation in a positive manner.²¹⁹ Ahmet Kabaklı writes that Turks were pagan (putperest) in the Central Asia a very long time ago and there are still traces of this past in the society.²²⁰ In a quote from Hilmi Ziya Ülken’s *İslam Düşüncesi*,²²¹ Hanafi jurisprudence is described as a system perfectly fitting the Turkish law in the Central Asia.²²² Hasan Tanrıkut argues that the pantheism is the most ancient traditional product of the “Turkish genius” and one of its major sources is the Central Asia.²²³ As inferred from these few instances available in the collection of *Hareket* under study, pre-Anatolian past is touched upon in a limited extent with conflicting ideas.

²¹⁶ Lütfü Bornovalı, “‘Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi’ Hakkında,” *Hareket* (December 1948): 8-12.

²¹⁷ Lütfü Bornovalı, “‘Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi’ Hakkında,” *Hareket* (July 1948): 3-5.

²¹⁸ Lütfü Bornovalı, “‘Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi’ Hakkında,” *Hareket* (October 1948): 16.

²¹⁹ Mehmet Kaplan, “Oğuzlar,” *Hareket* (February 1939): 19-21.

²²⁰ Ahmet Kabaklı, “Aynı Hercümerci,” *Hareket* (August 1947): 14-15.

²²¹ Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *İslam Düşüncesi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniv. Edebiyat Fak., 1946)

²²² Hilmi Ziya Ülken, “Büyük Hareket Adamları: İmam-ı Azam Ebu Hanife,” *Hareket* (June 1947): 8.

²²³ Hasan Tanrıkut, “Ameli Tabiat-Ahlak ve Estetik Prensiplerine Giriş,” *Hareket* (October 1939): 175-180.

The Battle of Manzikert, represented by the year 1071, is clearly accepted as the beginning of the national history (milli tarih), “our national history of a millennium”²²⁴ and the period of pre-1071 as the history of race/tribe²²⁵ (irki/kavmi tarih). Mehmet Kaplan prefers to refer to Yahya Kemal about this periodization centered on the year 1071 and cites the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum, the Anatolian Principalities, the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey as the states of the nation.²²⁶ As a result of this importance attributed to the Battle of Manzikert, Alp Arslan is portrayed as an ancestor who “draws his sword to give a new ideal man and a holy spirit to the world.”²²⁷ Tuğrul Bey is also mentioned by respect, even as the “founder of the national history.”²²⁸ Seljuks in general are described as the “champions of Islam.”²²⁹

Inheritance of the sedentary life and the agricultural production in Anatolia which is a “revolution,” and a “historical crossing”²³⁰ and the

²²⁴ “bin yıllık milli tarihimiz.” Nurettin Topçu, “İçtimai Sınıflar,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 95-96.

²²⁵ “(...) irki tarihimiz nereden başlarsa başlasın, bu topraklar üzerinde bir millet hamurunun yoğrulmağa başladığı tarih (1071)dir. 1071 denberi bu toprakları kanımızı ve kemiklerimizin tozunu maya yaparak yoğurduk. Bugünkü millet ve vatan realitesi böyle doğdu.” Cahit Okurer, “İdeal ve İdeoloji,” *Hareket* (September 1947): 10. And: Mehmet Kaplan, “Yeni Türk Milliyetçiliği,” *Hareket* (October 1947): 2-4.

²²⁶ Mehmet Kaplan, “Yahya Kemalde Tarih ve Coğrafya Fikri,” *Hareket* (June 1948): 2-4; Mehmet Kaplan, “Yeni Türk Milliyetçiliği,” *Hareket* (October 1947): 2-4.

²²⁷ “Aleme yeni bir insan örneği vermek için kılıç çeken bu akının insanı (...) aleme mukaddes bir ruh aşlamak”. Nurettin Topçu, “Benliğimiz,” *Hareket* (May 1939): 112-120.

²²⁸ “Milli tarihimizi kurmuş olan Tuğrul Bey...” Nurettin Topçu, “Hüsetin Avni II: Birinci Meclisin Dağılmasından Sonra,” *Hareket* (April 1948): 2-5.

²²⁹ “Selçuk Türklerinin müslümanlığın şampiyonları olarak yakınsarkta belirmeleri...” Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Türk Medeniyet ve Sanat Tarihi,” *Hareket* (December 1948): 2.

²³⁰ “Göçebe Türkmenin ayak basıp yerleştiği dünya, Eti çiftçisinin asırlardır üzerinde çalışıp işlettiği ve kendine mahsus bir teknikle anlaştırdığı dünya idi. Göçebe Türkmenin bu toprakta durup onunla kaynaşması ve tüccar iken çiftçi olması bu isme değer bir inkılaptır, bu bir tarihi geçittir.” Nurettin Topçu, “İçtimai Sınıflar,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 95-96.

conversion to Islam²³¹ according to Topçu were the two processes shaping the building of a nation. Therefore, Anatolia provided the material constituent which was basically the agricultural production and Islam, which was the non-material/spiritual (ruhi) constituent of the nation, in Topçu's account.²³² However, the non-Muslim past of Anatolia, except its agricultural technique, is barely embraced.²³³ Therefore, religion - the non-material/spiritual element of the nation is considered more significant than the material element inherited from the native peoples of Anatolia whose character is inferior to Alp Arslan's character in Topçu's thinking.²³⁴

The history of the Ottoman Empire is basically treated in two periods in *Hareket*: The proudly remembered first period considered a kind of essential, true, original era and the disliked, corrupted, degenerated latter period. Bayezid I, Selim I, Mehmed II and their reigns are frequently praised in the journal thus attached to the first period.²³⁵ Mehmet Kaplan

²³¹ "Onuncu asırda Harranda doğan İslam rönesansı ahlaki feyzini, İslamın mevsuk bir şekili, Muhammedin samimi tarikati olan tasavvufta verdi, ve bu hareket ilk hamlesile, İslam dinine giren Türkmenden o asırlarda Anadoluda bir millet yarattı. Biz bu rönesansın yarattığı milletiz." Nurettin Topçu, "Rönesans Hareketleri," *Hareket* (February 1939): 1-6.

²³² "Şu halde Anadolunun yaşattığı, Anadoluyu yaratmış olan ruhi kuvvet İslamın kucagından, maddi kuvvet ise bu toprağa emek katmış ve orada teknik yaratmış olan çok eski kavimlerin tarihinden süzülüp gelmiştir." Nurettin Topçu, "İçtimai Sınıflar," *Hareket* (April 1939): 95-96. "Anadolu Eti medeniyetini yaşatırken şüphesiz bir ruhi kuvvetin maddi kuvvetlerle anlaşıp onları ilerlettiğini kabul etmek lazım. Sonra ancak İslamın Anadoluya girmesiyle yeni bir ruh ananesinin kökleştiğini görüyoruz." Nurettin Topçu, "İçtimai Sınıflar," *Hareket* (March 1939): 60-64.

²³³ "Türkmenin Anadoluya getirdiği bir inkilaptır, yeni bir ruhtur. İslam olmadan evvelki Anadolu, bize benzemiyor. İslam onun ruhunu değiştirmiştir. Bu ruh başkılığı sebebiyle biz Anadolunun İslamdan evvelki tarihini yakından benimseyemiyoruz." Nurettin Topçu, "Benliğimiz," *Hareket* (May 1939): 112-120.

²³⁴ "Eti ve Elen halkının seciyesi kendiliğinden asla bir Alpaslan'ın seciyesini meydana getiremezdi, Alpaslan'ın çocuğu olan Anadolu köylüsünün seciyesinin en mühim tarafını, sonra bütün asırlarda bozulan, bu başlangıçların ruhi kuvveti olan İslam dini izah edebilir." Nurettin Topçu, "İçtimai Sınıflar," *Hareket* (March 1939): 60-64.

²³⁵ "Alpaslanlarımız, Yıldırımlarımız, Yavuzlarımız..." Nurettin Topçu, "Millette İrade," *Hareket* (May 1948): 6-7; "Müstesna kahraman (...) kahramanlar kahramanı Yavuz" and "Büyük Fatih" Ali Münif İslamoğlu, "Asyanın Üstünlüğü ve Düşkünlüğü," *Hareket*

underlines the “good” and “bad” aspects/days of national past and strongly criticizes the narratives that represent the period of decline between armistices of Mudros (1918) and Mudanya (1922) by making an analogy to a sick man on the deathbed, as the whole national history.²³⁶ Kaplan says that beneficial institutions which were power centers like the palace, Janissary *ocak* and madrasa were corrupted from the 17th century onwards.²³⁷ Lütfü Bornovalı, refuting the idea that history of the national civilization begins in the Republican era, writes about a mighty past when the nation was the global leader in justice and civilization.²³⁸ It is impossible to trace a certain chronological structure of this periodization because of ambiguously expressed timeline points. Hüseyin Batuhan depicts a picture of the Ottoman Empire, a state of faith and justice, during a period that lasted until the rule of Suleyman I.²³⁹ Nurettin Topçu, in one his articles, argues that a period of national history, when moral values were respected, between the 10th and 15th centuries represented the national entity and ended by the conquer of Constantinople.²⁴⁰ He states that from the third century of

(December 1942): 244-248. “(...) Fatihlerin, Yavuzların, Yıldırımların, Sinanların ruhunda bulunan yeni mefkureler (...)” Lütfü Bornovalı, “Üniversitemiz,” *Hareket* (March 1947): 9-11.

²³⁶ “Mütareke devri, çürümüş saray ve muhiti, bütün maziye temsil eder gibi telakki olunuyordu. Ölmek üzere olan bir adama bakarak, bu adam bütün hayatınca böyle hasta ve bitkindi demek ne kadar yanlış ise, imparatorluğun çökme anını göstererek, işte sizin mazi dediğiniz budur, demek de o kadar yanlış olur. Her millet gibi bizim mazimizin de iyi ve kötü tarafları vardır.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Nesillerin Ruhü,” *Hareket* (January 1949): 3-5.

²³⁷ Mehmet Kaplan, “Nesillerin Ruhü,” *Hareket* (December 1948): 3.

²³⁸ “Dünyaya adalet ve medeniyet dağıtan muazzam bir tarih inkar edilerek, medeni tarihimizin cumhuriyetle başladığı (...) koyu bir taassupla tekrar edilmiştir.” Lütfü Bornovalı, “Üniversitemiz,” *Hareket* (March 1947): 9-11.

²³⁹ Hüseyin Batuhan, “Beşeriyet Son Peygamberini Bekliyor...,” *Hareket* (October 1939): 182-183.

²⁴⁰ Nurettin Topçu, “Rönesans Hareketleri,” *Hareket* (February 1939): 1-6. “Dünyanın en güzel beldesi olan İstanbul’un, Milattan önce beşinci asırdan Milattan sonra 1453 yılına kadar ufak akropolünü pek az geçmiş görmekteyiz. En sonunda, gelip geçenden baş alan 80 bin kişilik bir haydut yatağı haline düşen, harabolmuş surlarının, saraylarının içinde

the Empire onwards, there is an oppressive government versus an oppressed nation of Anatolia.²⁴¹ However, in some of his articles he criticizes the entire history of the Ottoman Empire to a degree that he seems to deal with it in a single period.²⁴² His critiques are centered on politics of the Empire towards Anatolian peasants and are based on the idea that Anatolia was not regarded and ruled as the essential homeland²⁴³ but on the contrary, as a maltreated source of tax, grain, and manpower to enrich the other regions of the Empire.²⁴⁴ In this context, *Celali* Revolts are frequently mentioned as rightful deeds of Anatolian peasants against the Ottoman rule.²⁴⁵ The entire Ottoman literature from the beginning to the end is regarded as aesthetically

inanılmaz cinayetlerin akıp gittiği tehlikeli bir in kalan İstanbul; Türklerin eline geçtikten kısa bir müddet sonra eşsiz bir belde derecesine yükseltilmiştir.” Remzi Oğuz Arık, “İstanbul Fethinin 500 üncü Yıldönümünde Yeni Çağlar’daki Rolümüzü Belirtmeliyiz!” *Hareket* (June 1947): 4-5.

²⁴¹ “(...) imparatorluğun son asırlarında hükümet kuvvetinin millete karşı bir düşman cephesi olduğunu açıkça görmek kabildir. İmparatorluğun üçüncü asrıdan sonra biz Anadolu’da karşı karşıya iki kuvvet görüyoruz. Hükümetle millet, zalimlerle mazlumlar.” Nurettin Topçu, “İçtimai Sınıflar,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 95-96.

²⁴² “Osmanlı saltanatı devrindeki cahillerin elinde gördüğü zulüm ve ceberrut onda [köylüde] hile kabiliyeti yaratmıştır. (...) Şehirlerin ve devlet kapılarının yetiştirdiği sözde münevver altı asır içinde bir gün bu memleketin hakiki sahibine hiçbir şey vermemiştir. Devlet merkezinin memleket halkı içine yolladığı sözde münevver pek çok vasıtalarla bu sahib olan halkın varını yok etmeye çalışmış, ona bir zerre irfan götürmemiştir.” Nurettin Topçu, “Benliğimiz,” *Hareket* (May 1939): 112-120.

²⁴³ The idea of neglected homeland is also expressed by Mehmet Kaplan: “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun en büyük hatası ana vatani ihmal ederek milli kuvvetleri yabancı ülkelerde heba etmesi olmuştur.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Yeni Türk Milliyetçiliği,” *Hareket* (October 1947): 2-4.

²⁴⁴ “Anadoluyu kuran maddi kuvvete gelince, bu kuvvet altı asrın ayakları altında ezildi ve bu günkü hasta, cılız varlık varlık elimizde kaldı. Bu kuvvetin ezilmesine sebep, Osmanlı imparatorluğunun, imparatorluğu yaratmış olan Anadolu’yu Ana vatan olarak yaşatmaması, bilakis aç müstemlekeleri doyuran bir anbar gibi kullanmasıdır. İnsan anbarı, Zahir anbarı, vergi anbarı.” Nurettin Topçu, “İçtimai Sınıflar,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 95-96. In an article by Bahattin İzgi, similar ides expressed: “Osmanlı imparatorluğu zamanında Anadolu köylüsü akla iki sebepten dolayı geliyordu. Birincisi vergi, ikincisi askerlik. Çünkü Anadolu köylüsünün o zaman koruyucusu yoktu.” Bahattin İzgi, “Köy Davası Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar,” *Hareket* (February 1948): 10-12.

²⁴⁵ “Anadoluda Osmanlı imparatorluğu içinde Celali adı verilen eşkıya hareketleri, hakikatte, şehirlerde doğan tahakkümlere, zulümlere karşı, beylere, valilere ve haksız memurlara karşı ayaklanmış olan Anadolu köylüsünün hak isteyen hareketini temsil ediyor.” Nizam Ahmet, “Şehirler,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 92-94. “Milletin ölmeyen benliğinden fişkırap bu iskelet ruha isyan edenlere celali ve haydut deniyordu.” Nurettin Topçu, “İki Mezar,” *Hareket* (November 1939): 193-197.

unsuccessful works of flattery in the service of corrupt rulers by Nurettin Topçu, except for Fuzuli and Sufi literature.²⁴⁶ Topçu, with even self-orientalist attitudes, criticizes *divan* poets “who write by smoking *çubuk* on bellies and filling their mouth with pearls.”²⁴⁷ Mehmet Kaplan also criticizes *divan* poetry for similar reasons but in a moderate way.²⁴⁸

Tanzimat era, the reign of Abdülhamit II and the Second Constitutional era are particularly mentioned periods of the Ottoman Empire in *Hareket*. In 1939, Nurettin Topçu writes about many contradictory revolutions/transformations (inkilaplar) that were said to be accomplished from 1939 onwards.²⁴⁹ The word *istibdat* (despotism, absolute rule) is constantly used for the reign of Abdülhamit II,²⁵⁰ who was criticized for exiling constitution supporters, censure, spy system and suspension of the Ottoman parliament.²⁵¹ As a result, the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 was welcomed by principle but rule of CUP is assessed as a period of anarchy,

²⁴⁶ “Osmanlı edebiyatı başından sonuna kadar kasidecilik, meddahlık ve mersiyeçiliğin, yani ruhu satılmış bir dalkavukluk eserinin abidesini yaratmıştır. (...) Fuzuli ile tasavvuf şairlerini istisna eserek tereddütsüz olarak bu edebiyatta edebi, bedii hiç bir kıymet bulunmadığını söyleyebiliriz.” Nurettin Topçu, “İki Mezar,” *Hareket* (November 1939): 193-197.

²⁴⁷ “Fuzuliden başka *divan* şairlerinin göbekleri üzerinde çubuk yakarken veya ağızlarına avuç dolusu inci doldurulurken yazdıkları maharetli, işlemeli, parlak kafiyeleri şerh etmekten bıkmış usanmıştık.” Nurettin Topçu, “Lise Dersleri,” *Hareket* (May 1943): 361-366.

²⁴⁸ “*Divan* Edebiyatında öğmek ve sövmek, methiye ve hiciv nevilerini doğurdu ve bunlar asırlarca devam etti.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Tenkit,” *Hareket* (November 1948): 4.

²⁴⁹ “Bir asırdan beri yapıldığı söylenen inkilaplar...” Nurettin Topçu, “Neslimizin Tarihi,” *Hareket* (October 1939): 161-166. “...tanzimattan bu güne kadar Türk cemiyetinin yaptığı pek çok ve tezdalı tecrübeler...” Nurettin Topçu, “Rönesans Hareketleri,” *Hareket* (February 1939): 1-6.

²⁵⁰ “Otuz üç sene süren Abdülhamit istibdadı.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Tek Kitap Çok Kitap,” *Hareket* (June 1949): 8-10. “istipdat seneleri.” Nurettin Topçu, “Mehmet Akif,” *Hareket* (February 1943): 267-269. “...Abdülhamid devrinin istibdadıdır...” Lütfü Bornovalı, “Zavallı Neslimiz,” *Hareket* (July 1947): 5-6. “memleketin içinde kıvrandığı istibdad.” Lütfü Bornovalı, “Mehmet Akif ve Büyük Eseri,” *Hareket* (December 1947): 3-6.

²⁵¹ “Rus harbini bahane eden Abdülhamid millet meclisini kapatır, hürriyet taraftarlarını sürgün eder. Hafıye teşkilatını kurar ve matbuata amansız bir sansür koyar.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Nesillerin Ruhu,” *Hareket* (December 1948): 3.

so-called westernization, and anti-national politics except the first few months of that era.²⁵²

The end of the First World War and the CUP rule followed by the occupation of Anatolia give an excellent scene of national movement within the narrative of national history in *Hareket*. The establishment and politics of the first national assembly, “Turkish War of Independence,” and proclamation of the republic were enthusiastically acclaimed. According to Topçu, the “national government established in Anatolia” was the “product of Anatolian children” and everybody was proud of the new capital Ankara, located in the “hearth of Anatolia.”²⁵³ In a book review on *İdeal ve İdeoloji*²⁵⁴ by Remzi Oğuz Arık, Cahit Okurer sees the “War of Independence” as a landmark for the beginning of Turkish nationalism based on homeland, a national action parallel to occupation of Anatolia following 1071, thus a kind of reconquest by referring to Arık.²⁵⁵ In Topçu’s

²⁵² “Cumhuriyete kadar milli varlığı ve memleketi perişan eden bir anarşi hayatı.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Tek Kitap Çok Kitap,” *Hareket* (June 1949): 8-10. “Memlekette inkilab yapmak iddiasile, garplılaştırmak davasile doğan meşrutiyet (...) bu inkilabı yapanlar, memleketin asıl halkına yabancı, milletten olmayıp yalnız istismar gayesile ve devleti ellerine geçirmek emelile hareket eden bir sürü tufeyli ve çapulcudan ibaretti.” Nurettin Topçu, “İki Mezar,” *Hareket* (November 1939): 193-197. “siyaset sahasında yabancılığı temsil eden ittihat ve terakki.” Nurettin Topçu, “Millet ve Milliyet,” *Hareket* (May 1943): 355-357. “ilanından pek az sonra huysuzlaşan meşrutiyet inkilabı rezaleti.” Lütfü Bornovalı, “Mehmet Akif ve Büyük Eseri,” *Hareket* (December 1947): 3-6. “[1908 inkilabı] başlangıçta hakiki bir idealin ifadesi olan coşkulu bir heyecan ancak dokuz ay kadar asaletini muhafaza edebilmiş ve hemen sonra soysuzlaşarak bir kin ve rekabet fırtınası halinde namuslu insanları lekelemek, bir çok masum kanları akıtmak için vasıta yapılmıştır.” Lütfü Bornovalı, “Partiler Karşısında Hüseyin Avni,” *Hareket* (April 1948): 6-7.

²⁵³ “Anadoluda kurulan milli hükümet, bu adını Anadolu çocuklarının eseri olmasından alıyordu. Devlet merkezinin Ankara’da, Anadolunun göbeğinde kurulmuş olmasından gurur duymayan bir Anadolulu yoktur.” Nurettin Topçu, “Millet ve Milliyet,” *Hareket* (May 1943): 355-357.

²⁵⁴ Remzi Oğuz Arık, *İdeal ve İdeoloji* (İstanbul: Kutulmuş Basımevi, 1947).

²⁵⁵ “Osmanlı imparatorluğu kurulduğundan biraz sonra başlayarak Anadolunun, daima kendi dışındaki istikamet ve sahalara akan bir kaderi vardır. Denebilir ki Anadolu, Türkmenlerin fethinden beri, ilk defa istiklal savaşında, asıl sınırları içinde bütün haline gelmiş bir yurdun şuuruyla çerçevelenmiştir. Bir tarih ve hal realitesine dayanan

thought, the national assembly was “Kaaba of the nation” (Kabeyi millet) revitalizing love for God and justice of Umar, the second caliph of Islam.²⁵⁶ Hüseyin Avni Ulaş and Namık Kemal are presented as pioneers of republicanism and anti-sultanate ideas that are explicitly expressed in the journal.²⁵⁷ Nevertheless, according to Lütfü Bornovalı, the “War of Independence” was only a political independence defining borders of the homeland and the results of the Kemalist revolutions were fights of revenge and interest between parties and groups.²⁵⁸ It is argued that the Republic has not edified any great intellectual and there are still remains of *divan* poetry.²⁵⁹ The language reform was a failure and its consequences were comparable to *divan* poetry according to *Hareket* writers.²⁶⁰ Railroad

Milliyetçiliğimiz bu realizmi yüzünden, yalnız başına ne his, ne kan, birliğine dayanır. Bu vatan üzerinde yaşayan insanlar arasında tarihi bir kader ve ıstırap, toprak ve menfaat birliği vardır. Onun için... (...) İstiklal savaşına kadar milliyetçiliğimiz, kökleri toprağımızda olmayan, meyveleri toprağımızdan dışarı sarkan bir ağacı yetiştirmek, büyütmeğe dileği gibiydi.” Cahit Okur, “İdeal ve İdeoloji,” *Hareket* (September 1947): 10.

²⁵⁶ Nurettin Topçu, “Hüseyin Avni II: Birinci Meclisin Dağılmasından Sonra,” *Hareket* (April 1948): 2-5.

²⁵⁷ “Namık Kemal bunun üzerine kasideyi mükemmel okumuş olduğunu ve ondan sonra da padişahlara mezar taşından fazla kıymet vermediğini söyler. (...) Kemal’in aynı zamanda meşrutiyeti daha medeni bir hükümet şekli olarak ele alması bunu cumhuriyete tercih ettiği için değildir.” Cahit Okur, “Namık Kemal,” *Hareket* (February 1939): 13-18. “Saltanata ilk evvel isyan eden benim [Hüseyin Avni Ulaş] arkadaşlar, efendiler, hareketi milliyet başlanmadan yedi ay evvel o saraya hücum ve isyan edenlerdenim. Hakkı hükümlerinden değil o saray herhangi bir adam çıkarsa Yunanlı ve İngiliz kadar düşmanımdır. İster paşalar olsun, ister hocalar olsun, ister hacılar olsun, kim olursa olsun düşmanımdır.” Ali İhsan Balım, “Hüseyin Avni Ulaş’ın Büyük Ruhuna,” *Hareket* (March 1948): 5-8. “[Hüseyin Avni Ulaş] İliklerine kadar da cumhuriyetçi idi.” *Hareket*, “Merhum Hüseyin Avni Ulaş Hakkında Açtığımız Anket,” *Hareket* (April 1948): 8-9.

²⁵⁸ Lütfü Bornovalı, “Gandhi ve Düşündükleri,” *Hareket* (May 1948): 12-13..

²⁵⁹ “cumhuriyet devrinde gerçekten mütefekkir adını alacak hiçbir büyük şahsiyet yetişmemiştir.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Nesillerin Ruhu,” *Hareket* (January 1949): 3-5. “Bütün düşünüşlerimiz saray ve enderon zevkile dolu; hala divan edebiyatının arttığı, aynı mubalağa sanatı içinde gidene mersiye, gelene methiye yazmakla mevki ve mansıp kazanan bir tufeylilik ruhu gençliği terbiye ediyor.” Nurettin Topçu, “Neslimizin Tarihi,” *Hareket* (October 1939): 161-166. “Divan edebiyatında nesrin bulunmayışı, bize göre, serbest düşünce faaliyeti yokluğundan ileri geldiği gibi, yeni Türk edebiyatında bir türlü garplı seviyeye yükselmeyişi de fikir hareketlerinin kuvvetli olmayışı ile yakından ilgilidir.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Yazı Terbiyesi,” *Hareket* (June 1947): 8-10.

²⁶⁰ “Uydurma dil, yaşayan edebiyatı da halkın ekseriyeti için ölü bir hale getirmiştir. Nurullah Ataç gibi Türk edebiyatının bir canlı şahsiyeti bu cereyanın kurbanı olarak, bugün

construction, one of the major development projects of the Republic, is commented on with irony.²⁶¹ Even the new capital Ankara praised by Topçu, is qualified as artificial and inappropriately located in terms of urbanism.²⁶² Laicism,²⁶³ a crucial principal of the official ideology and government politics concerning religion like prohibition of pilgrimage²⁶⁴ are criticized. The highly critical issues of the new regime such as Topal Osman Incident and İzmir Incident are openly dealt in 1948 in a judgmental manner.²⁶⁵ One-party-rule was clearly a period marked with lack of freedom and 1946 was the beginning of a new period of liberty like 1876 and 1908 in *Hareket*.²⁶⁶

tıpkı divan yazarları gibi halkın ve okuyan kitlenin takip edemediği (...) ölü bir muharrir haline haline gelmiştir.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Nesillerin Ruhü,” *Hareket* (March 1949): 2. Ziyaeddin Fındıkoğlu, “Dil Kongresinde,” *Hareket* (November 1948): 3.

²⁶¹ “Demirağlarla örülen (!) yurdun yol bakımından içinde bulunduğu acıklı hal...” A. İhsan Balımoğlu “Sıladan Mektuplar,” *Hareket* (August 1947): 11-12.

²⁶² “Ankara şehrinin tesisi, hiç bir ilmi esasa dayanmayan büyük sanayi teşebbüsleri hatta inşaat faaliyeti memleket coğrafyası ve tesiri hakkında bilgisizliklerin neticesidir.” Unsigned comment as a footnote to the article: Ali Fuat Başgil, “Müsbet Milliyetçilik,” *Hareket* (September 1948): 5-6. “İssız bozkırlar ortasında, küçük bir Amerikan şehri gibi yükselen (..) Ankara suni bir şehirdir.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Nesillerin Ruhü,” *Hareket* (January 1949): 3-5.

²⁶³ “Laik; Dinsiz anlamındadır.” Ahmet Kabaklı, “Aydın Hercümerci,” *Hareket* (June 1947): 16-17.

²⁶⁴ Mehmet Kaplan, “İçtimai Şuuraltı ve Edebiyat,” *Hareket* (November 1947): 2-4.

²⁶⁵ “Fikir hürriyetini boğmak için Topal Osman gibi bir şakinin ellerine iğrenç silahlar vermekte gecikmemiş, vicdanları ürperten cinayetler işlenmiştir. (...) pek mahdut şahıslara ait İzmir suikastını büyük bir kütleye teşmil ederek terör hareketlerine başlanmıştır.” Lütfü Bornovalı, “Partiler Karşısında Hüseyin Avni,” *Hareket* (April 1948): 6-7.

²⁶⁶ “Cumhuriyet devrinde Türkiye’ye tek parti hakim oldu. Şimdi tekrar bir karışık devre girdik.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Tek Kitap Çok Kitap,” *Hareket* (June 1949): 8-10. “1876, 1908 den sonra Türkiye’de hürriyet, geçen yıl üçüncü olarak ilan olundu...” Nurettin Topçu, “Mukaddes Kurbanlar,” *Hareket* (August 1947): 4-5.

2. c. The “Anatolian” and the “Other”

In the first decade of *Hareket*, xenophobic themes are so frequent that it is possible to determine concepts of the “Anatolian” and the “other” through them, expressed explicitly or implicitly. Mehmet Kaplan’s article²⁶⁷ in the first issue of the journal is a comprehensive example to start analyzing this “otherization.” Kaplan begins his article “Oguzes” by stating his aim as “The word ‘Turk’ that is a primary notion for different understandings of nationality (milliyet fikirleri), is used in a very broad sense and so, it is necessary to specify its real content and limits with historical perspective” and summarizes the history of the word “Turk” and the people described by it from the third century B.C. to the “Turkish War of Independence.”²⁶⁸ Probably the most important conclusion of the article is that “the essential masses (esas kitle) that represent Turkish might and civilization by founding empires like ‘Tukyu,’ Ottoman and Seljuq, is Oguz Turks of Anatolia (Anadolunun Oğuz [Türkmen] halkı) who is also the body of the homeland, the defender and keeper of honor and the leader of victories.”²⁶⁹ Kaplan depicts the most dangerous adversary as “‘foreigner’ (yabancı) who corrupted (bozan) the ruling family (hakim sülale) of Oguzes/Turks by merging with it. And each time, Oguz/Turk masses revolted (isyan) to conserve their identity (benliğini muhafaza), ensuring the order (nizam) with a new ruling family.”²⁷⁰ Kaplan’s historical account can be summarized as: “Narratives of the Orkhon Inscriptions and revolts against

²⁶⁷ Mehmet Kaplan, “Oğuzlar”, *Hareket* (February 1939): 19-21.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

the corrupted Seljuk and Ottoman families prove that. Seljuks were defeated by Mongols because slaves with impure essence (mahiyeti karışık köleler) were involved in the administration. In the Ottoman Empire, thanks to Oguzes, administration was very successful until Mehmed II, thereafter Christians, Jews and non-Oguz Muslims started to replace them. These foreigners did not sense sufferings of Anatolia (Anadolu'nun ızdırabını duymuyorlardı). Mehmet II's grand vizier 'Rum' Mehmet Paşa, 'Hırvat' Kuyucu Murat Paşa slaughtered peasant Turks of Anatolia, far worse than Mongols and Tatars did. People started to hate the state; political and religious movements opposed the government with *Celali* Revolts. As a response, the Anatolian people were sent away to conquer far lands, so that the Janissaries could control the center and thus all of the empire. However, victories were won by Oguz Turks, specifically by Oguz Sipahis. A considerable number of Sipahis declined and slaves invaded the Ottoman Empire, making it a 'sick man' and putting it on deathbed. But eventually, Anatolia revolted and triumphed.”²⁷¹ In Kaplan's view, Turkish/national history starts in the Central Asia and continues in Anatolia and, the “Oguz Turks” are the main agent of it. The essence of both the rulers and the folk are “Oguz Turks” and this valuable essence is preserved in villages. In this article “Oguz”, “Turk” (Türk, Türkmen), “Anatolian”, “peasant”, “sipahi” refer to the “self” and “foreigner” (yabancı), “slave” (köle), “Janissary”, “Christian”, “Jewish”, “non-Oguz”, “Mongol”, “Tatar”, “Greek” (Rum), “Croatian” refer to the “other”.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

When underlining the historical perspective, Topçu and Kaplan have similar ideas. Topçu explains his understanding of “the other” in the third issue of *Hareket*, which can be summarized as:

History shows us one reality that decay of life-giving traditions (yaşatıcı anane) and unbelief (imansızlık) within nations and civilizations result in destroying unity (birliğin yok edilmesi). Peoples/races (kavim) and civilizations rise within their pure unity, and decline and disintegrate by merging with others. Persia, Greece, Rome, Ancient Anatolian Peoples and Egypt declined-disintegrated because of (respectively) Greece, Macedonia, West Asian Peoples, Byzantines and Persia, and races coming from all around the world. There are various constituents of a nation such as their common religion, language, geography, economy and characteristic features of their look. For example, sedentary, farmer and producer Anatolian Turks and their forebear Hittites (Etiler) can be described in detail²⁷² by their appearances. Anatolian Turks whose destiny is bound to their land are superior to nomadic Central Asia Turks and Arabs by moral values; and cannot create a moral civilization with cunning and nomadic Jews, one of the European merchant nations. Foreigners kill us from the inside by tyranny and politics; their descendants cannot unite and create an ideal.²⁷³

In Topçu’s approach, “various constituents of a nation” are the basic criteria to define the “other” and the “self.” Economy or mode of production fitting the geographic characteristics²⁷⁴ (inherited from mainly from Hittites) is so important that “Anatolian Turks whose destiny is bounded to their land” are “superior to” Central Asia Turks “by moral values.”²⁷⁵

A significant focus on the “Anatolian” under the Ottoman rule is the crucial part of the otherization by historical perspective: “For

²⁷² “Kısa boylu, tekerlek, yanık yüzlü, sakın alınlı, Eti çocuğu gibi, yine Anadolunun çocuğu olan kuru, yanık yüzlü, muztarip insan (...) Arzımızın manzarasına bakın: Çalışmayı din edinen endişeli, ağır gözlü ve yanık yüzlü insan, yanında sipsivri, sırtlan, kurnaz suratlı, karga burunlu, yeşil yırtık gözlü insanı görüyor. Açık alını bir tarih ve an’nenin kabarttığı çiftçi çocuğu her devrin menfaat ve kaygusuna uyan, renksiz, asbiyetsiz tüccar ve an’anesiz kavim çocuklarile karşı karşıyadır.” Nurettin Topçu, “Bizde Milliyet Hareketleri,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 74-79.

²⁷³ Nurettin Topçu, “Bizde Milliyet Hareketleri,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 74-79.

²⁷⁴ Same idea is advocated by Mehmed Kaplan also: “Anadolu’nun toprak ve iklim şartları Orta Asya’dan gelen Oğuz kütlelerine yepyeni bir hüviyet vermiştir.” Mehmet Kaplan, “Millet ve Milli Şuur,” *Hareket* (August 1948): 2-4.

²⁷⁵ Nurettin Topçu, “Bizde Milliyet Hareketleri,” *Hareket* (April 1939): 74-79.

centuries, vital forces of Anatolia headed to three continents, for example hungry Arabia, Albania and Balkans are fed by Anatolians' bread. Children of Anatolia suffered from the cruelty of gendarme and local notables along with the state trouble (jandarma ve mütegalibe zulmü ile devlet belası) since the state was linked to and belonged to descendants of foreigners (devlet yabancı soyların çocuklarıyla ortaklı, devlet onlarındı).²⁷⁶ The *devşirme* administrators are described as oppressors by Ahmet Kabaklı²⁷⁷ and negative attributes to Janissaries are stated by Ali Münif İslamoğlu: "Janissaries, when their number reached 20000, demonstrated the nature of their blood (kanlarının tıynetini gösterdiler) and Turkish armies got out of control. By the time insidious foreigners (sinsi yabancılar) merged into the nation, signs of destruction were observed."²⁷⁸ Nevertheless, at last, after the rule of the "CUP that represents the state of being a foreigner (yabancılığı temsil eden İttihat ve Terakki), a national government is established in Anatolia with its capital at the heart of Anatolian land, of which all the Anatolians are proud."²⁷⁹

A major element of the "other" in *Hareket* is the Jews; anti-Semitic statements are quite frequent and explicit.²⁸⁰ In the first decade of *Hareket*,

²⁷⁶ Nurettin Topçu, "İçtimai Sınıflar," *Hareket* (April 1939): 95-96.

²⁷⁷ "devşirme umerasının mazlum ülkemizde yaptığı gaddarlık." Ahmet Kabaklı, "Aydın Hercümerci," *Hareket* (November 1947): 14-15.

²⁷⁸ Ali Münif İslamoğlu, "Asyanın Üstünlüğü ve Düşkünlüğü," *Hareket* (December 1942): 244-248.

²⁷⁹ Nurettin Topçu, "Millet ve Milliyet," *Hareket* (May 1943): 355-357.

²⁸⁰ "Anti-semitic remarks of both Topçu and Kısakürek also reflected a republican era engagement with European currents of thought and does not have roots in any late Ottoman era Islamist thought." Duran and Aydın, "Competing Occidentalisms of Modern Islamist Thought," 479-500.

there is only a single writing, an article by Hilmi Ziya Ülken published in 1949, in which “Jewish” is not used pejoratively.²⁸¹ In his article entitled “Social Classes” Topçu attempts to explain emergence of social classes within a historical perspective and claims that there are authoritarian (tahakkümcü) nations who do not produce but exploit worker-producer classes (çalışıp üretim yapan zümreler), who block other nations’ will and who loot; great troublemakers among them are Jewish capital owners and bankers.²⁸² According to Topçu, “unprincipled, infidel and immoral man would adapt to every time, to everywhere; the school of sociology developed by Jews aims to spread this dishonesty on earth as a kind of moral principle,”²⁸³ and “Emile Durkheim, who developed sociologism, and his disciples who defended it, are all Jews. Sociologism is a Jewish philosophy, one of the three philosophies opposing the truth (hakikat düşmanı üç felsefe) along with positivism and pragmatism.”²⁸⁴ İsmail Kara argues that Topçu’s anti-Semitism is “profound/philosophical with religious, political and ethical aspects.”²⁸⁵ Another contributor with significant anti-Semitic writings is Ahmet Kabaklı. His text entitled “Speech to Jewish People,” which is published in 1949, is probably the most extreme anti-Semitic content in the first decade of *Hareket*. Kabaklı describes the

²⁸¹ “Yahudiler için “Arzı mevud” ideal bir vatan sınırını temsil ediyordu. Yani yalnız inanç halindeydi. Bugün aynı zamanda gerçek vatan halini almıştır.” Hilmi Ziya Ülken, “Millet,” *Hareket* (May 1949): 2-3.

²⁸² Nurettin Topçu, “İçtimai Sınıflar,” *Hareket* (March 1939): 60-64.

²⁸³ Nurettin Topçu, “Mehmet Akif,” *Hareket* (February 1943): 267-269.

²⁸⁴ Nurettin Topçu, “Hakikat Düşmanı Üç Felsefe,” *Hareket* (April 1943): 321-323.

²⁸⁵ Kara, *Sözü Dilde Hayali Gözde*, 38.

Jewish people as “brazen,” “ungrateful,” “treacherous,” “sycophant,” “greedy merchant,” “money-lover,” and “world conquerer.”²⁸⁶

Anti-Semitic themes in a general anti-non-Muslim context are also frequent. Remzi Oğuz Arık, in his column “Notes from History,” quoting from Ahmet Refik, claims that Sephardic Jews who immigrated to the Ottoman Empire took wealth sources of Turks and, Turks and Muslims perished due to their thieving for centuries.²⁸⁷ Arık-Refik also describes Christian sultanas as unsuccessful or even responsible for the murders of princes and grand viziers, and their sons as insignificant sultans (e.g. Sultan İbrahim, Kösem Sultan’s son; Avcı Sultan Mehmet, Turhan Sultan’s son), as opposed to sultans to Turkish mothers (e.g. Orhan Bey, Mal Hatun’s son; Yavuz, Gülbahar Sultan’s son). Ahmet Kabaklı reports two incidents proving invalidity of tolerance and “citizenship” politics that non-Muslims benefit from the Tanzimat era. The first one is 300 young Armenians beating a Turkish police officer in Sarıyer, İstanbul, and the second is young Jews (Ken’an kaçkını genç) playing jazz music and dancing opposite the

²⁸⁶ “Ey tâife-i yâhud.. Kenânilinden çıktın. Dört bucağı dolaştın.. Elhak.. Seyyar kavim imişsin bezirgân kavim imişsin!.. Paranın girdiği yere sen dahi girdin.. Dalkavukluk mürailik. Velhasıl her yol ile maksadına nail oldun. Acunun.. Her yanında milyonların, fabrikaların, Kastantineye, Simirn, Engürü, cânibinde bankaların, magazaların, yahıların var. Şahadet eylerim.. Yaltakçı kavimmişsin.. Cihangir kavimmişsin.. İsayı kalbinden Marks’ı miydenden çıkardın. Avrupayı ya uyuttun ya kana buladın. Gâhi melek gâhi âsi göründün. Elhak.. Afyonlu kavimmişsin.. Kalleş kavimmişsin... Müteveffa Hitlerin kılıcına geldin bitmedin.. Hitleri aylar paraladı, rahat ettin. Bakıyyetüssüyufsun.. Ve Elhak.. Talihli kavimmişsin. Tükenmez kavimmişsin.. Ataların çok kıtale uğradı. Endülüsten Türkiyeye göç ettin. Kuledibini mekân tuttun. Galatada namın söylendi. Mahmutpaşa’da sesin duyuldu. Adaları, Modaları mangırınla fethettin.. Hiç hatırımıza gelmezken tuttun bize vatandaş oldun. Elhak.. Yurtaş kavimmişsin. Vatandaş kavimmişsin!.. Türk ekmeği nice ekmektir ey Beniisrail! Sen onun yağlısından ballısından asırlarca yemişsin de yine küfraninimet olmuşsun.. İstanbul’daki saltanatını koyar ke’naneline gidermişsin... Uydurma Yahudi Başkanın ayaklarını öpermişsin.. Çamurluğuna yüz sürermişsin... Ben bunu bilir ve evvelce de söyledim.. Ey Yahudi dölü.. Elhak.. Yüzsüz kavimmişsin!” Ahmet Kabaklı, “Yahudi Kavmine Nutuk,” *Hareket* (January 1949): 6.

²⁸⁷ Remzi Oğuz Arık, “Tarihten Notlar,” *Hareket* (June 1947): 6.

mosque on Laylat al-Qadr during praying time in Bursa,²⁸⁸ Topçu accuses Jews, Greeks and Armenians of exploiting İstanbul city and people of Anatolia by dominating commerce in Karaköy and Eminönü districts.²⁸⁹

“Non-Anatolian” Muslims also are a considerable part of the “other” in the *Hareket* collection under study. By writing “[i]t is known in Anatolia that Apocalypse will be triggered from abroad (kıyametin dışarıdan kopacağı) and morals of the peasants were corrupted by Arabs and Iranians (köylünün ahlakını Arapların ve Acemlerin bozduğu),”²⁹⁰ Topçu clearly shows his attitude towards Arabs and Iranians. In another article, in 1943, he criticizes unfair favoritism for Serbians, Albanians, Arabs and Circassians who were in fact a type of “pseudo-Muslims” (müslümanlık kisvesine bürünen).²⁹¹ Mehmet Kaplan claims that “Turkish people distinguish themselves from Arabs, Iranians, Greeks, Armenians, and Albanians” and this fact that can be understood by surveying literary texts and language of daily life is the cause of a failure of the Ottomanism politics.²⁹² In another article, Kaplan argues that geographic characteristics distinguish Turks from Iranians and Arabs despite the common civilization based on religion.²⁹³

Freemasons and *dönmes* are distinctive elements of the “other” in *Hareket*. Ali Münif İslamoğlu claims that freemasons and *dönmes* attack in

²⁸⁸ Ahmet Kabaklı, “Aynı Hercümerci,” *Hareket* (September 1948): 15-16.

²⁸⁹ Nurettin Topçu, “Amerikan Mektupları,” *Hareket* (February 1948): 8-9.

²⁹⁰ Nurettin Topçu, “Benliğimiz,” *Hareket* (May 1939): 112-120.

²⁹¹ “Yabancılar, yabancı oldukları için kendilerinde üstünlük duyarlar, buna en güzel misal, Osmanlı imparatorluğu ve onun arttığı olan yabancıların saray ve saltanat etrafındaki iddialıdır. Bu imparatorlukta müslümanlık kisvesine bürünen Sırp, Arnavut, Arap ve çerkes çocukları saray ve hükümet kapılarında en mühim yerleri aldılar. Bunlara ayrı ayrı asillik payeleri verildi.” Nurettin Topçu, “Millet ve Milliyet,” *Hareket* (May 1943): 355-357.

²⁹² Mehmet Kaplan, “İçtimai Şuuraltı ve Edebiyat,” *Hareket* (November 1947): 2-4.

²⁹³ Mehmet Kaplan, “Edebiyat Coğrafyası,” *Hareket* (May 1948): 2-3.

vain something they do not have, the sacred “history” which is the most valuable rich, source of inspiration and action for a nation.²⁹⁴ Ahmet Kabaklı accuses Ahmet Emin Yalman of evaluating country issues in favor of certain *dönmes* (üç beş dönme tüccarın menfaati açısından).²⁹⁵ Topçu uses “civil servant mentality reminding of freemasonry of the Middle Ages” in pejorative way in one of his writings.²⁹⁶ Topçu also describes Freemasonry, communism and Shi’ism as sneaky dangers.²⁹⁷

Elements considered the “other” are criticized and attacked even by swear words.²⁹⁸ Non-Muslims (especially Jews) are portrayed as the major “other.” Muslims considered non-Turks (particularly Arabs and Iranians) or even non-Anatolian Turks are seen as part of the “other.” More specific categories like freemasons, *dönmes* and *devşirmes* are otherized by *Hareket* contributors. It can be inferred that the “self” as perceived in the first decade of *Hareket*, is the “Anatolian”, more specifically (farmer-peasant) Muslim Oguz Turks of Anatolia.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁴ Ali Münif İslamoğlu, “Tarihten Çizgiler,” *Hareket* (April 1943): 329-331.

²⁹⁵ Ahmet Kabaklı, “Ayın Hercümerci,” *Hareket* (February 1948): 14-16.

²⁹⁶ Nurettin Topçu, “Senirkent Belediye Başkanına Açık Mektup,” *Hareket* (September 1947): 3-6.

²⁹⁷ “Şiilik, komünistlik ve masonluk, yılan gibi barınıyorlar.” Nurettin Topçu “Millette İzzeti Nefis ve Siyaset,” *Hareket* (August 1948): 5-7.

²⁹⁸ “Milletlerin düşmanı, sinsi yabancılardır. Bu zavallıların ne vatani, ne milliyeti ve ne de tarihi vardır. Nasıl ki aile düşmanları daima piç oluyor; yani piçlerden türüyor.” Ali Münif İslamoğlu, “Tarihten Çizgiler,” *Hareket* (April 1943): 329-331.

²⁹⁹ “Ben Anadolunun Müslüman Oğuz çocuğuyum.” Cahit Okur, “Büyük Ruh Kahramanı: Gandhi,” *Hareket* (March 1948): 14-15.

3. Conclusion

Nurettin Topçu, an exceptional and eminent figure of Turkish intellectual history, expressed ideas that can be examined within nationalism, conservatism, Anatolianism, Islamism and socialism. Studying his ideas may be useful or even required to grasp the actual political events in Turkey. A significant branch of Turkish nationalism, “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” that emerged in 1970s and reached its apogee in the 1980s has its roots in Anatolianism and namely in one of its prominent figures, Nurettin Topçu. Topçu and Necip Fazıl Kısakürek are considered the two major Islamists of the republican era, representing a rupture with Islamists of the late Ottoman period. In Topçu’s thinking, anti-industrialism is regarded as one of the rare and pioneering critique of modernity in the history of thoughts in Turkey. However, despite his significance, only a few studies fulfill the established academic criteria among the voluminous literature on Topçu. This literature consists, for the most part, of first-person narratives on his personality or, narratives both on his personality and ideas.

The archival documents used in this thesis shed light on previously unknown or obscure points about Topçu’s intellectual life. The documents from Archives Nationales in Paris reveal details about doctoral dissertation of Topçu including jury members, and questions-responses during the defense. The documents from archives of Université Catholique de Louvain in Belgium show the intellectual connection of Topçu with Maurice Blondel. Blondel’s thesis on philosophy of action impresses Topçu to such a degree that he names his journal *Hareket*, meaning “action” in Turkish.

It is important to note that with undergraduate and doctoral degrees from French universities and a postdoctoral degree from İstanbul University, Topçu never acquired an academic tenure and worked as a high school teacher for his entire life. His students from various high schools in which he taught and others who attended his public speeches delivered in various associations as well as the participants of the gatherings at his home and the office of *Hareket* constitute his “students” or “disciples” in a broad sense, or even a “Hareket School.”

The academic literature exclusively on *Hareket* which consists of only three master’s theses certainly encourage studying this intellectually rich periodical published between the years 1939 and 1982 - quite a long period for any journal in Turkey. Writings of prominent Turkish and non-Turkish intellectuals from a wide range of study areas were published in the journal which is “the first periodical with Islamic sensitivities in the republican era except *Sebilürreşad*, which was closed in 1925.” It had also an important book publishing branch known as the predecessor to Dergah Publishing House, “the premier publishing house for the right-wing intelligentsia” in Turkey. It is important to note that both Topçu and *Hareket* even form an intellectual circle some of whom are still active.

Anatolianism is a relatively less studied and seemingly insignificant version of Turkish nationalism. However, it influenced a large number of political movements including the right wing of the Republican People’s Party and the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis. The core of Anatolianism in general and its version found in the content of *Hareket* between the years

1939 and 1949 is clearly the national territory, the ultimate homeland, Anatolia, as defined by the Lausanne Treaty. This concept of homeland is realist, if one compares it to various imaginary national homelands of Turkish nationalisms, but its incorporation in the narrative of national history is romantic, containing emotional discursive themes such as glorification of rural life. It includes a narrative of national history that begins in 1071 and that embraces the foundation of Turkish Republic as a kind of rebirth. The origins of Anatolianism were evident in the writings of some intellectuals as early as the 1910s; however, this branch of the Turkish nationalism was systemized particularly through two periodicals, *Dergah* and *Anadolu* in the 1920s and developed and further spread in 1930s and 1940s through journals *Dönüm*, *Millet*, *Hareket* and *Dikmen*. It played an important role in the Turkish nationalist-conservatism in the first years of the 1950s and faded within “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” which became dominant in nationalist-conservative right.

In *Hareket*, the narrative of national history begins in 1071 and pre-Islamic, pre-Anatolian pasts are barely included in a very selective and contradictory way. Sedentary life and agricultural production inherited in Anatolia and Islam are considered major constituents of the nation. The history of the Ottoman Empire is approached in a partially hated and liked periods whose chronological edges are very vague. Constitutional reforms of 1876 and 1908 are praised but considered unsatisfactory because the ultimate goal is a republic. The reign of Abdülhamit II, the rule of CUP and the Kemalist one-party era are strongly and frequently criticized. The rich

republicanist discourse in *Hareket* embraces the “War of Independence” and the first national assembly but includes harsh critique of one-party rule of 1923-1945 to a degree that the journal is once closed by the government. By the year 1949, the narrative of national history ends with the explicitly acknowledged transition to multi-party system, a new turning point of hope for the nation, or the “Muslim Oguz Turks of Anatolia” according to writers of *Hareket* between the years 1939 and 1949.

Appendices

Appendix I (List of theses and dissertations on Nurettin Topçu)

Abdulahap Özpolat, “Nurettin Topçu'nun Sosyolojik Görüşlerinde ‘Milli Mektep’ ve Sosyo-Kültürel Fonksiyonları” (master’s thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 1998); Ahmet Özer, “Din Eğitimi Açısından Nurettin Topçu'nun Eserlerinde Dindar Tipler” (master’s thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2006); Ali Gül, “Nurettin Topçu'da Anadoluçuluk Düşüncesi” (master’s thesis, Gazi Üniversitesi, 2006); Ali Osman Gündoğan, “Blondel'in Felsefesi ve Türkiye'deki Etkisi” (PhD diss., Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1991); Ali Rıza Genç, “Nurettin Topçu'nun Din Eğitimi İle İlgili Görüşleri”. (master’s thesis, Çukurova Üniversitesi, 2008); Baran Dural, “Türk Muhafazakarlığı ve Nurettin Topçu” (PhD diss., Ankara Üniversitesi, 2004); Buket Kayışli, “Nurettin Topçu ve Hilmi Ziya Ülken'in Eğitim Düşünceleri ve Eğitim Felsefeleri Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırma” (master’s thesis, Fırat Üniversitesi, 2012); Cihan Akdemir, “Nurettin Topçu-Necip Fazıl Kısakürek-Sezai Karakoç'ta İdealgençlik Tasavvuru” (master’s thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2010); Erol Çetin, “Nurettin Topçu'da Metafizik ve Din İlişkisi” (master’s thesis, Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi, 2007); Eyüp Demir, “İslam Dünyasındaki Modernist Arayışlar Karşısında Nurettin Topçu'nun Ahlak Felsefesi” (master’s thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 1995); Fadime Şik, “Bir Filozofun Edebî Kimliği? Nurettin Topçu?” (master’s thesis, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2008); Feyzullah Acar, “Nurettin Topçu ve Mümtaz Turhan'ın Eğitim Düşünceleri Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırma” (master’s thesis, Fırat Üniversitesi, 2011); Gül Deniz Özdemir, “Nurettin Topçu'da Din-Kültür İlişkisi ve Anadoluçuluk Kavramı” (master’s thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2003); Hüseyin Karaman, “Nurettin Topçu'da Ahlaki Düşünce” (master’s thesis, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1996); İhsan Özkan, “Nurettin Topçu'nun Eğitim ve Kültüre İlişkin Görüşleri” (master’s thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2004); İsmail Gökçe, “Nurettin Topçu Hayatı, Eserleri ve Tasavvufi Görüşleri” (master’s thesis, Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi, 2006); Mahmut Şenol, “Avrupa'da ve Türkiye'de Muhafazakârlık: Ortega Felsefesi ve Nurettin Topçu” (master’s thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2010); Mehmet

Batuk, “Nurettin Topçu'nun Fikri Cephesi Düşüncelerinin Kaynakları ve Etkisi” (master’s thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1987); Mehmet Büyükbaş, “Nurettin Topçu`da Dini Yaşayışın Psikolojisi” (master’s thesis, Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, 2002); Muhammet İrgat, “Nurettin Topçu'da İrade Kavramı” (master’s thesis, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2010); Mustafa Kök, “Nurettin Topçu'da Din Felsefesi” (master’s thesis, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1990); Mustafa Şahin, “Türk Düşüncesinde Nurettin Topçu'nun Yeri ve Siyaset Sosyolojisi Açısından Devlet ve Demokrasi Anlayışı” (master’s thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 1996); Necmeddin Kemal, “Nurettin Topçu`nun Düşüncesinin Kaynakları ve Kapitalizme Bakışı” (master’s thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2009); Osman Nuri Sofuoğlu, “Nurettin Topçu'da Batı Algılaması” (master’s thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2005); Ramazan Karaman, “Nurettin Topçu'da Var Olma İradesi” (master’s thesis, Gazi Üniversitesi, 2011); Selcen Kök, “Nurettin Topçu`nun Devlet Anlayışı” (master’s thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2001); Sümeyra Akay, “Blondel'in Aksiyon Felsefesi Işığında Nurettin Topçu'nun İnsan Anlayışı” (master’s thesis, Gazi Üniversitesi, 2007); Tefik İslamoğlu, “Nurettin Topçu'nun Din Eğitimi Anlayışı” (master’s thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi, 1996); Tuğba Görgün, “Nurettin Topçu'da Ahlak ve Din İlişkisi” (master’s thesis, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, 2012); Tunçay Tokerer, “Nurettin Topçu Düşüncesinde Kültür ve Medeniyet Problemi” (master’s thesis, Kırıkkale Üniversitesi, 2009); Ümit Apaydin, “Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar ve Nurettin Topçu`nun Eserlerinin Kültür ve Uygarlık Kavramları Açısından” (master’s thesis, Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, 2006); Vehbi Ünal, “Nurettin Topçu`nun Sosyolojik Görüşlerinde Dini Unsurlar” (master’s thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1996); Yakup Yüce, “Nurettin Topçu'da İman Akıl İlişkisi” (master’s thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2009); Yasemin Bora, “Nurettin Topçu ve Erol Güngör'ün Eğitim Anlayışları” (master’s thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, 2007); Yener Emer, “Nurettin Topçu'nun Din ve Devlet Anlayışı” (master’s thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 1991).

Appendix II (AJ/16/7078; Register of Nurettin Topçu's doctoral dissertation defense)

<p>Mercredi 4 Juillet</p> <p><i>redouble</i></p>	<p>13^h30</p>	<p>M. Robert CAPOT-REY Chargé de cours à la Faculté des Lettres de Nancy.</p>	<p>Th. comp. Le déve- loppement écono- mique des pays sarrois sous la Révolution et l'Empire. La Th. princ. La région indus- trielle Sarroise.</p>	<p>MM. Sagnac, GALLOIS. de MARTONNE, Demangeon, Cholley Président des 2 jurys : M. de MARTONNE.</p>
<p>Vendredi 22 juin</p>	<p>9^h30</p>	<p>M. WONG Wen-po licencié es lettres de l'Université de Kouo-min de Canton.</p>	<p>T'ao Yuan-ming</p>	<p>MM. Strowski, GRANET, Mestre. Président des 2 jurys : M. STROWSKI.</p>
<p>Lundi 2 Juillet</p>	<p>9^h30</p>	<p>M. NURETTIN Ahmet Licencié es lettres.</p>	<p>Conformisme et Révolte.</p>	<p>MM. Lalande, BRUNSCHVIG, Laporte. Président des 2 jurys : M. LALANDE.</p>

Appendix III (AJ/16/7098; Decision of the jury on Nurettin Topçu's doctoral dissertation defense)

1934

Le Samedi 2 juillet 1934 à 9 heures 30

les Professeurs étant réunis dans la salle du Doctorat, sous la présidence de
Monsieur Salandre, Monsieur **Nurettin**
Ahmet.

DOCTORAT
d'Université
de Monsieur **Nurettin**
Ahmet

né à Istanbul (Turquie).
le 10 juillet 1909.
a soutenu la thèse suivante pour le **Doctorat** d'Université

Quittance
N° : 14.267

~~Thèse complémentaire ou Questions~~

1/ Le problème de la certitude morale dans la philosophie.
d'Olle. Sapruno et dans celle de M. Maurice Blondel.
2/ La doctrine du pessimisme selon Schopenhauer et
Pascal.

Thèse principale

Conformisme et Révolte, Esquisse
d'une psychologie de la croyance).

La discussion terminée, les Professeurs soussignés, après avoir délibéré, ont
déclaré Monsieur **Nurettin** **Ahmet** digne du grade
de **Docteur** de l'Université avec mention honorable.

Et ont signé :

Salandre
Nurettin
Topçu

L. H. B. - I. A. C. (2-31) 1169

Dossier adressé à M. le Recteur, le

Appendix IV (AJ/16/7099; Report on Nurettin Topçu's doctoral dissertation defense)

5 Juillet 1934,

RAPPORT sur la SOUTENANCE de
THESE de M. NURETTIN Ahmet,
(2 Juillet 1934)

M. NURETTIN Ahmet a présenté à la Faculté, en vue d'obtenir le grade de Docteur de l'Université de Paris, une thèse intitulée : Conformisme et Révolte, Esquisse d'une Psychologie de la Croissance.

La soutenance a eu lieu le 2 Juillet, de 9 h,30 à 11 h,40.

M. NURETTIN Ahmet a d'abord exposé le sujet de son travail, d'une manière sérieuse, réfléchie, sans avoir écrit d'avance ce qu'il disait, mais en ayant l'air de se parler à lui-même.

M. BRUNSCHVIGG, rapporteur, loue la vigueur et la simplicité du style de l'ouvrage, l'élévation morale des sentiments qui l'animent. Mais il fait remarquer d'abord que sur certains points de fait, l'auteur a commis d'indubitables erreurs; ensuite, qu'il prend les termes fondamentaux dont il se sert en un sens tout différent de leur acception usuelle et qu'il est très difficile de saisir. Il emploie notamment de la manière la plus imprévue ce mot de révolte qui figure dans le titre de sa thèse, et l'on serait fort trompé si l'on jugeait par celui-ci du contenu de l'ouvrage. On pourrait en dire autant de vérité, en de bien d'autres termes.

M. LALANDE, tout en reconnaissant qu'il y a dans cette thèse de sérieuses qualités, et que certaines des idées soutenues sont très sympathiques, soulève aussi plusieurs critiques sur le fond et sur la forme.

Le candidat répond avec modération et ténacité. Bien qu'étranger, il parle le français d'une manière très satisfai-

.

sante. Mais il s'enferme dans des formules établies d'avance, n'entre pas du tout dans les idées qu'on lui oppose, et reste visiblement imperméable à toute objection.

M. LAPORTE et M. LALANDE l'interrogent ensuite sur les deux questions complémentaires qu'il a choisies : la théorie de la volonté d'après Schopenhauer; la certitude morale chez Ollé-Laprune. Ses connaissances historiques sont réelles, mais paraissent singulièrement transfigurées dans son esprit par ses propres convictions.

M. NURETTIN Ahmet est déclaré digne du grade de Docteur de l'Université avec la mention HONORABLE, à l'unanimité.

Le Président du jury :

signé : A. LALANDE.

Appendix V (UCL, PFT ALPHA, Fonds Maurice Blondel 57644; Two letters from Maurice Blondel to Nurettin Topçu)

Deux lettres de Maurice Blondel à M. NURETTIN TOPÇU
(adresse :) Alemdar

Emin Sinam mahallesi
Satir sokak -N°9 ISTANBUL(Turquie)

CCLXIV 57

Première :
Magny, II Juillet 1934

57644

Cher Monsieur,

J'avais déjà à vous remercier de votre très aimable visite à la rue de Grenelle et du plaisir que m'avait causé votre entretien. Maintenant que j'ai reçu, par les soins de M. Flory, le beau livre que vous m'aviez annoncé, j'ai un nouveau devoir de reconnaissance envers vous; et je vous offre aussi mes félicitations pour le succès d'une thèse où se fait entendre un accent si personnel, une conviction si ardente, un courage supérieur aux préoccupations d'intérêt et de carrière. Mais j'espère qu'on saura rendre justice à votre pensée énergique, à votre générosité manifeste, à votre force d'expression, même si l'on peut s'étonner de certaines hardiesses qui tiennent parfois plus au caractère paradoxal de la forme littéraire qu'aux sentiments et aux idées profondes. J'aurais pour ma part bien des précisions à solliciter de vous pour que votre mot privilégié de "révolte" porte seulement contre les routines, les calculs ~~personnels~~ intéressés, le conformisme utilitaire, paresseux, insincère plutôt que contre la discipline consentie qui permet aux plus libres esprits de coopérer avec les âmes dociles, simples et fidèles. Mais j'aurais besoin d'étudier davantage votre livre avant de risquer quelques appréciations motivées. Je tiens seulement à vous prier sans retard d'agréer ma gratitude, mes vœux les plus sincères et l'assurance de mon cordial dévouement/

(signé :) MBLONDEL

Deuxième Lettre :
Aix, 5 Février 1942

CCLXIV 58

Cher Monsieur,

Ayant reçu de Monseigneur Mulla l'agréable mission de vous procurer des renseignements sur la bibliographie bergsonnienne, je n'ai pu mieux faire que de recourir au Maître réfugié à Aix et dont vous apprécierez une fois de plus la bienveillance et l'érudition.

Vous savez d'ailleurs que les études sur Bergson sont innombrables et souvent contradictoires. Mais dans la liste ci-jointe de Léon Brunschvicg, vous avez les références principales. J'y ajouterai cependant le livre de Jacques Chevalier consacré à celui dont naguère encore il se déclarait le disciple. Parmi les articles dont Bergson lui-même avait loué la pénétration, se trouve celui que, dans la Revue de Métaphysique Victor Delbos avait consacré à Matière et Mémoire qui est un de ceux dont le sens profond est le plus malaisé à discerner. Il y aurait aussi la thèse de doctorat du R.P. Rideau : Le Dieu de Bergson, moins important mais très accessible et suggestif. Le P. Sertillanges vient de faire paraître chez Aubier, Paris, 1941, le tome II de son ouvrage Le Christianisme et les philosophies où il consacre une brillante étude à Bergson (p. 375 à 402).

J'ai eu moi-même à parler de l'intuition bergsonnienne dans le livre récent, paru en Suisse, dont Mgr Mulla vous entretient.

Veuillez agréer, cher Monsieur, mon fidèle souvenir, mes vœux les plus sincères et mon cordial dévouement. (signé :) MBLONDEL

Appendix VI (UCL, PFT ALPHA, Fonds Maurice Blondel 57645;
Letter from Nurettin Topçu to Charles Blondel, Maurice Blondel's son)

LXIV 99

répondre au nom de
M. Charles Blondel et
retourner, après l'usage, les
deux lettres unanimes
7-8-50

Istanbul, ce 28 juillet 1950

57645

Cher monsieur,

Ayant appris par la lettre de M. Léopold
Dor, Président de la Société des Amis de
Maurice Blondel, que vous êtes chargé
de recueillir la correspondance de votre
Père, je vous adresse deux lettres de lui
que je tiens en mains. Je serais content
si vous voudriez me les retourner après
l'utilisation.

Je vous prie d'agréer, cher monsieur,
l'expression de mes sentiments très
distingués.

Membre de la Société
des Amis de Maurice Blondel

N. Topçu

Nurettin Topçu

esse :

Emdar
in Sinan mahallesi
tır sokak - n° 9
Istanbul (Turquie)

Appendix VII (UCL, PFT ALPHA, Fonds Maurice Blondel
57646; Letter from Nurettin Topçu to Maurice Blondel)

60

Istanbul, ce 30 mars 1942

57646

mon cher maître,
je vous remercie de la lettre du 5 Février
par laquelle vous avez bien voulu me procurer
des renseignements sur la bibliographie
bergsonienne. Je suis toujours sensible
à votre bienveillance par laquelle vous
m'avez rendu des services inoubliables.
Je suis reconnaissant aussi à mon maître
Monsieur Brunschwig. Je suis également
reconnaissant à mon compatriote Monseigneur
Mulla, celui qui m'a mis au courant
de votre pensée philosophique et qui m'a
approché de votre connaissance bienveillante.
Veuillez agréer, mon cher maître,
l'expression de mes respects les plus
profonds.

Prof. de philosophie

N. Topçu

96

Appendix VIII (Titles and authors of some books published by Hareket Publishing House)

- 1) *Nesillerin Ruhu*, Mehmet Kaplan 2) *Garp İlminin Kur'an-ı Kerim Hayranlığı*, İsmail Hami Danişmend 5) *Varoluş Felsefesi*, P. Poulquie'den N. Topçu 6) *Köy Kadını-Memleket Parçaları*, Remzi Oğuz Arık 7) *Coğrafyadan Vatana*, Remzi Oğuz Arık 8) *İdeal ve İdeoloji*, Remzi Oğuz Arık 9) *İradenin Davası*, Nurettin Topçu 10) *Bergson*, Nurettin Topçu 11) *Gurbet-İnmeyen Bayrak*, Remzi Oğuz Arık 12) *Büyük Fetih*, Nurettin Topçu 13) *Fransız Düşünce Tarihçesi*, R. Daval'dan M. Ulaş 15) *Türk Gençliğine*, Remzi Oğuz Arık 16) *Sait Faik'in Hikaye Dünyası*, Mustafa Kutlu 17) *Milli Tarihimizin Adı*, Mükrimin Halil Yınanç 18) *Beşir Fuad*, Orhan Okay 19) *Celaleddin Harzemşah*, Namık Kemal 20) *Bahçivan*, Tagore'dan C. Durkan 22) *Beyaz Geceler*, Dostoyevski'den Y. Dikbaş 23) *İslam ve İnsan*, Nurettin Topçu 24) *Devlet ve Demokrasi*, Nurettin Topçu 26) *İslam Hukukunda Devlet Yapısı*, Hüseyin Hatemi 27) *Ortadaki Adam*, Mustafa Kutlu 28) *Türkiye'nin Maarif Davası*, Nurettin Topçu 29) *Hikayeler*, Anton Çehov'dan Y. Dikbaş 30) *Kültür ve Medeniyet*, Nurettin Topçu 31) *Ahlak Nizamı*, Nurettin Topçu 32) *Gitanjeli*, Tagore'dan C. Durkan 33) *Nerede Duruyoruz*, Gökhan Evliyaoğlu 34) *Al Karısı* (hikayeler), Şevket Bulut 35) *Devleti Kuran İrade*, Emin Işık 36) *Felsefeye Giriş*, Karl Jaspers'den M. Akalın 37) *Egzistansiyalist Felsefenin Beş Klasiği*, F. Magil'den V. Mutal 38) *Yunus Emre*, Muzaffer Civelek 39) *Ulusal Sinema Kavgası*, Halit Refiğ 40) *Dostoyevski*, Andre Suarés'den V. Bürün 41) *Türk İktisat Tarihi*, Gökhan Evliyaoğlu 42) *Sabahattin Ali*, Mustafa Kutlu 43) *İnsan, Kainat ve Ötesi*, A.C. Morrison'dan Bekir Topaloğlu 44) *İslam Kapitalizm Uyuşmazlığı*, Seyyit Kutub'dan A. Niyazioğlu 45) *Türkiye'de Sol Hareketler*, Aclan Sayılğan 46) *Türk Dili*, Ali Karamanlıoğlu 47) *Akşam Gümrükçükleri* (şiirler), H. Hüsrev Hatemi 48) *Seyran* (şiirler), Bahattin Karakoç 49) *Sevmek Zamanı* (senaryo), Metin Erksan 50) *Anadolu'nun Yurt Edinilmesi*, Osman Turan 51) *Kur'an'ın Getirdiği*, Emin Işık 52) *Mevlana ve Tasavvuf*, Nurettin Topçu 53) *Mevlana*, Ali Nihad Tarlan 54) *Yirminci Asırda Felsefe*, F. Mayer'den V. Mutal 55) *Sarı Arabalar* (hikayeler),

Şevket Bulut 56) *İslam-Dünü Bugünü*, Cemal Arzu 57) *Toprağa Doğru*, Dursun Özer 58) *Tevrat, İncil ve Kur'an*, J. Jomier'den Sakıb Yıldız 59) *İslam Sosyalizmi*, Mustafa Sibai'den A. Niyazioğlu 60) *Gönül İşi* (hikayeler), Mustafa Kutlu 61) *Ege Denzinde Türk Hakları*, Mehmet Saka 62) *Görüşlerim*, M. Kaddafi 63) Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın bütün eserleri I/ *Milliyetçilik* (Coğrafyadan Vatana/İdeal ve İdeoloji/Türk İnkılapları ve Milliyetçiliğimiz) 64) Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın bütün eserleri II/ *Meseleler* (Türk Gençliğine, Gurbet-İnmeyen Bayrak, Köy Kadını) 65) *Haşhaş Meselesi ve Türkiye*, Ayhan Songar 66) *Siyasi Hatıratım*, Abdülhamit 67) *Allaha Adanan Yumruk*, Muhammed Ali.

Appendix IX (Notes on publishing periods of *Hareket*)

The last issue of first period: “Abone olmak isteyenler, abone bedelini posta havalesiyle ve idare evimiz adresine göndermeliler.” November 1939.

The first issue of second period: “Hareket mecmuası muhtelif sebeplerden dolayı üç seneden beri neşriyatını durdurdu. Bu kadar uzun duraklamadan sonra yazı ailesini genişleterek tekrar neşrine devam edecektir.” December 1942.

The last issue of second period: “Mecmuamıza, 12’inci sayısından sonra yaz tatili veriyoruz. ‘Hareket’ bu tatil esnasında ancak yazı işlerine ait bazı hazırlıkları tamamladıktan sonra tekrar çıkarılmağa devam edecektir.” May 1943.

The first issue of third period: “Okuyucularımıza: Dört yıldanberi, birçok sebepler yüzünden neşriyatını durdurmuş olan ‘Hareket’ yeni ve geniş bir kadro ile tekrar okuyucu karşısına çıkıyor. Onun bundan böyle arızasız olarak devamı, bilhassa okuyucuların elindedir. ‘Hareket’i seviyorsanız onu başkalarına da sevdiniz. Bu sizin fikirlerinizin cemiyete intişarı ve kök salması demektir.” March 1947.

The Last issue of third period: “Hareketin Tatil İlanı: ‘Hareket’ mecmuası, bu sayısından sonra, yaz dolayısıyla, neşriyatını bir müddet tatil edecektir.” June 1949.

No explanation in the first issue of fourth period.

The last issue of fourth period: “Okuyucularımıza: Yaz tatili münasebetile Hareket’in Sekizinci sayısı 1-Ekim-1953 de çıkacaktır.” June 1953.

The first issue of fifth period: “Geçen yıllar içinde Hareket çilesini doldurdu. Tohum meyva verdi. Olgunlaşan gövdeden, çürük dallarla zehirli yemişleri ayıklamak zamanı geldi. İsteklerin filizlendiği dallardan bazan istenmeyen meyva toplandı. Güneşe çevrilen dallar karanlıklara doğru eğildi. Her şeye rağmen sonsuzluğa yollanan kervan kah dağda, kah çölde, sonsuzluğun sunduğu şevk ile ilerliyor.” January 1966.

The Last issue of fifth period: “Hareket, otuzaltı yıllık dergi, 67 kitap yayını ile bugüne ulaştı. Beşinci seri, onuncu cilt, 111. Sayısı ile bir yayım dönemini daha geride bırakmış oluyor. Önümüzdeki günlerde Hareket dergisi ve Yayınları iktisaden daha güçlenmek üzere şirketleşme çalışmalarına başlamıştır. Bu çalışmalar nihayetleninceye kadar dergi idare heyeti, Hareket dergisinin yayımına bir süre ara vermeyi kararlaştırmıştır.” March 1975.

The first issue of sixth

period: “Hareket bu yeni döneminde Hocamızın yolunda yürümeye devam edecektir. Şimdilik üçer aylık olarak yayınına devam edecek olan Hareket, kuruluş hazırlıkları biten Anadolu Kültür ve Eğitim Vakfı ile birlikte Türk düşüncesine mal olan Nurettin Topçu, R. Oğuz Arık, A. Hamdi Tanpınar v.b. düşünürler üzerinde çalışmalar yoğunlaştırılacaktır.” January-February-March 1976. **No explanation in the last issue of sixth period. The first issue of seventh period:** “Hareket yeni bir ad değil.(...)Türkiye’de kendi çizgisini daima doğrultarak, her kesilişten sonra daha gürleştirecek kırk yıl devam ettiren başka bir fikir organı yoktur. Son sayısı iki yıl önce yayınlanmış olan bu derginin elinizdeki sayısı 40. yılını idararak ettiği günlerde çıkıyor. (...)” March 1979. **The last issue of seventh period:** “Dergimiz elinizdeki 25. Sayısından itibaren yayımına ara verecektir. Yayına ilk başladığı 1939 yılından itibaren Hareket dergisinin yayın hayatından böyle merhaleler, ara vermeler olmuştur. Bu duruma sebebiyet veren unsurların burada sayılması, tahlil edilmesi şimdilik gerekli değil. Aslanan sürekli oluşun sağlanması, araya giren zamanın neşvemizi köretlmemesi.” March 1982.

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AJ/16/7078. Registre des procès verbaux d'admissions au grade de docteur d'Etat (avec indication des sujets de thèse) 1923-1959.

AJ/16/7098. Avis de soutenance de thèse 1933-1934.

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Université Catholique de Louvain in Belgium (Les plates-formes technologiques; Fonds d'archives de littérature, philosophie et arts; Fonds Maurice Blondel):

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