

Halide Edib's *The Turkish Ordeal*: More Than An Autobiography

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HalideEdib's *The Turkish Ordeal*: More than an Autobiography

Halide Edib'in *The Turkish Ordeal*'i: Bir Otobiyografi'den Daha Fazlası

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Özet

Bu tez iki metin üzerine odaklanmaktadır: Halide Edib'in anılarının ikinci cildi olan *The Turkish Ordeal* ve Mustafa Kemal'in epik anlatısı *Nutuk*. Çalışmanın amacı *The Turkish Ordeal*'in, *Nutuk*'un yazarının psikobiyografisi ve psikanalizi olarak okunabileceğini göstermeye çalışmaktır. Bu inceleme esnasında Halide Edib'in, her ne kadar psikanalitik terimleri kullanamasa da, son yılların psikanalitik gözlem ve tanımlamalarıyla tamamen uyuşacak biçimde Mustafa Kemal'in gerçek kişilik yapısını, iç dünyasını ve davranışlarının arkasındaki güdülenmeyi yansıttığı savunulur. Takip eden bölümde, *Nutuk*, yazarının kişiliğinin en bilinen kişisel anlatısına yansıtıp yansımadığını görebilmek için anlatıbilimsel ve psikanalitik açıdan ele alınır. Üçüncü ve son bölümde, *The Turkish Ordeal*'in yakın okuması yapılır ve *The Turkish Ordeal*'in güvenilir bir metinden uzak olduğuna dikkat çekilir.

Abstract

This thesis focuses on two texts, namely, *The Turkish Ordeal*, the second volume of Halide Edib's memoirs and Mustafa Kemal's epic narrative *Nutuk*. The aim of the study is how *The Turkish Ordeal* could be said to be a psychobiography and psychoanalysis of the author of *Nutuk*. Through this analysis, Halide Edib is argued to depict a clear picture of Mustafa Kemal's true personality, inner self and motivations behind his actions, which completely corresponds to the psychoanalytic observations and descriptions of recent years, though she cannot apply the psychoanalytic terms. In the following chapter *Nutuk* is analyzed from a narratological and psychoanalytic angle to see if the personality organization of the author is reflected in his most famous self-narration. In the third and last chapter, a close reading of *The Turkish Ordeal* is carried out and point out that it is far from being a reliable text.

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Regardless of the scope of research, width of subject matter or the libidinal energy the writer catches in the project, completing a thesis is always difficult and thus, contributes to the psychological growth of the thesis writer as well as to the intellectual development since the process enables the writer to face his/her capabilities of facing the external pressure with his/her internal structure against the disintegration of the cohesiveness of the self. At least it was the case with me. I have been able to observe my (in)ability of facing great external pressure with my internal structure, the limitations of my calmness and rationality. I must note I was not always successful in repelling the pressure, sometimes verging on collapse, amnesia and neurosis (if not psychosis). Now that I have completed my thesis, I may claim that I have survived. In this survival, there are many people that I should thank, though I have to limit myself (since “this is only an MA thesis”). Words do not suffice to express my gratitude and admiration for Jale Parla. If not for her, I would not have been able to complete this thesis. In addition to her intellectual support, her warm personality has soothed my ever-anxious/nervous existence. Murat Belge is also one of those professors who should be admired not only for his well-known intellectual accomplishments but also for his admirable character, which is made of up modesty, frankness and kindness. Also, I owe many thanks to Sibel Irzik, who accepted to be in the defense committee despite my quite late request and has provided me with invaluable suggestions for further study.

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Introduction

Mustafa Kemal is one of the most renowned political leaders and capable commanders of the twentieth century. Born as Mustafa¹ in 1881 in Salonika (present-day Thessaloniki, Greece), he was the only surviving male child of a pious mother and modernist father. Completing his primary education at Şemsi Efendi School, he enrolled in military high school of his own accord, despite his mother's protests. He completed his studies at the War College in Istanbul in 1902 and attended War Academy, graduating in 1905. His early military career coincided with the revolutionary political attempts to overthrow the despotic reign of the sultan Abdulhamit II, who, after closing the first Ottoman Parliament and suspending the first constitutional era in 1877, initiated an absolutist reign for 31 years until the restoration of the Ottoman Parliament and the 1876 constitution in 1908. Despite being a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, which played an important part in overturning Abdulhamit II and became virtually sovereign power after 1909, Mustafa Kemal was exiled to remote parts of the empire due to his open criticism of the policies of Enver Pasha and the Committee. Being the most powerful man in the empire at the time, Enver Pasha always found a pretext to assign Mustafa Kemal to almost non-existent armies in remote parts of the empire and get him out of Istanbul. The chance to realize his dreams of grandeur comes after the Ottoman Empire was defeated in World War 1, since she was allied with the Central Powers through Germany. The war came to an end in 1918 with the collapse of the Central Powers. The Ottoman Empire capitulated and signed the Armistice of Mudros. Based on the

¹ The official history, probably based on Atatürk's memoirs and claims, indicates that the name Kemal was given to him by his mathematics teacher, since both were named Mustafa; Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, however, reveals that according to a schoolmate of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk there was another student in the class named Mustafa and the teacher named Atatürk as Mustafa Kemal to differentiate between the two students, not between himself and Atatürk. See Volkan and Itzkowitz 1984, *The Immortal Atatürk*, 36-7.

several articles of the armistice, the Allied Powers occupied different parts of the empire, forced the armies of the empire to disarmament and violated the local population. Mustafa Kemal was sent to Samsun by the sultan Mehmet VI and Damat Ferit Pasha as the General Inspector of the Eastern Forces² to restore order in the East and suppress the uprisings of Anatolian people, whereas Mustafa Kemal had already made plans with Ali Fuad (Cebesoy), Kazım Karabekir Pasha, Colonel Ismet (Inonu) and Colonel Refet (Bele) to unite the separate local movements against the Allied Powers into a nationalist movement. The local movements turn into the three-year-struggle of Turkey against the Allied Powers (Triple Entente) between 1919 and 1922. Mustafa Kemal acted as the leader of the nationalist movement and commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces, although the movement lacked coherence in the beginning. When the Independence Struggle was over with the victory of the Turkish armies, Mustafa Kemal embarked upon a rapid westernization and modernization movement through political, legal, cultural, social and economic reformations such as the abolition of the sultanate and the caliphate, the proclamation of the republic, the unification of education, the adoption of the Latin alphabet, the adaptation of the Swiss civil code and Italian penal code, the establishment of Turkish History Association and Turkish Linguistic Society. Mustafa Kemal maintained his keen interest in westernization and modernization reforms until his death in 1938 and reinforced the implementation and acknowledgment of the reforms through Anatolian tours, public speeches, assembly meetings, and interviews.³

Hence, there are many documents and books made up from his speeches, memoirs,

² The authority of Mustafa Kemal was in fact extended to compromise all Anatolian forces through the help of his friends at the ministry of War and the parliament. See Volkan and Itzkowitz 1984, 121-3 and Kemal 1929, 15.

³ For detailed information on Mustafa Kemal's life, see Volkan and Itzkowitz, 1984; Aydemir 1995; Cebesoy 1997; Kinross 1964 and 1992.

and interviews; in reality, however, he is the author of only one book: *Nutuk*⁴, the book form of the speech he delivered in the national assembly between the 15th and 20th November, 1927 for thirty six and a half hours. In *Nutuk*, Mustafa Kemal gives an account of the Independence War and other historical events from 1919 to 1927. Based on *Nutuk*, the official national history accept the war to have begun with the arrival of Mustafa Kemal, the commander-in-chief of the Turkish armies, in Samsun and finished with the final defeat of the Greek armies in Kutahya on 30th August, 1922. The independence war was waged by the nationalists, including prominent soldiers, leading intellectuals, foremost statesmen and patriotic people, whose aim was to have an independent Turkish state, against the imperialistic powers which consisted of the Ottoman sultan, the Ottoman cabinet and the Allied Powers. Some of those who took part in this struggle wrote their memoirs relating to this period and today it is possible to see various memoirs and autobiographies which are made of memories from this period, whereas they were not allowed to be published until recently since their contents contradict with the official national history.⁵ *The Turkish Ordeal: being the further memoirs of Halide Edib* by Halide Edib, *Siyasi Hatıralar* (Political Memoirs) by Rauf Orbay, *Dr. Rıza Nur'un Moskova / Sakarya Hatıraları* (Dr. Rıza Nur's Memoirs of Moscow and Sakarya), *İlk meclisin perde arkası: 1920-1923* (Backstage of the First Assembly: 1920-1923), *Hayat ve Hatıratım* (My Life and Memoirs) by Dr. Rıza Nur, *Milli Mücadele Hatıraları* (National Struggle Memoirs) and *Gl. Ali Fuat Cebesoy'un Siyasi Hâtıraları* (Political Memoirs of General Ali Fuat Cebesoy) by Ali Fuad Cebesoy, *İstiklal Harbimiz* (Our

⁴ Throughout this study, I use the English translation of *Nutuk*, namely, *A Speech delivered by Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha*. So I maintain to use *Nutuk* as the title of the speech/book in the study, although all of the quotations are taken from *A Speech*.

⁵ Halide Edib's memoirs, *Memoirs of Halide Edib*, and *The Turkish Ordeal* were first published in English in England. They were translated by the author and Vedat Günyol into Turkish with great modifications only in the 1960s. Kazim Karabekir's memoirs were burnt when they were submitted to a printing workshop and were allowed to be published only in 1990s, almost 60 years after the attempt at publication. See Adak 2003 and Karabekir 2008.

Independence War) by Kazım Kara Bekir, *Anadolu İnkılâbı : Milli Mücadele Anıları (1919-1923)* (Anatolian Revolution: National Struggle Memoirs) by Colonel Arif are among the most renowned memoirs which relate experiences and reminiscences from this period. According to the official national history of Turkish Republic based on *Nutuk*, Mustafa Kemal is the omnipotent and omniscient savior of the Turkish nation, who leaves from Istanbul in May 1919 for Samsun with the knowledge that he is going to defeat the Allied Powers, found the independent Turkish Republic, and abolish the Caliphate and the Sultanate. The above-mentioned memoirs of the leading figures who take part in the nationalist movement, however, show that historical events do not take place as dictated in the official history and thus there are discrepancies between the official history and what happened in reality. In this study, I focus on one of these “unpopular” memoirs, namely *The Turkish Ordeal* by Halide Edib and *Nutuk* by Mustafa Kemal. In contrast with all the other “invisible” memoirs of the leading figures in the nationalist movement, *Nutuk* is the main document of the official national history of present Turkey; what is told there has been accepted as the history of the Turkish Republic from 1919 to 1927. Besides, the text has been closed to criticism, analysis or refutation for years. Accordingly, it would not be wrong to call the book “the sacred text”⁶ of the official national history with innumerable prints and editions, whereas *The Turkish Ordeal* was not translated into Turkish until 34 years after its first publication, and it was only with great modifications (though the author was co-translator with Vedat Günyol.)⁷ These two texts have certain similarities on a surface level. Their content is corresponding for both are based on the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and The

⁶ Adak 2003, 512.

⁷ Günyol claims that Halide Edib chose to exclude the passages which demonstrated her conflicts with Mustafa Kemal in the Turkish translation of *The Turkish Ordeal*. See Durakbaşa 2000, 180; Günyol 1982; Yılmaz 2002.

Independence Struggle of Turkey. Both works could be labeled as autobiography/memoir on a surface level since they tell their authors' lives for a certain period. As their authors are important historical and political figures, these texts could be regarded as political records as well as historical documents.

Nevertheless, on a close textual analysis, it is obvious to see that they are quite different. First of all, *The Turkish Ordeal* is originally written in English,⁸ whereas *Nutuk* is the book form of the speech Mustafa Kemal gave for 6 days in the Turkish Great National Assembly and accordingly it is originally in Turkish. Their narration techniques differ significantly. Halide Edib, being an acknowledged writer, uses literary techniques and gives depth to the characters as well as to the events. *Nutuk* lacks the multi-dimensions and the multi-layers that *The Turkish Ordeal* has.

Besides, although they focus on the same people who participate in the Independence Struggle, they are flat characters in *Nutuk*, while they appear as round characters in *The Turkish Ordeal*. The same may be claimed to be true even for the authors.

Whereas the author of *Nutuk* does not undergo any psychological change or maturation process, the author of *The Turkish Ordeal* depicts the changes in her moods or personality through time and experience, which are dealt in detail in the third chapter.

One of the most important relations between these two texts is that they are in a kind of “dialogue” with each other. Most scholars⁹ agree that *The Turkish Ordeal* is written as a self-defense against *Nutuk* which, besides many other leading figures of the struggle, includes explicit and implicit pejorative references to Halide Edib.

⁸ Durakbaşa asserts that the fact that her memoirs are in English reinforces her role and identity as a writer and female spokesperson who wants to announce Turkish Independence to the world. Durakbaşa 2000, 175. Erol claims that writing in English creates an estrangement effect. Erol 2003, xii.

⁹ For example, Adak 2003, 510.

Indeed, *The Turkish Ordeal* is full of implicit references to *Nutuk* and through her memoirs Edib seems to show us that the story is not as reflected in *Nutuk*. Moreover, the representations of other “victimized” nationalist figures enable Edib to defend herself through them. On the other hand, *Nutuk* gives an account of the Independence Struggle from its author/orator’ point of view and provides letters and telegraphs as evidence to its indisputable reality. *Nutuk* could be said to be a preemptive book/document written in advance in order to discredit all the possible claims to Turkish Independence Struggle and establish Mustafa Kemal’s account of the events as the only available and valid account. Moreover, psychologically *Nutuk* is a dramatic packaging for its author, which enables him to leave the struggle period behind and engage himself in a new pursuit. Hence, although the two books are based on the same period in Turkish history, they give quite contrasting accounts thereof. In this sense *The Turkish Ordeal* is a historical document, through which we can realize that *Nutuk* depicts only one version of Turkish history, instead of being the history itself, as the book claims to be. What is more interesting is that *The Turkish Ordeal* gives light to the speeches and actions of the author of *Nutuk* in a way that is not hinted at all in *Nutuk*. Whereas we witness the infallibility of Mustafa Kemal in *Nutuk*, we see a more complex picture of him in *The Turkish Ordeal*, where he is depicted to have extraordinary abilities as well as big weaknesses. I claim that besides being a historically significant, politically valuable, literally important text, *The Turkish Ordeal* is more than an autobiography of a leading literary and political figure: it depicts Mustafa Kemal in such a depth that it could be counted as psychobiography and psychoanalysis of Mustafa Kemal. While narrating the events of the Independence Struggle, Halide Edib gives a thorough description of Mustafa Kemal’s personality and a psychological account of his motives throughout the

struggle. Vamik Volkan and Norman Itzkowitz, in their *The Immortal Atatürk: A Psychobiography*, give a detailed psychoanalysis of Mustafa Kemal based on the biographical facts. They claim that due to his childhood and his relationship with his parents, Mustafa Kemal developed narcissistic personality traits and a grandiose self image. In a few instances in their book, Volkan and Itzkowitz quote from *The Turkish Ordeal* to support their findings. In this study, I try to show that *The Turkish Ordeal* is a thorough psychoanalysis of Mustafa Kemal, beyond and exceeding the examples given by Volkan and Itzkowitz, and Edib's observations not only reinforces the claims of *The Immortal Atatürk* but also comply with the psychoanalytic descriptions of narcissistic personality traits, which began to appear in 1970s, forty years later than the publication of *The Turkish Ordeal*. Furthermore, *Nutuk* provides us an area to exercise the observations of psychoanalysts and Edib.¹⁰

Accordingly, in the first chapter of this study, I present a short analysis of psychoanalytic writings on the description of narcissistic personality disorder and try to give a complete picture of narcissistic personality traits. Following this part, I focus on the psychobiography of Mustafa Kemal in *The Immortal Atatürk* by Volkan and Itzkowitz. I concentrate on the childhood, adolescence and early maturity years of Mustafa Kemal until the Gallipoli Battle and construct his personality through his self-concept and his relationships with his parents. In the following section of the same chapter, I focus on *The Turkish Ordeal* as psychoanalysis and psychobiography of Mustafa Kemal. In my view, *The Turkish Ordeal* includes significant observations on and invaluable insight into Mustafa Kemal's personality. In the first section of the second chapter, I approach *Nutuk* from a narratological basis. I focus on the

¹⁰ Volkan and Itzkowitz do not elaborate on *Nutuk* as a document to provide insight about the narcissistic personality organization of its author, though they quote some passages whenever a need to clarify their argument arises.

representation of the narrator's own self-concept and of people around him, analyzing the balance between what he claims and what he represents in his self-narrative. The narrator turns out to be unreliable due to the irrevocable imbalance between his self-concept and other nationalist figures, as well as the discrepancy between his claim of being insightful and his real lack of maturation.¹¹ In the second section of the same chapter, I analyze *Nutuk* as the reflection of its author/narrator's personality. At the end of the analysis, it becomes clear that *Nutuk* gives hint to the narcissistic personality of its author/narrator through "omnipotent control," "primitive forms of projection, particularly projective identification," "primitive and pathological idealization," "narcissistic withdrawal and devaluation" applied by the author/narrator to defend himself against "limited" others and secure his position as the nonpareil leader. In the third and last chapter, I turn to *The Turkish Ordeal* and try to evaluate how reliable its narrator is since I claim that it gives a true and coherent analysis of Mustafa Kemal's personality. A close textual analysis of *The Turkish Ordeal* indicates that its narrator is not reliable, either. The defensive techniques which are similar to those in *Nutuk* are applied in her memoirs. The same imbalance between the representation of the narrator's inflated self-concept and of others' inferior qualities, as well as the discrepancy between her claim of being insightful and her feelings of superiority is visible in Edib's autobiography. Thus, while we can trust Edib in her analysis of Mustafa Kemal's personality, we cannot

¹¹ Wayne Booth, in his *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, defines unreliable narrator as one who "does not speak in accordance with... the implied author's norms." (158-9) Dorrit Cohn maintains that in a real autobiography, "the parameter of unreliability (in Booth's sense of the word) is by definition reduced to zero." Cohn 2000a, 34. Though this definition operates for fictional narratives, we can apply it to the factual narratives, which are supposed to be based on factual events and "serious" writings. The author of a factual narrative should, by "norm" be adhered to the fact-based objective quality of his narrative. If the narrator of this factual narrative cannot keep his objectiveness and diminishes the distance between him and the protagonist of the factual narrative, we can grant that that narrator is unreliable. Since there is a great discrepancy between the narrator's grandiose self concept of extraordinary insight and the limitations of other figures and since the narrator cannot keep the distance between himself and the historical events, we can maintain that the narrator of *Nutuk* is unreliable.

call her a “reliable narrator” due to problematic representation in her self-narrative. This results in a dual image of Halide Edib in this study, resonating her dual picture in literary, political, historical and cultural arena. In the conclusion, I propose possible solutions to this prevalent dual image of Halide Edib both in this study and literary, political and historical arena and what kind of further study can be done upon this thesis, besides expounding on the cultural inheritance of Mustafa Kemal’s narcissistic personality traits and *Nutuk* on Turkey’s present cultural life.

Chapter I

Narcissistic Personality Organization, *The Immortal Atatürk* and *The Turkish Ordeal*

A. Clinical Writings on The Development of Narcissistic Personality Traits

Much has been said, added, and changed about “narcissism” since Freud’s article entitled “On Narcissism: An Introduction” appeared in 1914. Freud asserts that his intent on defining the scope of schizophrenia led him to study “narcissism.”¹² Today, however, schizophrenia is defined as an “unanalyzable” psychotic disorder,¹³ whereas narcissism is not restricted to schizophrenia or illness,¹⁴ though pathologic narcissism (as opposed to normal narcissism) is regarded as illness and not easily curable.¹⁵ Sandler argues that “issues of narcissism” have been central in psychoanalysis in recent times and even popular culture is involved in this attention, using narcissism quite frequently, though in a different meaning from the clinicians¹⁶. Otto F. Kernberg points out that the term narcissistic has not only been overused but also abused.¹⁷ As a layman’s term, “narcissistic” has been used as synonymous with arrogant, self-confident and self-righteous. Clinical studies, however, point at a more complicated picture of patients with narcissistic personality organization:

¹² Freud 1914, 4.

¹³ Kohut, in his *The Restoration of The Self*, classifies “the primary disturbance of the self” in five psychopathological entities : “the psychoses,” “the borderline states,” “the schizoid and the paranoid personalities,” “the narcissistic personality disorders,” and “the narcissistic behavior disorders” the first three of which are “in principle not analyzable”, whereas the last two are “in principle analyzable.” Kohut 1977, 193.

¹⁴ Sandler 1991, xiv.

¹⁵ In contrast with Kohut, who is optimistic about the treatment of narcissistic personality disorder, Kernberg asserts that the success rate of psychoanalytic treatment in patients with narcissistic personality disorder is quite low. Kernberg 1974b, 266.

¹⁶ Sandler 1991, ix.

¹⁷ Kernberg 1970, 51.

[Patients with a narcissistic personality organization] present an unusual degree of self-reference in their interactions with other people, a great need to be loved and admired by others, and a curious apparent contradiction between a very inflated concept of themselves and an inordinate need for tribute from others.¹⁸

Kernberg emphasizes that more or less psychoanalysts agree on the “the descriptive clinical characteristics of the narcissistic personality”; they, however, disagree about “its underlying metapsychological assumptions and its optimal technical approach within a psychoanalytic modality of treatment.”¹⁹ One of the points on which psychoanalysts seem to agree is the relationship between the mother and the infant in the early development phase, which plays a crucial role in the emergence of narcissistic personality disorder.

Modell uses the term “holding environment” introduced by Winnicott to illuminate the effects of the relationship between the mother/caretaker and the child. He maintains that:

the mother, or more accurately, the caretaking adults, stand between the child and the actual environment and that the child and its caretaker are an open system joined by means of the communication of affects. The holding environment provides an illusion of safety and protection, an illusion that depends upon the bond of affective communication between the caretaker and the child.²⁰

In this way, the mother protects the child against both dangers from outside and from inside (the aggressive impulses of the child). The deficiency in the holding

¹⁸ Kernberg 1970, 52.

¹⁹ Kernberg 1974b, 255.

²⁰ Modell, 1976, 290.

environment disrupts the normal development of the child and leads to a illusionary premature sense of self sufficiency:

When there is a loss of this holding environment, which may occur for a variety of reasons, such as the illness of the parents or their emotional unavailability, the child is forced into a premature maturation and, in a sense, for a period at least, ceases to be a child, for to have a childhood requires the presence of a holding environment. A child who is forced into a premature self-sufficiency does so by means of an illusion [...], an illusion for which the ego pays a price.²¹

The mothers/caretaking figures of narcissistic people are predominantly “cold parental figures with covert but intense aggression,” while they are simultaneously overprotective.²² The chronically cold mother figures seem to handle well “on the surface in a superficially well-organized home, but with a degree of callousness, indifference, and nonverbalized, spiteful aggression.”²³ Kohut puts forth a similar diagnosis by stating that the mothers of patients with narcissistic personality disorder fail to feel empathy and are “overtly intrusive.”²⁴ Modell concurs with Kohut and equates his diagnosis to the fall of the holding environment, claiming that “childishly fatuous and silly or extremely unpredictable” mothers fail to protect the child physically and psychologically, which causes the child to form “a precocious and premature sense of self, a sense of self that retains its fragility and must be supported by omnipotent, grandiose fantasies.”²⁵ Raised by such a mother figure in the early

²¹ Ibid, 290.

²² Kernberg 1974a, 221.

²³ Kernberg 1970, 51; Kernberg 1974a, 221.

²⁴ Cited by Modell 1976, 303.

²⁵ Modell 1976, 303.

development periods, the child perceives herself/himself as special, and s/he begins to form grandiose fantasies around this specialness. Narcissistic personality organization defends the child against “his deep convictions of unworthiness, his frightening image of the world as being devoid of food and love, and his self-concept of the hungry wolf out to kill, eat and survive.”²⁶

Psychoanalysts also agree on the characteristics of people with narcissistic personality disorder. Narcissistic people are defined as abnormally ruthless, destructive, excessively self-absorbed, exceedingly ambitious, seemingly self-sufficient and indifferent to the external world and other people beyond their needs. Behind their self-sufficient self, there lies an intense need to be loved, approved and appreciated by others. Nevertheless, it is difficult to claim that narcissistic people depend completely on others due to their pathologic object relations. Thus, their emotional life is also quite intricate:

Their emotional life is shallow. They experience little empathy for the feelings of others, they obtain very little enjoyment from life other than from the tributes they receive from others or from their own grandiose fantasies, and they feel restless and bored when external glitter wears off and no new sources feed their self-regard. They envy others, tend to idealize some people from whom they expect narcissistic supplies and to depreciate and treat with contempt those from whom they do not expect anything (often their former idols). In general, their relationships with other people are clearly exploitative and sometimes parasitic. It is as if they feel they have the right to

²⁶ Kernberg 1974a, 221.

control and possess others and to exploit them without guilt feelings—and, behind a surface which very often is charming and engaging, one senses coldness and ruthlessness. Very often such patients are considered to be dependent because they need so much tribute and adoration from others, but on a deeper level they are completely unable really to depend on anybody because of their deep distrust and depreciation of others.²⁷

Vamik D. Volkan states that on a surface level they function socially better than borderline patient due to their grandiose ambitions, though they display profound “primitive oral-aggressive conflicts.” They can work unceasingly in projects that promise to realize their ambitions thanks to their “pseudosublimatory potential.”²⁸ Elaborating on Kernberg’s observations, Volkan also states that unlike obsessive people who have a rigid morality, the narcissistic patient is “corruptible”. Instead of having inflexible principles, they prefer to change their “rules” according to their best interests. Moreover, the narcissistic patients fail to be genuinely concerned about anything beyond their needs except for “superficial emotions of a quick and transient sort”, in contrast with the obsessive patients who are not only interested in “social, political and similar issues” but also comprehend others’ emotions²⁹. Kernberg notes that besides the absence of emotional depth and variety in narcissistic people, they cannot grasp “complex emotions” in others, reporting that it is quite possible to see “quick flare-ups and subsequent dispersal of emotion.”³⁰ They lack feelings of mourning; instead of feeling sad for their losses, they can only resent, accompanied by

²⁷ Kernberg 1970, 52.

²⁸ Volkan 1973, 352.

²⁹ Ibid, 352.

³⁰ Kernberg 1970, 53.

vengeful desires.³¹ Their feelings of superiority, brilliance, and autonomy are accompanied by fears of inferiority, insecurity and profound envy of others. To defend themselves against both dangers from without and dangers from within, they use “primitive defensive mechanisms” such as splitting, denial, primitive projective identification, omnipotent control, and primitive and pathological idealization, and devaluation.”³² Their “pseudosublimatory potential”, that is their “capacity” to work incessantly for long durations and with their entire vitality enable them to realize their fantasies of grandeur and obtain admiration from others.

Despite their consensus on the external aspects of the disorder, psychoanalysts disagree about the internal aspects of the emergence of narcissistic personality. In fact, it is possible to claim that most psychoanalysts disagree with Kohut’s postulations. Kohut, who introduced the term “grandiose self”³³ claims that narcissistic personality organization occurs when the patient "remain[s] fixated on archaic grandiose self-configurations and/or on archaic, overestimated, narcissistically cathected objects" and adds:

These patients are suffering from specific disturbances in the realm of the self and of those archaic objects cathected with narcissistic libido (self-objects) which are still in intimate connection with the archaic self (i.e., objects which are not experienced as separate and independent from the self).³⁴

³¹ Ibid, 53.

³² Kernberg 1974a, 215.

³³ Grandiose self, first coined by Heinz Kohut in 1964, is used in psychoanalysis to describe a self representation which is characterized by abnormal ambition, the desire to be unparalleled in power, and beauty, extraordinary self-centeredness and an exceptional lack of empathy for others. Many psychoanalysts (including Kernberg, Volkan, Modell, Bach) use the term in lieu of “pathological self structure”(Kernberg), “the omnipotent mad self”(Rosenfeld), “narcissistic self (Kohut), though they do not all agree with Kohut on the origin of the grandiose self.

³⁴ Kohut 1971, 3.

Many psychoanalysts, however, dissent with this definition, declaring that by restricting narcissism to the fixation on “archaic grandiose self-configurations,” Kohut discards object relations completely. Kernberg states that pathological narcissism cannot be understood without “the vicissitudes of libidinal *and aggressive drive derivatives*” and accuses Kohut of ignoring “the development of structural derivatives of internalized object relations.”³⁵ Instead, he defines pathological narcissism as “the development of pathological (in contrast to normal) differentiation and integration of ego and superego structures deriving from pathological (in contrast to normal) object relationships.”³⁶ According to Kernberg, the “integrated, although highly pathological grandiose self of narcissistic patients

reflects a pathological condensation of some aspects of the real self (the specialness of the child reinforced by early experience), the ideal self (the fantasies and self-images of power, wealth, omniscience and beauty which compensated the small child for the experience of severe oral frustration, rage and envy) and the ideal object (the fantasy of an ever-giving, ever-loving and accepting parent, in contrast to the child’s experience in reality; a replacement of the devalued real parental object).³⁷

He discloses “the structural origins and functions of the pathologically condensed grandiose self” as follows:

[I]dealized object images which normally would be integrated into the ego ideal and as such, into the superego, are condensed instead with the self-concept. As a result, normal superego integration is lacking, ego–

³⁵ Kernberg 1974b, 258. Italics mine.

³⁶ Ibid, 258.

³⁷ Kernberg 1974a, 216.

superego boundaries are blurred in certain areas, and unacceptable aspects of the real self are dissociated and/or repressed, in combination with widespread, devastating devaluation of external objects and their representations. Thus, the intrapsychic world of these patients is populated only by their own grandiose self, by devaluated, shadowy images of self and others, and by potential persecutors representing the non-integrated sadistic superego forerunners, as well as primitive, distorted object images on to whom intense oral sadism has been projected.³⁸

What makes pathological narcissism different from psychosis is the fact that the above-mentioned developments take place after the differentiation of internalized self and object images, which means the establishment of stable ego boundaries. Thus, the pathological grandiose self displays a better overall social adaptation than by borderline patients “in general.”³⁹

Since the grandiose self comprises both superego elements and ego elements, superego integration lacks some of “the normal components of the ego ideal.”

Accordingly,

the forerunners of later value systems are also missing, and so is the precondition for the internalization of later superego components, mainly the more realistic parental images derived from oedipal conflicts which normally constitute a major cement of superego integration [...]. Devaluation of the parents, rationalized as disappointment reactions, is also fostered by this defective

³⁸ Kernberg 1974a, 224.

³⁹ Ibid, 224.

development of advanced superego functions, and further interferes with the normal integration of value systems as part of the total personality and the related development of sublimatory potentials.⁴⁰

The establishment of the grandiose self disrupts the separation of self and object images, which enables the self to form healthy relationships with others. Thus,

[t]he grandiose self permits the denial of dependency on others, protects the individual against narcissistic rage and envy, creates the precondition for ongoing depreciation and devaluation of others, and contributes to distort both the future narcissistic and object investments of the patient.⁴¹

Since pathological narcissism results from “a lack of development of the idealized fore-runners of the superego (the components of the ego ideal)” and “the pathological condensation of such fore-runners with ego components, “primitive superego structures” cannot evolve into “an advanced, normal superego.” Because internalization of normal idealized superego forerunners is interfered with, “an active distortion” and “pathological devaluation of external objects” take place. Once pathological development of earlier structures occurs, later normal structures cannot develop.⁴²

All in all, it could be said that people with narcissistic personality organization develop “grandiose self” due to the lack of “good enough mothering” (Winnicott) or “holding environment”(Modell) in their early development phase. Their grandiose self consists of their real self (their specialness imposed upon them by early experience), idealized self (their grandiose fantasies of power, brilliance,

⁴⁰ Ibid, 225.

⁴¹ Kernberg, 1974a, 224.

⁴² Ibid, 225.

and excellence) and idealized parents (ever-giving parents in contrast with the real parent figures) Their ego and superego boundaries are blurred and they develop pathological object relations in which the external world is consistently devalued as a defense mechanism. They have a complicated emotional life in which they lack genuine feelings or empathy for other people, whereas they expect admiration from them. Their intense envy of others' success is one of their most prominent traits.

B. *The Immortal Atatürk*

The Immortal Atatürk: A Psychobiography by Vamik D. Volkan and Norman Itzkowitz is an invaluable book, which is the result of seven-year-collaboration of a psychoanalyst and an Ottoman historian with psychoanalytic treatment between 1974 and 1981. Focusing on the critical passages from books and articles written on Mustafa Kemal as well as interviews with the people who met Mustafa Kemal personally or who were intimate with those who knew Mustafa Kemal on a personal level, *The Immortal Atatürk* is an interdisciplinary work which illuminates Mustafa Kemal's life and his inner self. The authors state that they detected narcissistic personality organization in Mustafa Kemal:

We came early to the conclusion that Atatürk had an inflated and grandiose self concept, basing this on the way others described him, but also – and more significantly – on his own delineation of his personality organization. He believed he was a unique man above all others and endowed with the right to assert his will. He saw others in two categories – those who were his admirers and followers and those

who were not and who therefore had no existence at all as far as he was concerned.⁴³

This sort of personality is termed as “narcissistic personality organization” in psychoanalysis, as outlined in the first part of this chapter. The authors attribute “the precocious and exaggerated sense of autonomy and omnipotence” of Mustafa Kemal to “psychological deprivation and trauma” he suffered as a child⁴⁴. Since clinical research signifies that the relationship with the mother has a great bearing in the development of narcissistic personality traits, Volkan and Itzkowitz reconstruct Mustafa Kemal’s relationship with his mother.

Mustafa Kemal was the only surviving male child of Zübeyde and Ali Riza. His older siblings, Fatma, Ömer, and Ahmed died before Mustafa Kemal was born. The death of Ahmed, according to the family story recalled by Makbule, is quite grim; his corpse buried in a sandy beach was uncovered by the waves and torn apart by jackals⁴⁵. His younger sister (unnamed in the book) died following the death of Ali Riza. Thus, only Mustafa Kemal and Makbule survived into adulthood out of the six children. The authors maintain that while Zübeyde saw Mustafa Kemal as special, she continued to mourn for her dead infants, which must have been frustrating for Mustafa Kemal:

Infant death could not have been far from Zübeyde’s mind [...] as she settled in the new pink house. She was only twenty, and the shadows of her three dead children must have been ever present with her. She would surely try to protect the new child from the fate that had befallen the others, but she might also have been psychologically

⁴³ Volkan and Itzkowitz 1984, xxiii.

⁴⁴ Ibid, xxiv.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 22.

prepared for a similar fate for her newborn son. This may account partly for what has been described as her acid disposition and rather callous responses at the time. She has been remembered as having a character almost dual in nature, bright and merry in her attire and socially independent, but severe in her religious devotion and the honoring of traditional Muslim customs.⁴⁶

Moreover, the authors inform us that Zübeyde lacked a sufficient supply of milk and a wet-nurse helped Zübeyde to nurse Mustafa Kemal. The authors deduce that he must have suffered from early frustrations caused by “having a grieving mother who could not give him the full satisfaction of abundant milk.”⁴⁷ These calamities, combined with the fact that she was separated from her husband for long intervals when he was a clerk in customs and when she accompanied him later, she was in constant stress “in the bandit-infested forest”, and that Ali Rıza was in depression and addicted to alcohol in his last three years, affected the relationship she formed with Mustafa Kemal. The authors claim that in his relationship with his mother, Mustafa Kemal lacked “good enough mothering” (D. W. Winnicott’s term for sufficiently good, emphatic and stable relationship between mother and infant) in the early periods of his development, when he was establishing “his sense of self”, and as a defensive move Mustafa Kemal prematurely built “a precocious and vulnerable sense of autonomy”, enforced by “fantasies of omnipotence.”⁴⁸

Mustafa had come to the oedipal age, we believe, with two durable images (representations) of his mother: the one in which she was not a “good enough” mother, and the other in which she saw her little boy

⁴⁶ Ibid, 24.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 24.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 27.

as something special and nurtured this specialness. This specialness was due to Zübeyde's perception that little Mustafa embodied the family's new life-style of prosperity and, more important, by replacing his dead siblings, he was the savior of the grieving mother. The blond boy, in turn, developed two basic senses of self; on the one hand, he was deprived, dependent, and emotionally hungry; on the other hand, he was omnipotently self-sufficient and special."⁴⁹

Zübeyde, who may be characterized as "overprotective" and "chronically cold with a covert but intense aggression" led Mustafa Kemal to establish a narcissistic personality: his emotionally hungry and dependent self was hidden under the omnipotent self. Volkan and Itzkowitz reckon that the relationship between Mustafa Kemal and Ali Rıza had also a considerable influence in his personality. Quitting his job in customs, Ali Rıza ventured in timber business, during which he had to fight with the bandits in the forest. The bandits burnt the forest, which brought the timber business to its end. Next, Ali Rıza tried salt business, with no success. Zübeyde reported that her husband was alcoholic, ill and depressed in his last years. The authors believe that Mustafa Kemal must have had two contradictory images of his father. The first image was that of an idealized father, who was courageous and fought with the bandits on the border. The other father image was a weak father who was ill, alcoholic, and depressed. The fact that Ali Rıza died shortly after Mustafa Kemal came of school age interfered with the development of Mustafa Kemal.

Volkan and Itzkowitz assert that

[i]f the parent of the same sex actually becomes weak or dies during [the oedipal phase], the child feels triumphant, but guilty. Ali Rıza

⁴⁹ Ibid, 27.

was ill at the peak of Mustafa's oedipal period and died when the child was seven. The normal resolution of the conflicts of the oedipal period through the identification with rather realistic aspects of the father cannot take place since exaggerated guilt interferes with this process.⁵⁰

Thus, Mustafa Kemal must have felt triumphant, but guilty at the death of his father and could not reconcile with realistic images of his father. The authors claim that the death of Ali Rıza deepened his defensive belief that "he was above hurts." Out of the two contradictory images of the father, he identified with the idealized father.⁵¹

The authors are convinced that the information on Mustafa Kemal's early life shows us that he developed a grandiose self as a defense mechanism against the traumas he underwent and assumed to be a self-sufficient, unique, and special child.⁵² Mustafa Kemal's puberty, adolescence and maturity years enforce this diagnosis. To begin with, Mustafa Kemal's choice to attend military school derives from the fact that he wanted to wear "the best available" military uniform. This choice could be termed as a narcissistic desire, since clinical research indicates that narcissistic people attach great importance to power, wealth and beauty.⁵³ Military career was simultaneously a tool to separate himself from the pious, grieving mother and to follow his idealized modernist father. The authors claim that by this act he also refused the religious neighborhood, "an extension of the 'bad' mother images."⁵⁴ Mustafa Kemal's choice of military career, however, estranged his relationship with Zübeyde. On a surface level she was angry with him for "plac[ing]

⁵⁰ Ibid, 27.

⁵¹ Ibid, 28.

⁵² Ibid, 34.

⁵³ Ibid, 35.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 36.

the life of her only surviving male offspring in jeopardy”; on the other hand, she was proud to see “her handsome son in his military school uniform.”⁵⁵ The remarriage of her mother when he was thirteen further complicated their relationship. According to the authors the incident took place in Mustafa Kemal’s “first or second postpubertal year”, which is an important phase in a person’s life:

During postpubertal years, youngsters go through a process of relinquishing their inner attachments to representations of important figures of their childhood. This leads to a psychological disorganization that is followed by a new inner organization which includes newly evaluated aspects of the parents and important others. The youngster, then freed to a great extent from tight connection with the images of his childhood, turns to new attachments and new values in the world.⁵⁶

Thus, this period was a chance for Mustafa Kemal to refresh his inner attachments to representations of his parents, which were not fully integrated, due to his seriously traumatic childhood. Volkan and Itzkowitz consider that since the second process of individuation of childhood attachments during puberty is difficult in itself, Zübeyde’s remarriage was additional encumbrance for Mustafa Kemal. They assert that the remarriage reawakened oedipal struggles and challenged his feeling of being number one. The “special” relationship between him and his mother was severed by the remarriage.⁵⁷ Packing his belongings, he began to live with a distant relative “*whose husband was a clerk in the customs office*”, which must have been symbolically his

⁵⁵ Ibid, 38

⁵⁶ Ibid, 39.

⁵⁷ Volkan and Itzkowitz relate an incident which shows Mustafa Kemal’s fury over the remarriage. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, who heard the incident from Celal Bayar, told Dr. Volkan that Mustafa Kemal looked for a gun to frighten the new couple. See Volkan, Vamik and Norman Itzkowitz (1984). *The Immortal*,40.

early home.⁵⁸ Soon after he was accepted to military high school in Monastır and left Saloniki. As an amendment endeavor, Zübeyde persuaded her second husband to pay obeisance to Mustafa whenever he came to visit them, which reinforced his “inflated self-concept.”⁵⁹ Friends from this period remember that Mustafa Kemal was always at the center and showed “profound indifference for anything beyond his own concerns, narcissistically considering it unworthy of his attention.”⁶⁰ In the war college, he suffered from depressive moods accompanied with low self-esteem and sleepless nights. With an attempt to protect himself “from the onslaught of depressive feelings and a sense of low self-esteem,” he was involved in “sexually promiscuous narcissistic behavior.”⁶¹ At the same time, however, he was the savior and “the reigning figure” of the troubled country in his grandiose fantasies.⁶² He is known to have gathered his friends/admirers around him to tell his grandiose fantasy of having the highest position in the future government (assigning the administrative posts in the future government.)⁶³ Until he became Atatürk when he would “rely fully on the idealized father image that dwelt within his own psyche”, he looked for idealized father images “in fantasy and outside of himself” including Ali Fuad’s father, Prince Vahideddin, a general in Salonika.⁶⁴ His grandiose self induced him to regard the exilic missions Enver Pasha assigned him as critical and grave.⁶⁵ Moreover his grandiose self caused him to advocate his critical views to his senior officers, who in return obstructed his promotion.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ Ibid, 40. Italics in original.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 41.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 42.

⁶¹ Ibid, 48.

⁶² Ibid, 50.

⁶³ Ibid, 50.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 53.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 63.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 67.

The relationship between Zübeyde and Mustafa Kemal from his adolescence years to maturity is uncovered to a great extent by Abdürrahim Tuncak, the adopted son of Mustafa Kemal. He describes Zübeyde as “very authoritarian and overprotective” and remembers that there was an intense relationship between the son and the mother, who used to call him “Mustafam.”⁶⁷ He reports that Zübeyde always repeated how she made his second husband pay respect to Mustafa. Moreover both Zübeyde and Mustafa called Abdürrahim “my son”, which must have been “an oedipal triumph for Mustafa Kemal” at a time when the second husband stayed in Saloniki whereas Zübeyde and Makbule moved to İstanbul.⁶⁸ Despite this intense relationship with his mother, Mustafa Kemal preferred the company of westernized or western women in his social and personal relationships, seemingly the opposite of his mother. Volkan and Itzkowitz believe that if his premature sense of autonomy and omnipotence is caused by his overprotective, authoritarian but cold mother, his acute sense of borders is related to his father:

Mustafa Kemal had a realistic bent that led to shrewd assessments of possibilities. He was able to work out appropriate compromises between his passion for extraordinary achievements and the realities of the moment. His capacity to do this was related, we believe, in a complex fashion to his earliest relationship with his father. His mother’s prolonged and intense posture of grief, by which she managed to keep alive the images of her dead infant children, promoted in Mustafa Kemal a premature sense of autonomy. Evidence of that can be seen in his decision to take the entrance examination for military school without informing his mother and the cavalier manner

⁶⁷ Ibid, 73.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 73.

in which he left his post in Syria to return to Salonika. Along with this premature sense of autonomy went a tendency to hold on to idealized images of himself and significant others in his life, including an idealized image of his father. Ali Rıza was perceived as a man who guarded the frontiers of his country, an image that had its origin in the years Ali Rıza spent in the forest at odds with the Greek bandits who infested it and in family stories that recalled those years of hardship. Those experiences gave Mustafa Kemal a respect for boundaries and limits on the individual level so that he could contain the impetuous thrusts of his grandiose nature.⁶⁹

In his adult life, Mustafa Kemal rarely talked about his father; yet whenever he talked about him, he depicted him in elevating terms. Thus, Mustafa Kemal retained the idealized figure of his father. He told his step daughter Sabiha Gökçen that he was in love with his mother, which suggests that he held on to her idealized image rather than the other (cold) image.⁷⁰ His belief in his specialness was enforced by an incident during Gallipoli battle. He survived from a wound over his heart thanks to his pocket watch. This survival and the victory changed Mustafa Kemal psychologically. The victory made him “the savior of Istanbul” (though not yet the savior of the grieving country), the wound solidified his belief in his specialness and immortality and finally the scope of his admirers enlarged.⁷¹ Nevertheless, he had to wait until the victory of the Independence War to be the hero in his grandiose fantasies.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 83.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 271.

⁷¹ Ibid, 89-94.

C. *The Turkish Ordeal* as a Witness to Narcissism of Mustafa Kemal

Halide Edib, in the second volume of her autobiography, relates the events from the armistice of Mudros in 1918 to the recapture of Izmir in 1922. While recounting the political and historical events, she gives detailed descriptions of the nationalists. Among these depictions, the attentive and detailed observations on Mustafa Kemal's personality are arresting. I believe that many passages in *The Turkish Ordeal* reinforce the diagnosis of Volkan and Itzkowitz, that is the narcissistic personality organization of Mustafa Kemal.

First of all, Halide Edib describes Mustafa Kemal as a brilliant but ruthless soldier, "a man of extraordinary intelligence and cunning as well as of abnormal ambition" "with a complete lack of heart." She notices the complex personality of Mustafa Kemal upon their first meeting. She decides that his personality is too complicated to comprehend in one interview:

His mind is two-sided, like a lighthouse lantern. Sometimes it flashes and shows you what it wants you to see with almost blinding clearness; sometimes it wanders and gets itself lost in the dark. This evening the dark side was evident. And as I listened to him I was lost, for he showed none of the clarity I had expected of him, both from his letters and from the prompt and decisive panorama of the first days of the revolution. [...] And I thought to myself: "This man is either hopelessly confused or too complicated to be understood at once." I wanted to believe the latter [...]⁷²

⁷² Edib1928, 128-9.

Volkan and Itzkowitz define this passage as evidence to Mustafa Kemal's splitting mechanism⁷³. Edib notices Mustafa Kemal's dual character: the weak, hesitant, impotent, hazy, timid part co-exists with the lucid, vital, courageous, omnipotent, decisive part:

He was by turns cynical, suspicious, unscrupulous, and satanically shrewd. He bullied, he indulged in cheap street-corner heroics. Possessing considerable though quite undistinguishable histrionic ability, one moment he could pass as the perfect demagogue – a second George Washington – and the next moment fall into some Napoleonic attitude. Sometimes he would appear weak and an abject coward, sometimes exhibit strength and daring of the highest order. He would argue with all the intricacies of the old-fashioned scholastic till he had become utterly incomprehensible, and then illumine some obscure problem with a flash of inspired clarity. Having been hesitant to a degree that made one conclude that he must be one of the most impotent of men who could do nothing but talk, suddenly he would make some instantaneous decision which marked him as being master of his own life and the life-force of a far-reaching movement.⁷⁴

One of the first traits of Mustafa Kemal which Halide Edib recognizes is the extraordinary force in his personality: If he had something in his mind, then he put all his energy in it to realize his desire. She relates how Mustafa Kemal “discussed the merits of [his] proposition” with his inner associates as well as the newly arrived

⁷³ Volkan and Itzkowitz 1984, 161.

⁷⁴ Edib 1928, 185.

Anatolian deputies for hours until dawn⁷⁵. She observes how completely absorbed Mustafa Kemal was with the scheme of saving the country during the Independence Struggle. She realizes that it is this desire and force in him which would change the course of events in Anatolia. If the forms, principles, governments failed, Mustafa Kemal's personality could "remedy the deficiency":

The man in gray made one feel the inevitable vitality and force of an extraordinary being. It was not what he said that would create the new state – for if his arguments were as sharp and clear as a searchlight at times, they became obscure and degenerated into mere demagogues at others – it was the desire of the man who worked with a strength and insistence which would have wearied any normal human being. Throughout his whole career Mustafa Kemal Pasha has shown an untiring persistence, and has indulged in endless talk which has exhausted every one around him. He has one of the intensest ambitions known in history, the sort of ambition that is sure to prevail. Ideas and wisdom change the destinies of men gradually, but it is the dynamic and volcanic temperaments of men of destiny which make the sudden and dramatic episodes in history.⁷⁶

The force and desire in him differentiates Mustafa Kemal from the other figures in the nationalist movement. His unending vitality and unique force made him the leader of the movement, despite his intellectual shortcomings:

Of course, one knew all the time that there were men around him who were greatly his superior in intellect and moral backbone, and far

⁷⁵ Ibid, 140.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 141.

above him in culture and education. But though he excelled them in neither refinement nor originality, not one of them could possibly cope with his vitality. Whatever their qualities, they were made on a more or less normal scale. In terms of vitality, he wasn't. And it was this alone made him the dominant figure.⁷⁷

Similarly Volkan and Itzkowitz set forth that though not known for certain, his personality organization probably made him the leader of the movement⁷⁸. Halide Edib appoints the source of “the intensest ambition,” and his extraordinary vitality to his grandiose fantasies: “The success of the cause he believed to be the only event by which he could realize his own dreams of grandeur, so that nothing could be allowed to stand in the way of his achieving that end.”⁷⁹ Edib conveys the grandeur of his desire and drives as well as his narcissistic personality in the following passage with all the lucidity:

Take any man from the street who is shrewd, selfish, and utterly unscrupulous, give him the insistence and histrionics of a hysterical woman who is willing to employ any wile to satisfy her inexhaustible desires, then view him through the largest magnifying glass you can find – you'll see Mustafa Kemal Pasha. It was perhaps just because he was a colossal personification of one part of everyday human nature that he had a better chance of controlling the masses than a man might who possessed subtler and more balanced qualities or more profound wisdom.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Ibid, 185.

⁷⁸ Volkan and Itzkowitz 1984, 140.

⁷⁹ Edib 1928, 169-170.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 185.

One can see how self-engrossed he was, how grandiose his desires were, and how he lacked rigid moral principles, all of which comply with the diagnosis of psychoanalysts on narcissistic personality organization. In line with Kernberg's observations, Halide Edib notices that Mustafa Kemal did not have the standard human morality: he was not immoral, but simply amoral:

But a student of human nature observing him then, or in his present mode of life, is obliged to admit that he must be considered as one of those human beings who are abnormal morally. Immoral he certainly was not; he was merely amoral. He never accepted the current standard of human morality, or saw its necessity. Those people who professed moral ideals or claimed to adhere to austere standards were to him either hypocrites like the hodjas or, if there were a few genuine and consistent, then they were just fools. But he was intelligent enough to see that any such fools make very valuable and dependable tools in times of crisis such as ours was then.⁸¹

Since pathological narcissism means pathologic object relations and constant devaluation and denial of external world, Mustafa Kemal did not have moral principles. For Edib, one of the paradoxical aspects of his personality was his unpredictability and his contradictory "principles":

Although his cynicism sickened one at times, it was impossible not to admire the empathic way in which he attacked shams. But the man was a paradox. The very next moment one saw him trying to establish other shams which happened to suit his temperament better than the

⁸¹ Ibid, 170.

ones he had displaced. He seemed to have no connections whatever: he adopted now one thing and now another with the same vehemence and energy, no matter how contradictory they were, so long as he thought they would benefit him and the cause in some way.⁸²

As a narcissistic person, Mustafa Kemal adopted the best available option and changed his decisions accordingly when there was a possibility of better opportunities to satisfy his needs. Mustafa Kemal's relationship with "rigid principles" or "moral issues" is no different than his relations with people around him. Edib's observations shed light on his relationships:

As commissary for the interior [Jami Bey] had tried to work rather in harmony with Mustafa Kemal Pasha than with the assembly. But when in August 1920, the assembly severely criticized the department for the Interior, Mustafa Kemal Pasha desisted from backing up Jami Bey and declared that Jami Bey himself must reply to his critics. [...] This was Mustafa Kemal Pasha's first hit below the belt, and he conceived a strong dislike for the man he had hit.⁸³

This passage could be taken as the splitting mechanism of Mustafa Kemal. Jami Bey went from the good part of Mustafa Kemal to the devalued part of him. As soon as an extension of him became "bad," he separated himself from that "extension." Edib gives further details in a footnote on how "an incessant underhand propaganda against him" continued after the incident, implying that it was carried out by Mustafa Kemal.⁸⁴ According to Halide Edib, a similar incident took place between him and Hamdullah Suphi Bey. Following a quarrel with Hamdullah Suphi Bey, Mustafa

⁸² Ibid, 170.

⁸³ Ibid, 184.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 184.

Kemal called him a liar. Although he took his word back upon the request of the latter, he initiated “his usual clever underhand propaganda against Hamdullah Soubhi Bey.”⁸⁵ The same process of denying “bad” parts of him is evident. Once one becomes bad, there is nothing for him to do apart from making him/her “worse.”⁸⁶ His relationships with his close associates and friends are not entirely different.

He spoke of his life in Saloniki, of his life at different fronts – this was the only evening that he did not indulge in being satirical at the expense of some one – he seemed to be repressing himself, and it was rather dull. When he even went so far as to praise people – mentioned some one as the foremost figure in the Nationalist movement – I tried to puzzle out why he was doing it. Perhaps he did not believe the moment had come when he could dispense with the services of all those who had helped the national cause.⁸⁷

Edib makes it clear that when someone did not serve his needs any longer, he easily dispensed them. Even those with whom he was on friendly terms were vilified so that he could feel better. This passage could be taken as an evidence of the devaluation mechanism of Mustafa Kemal: to devalue and vilify others so as to control his aggressive impulses. Narcissistic people need to devalue other people in order to sustain their inflated self. Edib gives clues to the devaluation process of his personality:

Mustafa Kemal Pasha can be a brilliant talker at times, and he was at his best at those meals. Throughout his anecdotes and reminiscences

⁸⁵ Ibid, 186.,

⁸⁶ Halide Edib recounts another propaganda of Mustafa Kemal Pasha against Ali Fuad Pasha, after he became unsuccessful in the West (204).

⁸⁷ Ibid, 388.

of past life ran a dominant vein of bitter irony at the expense of many well-known personalities. He spared no name. And, as the evenings passed, I began to wonder vaguely whether there was any well-known man of whom Mustafa Kemal Pasha had something good to say.⁸⁸

A similar, though implicit, devaluation process is visible in his disappointment with the Greek generals, described vividly by Edib:

When the Greek generals were gone he looked disappointed. The man he had fought with was not of the stuff he had expected. He was feeling a great international champion who had contested in the world's arena with a man who was not worth his attention.⁸⁹

Due to his pathological object relations, Mustafa Kemal had to devalue external objects through “disappointments.” External objects ceased to exist for him if they did not respond to his needs. This inner tendency resulted in apathetic relationships with other people. Edib describes his complete lack of interest in or empathy for others in detail as follows:

But perhaps the most characteristic element in Mustafa Kemal Pasha's make-up was his complete lack of heart. At that time it gave him an ascendancy, for he could work out his plans untroubled by human weaknesses. And pity, affection, sacrifice were to him useless weaknesses. Intelligence and self-interest were what mattered in the intricate scheme of human life. Nothing spiritual, nothing which could not be explained by the everyday intelligence, was worth considering. The intelligent man uses other people who have these weaknesses, but

⁸⁸ Ibid, 136.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 367.

he himself remains an absolute materialist and a heartless one at that.⁹⁰

Due to the nature of his object relations he could be ruthless and destructive when his grandiose desires were in danger:

He openly avowed that in our condition there was no place for mercy, pity, and sentimental morality; that scruples about breaking a promise were sign of weakness; that any who indulged in such considerations were bound never to succeed. Once we got hold of our enemies, there was one thing to do, promise or no promise, and that was to kill them: dead men can't cause trouble.⁹¹

Edib even notices his identification with the aggressor:

The shrewdness, the unscrupulousness, and the almost diabolical intelligence of Mouavié, and the way he took advantage of the extreme chivalry of his enemies, especially of that of Ali, the fourth calif, fired Mustafa Kemal Pasha's imagination and moved him to admiration.⁹²

His problematic relationships with other people are further aggravated by his profound envy. Edib informs the reader of Mustafa Kemal's intense envy of any personal success apart from his own, which is one of the most prominent characteristics of narcissistic personality organization:

⁹⁰ Ibid, 170.

⁹¹ Ibid, 158.

⁹² Ibid, 168.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha was harsh and extremely jealous of personal distinctions. Like most men of destiny, he hated to see any one in the public eye, even in a sphere which did not touch his: this feeling became with him a fierce resentment which took the shape of persecution the moment he felt himself strong enough.⁹³

Edib observes that his intense envy caused him to suspect the motives of any person, without considering whether his suspicions were grounded or not:

He always wanted everybody to join in these talks, and though he always managed to remain the central figure, he demanded that the others should supply him with ideas. And, paradoxically enough, he suspected both the man who talked too much and the man who talked too little. The great talker might have ambitions of his own: that would never do. The silent one might be secretly analyzing and criticizing all the time: that would never do either.⁹⁴

Mustafa Kemal did not praise any of his companions in the Independence Struggle, except for Ismet Pasha⁹⁵. Halide Edib explains the reason as follows:

Ismet Pasha is the military man whom he has ever praised in public, yet behind the praise there was a subtly concealed motive. Ismet Pasha had been badly beaten in Kutahia and in Eskişehir, which defeat had almost brought the Greeks to Angora; so Mustafa Kemal Pasha in praising Ismet Pasha was saying with a wink, "I have commanded Sakaria and the march to Smyrna: Ismet was under me, so by all

⁹³ Ibid, 296.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 186.

⁹⁵ In *Nutuk* Mustafa Kemal also praises Kerim Pasha, who talks about Mustafa Kemal in flattering and elevating terms in his letters until his death. See *Kemal 1929*, 161.

means praise him freely; it all comes back to me.” Knowing this side of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, it is for the future historian to decide whether Ismet Pasha would have been in the position he is at the present if he had not had that military misfortune.⁹⁶

Edib makes the reader understand that Mustafa Kemal wanted the success of the nationalist movement to be regarded wholly as his own: he could not share any of it even with his most loyal supporter. This observation back in the 1920s is similar to Taha Parla’s observations on *Nutuk* and Mustafa Kemal’s other speeches, which are dealt in detail in the second chapter of this study. Parla claims that Mustafa Kemal sees Ismet Pasha as an ideal “subchief” (in psychoanalytic terms his “extension”) and regards Ismet Pasha’s success as his own, which is an evidence of his narcissism.

The depiction of Mustafa Kemal by Edib matches the descriptions of psychoanalysts. He is heartless, untroubled by loss, pitiless and completely absorbed in his grandiose fantasies. Nonetheless, Halide Edib reveals that the whole picture is not so simple. Although Mustafa Kemal could be defined as ruthless, heartless and materialist, he desperately depended on extraordinary forces:

But here again a paradox. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was superstitious. He was deeply affected by omens. I remember a green cloth of Arabic inscriptions of magic a clairvoyant sent him which he had hung against the wall behind the desk. And he was constantly telling of the dreams of his followers. And his followers always managed to have good dreams, dreams which foretold his success.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Edib 1928, 296.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 170.

She informs us that not only did he believe in magical green clothes of Arabic inscriptions or dreams of his extensions/twins but he also associated the author with luck in his mind:

I tried to puzzle out Mustafa Kemal Pasha's imperious and impatient demand for my immediate attendance at the front [...]. I realized that he was even more superstitious than I had thought him. In some obscure corner of his mind he had connected me with luck at the battlefield at Sakaria, as many others had done.⁹⁸

Though it may seem absurd and irrelevant on a surface level, Mustafa Kemal's dependence on superstitious tokens is not surprising when one thinks of his belief in his "uniqueness" and "specialness." He was the "special" leader who could save the grieving country. Besides when the dual character of Mustafa Kemal (grandiose, omnipotent self-concept coexisting with weak, impotent side) is taken into consideration, we can grant that "the weakening borders of his personality organization strained under the (internalized) influence of external stress" took refuge in superstitions.⁹⁹

Psychoanalysts state that due to their "grandiose self" and "grandiose fantasies", people with narcissistic personality organization can work consistently and this trait makes them leading persons in organizations or institutions (at least for a while). Halide Edib observes a similar drive in Mustafa Kemal:

[F]or to those near him he appeared to be the most vivid personality of the movement, and he worked, talked, and gesticulated with frenzied

⁹⁸ Ibid, 350.

⁹⁹ Volkan and Itzkowitz 1984, 180.

energy to get control of all the dispersed forces which were not his at all.¹⁰⁰

I was practical enough to see that he was the most important of our leading men of the time: his extraordinary vitality and his unlimited ambition obviously predestined him to some great future. [...] I realized that ultimately Mustafa Kemal Pasha could succeed in no other aim than that of the cause, and that consequently, whether one approved of him as a person or not, it was one's supreme duty to back him.¹⁰¹

Since no other nationalist leader had the “unlimited ambition” and extraordinary force of Mustafa Kemal, Halide Edib and Mustafa Kemal's followers recognized him as the leader and supported him with “self-abnegation and discipline.”¹⁰² She describes his will-power as “the will-power which is like a self-fed machine of perpetual motion.”¹⁰³ Thus, as long as he needs a new scope or pursuit to exercise his will, it all comes from within. Edib likens his inexhaustible will to a force of nature:

I can still see him standing in the middle of the room talking every one to exhaustion, while he remains as fresh as the moment he began. And I can remember saying to myself: “What an astounding man! Is he just some elemental force in a catastrophic form? Is there anything about him at all? How can this cyclone ever come to rest when the nation has reached its goal?”¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Edib 1928, 151.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 190.

¹⁰² Ibid, 190.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 354.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 185.

Throughout the ordeal, Mustafa Kemal did not want to rest even for a moment. As an answer to Halide Edib's suggestion for a rest after the siege of Izmir Mustafa Kemal proposed that there was no time to rest, after the war they would "eat" each other.

Edib takes this declaration as "the key to his temperament":

There must be something doing – he must be on the stage, a unique actor perpetually astonishing the world – a dangerous kind of actor, but dangerous for others and safe for himself. He must be exacting all that the spectators can give – fear, wonder, adoration. And he would have only shadows on the stage, shadows called or sent back at his will, simply to make the show showy – no more. [...] Compared to the future and the destiny of the Turkish people which they themselves would shape out of their undying vitality, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was one single wave in a mighty sea.¹⁰⁵

This passage is almost an echo of what Kernberg defines 40 years later:

To want to be admired and loved by others requires that others should appear at least somewhat "alive," internally as well as externally. The remnants of the internalized object representations acquire the characteristics of real, but rather lifeless, shadowy people. This experience of other people, especially those who are not idealized, as lifeless shadows or marionettes, is quite prevalent in the patients [...]. People may appear to him either to have some potential food inside,

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 355-6.

which the patient has to extract, or to be already emptied and therefore valueless.¹⁰⁶

As a narcissistic person, Mustafa Kemal needed an area of pursuit to devote his energy and “exercise” his will. At times in the national struggle there was not much to do, and uneventful daily routine prevailed. This was unbearable for him: “Mustafa Kemal Pasha was becoming irritable and fussy. There was no longer sufficient scope for the exercise of his will, so he began to interfere with the details of quite unimportant matters.”¹⁰⁷ Or he chose to engage in “scholastic contests” to direct his aggressive desires:

He began a discussion with the men who were there, but it was quite impossible to see what he was driving at. It sounded like a scholastic contest in which the combatants try to defeat each other’s dialectical tricks. And at times when he is neither fighting on the battle-field nor worsting his political enemies he delights in engaging anybody who is at hand in some useless and pointless debate.¹⁰⁸

In one way or another he had to convince himself that he had omnipotent control over everything and everyone. Towards the end of the book, Edib suggests that now that the war was at an end, Mustafa Kemal “would turn into a kind of stage-manager, struggle hard to create excitement, and keep the play running long after the curtain had fallen on these days.”¹⁰⁹

Clinical studies show that although people with narcissistic personality organization could be leaders in various institutions or outstanding performers in

¹⁰⁶ Kernberg 1970, 57.

¹⁰⁷ Edib 1928, 183.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 187.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 381.

some artistic domain for some time, they fail to sustain their role in the long run due to their “lack of impulse control,” “inability to tolerate anxiety” or they display “superficiality” and “flightiness” which results from the emptiness from within¹¹⁰. Mustafa Kemal was able to sustain his role as a successful leader thanks to the role Ismet Pasha and Fevzi Pasha played during the Independence Struggle. Ismet Pasha acted as the mediator between Mustafa Kemal and other people, which is described by Edib as “between the devil and the deep blue sea.”¹¹¹ Mustafa Kemal’s personality organization was such that Edib regarded as dangerous enough to ruin the Independence Struggle wholly if Ismet Pasha were not there:

It was good that Mustafa Kemal Pasha was not in the army in those days; he would have brought discord, impatience, and mischievous excitement. Ismet Pasha seemed to be the right person for that time: his austerity tempered with kindness, his sharing in the hard conditions, his efforts to keep together that huge mass of human beings, made each one feel that if he fell short of his necessary quota of endurance the whole dream would be shattered.¹¹²

Ismet Pasha was the key figure in reducing the negative effects of his boisterous deeds and speeches:

[...] Ismet Pasha had a pleasing and generous disposition and realized the necessity of handling human beings with special care. So he stood like a buffer state between Mustafa Kemal and those whom he might easily have offended to the disadvantage of the cause. Depending on

¹¹⁰ Kernberg 1970, 54.

¹¹¹ Edib 1928, 217.

¹¹² Ibid, 311.

the prestige of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, he made every one feel his individual importance in the general scheme.¹¹³

Along with Ismet Pasha, Fevzi Pasha, with his optimism, intervened when Mustafa Kemal's cynicism and pessimism deepened:

Another drawback in Mustafa Kemal Pasha's temperament was his variability: sometimes he was able to attempt the impossible with the greatest zeal and success, but sometimes he would lose heart and easily despair before the odds against which no amount of calculation was of any use. Fevzi Pasha stepped in at those moments and with his strange certitude about our success kept Mustafa Kemal Pasha going.¹¹⁴

Halide Edib also illuminates the relationship between Mustafa Kemal and Zübeyde, which is an invaluable data for analysis of his personality. She tells the reader that Zübeyde had a temper similar to his son and for her "[h]er son was the same Mustafa of the obscure school-days; his position did not matter, she loved him and scolded him and spoke of him as she had always done."¹¹⁵ Edib observes that Zübeyde was not concerned about the Independence Struggle, she only cared about her native city Saloniki, and "she would have no new dress made until her son Mustafa would deliver the city from captivity."¹¹⁶ In this passage, Zübeyde's overprotective yet indifferent personality is obvious. The same observation is acknowledged in *The Immortal Atatürk*: Zübeyde is described as having a fiery temper and not being one to be reckoned lightly, especially in matters concerning her

¹¹³ Ibid, 296.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 297.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 342-3.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 343.

Mustafa.¹¹⁷ Zübeyde's "long, torturous relationship with her son" made it unacceptable for her to "share him with another woman."¹¹⁸

We also learn from Halide Edib that Zübeyde did not approve of Fikriye as a future bride to her son and made her uncomfortable with her offensive words at young people aimed in reality at Fikriye whenever they were in the same room, although Fikriye took all this aggression calmly and respectfully.¹¹⁹ Halide explains that this mutual resentment resulted from the fact that "both loved the same man wholly for his own sake and wished to own his heart."¹²⁰ In *The Immortal Atatürk*, we are informed that Zübeyde was dissatisfied with Latife as well. She thought Latife had "no beauty in her" and was "too short to have any presence."¹²¹ Zübeyde seems to be overprotective, intrusive yet cold mother figure who can handle well "on the surface in a superficially well-organized home, but with a degree of callousness, indifference, and nonverbalized, spiteful aggression." Edib, however, sees Mustafa Kemal's attachment to Latife as "the best thing which could have happened to him at the moment", thinking that "it would have a humanizing effect on him, and keep him out of mischief."¹²²

All in all, Halide Edib is able to reflect Mustafa Kemal's narcissistic personality organization with a striking insight, at a time when there was no psychoanalytic theory on narcissism. Nevertheless, it should be noted that not all people, if any ever, with narcissistic personality organization can achieve what Mustafa Kemal has achieved. On the contrary, due to their pathologic object relations and their "weak, hungry, dependent" side, they cannot sustain their

¹¹⁷ Volkan and Itzkowitz 1984, 215.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 215-6.

¹¹⁹ Edib 1928, 343.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 343.

¹²¹ Volkan and Itzkowitz 1984, 216.

¹²² Edib 1928, 385.

motivation nor control their impulse for long durations and thus they fail to have a successful career, which contradicts with the successful career of Mustafa Kemal. Besides people with narcissistic personality organization are not able to put a limit to their grandiose fantasies and aggression, and they end up in failure and destruction, which is not the case with Mustafa Kemal. He was able to put a limit to his grandiose fantasies and aggression. His sense of border can be seen both in his actions throughout his career and his epic speech *Nutuk*. Besides, his shrewd assessment of realistic possibilities enabled him to achieve his grandiose fantasies with extraordinary achievements¹²³, which is almost impossible for narcissistic people. As follows, it would be wrong to think that Mustafa Kemal owns his whole success to his narcissism. It may only be said that his narcissistic personality organization led him to his grandiose fantasies, actions and deeds and in this way contributed to his inherent extraordinary abilities.

¹²³ A.L. Macfie, in his *Atatürk*, asserts that Mustafa Kemal's achievements are result of "his own intelligence, far-sightedness, patience and determination" beyond question; the Entente powers, however, made " a number of crucial mistakes in the post-war period," which greatly contributed his extraordinary success. Macfie 1994, 189.

Chapter II

Nutuk

A. A Narratological Approach to *Nutuk*

Nutuk is the speech delivered by Ghazi Mustafa Kemal in the Grand National Assembly between the 15th and the 20th November in 1927. Taha Parla calls attention to the fact that by 1927, all the opposition and challenging political opponents had been eliminated, and single-party-regime was consolidated.¹²⁴ The prevailing status of the book in Turkey can be best exemplified in Prof. Hıfzı Veldet Velidedeoğlu's words: "Nutuk is like a sacred text, while it is also and simultaneously the autobiography of Atatürk, the journal of the Independence Struggle, a political history based on historical documents, and a guide to future generations."¹²⁵ On a superficial level, it is the narration of political and historical events from 1919 to 1927, though in reality the author/narrator/orator aims to interpret the events between 1919 and 1925 and convince his audience/reader to accept his interpretation as the only true account of the years in question. In *Nutuk*, the author is the narrator is the protagonist (character). Thus, it can be called an autobiography from a narratological point of view.¹²⁶ As for historical narrative, theoretically the author/narrator is not identical with the character/protagonist.¹²⁷ Therefore, *Nutuk* may be identified as an autobiographical history of the certain period in question, but not *the history of that period in Turkey* in terms of theoretical considerations. Nonetheless, the lack of any distance between the author/narrator and the character/protagonist does not seem to be problematic for the author/narrator of *Nutuk*. On the contrary, he clearly remarks

¹²⁴ Parla 2008, 20.

¹²⁵ Quoted and translated by Adak 2001, 152.

¹²⁶ Genette 1993, 73.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 73.

that he plans to draw “an outline of the general events and indicate the tendency underlying them.”¹²⁸ He informs us that what he wants to do is “to make the task of the historian easier by pointing out the successive stages of the Revolution,” and *Nutuk* turns out to remain *the history of the Turkish Republic* for the certain period in hand. In this light, he reveals his claim on the history of the Turkish Republic and does not seem to have any suspicion on his legitimate claim to do that at all. Dorrit Cohn maintains that historical narrative is in need of a referential point to be accepted as such, and in this way it adds “reference” level to the already existing “story” and “discourse” levels in fictional narrative.¹²⁹ Mustafa Kemal seems to regard the documents he integrates into *Nutuk* and his historical existence as a sufficient reference point for his point of view to be accepted as the only true one. He drives the legacy of his claims on history so far as to declare that whatever takes its place in *Nutuk* takes its place in history: “While I was reading the warning letter from Ahmed Izzet Pasha and the answer we sent to him, I was reminded of something I ought to mention, so that it may be put on record and find a place in history.”¹³⁰

Taha Parla points out that according to its narrator/orator, *Nutuk* is the narration of the realization of a predetermined idea.¹³¹

In these circumstances, one resolution alone was possible, namely, to create a New Turkish State, the sovereignty and independence of which would be unreservedly recognized by the whole world. This was the resolution we adopted before we left Constantinople and

¹²⁸ Kemal 1929, 376.

¹²⁹ Cohn 2000b, 112

¹³⁰ Kemal 1929, 201.

¹³¹ Parla 2008, 27.

which we began to put into execution immediately we set foot on Anatolian soil at Samsoun.¹³²

Thus, what we confront in *Nutuk* is not the relation of what has happened since 19th May, 1919; it is the account of what the author/narrator/protagonist has done to accomplish his predetermined resolution.¹³³ Moreover, the author/narrator/protagonist calls his audience/reader to evaluate his actions in “their logical sequence:” if they fail to grasp the linear consistency in them, then there must be a lack of logical reasoning on the part of the audience: if his audience/reader is able to examine his attitude and actions for those nine years since the end of Armistice of Mudros *logically*, s/he should comprehend the invariable coherence in his “original resolution” and “the purpose we had set out to achieve.”¹³⁴ The narrator is quite demanding: he expects his reader to comprehend the inherent logic in his undertakings. They are not left to decide for themselves if the actions are logical or illogical. Not only does the narrator/protagonist determine his absolute aim before leaving Istanbul for Anatolia, but he also knows the result:

I, also, from the first could see what would be the result. But we never disclosed the views we held. If we had done so we would have been looked upon as dreamers and illusionists. If we had offered explanations we might from the outset have alienated those who, discouraged by the possibilities arising from the dangers that threatened from abroad, were fearful of eventful revolutionary changes which would be contrary to their tradition, their way of thinking and their psychology. The only practical and safe road to

¹³² Kemal 1929, 17.

¹³³ Parla 2008, 27.

¹³⁴ Kemal 1929, 19.

success lay in making each step perfectly understood at the right time.

This was the way to ensure the development and restoration of the nation.¹³⁵

Hence, he does not reveal the ultimate result to his companions, knowing that their internal/mental structure cannot supply the necessary means to bear this grand responsibility. He chooses the practical way to keep them in the struggle and carries the burden on his own. Even so, he cannot prevent “certain differences of opinion of *more or less importance*, and even the discouragement and dissention” occurring from time to time and these differences of opinion are “sometimes in regard to principles, at others as to the method of the execution of *our programme*.”¹³⁶ The implication is that the narrator/protagonist neither likes nor accepts any kind of differences between his opinions and those of his co-workers. While their immediate aim (to save the grieving nation/country) is the same, then there should not be any disaccord. Yet, the narrator/protagonist makes it clear that the blame is on some of [his] companions, because these differences of ideas stem from their limitation, “according as the limitation of their mental appreciation led them and their moral courage succumbed in the effort to develop national life, to proclaim the Republic and enact its laws.”¹³⁷ Seemingly *all* of his companions lack the sufficient mental appreciation, since he claims he is left alone to carry out his resolution:

It was incumbent upon me to develop our entire social organization, step by step, until it corresponded to the great capability of progress

¹³⁵ Ibid, 19.

¹³⁶ Ibid, 19. Italics mine.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 20.

which I perceived in the soul and in the future of the nation and which I kept to myself in my own consciousness as a national secret.¹³⁸

Since his companions fail at one point or another during the course of the nationalist movement according to their mental limitation, he has to save the nation on his own and furnish it with its due “social organization.” What directs him in his conducts is the potential in the heart of the nation that only he can perceive. Knowing the limitations of his co-workers, he keeps the national secret to himself. In Parla’s words, the nation does not know its potential consciously; it only senses it through its conscience. Mustafa Kemal is the nonpareil leader who not only senses the conscience of the nation but also represents it. The nation is the conscience and heart, the leader consciousness and head.¹³⁹ Hence, the narrator is omnipotent and omniscient, who is in complete control of the events from the beginning to the end. He knows the limitations of his companions and expects his audience to grasp the inherent logic in his moves. When he recounts an action which does not seem to be in accord with the “logical sequence” with his “original resolution”, he expects understanding from his audience/reader:

But for reasons and considerations of various kind, which you will quite appreciate, there was no other prospect of success lying before us except to appear perfectly passive towards certain things and be patient and forbearing.¹⁴⁰

His audience/reader should be able to understand, appreciate and approve when on appearance he does not act in conformity with his predetermined project, while in fact he does so to keep the nationalist movement alive and strong. He devotes all his

¹³⁸ Ibid, 20.

¹³⁹ Parla 2008, 35.

¹⁴⁰ Kemal 1929, 195.

energy to direct the nationalist movement to victory. The audience/reader should be convinced that the narrator/protagonist is interchangeable with the victory of the nationalist movement: if he does not study even the minute details of the movement meticulously, “it might become very dangerous” and great misfortunes may befall on the nation and the country. If he supervises every phase of the struggle, then everything is in order:

Therefore, I saw myself confronted with the inevitable necessity of most carefully and attentively studying the ideas and feelings of the people, of drawing my own conclusion from the actual desire of the nation and, then, of coming to a practical decision on the result.¹⁴¹

One can see that the narrator/protagonist is paranoid and obsessive to such an extent that he equates his absence in any phase of the movement with the absence of the movement itself: if he is not involved in any part of the movement, then it disappears/dissolves. Not only should he take part in every part of the movement but he also has to be the leader for “[i]t was *essentially* necessary that [he] should take part in the congress and be its leader.”¹⁴² He sees it as his duty to “enlighten people” and apparently he is the only one who is able to do it: “I considered it imperative for me to inform, enlighten and guide the people in such a way that I would be to emphasi[z]e this view and induce them to accept it.”¹⁴³ While doing all of these, he only trust his (inner) sources, he does not trust his companions, the accuracy of which is proven by time and events:

I admit that I had no confidence in the ability of any representative body to carry through the principles and decisions I have described that

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 231.

¹⁴² Ibid, 61

¹⁴³ Ibid, 61.

were adopted by the congress. Time and events have proved that I was right.¹⁴⁴

It is as if there is an empathic relationship between the nation/country and the narrator/protagonist. The narrator Mustafa Kemal, though he is not Atatürk yet, is the nation/country's idealized parent, who is able to understand his "infant" emphatically. He senses, perceives, acts and speaks for the needs of his "baby", a kind of relation which, according to what the narrator tells us, does not exist between the other nationalist figures and the nation/country. No one can understand "the real inspirations and the innermost feeling of the nation" or have "a vital interest in these aspirations and feelings" better than he can do.¹⁴⁵ Such a strong relation with the nationalist movement and the identity of his self with the nation/country may be claimed to be the reflection of his much deeper association of the movement with his inner drives. His actions and decisions are not molded by the rules of the political arena/the external world. He listens to the voice of his conscience:

I communicated [my resignation] to the troops and the people.

Henceforward I continued to do my duty according to the dictates of my conscience, free from any official rank and restriction, trusting solely to the devotion and magnanimity of the nation itself, from whom I drew strength, energy and inspiration as from an inexhaustible spring.¹⁴⁶

The external events are less guiding for him than the dictates of his conscience. What he must do is dictated to him by his inner needs. I think the above-quoted passage is one of the most important passages in *Nutuk*: he explicitly reveals that he acts according to the drives/ needs of his internal structure; he makes changes in the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 60-1.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 666.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 43.

external world so that it can respond to his inner needs. The association of the nation/country with the sufficient mother, from whom he sucks “strength, energy and inspiration as from an inexhaustible spring” is obvious¹⁴⁷. Thus, the narrator/protagonist Mustafa Kemal and the nation/country take and exchange the roles of sufficient parent and hungry, needy infant according to Mustafa Kemal’s unconscious drives: first Mustafa Kemal becomes the idealized parent and nurses his “baby” so that in return the nation/country satisfies his needs, a kind of narcissistic gratification on the side of Mustafa Kemal. Parla and Davison define the relationship between Mustafa Kemal and the nation/country as of charismatic nature:

A charismatic person has authority over others by virtue of the fact that he or she either possesses or is recognized as possessing a special relation to [some eternal] truths. The prophets of the monotheistic traditions are classical, theopolitical examples of charismatic leaders [.]¹⁴⁸

When we evaluate *Nutuk* in this light, it appears that:

his characterizations of his actions were themselves constituted by self-conscious charismatic intentions, specifically by his sense of his own extraordinariness and his claim that he alone possessed the nation’s truths. [...] Charismatic assumptions were evident in Kemal’s self-conception as the sole person capable of leading Turkey out of

¹⁴⁷ Volkan and Itzkowitz notify the reader that Zübeyde lacked a self-sufficient supply of milk and a wetnurse helped her to nurse Mustafa Kemal. See Volkan and Itzkowitz 1984, 24.

¹⁴⁸ Parla and Davison 2004, 146.

“darkness,” along the “logical” “stages” of development en route to the “original target” that only he knew.¹⁴⁹

In *Nutuk*, we are face to face with a nonpareil leader as well as an omnipotent and omniscient narrator. He is like a commander-in-chief in his narrative. He has all the rights to reserve on what to narrate when: “Reserving the right of reverting to this question, I shall now proceed to my main subject– the Green Army.”¹⁵⁰ He feels completely free to direct the mental activities of his audience/reader: “Now let us keep in mind what has been said in these three documents and subject them to a short analysis.”¹⁵¹ He knows the proper sequence of events as well as the needs of his audience/reader so as to understand fully what he relates: “In what now seems to be its proper sequence, I will tell you something about our eastern front, but I must first give you an introduction to it by recording one incident that had taken place previously.”¹⁵² He makes it sure that his audience/reader has the necessary background to grasp his narrative. He does not forget to give a vertical image of the situation, focusing on Anatolia as well as Thrace so that the audience/reader can get the picture wholly: “Gentlemen, let us now cast a glance at the situation in Thrace at the time of which we are speaking.”¹⁵³ He knows exactly what is important to recount, and what is not worth dwelling on: “Instead of trying to throw light on this doubtful subject, I prefer to recall certain stages, certain incidents and discussions bearing on the situation and thereby facilitate your study of it.”¹⁵⁴ Besides, he has complete mastery over the memory of his audience/reader: he knows what he has

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 192.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 404.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 304.

¹⁵² Ibid, 405.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 419.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 574.

told up to now and what he has not and explains the logical reasons behind his decisions regarding his narration technique:

I have told you already that the day after my departure a pamphlet under the title of “The Mohamedan Caliphate and the Grand National Assembly and the nation to revolt against us. But before this happened there was still another maneuver of which I have not spoken to you for the reason that the effects of this intrigue which had not been prepared in the beginning of December, 1922, still continued during my journey. If you will permit me, I will now say a few words about the subject which will serve to refresh your memory.¹⁵⁵

Nevertheless, he does not content himself with the present audience. He does not confine his audience to the deputies present in the assembly; he is confident that coming generations will read his narrative and learn the history of their nation from him. So he is careful to relate all the important historical events for them: “When I refer here to a generally known truth and dwell on it ... I do so for the purpose of calling the attention of the nation to it and awakening it and the generations to come to its importance.”¹⁵⁶ In every respect, *Nutuk* underscores the narrator’s “infallibility, his indubitability, his unquestionability, his singularity, his unmatched patriotism and devotion” for the present audience in the assembly and the future generations:¹⁵⁷ He is completely confident that “at the present moment the world will admit the undisputable truth of what [he has] said, although it did not appear to be so at that time.” and he is equally certain that the future generations agree with his assertion thanks to “certain events that are still fresh in [his] memory and [...] documents

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 602.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 192.

¹⁵⁷ Parla and Davison 2004, 200.

relating to the past.¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, at the end of his detailed account of the period in question, he suddenly declares that all these detailed descriptions belong to the past; the younger generations should look to the future from now on: his six-day-long descriptions “are, after all, merely a report of time” which belongs to a bygone period and he just wants to ensure that his nation and future generations will be interested in the truths he has related:

The result we have attained today is the fruit of teachings which arose from centuries of suffering, and the price of streams of blood which have drenched every foot of the ground of our beloved Fatherland.

This holy treasure I lay in the hands of the youth of Turkey.¹⁵⁹

Thus, instead of concerning themselves with the details of a period in the past, the youth of Turkey should protect and preserve what the narrator achieved at the expense of great sacrifices. In a dramatic gesture, *Nutuk* ends with the message to the youth in which the narrator warns the youth against the visible and invisible dangers in the future, and tells them that their greatest mission is to preserve and protect the holy treasure. Parla and Davison define the message as similar to “his fear-laced and suspicion-inspiring discursive practices in the Assembly” and state that *Nutuk* is more than an account of the struggle:

Nutuk, in this light, turns out to be more than Kemal’s own account of the struggle. It turns out to be precisely what he had tagged it: a lesson in “social and political morality”; a lesson about who was right and who was wrong at Turkey’s founding; a lesson about whose path

¹⁵⁸ Kemal 1929, 62.

¹⁵⁹ Kemal 1929, 723.

should be emulated and whose path avoided; a lesson, in short, of Kemal's infallibility as the unparalleled father of the Turks.¹⁶⁰

Indeed, *Nutuk* tells much more than the years of Independence Struggle. It makes claims to history, illuminates the audience/reader on moral, social and political issues, depicts a gallery of political elites, though in not very elevating terms.¹⁶¹ In psychoanalytic terms, *Nutuk* is the package: the narrator needs to tell the nation/country that he has fulfilled all his duties so that he can continue with his other predetermined projects.

B. *Nutuk* as the Reflection of the Unconscious of Its

Author/Narrator/Protagonist

Nutuk is the longest speech of Mustafa Kemal, the preparation of which took three months. For decades *Nutuk* has been "like a sacred text, while it is also and simultaneously the autobiography of Atatürk, the journal of the Independence Struggle, a political history based on historical documents, and a guide to future generations" in Hıfzı Veldet Velidedeoğlu's words. Indeed *Nutuk* has fulfilled all of these roles to a great extent to date. In this section, I focus on *Nutuk* as the reflection of the unconscious of its author/narrator/protagonist.

Parla and Davison signify that *Nutuk* is the account of Mustafa Kemal's assumption that he is the nonpareil leader "capable of" saving the country:

A reexamination of *Nutuk* at this point shows that his characterizations of his actions were themselves constituted by self-conscious charismatic intentions, specifically by his sense of his own

¹⁶⁰ Parla and Davison, 192-193.

¹⁶¹ Parla 2008, 22.

extraordinariness and his claim that he alone possessed the nation's truths. ... [C]harismatic assumptions were evident in Kemal's self-conception as the sole person capable of leading Turkey out of "darkness," along the "logical" "stages" of development en route to the "original target" that only he knew.¹⁶²

Indeed, even a superficial analysis of *Nutuk* reveals how all the other nationalist figures fall on the way one by one, whereas Mustafa Kemal never errs or falls throughout the whole ordeal. The dramatic opening of *Nutuk*, "Gentlemen, I landed at Samsun on the 19th May, 1919" announces that the story is that of the narrator/author who initiates the Independence struggle by his arrival in Samsun. Although other people also try to find a solution to the disaster which the country undergoes, they cannot do anything other than proposing "groundless" arguments:

As I have already explained, there were three propositions that had been put forward[.] ... None of these three proposals could be accepted as the correct one, because the arguments and the considerations on which they were based were groundless.¹⁶³

Thus, Mustafa Kemal is the sole person who could see the sole reasonable solution, "to create a New Turkish state, the sovereignty and independence of which would be unreservedly recognized by the whole world." and arrives in Samsun to realize his resolution. He claims that he has not changed at all from then on:

If our attitude and our actions during nine years are examined in their logical sequence, it is evident from the very first day that our general

¹⁶² Parla and Davison 2004, 192-193.

¹⁶³ Kemal 1929, 16-7.

behavior has never deviated from the lines laid down in our original resolution, nor from the purpose we had set out to achieve.¹⁶⁴

Thus, not only he expects his audience to perceive *the inherent logic in his attitude and actions* but he also makes it sure that the narrator/author has abided by his predetermined ideal for nine years and has remained the same all the time.¹⁶⁵ As “the operator/author of the history of the realization of the [predetermined] decision-project,” he knows the phases and the ultimate aim of the decision/project in advance: the nation is that which should be improved by him.¹⁶⁶ The narrator/author rejects the development or change in himself, because it means that he was not good enough/the best in the beginning. J. A. Riviere also observes that improvement means help from and dependency on the external world.¹⁶⁷ In Mustafa Kemal’s condition, it would mean he has been molded by the “ordinary” external world, which is unacceptable to his specialness. His personality organization does not allow him to accept help from or dependency on the external world, which is an indication of pathological object relations. He believes and wants us to believe that he knows the result in advance and is strong enough to bear the burden on his own:

It was incumbent upon me to develop our entire social organization, step by step, until it corresponded to the great capability of progress which I perceived in the soul and in the future of the nation and which I kept to myself in my own consciousness as a national secret.¹⁶⁸

Parla defines the narrator of the above-quoted passage as such a “paternalist,” “monocratic” educator that he does not assume his authority through other

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 19.

¹⁶⁵ Parla 2008, 32.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 30.

¹⁶⁷ Quoted by Kernberg 1970, 11.

¹⁶⁸ Kemal 1929, 20

institutions but from the specialness/uniqueness of being the only one who can penetrate into the heart of the nation.¹⁶⁹ In a similar reasoning, it is also possible to claim that Mustafa Kemal does not trust anyone/anything apart from his inner sources since he cannot accept the dependency on the external world and withdraws into his grandiose self, while simultaneously seeking admiration, support, and appreciation:

The safest way to protect the nation from error is to guide it during the elections by a political party which has gained the confidence of the people through their ideas and actions. Even if we accept in theory that the majority of citizens is possessed of authentic information enabling them to express themselves about each of the candidates and to form a correct judgment of him – experience bears this out – this is apparently not an infallible truth.¹⁷⁰

Mustafa Kemal trusts neither in political figures/parties nor the judgment of people. Hence, he regards it as his duty to direct the nation through his political party so that he can ensure that the nation and political figures have not deviated from the true path which only he claims to know. He also strongly believes that he does not err:

If I had allowed myself to be influenced by the imaginary fears entertained by certain of my comrades, two important things would have happened: [Firstly] It would have meant that I admitted I had been entirely wrong in my judgment and decision, and that my character was devoid of energy. Such a confession would have been

¹⁶⁹ Parla 2008, 35.

¹⁷⁰ Kemal 1929, 429.

an irretrievable mistake from the point of the undertaking which I had morally imposed upon myself.¹⁷¹

Even constitutions can fall short of the nation's need, but Mustafa Kemal, with his grandiose self, knows and satisfies every need of the nation:

When I resolved upon the meeting of an assembly provided with extraordinary powers, I was well aware that our constitution did not contain any provision for such an assembly. But in order to arrive at my decision it did not occur to me to think whether such a provision existed or not. ... I had intended to organize an assembly of a totally different character and endowed with other powers, and with it to overcome the successive stages of the revolution that I had in mind.¹⁷²

He first determines his actions and then makes the necessary changes in the outside world:

A month had gone by since I set foot on Anatolian soil. During this period permanent communication with the divisions of all the Army Corps had been kept up; the idea of national organization was growing. After this it was no longer possible for me to control the whole movement in my position as a military commander. Now there could no longer be any doubt about my having joined the Revolutionary Party. I continued to lead the national movement and the national organi[z]ations, but, nevertheless, I refused to obey the order of my recall. Besides, it was not difficult to guess that measures and procedure which I was determined to carry through would be of a

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 61.

¹⁷² Ibid, 368-9.

radical and decisive nature. Consequently, these measures and actions had to lose their individual character and be conducted in the name of a corporation or body that represented the unity and singleness of the whole nation.¹⁷³

When the constitutions contradict with the intensions of Mustafa Kemal, he chooses to follow his decisions, by surpassing the constitutions: “[f]or my part I determined to continue to hold my position as Commander -in-Chief in the best interests of the country and the common cause, and informed the Council of Ministers of this resolve.¹⁷⁴ Although his term of office as Commander-in-chief has expired and the new law has not been enacted, he decides to continue holding his office as before and he informs the Council of Ministers of his decision. He is above the law and the constitutions.

Parla summarizes the relationship between Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the nation as follows:

As a matter of fact, Atatürk does not certainly trust the capability of correct action and self-consciousness of masses, which can be seen by all means. Mass-people-nation has an essence which it is consciously not aware of and which only the leader can see that mass-people-nation has it and only he can operate and direct. The idea of Atatürk is that nation is a child to be brought up by himself.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Ibid, 30-1.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 550.

¹⁷⁵The original is as follows:

Zaten Atatürk her vesileyle görülebileceği üzere, kitlelerin öz bilincine ve doğru eylem yeteneğine kesinlikle güvenmez. Kitle-halk-millet, ancak önderin işleyip yönlendirebileceği; kendinin bile bilinçli olarak farkında olmadığı, yalnızca önderin onda bulunduğunu görebildiği bir cevhere sahiptir. Atatürk'ün düşüncesi odur ki, halk büyütülecek bir çocuktur [.]

The nation must be improved by Mustafa Kemal who takes his authority from his grandiose self:

I communicated [my resignation] to the troops and the people. Henceforward I continued to do my duty according to the dictates of my conscience, free from any official rank and restriction, trusting solely to the devotion and magnanimity of the nation itself, from whom I drew strength, energy and inspiration as from an inexhaustible spring.¹⁷⁶

The “special” leader draws his energy and motivation from the nation, which waits to be improved by him. The nation Mustafa Kemal praises and elevates is not the concrete nation in reality, but abstract nation in his mind.¹⁷⁷ Thus, instead of taking the nation as such, Mustafa Kemal is inclined to focus on the idealized nation. His grandiose self is made of his real self (his specialness reinforced by his early experience), the ideal self (his fantasies and self-images of power, wealth, omniscience which compensated him for the experience of severe oral frustration, rage and envy) and the ideal object (his fantasy of an ever-giving, ever-loving and accepting parent/nation, in contrast to his experience in reality). Parla presents a similar observation:

The leader, who will be the ego-ideal of his audience, creates an ego-ideal in the beginning and assumes his energy of action and legitimacy from this: the nation is the idealized nation of the leader, not the present one. This ego-ideal, since there is no other person or norm, nurtures the leader’s ego; the nation and the leader is identified to a

¹⁷⁶ Kemal 1929, 43.

¹⁷⁷ Parla 2008, 47.

great extent, the distance between them is covered; as a matter of fact, the ego exalts itself through labeling itself with the ego-ideal.¹⁷⁸

Clinical studies on patients with narcissistic personality organization mark an analogous process. Kernberg discloses the condensation of ego and ego ideal as follows:

[I]dealized object images which normally would be integrated into the ego ideal and as such, into the superego, are condensed instead with the self-concept. As a result, normal superego integration is lacking, ego–superego boundaries are blurred in certain areas, and unacceptable aspects of the real self are dissociated and/or repressed, in combination with widespread, devastating devaluation of external objects and their representations.¹⁷⁹

As a matter of fact *Nutuk* comprises Mustafa Kemal's observations, (d)evaluations and opinions of other nationalist figures. Parla states that these nationalist figures are judged by their insight/foresight in the Independence Struggle and their attitude regarding the transformations of Republic, and most of them fail to do what is expected of them.¹⁸⁰ These observation and evaluation passages are parts of defense mechanism of Mustafa Kemal. To protect himself against rage and envy, he has to devalue the sources of gratification through “disappointments:”

They need to destroy the sources of love and gratification in order to eliminate the source of envy and projected rage, while simultaneously withdrawing into the grandiose self which represents a primitive

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 47.

¹⁷⁹ Kernberg 1974a, 224.

¹⁸⁰ Parla 2008, 23.

refusion of the idealized images of the parental figures and idealized images of the self, so that they can escape from a vicious circle of anger, frustration and aggressive devaluation of the potential source of gratification at the cost of serious damage to internalized object relations.¹⁸¹

It is possible to see that the more disappointed Mustafa Kemal is in his companions and the more he devaluates them, the more he withdraws into his grandiose self, that is the complete identification between his real self, his ideal self, and his ideal nation. One of the rare people Mustafa Kemal praises in *Nutuk* is Ismet Pasha. There is, however, a complicated motivation behind this praise. After citing his telegraph in which he praises Ismet Pasha, Mustafa Kemal quotes his reply:

Ismet Pasha replied to this telegram. I submit his reply verbatim to you, as it is a precious document, showing the degree of suffering which he had endured and at the same time his loyalty and especially, his modesty:

No:338
1923

Lausanne, 20th July,

To His Excellency Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

As Deus ex machine you always intervene when I am in a difficult situation. Imagine the moral sufferings I had to endure for four or five days.

¹⁸¹ Kernberg 1974, 221.

You are a man who can do great things. My affection for you has been doubled thereby. I embrace you, my much beloved brother and chief.

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Parla and Davison point to the “religiopolitical prophetic connotations” of the word Hızır in the original, which means “a ‘godsend’, but in human form,” “a human agent of a great fortune, promise, and deed.”¹⁸³ In this manner, Mustafa Kemal uses Ismet Pasha as the example of “the ideal extension” of himself who “subordinates to the leader” and he also makes it known by all that he is the extraordinary leader of the Turkish nation who has done great deeds. Moreover, Mustafa Kemal takes all of Ismet Pasha’s success as his own:

The dignity and the great zeal which Ismet Pasha displayed as a Chief of the General Staff, and later on as commander at the front, proved in practice how correct was the choice I had made, and in this I have a clear conscience before the nation, the Army and history.¹⁸⁴

It is as if he says that “I knew that he would be the most suitable person for the post and thus I chose him. So all the praise is for me.” Halide Edib makes a similar observation in *The Turkish Ordeal*:

Ismet Pasha is the military man whom he has ever praised in public, yet behind the praise there was a subtly concealed motive. Ismet Pasha

¹⁸² Taha Parla and Andrew Davison translates the same part in *Corporatist Ideology in Kemalist Turkey* as follows:

You come to my aid like Hızır in all my difficult times. Imagine the agony I underwent for the past four and five days. You are a man who has done great deeds and has had great deeds done. My devotion to you has been doubled. I kiss your eyes my beloved brother, my dearest Chief (184)

This version is more accurate and true to the original motivations of the author. However, since I take *A Speech* (1929) as my main text, the quotations from Mustafa Kemal’s speech entitled *Nutuk* are from it. Kemal 1929, 638.

¹⁸³ Parla and Davison 2004, 184)

¹⁸⁴ Kemal 1929, 382.

had been badly beaten in Kutahia and in Eskişehir, which defeat had almost brought the Greeks to Angora; so Mustafa Kemal Pasha in praising İsmet Pasha was saying with a wink, “I have commanded Sakaria and the march to Smyrna: İsmet was under me, so by all means praise him freely; it all comes back to me.” Knowing this side of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, it is for the future historian to decide whether İsmet Pasha would have been in the position he is at the present if he had not had that military misfortune.¹⁸⁵

One can see that Mustafa Kemal is not inclined to regard İsmet Pasha as an individual on his own account. Instead, he ensures that İsmet Pasha is an extension of himself. In fact not only İsmet Pasha but the whole assembly is/has to be his extension:

Pardon me if I speak quite frankly. It was I who was responsible for the election of each one of you, with the far-reaching powers bestowed on you, for the formation of an Assembly disposing of extraordinary powers and for the adoption of the character of an institution determining the fate of the country through this Assembly. For the purpose of achieving this, I had to fight a storm of opinion with my comrades nearest to me. I risked my life, my existence, my honour and my dignity. It is, therefore, my own personal work and I would surely prefer to exalt it than humiliate it.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Edib 1928, 296

¹⁸⁶ Kemal 1929, 550-1.

Or when he goes on an Anatolian tour to listen to people and understand their “psychology,” he can talk for hours instead of listening to them as if the people for whom he is there do not exist:

The monarchy having been abolished and the Caliphate denuded of its powers, it had become very important to get into close touch with the people and once more to study their psychology and spiritual tendencies. [...] I requested that the population should freely ask questions on subjects that were near to their hearts. In order to answer them I delivered long speeches which often lasted for six or seven hours.¹⁸⁷

As if he is living in his own world and the external world is only there to give him the adoration he seeks. When he decides to proclaim Republic, he does not need to ask his companions’ opinions:

You have noticed, Gentlemen, that in order to decide on the proclamation of the Republic it was neither necessary for me to call together all my comrades nor to debate or discuss the question with them. I did not doubt that they were naturally and in principle of the same opinion as I was with regard to the chapter.¹⁸⁸

The comrades have two choices: either they have to accept his proposal and be a good extension of him or they will cease to exist in his eyes. Hence, he openly declares that he does not bother to ask for opinions of other nationalists. His personality organization does not allow him to see people as individuals, which may awaken his aggression:

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 587.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 649.

[T]he implication of either you are as I want you, or you cease to exist' is also the acting out of unconscious need for omnipotent control of the object, and reflects defences against aggression.

'Disappointment reactions' in these cases reflect conflicts about aggression as well as libidinal strivings and, more immediately, a protection against general activation of oral-aggressive conflicts.¹⁸⁹

He considers “differences of opinion” as a deviation and thus unpardonable and unacceptable: those who oppose his ideas are “misguided and ignorant brains” with “unmitigated ignorance,” “boundless blindness,” “lack of logical reasoning.”¹⁹⁰ He associates deviation from his idea(l)s with the mental limitation of the deviators:

This practical and safe way, however, as may easily be understood, provoked certain differences of opinion of more or less importance, and even the discouragement and dissention which was observable from time to time between us and our most intimate co-workers; differences of opinion, sometimes in regard to principles, at others as to the method of the execution of our programme. Some of my companions who had entered into the national fight with me went over to the opposition, according as the limitation of their own mental appreciation led them and their moral courage succumbed in the effort to develop national life, to proclaim the Republic and enact its laws.¹⁹¹

The rejection of any difference of ideas from those of his and denial of individuality of other people are related to his omnipotent control mechanism. Kernberg considers “omnipotent control” among the most important components of narcissistic

¹⁸⁹ Kernberg 1974a, 227.

¹⁹⁰ Kemal 1929, 538, 682, respectively.

¹⁹¹ Kemal 1929, 19.

personality make up, which also includes “primitive forms of projection, particularly projective identification, primitive and pathological idealization, narcissistic withdrawal and devaluation”. These traits sustain and strengthen “mechanisms of splitting or primitive dissociation” (i.e. mutually dissociated or split-off ego states) which enables the co-existence of feelings of grandiosity and inferiority.¹⁹² *Nutuk* is full of with passages which can be regarded to reflect above-mentioned traits of Mustafa Kemal’s personality. The following passage is seemingly about a general observation on history, though on a deeper level it can be taken as a reflection of his unconsciousness:

History shows irrefutably that in all great enterprises the *conditio sine qua non* of success lies in the fact that there must be a leader available who possesses special qualifications and untiring energy. At a time when all the statesmen have been seized with despair and are paralysed by their impotence, when the nation is plunged into the darkness of night without any one to show them the way, when people of every possible description calling themselves patriots think and act in precisely as many different ways is it possible for anybody to proceed with confidence, clear sightedness and energy, and succeed in the end to achieve one of the most difficult of all aims when he feels himself forced to accept this or that advice, to succumb under a host of varying influences and avoid hurting the feelings of a multitude of other persons?¹⁹³

¹⁹² Kernberg 19704b, 216.

¹⁹³ Kemal 1929, 62.

This passage can be treated as evidence to his split mechanism. He associates the qualities of a special leader with his (idealized) self and projects the negative aspects to others: he is the extraordinary leader with special qualities and untiring energy, all the other figures are paralyzed by their impotence and despair. Though memoirs of other nationalist figures (i.e. *The Turkish Ordeal*) indicate that he is also distressed and hopeless from time to time during the Struggle, he is able to suppress or rather project his rejected self onto the others in *Nutuk* through his omnipotent control. Mustafa Kemal's omnipotent control over narrative, people, and even time is one of the most important elements in *Nutuk*. He has to take the leading part in every phase of the movement:

It was essentially necessary that I should take part in the congress and be its leader, for I was convinced of the importance of converting the national will into deeds and urging the nation to do what it will be called upon to do by deeds and arms. I considered it imperative for me to inform, enlighten and guide the people in such a way that I would be to emphasi[z]e this view and induce them to accept it.¹⁹⁴

Not only does he have to participate in the congress but also preside over it so as to make sure that everything is in order. If every part of the predetermined project is not under his complete control, “dangerous” things might happen:

It might become very dangerous if we decided arbitrarily on this question of the meeting place and allow the nation and the deputies elected by them to carry out that decision. Therefore, I saw myself confronted with the inevitable necessity of most carefully and

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 61.

attentively studying the ideas and feelings of the people, of drawing my own conclusion from the actual desire of the nation and, then, of coming to a practical decision on the result.¹⁹⁵

He should have an omnipotent control over the election of the deputies, otherwise things can get out of control and malicious people can have themselves elected, which will certainly harm the nation:

The deputies who accepted our point of view and wanted to become deputies, first of all told me that they accepted the “Principles” and shared our views. It was my task to present the list of candidates and to publish the names of those candidates at a given time in the name of the party. I had chosen this procedure because I knew that there were many people with different aims in view while the elections were in preparation who were working to have themselves elected deputies by deceiving the people. [...] It became evident that it was impossible for those who were in opposition to the “Principles” to be elected deputies by the nation.¹⁹⁶

Nutuk also bears witness to the omnipotent control of Mustafa Kemal over time: he controls past, present and future. On a surface level, by narrating the events from 1919 to 1927, he informs the audience/reader of historical and political events. Nevertheless, he does not need to clarify that this is only one version of what has happened. On the contrary he claims that this is what really happened:

These detailed descriptions, which have occupied you for so many days, are, after all, merely a report of a period of time, which will

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 231.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 606.

henceforth belong to the past. I shall consider myself very happy if I have succeeded in the course of this report in expressing some truths which are calculated to rivet the interest and attention of my nation and of future generations.¹⁹⁷

The present world knows “the indisputable truth”, though in the past it was not so clear:

I have no doubt that at the present moment the world will admit the undisputable truth of what I have said, although it did not appear to be so at that time. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the social and political opinion of the coming generation, I consider it to be my duty to support my assertion by certain events that are still fresh in my memory and by documents relating to the past. What I have been trying to make clear is still further borne out by events which I shall now touch upon.¹⁹⁸

The coming generations will also have to look up into *Nutuk* to learn about their history. Past, present and future is under the omnipotent control of Mustafa Kemal. Since omnipotent control is to conceal his aggression, dissidence with him means a lack of omnipotent control and hence the emergence of his destructive aggression:

If those who are assembled here, the Assembly and everybody else would find this quite natural, it would be very appropriate from my point of view. Conversely, the reality will nevertheless be manifested

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 723.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 62.

in the necessary form, but in that event it is possible that some heads will be cut off.¹⁹⁹

Parla summaries Mustafa Kemal's omnipotent control as follows:

It is such an ego-centric, even solipsist sense of self-righteousness and claim that history-maker/writer persona/charismatic leader is prosecutor, litigant and judge all at the same time; he prepares the suit, creates the evidence, arrives at the decision, but simultaneously he does not fail to emphasize that the truth will come to light on "its own accord" and in any case the world agrees with him. Moreover, he does not let history take its course itself, he endeavors to prove his claims through documents and 'recollections:' "Still, I regard it as my moral duty to justify what I have said through some recollections of bygone days and documents in terms of social and political morality."²⁰⁰

Interestingly, despite all his aggression and feelings of omnipotence it is possible to find Mustafa Kemal's sense of border which, according to Volkan and Itzkowitz, comes from his idealized father:

To unite different nations under one common name, to give these different elements equal rights, subject them to the same conditions and thus to found a mighty State is a brilliant and attractive political

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 578 .

²⁰⁰ The original is as follows:

Öyle bir ben-merkezci, hatta solipsist haklılık duygusu ve iddiası ki, tarih yapan/yazan kişi/karizmatik lider, hem savcı, hem davacı, hem yargıçtır; iddiayı kendi hazırlıyor, kanıtları kendi yaratıyor, hükmü kendi veriyor, ama bir yandan da gerçeğin "kendiliğinden" ortaya çıkacağını ve zaten tüm dünyanın da kendisi gibi düşündüğünü vurgulamayı ihmal etmiyor. İşi tamamen tarihe de bırakmıyor, söylediklerini belgeler ve "anılar"la doğrulamaya çalışıyor: "Bununla birlikte, ben, bu söylediklerimi geçmiş günlere ait bazı anılar ve belgeler ile de burada doğrulamayı, gelecek kuşağın toplumsal ve siyasal ahlaki açısından bir görev sayarım. Parla 2008, 56.

ideal; but it is a misleading one. It is an unrealizable aim to attempt to unite in one tribe the various races existing on the earth, thereby abolishing all boundaries.²⁰¹

According to their declarations, the Caliph-Monarch would have the right of jurisdiction over all Mohemedans and all Mohemadan countries, that is to say, over China, India, Afg[h]anistan, Persia, Ira[q], Syria, Palestine, Hedjas, Yemen, Assyr[ia], Egypt, Tripolis, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, the Sudan. It is well known that this Utopia has never been realized. The pamphlet itself signed by Hodja Shukri emphasizes that the Mohammedan communities have always separated from one another[.] ... Would it have been logical or reasonable to pretend to be ignorant of this historic truth and to designate under the title of Caliph a ruler destined to govern all the Mohemedan States and nations, some of which were independent, while most of them were under a foreign protectorate?²⁰²

Instead of abolishing all boundaries and being destructive for illogical desires, he proposes the protection of “national borders” and wants to bring happiness to the Turkish nation:

The political system which we regard as clear and fully reali[z]able is national policy. In view of the general conditions obtaining in the world at present and the truths which in the course of centuries have rooted themselves in the minds of and have formed the characters of mankind, no greater mistake could be made than that of being a

²⁰¹ Kemal 1929, 378.

²⁰² Ibid, 591-2.

utopian. This is borne out in history and is the expression of science, reason and common sense. In order that our nation should be able [to] live a happy, strenuous and permanent life, it is necessary that the State should pursue an exclusively national policy and that this policy should be in perfect agreement with our internal organization and be based on it. When I speak of national policy, I mean it in this sense: To work within our national boundaries for the real happiness and welfare of the nation and the country by, above all, relying on our own strength in order to retain our existence. But not to lead the people to follow fictitious aims, of whatever nature, which could only bring them misfortune, and expect from the civilized world civilized human treatment, friendship based on mutuality.²⁰³

Vamik Volkan defines Mustafa Kemal's leadership as reparative rather than destructive:

The reparative narcissistic national leader strengthens the cohesiveness and stability of his grandiose self by idealizing a group of others whom he then includes in an idealized extension of himself. Even when such idealized external objects are not fused with his grandiose self, the narcissistic person feels elevated because those who adore him are themselves so superior. ... Atatürk could remain as a reparative leader, for the "fit" between him and the national group he lead was so great that not only did he easily maintain his grandiose

²⁰³ Ibid, 378-9.

self, but his followers in turn maintained their perception of him as a superman.²⁰⁴

Parla makes a similar analysis for the above-quoted ideas of Mustafa Kemal in *Nutuk*:

These words are one of succinct expressions of non-aggressive, non-expansionist, non-irredentist nationalism of Atatürk: of his nationalism which elevates the nation to gain self-confidence, but not pushes forward it to the political subordination policy.²⁰⁵

His defense mechanisms can be quite illuminating and relevant when his view of the world is taken into account. He thinks that he has to be strong in this “cold” world:

You know that life consists of struggles and conflicts. Success in life is only possible by overcoming difficulties. All depends on strength, upon moral and material energy. Further than that, all the questions that engage the attention of mankind, all the dangers to which they are exposed and all the successes which they achieve arise from the turmoil of the general combat which is raging throughout human society.²⁰⁶

It is for the individual just the same as for a nation a futile attempt to demand consideration before actual proof of power and capability has been afforded. Those who fail to furnish this proof will not meet with

²⁰⁴ Volkan and Itzkowitz, 238-9.

²⁰⁵ The original is as follows:

Bu sözler, Atatürk'ün saldırgan, yayılmacı ve irredantist olmayan milliyetçiliğinin özlü ifadelerinden biridir: Milleti, özgüvenini kazanması için yücelten, ama bunu siyasal üstünlük kurma politikasına vurdurmayan milliyetçiliğinin. Parla 2008, 72.

²⁰⁶ Kemal 1929, 377.

any consideration. Only those who are professed of these qualities can claim humane, just and generous treatment.²⁰⁷

To be in a position to “demand consideration” or make his voice heard, his ideas acknowledged, first he has to prove his power and capabilities to the world. This means constant struggles and it requires strength. Otherwise he will be lost among the negligible crowd. In this world view, one can hear the echo of Kernberg’s postulation that people with narcissistic organization tend to regard “the world as being devoid of food and love,” and their self as “the hungry wolf out to kill, eat and survive.”²⁰⁸

C. Representation of Halide Edib in *Nutuk*

Although Halide Edib joins the nationalist movement after the occupation of Istanbul, one year after Mustafa Kemal, she is mentioned twice in *Nutuk* and in these instances she is reflected in not very flattering terms. In the first instance, the narrator/protagonist implies at her, without giving her name:

Certain prominent personalities – amongst them some women – in Constantinople were convinced that the real salvation of the country lay in securing an American protectorate over it. They stubbornly persisted in this idea and tried to prove that acceptance of their point of view was the only thing possible.²⁰⁹

The only and most “prominent” woman in Istanbul, who advocates American protectorate, is no one else but Halide Edib-Adıvar. In the second instance, her letter to Mustafa Kemal in which she explains the reasons for her tendency for American

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 543.

²⁰⁸ Kernberg 1974a, 221.

²⁰⁹ Kemal 1929, 13-4.

mandate is cited fully in *Nutuk*. The narrator of *Nutuk* chooses to ignore the fact that Halide Edib-Adivar takes part in the national movement and stays in Anatolia for two and half years until the end of Independence Struggle. This underestimation of her services and portrait of her as a traitor leads Halide Edib to *The Turkish Ordeal*.

Chapter III

The Turkish Ordeal

A. Is the Narrator Halide Edib Reliable or not?

Halide Edib is indisputably the most famous of the first Turkish female authors although Fatma Aliye deserves the title of the first Turkish woman writer. Halide Edib's fame can be accounted by several factors. The first of these is the fact that her novels are compulsory constituents of primary and secondary school curriculum, even of some undergraduate courses on Turkish literature in various universities. The second reason for her high profile might be said to be the nationalist element in her second period works²¹⁰, which can be regarded as the cause of the first factor. In other words, her nationalist and patriotic heroes/ heroines are the sources of her popularity in the nationalist education program, whereas in the political arena her ignominy as traitor prevails. Besides, Edib is a very productive writer. She has more than 20 novels, four short story compilations, two dramas, four scholarly works on English Literature²¹¹. Apart from these works, she has a two-volume autobiography: the first one, entitled as *Memoirs of Halide Edib*, was published in English in 1926, when she was in self-imposed exile in England. The second volume, *The Turkish Ordeal: Being the Further Memoirs of Halide Edib* was published two years later after the first one, again in English. As Hülya Adak aptly observes, Halide Edib organizes her two-volume autobiography in line with the

²¹⁰ Most literary scholars seem to agree that her novels can be basically divided into three groups: the first group can be said to comprise *Raik'in Annesi*, *Seviyye Talip*, and *Handan* which are based on love, marriage, polygamy to the exclusion of all political and historical events; the second group can be claimed to consist of *Ateşten Gömlek*, *Vurun Kahpe'ye*, which are based on the nationalist and patriotic feelings of the protagonists. The third and last group can be called her maturity period, which can be said to be made of *Sinekli Bakkal*, *Tatarcık*, *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, *Sonsuz Panayır*. See, Enginün 1995, Aksoy 1997, Beyhan 2001, Adak 2004.

²¹¹ Adak 2004, v.

Western autobiographical norms; that is, she unfolds her life story beginning as a child and gradually moves to her adolescence and adulthood, “with particular sensitivity to different phases of being of the self as the self matures.”²¹² Edib explains the incident which leads her to write her memoirs in *The Turkish Ordeal* as follows:

I took the chair near [Mustafa Kemal]. At once he lost his vagueness and dropped his childish debating tone. Then he was so dazzlingly clear that I remember vividly not only the sense of what he said but the very words he used. For once his life-motive was apparent without concealment, and he said what he really meant with the utmost simplicity.

“What I mean is this: I want every one to do as I wish and command.”

“Have they not done so already in everything that is fundamental and for the good of the Turkish cause?”

He swept my question aside and continued in the same brutally frank manner.

“I don’t want any consideration, criticism, or advice. I will have only my own way. All shall do as I command.”

“Mee too, Pasham?”

“You too.”

“Is that a threat, Pasham?” I asked, quietly but firmly.

²¹² Adak 2003, 518.

But the veil which had parted to reveal his innermost mind closed again. He was eagerly apologetic. “I am sorry,” he said; “I would not threaten you.”²¹³

Deeply disturbed by this conversation taking place in the summer of 1920, she resolves to write her memoirs in English to “reach the world” and “the very next morning” she begins composing them. Thus, her memoirs are published a couple of years after she begins writing. She comments on the intervening period in *The Turkish Ordeal*:

My mornings were given to writing, and the material contained in the first volume of my Memoirs was fully prepared in those days. It was a personal and dramatic account, which subsequent events, however, have thrown into such insignificance that when it was ultimately published it was almost unrecognizable to me. I was dimly aware of other things to be expressed – of the intrusion of earlier events and of my childhood. But I pushed them back then, though I knew that I would never be free till I had given at least a pale picture of my childhood as well.²¹⁴

She clearly expresses that the intervening period of six years which also marks the beginning of her self-imposed exile with her second husband Dr. Adnan completely changes her perception of *Memoirs of Halide Edib*. Although she feels a need to narrate other remembrances relating to her childhood, the events between 1920 and 1926 lead her to withdraw from recounting any other personal reminiscences. This “confession” is one of the most important clues on how to evaluate Halide Edib’s

²¹³ Edib 1928, 187-8.

²¹⁴ Ibid, 191.

autobiographical texts. She obviously indicates that what happens between 1920 and 1926 (meaning most probably political and historical turbulence after 1922) take precedence of reminiscences from her childhood. This explicit comment on her memoirs is in line with the general scheme of her two-volume autobiography; she bases her life history on her public deeds or bigger historical events.²¹⁵ Even when she describes the first recollections from her childhood in *Memoirs of Halide Edib*, she is careful to locate them in the bigger historical frame of the Ottoman Empire. Halide Edib explains the reason in *The Turkish Ordeal*: “since it was in 1908²¹⁶ that I had stepped outside the safe boundaries of home, I planned the work to be from that date on.”²¹⁷ The “beginning” of her life story coincides with the bigger historical and political events of the empire. Erol asserts that “[t]hrough this historical framing of the life story in national terms, Halide Edib’s life and developing consciousness are rendered as a parallel to the development of new Turkey”. This is all the more the case for the second volume of her autobiography. Now that she tells her childhood memoirs in the first volume and she is able to feel partly “free”, she completely withdraws her personal life to the background and she becomes identical with the Turkish nation. *The Turkish Ordeal* is the account of how she ceases to be an individual and turns into a sexless, patriotic comrade of the leading Turkish pashas and political figures, quite similar to her heroines from the second period: “Nothing mattered to me from that moment to the time of the extraordinary march to Smyrna in 1922. I suddenly ceased to exist as an individual: I worked, wrote, and lived as a

²¹⁵ In her article entitled “A Historical Approach to Turkish Women’s Autobiographies” Aksoy observes that not only Halide Edib, but most of the early Turkish women writers narrate their public life and deeds in their autobiographies. Aksoy 2006.

²¹⁶ Sibel Erol claims that Halide Edib locates the first volume of her life story in “a history that is narrated from 1839,” (xxix).

²¹⁷ Edib 1928, 191.

unit of that magnificent national madness.”²¹⁸ In contrast with *Memoirs*, where the author gives an account of the different phases of her life from childhood into maturity, *The Turkish Ordeal* begins with the armistice of Mudros and ends with the recapture of İzmir. Accordingly, the chapters and parts of *The Turkish Ordeal* are entitled in line with the respective period of the nationalist movement such as “Preparatory Events To the Nationalist Movement,” “The Occupation of Smyrna and The Internal Upheaval,” “Angora, Mustafa Kemal, and The Struggle.” While she tells the reader how she ceases to be an individual, *The Turkish Ordeal* is also indited to challenge the degrading portrait of her in *Nutuk* and prove her innocence. Adak defines *The Turkish Ordeal* as “an attempt to inscribe Edib’s involvement in the Independence Struggle into Turkish history and literature while expounding on Kemal’s involvement and position in the Struggle.”²¹⁹ Bullied as a short-sighted, obstinate traitor in *Nutuk*, Edib gives a strong account of self-defense in *The Turkish Ordeal* through various mechanisms. First of all, the reader is enlightened that she does not advocate protectorate on her own account, as implied in *Nutuk*; she only sends the letter in which she declares her tendency for American protectorate upon Mustafa Kemal’s letter asking her opinion on the future of the nation and the state and the best course of action. Secondly, she describes her disinterested services rendered during the Struggle (as opposed to the highly-interested services of Mustafa Kemal). Thirdly she elevates the American representatives in Turkey. Although she is involved in the national struggle herself, she implicitly defends herself for her previous tendency for American protectorate through the exaltation of the Americans, illuminating the reader on how modern, disinterested, objective they are. For example the American representatives and correspondents are depicted as

²¹⁸ Edib 1928, 23.

²¹⁹ Adak 2003, 519

objective and good-willed people who help the voice of Turks be heard in the world “through the dense cloud of prejudice and hatred, and the political obstruction of the West.”²²⁰ Above all, Halide Edib defends herself through the elevation of the leading figures of the Independence Struggle, who, after the victory, fall out of favor such as Kazım Karabekir, Rauf Bey, Colonel Refet, Ali Fuat Pasha, Colonel M. Arif, Mustafa Kara Vasif (Karakol), Halis Turgut. The more she praises them the more she exonerates herself. It seems to me that she tries to prove that she is as victimized as they are, though in the Turkish version she withdraws most of her criticisms.²²¹

Taking the fact that she only deems the deeds outside the boundaries of home as worth narrating into consideration, it is not surprising at all that there is almost no information about her private life and when there is, it generally serves to prove how sexless²²² she is. She reports that Colonel Arif, at their first acquaintance, finds her childish, “boylike” and much younger in her “simple clothes, a long straight tunic, high riding-boots, and a black kerchief round [her] head.”²²³ When she is appointed to the war front, she reveals “now that I was a soldier I was acting like a soldier; consciously, even subconsciously, I seemed to have ceased to be an individual. I was a number in those military designs which moved hither and thither[.]”²²⁴ When İsmet Pasha, as her commander, asks her questions, she answers them “trying to appear very military”, at which İsmet Pasha laughs.²²⁵ When she tells about her relationship with Dr. Adnan, the situation is not any better. Edib and Dr. Adnan have their

²²⁰ Edib 1928, 20.

²²¹ For example, in the original English version, there is a special emphasis on Colonel Arif, who is described as the victim of Mustafa Kemal’s ambition in more than one passage. Edib laments the executions of those who are involved in İzmir Assassination and advocates that “the plot had never gone beyond the talking stage.” (295) The Turkish version, *Türkün Ateşle İmtihanı*, does not include these passages.

²²² Durakbaşa asserts that “the self in the autobiography is an androgen subject, if not a male subject.” (234).

²²³ Edib 1928, 288.

²²⁴ Ibid, 285.

²²⁵ Ibid, 286-7.

respective beds; Edib prefers to sleep with her dogs²²⁶. Going to meet Dr. Adnan at the train station two months before the Great Defense, she wears the cape of Ismet Pasha and Dr. Adnan does not recognize “the young general without mustache.”²²⁷ It would not be wrong to state that Halide Edib deliberately underscores her masculine traits in lieu of feminine attributes. Her lack of relation to her “feminine” body may be of use to illuminate this tendency for masculinity on her side. She notes in her memoirs that she is disturbed by the weakness of her body and forces it to endure physical fatigue: when she is totally exhausted in her passage to Anatolia after the occupation of Istanbul, she rejects her weak body by declining to “be beaten by this wretched contraption of flesh and bones which is the human body.”²²⁸ The idea to change her body if it continues to give her pains makes her laugh amidst her groaning.²²⁹ Her rejection of female body is also seen in the description of the “slut” who is brought to dance for her. The “slim erect body” might tell her about the life of Red Lantern Street more than she could cope with, so she does not let her dance.²³⁰ Interestingly, her repulsion for female body does not extend to cover male bodies. She always describes the strong- built men in flattering terms and at some points she compares the strength of her body with those of men and she feels relieved when she learns that Major Hüsrev, “a six-foot man”, was as tired as she was.²³¹

This lack of relation to her body is partly hinted by the narrator through the fact that she regards her mind and heart independent from her physical body, which is only one of any bodies for her soul to inhabit:

²²⁶ Ibid, 214.

²²⁷ Ibid, 346.

²²⁸ Ibid, .118

²²⁹ Ibid, 119.

²³⁰ Ibid, 210.

²³¹ Ibid, 118.

During all my former illnesses²³² I had had the feeling that I would not die unless I wished to do so, and that no physical body could drive my spirit away so long as it chose to inhabit that body – such was the satanic pride and will-power of my spirit.²³³

Edib is determined to conceive of her heart and mind as the essential part of her existence. Her true existence only needs a body to inhabit: her particular physical body is just one body where her spirit could dwell. Yet the split in her existence does not end here; she also splits her spirit into two:

So far I had often been conscious of a dual personality: one living and acting, the other watching, criticizing. This everlasting critic in me has made me suffer much more than any of my own kind has been able to make me suffer.²³⁴

The living and acting part of her dual personality could be associated in her mind with the physical Halide, her body, though we are not given any elaboration on this part. We are, however, informed that she is an anomaly:

“You, who really are me,” said the tormentor in my brain, “are an anomaly – a being that has wandered by some ghastly mistake into the body of the graceless human demon. Why should you insist on abiding in their midst of suffering their woes? Break your chains.”

²³² Durakbaşa regards the illnesses Edib recounts as important and reveals that she regards those moments of illness as “female negation” or “female rejection.” Edib negates the symbolic signification wholly and turns back to the pre-Oedipal existence. Durakbaşa adds that though the narrator does not put into words, retrospective moves in the text are related to the mother in her sickbed (Durakbaşa 2000, 234-5).

²³³ Edib 1928, 252.

²³⁴ Ibid, 368.

And I was thinking aloud, “Shall I cease to be? Shall I go amidst kindlier beings?”²³⁵

The criticizing part of her personality reveals to her living side that her spirit inhabits a wrong place, which is a human body. So the human body her spirit dwells in is as wrong as any other human bodies. Ironically, at the point where she completely refuses human body, “the face of a dead man”, Major Nazım saves her from this mortal internal danger.²³⁶ In both volumes of her autobiography she dichotomizes herself into the inner Halide and the external Halide; “the Halidé who was all mind and heart” and her “once particular physical self.”²³⁷ When she is ill, she talks about the other part of her consciousness which goes on recording the ongoing events around her sickbed.²³⁸ Or she is criticized by her normal self.²³⁹ Most of the time, her real self is invisible behind her body.²⁴⁰ Her acute perception of human psychology and split character may be said to help her understand Mustafa Kemal’s narcissistic character better.

The prevailing notion about Halide Edib is that she is one of the first feminist Ottoman-Turkish writers. Though there are different views regarding her novels,²⁴¹ I think it would not be correct to describe *The Turkish Ordeal* as a feminist text. Edib

²³⁵ Ibid, 368.

²³⁶ Ibid, 369.

²³⁷ Ibid, 103.

²³⁸ Ibid, 252.

²³⁹ Ibid, 305.

²⁴⁰ Ibid, 91.

²⁴¹ Beyhan Uygun Aytemiz, in her MA thesis, treats the novels of Halide Edib from a feminist approach and she concludes that the novels cannot be interpreted as advocating women’s right and freedom, although there is a prevailing opinion that Halide Edib is one of the first feminist writers. She also indicates that in her *Mor Salkımlı Ev* (the Turkish version of the first volume of her autobiography, *Memoirs of Halide Edib*) Halide Edib chooses to remain silent about the contemporary women’s movement and she does not mention any of the leading women actors of the time (4). Deniz Kandiyoti also regards Edib’s female characters as mouthpiece of patriarchal norms. On the other hand, Hülya Adak advocates that those who claim that Edib’s works cannot be regarded as feminist look into the matter from a wrong angle; her works should be regarded in accordance with the values of her time. Adak maintains that Edib’s works try to break the patriarchal norms in her time through narrative techniques (Adak 2001, 137).

can be said to belong to the feminine period of Elaine Showalter's categorization, since she internalizes patriarchal norms and is the embodiment of "the mother of the Turk" in her autobiography. She consciously seems to acknowledge the role of motherhood to such an extent that she reasons that the slut brought for her may have become a slut because she did not listen to her mother.²⁴² Upon witnessing a street fight between Turkish and Christian children, which is put at an end by their mothers through "the most motherly language", she visualizes the scene as an allegory: "Was it an allegory of a world which was to supersede our own, where all the women of all nations would stand before their boy packs and stop fights?"²⁴³ She muses that mothers will save the world from the aggression of men; yet a hundred pages later she confesses her "too large and greedy heart" leads her to be more than a mother.²⁴⁴ Thus she is unconsciously more identified with the boy packs than with the mothers, because she associates feminine qualities with weakness (female body) and simplicity (Anatolian women) in accordance with the patriarchal norms she internalizes. Once she has stepped outside the safe boundaries of home in 1908, she becomes the spokesperson for the patriarchal norms.

The description and representation of women in *The Turkish Ordeal* may be of use to illustrate my claim. First of all, women exist in *The Turkish Ordeal* without names. The only women whose names she identifies are family members (Mahmure Abla, Nigar Abla.), who can be classified as modest housewives with no intellectual background to threaten the position of Halide Edib, some of Anatolian women who can be defined as "simple" in Edib's terms (the adjective used to describe their world) and American correspondents Miss Allan and Miss Billings, well-educated,

²⁴² Edib 1928, 209.

²⁴³ Ibid, 55.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 191.

objective and knowledgeable American representatives with whom she clearly associates herself more than with Anatolian women. In an Anatolian house as a guest, she describes the women as modest and their infectious quality of life pulls her troubled and lonely mind back to every day incidents and they connect her with mankind.²⁴⁵

Edib spares some pages to her description of and observations on Fikriye, whom she finds, like Latife, an “unusually attesting figure.” Nevertheless, she does not refrain from telling the reader that although Fikriye loves Mustafa Kemal deeply and genuinely, she tries to understand the things that interest Mustafa Kemal in vain, because they exceed her mental scope.²⁴⁶ Latife, one of the rare Turkish women she sees as an individual, is described as her student at the college and having attended law courses in France, which implicitly gives Halide an authority over her young student. In the passages where Halide defines Latife’s physical attributes, she states that her “tight and thin lips indicate[s] an unusual force and will-power, not very feminine.”²⁴⁷ The women she works together in Ankara as a part of relief service to raise money for the war are simply grouped as women in Ankara and women from Istanbul. Moreover, she is the mediating force between these two “infusible” groups. The well-educated, modern Istanbul women are vain; the practical and efficient Ankara women have not received a good education or any education. Halide, both well-educated and efficient becomes the mediator of the two groups and thus she puts everything in order.

Edib also suffers under the patriarchal norms. Apart from the domestic trouble she relates in the first volume of her autobiography, Edib undergoes the

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 373.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, 249.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 387.

burden of being a woman in men's world in the second volume. Although she works as a nurse, soldier, journalist, interpreter, editor throughout the Independence Struggle, she is associated with the luck in the army both by other soldiers and Mustafa Kemal.²⁴⁸ Mustafa Kemal calls her to the war front in August 1922 to bring him luck. The association with luck gives her a feeling of a mascot.²⁴⁹ Nonetheless, she seems to demand the place she deserves in literary arena:

Then almost immediately my senses were assailed by the bitterest and most horrible smell ever a nose could experience. Who knows how many rough and sturdy sons of the people had rested on that bed for an hour or so? It was not exactly a dirty smell – it was ominous, and bitter and eloquent of the life of the lower strata of humanity in Turkey. The centuries of oppression, hardships, and silent toil seemed to saturate that bed with their essential smell. So this was my initiation into the life of the people. It was thorough! I smiled in the midst of my misery, thinking of the anemic efforts of young writers who tried to “picture the life of the people,” or tried to penetrate their psychology. Every one of them ought to have smelled the inner mystery of the people's lives lying in this bed before they even began to talk about it.²⁵⁰

It is interesting that while herself being one of the first women authors of the Ottoman-Turkish history who is threatened for her essays on the emancipation of women²⁵¹, she feels confident enough to label young authors' effort as “anemic” and

²⁴⁸ Ibid, 2003.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, 303.

²⁵⁰ Ibid, 103.

²⁵¹ Quoted by Aksoy 2006, 122.

tell them that they should lie on the dirty beds before talking about the Anatolian people, let alone “writing about them.”

When the above mentioned points are considered, it would be safe to assert that the author/narrator of *The Turkish Ordeal* is not a very reliable narrator. In the first place *The Turkish Ordeal* is a defensive text. The writer is one who is accused for treason by the commander-in-chief and president of Turkish Republic in The Turkish Grand National Assembly, one whose husband is tried in Independence Tribunals for the attempt at the assassination of the president of Turkish Republic. These allegations lead to the laborious self-defense. Secondly, as Booth states the instability between what is narrated and what is implied gives us a right to label the narrator as unreliable, which is the case in *The Turkish Ordeal*.

We are not given any information about where the author is at the moment of writing, when she writes the second volume of her autobiography. Taking the explicit references to *Nutuk* in the book into consideration, we can safely claim that the text is at least edited after 1927, even if she may have begun writing much earlier. The distance between the writing self and the narrated self is one of the most important features of the book. In the first pages of *Memoirs*, Edib narrates her childhood memories with the third person pronoun, and prefers to reflect “instances of sudden consciousness of herself flash[ing] into her memory” in fragments in lieu of a linear coherent narration until “the story of the little girl is my own henceforth.”²⁵² Adak states that Edib uses the *plethoric reflexive pronoun I*, which means “the different moments of being of the ‘I’ in line with historical change.”²⁵³ As in *Memoirs*, Edib interchanges between the pronouns “I” and “she” in *The*

²⁵² Edib 1926, 3, 32 respectively.

²⁵³ Adak 2003, 521-2.

Turkish Ordeal to underscore the distance between the writing self and the narrated self, although she is an adult by this time: “Corporal Halidé is almost a stranger to me now. I often turn her soul inside out and stare at it hard. Where did she find the patience to go through that drab misery?”²⁵⁴ The distance between the writing self and the narrated self helps the author/narrator to foreshadow the future events in Turkey without going into details: “It is only now that I realize how significant [Mustafa Kemal’s] words were, and how they symbolized the government he then meant to set up and which he has since succeeded in establishing.”²⁵⁵ Through the distance between the writing self and the experiencing self, Edib is able to express her frustration at the current government and the desperadoes of Mustafa Kemal, her disillusionment with Ismet Pasha, her criticism of “reign of terror in 1925”. Those critical parts are removed in the Turkish version, *Türkün Ateşle İmtihanı*, which is a much thinner book than the original one.²⁵⁶

B. Dialogue with Nutuk

The Turkish Ordeal is full of implicit and explicit references to Mustafa Kemal and *Nutuk*. To begin with the most obvious one, which is already pointed out by Adak, *Nutuk* ends with the message to youth, in which Mustafa Kemal asserts that the present Turkey is the result of great endeavors, noble sacrifices, grand achievements; what the future generations²⁵⁷ should do is to preserve and protect it

²⁵⁴ Edib 1928, 311.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 158-9.

²⁵⁶ Hakan Erdem, in his *Tarih-Lenk*, claims that the great change in style, ideology, and volume from the English original to the Turkish version may be natural and ordinary through time; but there are some historical mistakes which Halide Edib would never have made. For example Edib knew that Cami Bey was sent to Rome, not to Russia. Since the co-translator Vedat Günyol explains in an interview dated 2002 that Edib was so ill at the time that sometimes he wrote what she dictated from her sickbed, and sometimes he translated some parts on his own, Erdem maintains that it is high time that *The Turkish Ordeal* should be translated into Turkish properly. See Erdem 2008, 184-200.

²⁵⁷ Adak notes that while Mustafa Kemal dedicates his *Nutuk* and Turkish Republic to the future Turkish youth, Edib dedicates *The Turkish Ordeal* to “[t]he Youth of the Nations represented in *The Turkish Ordeal*.” Adak 2004, xxiv.

against enemies, as dealt in detail in the second chapter of this study. As with *Nutuk*, *The Turkish Ordeal* ends with a message to Turkish people. In contrast with the message to the youth, epilogue of *The Turkish Ordeal* indicates that whereas the achievements are great and noble, the Turkish people's ordeal is not over: they should fight for the half-a-century-old ideal, the Ordeal of Freedom:

My nation has earned her independence by an ordeal which will stand out as one of the hardest and the noblest in the world's history. But she has another ordeal to pass through before she can attain an ideal now a half century old. ... [It] is a lonely fight and it is called the Ordeal for Freedom.²⁵⁸

Contrary to the message to youth, in which Mustafa Kemal completely identifies with the national struggle and the Turkish nation, epilogue makes a distinction between the Turkish nation and Mustafa Kemal:

All through the ordeal for independence the Turkish people itself has been the supreme hero – the Turkish people has honored Mustafa Kemal Pasha as its symbol. For this reason Mustafa Kemal Pasha will have a pedestal in the heart of every true Turk, even among those who have been irretrievably wronged by him. Yet in the unending struggle for freedom can be no real individual symbol, no dictator. The battle of freedom is never done, and the field never quiet.²⁵⁹

Thus, Edib declares that Mustafa Kemal is the symbol of the national victory, which is the culmination of great sacrifices of the Turkish people, but he is not the sole proprietor of it. The word “dictator” is used to foreshadow the first years of Turkish

²⁵⁸ Edib, Halide 1928, 407.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 407.

Republic, since the text ends with the recapture of Izmir. One passage in *The Turkish Ordeal* also corresponds to the message to the youth. Edib is commissioned to “the investigation and the reporting of the Greek atrocities in Middle Anatolia” by Ismet Pasha, who concurs with her that “the hysterical and exaggerated way the people spoke of their grievances should be avoided and the whole report should be an undeniable historical document rather than propaganda.”²⁶⁰ Hereupon, the writing-self of Halide interrupts the flow of events and declares:

[T]here is no such thing as a guilty nation. And that one of the obstacles to peace is the hysterical and exaggerated propagating of people’s sufferings for political purposes. It burdens the younger generations of each nation with the crimes or the martyrdom of their fathers in which they have had no share. The consequence is either a destructive and pathological feeling of revenge, or shame in the generation which is not responsible for the past. And the political gambler takes advantage of this passion and uses it to the detriment of one nation or another.²⁶¹

There is no certain information that this passage is Edib’s answer to Mustafa Kemal’s dramatic ending to *Nutuk*. Yet, even if it may not be a direct response to the message to the Turkish youth and it might only be a general comment on the manipulative, ambitious politicians, about whom there are numberless passages in the book, the above quotation proves that Edib seems to disagree with the burden Mustafa Kemal imposes upon the Turkish youth. Edib argues that what crimes or martyrdom the fathers suffer should not be used by politicians as a tool to stir them.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 307.

²⁶¹ Ibid, 307.

The first lines of *The Turkish Ordeal* may be regarded as a response to those of *Nutuk*. The dramatic opening of *Nutuk*, “Gentlemen, I landed at Samsun on the 19th May, 1919” is the identity of the nationalist movement, the Turkish nation and Mustafa Kemal: he lands at Samsun and the nationalist struggle of the Turkish nation begins. The opening lines of *The Turkish Ordeal* also imply at the identification of the author with the Turkish nation:

My own condition – physical and moral – at that time might be taken as typical of the general feeling in my country after the armistice was signed and the Allied troops had entered. I felt stupefied, tired, and utterly sick of all that had happened since 1914.²⁶²

Thus, in her identification with the Turkish nation, Edib places herself on the same level with the rest of the nation. Mustafa Kemal, on the other hand, is the engulfing power which melts the whole nation/movement in his personality. It becomes impossible to think of a nationalist movement without his landing at Samsun.

Nutuk, according to its narrator/orator, is the narration of the realization of a predetermined idea, a military-political project through time: to stir the nation, to save the country and found the Turkish Republic, as noted earlier. *The Turkish Ordeal* denies this clarity:

The immediate goal was clear – deliverance from the invaders. But the final goal was hazy- haziest perhaps in the mind of the supreme actor, Mustafa Kemal Pasha. There was no doubt that he meant to wear the laurels of victory alone should the issue be victorious , and there was no doubt that he meant the others to bear the responsibility of the

²⁶² Ibid, 3.

divine folly of struggling against impossible odds so long as victory seemed distant and unattainable. All the same, he spared himself no effort to bring the struggle to a successful close, for that would mean the realization of his great ambition.²⁶³

Not only does the supreme actor not know the result, but he is also hopeless and haggard from time to time:

And then, as night advanced and the yellow light went pale because of the coming dawn, every one there looked weary and haggard. Mustafa Kemal Pasha looked the most weary and haggard of all. Never did he look so hopeless as then: there were moments when his eyes and his whole mien seemed like those of a powerful tiger caught in a trap, angry and afraid.²⁶⁴

Accused of being American traitor in *Nutuk*, Halide Edib seems to take pleasure in recounting that Mustafa Kemal once hints at American protectorate:

The feeling of the people of [Erzurum] about America at that period is illustrated by an amusing incident during one of the preliminary sittings of the [Erzurum] congress. Mustafa Kemal Pasha had proposed an article which dealt with the necessity for the economic, technical, and political aid of some one great power which had no territorial designs in Turkey. As England, France, and Italy were on

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 151.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 162.

Turkish territory at the time, it was evident that his clause aimed at America.²⁶⁵

Halide Edib continues to disclose that, Mustafa Kemal, “able politician that he is,” perceives the antipathy of the people to American protectorate and does not pronounce the name of the power. The narrator does not forget to integrate into her memoirs an incident which shakes the infallibility of Mustafa Kemal:

The congress of Erzerum had risen from the desire of Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha for a more legal pretext to pass into action. So the Erzerum congress had taken place, with Mustafa Kemal Pasha as its president. Unfortunately, he made a faux pas in the congress which had aroused strong feeling against him. He came to the congress and opened it in his uniform of the aide-de-camp of the Sultan Vahideddine. “It is a fool’s belief that people like their leaders only with ideals. They want them dressed in the pomp of power and invested with insignia of their office,” he used to say, and of course this was one way of getting at people. But it did not work with the men of Erzerum.²⁶⁶

Hence, *The Turkish Ordeal* defends its author/narrator against the allegations in *Nutuk* through explicit and implicit references to it and presents us another version of the same events narrated in *Nutuk*. Moreover, Edib makes the reader see that Mustafa Kemal, though an extraordinary man and unique commander, undergoes different moods and ideas during the Struggle, as opposed to the stable picture presented in

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 15-6.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 44.

Nutuk. Edib chooses to portray her observations at times directly in details, at others subtly.

C. Subtle Criticism of Mustafa Kemal

Besides the passages which give invaluable clues to the psyche and motivations behind the actions of the grand actor of the Turkish history, *The Turkish Ordeal* includes also some passages in the book, which criticize Mustafa Kemal in a subtle and indirect way, while they seemingly focus on irrelevant others. For example, when she gets prepared for the passage to Anatolia, her half-sister offers her a talisman to put around her neck. Confessing she hates wearing anything around her neck, she, nevertheless, agrees to wear it. She discloses the reason as follows:

Nothing is more essential to the idealist and the revolutionary than the human element; the lack of it is a danger both to the people they are working for and to themselves. They must sometimes be made to feel that the world is not built for their dreams and ideals only.²⁶⁷

Although the criticism can be related to any political leader who is too ambitious to realize that the world is not at their service since the comment is quite general, I think it would not be wrong to claim that she hints at Mustafa Kemal. She criticizes him for his lack of “human element” she implies that Mustafa Kemal thinks the whole Anatolia and all the people are at his service so that he can realize his dreams; but this is as harmful for himself as for the people he works for.

The second subtle criticism of Mustafa Kemal appears when she meditates on the patriotic telegraph officials:

²⁶⁷ Ibid, 83.

From Istamboul to Angora extended the wires of a secret telephone system, organized and staffed entirely by telegraph officials who did this entirely out of love for their country, preferring the dignity of serving Turkey to the better pay and more comfortable circumstances offered by the officials of the foreign occupation. One admired them, perhaps, more than one admired the great names. They gave all and they demanded nothing in return.²⁶⁸

She seems to be elevating these telegraph officials who do not expect anything in return of their services as opposed to Mustafa Kemal, who does expect the highest prize for his services:

As long as [Mustafa Kemal] retained a clear vision of the Turkish future and managed to serve the Turkish cause, I for my part would not have objected to his asking for any position he might have liked as a reward for his services from the Turkish nation.²⁶⁹

She does not say explicitly that he asked for a position in exchange of his services. Nonetheless, she implicitly states that he does expect the highest position (“any position”) from the Turkish nation. Edib also cunningly accuses Mustafa Kemal of being cruel:

All of them were Macedonians, all had the wildness, the enthusiasms, the emotions, the rebellious instincts under tyranny, the dominating, cruel instincts when in power, common to their race. Hero-worship, desire for change, desire for some vague thing called a New Turkey – those were the feelings that prompted them.[...] It was very

²⁶⁸ Ibid, 87.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, 15.

interesting to hear their political opinions and to see the wide difference between them and the Anatolians.²⁷⁰

Towards the end of the book, Halide Edib defines Zübeyde as “a typical Macedonian woman.”²⁷¹ Hence, Halide Edib regards Mustafa Kemal as a typical Macedonian, who has “the dominating cruel instincts when in power.” She defines their cruelty by explaining that what a Macedonian calls “a bit cruel” definitely had the power of making one shudder.”²⁷²

All in all, *The Turkish Ordeal* leaves a complicated impression on the reader. Edib’s monologues, descriptions of Anatolia, portraits of people are attesting. She depicts her inner self in striking limpidity. Her analysis of inner self Mustafa Kemal is especially spectacular. Even before “narcissism” is defined by psychoanalysts with all its symptoms, traits, and characteristics, Edib is able to observe and define Mustafa Kemal’s true personality and motivations behind his actions. Nonetheless, the same lucidity cannot be applied to other aspects of the work. It is difficult to advocate that the narrator is feminist since her representation of women is quite problematic. When her repulsion of female body and her admiration to masculine attributes is considered, her status as a feminist writer loses its lure. The abyss between the original English version and the Turkish translation makes the matter worse. Which version are we to accept? Should we believe in the English version, which defends the author as well as the other “victimized” nationalist figures against the injustices done to them as well as presents a true psychoanalysis of Mustafa Kemal? Or should we take the Turkish translation as the latest and updated version of the events, in which analysis of Mustafa Kemal’s true personality is lost together

²⁷⁰ Ibid, 91-2.

²⁷¹ Ibid, 343.

²⁷² Ibid, 93.

with the defense of nationalist figures and becomes an ordinary text at its best? Which narrator is more reliable? What does Halide Edib mean by noting in the preface of the Turkish version that the English and the Turkish versions are “of the same essence?” These questions are difficult to answer at this point. We can grant that the problems may be related to the autobiography genre. Frye claims that since they are mostly “inspired by a creative, therefore, fictional impulse to select only those only those events and experiences in the writer’s life that go to build up an integrated pattern” which may be larger than the people in question, autobiographies are as fictional as novels, and thus we should not expect it to give us “the truth.”²⁷³ Besides poststructuralist theories underscore the impossibility of telling “the really real” outside of language and culture, and hence autobiographies “far from capturing reality ‘in itself’, can only aspire to disclose that which has already assumed its specific form in and through language.”²⁷⁴ On the other hand, Irzik points out to the consecutiveness of poststructuralist theories the emergence of feminist theories.²⁷⁵ Therefore, woman autobiographies should be dealt with delicately and critically in the real sense of the word. *The Turkish Ordeal* is an instance for this delicacy due to its inherent problematic issues dealt above.

²⁷³ Frye 1990, 307.

²⁷⁴ Freeman 1995, 79-80.

²⁷⁵ Irzik 2004, 38.

Conclusion

In this study, I aim to point out how *The Turkish Ordeal* can be read to have a clear picture of narcissistic personality organization of Mustafa Kemal. Edib's observations provide us insight into his inner self, making us see his grandiose self and his grandiose fantasies as well as his rejected weak side. Moreover, she presents us his defense mechanism, ranging from primitive and pathological identification with the aggressor, splitting (first in his inner self and following in the external world), denial, omnipotent control of events and persons to his constant devaluation and disappointments in external world. *Nutuk* as the most important work of Mustafa Kemal reinforces the diagnosis of Vamik Volkan, Norman Itzkowitz and the observations of Halide Edib. Nonetheless, upon a close textual analysis, it seems that *The Turkish Ordeal* includes inconsistent aspects, problematic representations and contradictory images.

Durakbaşa asserts that Halide Edib has a dual image in public opinion: the ideal Turkish woman versus the demonic ambitious woman who betrayed Atatürk's revolutions.²⁷⁶ Adak underscores a similar dual image in literary phase: "the writer of the most important works of Turkish nationalist literature" versus "the traitor of the Turkish nation."²⁷⁷ In fact the dual image of Edib prevails in literary studies: the first feminist writer versus the mouthpiece of patriarchal norms. Finally in this study we have a dual image of Halide Edib: Is the narrator of *The Turkish Ordeal* a reliable and objective one who relates the events of the struggle years being faithful to the factual happenings and is able to grasp the narcissistic personality organization of Mustafa Kemal? Or is there something that the author implies and the reader notices,

²⁷⁶ Durakbaşa 2000, 152.

²⁷⁷ Adak 2003, 511.

but the narrator is not aware of? In fact both of them are true for this study: on the one hand the author/narrator Edib is an acute observer, who, through her penetrating sensibility, is able to reflect Mustafa Kemal's real personality organization; on the other hand the author wants to allude to the reader that she was the leading female figure in the nationalist struggle, without letting the narrator know it, thus making the narrator lose its credibility.

In my view, the best course of action is to prepare a detailed psychobiography of Halide Edib. I say psychobiography, since I believe mere biographical details may not be sufficient to comprehend the real personality organization of Halide Edib.²⁷⁸ Unfortunately, we may be a bit late for a psychobiography of Halide Edib, because it has been forty five years since Edib's death and most of her close associates are not alive at present. Durakbaşa tells that she wants to prepare a biography of Halide Edib, thus seems optimistic.²⁷⁹ Enginün asserts that there are more documents in archives about Halide Edib than we know of up to now.²⁸⁰

Memoirs of Halide Edib and The Turkish Ordeal: Being the further Memoirs of Halide Edib are invaluable documents for a psychobiography of Edib. Being a writer, she illuminates her childhood and inner self in a striking clarity. Suzette Henke suggests in her *Shattered Subjects: Trauma and Testimony in Women's Life Writing* that "autobiography is , or at least has the potential to be, a powerful form of scriptotherapy – and that, as such, it lends itself particularly well to the evolution of twentieth-century women's life writing."²⁸¹ Durakbaşa can be claimed to regard Edib's memoirs as "scriptotherapy" since she believes that Edib deals with her

²⁷⁸ Volkan and Itzkowitz, in an article entitled "Psychobiography: Terminable and Interminable" compares their psychobiography of Atatürk with Andrew Mango's *Atatürk* and show how psychobiography makes the reader understand the person in question fully than a biography.

²⁷⁹ Durakbaşa 2000, 236.

²⁸⁰ Quoted by Durakbaşa 2000, 240-1.

²⁸¹ Henke 2000, xv.

breakdown and collapse caused by her attachment to the carnal, demonic, irrational, inhuman side of humanity by writing and the use of psychoanalytic theory for the analysis of her self in her autobiography is evidence of this fact.²⁸² Thus, a close analysis of her memoirs will certainly contribute to the (psycho)biography of Edib. Nonetheless, a (psycho)biographer needs more than personal writings; letters, official and non-official documents, interviews, memoirs of other people have to be produced to prepare a psychobiography. What's more Edib's novels should be treated critically in terms of their problematic characters, contradictory images and paradoxical representations: the relation between the *dual personality* of Halide Edib and the problematic characters in her novels should be unearthed. Besides Halide Edib is a writer who has more contradictions than coherent attributes both in her writings and in her public life. The contradistinctions between her writings, her novels and her actual life should be exposed so that her works and personality should be evaluated more accurately, instead of dual images in all spheres at the present time. All in all, it is my strong belief that a psychobiography of Halide Edib will make great contributions to literary, cultural, historical and political sphere. We are lucky about Mustafa Kemal, since almost everything about him recorded during his life time and many people wrote their memoirs with him.

Another interesting field of research could be the influence of the personality of Mustafa Kemal in our present life. It is obvious that the inheritance that is left to the present culture from Mustafa Kemal's personality and *Nutuk* is profound. What kind of aspects of his personality have we assumed in our cultural, political, social

²⁸² Durakbaşa 2000, 233.

and historical life? What is our attitude towards our history²⁸³ after *Nutuk*? These are questions that can be asked.

²⁸³ Jale Parla, in an article about the effects of Turkey's Language Reform, quotes and translates the following passage from *Tehlikeli Oyunlar* by Oğuz Atay to exemplify Atay's reaction to the language commissars and the ideologues:

Bir millet, tarihine düşkün olmalı deniliyor. Bitmez tükenmez yazışmalar, hürmetlerimi arzederimler içinde küfürleşmeler, ilkolarakpaşahazretlerinibenikazetmiştimler, eyhakikkatesusamışmilletimöğren'ler, nasihatler, musahabeler..." (They say a nation should care for its history. Endless correspondences, curses hid in 'I humbly present my respects,' 'Iwasthefirstwhowarnedhisexcellencythepasha,' 'findoutohmypeoplethirstyforhetruth,' admonishings, conversations..."

I think this passage is simultaneously an open critique of *Nutuk*: Atay criticizes Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and *Nutuk* for hindering us from learning "our history" and presenting curses, insults and admonishings instead of providing the historical details objectively. See Jale Parla 2008, 33.

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