

A CRITICAL APPROACH TO TURKISH MODERNISM:
PROBING NATIONAL STRUGGLE NOVEL

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A CRITICAL APPROACH TO TURKISH MODERNISM:
PROBING NATIONAL STRUGGLE NOVEL

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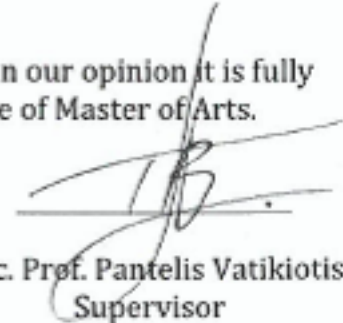
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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



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ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL APPROACH TO TURKISH MODERNISM: PROBING NATIONAL STRUGGLE NOVEL

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This thesis aspires analyzing a specific vista of a complex and ongoing process; namely, Turkish modernism. Despite its intermittent and compelling character constructed on drifts and leaps, Turkish modernism has been designated a society's political and public life for approximately two centuries. Naturally this grand process and its various contextual appearances have been subject to academic discussions and researches. This thesis is an effort of approaching this historical phenomenon through the data retrieved from a literary pool of novels, specifically those novels that tells the stories of Turkish intellectuals who spend though years of intrusion and National Struggle in Anatolia, among random country people who are not aware of the 'wisdoms' of Turkish nationalism, modernity and independence. Thus, dynamics of modernization process would have been exposed through fictional texts written during the peak of modernization ideals. The thesis exploits the capabilities of various textual analysis methods of psychoanalysis, discourse analysis, semiotics, ideological criticism and deconstruction. The practice of this multi-method approach to related texts operates like a probe and allows an in-depth and multilayered criticism of Turkish modernization via detecting the discursive construction in subject novels.

Keywords: National Struggle novel, Turkish modernization, textual analysis, self-Orientalism, center-periphery relations

ÖZET

TÜRK MODERNLEŞMESİNE ELEŞTİREL BİR YAKLAŞIM: MİLLİ MÜCADELE ROMANINI SONDALAMAK

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Bu tez, karmaşık ve devam eden bir süreç olan Türk modernleşmesinin belirli bir veçhesini titizlikle analiz etmek arzusundadır. Türk modernleşmesi, tıkanma ve sıçrayışlar üzerine inşa edilmiş fasılalı ve çetin mahiyetine karşın takribi iki asırdır bir toplumun siyasi ve kamusal yaşamını belirlemeyi sürdürüyor. Haliyle, bu büyük süreç ve onun muhtelif bağlamsal görünümleri akademik tartışma ve araştırmalara konu oldu. Bu tez, bu tarihsel fenomene bir edebi havuzdan; bilhassa zorlu işgal ve Milli Mücadele yıllarını Anadolu'da, milliyetçilik, modernleşme ve bağımsızlığın 'erdemlerinden' bihaber, alelade taşralı insanların arasında geçiren Türk entelektüellerinin hikâyelerini anlatan romanlardan elde edilen verilerle yaklaşıma çabasındır. Böylelikle, modernleşme ideallerinin zirveye ulaştığı bir tarihsel kesitte, kurgusal metinlere bakarak, bu modernleşme sürecinin dinamikleri açığa çıkarılabilecektir. Bu tez; psikanaliz, söylem analizi, semiyotik ve ideolojik eleştiri ve yapıbozum gibi muhtelif metin çözümlemesi yöntemlerine başvurmuştur. İlgili metinlere tatbik edilen bu çoklu-metot yaklaşımı, bir sonda işlevi görerek, konu romanlardaki söylem inşasının tespitini sağlamış, Türk modernleşmesinin derinlemesine ve çok katmanlı bir eleştirisine imkân doğurmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Milli Mücadele romanı, Türk modernleşmesi, metin çözümlemesi, self-Oryantalizm, merkez-çevre ilişkileri

To My Beautiful Wife

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INTRODUCTION

East-West relations have been a core element of Ottoman-Turkish history for centuries. Ottoman technical and economic supremacy elicited military penetration to Europe during the middle ages. However, Western leap forward based on enlightenment, naval expeditions and economic boost had eliminated this supremacy. Beginning from the 17th century Empire began retreating from Europe. The rest is the long epoch of being too close for comfort. The feelings of *backwardness* and *belatedness* against West have dominated Turkish intellectual's reason and imagination.

This thesis concentrates on a specific manifestation of East-West relations through three novels, written shortly after the declaration of Turkish Republic. The motive behind picking those featured novels was that, the time interval between the collapse of Ottoman Empire and the institutionalization of Turkish Republic witnessed the most enthusiastic and passionate acts and expressions of both Westernization and nationalism. Thus, Turkish modernist intellectual's spiritual condition and rational position would most clearly be observed in those texts, written candidly, for grand political causes.

Throughout the study, textual content has been analyzed with the binding historical and political backgrounds, and theoretical contexts. For the sake of attaining most comprehensive analysis possible, various methodological tools of textual analysis has been applied. Semiotics took the stage while niching connotative signs to a political hold. Psychoanalytic approach was necessary for detection of *anxiety*; the principal drive behind modernization. Discourse analysis and ideological criticism were appealed to, as the narrative content of samples was intensely social and political. The research would have been misleading if the power and/or hegemony relations were ignored. To prevent an eclecticism tendency and minimizing the risk of unwittingly twisting the content to personal preferences of the researcher, deconstruction has been saturated to the whole body of the research. Doing so, determination of signifiers relevant to research objectives and elaborating those signifiers with the proper (or closest) approach has been possible.

Having said that, we may put forward the first expected finding of this study can be ; Turkish intellectual has always positioned himself somewhere beneath his Western counterparts, in a manner that will be explained as **Self-Orientalism** in this study. The reasons and further supporting data will be evaluated in the course of the thesis work.

The other major expected finding is on the indications of another relation but associated with the first one. This study, subject to its focus, concerns with the discourse produced and reproduced by Turkish intellectual in a given specific temporal and spatial context. The first expected finding that is

constructed upon the relation between Turkish intellectual and West actually and compulsorily constructs another actor that is positioned on the other side of the equation; the Ottoman-Turkish society. The latter finding is thence, is about the representation of those masses off the intellectual site but necessarily in the lump of elements that combined constituting a process of modernization.

Centering the novels and related concepts (authors, texts, characters) this thesis will look to both sides and strive to grasp those floating signifiers in literary texts and realign them to generate a critical approach to the Turkish modernism. First Chapter will be covering research interest and hence embraces an overview of literary and methodological approaches. A chapter focusing on the context; locating the research interest into its historical environment follows it. Third chapter is on the fieldwork. It is designed to cover theoretical and methodological issues, before the analysis chapter. Analysis is tenderly separated into two sections. First part focuses on relatively different findings in *Yaban*, where second part addresses those discursive elements, political characteristics unveiled through looking *Yeşil Gece* and *Vurun Kahpeye*. Last chapter, as expected, concludes the research but not by enunciating exact schemas and instead, offers an alternative path to East-West relations in narration.

CHAPTER I: RESEARCH INTEREST (LITERATURE & METHODOLOGY)

This chapter begins with arguing the historical relationship between nationalization and novel in Europe; and connects those theories on this relationship with the Turkish case. Like the introduction of nationalism and print-capitalism has expedited the development of novel genre, it is here below presented that the penetration of Western capitalism into Ottoman society has facilitated the introduction of novel to Ottoman intelligentsia. Although influenced by the Western pioneers, Ottoman-Turkish writers followed a very political tendency. In this respect, their attitude is explained by Fredric Jameson's claim for third world novel being inevitably 'national allegoric'. This deliberation on the scientific value of Turkish novel is followed by a proem to methodology, on the complex structure of novel and 'researchability' of novel.

1.1 The Significant Role of Novel in Understanding Turkish Modernism

In his renowned book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson argues the boosting effect of print technology over the widespread of nationalism and capitalism. Anderson (2006) purports:

Why this transformation should be so important for the birth of the imagined community of the nation can best be seen if we consider the basic structure of two forms of imagining which first flowered in Europe in the eighteenth century: the novel and the newspaper. For those forms provided the technical means for 'representing the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation. (p.27)

Azade Seyhan (2008) points out the synchronism between the emerging of nation-states and modern novel form:

If we look for a historical coincidence, on the other hand, it is fair to assume that the rise of the modern novel concurs with that of the nation state, since the novel has historically transformed the epic material linked to foundational myths into a coherent narrative of national concerns (p. 10).

The social and political role of newspapers in Europe is probably a part of prologue for every Introduction to Communication class. Meanwhile, the role of novels might be a little bit underestimated. Printing novels in enormous numbers, those books circulating in a broad geography have undoubtedly helped to create a common knowledge and reproduce the images of a society. Novels had also helped for the establishment of “national languages” over vernaculars which are again a spectacular effect for the nation building as Anderson (2006) suggests: “...print capitalism created languages-of-power of a kind different from the older administrative vernaculars. Certain dialects inevitably were ‘closer’ to each print-language and dominated their forms” (p. 45). Novels, written in the dominant vernaculars, have promulgated characters living in a space and time that would trigger an imagined relationship with the reader and help the formation of a collective, imagined understanding, which would be a part of reader’s feeling of shared knowledge and shared attachments; a wild step for the formation of an imagined community.

In his famous article titled *What is a Nation?*, Ernest Renan (2000) states:

Yet the essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things. No French citizen knows whether he is a Burgundian, an Alan, a Taifale, or a Visigoth, yet every French citizen has to have forgotten the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, or the massacres that took place in the Midi in the thirteenth century (p. 11).

Consider the technological advancement in nineteenth century France. Means of mass media were limited to newspapers and novels. While newspapers have made people to imagine they have a common, shared agenda, novels have led them to share the same cultural territory. Timothy Brennan (2000) argues: “It was the *novel* that historically accompanied the rise of nations by objectifying the ‘one, yet many’ of national life, and by mimicking the structure of the nation, a clearly bordered jumble of languages and styles” (p. 49). Who should have been more influential than Balzac for the perception of a ‘French man’ than Balzac? If Jane Austen hadn’t wrote, should an impression of traditionalism about the English country-side be still strong? Or isn’t it Flaubert that we still owe the *Parisien* bourgeois portraits? Novel played a vital role while connecting people through a hypothetical net of commonality.

However, we must admit that literacy rates were considerably low compared to current situation and novel has never been able to penetrate to the daily routine of masses, especially in rural regions. The case must have been even worse in Ottoman Empire. On the development of novel in Third World, Brennan (2000) indicates:

For under conditions of illiteracy and shortages, and given simple the leisure-time necessary for reading one, the novel has been an elitist and minority form in

developing countries when compared to poem, song, television and film. Almost inevitably it has been a form through which a thin, foreign-educated stratum (however sensitive or commuted to domestic political interests) has commuted to metropolitan reading publics, often in translation (p. 56).

Although television technology was beyond wildest fantasies, Ottoman case was very similar to Brennan's settings. Translated or written in Turkish, like other high-culture products, novel was being produced and consumed by that narrow, foreign-educated stratum. A small section of society, who was aware of the serious difference between West and home, were both the writers and the readers of novel genre. Anxiety is the dominant emotion following the recognition of backwardness.

The literates hence were the ones having the clearest vision of depth and width of the gap between two worlds and thereby were on the side of willing to close this distance immediately by moving towards West. This mobility to grab and drag the Ottoman-Turkish society and pulling it towards West is called Westernization. Orhan Koçak (1996) states:

Generic fact is a great model lapse, called 'Westernization', which in fact means the *recognition of belatedness*. This is a lapse which transforms every sort of enterprise and planned effort to a drift, surrender at the very beginning.... The innovation leap is wounded at the starting point: Ottoman elite starts *comparing himself* with West *only after being defeated by this encounter* (p. 99).

This consciousness and awareness of Turkish intellectuals is Nurdan Gürbilek (2004) confirms: "Novelists are pen masters... as they are writing novels they owe their existence to Europeanisation. As they are yielding in a foreign form,

they are vulnerable to foreign indoctrinations. As they are combining authentic narratives with foreign impact, they are at least half-breed.” (p. 54). Hence, by very nature of being a novelist in a Non-Western society, Turkish novelist was in a cultural purgatory where he was adopting a Western narrative style; accepting its modernist aesthetical postulates but still holding to a social structure, that is remote from that aesthetical position. That deep conflict would eventually lead to a long-lasting, another anxiety derived from the conflict between the virtues of (Ottoman) past and benefits of (Western) future. Regarding the birth and survival of novel as a foreign genre, Turkish novelist inevitably adopted the Western progressiveness vs. authentic cultural heritage dilemma as the focal point for his work. He was a half-breed, suffering the hassle of producing artwork despite his cultural burdens, which in turn moved those burdens to the center of Turkish literature.

While examining the novel in underdeveloped geographies, Fredric Jameson (1986) suggests:

Third-world texts, even those which are seemingly private and invested with a properly libidinal dynamic – necessarily project a political dimension in the form of national allegory: *the story of the private individual destiny is always allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture and society* (p. 69).

Whilst this statement of Jameson possesses a stereotyping tone and therefore has been accused of Orientalism, the ‘national allegory’ imputation can be accurate to some extent. Even if it was a romance, Ottoman novelist could not be

immune to the caustic and urgent matters related with the turmoil society was suffering from.

Apart and moreover, as discussed above, the very nature of being a novelist in a non-Western society was forcing the novelist to feel that conflict in his veins and reflect the sufferings of modernization to his work; a situation that whole nation was experiencing. This is one of the major benefits of studying Turkish novel; it is a fertile subject for understanding both the motives of and problems with the Turkish modernization movement. It is both Western and authentic but can fulfil none of them. Besides, it reflects the dynamism; anxiety, enthusiasm, fear and hope of a society that has longed for peace and prosperity desperately. It is from the perspective of a half-breed intellectual neither can fully be Western but cannot accept being a part of the rural majority of the population. All those conflicting sentimental reciprocations would lead us to understand the spirit of Turkish modernism indeed.

1.2 Early Days of the Ottoman-Turkish Novel

I clearly remember that we were obliged to memorize the pioneers of domestic novels and the related sub-genre, back in high school. The reason behind this effort was the need of this information for the university entrance exam. I still recall the couplings such as, first realist novel; *Araba Sevdası* (A Carriage Affair), first psychological one; *Eylül* (September), the first “literary” sample; *İntibah* (Awakening) and forth. Beyond the names, sub-genres and authors, some common thematic motives also jog my memory.

Blinded by the luxury and pleasure indulgence the ‘wannabe French’ youth of ‘these days’, a European *mürebbiye* (governess) responsible for educating the kids of mansion in a Western way, young and reckless women and men who abase traditional values and family prestige... Such are some of the most popular character types which are like rambling from one of those novels to next one. They are introduced to be the ones whom should be stood clear of and avoided; in this respect, they are very functional. They are functional to expose the wrong adaptation of exterior cultural elements. By following those eventually scattered and regretful characters, we make it to the issue of ‘the misunderstanding of Westernization’ as the template, again in high school days. For those characterizations, Şerif Mardin (2014) suggests: “it can be said that those types are the only concrete characters appearing in our literature, all through 19th and 20th centuries. Those characters repeatedly appear as whom are betraying own culture in tragic or ridiculous ways and hence should be avoided” (p. 41).

The extreme concentration over a singular type of character signifies a grand social problem. As discussed previously, Turkish novel had no chance to overlook social matters. On the contrary, the social transformation in the Reform period had actually dominated the genre. For a long period of time, Turkish novel had been a functional device. Mardin (2014) claims: “Frequent show up of Bihruz Bey¹ type in Turkish literature and mastery in using this literary tool is a sort of social discipline medium: keep up with your locality or consent to be

¹ Bihruz Bey is the protagonist of *Carriage Affair*(1898) by Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem. His addiction to luxury and Western lifestyle prepares is end. His character is very close to Ahmet Mithat Effendi’s Felatun Bey in *Felatun Bey and Rakım Effendi* (1875).

classified as an outsider” (p. 43). Discontent and anxiety were possessing Turkish author.

In order to link the negative attitude towards Bihruz Bey and his mindset, it would be appropriate to have a look at the Ottoman social system of that time and the standing of author within that stratum first. Writers of the era were originally belonging to craftsman class, a stratum dominating the Ottoman economic order and were uncomfortable by the disturbance of the status quo. Ahmet Mithad Effendi was son of an artisan, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil’s father was a carpet merchant, Namık Kemal’s father was a low rank officer and Şemseddin Sami’s father was a small land owner. Mostly being part of the trade and agriculture crowds, Ottoman writer was initially unsettled by the Reform era developments. For all Mardin, Gürbilek and Koçak, Ahmet Mithat Effendi appears to be a typical flag-bearer of conservatism in late Ottoman literature. Koçak (1996) argues Ahmet Mithat to criticize the language and attitude of *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* (New Literature) circle for neglecting the social aspects of novel and focus on individual matters (p. 98). Gürbilek (2004) stresses an anxiety against modernization and will to localization with Ahmet Mithat (pp. 42-43). Murat Belge (2009) says Ahmet Mithat Effendi spent too much time and effort on Westernization:

Would it be wrong to say that he was one of the most Westernized men of his epoch? Probably it wouldn’t. But had there really been anyone who wholeheartedly fought against Western hegemony? Probably there wasn’t. By ‘hegemony’ I do not refer to a conscious enterprise from West; I mean Mithat

Effendi's deep fear of being subject to West's 'moral influence' if we 'throw caution to the wind. (p. 97)

It is actually Şerif Mardin who connects Ahmet Mithat Effendi's fear, anxiety and rage with the economic changes in the late 19th century Ottoman society. Mardin (2014) argues that a narrow layer emerged, taking advantage of newly-introduced market values: "Reform prodigals were alienated from traditional upper and lower classes of the Ottoman society" (p. 55). Therefore, it can be suggested that anxiety is a key concept regarding the foundational motives and dynamics of Ottoman-Turkish novel tradition. In another essay, Gürbilek (2003) suggests: "The *Reforms* (the state-sponsored political reorganizations of the mid-nineteenth century) had introduced a rift in the Ottoman world by presenting Western culture as an ideal to be embraced, thereby reducing the 'local ego' to 'a state of infant-like helplessness before the foreign ideal" (p. 602). In both economic and cultural terms, traditional Ottoman values and life-style were at stake. Reflexively, Ottoman author has undertaken a preservative role but was still in favor progress at the same time; a half-breed displaying symptoms of schizophrenia.

In the first domestic examples of novel type, above all other matters, the novelist is concerned with the transfer of those disengagements and compounds that are accompanying the social transformations of Reform era which are an impact of Western-market values infiltrating into "pleasant" social order. The novelist was dedicated to express his apprehension and no doubt to point a

moral out of the ongoing situation; a requiem of nostalgic yearnings in the sunset for the once mighty empire...

But of course, if the authors were referring to a “misunderstanding” then there would have been a correct and authentic understanding of Westernization would also exist or at least be possible. If the problem was with the corrupted and direct implementation of Western values, then this was also a roundabout way description of an affirmative and constructive westernization which would in return procure the desired outcomes. Ones like Felatun Bey (of Felatun Bey and Rakım Effendi) and Bihruz Bey (of A Carriage Affair) are lost and devastated because they assume Westernization as squandering, killing time with rascality and having wild times out; an erroneous and decadent life style springing from a misperception.

Having this point of origin, for the novel of early Republican period, blending the ‘scientific’ Western virtues with -this time dropping imperial nostalgia- and adopting a more mythical reference moment; supreme and ancient Turkish culture might has been a relatively easy to adopt sort of a maneuver. This is a very common path for all societies in the struggle to become modern nations.

Republican cadre was keen to ‘Turkify’ the land, past and society in order to create a cohesive and harmonious society that would be united under the feeling of being a nation. Ottomanism and Islamism had both been unsuccessful in the course of half a century. Hence the last sanctuary of the political elite

would have been acknowledging and conducting a nationalist movement that was being successful in the entire modern world and especially within the former Ottoman lands. In this respect, it would be subsidiary to have a look at very principles of widespread of nationalism as exposed by acclaimed historian E.J. Hobsbawm (1992):

It is hardly surprising that nationalism gained ground so rapidly from the 1870s to 1914. It was a function of both social and political changes, not to mention an international situation that provided plenty of pegs on which to hang manifestos of hostility to foreigners. Socially three development of novel forms of inventing 'imagined' or even actual communities as nationalities: the resistance of traditional groups threatened by the onrush of modernity, the novel and quite non-traditional classes and strata now rapidly growing in the urbanizing societies of developed countries, and the unpredicted migrations which disturbed multiple diaspora of people across the globe, each strangers to both natives and other migrant groups, none, as yet with the habits and conventions of coexistence (p.109).

The international turmoil is evident. The age of empires was declining and being replaced by modern, industrial capitalism. This economic change was being accompanied by a clash of classes as suggested by Hobsbawm. The battle of hegemony was between the traditional Ottoman hegemonic culture and Westernized minority that was perceived to be well educated, wealthy, West minded and urban. As the Empire was collapsing, the virtues of traditionalism became less and less reliable. Within the same process, the ideas of modernization gained strength. Naturally, modernizer type became more favorable, compared to his recent lavish, snobbish and reckless representation in Bihruz Bey and similar profiles.

1.3 The Limits and Potentialities of Studying Novel: Textual Analysis

As discussed above, novel and particularly Non-Western novel is quite valuable in terms of understanding the social conditions and historical transformations as it may function as a 'national allegory' to some extent. However, does it mean we can grab every aspect of the Turkish modernism through scanning literary texts? No singular source or form of source can be able to illuminate a particular subject with all its various dimensions. Then, before starting discussing Turkish modernism through selected works, it would be appropriate to set the expectations and keep within the borders in which Turkish novel can be approached as a national allegory.

When the subject is novel and literary theory, it is like an etiquette referring to Hungarian Theorist Georg Lukacs' ideas. Lukacs (1971) argues: "Thus, the novel, in contrast to other genres whose existence resides within the finished form, appears as something in process of becoming" (pp. 72-73). Underlining this state of *becoming*, now let's move to a few pages forward:

The irony of the novel is the self-correction of the world's fragility: inadequate relations can transform themselves into a fanciful yet well-ordered round of misunderstandings and cross-purposes, within which everything is seen many-sided, within which things appear as isolated and yet connected, as full of value and yet totally devoid of it, as abstract fragments and as concrete autonomous life, as flowering and as decaying, as the infliction of suffering and as suffering itself" (p. 75).

According to Lukacs then, two of the main pillars of novel are its immature (becoming) and imperfect (misunderstanding) 'nature'. It is not a complete, introverted or a self-appointed piece. By stating those qualities or imperfections of novel, Lukacs indirectly leads us to a standpoint where context matters above all.

It hardly seems coincidental that the notion of *becoming* used by Lukacs has been central for the theoretical works of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. Very briefly becoming, in a Deleuze-Guattari sense, means:

Becoming-" is a process of change, flight, or movement within an assemblage. Rather than conceive of the pieces of an assemblage as an organic whole, within which the specific elements are held in place by the organization of a unity, the process of "becoming-" serves to account for relationships between the "discrete" elements of the assemblage. In "becoming-" one piece of the assemblage is drawn into the territory of another piece, changing its value as an element and bringing about a new unity. An example of this principle might be best illustrated in the way in which atoms are drawn into an assemblage with nearby atoms through affinities rather than an organizational purpose. The process is one of deterritorialization in which the properties of the constituent element disappear and are replaced by the new properties of the assemblage—"becomings-molecular of all kinds, becomings-particles (D&G 272).²

Likewise any text can attain numerous meanings as long as it is attached with separate texts. If it was complete, than it should have one single meaning derived from its own essence. This would have been a very essentialist claim. Even the holy books of religions -that are supposed to spring from Lord's own will- have

² <http://www.rhizomes.net/issue5/poke/glossary.html>

been vulnerable to various different readings within the course of time. Hence, no text can actually be complete. Texts, like atoms, assemble with nearby texts and form a universe of thoughts and appearances. Once they are combined, approached from different sides, then the surface will appear different. This condition of becoming is probably the principle of conceptuality.

From Lukacs to Deleuze & Guattari, another link to this chain of articulation would may be extended by referring to Roland Barthes's famous essay; *The Death of the Author*. In his monumental article, philosopher downgrades the role of narrator over the narration. According to Barthes (1978), the text exceeds the wills and intentions of author and takes its place in "a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash" (p. 146). The issue of originality was discussed above while declining the probability of transcendentalism; there is no text meaningful in itself. Texts interlace and collide with each other. Only by this encounter, things are articulated with particles of meaning for a moment. That interaction is referred as *point de capiton*: the ideal place of the supposed agreement between the signifier and the signified³ (Saal, F.) However, this overlap is temporal. That relation can be seen and becomes accurate in a specific period and from an unsustainable viewpoint. Barthes (1978) explains this situation as: "a text's unity lies not in its origins but in its destination. Yet this destination cannot any longer be personal: the reader is without history, biography, psychology; he is simply that *someone* who holds together in a single field all that traces by which the written text is constituted" (p. 148). Likewise, against the novel, the researcher must be that someone who

³ <http://www.booksandtales.com/talila/lacderen.htm>

holds all traces by which the written text is constituted and is obliged to pick the closest of those traces to his research purpose.

So far, under this title, how a text should be approached unless the reason is a pure literary criticism based on the general laws of the genre has been discussed. As the ambition of this research is to concentrate on the social aspects, then it will be focusing on a parallel reading of literary texts with mostly academic texts that are concentrating on the same issues and can be exploited while approaching the selected literary texts. The contextuality will be established through the socio-political perspective. The incompleteness and *becoming* state of novel enables such a method as discussed above through Lukacs, Barthes, Felix and Guattari.

However, the author has to be reclaimed to the stage. Although the dispositioning narrator from the text has shortly been mentioned, for the sake of this study, he has to be re-introduced. However, his return will not be in a demigod fashion; that has absolute authority over the text. Instead, he will be there as an atom, in that multi-dimensional space of *becomings*. An atom, that is close to the text and in close and perpetual relation with the textual elements. He will also be a body of signifiers instead of a perfect body over the text.

The case of Turkish modernism, Turkish novel and Turkish author will be discussed in the next chapter which will help us to complete the methodological and historical reviews and expositions. Then on, exploiting the methodological

perspective as discussed lately, the focus texts can best be studied from the proper distance and from a pellucid angle.

CHAPTER II: CONTEXT

This chapter is figured to argue modernization phenomenon as perceived by the Ottoman-Turkish writers and fundamentally seeks replying the question; what was the reaction of Turkish intellectual to the tormenting encounter with West? It reveals there is no stable attitude towards West and Western. The perception of West varied depending on the international conjuncture and internal dynamics. Lastly, the genuine place of National Struggle novel, as an interval when modernization ideals became incontestably dominant, been discussed via referring to Turkish academics or literary critics who commented on the same subject.

2.1 Towards a Beginning: The End of Empire

Certainly there are some very significant differences between the pre and early Republican period novels. Bashful compliance of Westernization with some annotations by late Ottoman novelists, their partial loyalty and deep respect to the Ottoman heritage has been replaced by the deifying of Western technique and civilization and rejection of past-local heritage; most particularly an intense hostility towards Islamism that was doomed for the backwardness against secular West. Albeit in both cases, the pursuit for ideal national subject; an aspiration for a 'periphery' that coincide the desires of 'center' remains stable. For those two successive periods, Murat Belge (2011) also has a similar comment, mentioning the continuity in literature's role of forming 'national

awareness' and state's somehow eternal failure of finding the 'nation' it seeks (p. 673).

For the intelligentsia that sprouted in the mist of uncertainty and the bitter feelings of defeat against West, the political and social project of republican elite was beyond doubt a glimpse of light. The commitment to republican ideals is not a burden due to some political strains but on the contrary; novelists were sincerely dedicated to Westernization and hence, the core ideals of the Republican movement. Their well-recognized position in intelligentsia and high rank political or social status was not granted due to their reluctant obedience to the political power but all were well deserved due to the juxtaposing of their intellectual Western-ism and political Westernization drive of Ankara government. Murat Belge (2011), again, argues that Republic was already an exciting era for the writers and they wrote by a heartfelt service expectation to the regime and country (p. 737).

In this respect the similarity of themes and attitudes towards those themes are not coincidental or not due to some dictated political preferences but due to mutual excitement, confidence, and genuine sense of duty. What made those writers reliable and reputable was not a mechanical reproduction of dominant political doctrine's discourse by order but can be considered as a natural result of some organic intellectuals being rewarded by the hegemonic political discourse.

A research on the Turkish writers from Ottoman era to Republic exposes the development of this mutual and direct relationship between the political authority and artist as following. According to the researchers, there has been a significant improvement in both the quantity and quality of artistic efforts as the state has not only encouraged arts, but moreover, it rewarded the artists. For the researchers there seems to be two major factors that withheld arts and literature gain an important place in the Ottoman society. Above all, there seems to be the universal 'political repression' case. The writers of the article suggests: "a strict political environment and lack of tolerance may suppress creativity, even if only for a particular time period" (Oral, G., Kaufman, J., & Sexton, J., 2004, p. 225). Intellectuals have suffered restrictions, censorship, imprisonments and executions in the entire modern history. However, we must note that Turkish writers were tended to hold a patriotic tone. It is quite common in Non-Western world for the writers to align with the political authority in the struggle against similar: "It is generally recognized that the intelligentsias were central to the rise of nationalism in the colonial territories, not least because colonialism ensured that native agrarian magnets, big merchants, industrial entrepreneurs, and even a large professional class were relative rarities" (Anderson, 2006, p. 116). The anti-dependency discourse surpassed not only individualistic/romantic narration but also the political radicalism. The manifest-like text of Turkish nationalism, *Vatan Yahut Silistre* (Motherland or Silistre), is the first play written by Namık Kemal in Western format. Lyrics of Turkish National Anthem belong to acclaimed poet of that era, Mehmet Akif. To say, for Turkish writer, the threat to society was not domestic organisms but external ones and that external's internal collaborators. It must be said, most of those writers were most

productive during the Sultan Abdülhamid II reign, who was succeeded to the crown in 1876 and was there for 33 years. Abdülhamid II reign hosted the most liberal reform periods but also autocratic years.

Second, it is mentioned in the article that the alphabet inconvenience was also a major issue:

The use and application of the Arabic alphabet to Turkish writing led to a series of practical problems, such as illiteracy and ambiguous communication. Ideas were more likely to be expressed orally instead of being written down. Perhaps as a result, literature and creative writing were less appreciated by the general public. (Oral, G., Kaufman, J., & Sexton, J., 2004, p. 225)

Practice of Arabic alphabet and replacing it with a more suitable match had been a priority for the republican reformists. Although there were some discussions on the matter, the majority of intellectuals and political authorities were favoring an immediate language reform. However, it must be said that a quest of more comprehensible and common language was there, even before the Republic, especially in early 20th century, when Party of Union and Progress took power. Murat Belge (2009) clarifies the support to purifying trend:

In fact 2nd Reform Period includes the element of 'race'. Accordingly the purity of language becomes the main criteria whilst determining the competence over language. As the ideological atmosphere was evolved, former and Servet-i Fünun (Treasure of Sciences) men like Tevfik Fikret and Halit Ziya, who were famous for pompous Ottoman Turkish, were praising Mehmet Emin Yurdakul poems and wish further development of the trend (they were forgetting a distinction between the practiced language and the poetic language) (p. 19).

Hence, it would be unfair and erroneous to commence the reforms/modernism age from the Republic. There was room for writers/artists to perform before the Republic; reforming Turkish language was already a main issue amongst the Ottoman intelligentsia. The declaration of Republic does not mean year zero, neither in terms of political freedoms nor reformist ideas. However, within the course of this process of modernism, there are some incidents that shifted the paradigm for modernization. Those shifts generally rose from international developments like the spread of nationalism and wars that reshaped borders and changed the balance of power among institutional political subjects.

Previously, Orhan Koçak's statement about the encounter with West was quoted. He was suggesting that Ottoman elite was already defeated when he first contacted the West. I have so far argued there was a feeling of belatedness and backwardness but still, Ottoman writer intended to rely on traditional values. This state of absolute defeat may only make sense if it is linked with the international developments. Continuous military routs, loss of land and population, economic stagnation and corruption convinced and gathered political elite and intelligentsia on two foundational pillars: Westernization and nationalism. Hence, republican modernization can best be called as a consolidation of our modernization history rather than a split from it.

This consolidation, based on Westernization and nationalization can best be observed in a specific period of time; aftermath World War I, when the feeling of defeat makes a peak; "motherland" being occupied by the alien forces. It means total annihilation of Ottoman power, collapse of its cultural reservoir and

certain expiry of imperial claims. That historical bottom has damped out the debates over possible paths of development, which were already declining in quantity. That is why studying National Struggle novels would help us understanding the drives and wills of Turkish modernization movement. National Struggle is when the opportunity to apply the ultimate ideological frames in the best environment; end of the Ottoman monarchy and its long decrepit institutions.

2.2 The Inevitable Defeat: Encountering the West

In order to teach me Turkish, they assigned numerous teachers. My only occupation was to study your language. This was not an entertainment even close to appease the sufferings of my imprisonment. I was eventually uncoiled via striving to ravel out your history, novels, and poems through thousand difficulties as if they were dark hieroglyphs. It was impossible to read your writings before learning Turkish *pratikman*. In literature, I felt from a brimless ocean to a tiny lagoon. Without harming your *Amor perüyrü* (fairy faced lover), please let me express that your *literatür* is far from being affluent. Especially the recent imitations which had unsuccessful outcomes, they are bare *adaptasyon's*... And your classics... Leyla and Mecnun, which makes you cry a lot, made me laugh out. The protagonists and names of those stories that you have internalized were not even Turkish. Arabic and Persian have beaten your Turkishness for centuries. Now the civilization dragon of Europe is swallowing your traditional soul. (Gürpınar, 2010, p. 16)

This is a passage from Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's novel titled, *Kokotlar Mektebi* (School of Frivolous) and is part of a long speech of an originally French

procuress that was permuted to Ottoman identity, converted her name from Charlotte Prunier to Ulviye Melek. The story takes place in the late nineteenth century Istanbul, when the city had already become a charm for Western travelers, business owners and any sort of person, throwing dices for one last chance. Ulviye Melek had long been mistress to nobles of Europe and eventually been acquired by an Ottoman Pasha in her 'veteran phase'. This encounter of Ottoman Muslim character with a Non-Muslim Western prostitute is not an incident unique to *Kokotlar Mektebi*. Hülya Yıldız (2012), who studied this very encounter, suggests that:

Due to the political and cultural context of the period during in which the first Ottoman Turkish novels were written the socialization of the individual requires a struggle with a changing understanding of communal identity. Early novels, in this sense, embodied the unspoken cultural limits between different ethnic groups. If the prostitute, however, becomes an allegory for the encounter between Ottoman society and the Other that is both inside and outside its boundaries, we still haven't answered the question: why use prostitution in particular? (p. 540)

This expression is notable in a number of ways. The top flight of Empire was long over and now it was beyond dispute that scientific and economic achievements of Western civilization outmaneuvered the once-swaying Ottoman legacy. The encounter of West and East, in this sense, was a moment of the victorious and the whipped. Hence, it is not an encounter of equals. The rage of the defeated is represented by ascribing prostitution, femininity and adolescence to the Other where articulating masculinity and maturity to the self; a very vulgar but still functioning employment on behalf of the national identity construction.

A reputable Western woman at her decline, being owned by an old, wealthy Ottoman man would definitely be a gratifying relationship for the male. This perspective so far poses the old/male/Eastern subject superior to the younger/female/Western subject. Examining the gender roles of East and West in *Tanzimat* (Reform) novel, literary critic Nurdan Gürbilek (2004) puts this motive as “Despite the feeling of defeat against Europe and the feeling of orphanage evoked in the Reform novel, there is still a loud masculine vocal here. Sort of a, conquest in debacle dream: while many European authors represented East as woman in the same century, Ottoman writer, proud of his past, does not hesitate to represent West as a woman that looks for her conqueror” (p. 78). Thus we can argue that, no matter political and economic defeat is absolute, there still lived an intrinsic pride bubbling up and that can be grabbed in the connotative level of texts written by Ottoman-Turkish modernists.

However, this is not the end of story. Under her materially disadvantageous conditions, Ulviye Melek is still capable of and dare to comment on Turkish literature, even humiliate it, relying on her western cultural cultivation. Her imprescriptible Western cultural supremacy ‘naturally’, overcomes the Eastern echo of originally Western genres. Thus, balance of power retrogrades in favor of the Western subject over the male, Eastern counterpart. This time, Western becomes ancient, powerful, and fatherly where Eastern becomes weak and desperate; a typical course of infantilization.

While arguing how White/Western/Civilized has stereotyped Black/Eastern/Savage subject, Stuart Hall (2003) suggests that: “Infantilization

can also be understood as way of symbolically ‘castrating’ the black man (i.e. depriving him of his masculinity)’” (p. 262). In this context, Ulviye Melek owns a symbolic phallus; the power of Western civilization, so that she can patronize Ottoman Literary legacy. This attitude is very fundamental in Orientalism, as defined by Edward Said.

To say through this one short paragraph, we can deduce two outwardly conflicting but indeed cohesive assumptions about the representation of East-West relations in Turkish modernist movement. Turkish intellectual acknowledges and admires the intellectual reservoir of West. However, he still finds the West degenerated and spoiled. Hence, there is a hidden potential for Turkish modernism to overcome the effluents of past and catch up the West. Genuine Turkish culture has to be unleashed by saving it from Arabic, Persian ties and getting the necessary boost from the West.

2.3 The Significance of National Struggle Novel

Erdağ Gökner (2008) summarizes the thematic development of Turkish novel:

In the late nineteenth century, Ottoman novels appeared in serial in daily papers as authors sought to entertain, educate or warn the populace through consciousness raising about social issues. By the early 1910s, the novel became overtly politicised and was used in a vehicle for intellectual debates on concerning state and society. Novelists were also often journalists, politicians, poets and

historians (even today, authors in Turkey are rarely bound to a single genre). Increasingly, the novel was used as a didactic tool for matters of poverty, education and social position of women. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Republican novel was used as a vehicle of nationalization through the early decades of the nation-state before giving way (within ever-increasing literacy rates) in the 1950s and 1960s to a focus on Anatolian social consciousness and the plight of the villager (p. 473).

In this chronological order, our focus coincides with the period where novel reached its political climax. It was instrumentalized by the modernizing center that was already mobilized its facilities in every course. National Struggle on the battlefield was recently over and it was a huge reference set for the new National struggle of development.

In her article, Canan Sevinç (2009) asserts: “People of Anatolia has whether supported the struggle or has been provoked against the struggle by clergy and local gentry” (p. 2011). This sharp distinction and vital confrontation was quite evident. Once Westernization and nationalist modernizers became the hegemonic power, apparently the essential forces of Ottoman social order; cultural determinant religion and the dominant power of economic life; local gentry are doomed by the new order. Prolific Turkish literary critic, Ömer Türkeş (2003), shares a similar perspective regarding the role of literary texts in the struggle of social cohesion:

Every construction move supervening on political and social disruption has intended to draw a border line between the ‘new’ and ‘old’. This line finds its clearest expression in the narrative of history. The re-adjustment of history is inevitable to stress its distinctness from the ‘old’ which it springs from and ‘new’

that it represents. Hence, even if the witnesses of that disintegration process are not convinced, a constitutor 'myth' will be created for the second, third and later generations (p. 11).

This general and proven aspect of myths has been carried out via some modern devices in the "print capitalism" as argued by Anderson and novel is one of them. Ömer Türkeş (2003) actually goes further and confirms Jameson's claim of national allegory in Non-Western novel: "Literature canon composed of texts telling the stories of folk, makes people feel themselves citizens of a united nation and makes the experience of solidarity easier" (p. 11).

Sevinç (2009) argues we hardly have a classical National Struggle novel and lists the reasons under four clauses:

1. National Struggle stays in the background in some of those novels
2. National Struggle is presented from the perspective of newly found Republic
3. Clergy has been presented as against National Struggle
4. Novels remained incident-centered and historical-intellectual essence had been neglected. A unidirectional approach is dominant. It has been shaped in the form of praise-satire axis as there is no objective, scientific approach (p. 2015).

Sevinç's reasons are arguable but there are some accurate assumptions. National Struggle novel is above all didactical. It serves clearly to dissociate Ottoman past from the Turkish Republic. It speaks for the Republic. That sharp political manner may damage its literary value. On the other hand, this intrinsic discourse makes the National Struggle novel more convenient whilst studying the motives behind republican modernism. The instructive and admonitory characteristics of

Turkish novel remains firm but this time, Behruz Bey and his likes of 19th century leave the scene for conservative, comprador caricatures.

I have already discussed the elementary role of novel and print media in the establishment of imagined communities. Novel, as a literary form, was already introduced to Turkish society as a functional, transformative device since the very first day, literary critic Berna Moran argues. Moran (2011) cites from Şemsettin Sami, Namık Kemal and continues with Ahmet Mithat Effendi:

We know how a keen admirer of European novel Ahmet Mithat was. So it means, for those writers, transition from old story type to novel was indeed a transition from stargazing to rationality and juvenility to maturity; in short, from primitiveness to civilization. This novel type as we have brought from the West as a precept of civilization... was at the same time one of those tools to take us to the civilization (p. 11).

Ömer Türkeş (2001) confirms the functionality of novel in post-Ottoman era by stating, in the absence of mass communication devices, the most convenient weapon for ideology to penetrate over society was, literature, especially, novel. That indirect relationship of political and literary circles became very personal and friendly in the republican period when getting civilized becomes the number one issue in agenda. Sevinç (2009) purports: “there is collaboration between political power and literature man ...to spread Republican regime” (p. 2020). Republican regime was targeting the Western level of civilization, and then there

was no discrepancy left between the ultimate goal of novel and undisputedly dominant political power.⁴

⁴ There might seem to be a contradiction in the intellectuals approach to Westernization. At some point I said he was taking Western/market values with a pinch of salt and then I allege he was a supporter of it. This discrepancy originates from the developments and twists in the process of modernization. While they were precautious to modernization in early stages, they were supporters of it at the doorsteps of Republic. However, 'anxiety' is always there. The reasons behind this drive vary from awareness of belatedness to a fear of change, from an inferiority complex to superiority complex but it always matters.

CHAPTER III: FIELDWORK: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

As there appears to be a consensus over the role of National Struggle novel, then the second concern would be on limiting the focus era of the study. Sevinç, again, argues: “The National Struggle novels written between 1923 and 1938 are such narrations that both social and political goals and official ideology are shaped. They lack the variety of perspectives that can be found in the later periods. In here the purpose is to glorify National Struggle and its leaders.” (Sevinç, 2009, p. 2018). That must have been exact reason for those novelists. Atatürk, his comrades in arms and the founding cadre of the republic were all alive and in power. Hence, their message and expectations were very clear. In such an atmosphere, novelists composed the most enthusiastic and biased stories so that the same clarity would have been shared by the entire literate people and obviously by next generations to be educated by the republican institutions.

However, there is evident stratification among those novels. Being on the same literary quality, having identical plots, sharing the same characters and backgrounds would not be expected. This chapter executes a mechanism to designate literal, temporal (date written) and spatial (location of the story) parameters and eventually rectify a list for the case study.

3.1 Matter of Literary Quality

Some of those novels had made a meal of that enthusiasm and told didactical stories that the political message suppresses any narrative quality. Such works had been disappeared of the radar and lost the reader's attention, offering almost no literary charm. Selim İleri (1976), senior Turkish novelist criticizes one of those piles of texts intrepidly:

A part of novels addressing Turkish War of Independence are oriented to critical realism where another batch owns an extremely sentimental perspective. *Dikmen Yıldızı* (Yıldız of Dikmen) of Aka Gündüz is a novel in that second group. Author has basically subtilized and decreased the density of the major issues via a fluent and bouncy vernacular. Except the vernacular, we can argue that Aka Gündüz has no quality of narrative value (p. 48).

Being so severe to other writers is not an attitude that you would expect from Selim İleri who is well-known for his polite and naïve manners. However, in his critic İleri (1976) makes his motives quite clear:

Mustafa Kemal summons recovered Yıldız. He reveals that her fiancé hasn't died; he had to undercover for a top secret mission during the war. Yıldız and Murat would marry by the order of Mustafa Kemal. Everything is now 'amicably' settled... It is hard to predict why novels of Dikmen Yıldızı style were written. I find the effort of writing for the establishment of political transitions and cause political leaders to be loved very natural but I can totally not understand associating those persons of flesh and blood to characters from fairy tales... Above all, the counsel section at the final of the novel is so out-of-literature that would make the contemporary reader ridicule about. Let me give you an example: *Swarthy and chic military officers! Flaxen and cute officer lovers! Love each other! Love like Murat and like Yıldız! Let your hearts be steel barricades of Turkish history against more or fewer years experienced those monthly tensions.* Writer's praises on War of Independence with those dilapidated and erroneous sentences does not

attract contemporary reader's attention. I strongly doubt it attracted any attention even in its own era (pp. 48-49).

This relatively long citation from İleri is substantial in the identification of sample novels for the study. Selim İleri being a prominent literary figure finds poor narrative of Aka Gündüz odd and appraises Yıldız of Dikmen as poor and worthless in literary terms. Although this study's main focus is not literature taste or value of selected texts, such texts has to be excluded in their research quality. Yıldız of Dikmen and similar texts have been written with pure political incentives and hence lack the intellectual depth and contextual abundance. Such texts fail to exceed political propaganda and agitation aims and lack even basic narrative merits. In this respect, İleri's doubt on the reader's attention is fundamental. Novels like Yıldız of Dikmen might have pleased political officers but they lacked reader's attention and eventually lost in the vast space of forgotten texts. They have performed inadequately in the very principle drive behind their *raison d' être*: erecting feelings of unity, integration and commitment over the generations being educated by the republic.

Murat Belge (2004) argues the contribution of those novels to Turkish literary canon:

As a result of those efforts, a cadre of nationalist writers and a nationalist literature was formed. To the extent it was formed, we can say that those efforts (the preferences of 'political authority') were successful to create a 'canon'. Maybe we should even say further: it is true that Union and Progress was able to create a 'nationalist literature style' gone beyond Party's lifetime and continued till very recent days (or maybe even today). However, when we look to the writers who

shaped the 'canon' of that day in the long term, there remains no 'canon' or something. Mehmed Emin Yurdakul, Faik Ali, Aka Gündüz, Celal Sahir, Hüseyin Siret, Kazım Nami are those writer that we remember their name. We do not even remember the names of the rest (p. 58).

Therefore, such outdated, forgotten, functionally long dead or actually and above all stillborn novels would have been excluded from the scope of this thesis research.

3.2 Problem of Modernities, Objectivity, Epistemological Ground and Hegemonic Discourse

3.2.1 A Different Approach to Modern and Problem of Objectivity

'Modern' is an adjective we refer almost every day, whether the issue is politics or a film, maybe we are having a conversation about a building, or a painting or we are writing an article on nutrition facts. We need the existence of this very word in the text. It has an irresistible aura. Its conjugations like modernism, pre-modern, modernity, modernization, post-modern are even more seducing. We find its absence unbearable. Even in this thesis, this adjective and its conjugations are repeated for numerous times and its functional presence plays a critical role. Therefore, a short discussion on this subject, in an approximate context, would be salutary.

However, it is still very difficult to define such a broad and multilayered phenomenon. Despite there are many dictionary definitions, it would still be

hard to suggest one definition is more accurate or closer than the other. A phenomenon of countless ties and hence excessively contextual would most effectively be examined in its practice form. Then, instead of modern or modernity, experience of modernity, namely; modernism can be more lucidly observed. Two contemporary and prominent scholars approach the *problematique* (in an Althusserian sense) as following.

Marshall Berman (1988) adverts: "I define modernism as any attempt by modern men and women to become subjects as well as objects of modernization, to get a grip on the modern world and make themselves at home in it" (p. 5). In this context, modernism is a part of our struggle for becoming subjects. Against the risks of being alienated and exploited by the modernization, we chase and try to grab the modern. The crucial part of it is not about literally catching modern world as modernism is an attempt rather than being directly related with the completion of act.

David Harvey (2010) has a similar interpretation: "Modernism is a troubled and fluctuating aesthetic response to conditions of modernity produced by a particular process of modernization" (p. 99). There is again a central, inevitably ambiguous phenomenon; modernity, and modernism is the flow of reflections to conditions deriving from this core. In both cases, it is evident that modernity is unattainable or somehow neglectable as its contextual dissemination is so wide that it is applicable to almost all conditions and events in a specific time and space.

Thus, what matters is the varieties of individual or social practices to harmonize own position with a modernity; how and why we are experiencing modernism and the modernity we assume to exist designs which modernism to us? In the contextual position of this study, it can be enounced that (Turkish) modernism is an attempt of tuning with (Western) modernity that has been achieved via a historical process of modernization that defines the principal codes and conditions of modern. Analysis section of is another attempt to find answers to those questions through selected novels and in spatial scope.

Following above determinations, there appears to be another stream of novels that would have been kept out of scope; those, which do not comply with the mainstream modernist movement, we are focusing on. They still are considered to be National Struggle novels, possessing a political narrative but suggesting an alternative way of salvation. Thus cannot be incorporated into an analysis that is targeting to evaluate the organically bounded modernism movement. Authors like Peyami Safa and Tarık Buğra were the leading figures of this alternative perception.

Salvation is a phrase intentionally chosen to imply the main pattern that holds onto conventional moral values of the society that are supposed to be inherent to the Turkish-Ottoman tradition. Preservation of such virtues was seen to be obligatory against the corruptive influence of Western values over domestic life. This perspective is commonly regarded as most proficiently represented by Peyami Safa and Tarık Buğra.

Writing an encomium to Buğra, Beşir Ayvazoğlu (1995) extracts:

(Tarık Buğra -ZTP) ...approaches Peyami Safa at first place. Master (Peyami Safa-ZTP) does not think twice and righteously say: 'this is going to be an epic!' However Tarık Buğra was not concerned with writing an epos. On the contrary, he was willing to write a novel in the proper meaning of the word. As a matter of fact, he had always been concerned with the 'dramatic' one instead of epical and took action accordingly. While dealing with the 'Grand Subject' (National Struggle novel - ZTP) his effort not to look history, society and people with companionship of a doctrine or a political party has eventually forced Tarık Buğra to take the hard job of challenging official history. He would be considered as a pioneering writer also in this respect. Writing a novel of National Liberation War not looking from the front or Ankara, neither through a military nor a political perspective... (pp. 73-74)

There are two worthy claims here. One is from Tarık Buğra and is about rejecting the epical, hence non-novel style. Second, and correspondingly is from Ayvazoğlu; suggesting Buğra's narration being immune to political sphere and remaining on the civil side. Together, these two statements offer one narrative position, which matches an eternal charm, the ultimate objectivity.

Again referring to Lukacs, a rough distinction between epic and drama, in a historical sense can be made. Although his inspiration is theatrical meaning of the styles, this critic can also be adapted to novel form as such concepts have been deployed by other (especially written) arts to firmly distinguish narrative styles. Lukacs (1983) put forward:

The specific problem of form in great epic and tragedy is to give this immediacy to the totality of life, to conjure up a world of illusion which requires – even in the

most epic way – a very limited number of men and human destinies to arouse the feeling of the totality of life (p.92).

On the next page theoretician suggests:

Drama, too, as we already know, aims at a total embodiment of the life-process. This totality, however, is concentrated round a firm centre, round the dramatic collision. It is an artistic image of the system, so to speak, of those human aspirations which, in their mutual conflict, participate in this central collision (Lukacs, 1983, p. 93).

The major distinction between two styles is how they approach the life-process. In this respect, Lukacs spots a problem with epic genre. Epic causes the illusion as the totality of life springs from and be commended by a very limited number of people. However, it must be remembered that epics are generally taken out of the depository of history in the course of becoming nations as quite efficient tools. On the other hand, drama is argued to offer more complex and authentic tools while grabbing the elements of life-process. Dramatic structure establishes a systematic frame in which realistic characters can interact. This establishment appears to be strength of dramatic narration according to Lukacs. His segregation of two genres can be kept in mind for Tarık Buğra's approach and writer earns respect for his more literate efforts, unlike Aka Gündüz and his comrades who had strived on epical stories that eventually failed.

However, this absolute reliance on the elements of dramatic exposure for achievement of objectivity itself is another illusion as objective narration itself is nothing but a myth. In his classical work, literary critic Wayne C. Booth reserves

a subchapter for the discussion of writer's objectivity. Booth (1983) distinguishes objectivity under three major meanings: "Like all such terms, however, objectivity is many things. Underlying it and its many synonyms – impersonality, detachment, disinterestedness, neutrality, etc. –we can distinguish at least three separate qualities: neutrality, impartiality, and *impassibilité*" (p. 67). Booth (1983) specifies the objective approach issue under impartiality category:

In practice, no author ever manages to create a work which shows complete impartiality... Even among characters of equal moral, intellectual, or aesthetic worth, all authors inevitably take sides A given work will be 'about' a character or set of characters. It cannot possibly give equal emphasis to all, regardless of what its author believes about the desire of fairness... The novelist who chooses to tell *this* story cannot at the same time tell that story; in centering our interest, sympathy, or affection on one character, he inevitably excludes from our interest, sympathy, or affection some other character. Art imitates life in this respect as in so many others; just as in the real life I am inevitably unfair to everyone but myself or, at best, my immediate loved ones, so in literature complete impartiality is impossible (pp. 78-79)

This ostentatious claim of objectivity seems inaccurate also for Tarık Buğra's novel. Fethi Naci (2003) comments on this very same problem of objectivity and Tarık Buğra's position:

However, Tarık Buğra's remark of "I believe a novel author, like a scientist, should and exactly be objective" remains insubstantial: Tarık Buğra approaches National Liberation War as a man of a specific view, unlike a scientist. I do not say this to accuse Tarık Buğra but to determine his attitude. Additionally, I do not suppose that the history of our Liberation War has yet been written by the scientists in full

“objectivity”. How can we expect from the artists that scientists are not able to? (p. 260)

It is clear that, like Peyami Safa, Tarık Buğra was not in total harmony with the official ideology and had devoted his effort to vindicate the cultural heritage that had been accused for obscurantism by the intellectuals and writers of the republic. Again in the preface of *Küçük Ağa*, Buğra (2013) suggests:

In that era (during the National Struggle – ZTP), this nation was anticipating love of homeland and state consciousness interblended with religion, as always. Every war happened to be jihad. Homeland and national symbols were uniting with the symbol of religion: three divines on one flag. The destiny of this nation, this nation itself, was that very flag for centuries. (p. 6)

Namely, Buğra claims there are three pillars that our national existence is constructed onto: one motherland, one *volk*, one religion. In this sense, Buğra appears to be holding a very traditional/right wing position. Replacing military driven enlightenment ideology with a religious oriented one would not make an objective approach but places it on a different political position.

While defending religion and religious people revolted against the republican authority, Buğra (2013) applies a metaphor: “You cannot blame who were misapprehended. Those people are guilty for their mistake as much as violet (the flower – ZTP) is guilty for being violet (the color – ZTP)” (p. 6). Considering those people has revolted and armed against the Ankara government for the sake of caliphate, it must be said they are not as innocent as

universal symbols of peace like flower children or Buddhist monks -who in rare cases can also be involved in violent acts. Resembling a subject to a flower is beyond naïve misinterpretation, it is an intentional act of sympathy and taking sides⁵.

3.2.2 Rejection of Objectivity and Introduction of Discourse

Objectivity or objective reality is itself a major subject of discussion in philosophy and science:

Very schematically, realists believe (a) in the existence of an objective reality which is independent of human knowledge of it (ontology); and (b) that this reality is epistemically knowable, hence different theories or propositions concerning it can be empirically adjudicated on epistemic grounds (epistemology). (Lau, R. W., & Morgan, J., 2013, p.574)

As fighting for an ideal and/or writing for the same or another ideal are human performances, it cannot be a part of ontological discussion of objective reality which principally attributed to laws of nature. When it comes to social realm we need to set a different perspective:

⁵ During my research, I have gladly notices a resemblance between the work of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Tarık Buğra. Plots, themes and some characters of *Stranger* (1932) and *Ankara* (1934) might have been influential to Tarık Buğra's *Küçük Ağa* (1963) and *Küçük Ağa at Ankara* (1966). *Stranger* and *Küçük Ağa* cover stories of National Struggle at Anatolia, Latter novels are interested in the dangers against the new regime and take place at the capital. On the other hand, authors' approach is quite opposite. Therefore a study following this thesis can be done in terms of comparing Yakup Kadri's strict Westernization and Tarık Buğra's non-Western modernization discourse.

...the ontology of social reality, instead of being objective, is discursive, in the sense that, because the discourse that achieves hegemony out of discursive contention exerts real effects on people and how they act, it thereby constitutes reality. (Lau, R. W., & Morgan, J., 2013, p.574)

Social reality, unlike natural objects and laws of nature, is the result of human history and the epistemological studies on social reality can be based on discursive variations rather than vulgar, external certainties.

In the context of Turkish State Discourse (TSD) and its approach to Kurdish identity, Metin Yeğen (1999) oscillates the matter: "As Foucault maintains in *The Archeology of Knowledge*, it is discursive formation and its rules of formation that determine the conditions which lead to the appearance of certain statements rather than others" (p. 556). This is a gateway where we can replace a metaphysical concern of objectivity with a more scientific way of research; focusing on discourses and categorizing the knowledge under conflicting and/or competing discursive formations:

Thus, concerning epistemology..... the outcome of discursive contention (i.e. competition between rival discourses) is decided upon, not on the basis of epistemic adjudication between these discourses, but exclusively due to the effects of non-epistemic factors, i.e. factors of all kinds not related to the comparative knowledge value of the rival discourses, such as power, material interests, or even trickery (induced by what- ever factors). (Lau, R. W., & Morgan, J., 2013, p.574)

Thus, the relationship between the hegemonic modernizing discourse and opposing conservative discourse cannot be evaluated on their intellectual value

or historical legitimacy. It is a struggle of power and for power and at the verge of a milestone, a transition from imperial regime to republican administration, Islam and Islamic values had been practically externalized from the state and been suppressed in the social level: "Having been a constitutive component of the discursive formation of the last century, secularism signifies the collapse of a particular politics/administration which was conditioned by the logic of Islam" (Yeğen, 1999, p. 559). The components of the republican regime were different from the imperial past as exposed previously. It was/is a –sometimes intermittent- long process of modernization and Westernization. Metin Yeğen (1999) summarizes the fundamental characteristics of this discourse as following:

the formation of TSD of the last two centuries signifies the transformation of a non-western, de-central, a-national and non-secular social formation (the Ottoman Empire) into a western, central, national and secular one (the Turkish Republic). Hence, TSD is caught up in a system of references to the discourses of westernization, centralization, nationalism and secularism. In other words, the discourses of westernization, centralization, nationalism and secularism have been constitutive components of the discursive formation wherein TSD appeared (p. 559).

As the focus of this study is to elaborately analyze Turkish modernism through National Struggle novel, the research material would have been the novels that are actually embracing the state discourse and literally helping this discourse become hegemonic over competitors, whether from the left or right, past or present. These texts would inevitably be intertwined of signifiers that are representing the characteristics of the modernizing/Westernizing center. Hence,

the representatives of discourse(s) challenging the hegemonic, modernizing one had to be omitted.

3.2.3 The Temporal Limitation and Plot Elimination

Again in the prologue he wrote for *Küçük Ağa* (Little Ağa) Tarık Buğra (2013) speaks of his motives behind writing a Liberation War novel:

I have mentioned this novel first to deceased Peyami Safa Bey. We were at Restaurant Rejans. The young couple at the table behind us was talking French loudly. French now had a different meaning just like English, Greek, Armenian and other languages had different meanings.

1919, 1920,1921,1922,1923 and 1960!

The change was not limited with the meaning of foreign languages or foreigners, everything was now altered. Kitchens were changed, wardrobes were changed, literature, architecture, calendar, measures and all measures were changed; human was changed.

But this change of a whole world would have happened only after unique four years of a nation in a passageway of death. And I was willing to tell this quest.

(p. 5)

In above quotation, Tarık Buğra clearly reveals that meaning of things change rapidly and indicates that the cultural and material changes in Turkey owe a lot to the National Struggle. What became external or internal, familiar or alien has been re-positioned after the success of that struggle. In his words, National Struggle is a breaking point. Then on, he suggests that from 1960, he wants to look back and write the story of the events took place 40 years ago. This is obviously a long range look, not only in terms of day count, but also considering

the velocity and density of social change took place in Turkey. Armenian and Greek, for instance were the voice of next door neighbors under the Imperial rule, became the scary sound of 'internal enemies' in invaded Istanbul, were screams asking for help during 6th-7th September 1955 and were just few timid whispers onwards. The design of houses, apparel fashion, taste leanings; the life style of people was almost completely changed.

From that distance, still a National Struggle text was possible and would have probably been even tempting for readers who were born and raised after the war times. However, there must be some differences in perception and treatment of events and people; this difference is called, experience.

That mythic function of Turkish novel must have made a peak when it met the passions of republic and thematically of Nation Struggle, when the national liberation was the only issue in the agenda. The dramatic complexity of the period makes it again a fertile land for the novelists to harvest from. While chronologically classifying National Struggle novel, Ömer Türkeş (2003) again exposes the dramatic substantiality:

We can categorize the novels written between 1914-1923 that are reflecting the bloody scenes in the fronts, corruption in armistice İstanbul, the cliff between the war profiteers and poor people, the resistance being organized, the spread of National Struggle over Anatolia, transition from Kuvayi Milliye (National Forces) to regular army, in brief the longest decade on this land, into three periods depending on date written (p. 14).

Türkeş bases his classification on the generations that those writers belong to. First era (1920-1950) novels are written by those intellectuals personally witnessed fighting years, second (1950-1980) group of novels are written by the first generation of authors that has been educated by the republic and holds political tendencies of those years. Finally, 1980 onwards, novels has a history perception constructed on the contemporary demands (Türkeş, 2003, pp. 13-14). Therefore, first era novels are those which are written by individuals physically witnessed the gloomy environment of National Struggle. Some of them had even organized the resistance against the invasion forces. Hence, compared to following decades or eras, the emotional intensity and level of commitment for the first wave of writers must be much denser.

The most popular National Struggle novel of all times must be *Şu Çılgın Türkler* (Those Crazy Turks) that was first released in 2005. According to Radikal⁶, the book was sold over 800.000 copies until the writer passed away in September 2013. Considering the predictable boost in sales after the artist's mortem, it should be over 1 million now. *Şu Çılgın Türkler* was published after the first three years of the *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP - Justice and Development Party) in power. The middle class that largely holds the ideals of republican modernizing reforms did not warmly welcome the AKP reign. This novel of perfect theme selection and timing has been interiorized by those who are keen to stick with Westernization ideals and uncomfortable with the Islamist AKP. They were willing to remember Atatürk and his comrades' heroism and success. It was also an act of nostalgia, in terms of the book's educative notion.

⁶ http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/su_cilgin_turke_veda-1152992

The writer made a long research of documents and hence the book was holding a historical reliability claim with the long bibliography at the end of the book. This educative work of Turgut Özakman was a contribution to the Kemalist, early republican discourse which was started to decline as Islamic discourse was in the office now. The novel was highly recommended amongst the urban, well-educated middle class for the restoration and reproduction of modernizing discourse.

Likewise, there are many novels written since the end of National Liberation War and all are written to satisfy a demand or to manifest a political allegation. Although the plot seems similar or relevant, approach was inevitably differing, depending on the change brought by international conjuncture and domestic agenda. Besides, the interpretations of those texts by the receivers were varying depending on the same international and/or national reasons.

The contextual reason behind the wild horizon and multiplex level of receptions was mentioned under “The Limits and Potentialities of Studying Novel” title so far. However, that title was covering the complex relationship of texts. Those connections are temporal and loosely strapped to a very large, ambiguous cloud of interpretation(s). This transparent and amorphous but in last resort bordering cloud is the soul of that age; the *zeitgeist*. The determination of *zeitgeist* can be evaluated in two levels; when the text is written and when it is interpreted.

For instance, a literary critic of 1970s, Mehmet H. Doğan (1976) approaches Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu:

This is where Yakup Kadri and the *Kadro*⁷ view are mistaken at this point: they did not take Liberation War as a *national democratic revolution* that took place a certain quantitative turning point of historical conditions but as a unique *socialist revolution* that was realized by a cadre of intellectuals against the historical conditions.⁸ (p19)

This frame of discussion is outdated in many ways. Turkish radical left was very powerful and was in a deep discussion on the characteristics of national struggle in the 1970s. It was whether an incomplete revolution interrupted by decease of Atatürk or was a bourgeois democratic revolution which should be transformed to a socialist revolution by the following generations. Moreover, Turkish radical left was sharply separated on again same conceptions. Majority of youth organizations -later formed armed revolutionary groups- were passionately defending the historical necessity of a national democratic revolution where more orthodox, Soviet oriented bodies were proposing an immediate socialist revolution. Today, almost nobody talks with this jargon. Whether the subject is National Struggle or left politics, national democratic or socialist revolution priorities are replaced by new paradigms. 'Military-Civil Intellectuals from Middle Class' (Doğan, M. H., 1976, p. 25) and 'The Activism of Social Classes and Stratum in the National Liberation War' (Doğan, M. H., 1976, p. 23) are two of Doğan's criticizing parameters. Where the class centered criticism is still an intellectual tendency, the concept of Military-Civil Intellectuals is again outdated.

⁷ *Kadro* (The Cadre) was a political journal been published between 1932 and 1935. It was very close to the government and was seen as a platform that produced ideology for the Kemalist regime.

⁸ Italics by me

During the 60s and 70s, it was quite popular in left wing terminology to define the 'progressive' powers of the society.

Like criticism, books are bounded with the *zeitgeist* and should be approached keeping the temporal ('back then') conditions, tastes, fashions and trends in mind. In this sense, Tarık Buğra's claim of capturing the essence of National Struggle is an impossible mission, especially considering the highly political theme. In a similar way, Turgut Özakman's bestseller could not be published in 1940s, when literary style and reader demands were different. Azade Seyhan (2008) purports a parallel view: "Thus, a novel can emerge in different places at different times and be produced by individual artists or communities of artists within a shared tradition. It emerges when its time comes..." (p. 11).

Thereby, the *zeitgeist* of National Struggle era can best be approached through inspecting the novels that had been written as close as possible to the very experience of National Struggle. Rest, written by the later generations, would inevitably be based on transferred knowledge and naturally limited research instead of the warmth and accuracy of experience.

I have scanned Ömer Türkeş's, Canan Sevinç's and Mehmet Doğan's lists of National Struggle novels, later combined and filtered them in a thematic and chronological criteria. Below table is the list of novels those have The Liberation War as a major thematic element and been written before loss of the number one hero of the war and the undisputable leader of Republic, Kemal Atatürk in 1938.

AUTHOR	TITLE	TITLE IN ENGLISH	YEAR
Halide Edip Adivar	Ateşten Gömlek	Shirt of Fire	1922
Halide Edip Adivar	Vurun Kahpeye	Slap the Harlot	1923
Peyami Safa	Sözde Kızlar	So-called Girls	1923
Peyami Safa	Bir Akşamdı	It was an Evening	1924
Ercüment Ekrem Talu	Kan ve İman	Blood and Faith	1925
Aka Gündüz	Dikmen Yıldızı	Yıldız of Dikmen	1927
Halide Edip Adivar	Zeyno'nun Oğlu	Son of Zeyno	1928
Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu	Sodom ve Gomore	Sodom and Gomorrah	1928
Reşat Nuri Güntekin	Yeşil Gece	Green Night	1928
Mehmet Rauf	Halas	Salvation	1929
Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu	Yaban	Stranger	1932
Güney Halim	Gökmen	Gökmen	1932
Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu	Ankara	Ankara	1934
Esat Mahmut Karakurt	Allahısmarladık	Farewell	1936
Abidin Daver	Mülazimin Romanı	Muslim Judge's Novel	1936
Peyami Safa	Biz İnsanlar	We, People	1937
Burhan Cahit Morkaya	Nişanlılar	Engaged (Couple)	1937
Mükerrem Kamil Su	Dinmez Ağrı	Permanent Pain	1937
Kamil Yazgıç	Türk Yıldızı Emine	Turkish Star Emine	1937
Reşat Nuri Güntekin	Eski Hastalık	Old Disease	1938
Şukufe Nihal	Yalnız Dönüyorum	I'm Turning Back Alone	1938
Sıtkı Şükrü Pamitran	Toprak Mahkumları	Convicts of Land	1938

Table 1. Elaborated list of National Struggle novels written until 1938

A Second level of filter would have been based on the quality of text material. Those novels that have fall out of grace or actually was stillborn would have been eliminated. Poorly narrated, extremely flunky propaganda texts should not be fruitful for the analysis. Hence, this sort of books as discussed under 'Matter of Literary Quality' subtitle are naturally sorted out. Thirdly, those

opposing the hegemonic discourse were also to be ignored for the sake of keeping focused on the right track as explained under previous, 'Problem of Objectivity, Epistemological Ground and Hegemonic Discourse' section.

All those criteria of selection eventually indicates to a shortlist of novels that share a common time frame and a similar plot that Ömer Türkeş (2003) adverts one level of those concurrences: "Three of those novels interiorized by the republic cadres; *Vurun Kahpeye*, *Yaban* and *Yeşil Gece* are likeminded on the real target of struggle are clergy and other feudal structures. The clash is between the progressives versus reactionaries and brightness versus darkness" (P. 18).

3.2.4 Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri, Reşat Nuri: Organic Intellectuals of the Republic

In one of her letters to Yakup Kadri, Halide Edip (2014) writes following sentences of pure sincerity:

I did not find the life of Anatolia strange when I entered. It hits a person's face, person's head like a craggy rock, as if it is a material pain. I was like knowing that I could have seen both a collapsed derelict and the fresh thing emanating in blood, on this unique and desolated setting. It appeared to me; as if both the nation and I have been through all those we have been through to prepare this day and my past always had a meaning comprehending this day. None the less, I did not have talent or desire to insert even the dullest shades of those things I sense, into art. The Anatolia of its mountains, deserts, valleys and suffering people was pumping

in my veins. I did not believe that the justifying and fracturing brush, (*musical - ZTP*) instrument and inkwell of art would transmit this scene. I have realized in here that my art ideal was above my talent like the sky and the land.⁹ (p. 11)

In the following paragraphs, Halide Edip apologizes for and gives the reasons of why she used the name *Ateşten Gömlek* (Shirt of Fire) for her own novel although it was first Yakup Kadri to tell Halide Edip that he was writing a book of war time Anatolia and was considering to call it Shirt of Fire. Halide Edip violates a code based on trust but she explains the drives behind her bad behavior in a very sentimental letter which is weaved by a magic potion of bashfulness, patriotism and artistic creativity. This quoted paragraph above, inhere some major narrative elements of the books survived for the analysis shortlist. This can be considered as coping with a literary trend or a principle of naturalist novel genre. However, political connotation has to be reckoned.

Halide Edip was personally involved in organizing a popular resistance against the invasion forces in Istanbul and then on moved to the front as a military nurse and was holding a corporal rank. She wrote *Shirt of Fire* during the war, in a one month leave. Adivar was so impressed by what she saw on the war fronts and could not stop herself from writing a novel, inspired by that experience. Departing from the urban environment of 1920s to the war zone, she felt alienated but also was highly impressed by the rigorous and grim Anatolia.

⁹ Word 'musical' in parenthesis is inserted by me. She is actually using the Turkish Word 'saz', which may be directly described as the extended family of musical instruments.

This encounter of an urban woman with the painful 'reality' of a landscape cannot be conceived as a lack of geographic harmony. Anatolia hits her face like a sharp and solid piece of rock. The conditions there are not familiar with Halide Edip. She finds the land hard to be attuned to but had obviously been charmed by it. This complex contrast of feelings and manifest of intense sensuality is a common pattern, especially quite a dominant narrative element also in Yakup Kadri's *Yabancı* (Stranger); the novel he had to rename after *Shirt of Flame* title was sized by Halide Edip.

Protagonists of subject novels in *The Green Night*, *Slam the Harlot* and *The Stranger* follow the same migration route. All three protagonists leave Istanbul and relocate in some remote settlements in Anatolia. This movement is more than an odd coincidence or being instinctual, but has two major reasons. First, the invasion of Izmir (Smyrna) by Greek troops had been the last straw and provoked the Istanbul intelligentsia to mobilize towards the heart of Anatolia. Although we do not know the exact locations of villages that three novels take place in, they are approximately described as being located within a geographical triangle of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Those intellectuals have voluntarily left sleeping Istanbul and flourished right onto the line of fire as seeds of patriotism. Second, in a post Liberation War perspective, it was vital to contemplate on the conditions of cultural and geographical periphery to impose republican ideals on.

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Reşat Nuri Güntekin and Halide Edip Adivar are indisputably three of the most prestigious writers who are aligned with

those republican ideals. Although Halide Edip has a long period of political apathy with the republic, living in a voluntary-exile for 14 years in England and France, she also shared a dedication to National Independence Struggle and undertook some serious roles as a deputy after the war, like Reşat Nuri and Yakup Kadri did. They are three authors who had been productive in long decades. They all witnessed that despair, chaos and resurrection times, experienced the late Ottoman, National Struggle and Republic days. Thanks to that vast experience, the impact of Westernization has found broad space in their works.

Besides, this experience was also valuable for the new regime. Gramsci's (2006) interpretation coheres with their case: "It can be seen that the 'organic' intellectuals which each new class creates with itself and elaborates in its own progressive development are for the most part 'specializations' of partial aspects of the primitive activity of the new social type which the new class has brought to light" (p. 118). They were Republic's emergency pushbuttons; three of a scarce pool of 'specialists' available, ready to cooperate and get involved in progressive duties of new order.

As a matter of fact, it is no surprise that the novelists of early Republican era had kept writing and held some bureaucratic posts at the same time as suggested by Azade Seyhan (2008): "Though writers by avocation, by vocation they were teachers, journalists, politicians, translators, and diplomats" (p. 41). Since the early days of Ottoman-Turkish novel, being just a novelist is a rare case. Maybe because the market has always been narrow and unprofitable, Turkish

writers have long been obliged to work for paid jobs in day time and write in the rest. Even today, only a little portion of writers can survive by the copyrights of books published. Besides, newly established regime could not sacrifice intelligentsia which was already scarce. They were needed to represent, produce knowledge and educate those to reproduce the Kemalist doctrine, like Gramsci (2006) spots:

One of the most important characteristics of every class which develops towards power is its struggle to assimilate and conquer 'ideologically' the traditional intellectuals. Assimilations and the conquests are the more rapid and effective the more given social class puts forward simultaneously its own organic intellectuals (p. 122).

CHAPTER IV: THE ANALYSIS

Thesis has now arrived to its heart; application of methods to the selected novels in the historical and theoretical contexts been constructed so far. Keeping the Turkish modernizer as the focal point, discursive manifestations of West and Ottoman-Turkish public will be revealed. In this way, contextual positions of Turkish intellectual will become clearer. For that purpose, the center-periphery cleavage of Turkish modernism is described as the framework. Case studies are located within this framework in two principal attempts. *Stranger* is handled separately and the other two novels; *Green Night* and *Slam the Harlot* are analyzed together. Chapter is closed with an outstanding feature shared by all three novels; instructing the modernizer against the threats over the hegemony of modern regime.

4.1 Framework: Center-Periphery Cleavage

In his still inspiring article entitled 'Center-Periphery Relations: A Key To Turkish Politics?', Şerif Mardin (1973) wrote: "Until recently, the confrontation between center and periphery was the most important social cleavage underlying Turkish politics and one that seemed to have survived more than a century of modernization" (p. 170) about almost 40 years ago. Contemporary political agenda, that is enormously busy with social consensuses or oppositions in Turkey, signals the continuum and decisiveness of the same cleavage, even in a more rigid and harsh way.

It was also not peaceful or more 'manageable' before. I have already covered the reaction of Turkish novelist to the modernization movement beginning from the Reform era. Now, over 150 years of conflict and struggle, we can claim that modernism is a never-ending and tempestuous process for Turkish society. In that case, it can be said that center-periphery relations, this low density combat within the social strata of Turkey is still in an indicative and determinant position. Again in the same article, Mardin mentions the top-down character of Ottoman-Turkish modernism, bureaucratic elite has conducted amendments and regulations without public support or demand from the *civil society*.

Marxist politician Antonio Gramsci is the one, if not coined, definitely popularized the concept of civil society and formulated the relationship between state power and the sphere of civil society. Short definitions of civil society and state in our context would be useful, in order to understand the parties in this cleavage:

Civil society is the *patria* of consent and hegemony, while the state is the locus of coercion and domination. This definition would seem to be in accord with accepted usage in the modern social sciences, or at least in those currents influenced by Weber's famous definition of the state as the holder of a monopoly of violence in a geographically delimited area; in the 'non-political' remainder of any social formation, on the other hand, by far the most extensive of its component parts, there reign more pacific forms of negotiation and persuasion. (Thomas, P.D., 2010, pp. 167-168)

As it is seen, Gramsci was separating state from civil society and he is commonly thought to view “the proper terrain of hegemony as civil society, rather than the state.” (Thomas, P.D., 2010, p. 167). When the modernists came to power, captured the state mechanism, they did not only implemented or demonstrated the ‘monopoly of violence’ over the society, they also mobilized the means and facilities of negotiation and persuasion. National Struggle novels are a part of this struggle of hegemony in civil society.

Here it is where the significance of those selected texts start coming forth from the mist. Those novels would help us attain valuable hints about the spiritual and mental conditions of the power that attributes an assignment of regulating and organizing the social realm. At least, what is the identity and convictions of the elite that pursued the modernization operation in republican era? Why elite does not trust the *volk* that is the object of the Westernization; those masses that constitute the periphery in the conflict as formulated by Mardin? Studying novels, we can no wonder achieve some signifiers that would constitute meaningful sets of ideas about possible replies for above questions. Historian Taner Timur (2002) pints out the same account: “In a collapsing empire, in the crisis of identity during transition from Ottoman to Turkishness, I felt that our novelists had been in a more creative and independent struggle compared to our historians” (p. 9). Erdağ Gökner (2008), in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, supports this view: “There is perhaps no better anthropological or aesthetic artefact with which to read social change, to gauge resistance and to trace the scars of history and ideology on local populations than the novel” (p.472).

Although modernization is a long journey, there is a serious dissemblance between the Ottoman and Republic that can be based on the domestic and international causes. Taner Timur (2002) collects those differences under two subjects: “To understand the interruption between the Unity¹⁰ and Kemalizm, it is necessary to keep an eye on the two fundamental differences between Unionist and Kemalist thesis’. They are concretized in principles of independence and secularism.” (p. 62). Timur argues, due to the imperial interests of multi-nationality and Empire’s weakened condition, it was more of an international cooperation matter rather than independence and national sovereignty that Ottoman modernists cared more. Particularly Germany had been highly favored as a close ally by the Ottoman politicians. Timur suggests that emphasis on independence is an outcome of realistic analysis of depression eventually led to the Sevr Treaty¹¹. On the other hand, religion was a more sensitive issue and Mustafa Kemal had to establish temporal-tactical alliances until secularizing the regime. Taner Timur (2002) also notes religion-secularization is the basic subject deeply influenced the Turkish novel of that era (pp. 62-64).

As the following research will reveal, there is another major element that constitutes a fundamental problematic in the selected novels. Şerif Mardin (1973) speaks for us: “Another component of the center-periphery cleavage was the suspicion of the center towards the remaining traces of a pre-Ottoman

¹⁰ Party of Union and Progress was the political group that dominated the Ottoman political scene from late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, till the end of WWI. In a historical path, they are accepted as the successor of Young Ottomans then Young Turks and predecessor of Kemalist cadres.

¹¹ Le Traité de Sèvres was signed after the WWI. It was declaring the official sharing of remaining Ottoman territories among the Allied forces.

nobility and a number of powerful families in the provinces whose star had risen with that of the Ottomans.” (p. 171)

This analysis covered the traces of religious authority and the Ottoman landlords of the country who appear to be the two core elements against the Kemalist modernism movement. The discourse adopted by the authors insists that these two are sneaky, evil, prehistoric cultural remnants and cannot be extricated or be controlled; hence they have to be removed immediately. Kemalist modernism highlights a distance between the ideals of Republic and Ottoman-province heritage; Islamism and rural rich.

Despite those elements are common for all novels, it was a compulsion to separate the analysis into three subchapters. The reason behind this decision is methodological rather than being arbitrary. Analyzing those novels, it was recognizable that assembling all of them at first and then deconstructing to operational titles such as religion, gender, class, enemy etc. would have been like forcing the texts to fit in molds arbitrarily preferred by the researcher. This attempt would have dampened the textual abundance and would mean sacrificing the potential gains. Instead texts are given free rein, floating signifiers are observed and they are gathered under themes that they already intended to fit in.

Eventually three streams emanated. Stranger’s genuine style accretes its discursive qualities with those analytical findings unique to the novel. On the other hand, Green Night and Slam the Harlot behaves in a more expected

manner. They are more didactical in comparison to *Stranger*, more stable and easier to observe. Nevertheless, they are valuable in terms of procuring evidence for the character of Turkish modernism in thesis scope and crosschecking the reliability of ideological and historical background analysis carried out so far. Last subchapter gathers three novels for a critical phase of the study on the possible objective of National Struggle novel; warning the next generations against the intimidation of counter-hegemonic factors.

4.2 Case Study I: *Stranger*

Summary: Ahmet Cemal is son of an Ottoman Pasha. He had lost his arm in WWI when he participated as a reserve officer. He is depressed of his loss and prefers to move on with his former orderly Mehmet Ali to soldier's home village instead of turning back to his home city Istanbul, now invaded by the British forces. However, things go worse than Ahmet Cemal expects. For a short time, he stays in Mehmet Ali's house with his family; Zeynep Kadın, younger brother Ismail and Ismail's wife Emine. He falls in love with Emine before she was introduced as wife of Ismail to the house. Ahmet Cemal cannot get well with the family and moves to another house. There, it is only Sergeant Bekir whom he speaks with. Other villagers cannot understand the motives of Ahmet Cemal and isolate him. Meanwhile the wealth man in the village landlord Salih Ağa and the religious figure, Şeyh Yusuf cooperates with intruders of Anatolia when they visit the town before facing Turkish troops at Sakarya. Ahmet Cemal explicitly objects to cooperators and thing get even worse for him. There he feels totally alienated from the villagers. After being defeated at Battle of Sakarya, Greek army appears

in the time village for a second time but now they are much crueler; they plunder the crops, rape women and flame the houses. Ahmet Cemal runs away with Emine but an enemy bullet badly wounds Emine. Ahmet Cemal, extremely tired, injured and one-armed, leaves dying Emine and his diary (that we read through entire book) in the bushes and heads for unknown destinations alone.

4.2.1 The Recognized Novel

Stranger tells us the experiments of a long-suffering volunteer of Turkish modernism, again from the eyes of this very modernization-ist; Ahmet Cemal. That style of storytelling preferred by Yakup Kadri makes a fruitful source for the analysis of center – periphery relations from the center side.

Stranger has an exceptional place in the Turkish novel bibliography. Being extremely political, it bears high level of literary dexterity and is successful at making it being felt by the reader. It has been acclaimed as the most realistic National Struggle novel by critics like Selim İleri (1976): “Compared to the majority of National Liberation War novels, Stranger had been successful in delivering critical realism to the reader.” (p. 56)

On the other hand, novelist’s style has been subject to harsh criticism since it was first published in 1932. Some literary critics had been claiming Karaosmanoğlu adopted an erroneous style and even sarcastically humiliated his

literary skills¹². Actually they cannot be considered as totally unfair. Yakup Kadri created a persona to literally manifest his political perspective via long monologues. Ahmet Cemal is a didactical vehicle in this context. On the other hand, it cannot be said that respected and powerful writer welcomed those critics in cold blood. Labeling his critics 'street demagogues' (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 9), he defended his narrative style as: "But Stranger is not an objective novel. Strange is the heart-wrenching outcry of soul malaria, a consciousness that all of a sudden faced a terrible and scary reality." (ibid. p. 11)

This is like a timid confession in an objection tog. Yakup Kadri parries literary criticisms over his book by positioning it beyond other novels. Like Tarık Buğra refuted to the notion of objectivity quarter century later, Yakup Kadri relies on the same concept but not claiming achieving it; on the contrary, accepting objectivity as again a fact but positioning his work far from this imaginary point. In fact, Yakup Kadri's words spent while defending his novel, overlaps with my above discussions. In a period of massive social depressions, Turkish novel could not escape from the gravity from the immediate and heavy political duties. On the field of hegemonic struggles, Turkish novel remained on the same ideological camp with the Kemalist power.

Yakup Kadri actually does not reject that he had ignored some basic literary principles. However, according to him special conditions of Turkey do not allow him to write romance or dramas. Those conditions allocate Stranger

¹² We do not know the names of those persons but Yakup Kadri called them as "who holds the corners of the old Babiali Neighborhood..." we can understand that they are people from era's press and prestigious pens

some duties over literature and make this unique novel an exemption. Again in his prologue to the second edition of the novel, Yakup Kadri (2011) declares:

There are such places on earth that you feel like the order has been established by fairies. The land you step on is furnished of velvet; the air you breathe in is dizzyingly blessed; women smell like flowers and flowers smell like women, everyone there, smiles every minute, every minute is a feast and each table you sit for meal seems like at a table of a ruler. (p. 12)

This paragraph goes on as a description of a heaven on earth. The writer of this thesis cannot say that he has traveled all around the planet but anyone should suspect if there is such a valley of wealth, joy and comfort really exists on this planet. Of course Yakup Kadri was exaggerating the conditions of probably Western civilization. Of course Yakup Kadri was more than enough experienced and wise to know it. He was making this portrayal to legitimize the duties of Stranger; novel's literary style/value had to be sacrificed for some other and higher level of causes. Turkey, recently out of National Liberation War and desperate for fundamental reforms, could not be compared with anywhere else; neither her literature.

This sentimental attitude of reformist period novels, when the state was full throttle penetrating into social constitutions, carries us to the brink of new opportunities of analysis. Those 'gasbags' found Stranger as anti-peasant, didactical and teemed of tirades. In my opinion, of a regular reader, they are right. Moreover, although it is not one of those accusations that Yakup Kadri

describes as slanders, another technical defect of the novel is the extreme affinity between the protagonist and the writer.

Certainly, a narrator's created characters cannot be totally independent from his own experience, his own sense of things surrounding him. In a series of Interviews by the Paris Review magazine, grand names address the same issue from different viewpoints. For instance Gabriel Garcia Marquez says: "in every novel, the character is a collage: a collage of different characters that you've known, or heard about or read about"¹³. On the other hand, at the point William Faulkner argues: "The quality an artist must have is objectivity in judging his work, plus the honesty and courage not to kid himself about it",¹⁴ Yakup Kadri's essential problem comes out.

Faulkner changes the subject of objectivity from the history and society to honesty of a writer to himself. Yakup Kadri and Ahmet Cemal are so identical that the narrator has even no tolerance to accept the narrated-ness of narration. I am referring to Truman Capote about the inconvenience of this identification:

...I believe the greatest intensity in art in all its shapes is achieved with a deliberate, hard, and cool head. For example, Flaubert's *A Simple Heart*... A warm story, warmly written; but it could only be the work of an artist muchly aware of true techniques, i.e., necessities. I'm sure, at some point, Flaubert must-have felt the story very deeply—but not when he wrote it. Or, for a more contemporary example, take that marvelous short novel of Katherine Anne Porter's, *Noon Wine*. It has such intensity, such a sense of happening-now, yet the writing is so

¹³ <http://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/3196/the-art-of-fiction-no-69-gabriel-garcia-marquez>

¹⁴ <http://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/4954/the-art-of-fiction-no-12-william-faulkner>

controlled, the inner rhythms of the story so immaculate, that I feel fairly certain Miss Porter was at some distance from her material.¹⁵

Stranger's dramatic structure is seriously damaged by Yakup Kadri's preference of ignoring this fundamental code. Yakup Kadri and his protagonist Ahmet Cemal are so interlaced that probably any reader would have felt this over personal and intimate relationship between those two. However, here, what we are more centered is the paths opened by this technical frailty. Stranger's structural error makes it quite convenient for multiple methods of analysis. Reader following long monologues of the protagonist can easily contact the emotional and intellectual worlds of republic intellectual (center); witnesses the tense relation of intellectual with the Other (periphery). The relationship of Turk and civilized military officer Ahmet Cemal and 'savage' peasants undoubtedly features a self-description through the Other; this very basic dynamic of everlasting process of becoming a subject. (Connection of this scene with orientalism will be mentioned later on.)

Above all, Stranger has the characteristics of a handbook for the modernizer; a pessimistic Anatolia guide for the Istanbul elite. There can be a variety of parameters for propounding the target audience of Stranger such as: a) low literacy rates of the era b) low level of interest to literature c) social status of novel readers, and on. No matter whether it rains or the sun shines, it is obvious that Stranger has been read or been (mostly) criticized by those groups that are in the sphere of modernizing political power.

¹⁵ <http://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/4867/the-art-of-fiction-no-17-truman-capote>

After all, like many members of this distinguished coterie, Ahmet Cemal is a (former) reserve officer, a well-educated, in his early 30s and for sure, an urban persona; son of an Ottoman Pasha, grown up in the elegant mentions of Istanbul. Losing his arm during The First World War triggers a trauma that he can never get over. Alongside an arm, Ahmet Cemal loses his connection with his identity before the war; settles to a remote Anatolian village in the middle of the moorland. This radical decision has two basic reasons. 'Crippled' and self-pitying man has a masochistic drive for punishing himself for his incompleteness. He is now a useless, imperfect man, who cannot satisfy the necessities of urban life anymore. There, in the city life, this miserable body is detached from the radiant person once existed. On the other hand, this unexpected 'deficiency' conduce (limited) optimistic articulations of back country. The pale and romantic optimist in Ahmet Cemal is inclined to the pastoral promises of the village life. He tends to believe peace and warmth in the simple life of province: "I was coming to find all I have lost here" (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 23).

His bipolar mood gives hints about the judgments of Ottoman-Turkish elite on geographical and cultural periphery. As in the Ahmet Cemal's case, country can only be an option when one is not adequate enough both in physical and mental conditions to endure in the central community. That is to say, countrymen are wretched, infantile people; unlike urban competitive individuals, rural population cannot be evil in essence.¹⁶ Whereas the scene

¹⁶ This colonialist discourse is still being reproduced in our white collar, early retirement dreams that are composed with a countryside background; probably a fishermen's town.

Ahmet Cemal faced was not therapeutic. On the contrary, it layers and deepens his trauma. In the book there are countless expressions of his profound disappointment. Lacking the pleasant and green landscape of Western coast in the moorlands of Anatolia, Ahmet Cemal this time resembles the Porsuk creek to a snake, soil to pus, hills to tumor; in this “scene of misery”, space can only be “blank and redundant” (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p.29).

In *Stranger*, encounter of bureaucratic-modern elite and periphery always leads to the same problem; a loop of ill-communication. Ahmet Cemal continuously complains about the stiff obstacles separating him and the villagers. Neither the villagers nor the protagonist can understand the other party. Maybe because he is an open-minded and sincere intellectual, although in a lecturing tone, criticizes his own position:

None of them knows what they are doing. If they do not know, whose fault is it? The fault belongs to me. Fault, you my friend to read these lines in excitement, is yours. You and I left them for centuries in the middle of this steep nature like a bunch of castaways, devoid of everything, any kinds of pleasures and isolated from everyone. They are surrounded by starvation, disease and desolateness. And in the utter darkness of ignorance, their souls are imprisoned in a dungeon knitted from every side. What can we expect from these miserable people in the name of love, compassion and humanity? (ibid. p. 181)

In my opinion, this melancholic passage quoted hosts all my discussions on the position of Turkish intellectuals yet, and even further. Apparently, the narrator and the reader composes together the modernizing central where the peasant and the null subject; the non-reader combined forms the peripheral lumps. Here,

on the one hand the difficulty of intellectuals' duty is being reminded and on the other, there are some severe judgments on the subject of this duty; character of the peasant. Ahmet Cemal (in fact, Yakup Kadri) avoids attaching adjectives of positive connotations to the peasantry. Binary oppositions, one of the contributions to the critical principals of cultural representations brought by the Structuralist school, are being arrayed one by one. Peasantry is being defined by elements like living in steep nature, not being aware of urban pleasures; lack of education, philistinism, geographical distance from city spaces which all signifies non-urban existence. In all that deprivation, villagers are being likened to a fistful of unconscious castaways.

The state of being castaways may be considered as a key expression. Peasant is so impotent and passive that neither he is aware of his pathetic condition or even responsible for his helplessness. Peasantry can only be an accident, a trick of fate. In the sphere of meanings constituted by the help of sharp binary oppositions, negative signifiers are fixed on the Other (villager) and thus positive signifiers are consequently devolved to the primary/weighty side of the opposition, the republican elite; writer and the reader. This privileged coterie is guilty only for not sharing their high education level, broad world view, scientific opportunities against famine and illness, the knowledge they own and other sorts of earthly possessions with the destitute Anatolian people; for not offering a helping hand to this poor mass out of dark dungeons.¹⁷ This is the equation being set by above cited paragraph and the rest of the book.

¹⁷ Another problematic of this passage decorated with humane sentiment is the conscientious responsibilities as addressed by the author. A politics of conscience annihilates the equilibrium and

If this discourse is again analyzed, but this time through the means of Post-Structuralist approach, another problem would also be detected. All those signifiers affirmed by Yakup Kadri, via Ahmet Cemal, through attributing faults to the center, are fixed in the universe of denotations like those of assigned to provinciality. Whereas claiming urban pleasures and positive sciences hold transcendental meaning is an aberration, per se. On top of it, it can be said that through fixing those denotations on the good or bad lines eventually grows them into transcendental facts. After those positions, in such a view, the correctness of center backwardness and deviance of the periphery are absolutized. This is an essentialist, implicitly metaphysical claim camouflaged with a fallacious 'civilized' discourse.

We know¹⁸ that, like many attempts with a Westernization ideal, Kemalizm holds a linear, enlightening and progressive apprehension of civilization. Transformation of this postulate to an obsession of 'contemporary civilization'¹⁹, a wide range of precipitous industrial and social reform moves to raise Turkey to higher ranking on the linear chart of civilizations, the desire to resemble West and prove virtues of Turk to West can be considered as the basic characteristics

the possibility of cooperation among the sides, endows superiority and protectiveness to one side over other. Hence, removes the ground of adjacency.

¹⁸ The reason of my choice verb "know" is not to claim it as an absolute fact. However, I have already covered the Western orientation and pillars of this orientation. Besides, a discussion of basics of Westernization would slide the focus of this study from Turkish modernism and novel-textual analysis to a more universal research of modernization. To avoid such an expansion and sprawl, I have preferred to accept it, as it is commonly referred.

¹⁹ 'The level of contemporary civilization' as in Atatürk's speech refers to the West.

of early republican period²⁰. This is what Yakup Kadri does; accepting some meanings as absolute truth (matching Kemalist ideals), he reduces those opposite signifiers that he constructed those meanings down to problematic/evil level. Whereas living in the province, staying away from city life, not having an outstanding education may very well have some positive outcomes or connotations. Or even from an opposite point of view, the genuine castaways may be the central elite trapped by the impositions of the urban life instead of the untrammelled peripheral village population.

Back to the text, it can be asserted that story owns its dynamism to the tension between the active, responsible intellectual and passive, insensitive villager as I have described shortly above. In this construct, it is obvious that periphery is destitute for the attention and compassion of the center. Ahmet Cemal's responsibility is so massive and the villagers ahead him are so far from understanding him that this heartbroken pessimist cannot curb his humiliating and offensive language. Even though in the prologue Yakup Kadri rejects those diatribes for his pejorative approach against peasantry, reader witnesses some expressions that are mentioned as 'slip of tongues' in the Freudian terminology. Perhaps these were not written for insulting purpose, as also declined by Yakup Kadri, but they definitely gives some idea about how Turkish intellectual evaluates those masses off his own safe area and about the peasant/Anatolia phantasy of his unconscious.

²⁰ Against this linear, developmental-ist and deterministic perception, an alternative approach might be rhizome concept and rhizomatic structure analysis that Deleuze and Guattari borrowed from botanic and functionalized as a more horizontal and reciprocal cultural theory.

Some of those slip of tongues are unpleasantly resembles the attitude of European colonizer on the lands he had invaded. Ahmet Cemal asks her cleaning lady: “Emeti kadın, don’t you ever take a bath?” (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 112) He passionately desires a young woman, his military equerry’s sister-in-law, and imagines: “If Emine would breaks up with Ismail and be mine then I would wash her first” (ibid. p. 100). This is how he defines the house he resides in: “and what an effluvium! All the nature smells cowpat.” (ibid. p. 87) Examples can be augmented page by page. Filled his lungs with the redbuds of Bosphorus, rested his body in the shades of palace walls, Ahmet Cemal is definitely not attracted by the offerings of Anatolian geography to his elegant senses. His nose is annoyed by the sharp and swinish odor, his eyes are disturbed by the silhouettes of worn and unhappy people of this compelling realm. His cultural and physical strangeness are engaged and nourish each other. Like the impressions of an early colonialist penetrating into the wilderness of American or South Asian continents, Anatolian villagers are not only ignorant and savage but also beastly, unclean according to Ahmet Cemal. This discourse of hygiene pushing the tolerance limits of Ahmet Cemal is a symptom of Orientalism as significant as nature-culture dichotomy will be dealt²¹ below.

4.2.2 Self-Orientalism

²¹ We also reproduce this Orientalist discourse and feel proud of this production, after our trips to African and especially to Asian countries. Our internalized Western value judgments are stranger to the odors, pleasures, daily practices and rituals of different cultures. This construction of hygiene discourse can only be possible by assuming the sterilized and almost geometric Western lifestyle as an absolute truth.

In his book *Orientalism*, which is highly respected as a foundational text of Post-Colonial Studies, Edward Said frequently refers to Flaubert's works. According to Flaubert, in the nineteenth century, sometimes accompanied by a certain scientific technic, the world was preferred to be re-constructed on an imaginary plan (Said, E., 1979, p. 114). As I will mention soon, imaginary/symbolic representations are very valuable in terms of understanding Orientalism. Albeit, the substantive reason of Said's reference to Flaubert not only the fact that he was one of the major and passionate literary figures of his age. The experiences Flaubert gained on his long Orient trip as a woolly-minded young French man, those emotions and impressions he earned there were intensely and proficiently reflected in his books written by his writer identity, which Flaubert finally convinced of also on this Orient trip. He became a self-confident man-of-letters thanks to this trip.

According to Said, Flaubert's fictional world represents that mystical and seductive Orient; the (binary) opposite that the Occident is destitute for. Except the notes and references sections, novelist name is mentioned more than a hundred times²². In his first reference to the Flaubert, Said reminds the relationship of Flaubert with a danseuse whose stage name was *Kuchuk Hanem* (Little Lady), was quite popular in Egypt back then and shot young French lad right at the heart. *Kuchuk Hanem* is the precise Eastern lady as she should be to fulfill Orientalist fantasy; utmost charming and mysterious to sweep any man off his feet. This impression of her is something created from Flaubert. It is the Western reader to *learn* about the Eastern lady from the Western narrator. She is

²² I have counted 103 occasions but there can be more

speechless, has no ground to speak within this close circuit discursive formation. As Said (1979) underlines: “*He spoke for and represented her*” (p. 6). Oriental is incapable of expressing and representing him/herself. Flaubert; French citizen, relatively prosperous, male and historically dominant, does not only owns Kuchuk Hanem physically, at the same time he has the right to speak on behalf of her and tells his reader that she is ‘typically Oriental’. After all, as he argues: “Only an Occidental could speak of Orientals, for example, just as it was the White Man who could designate and name the coloreds, or nonwhites” (ibid. p. 228). It is often rumored that Flaubert had a love affair with her and she never left his thought even in his elderly years.

In the establishment of Orientalism the vital role of scholars and writers is commonly addressed. The technical and economic supremacy of West over East, combined with holding the ‘knowledge of East’ is an enterprise of ultimate domination via degrading East to an object of information. Herewith the East is transformed into an information set, a field of research for academy. It will obviously be the scholars and writers who are responsible for undertaking the production of this knowledge. This is why Said, with some serious differences, states that he has adopted Foucault’s discourse notion in terms of methodology (Said, E., 1979, p. 3). Orientalism is the ‘regime of truth’ that West constructs its knowledge via East and legitimizes Western claim of supremacy again over its opposite. While Great Britain’s viceroy of India Lord Curzon (Turks are more familiar with him for his role in Lausanne Peace Conference) suggested: “The East is a University in which the scholar never takes his degree” (ibid. p. 215) he

was like unintentionally supplying an early support for regime of truth theory to be formulized by Foucault and Said's book.

Here you are; we observe a power/knowledge relation in the National Struggle novels similar to that Said spotted and extracted from Flaubert's texts. After the National Liberation War Yakup Kadri participated in *Anadolu Mezalimini Tahkik Komisyonu* (The Commission for Atrocity in Anatolia) and travelled into the heart of Anatolia, witnessed the ashes recent disasters on invaded lands and only after this experience; feeling this pang of sadness he had started writing *Stranger*. Proximity of *Stranger* to Orientalism can best be sighted in those sections writer addresses and reprehends reader-Turkish intellectual:

Responsible of this, is again you Turkish intellectual! ... Anatolian people had a soul but you could not leach into. Had a mind, you could not illuminate. Had a body, you could not feed. There was an earth they he was living on. You could not make the land tamed. You have left him to the hands of ignorance, poverty and scarcity ... This thing grieving you is your self-craft, your self-craft. (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, pp. 110-111)

Recalling the above roughly framed mechanisms, we can argue that Yakup Kadri is actually defining a powerful-influential subject over the villagers' pathetic condition and that is Turkish intellectual responsible for his work; the helpless peasantry. In this respect, Anatolian population exists only to test the success level of the supreme Turkish intellectual; as if they are some hamsters subject to medical experiments. Anatolian population is a mass of utterly passive persons who are incapable of self-help, represent or speak for own. On the other hand,

Turkish intellectual is the possessor of all power responsible for whatever happens to this helpless majority. Anatolia is Turkish intellectual's field of study that he can never graduate from.

According to Karaosmanoğlu's discourse, ignorance, poverty and savageness are the given constraints of the public. They cannot be aware of those conditions not even mentioning the ability of altering them. Under the circumstances, whatever may happen to the periphery, it is center's duty to define those conditions, speak for them, good or worse undertake their representation. It is the center owning this knowledge/awareness although this knowledge may not in return help the periphery. Of course this was the so-far case until the republic and conditions would have been improved via republic's reforms. Reşat Kasaba (1997) summarizes the characteristics of Turkish modernist reforms as:

...the political elites saw themselves as the most important force for change in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. To them, Ottoman-Turkish society was a project, and the people who lived in Turkey could at most be objects of their experiments. They freely used categories such as 'old' and 'new' or 'traditional' and 'Western' in order to reduce the dimensions of their task to manageable proportions and represent themselves as the sole bearers of progress. They regarded reforms strictly as a top-down process. ... The underlying assumption was that once the environment was altered, the behavior of individuals could be easily molded and made to fit the requirements of the newly created circumstances. (p. 24)

It was the Turkish modernist elite holding the power, categorizing the knowledge and imposing a regime of truth in a solidly top-down way that people were barely expected to change at the end and become an ideal model; a

successful experiment and after all successful experiments, scientific advancements, credit goes to the applicator; not to the tiny, hairy, cute subject. Analyzing *Stranger*, Berna Moran (2011) defines the objectives of this experiment: "Intellectual's duty is to save, rectify and inject consciousness." (p. 206)

Very much like Flaubert's journey to Orient, Yakup Kadri travelled to alien geographies for the Committee and gained some life time experiences from some people who did not resemble him in any means. Edward Said (1979) made an account of those similarities between the intellectuals of West and East and suggested:

...intelligentsia...gives legitimacy and authority to ideas about modernization, progress, and culture that it receives from the United States for the most part....So if all told there is an intellectual acquiescence in the images and doctrines of Orientalism, there is also a very powerful reinforcement of this in economic, political and social exchange: *the modern Orient, in short, participates in its own Orientalizing*²³ (p. 325)

A dominance/dependence relationship like Flaubert and Kuchuk Hanem is constructed also in the *Stranger*, between Ahmet Cemal and the villagers. Of course there are some contextual differences between the Occidental and Oriental intellectuals that Edward Said does not mention in his work. It should be said that Western Flaubert and Westernizing Yakup Kadri's cultural identities distinguish their experience of events/conditions and their way of narrating those experiences. Where the first one is alien to Orient, latter writer is originally

²³ italics by me

a member of that Orient. Hence the Orientalism of the Westerner and Orientalism of Westernist cannot be one and same. I suppose calling the latter auto or self-Orientalism would be the most appropriate and common use in related literature.

Kemalist reformism was not exempt from this self-Orientalism. They have adopted culturally castrating methods of Westernization like many nationalist movements that have set Western civilization as a target to cope with. Kemalist power had been a very radical and authoritarian practitioner of self-Orientalism for the sake of nationalization. Nilüfer Göle (1997) remarks the same principles:

The Turkish mode of modernization is an unusual example of how indigenous ruling elites have imposed their notions of a Western cultural model, resulting in conversion almost on a civilization scale. By building up a strong tradition of ideological positivism, Turkish modernist elites have aimed toward secularization, rationalization and nation building. (pp. 83-84)

At first glance, nationalization-nation building and self-Orientalism may appear to be conflicting concepts. However, in the Turkish context, they are wired into each other and in order to making sense of Turkish modernisms traumas, their close relation may well be exposed. Researcher Welat Zeydanlıoğlu (2008) writes on this subject:

It is because of this intimate and complicit relationship with Orientalism that nationalism has been called 'the avatar of Orientalism' (Breckenridge and van der Veer, 1993: 12) and that its participation 'in the hegemonic discourse is not so much of an exception as it is a manifestation of a yet continuing power of Orientalist thinking' (Soğuk, 1993: 370). Accordingly, when nationalist elites

project the internalised Orientalism 'inwards' as part of the nation- building process, the 'native' emerges as an Other that becomes the target of 'corrective' and 'scientific' projects of modernity and progress. The transformation of the native is undertaken through a return to the 'disciplinary narratives of the West' (Soğuk, 1993: 374). (p. 157)

Westernization inevitably demands internalization of a Western perspective on non-Western and eventually practicing that internalized Orientalism over the native/Other during the nation-building process.

Turkey (in its Turkish times) had never been colonized and regarding the Ottoman political heritage, it had even been a colonial or dominant power in the Balkans, Eastern Mediterranean region, Caucasus and Arabian Peninsula. That it is probably why Turkey has not been a popular research field in Orientalism and post-colonial studies. However, Turkish nationalism strictly followed a Western modernization path like many of its contemporaries that were mostly previous colonies of Western powers. To form a nation the, many state-run foundations were established in the reign of Mustafa Kemal. To assure, stabilize and reproduce the Turkish imagined community, *Türk Dil Kurumu* (TDK – Turkish Language Society) and *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (TTK – Turkish Historical Society) are two and leading of those institutions that produced 'scientific' and imaginary reference-knowledge clouds: "There was much emphasis on the origins of the Turks and their place in history, manifested in the founding of the Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Language Society. Academic publications and conferences on Turcology proliferated. All citizens were considered to be Turks."

(Uzer, U., 2002, p. 119). Erdağ Göknaç (2008) addresses the importance of those institutions for the nationalization of a society:

...the alphabet reform...created an epistemological barrier between the cultural heritage of the Ottoman state and Islam and the newly established Republic. New nationalised generations would hence have little or no textual access to the recent Ottoman-Islamic past. This era also saw the establishment of the Turkish Language Society (1932) and the Turkish Historical Society (1935) whose efforts in creating 'pure Turkish' and rewriting history from an ethno-national Turkish perspective helped institutionalise Turkish thought and identity (p. 488).

Such efforts reshaped or invented knowledge to establish relations with a "forgotten" past of Turks (remembering) whilst ruling non-Turk imperial heritage out (forgetting). Researches held by those two institutions went so far that Sun-Language Theory declared Turkish to be the mother of all languages and Turks were revealed to be the oldest of all civilizations including the ancient Mesopotamian ones. Benedict Anderson (2006) sarcastically mentions the Turkish case of writing an immemorial past: "Kemal Atatürk named one of his state banks the Eti Banka (Hittite Bank) and another the Sumerian Bank. These banks flourish today, and there is no reason to doubt that many Turks, possibly not excluding Kemal himself, seriously saw, and see, in the Hittites and Sumerians their Turkish forebears" (p. 12).

Those efforts were accompanied with very practical reforms to adjust Turkish lifestyle close to the Western norms such as those in clothing, alphabet, measure units, calendar, surname and such. The introduction of extremely

specific and interfering reforms in a short time interval of around 15 years supports the analogy of the social laboratory.

Turkish modernizing elite imitating the modern had to deal with the struggle between his own narration of national history-culture and those components sacrificed for the sake of Westernization. Apart from those implicit contradictions of Westernization, one of the major problems of nationalist elite conducting Westernizing and national reforms was that, there was no such a public present with those qualities, not even close. The quest of satisfying this “lack” , which means the ultimate data in sociological terms, identifies the burden of Turkish modernization movement beginning from the early days and is the primary source of self-Orientalism²⁴. Erdağ Gökner (2008) explains the impact of self-Orientalism in Turkish literature as:

a doubling of narrative perspectives arose from seeing oneself and one’s local society from the ‘outside’ as well as from the ‘inside’. Beginning with their earliest novels, Ottoman and Turkish author-intellectuals struggled with a divided sense of self and identity. That is, they experienced a division resulting from an ‘internalised Orientalism’, which in turn set the ground over decades, for an array of aesthetic, nationalist and/or socialist responses (p. 475).

That internalized Orientalism as defined by Zeydanlıoğlu and Gökner argued to be foundational for Turkish novel is probably the most scanted spice that gives *Stranger* its cultural sauce. A dialogue between Ahmet Cemal and a former

²⁴ Another lack sensed by the modernizer is not being Western and in Lacanian terms the permanent satisfaction of this lack contradicts with the Modernizer’s existence. What makes desire possible is the difference with the Big Other and the feeling of satisfaction with some signifiers can only be temporary. This circle of signifiers can never be fully completed. Therefore, lack is vital for the being.

sergeant Bekir would help measuring the depth of existing cultural gap and hence the severity of the modernizer's duty:

-I know my lord, you are one of them but...

-Who are them?

-Those, Siding with Kemal Pasha...

-How come somebody be Turk but not side with Kemal Pasha?

-We are not Turk, my lord.

-Then what are you?

-We are Islam, elhamdülillah... Those you say, lives in Ankara. (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, pp. 152-153)

While Westernization target was peremptory there was a reason why the desired masses could not be found or the available masses were not matching those desired qualities. This explicit maladjustment had to be diagnosed for a proper, 'scientific' treatment for sure. Meltem Ahıska (2003) approaches the same matter with her definition:

I offer the term *Occidentalism* to conceptualize how the West figures in the temporal/spatial imagining of modern Turkish national identity. From its initial conception in the process of defining the Turkish national identity in the late nineteenth century to this day, 'the West' has been contrasted to 'the East' in a continues negotiation between the two constructs. (p. 353)

Apparently, Occidentalism is a close concept to self-Orientalism in this sense. Referring to Nilüfer Göle, Ahıska (2003, p. 354) exposes the modernist diagnose:

Nilüfer Göle (2000) argues that "alienated from their own present which they want to overcome by projecting themselves either to the utopian future or to the

golden age of the past” (p. 48) due to the ‘time lag’ stigmatized and internalized as ‘backwardness’ in representations of non-Western modernity.

Ahmet Cemal has a yearning for that glorious past, and links that past with the utopian Turkish future. Once he witness the movement of Turkish troops up on the hills close to the village, he excitedly watches them going to the battle fronts: “No doubt old Turks had convoys after them while heading to great raids, great conquests.” (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 77)

This discourse of backwardness was a major motive of Turkish modernism since the early days, as discussed in previous chapter via Orhan Koçak’s statements on Reform era novel. Ahıska suggests this intellectual and emotional persuasion as the source of her Occidentalism formulation, which I have discussed as self-Orientalism so far. This is the exact condition that Turkish intellectual was feeling in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. More precisely, his identity was dispersed in a domain between the backward (East) and what the backward was backward from (West). On several accounts, Turkish intellectual was considered himself as a part of civilized Occident though.

As a typical intellectual profile of his time, Ahmet Cemal also feels this identity crisis intensely. He occasionally intends to identify himself with White Western Man and interpret his surrounding through a Western/foreign mind. Blaming indigenous/Other people for emitting unbearable odors, being dirty and being at peace with dirtiness can be considered as a conventional example of colonial discourse over non-Westerners that eventually designs the Western

standards of representation. Ahmet Cemal explicitly envies the Western. So much so that sometimes Western's mourning is more attractive than local's amusement: "Oh! What a slow, boring and what a vulgar wedding feast this was! A funeral cortege must be more spacious than this." (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 33) A vulgar feast and a soothing funeral... Ahmet Cemal's consciousness opts for the melancholy of imagined Western rather than the happiness of experienced East.

In fact, a metaphor applied whilst measuring the distance between Ahmet Cemal and the villager has the quality to elucidate this phenomenon of self-Orientalism that I have strived to describe so far: "The difference between an educated Istanbul boy and an Anatolian peasant is greater than the difference between an Englishman from London and a Punjabi Indian." (ibid. p. 36)

Here, among four separate signifiers piled in doubles, two parallel and again linear and at the same time explicitly colonialist relationships can be observed. In the first pile is on the unrecoverable distance between an English gentleman –a citizen World's greatest imperial power- and a villager from Punjabi; an inland region of the most famous and romanticized colony of British Empire, India. Parallel and secondary comparison is about a spatial distance between the splendid capital of collapsing Ottoman Empire, Istanbul and its historical periphery, stagnant Anatolian moorland. If we want to draw a geographical index, the distances in kilometers would be like as below table²⁵:

²⁵ Data retrieved from: <http://www.mapcrow.info/>

	LONDON	ISTANBUL	ESKİŞEHİR	LAHORE
LONDON		2496	2685	6280
ISTANBUL	2496		191	4149
ESKİŞEHİR	2685	191		4018
LAHORE	6280	4149	4018	

Table 2. Distances between 4 cities in kms

Out of all four destinations, the most populated city of historical Punjab region, currently Pakistan land Lahore, is the remotest geographical pinhead on the map. The longest distance is between London and Lahore where the closest are Istanbul and Eskişehir²⁶. This type of a measurement would manifest the depth of the abyss Ahmet Cemal speaks about. How come the dissemblance of a gentleman from Istanbul and a peasant from Eskişehir, two locations that are quite connected in geographical and historical terms, can be more obvious than the dissemblance of someone from the capital of the Western civilization and a peasant from the ‘remotest’ village of primeval East? Hence, the burden Turkish intellectual has to deal with is a hard to believe irony.

Are these piles (London/Punjab and Istanbul/Eskişehir) just parallel? Definitely there is more. Another and connotative layer of this equation is about and between London and Istanbul. What is the relationship between Londoner gentleman and Istanbul *Beyefendi* that are positioned versus the common Other; East (Punjab and Anatolia)? Self-Orientalism occurs right in this context. Ahmet Cemal’s humiliations and antipathy towards the peasantry can be read as an

²⁶ As per Ahmet Cemal’s definitions, the village he resides in should be closest to Eskişehir.

effort of persuading himself about the proximity of his identity with the Londoner gentleman. If not a Western intellectual, then who could have been an equal of Turkish modernist? If there is a cultural incompatibility between him and his geographic and historical closest Anatolian villager, then he seeks another subject that experiences a similar gap, a subject of high-culture reservoir who is also isolated from his periphery. Only among equals, a link of empathy could have been possible, even if it is tragically a one way attempt.

Another question would be about the selection of sampling. Why does Ahmet Cemal prefer to compare Londoner intellectual with a Punjabi instead of a Derbyshire countryman? This can also be considered as a slip of tongue. Ahmet Cemal's unconscious is driving him truckling to the supremacy of Englishness. It is tricky making assumptions of someone's unconscious but this risk/uncertainty is inherent to psychological analysis. English identity is superior over a global Other and Turkish Intellectual's identity is superior over a smaller scale Other. While Englishness was dominating the global culture, there was hardly an Ottoman identity remained in early 20th century. It was not only the territorial unity of Ottoman Empire scattering but also the belongingness of those groups constituting the Ottoman political center was diminishing. Hence, the effort of comprehending Ottoman-Turkish elite's sensual and intellectual connection with the West led us to an analysis of self-Orientalism.

4.2.3 Occident and Anatolia:

Two Poles and Two Sources of Turkish Intellectual's Personality Disorder

4.2.3.1 A matter of gaze

For a Western orientalist, the sets of signifiers are gathered under roughly two titles, self (Orientalist) and the Other (Oriental) and signifiers are articulated with other signifiers between those poles. For the Turkish modernizing intellectual, it is even a more complex situation. He does not only look to his Orient (Anatolia), he feels another and from above, distressing gaze on his neck, the gaze of West. Although he distinguishes himself from his Orient, he is still an element of a larger set of Orients. Here above I drew a schema to make my point clearer:

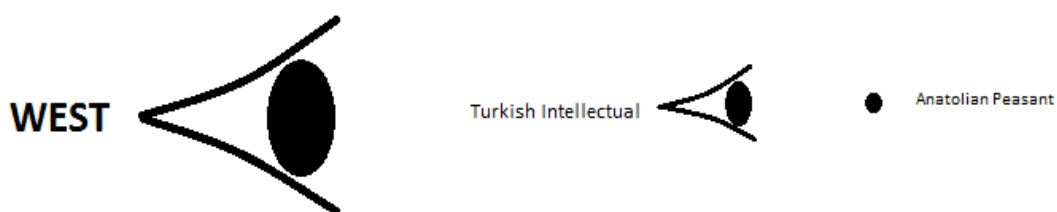


Figure 1. Orbs of power-knowledge

This amateurish drawing based on totally rough dimensions based on the power-knowledge possessions of three subjects we have discussed. It resembles a diagram of our Solar System. The largest eye would have a larger visual angle and would be able to see a cloud of smaller objects via its huge lens. However, due to the optic rules, the orbit of the object in the middle and remotest will look very close or even identical, though their orbital movements will make their independent existence visible. Likewise, the small dot on the outmost orbit will be able to have a similar perspective of the objects on the inner orbits. Of course,

it will have a very limited and blurry image of things and matters as its size (possession of power/knowledge) hampers its capacity. Hence, both the gigantic eye and the small dot will have a stereotyping perspective of Other celestial bodies. However, due to its position at the middle, Turkish Intellectual will be aware that the large eye and the small dot are on totally different directions and have different characteristics and it has to prove the larger eye that he is also an eye and the outmost object is just a cold, solid rock. A huge burden originates from physical laws.

Meltem Ahıska (2003) speaks of Turkey's European Union related reforms and her implication would also apply to Kemalist reforms as both are for the greater goal of Westernization:

More concerned with the question 'How does Europe see us?' the public discussions defer the practical-political meaning of the reforms. ... This makes it more apparent that the reforms were not meant for addressing the present problems in Turkish society, but they were part of a performance geared for the gaze of the West. (p. 355)

Thus the major motive behind the entire Turkish modernism movement, except few weak voices, is to improve an image rather than procuring persistent improvement.

Ahıska again argues: "Occidentalism can be best understood as describing the set of practices and arrangements justified in and against the imagined idea of 'the West' in the non-West" (ibid. p. 366). Therefore, the imagined idea of West

is like a ghost that follows and whispers to the ear of Turkish modernist. The periphery on the other hand lacks this intellectual capacity to communicate with this ghost. In this context, the source of ill-communication between the center and periphery is a matter of psychical abilities. Ahmet Cemal was capable of seeing this utopic, glorious Turkishness where what Sergeant Bekir could only see plain reality; Islam.

What really matters is not falling behind West but being aware of this situation; confronting with it, acknowledging it; eventually creating an imaginary West and start a ceaseless dialogue with this bullying image. This dialogue would be labelled as a symptom of schizophrenic disorder. It cannot be implicated that West had no involvement in repressive attitudes over Ottoman-Turkish center. After all, 'The Sick Man of Europe' is not a label that a political actor would volunteer for. West held direct military clashes, mediated or forced political interventions and such multi-directional, continuous relations with Ottoman Empire. Ergo, Western gaze was always there and was sometimes perceivable through first-hand signifiers from the West. Ascertaining the date this image of West, as a malignant phantom, emerged is also important. It must be simultaneous with the beginning of modernization as modernization itself is a declaration of backwardness. At the time of Janissaries Guild disbanded (1826) and reformation of military-bureaucratic officer cast as modern organizations, an officer of Napoleon army and French politician d'Aubigosc observes this Westernizing Ottoman elite and comments:

Giving this warning became necessary due to Muslims' physical structure originates from their trainings and behaviors. Ignoring this issue, they have reduced a recently spectacular appearing society to a joke. They are pathetic today. Due to sitting on a divan, their backs are hunched and their chests are collapsed internally. Their legs are distorted and feet are inward looking because of their way of sitting. Many people looking like crippled are just badly dressed. The loose-fitting of their former dresses were hiding those disabilities. Whereas tight dresses highlight, emphasize. Besides, it should have been said that they all are also uncomfortable of these new apparels. This change has been totally relentless for the bureaucrats. They cannot display that routine apathy once arouse feelings of love and admiration. (Eldem, E., 2007, p. 215)

One would not need to be a specialist to determine that above heart-tearing portrait is written by an Orientalist. He had been seriously disappointed by the Dignified and magnificent Ottoman soldier of Orientalist fantasy into a poor replica of his Western counterparts. French officer remarks due to the Otherness of Ottoman's physical features he cannot be Western and apishness would just make it look even worse. D'Aubigosc says it in a fashion that nobody could dare nowadays; it would at least be racist in our contemporary standards. Ottoman reformist was for sure not oblivious of this cruel manifestation of Western gaze. Ruling elite was definitely aware of such disapprobation and contemptuous comments. However, it is a long history of state tradition to know that refuging to its self-nostalgia would not be a remedy. And yet, what could a belated society that compensated this 'belatedness' with 'backwardness' do apart from urgent and strict reformism? In order to catch up with the frontrunner, it had to work harder and make a leap forward. Apparently, all those centuries lying on a divan

in loose salwar barely made Ottoman lazy and senseless. If the goal was to reach the technical and civilization level of West, then Eastern had to be saved from being Eastern at all costs.

Hitherto, I have endeavored to spot the hallmarks of those borders drawn between the Ahmet Cemal character and Anatolian villager, through various citations from *Stranger* and deconstructed the text and re-connected those textual overtures with other texts to an extent that would help us understanding fundamental drives behind Turkish modernism. At the same time, it is impossible to assert that westernization initiatives had been confirmed and praised by the Western from the first minute on. For instance, Westernizing Ottoman as described by d'Aubigosc is not a much more favorable position than Ahmet Cemal's backward Anatolian villager. Likewise, Ahmet Cemal, in some occasions blames West for being exploitive, corruptive or intruder.

4.2.3.2 A matter of growing: Introjection/Projection

While defining the complicated relationship of Ottoman-Turkish modernizing elite with the West, Meltem Ahiska (2003) parlays tools of psychoanalytic theory:

Projection, in its psychoanalytical meaning, operates both as the displacement of what is intolerable inside into the outside world, thus as a refusal to know; and as **introjection** of what is threatening in the external world so as to contain and manage it. Therefore it designates at the same time what the subject refuses to be

and desires to be. In Turkey, projection, in its double process, figures in the conception of 'the people' on the one hand, and in the conception of 'the West' on the other.²⁷ (p. 366)

Before discussing the accuracy of this adaptation it would be beneficial to shortly clarifying this psychological mechanism of introjection/projection. Melanie Klein Trust, named after the very psychoanalyst introduced many theories including introjection/projection, defines the mechanism as:

...complex interaction continues throughout life between the world of internalised figures and objects and in the real world (which are obviously also in the mind) via repeated cycles of projection and introjection. The most important internal objects are those derived from the parents, in particular from the mother or breast into which the infant projects its loving (life instinct) or hating (death instinct) aspects. These objects, when taken into the self, are thought to be experienced by the infant concretely as physically present within the body, causing pleasure (good internal part-object breast) or pain (bad internal part-object breast). The infant's view of the motivation of these objects is based partly on accurate perception by the infant of the external object and partly on the desires and feelings that the infant has projected into the external objects: a malevolent desire to cause pain in the bad object and a benevolent desire to give pleasure in the good object.²⁸

When this Kleinian thesis read by Ahiska's social adaptation of it, a question moves forefront; who is this infant runs this mechanism of introjection and projection between the people and the West? This infant is the modernizing center of Turkey. In the basis of Ahmet Cemal's love-hate relationship with the moorland villager, there may lie the dynamics of its own becoming process

²⁷ Bolds by me

²⁸ <http://www.melanie-klein-trust.org.uk/internal-objects>

through touching all subjects around in terms contrast (projection) and identification (introjection). West and Anatolia are two sources (breasts) that pleasure and pain derives from. In this context, West must be accepted as the better breast as more coming from there are internalized. It is again the Western Gaze that infant's primary desire to give pleasure and be satisfied from. However, this primary desire is repressed for the sake of becoming an independent-mature subject, as in the Oedipal process.

As the Oriental subject is not supposedly negative in the Western gaze, Anatolian peasant is not invariably bad. Ahmet Cemal sometimes gets romantic and builds castles of social reconciliation in the air. While he says: "In this dream, I saw no shadow was left of the woeful problem between the Turkish intellectual and the Turkish villager." (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 197) he is actually signaling a utopia of a messiah-like future that the entire gap between social poles is filled and social unity/completeness is achieved. Hence the personality disorder will be healed and eternal peace shall reign. However, permanent achievement of this feeling of completeness is impossible. In order to reproduce his subject position, Turkish intellectual leans on an Other to operate introjection and projection continuum²⁹.

In this relationship established upon internalization and exclusion between the Istanbul modern (himself) and the Anatolian pre-modern (villager), Ahmet Cemal positions himself in front of the backward and belated people that I have

²⁹ In this respect we are touching on the possibilities of a Foucaultian critic of discourses like "social harmony" or "national unity" not directly depending on Marxism influenced capital-ownership relations but primarily focused on power-knowledge struggles.

mentioned before. Sometimes, whilst calibrating this distance between the intellectual and peasant via ostracizing the peasantry far from himself, Yakup Kadri applies some considerably acrimonious phrases. Those harsh phrases not only consolidate the backwardness discourse, but at the same time help determining the cultural hierarchy between the Turkish intellectual and peasantry in favor of the first one. He makes the latter occult and an object of knowledge when he says: “Turkish villager’s soul is a still and deep water... It is impossible to discover.” (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 20)

As per the discourse produced by Stranger, communication of Istanbul (center) and Anatolia (periphery) is impossible. In the discursive formation of novel, the power owner’s effort for fixing the meaning of peasantry is conducted in the utmost unyielding and vulgar fashion by pushing the peasantry out of the cultural universe. Ahmet Cemal describes Zeynep Kadın, mother of his former orderly Mehmet Ali, via a metaphor from the family of plants: “Her hand and food are like a tree’s roots that were just removed from the earth and I know that, she is as sound as an oak log” (ibid. p. 37). Those who see her scampers away “like winced chickens” (ibid. p. 37). Zeynep Kadın “is like a she wolf” (ibid. p. 54) when she is pissed off. When Ahmet Cemal stumbles upon that peasant girl she likes a day in the woods, he whispers to himself: “You fresh deer, I will not let you go today” (ibid. p. 61). Like novelists of romantic age that loved decorating stories with vivid pastoral motives, Ahmet Cemal frequently compares physical appearance and emotional moods of villagers to those creatures and objects of nature. Berna Moran (2011) argues purpose of such metaphors: “But in some novels, writer’s reason for describing the space and environment is to create an

atmosphere and influencing the reader by triggering some emotions at first place. We witness this mostly in romantic or gothic genres.” (p. 209)

4.2.3.3 A matter of disengagement: Pushing the Other to nature

Thanks to this technique, he crystalizes the cultural level gap between center and periphery in farthest pattern. Such that he denotes villager's lack of very basic and universal virtues saying: "I try to tamper a feeling of justice in them. Nonsense; they are like stones" (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 72). Looking at Ahmet Cemal, it is evident that peasantry is the artillery of the psychical projection function for Turkish intellectual. Backward meanings belonging to peasantry, fixed on the peasantry obviously related with a separate and primitive culture that Turkish intellectual is not a part of. This discourse is very much like of the Orientalist regime of truth construction that infantilizes the East.

Therewith, pushing local and peasant components to a pre-culture position can again be subject to psychoanalytic interpretation. According to Lacanian theory, at the baseline of psyche and psychological development, there is the nature – culture opposition. The elementary moment of subject-ivization starts with the beginning of separation of baby from the mother. Infant acknowledges the authority ('Name') of father; identifies with the father and suppresses his primary desires for his mother, deep inside. Only as a consequence of this

Oedipal process, a Self begins to develop and infant begins becoming socialized, becoming a part of culture universe. Saffet Murat Tura (1996) explains:

...the separation of Self and not-Self in Lacan, namely the introduction of Self function in classical theory, has been interpreted as a process depending on entrance directly to the symbolic order or the Oedipal order in other words. In this case I suppose the formation of Self and 'upper Self'³⁰ should be considered simultaneous. Suppression can be evaluated as an outcome of 'nature-culture' opposition rather than a function of Self. When Lacan says 'Self is a hollow mask', he actually confirms our comment. (pp. 61-62)

Suggesting the peasant is unable to recognize civilized/Western signifiers, spending a primitive life relying on mother earth; Ahmet Cemal pushes the peasantry to a pre-Oedipal, pre-culture state which is the primary level of Lacanian psyche topography, the stage remotest to the cultured subject; namely, to the nature or 'real'. It is a *terra incognita* before meaning. I would say this effort of pushing the domestic Other as remotely as possible can be evaluated as an attempt to define self-position closest to the Western culture; the highest degree of civilization. *Stranger* is a book of this effort.

Ahmet Cemal expresses the impassibility of obstacles between the intellectual and peasant: "But, how can I think like them? How can I feel like them? Burning all these books filling my room... Mashing these paintings and plates, what is the good of it? They have all penetrated in me." (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 68) The intellectual profile drawn by Yakup Kadri has internalized Western arts and knowledge. Protagonist of *Stranger* often refers to Western

³⁰ Tura prefers Self ('Ben' as in Turkish) but Ego instead of Self and Superego instead of "upper Self" would also be substituted.

writers and philosophers while describing his identity. He becomes both Don Quixote (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 60) and Hamlet (ibid. p. 133). He identifies sometimes with a Dostoyevsky character (ibid. p. 89) and sometimes with Robinson Crusoe (ibid. p. 108). There is a Socrates (ibid. p. 112) effigy in his room. He resembles his writing conditions to Italian poet D'Annunzio (ibid. p. 160). Of course Shakespeare is one of his references (ibid. p. 77). Ahmet Cemal's world of culture is composed of Western cultural elements, sure enough. And there is almost no doubt that Ahmet Cemal's identity is founded by interjecting goodness from Western signifiers and projecting badness on the non-Western positions. Therefore, he is evolved into a Dostoyevsky whispering to stones. However, neither he is Dostoyevsky nor the peasant is a stone; another symptom of psychosis.

However, as I have previously adverted, this does not mean that West is absolutely idolized. After all West is the invader power and it is corrupted. If it is an idol, than it is a naughty one. It is European after all who has invaded Anatolia, tortured people and seized male subject's all property including female peasants and his harvest. Sometimes those two male subjects, Western and peasant, even cooperate in *Stranger*. Villagers are blind that they do not only prefer Islam over Turkishness, they do not believe in National Liberation War: "In his view, the path opened by Kemal Pasha was a dead-end" (ibid. p.41). Wealthy landlord and religious figure of the village imam, even lead the enemy for their short-term benefits: "thereupon Salih Aga and imam immediately stepped forward and 'we will guide you' they said." (Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K., 2011, p. 163)

Then what should have been the power to stand against the intruder face of West and the Islamic-backward culture of periphery? For sure the one and only modern and nation institution; Turkish army... Involvement of military elements does not only saving Anatolia from the enemy invasion but it also demonstrate the physical power of center to the periphery that keeps religious belief over national identity. A significant expression of Ahmet Cemal who was a former member of that army he is proud of is: "Rather than being ordinary offices of an army, those look like the pioneers of a new cult" (ibid. p. 76). Mustafa Kemal's army is not only responsible for sweeping the enemy away, it will be army's duty to pioneer a new cult, a transformation based on modernization and Turkification of Anatolia. This role of army has kept it as a leading political actor for long decades.

The narration of *Stranger* enabled an analysis of the emerging subject between two Others. Deconstructing *Stranger* and connecting discursive fragments with different perspectives has helped this analysis to exhibit a position that I have preferred to call self-Orientalism and how Western or non-Western are perceived in this order. In this sense, *Stranger* is a discussion on the character of Turkish intellectual. According to Taner Timur (2002), this argument is the exact significance of *Stranger*. Referring to the *Kadro* (Cadre) journal and its mission he suggests the journal itself claimed to be a "National Guidance Forum" (p. 93). In this context, he links the ideas of the journal and the novel: "Even though writers of the *Kadro* journal deemed themselves suitable for this role and considered themselves powerful, was there really such an elite 'cadre' was available in Turkey? Hence *Stranger*, that brought the 'Turkish

intellectual' discussion into the agenda is significant in this context." (Timur, T., 2002, p. 93)

On the other hand, Green Night and Slam the Harlot offers some perspectives those are strictly concentrated on the relationship of modernizing center and backward periphery in a more intensive way. The discussion on identity of Turkish intellectual retreats and more practical concerns step forward. Ahmet Cemal is an intellectual who does not fight or persuade. He is an angry man of progressive ideas. Aliye of Slam the Harlot and Şahin Effendi of Green Night on the other hand, are the crusaders of Kemalist authority. Ahmet Cemal moves to Anatolia to retreat from his past whereas Aliye and Şahin Effendi are two dedicated agents of modernism. Hence, their experience would enable a more direct analysis of center-periphery relations; an experience of more ardent and domestic clashes.

4.3 Case Studies II,III: Slam the Harlot and Green Night

Slam the Harlot (1928) summary: Aliye is an idealist teacher from Istanbul, appointed to a small town in Anatolia. One of the notable locals, Ömer Effendi and his wife Aunt Gülsüm like Aliye very much, resemble her to their deceased daughter and harbor her for time in the village. A determined personality, Aliye wants to illuminate school kids with modern education and approaches the kids equally. However, her attitude disturbs the wealthy persons and state officers

who ask for privilege to their children. Meanwhile, Hacı Fettah Effendi³¹ gets worried of her secularism and provokes the people against Aliye, accusing her for ungodliness. Meanwhile, son of the wealthy landlord Küçük Hüseyin Effendi is captivated by Aliye's beauty. Meanwhile, a troop of National Forces enters the town commanded by Tosun Bey. Tosun Bey and Aliye are attracted from each other and make a promise of gathering after the success of National Struggle. Hacı Fettah Effendi is already against the National Forces and considered them to be against the head of Islam; the Istanbul government. Uncanny Küçük Hüseyin Effendi feels extremely jealous of Tosun and turns against the National Forces. These two villains go the Greek regiment close by and ask Greek commander Damyanos to move his forces to their hometown against an attack by National Forces. Greek brigade comes to the town Hacı Fettah effendi presents beautiful Aliye to Damyanos and asks for the banishment of Ömer Efendi as old man was an ally of National Forces. Tosun Bey organizes a hidden attack but gets caught. Aliye has to accept to sleep with Damyanos for sparing Tosun's life. Eventually, National Forces beat the intruders. Tosun, lost his legs while exploding enemy ammunition, learns that the villagers who accused her for cooperating with the enemy had lynched Aliye.

Green Night (1926) summary: Şahin Effendi, being grown in a madrassa in Istanbul, suddenly turns against religion and to illuminate innocent kids, he prefers becoming a teacher and asks for an appointment to an Aegean town. There, like in the Slam the Harlot, he faces some conservative forces. Eyüp Hoca

³¹ There is a character with the same name, Hacı Fettah, in also the Green Night. It is a worthless role but obviously Reşat Nuri hails Halide Edip and appreciates her book by mentioning this same name in his own novel.

is the sharpest off all, waving the green flag of Islam against Şahin Effendi's modernizing projects. The tension between two sides becomes the major issue in the town agenda through various events. During the invasion of Greek army, he assists the enemy just to help to decrease the pressure over town population. Meanwhile he starts an underground resistance organization but Greek officers reveal his plan and send him to exile. Ten years after, he re-visits this old town Sarıova and witness that those reactionary actors has already adapted to the new regime and made a bad name of him for being a supporter of Istanbul regime and intruders. He leaves the town again, without any certain destination.

4.3.1 Thick Borders and the Reign of Reality Principle

Ali Şahin was born in a village as son of a clergyman but grew as a poor orphan after his father's early death. At an early age, his brilliance was discovered and his mother sent him to a madrassa in Istanbul, where he can take an Islamic education so that he could become a reverend. When he recalls his days faces raid his mind:

Various faces... Some are greenish; decrepit of hunger, of physical misery... Some are bright red like polished; because of phlegm, lightheartedness, eating and drinking and sleeping free of worry, like a breeding bull. Narrow foreheads, caved in or popped out... Diverse noses, nostrils expanded of taking snuff... But all has round trimmed beards shaved on the edges... Eyes watching this scene, bright but not because of intelligence; of greed and desire... Open mouths like breeding pleasure in." (Güntekin, R., 1997, p. 24)



Figure2. Christ Carrying the Cross by H. Bosch, circa 1515-1516

This portrait drawn by Reşat Nuri does not contain any vibrant colors. It is more like a work of 16th century Dutch painter Hieronymus Bosch, describing hell-like creatures. Demonic faces, dent of greed, pleasure and vanity... There is no sign of sympathy here. No one with an average moral background would enjoy such an atmosphere. Naturally, neither Şahin could. The question here is about how Şahin got this negative impression of his friend that he grew together or been grown by? Unfortunately, there is no rational answer. He just did because he was wise enough to be aware of what is good and what is bad. This is probably the first erroneous narration reader of Green Night will face. Şahin Effendi is a self-illuminating and self-sufficient persona. He is smart enough to figure out that religion whether radical or not, cannot help one for salvation. Some consecutive citations from the novel will display the superficial maturing of Şahin Effendi.

As a madrassa student he interprets how hypocrite and corrupted his teachers are: “They were taking advantage of religion and science for their own benefits” (Güntekin, R., 1997, p. 31) or “They were such man who would sell the Prophet or God resolutely just for a couple of bucks worth gift or a salaam from the Padishah” (ibid. p. 31). He reads all the time, especially history: “he was reading the history books and learning that past was no different than today” (ibid. p. 33). Learning more, developing his critical senses, moves him apart from his beliefs. This hard reading effort precipitates some social conclusions for him: “So far it was those men who were grown in these madrassas to guide minds and conscious. Where could these men lead the country except darkness?” (ibid. p. 43) Islamic clergy was responsible for the backwardness of people: “It was all for this reason Anatolian mind was backwards and people were miserable” (ibid. p. 43). In the current structure of education he realizes that the kids being matured in those schools and “they will grow and dry out at where they are, like weeds” (ibid. p. 43). This is why a mature Şahin Effendi prefers to become a teacher. He already analyzes the problems of country and concludes that education is the key area for a better; more intellectual and prosperous future. A very crystalized positivist and a genius mind, Şahin Effendi also discovers the merits of nationalism, again by himself: “... Şahin Effendi no longer cared much about being eternal or mortal but he was transformed into an enthusiastic nationalist. Who could live like a drop in the ocean as long as a society spoke his language and feels like him survives.” (ibid. p. 50)

There is a similarity of perception between Ahmet Cemal and Şahin Effendi. They both believe in two elements for the good of people; modernization and

nationalism. However, Ahmet Cemal was born into an elite family that was already a part of the center. Şahin Effendi, born as a member of peasant family thus is originally a member of periphery. While Turkish modernism is Ahmet Cemal's heritage, it is Şahin Effendi's discovery. This discourse of Green Night presents Turkish modernism as a transcendental truth that all intelligent people would eventually conclude with. You do not even need the Western gaze for modernization as Şahin Effendi achieved the modernist mind all by himself.

There is not much more between the Stranger and the Green Night. However, there, a continuity of process can be mentioned regarding Turkish intellectual's psycho-sexual development. As discussed in the analysis of Stranger, Yakup Kadri's book is focused on the early stages of Turkish intellectual's ego development. Şahin Effendi's journey to Anatolia, on the other hand, begins where he is already mature. When exposing the Oedipal process, I have also shortly mentioned how the infant deals with the 'Name of the Father' and starts becoming a cultured subject. While the infant suppress his primary desire (directed to mother) he finds some other targets temporary gratification his sex drive. However, as a part of being a cultured subject, he has to balance his social appearance (reality principle) and sexual gratification (pleasure principle). If his libido is completely sexual gratification, then this is a perversion in the Freudian sense. The opposite, over repression of sexual desire is also considered to be an anomaly. Terry Eagleton (2005) describes:

Every human being has to undergo this repression of what Freud named the 'pleasure principle' by the 'reality principle', but for some of us, and arguably for

whole societies, the repression may become excessive and make us ill. We are sometimes willing to forgo gratification to an heroic extent, but usually in the canny trust that by deferring an immediate pleasure we will recoup it in the end, perhaps in richer form. (pp. 131-132)

The repression is excessive with Şahin Effendi. In the entire book, there is no trace that Şahin Effendi liked or desired a female. Extreme dedication of individual-self maybe regularity in extraordinary conditions such as war time, after-war or condense reformation when the greater- goals triturates the daily routine of life. Unquestioned commitment and even self-sacrifice is expected. Heroism moves from being an exception to a standard. Şahin Effendi is a very polished example of those random heroes. He sacrifices his earthly desires and commits his existence for a utopic future. Pleasure principle is repressed to deepest possible limit and the reality principle bestrides life in all means. Şahin Effendi is a flaming arrow of his own cause that is thrown to a challenge at a little town named Sarıova.

Those figures of ultimate dedication to greater, absolute goals are not unique to the products representing the enthusiasm of Turkish modernists. Art becomes an instrument of political ideals, a vehicle of propaganda when politics infiltrates to the spinal-cords of daily life and the vulnerable lungs of civil society are crushed by the cannonball of urgent social concerns. Sculpture, as a traditional art form, is a pertinent example of those impacts in terms of physical observability.



Figure 3. Worker and Kolhoz Woman c. 1937 & Comradeship c. 1937

Above on the left, is an image of the *Worker and Kolhoz Woman* 24.5 meters long and made of stainless steel by Soviet artist, Vera Mukhina. On the right hand side, stands the *Comradeship* by Josef Thorak³² of around 20 meters long. Both massive statues were exhibited in the 1937 Paris Exposition, at the pavilions of Soviet Union and Nazi Germany respectively. *Worker and Kolhoz Woman* has been considered as a manifestation of artistic achievement of Russia in the 20th century and been behaved in a respectful matter since then. Thorak, who was one of the two “official sculptors” of the Third Reich (alongside Arno Breker) was not that lucky as Nazi Germany was defeated at the WWII and his work were mostly demolished and he was banned from arts for the rest of his life.

³² Thorak is also the sculptor who completed the monument of Güven Park, Ankara in 1935. The pedestal of this monument is 37 meters in length and 8 meters in height. Two bronze figures of 6 meters each have the same characteristics of discussed sculptures.

Both sculptures share a common mission; declaring the triumph of new order versus the former one. *Worker and Kolhoz Woman* represents the foundational elements of the Soviet society; worker and farmer. *Comradeship*, on the other hand, is a demonstration of power of the Nazi regime. However, it is not only a triumph of order, but they represent the victory of art trends they represent. By 1937, Russian Futurism and German Expressionism were defeated by the official art forms of Socialist Realism and Nazi culture. The authoritarian regimes of both countries had banned the 'degenerative' art that did not contribute to political propaganda and promoted those monumental works to impress the audience by exhibiting the perfection of figures. All four figures, including the Kolhoz Woman, are so masculine that any trace of eroticism is absent. There are extremely healthy bodies in motion; determined eyes, heavy muscles, tight legs and other sharp-cut elements that separate those bodies from the fuzzy horizon of everything.

Şahin Effendi, just like those sculptures, is a perfect, complete representation of own regime; namely, Modern Turkey. He is perfect in mind, determined in his goals, keen to achieve victory. He is an apostle of that new cult Ahmet Cemal vigorously salutes. Hence, any signifiers of sexual weakness or sympathy for the enemy or crestfallenness are absent. When Rasim Effendi, comrade of Şahin, talks about his interest to a woman, our man of steel feels worried: "Sometimes he felt suspicious of his young friend's tendency and yearning to a woman would harm actual great love and was frightened of him being heartbroken" (Güntekin, R. N., 1997, p. 69). An explicit manifestation on

the dominance of the reality principle; love for the motherland is actual and great. Love for women is weakness and disappointing.

Identically, Tosun Bey, fiancé of Aliye in *Slam the Harlot* is described with his commitment and sacrifice of earthly pleasures: “But he was a young Turkish of iron will who was living a pure life for his ideals, hardly ever touched a woman” (Adivar, H. E., 2007, p. 50). They are the representative of a certain era, when political and social motivations were suppressing any individual pleasures, just like those two sculptures above.

Subsequent to WWII and the fall of Third Reich, despite the threats of Cold War, the propaganda race was faded away. Post-WWII economic expansion loosened the dominance of political authority over arts and with the rise of civil society, arts eventually diversified again. Successive or simultaneous art movements such as Situationism, Existentialism, Minimalism, Pop-Art and varieties of conceptual art have flourished on the scene. Similarly, themes of novels diversified. Those who are seeking to satisfy also the pleasure principle replaced intensively political and perfect protagonists like Şahin Effendi. The extraordinary conditions of viscous nationalism created its own perfect figures but repression of desires would not be expected to last forever.

Sibel Irzık (2003), analyzing a closer period of Turkish novel argues: “In many modern Turkish novels, the characters are portrayed as having been condemned to lead allegorical lives. They are haunted, frustrated, and paralyzed by the sense that they must somehow be representative of things larger than

themselves, bearers of meanings and destinies imposed on them..." (p. 556). This burden of modern Turkish protagonist unavoidably supports Fredric Jameson's claim of third world novel being allegoric. Libidinal dynamism of National Struggle novel is completely rerouted to political goals that private, individual destiny is dissolved to strengthen the interests of nation.

4.3.2 Alliances and Hostilities

Just like Şahin Effendi, Aliye is another orphan and a teacher and volunteers to work in Anatolia. Her motivations are quite similar with Şahin Effendi. She is an idealist, who is keen to leave Istanbul and dedicate herself for the development of Anatolia via education. However, it also has to be said, Aliye is the only evidently Muslim protagonist in all three books I have reviewed. A very beautiful young woman, we learn she is tuned with Islamic practices of her time in such expressions like: "carefully covered her tight, black scarf" (Adıvar, H. E., 2007, p. 21) or "she practiced her Isha prayer alongside town women whose hearths were bleeding with yearning to a sacred dead" (ibid. p. 84). The Mawlid she attended at the town mosque thrills her: "she did not remember anything she felt so deep inside" (ibid. p. 85). The approach to religion in *Slam the Harlot* avoids an Anti-Islamic tone but still, the darkness of religious radicalism is the number one public enemy.

Azade Seyhan (2008) remarks the difference between H.E. Adivar and R.N. Güntekin-Y.K. Karaosmanoğlu approach to Islam as she reviews *Green Night*, *Stranger* and *-instead of Slam the Harlot- Shirt of Fire* by Adivar:

Adivar’s work, on the other hand, does not share this grim view of a cultlike Islam but envisions the possibility of a serene and mystical Islam embracing the egalitarian sensibility of the enlightened West. Although Adivar’s vision for a progressive as well as an *avant la lettre* feminist Islam has provided the basis of some current sentiments that call for a full-fledged legitimization of the Islamic way in a secular state, it was Güntekin and Karaosmanoğlu’s insight that proved to be prophetic, as modern Turkish society kept losing ground to political Islam.” (p. 42)

Reflecting Adivar’s perspective, Aliye’s problem is not with Islam. On the contrary, she finds peace in religion but is winced by those who exploit the enthusing power Islam. Whilst listening to the Mawlid by an old man at the mosque, she cannot stop thinking “How come an ache, a torture resembling a nightmare like Hacı Fetah Effendi may erupt from a religion that is so humanitarian and full of compassion and goodness?” (Adivar, H. E., 2007, p. 86)

Hacı Fettah Effendi, villain of *Slam the Harlot* is again a religious figure who exploits the explosive agitation power of religion against those people counter-positioning with his benefits. When it comes to the intruder forces in Anatolia all Islamic figures cooperate with the army in all three books. However, Hacı Fettah appears to be most sneaky and devilish of all as he personally asks the Greek regiment commander Damyanos to move his forces to their town in order to guard it from *Kuvayı Milliye*.

	GOOD	EVIL
S. T. H.	Aliye	
	Ömer Effendi and Aunt Gülsüm	Hacı Fettah Effendi
	Dursun	Kantarcıların Küçük Hüseyin Efendi
	Tosun Bey	Damyanos
G. N.	Ali Şahin Effendi	Hafız Eyüp
	Deli Necip	Müderriş Zühtü Effendi
	Komiser Kazım Effendi	Cabir Bey
	Rasim Effendi	

Table 3. Chart of good & evil characters in Green Night & Slam the Harlot

Here above is a brief table of leading figures in two novels, divided by a clear-cut criterion which is totally designated by treatment to the protagonist. There is no passing permitted from one side to the other. Aliye's goods can be considered as a family. Ömer Effendi and Aunt Gülsüm are kind, wealthy old couple who love and guard Aliye. Tosun Bey is a National Forces officer. Her student Dursun, a decent boy, appreciates her justice and wants to help her in return. Bricks of love build her close chamber. And those loved by Aliye would have been good people who were the members of supports of National Struggle.

On the other hand, Şahin Effendi of Green Night is pickier about his inner circle. It is like a fraternity, a lodge that is formed of discreet members to reach a common goal. Unlike Aliye, Şahin Effendi is a very patient and rational man of plans, just as mentioned by Deli (Mad) Necip, an engineer and closest ally of Şahin: " We are now very much like a revolutionary organization, formed a

movement of revolution... Police, teacher and man of science are all ok. Hopefully others will not anticipate anything.” (Güntekin, R. N., 1997, p. 95) Commissioner Kazım Effendi is head of the armed force and according to Şahin Effendi he symbolizes the goodness of Anatolian people’s essence: “The majority of people are just like this Kazım Effendi. Shaking them gently from the delirious and sweating nightmare will be enough to wake them up. As swift as the day light touches their eyes, their hearts and minds are being enlightened.” (ibid. p. 93) And about Deli Necip, he comments: “He was right in his predictions. In order to complete his work, he could found those positive minded and decent ambitious allies much easier amongst engineers and scientists.” (ibid. p. 79) Rasim is again a teacher and is progressive like Şahin. In this context it can be argued that this band of four is representing an entire perspective; ‘good’ and smart people, armed with intelligence, science, strategy and determination would be able to overcome those ‘evil’ people and their bedraggled order. It is a war of hegemony between the modernists and reactionaries and Şahin Effendi is interested in quality, rather than quantity: “eight or ten level-headed, intellectual would be enough to conduct those ignorant, malevolent hordes” (ibid. p. 60). This peripheral element, the stand-bearers of religion can be vanquished by the intelligence of modernizing forces.

On the other hand, the dark sides of both novels are more coherent distribution. Hacı Fettah Effendi of *Slam the Harlot* and Hafız Eyüp of *Green Night* are identical in belief and action. They are both incorrigibly reactionary and both are in the text to be the major threat to the modernizing protagonist. Member of a local rich family, landlord Hüseyin Effendi is sidekick of Hacı Fettah.

It is Damyanos the Greek Commander to complete the circle. In the Green Night, the Union and Progress town representative Cabir Bey and an Ottoman education officer Zühtü Effendi accompany Hafız Eyüp. Consequently, those evil characters are signifying the identities of those who are the enemies of the new regime. As in the below table, they are the religious cast, sediments of the Istanbul regime, local gentry and the external threats.

Name	Identity
Hacı Fettah Efendi	Clergy
Hafız Eyüp	Clergy
Müdürris Zühtü Efendi	Bureaucracy
Cabir Bey	Union and Progress
Damyanos	Intruder
Hüseyin Efendi	Gentry

Table 4. Consolidated list of villains

Those two novels combined, portrays a very small scale but accurate battlefield of the struggle for hegemony. The modern front is composed of educated, nationalist and intrinsically good people (teachers, military officers, engineers, and cooperating peasants) where the reactionaries are intrinsically evil, sneaky persons from gentry, Ottoman bureaucracy and clergy. Green Night and Slam the Harlot exhibits the tactical maneuvers of both sides to attain the sympathy of unbiased or at least manipulable masses whose ‘obedience’ eventually decide the winner of struggle.

4.3.3 Educating the Periphery

Asım Karaömeroğlu (2002) evaluates: "...it has to be pointed out that none of the literary figures in early Republican Turkey was a peasant himself. They were educated urban writers who felt that they had to take into account the peasantry and the problem of rural Turkey as topics for their works." (p. 149) The urgency of writing the peasantry can be understood in a context of hegemonic struggles. It was the Village Institutes to educate rural youth in line with the Republican ideology: "Only after 1950 did a strong 'village literature' emerge in Turkey written by a new 'peasantist' intelligentsia born in villages" (ibid. p. 149). Village Institutes (1940-1954) functioned parallel to the modernizing ideology and been successful to some extent. More than 15.000 teachers from villages were graduated from those institutes and been distributed to the villages around Anatolia to educate the next generations. They were dedicated and devoted torches of Anatolian illumination, just like Şahin Effendi and Aliye. *Green Night* and *Slam the Harlot* must have been quite popular among the students of Village Institutes and probably been carried in suitcase to deliver them to younger school children.

Education has always been a vital element of building and sustaining regimes. After all, it is the next generation to reproduce or annihilate the dominance of an ideology in the society. Hence, unlike the solitude of Ahmet Cemal, there is communication between the modernizer and subject of modernization in both *Slam the Harlot* and *Green Night*. Şahin Effendi and Aliye

are teachers who are well aware of the priority of saving tender minds of children from the yokes of religious darkness.

Although town people turn against her, just before her last breath, Aliye wanders in agony: “Your land, is my land...I will be light... to your children” (Adıvar, H. E., 2007, p. 195). This is her motto that she does not let go even in her last breath and dies with the promise of illuminating children by education. Even in her short term in the town, she removes the order privileging sons of gentry and officials over the peasants and earns her first ally; Durmuş, a poor and courageous student of her.

Education is even a more core subject in the Green Night. I have already referred to optimism of Şahin Effendi. He believes people of Anatolia are good in essence but it is religious fanaticism locking the potential inside. After tactical struggles again, he saves children from the hand of fanatics and rejoices those moments: “He would secretly be delighted, as a child throws his turban away, becomes flighty like a butterfly out of cocoon and transforms into a smart and cute child” (Güntekin, R.N., 1997, p. 103). All those tactics serve to plan a modern school building that should replace the ratty Emir Dede School and attract students from the network of religious education.

Teacher protagonists, Şahin Effendi’s plans to build a modern school building, Republic’s reform to standardize and nationalize education by the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu* (The Law of Unification of Education) in 1924, and introduction of Village Institutes and similar indications signal the emphasis of

Republic over education. Gramsci, again, was to one realizing the transformation of education policies and the concerns behind those reforms in his country. His (Gramsci, A., 2006) assumptions on modernization of education also suits to the Turkish case:

The whole task of educating and forming the younger generation becomes public instead of private, since only in this way can it involve the whole generation without distinctions of group or caste. But this transformation of scholastic activity requires an unparalleled enlarging of the practical organization of the schools, i.e. of the buildings, scientific equipment, teaching stuff, etc. (p. 129)

Both our pioneering teachers in the country, and the republican regime were canny enough to set great store on the education of future generations. Aliye abandoned protection and favoring over wealth children. Şahin Effendi fought against religious education and constructed a modern school building and Republic literally unified, standardized a secular, positivist education and spread it to whole country. This movement was including whole generation without distinctions of urban and country or gender supremacy or cast differences, like Gramsci argued.

Howbeit, it is still another Marxist theorist's name first flashes when it comes to the role of education, and other state organizations in the stabilization and reproduction of ideologies. Louis Althusser was the one to formulize the theory of Ideological State Apparatus (ISA):

Althusser argued that in order to maintain capitalist relations of production, a range of tools are necessary to ensure the compliance of the population. He

identifies what he calls Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs), which include the government, the church, the courts, the army and prisons; and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs), which include religious, educational, family, legal, political and communications control. Although represented as neutral, the RSAs provide more overt social control, and the ISAs work at a more subconscious level to ensure that the population internalizes the dominant social values and remains compliant. The two types of State Apparatuses are however, not separate, rather they feed into and sustain each other. (Chadderton, C., 2013, p. 409)

RSAs are visible power, applicable in immediacy and exhibit the ability of power in terms of mobility and domination. They are forbidding and controlling in a physical meaning. Whereas, ISAs are more embedded in cultural space and are rooted in the daily life. Hence, they set the definitions of what we call normal, acceptable or attainable. Through education, children internalize behaviors and values that we are expected to practice as a member of society. Dos and don'ts are learned and recorded as the fundamentals of daily life by education in the family, school and office; every place where we communicate with others. Therefore, education and especially disciplined school learning is vital for any authority, specifically for a new regime that is in a hurry to grow a generation to secure the future of it and reproduce its ideological and political hegemony.

Halide Edip and Reşat Nuri were not aware of such critical evaluation of education back then. However, those theories are structured by the existence of similar experiences of Turkey. Şahin Effendi and Aliye are characters, not accidentally but still *ipso facto* conscious of the significance of education. This choice and approach of both authors accord with official policies of young

Turkish Republic and principally testifies Gramscian and Althusserian approaches to education.

4.3.4 Sidekick of modernization: Women

Insofar, this study has covered two sides of the modernization process; the modernizer and the subject of modernization. Nonetheless, those discursive elements were addressing a combat of all masculine actors. There can be two reasons argues for the male domination. First is the absolute control of male actors over the politics and social life. It can still be the case but a century ago, male domination was even more unerring. Second, and more important for the analysis, is the masculine character of those concepts related with politics and hegemony.

First question of looking at gender representations would be; why it is worth tracing the reproduction of gender roles in novels? Elif G. Küçükalioglu (2007) has a satisfying answer: "Women's images in these novels offer important clues towards having a better understanding of the Turkish nationalism such as Westernization, the notion of collective soul, women's sexuality, emancipation and education" (p. 4). In this respect, examining the signification of femininity would contribute to our general research purposes.

Many of the immediate reforms by the Republican administration were addressing problems of women. In 1926, the traditional outfit of Muslim women in Ottoman past; veil, had been banned. Same year, civil code of republic entitled

women equal rights with men of wedding, divorce, child custody, inheritance of property and having a job. In 1934, women gained the right to vote and the right to be selected to the parliament. Such reforms were promoting active participation of women in society, absorb the principles of Turkish modernism and have an appeal like the Western women had.

Küçükaliöđlu (2002) suggests: "What the Republican reformers aimed to create was a combination of conflicting images according to which new Turkish women was expected to make a balance between being modern with her education, her active participation in public and social life and her unveiled presence; and being traditional with her motherhood, her modesty and her attachment to family." (p.5) Forced and penurious positioning of women is intriguingly evident in the Stranger. Ahmet Cemal thinks about women, how much we (male subject) do for them and comes to the conclusion of: "Who cares? Each lover is a creature that our imagination creates and garnishes. Whether an urban lady or a rural girl, she is being called "my sweetheart" by us." (Karaosmanođlu, Y.K., 2011, p. 59) Ahmet Cemal's approach to women is very close to the Orientalist's approach to the Oriental. It is male subject, who appraises the speechless, powerless female object. It is an evidence of how women were represented in the imagination of the modernizer; some Other, that can only be meaningful and valuable as long as masculinity permits or prefers.

Concordantly, the position of femininity in the early republic coheres with the discussion of self-Orientalism. The reformed woman was very much looked like her Western fellows. However, this is more of appeal, an external look rather

than fundamental revisions. Like in the solar system analogy, it was an effort of the intelligentsia to prove the Western gaze that Turkish woman is modernized, has a similar appearance thanks to those rights and liberties 'granted' by the Republic (that is the Westernizing male). In the connotation level, it evokes, in a very short period of time, social structure has been reformed to attune with Western norms.



Figure 4. Atatürk and women.

Here above are two photographs of Atatürk. On the left he is posing with some women dressed in very fashionable way of that era. On the right, he is dancing with a chic woman wearing a flapper dress that was the symbol of style in early 20th century. Likewise, Atatürk is wearing a very classy tuxedo, as always³³. There would be two viewers of these photographs. One is the domestic follower to learn how women are obliged to dress in the public. The other is the foreign/Western eye that is supposed to appreciate the progress of

³³ Atatürk was very rigorous of his proper style that he sent six tailors to Paris for training who after long years of experience in Paris turned back to serve the president.

modernization movement. This is the modern image of Turkish women as discussed by Küçükalioglu, an object carved by the male authority.

Aliye is a courageous woman and dares to open her face (not her entire head) in public spaces and make enemies for this reason. In one of his numerous agitations against Aliye, Hacı Fettah Effendi asks: "If she was honorable, would she walk her face open?" (Adivar, H.E., 2013, p. 47) However, she is not a totally liberated personality and actually is a reproducer of very traditional relations. When she is offended by a local woman for being indecent like Istanbul women, she feels: "Aliye's pink face, blushed like her lips. That was provoking her tenacity and desire to preserve the dignity of her circle, thoughts, education and the honor of her sexuality she saved" (ibid. p. 36). Aliye always has to be cautious to preserve her dignity as it is always at stake in the town. Her modern/female presence is a threat in her quest. Thus, she has to prove that she is sexually inactive repeatedly. Ömer Effendi and Aunt Gülsüm loves her some much and Aliye promises them to replace their deceased daughter Emine: "*Your land, is my land, your house is my house, for this town, for the children of this town, I will be a light, a mother and I shall afraid of nothing, vallahi and billahi*" (ibid. p. 39). Family ties are most sincere and reliable in this respect. In one go, she swears to be a daughter (to an old couple) and a mother (to the youngsters).

Another and more intriguing discursive signifier is of gender reproduction can be observed in below cited piece. National Forces commander Tosun Bey lectures Hatice Hanım, a conservative teacher at same school with Aliye:

Commanders of National Forces had a common and obvious peculiarity. From the sergeant to the pasha, there was something in them desiring something new; probably not bigot at all, in an important manner in favor of new woman. Tosun Bey scowled at Hatice Hanım:

-Miss teacher, chastity is not a matter of opening your face or not. And religion is not veil. There are such veiled women that can do every disgraceful act from the doorway. Therefore townsmen have no right to attack new miss teacher just because her face is open. If anyone looks a teacher educating kids properly in Istanbul method cross-eyed, then we will teach him... (Adivar, H.E., 2013, p. 54)

This threatening speech propounds a discourse on chastity; it is not a matter of being modern, educating Western or being religious but it is something of your essence. A woman may be veiled but can be less honorable than a more modern looking woman. Anyways, what still matters is her chastity and Tosun Bey claims modern looking woman can be as (or even more) honorable as conservatives. After all, whole story is structured around Aliye's sexual honor. There are two villains who desperately want her body; Kantarcıların Küçük Hüseyin Effendi and Damyanos. On the other hand, the possibility of possessing her is a motivation for Tosun Bey in his fight. Hüseyin Effendi cannot have her, go stir-crazy, cooperates with the enemy just because he is jealous of Tosun Bey. Damyanos threatens Aliye, Aliye sleeps with him to save her beloved for the sake of National Struggle. Consequently, Aliye is lynched by the townsmen for her infidelity and Tosun Bey loses his legs while blasting Greek armory. In this summary, Slam the Harlot is the story of struggle for Aliye's body.

We have already mentioned apathy of Şahin Effendi in Green Night but an incident makes great strategist realize how women would contribute to the

greater cause: “Woman, is a huge power... I am a man never knew, never thought of woman... Even I could not help myself from the influence of an old, diseased mother. We ignored her, crushed her and kept her ignorant for centuries. Doing so may have an effect over our current disaster...” (Güntekin, R. N., 1997, p. 114) This thought resembles Ahmet Cemal’s consideration of Anatolian peasant. Men have neglected women and it is Şahin Effendi’s modernism to save women from misery. Besides, her motherly instincts make her a power to reckon with. By any means, she is the mother of ‘us’ and it is ‘our’ responsibility to improve her status.

These manifestations of femininity actually support Küçükaliolu’s expressions. Although “new woman” is supposed to be well-educated, fashion forward, appear in public spaces, still her virtues are measured with her family ties, sexual conservatism and modesty. Despite she is modernized (by the masculine authority) she is consistently judged by her loyalty to patriarchal criteria.

4.4 Further Reflections

The Last Chapter of Westernizer’s Guide to Power: Taking Lessons

Three novels covered in this study share many common narrative and discursive components. Some of them were spotted by the methodological approach of this thesis and been discussed as part of the analysis. Before summing the analysis up, one common feature would be mentioned. The guide-

like character of those novels was one of our findings and much like many guide books; our subject novels have a warning mission that attracts reader's attention to potential dangers on the road. Here below are the finales of novels to ascertain the jaws of death each novel is warning the reader against:

	Protagonist	Villains	Town
STRANGER	Ahmet Cemal is wounded. Leaves corpse of Emine and his diary beyond in the bushes and heads to the unknown.	Although they cooperate with the intruders, they are doomed to suffer from the cruelty of the Greek soldiers with the rest of the town population.	Looted and burned by the Greek regiment chased by Turkish National Forces.
GREEN NIGHT	Şahin Effendi is sent to exile by Greek forces. Turns back to town after 10 years but realizes he has been dispraised as a traitor. Once again, he leaves the town in disappointment but understands a revolution takes time. Optimism and determination refills his veins.	They survive and adapt to the new regime after the National Struggle.	Saved by National Forces but all those man of former regime (Züftü Effendi, Cabir Bey and Hacı Emin) keeps ruling the town
SLAM THE HARLOT	Aliye is lynched to death. Tosun Bey loses two legs. He promises starting his second war to teach people Aliye's heroism.	Hacı Fettah Effendi and Uzun Hüseyin Effendi are sentenced to death by Independence Tribunals and are hanged at where Aliye was murdered.	Liberated by the National Forces. Traitors are purged.

Table 5. Finales of 3 novels

The general mood of these texts in terms of optimism and pessimism makes a peak in the last chapter. Stranger's gloomy attitude is crowned with the death of his long-desired lover and his disappearance into the mist of unknown. In this sense, Stranger is very consistent with the pessimism of its character and this trait brings some reliability to the narration.

Resemblance between Green Night and Slam the Harlot which made these two analyzed together, remains in the final episode. The occurrences and destinies of the characters may vary. However, the optimism and determination remains stable. Both betrayed Şahin Effendi and crippled Tosun Bey keep their devotion to the National Struggle. Beyond the fate of characters, what is the message for reader transmitted by the texts?

Whether they die or survive, it is the elements of the former regime; gentry and particularly clergy that play a decisive role in the destiny of the other characters that are the protagonist and the town population. In Stranger, it was Salih Ağa and Sheik Yusuf to agitate peasants in the name of Islam against the National Forces and they were the ones to welcome enemy forces in village. Şahin Effendi of Green Night fights against the remnants of pre-modern rule of Islam and is labeled as a traitor by the same persons. In this case, there is a phantom manace; the extreme disguise and adaptation capability of obscurantists to the changing conditions. Their representation resembles desert creatures that can survive in the thorny nature thanks to their endurance and vigilance. Aliye's tragedy derives from the iniquity of the clergy-gentry pact. At

the end, Hacı Fettah and Küçük Hüseyin Effendi might have got their share from the justice of new regime but after all; she has passed away.

The intruders on the other hand, are defeated and dismissed from the country. This is not only a fact based on historical incidents. The secondary role of the occupation army is related with the priorities and immediacy of issues raised by the Westernizing authority. Any foreign army would be faced on the battlefield and this is a military problem that should be handled by the defense forces of a nation. On the other hand 'internal enemies' are a sociological phenomenon and has to be dealt with intensive care. Otherwise they would always threaten the power of the ruling ideology (and considering the past and contemporary struggle of hegemony, they did so.)

This complex sociological issue can best be explained via a Gramscian analogy: 'War of Position' and 'War of Manoeuvre'. Very briefly, Gramsci applied to military advancement when it came to compare it with the social struggle. A war of position is more like the conventional type of encounter. Two armies, generally face each other on a plain geography. Generally, the number of armed forces, technical abilities and tactical brilliance decides the triumphing side. This type of wars ends in days. Whereas: "A war of position is not, in reality, constituted simply by the actual trenches, but by the whole organizational and industrial system of the territory which lies to the rear of army in the field." (Gramsci, A., 2000, p. 226) Gramsci was highly influenced by the evolution of military campaigns during the WWI. Eighteenth century wars were fought on battlefields. The industrial and economic developments expanded the space and

time as battlefronts during the WWI where immediate supremacy in the trench became less and less important compared to the ability of industrial and logistical support to the front; the longer you could hold the front, the more your chance of weakening and consequently defeating your opponent is.

Gramsci (2000) discussed, same strategic process would be applied to the sophisticated social and political structures of twentieth century:

The same reduction must take place in the art and science of politics, at least in the case of the most advanced states, where 'civil society' has become very complex structure and one which is resistant to the catastrophic 'incursions' of the immediate economic elements (crises, depressions, etc.). The superstructures of civil society are like the trench-systems of modern warfare. (p. 227)

One can suggest Turkish society in early 20th century was not as complex as Western societies and a civil society could hardly exist. However, we must keep in mind that the ultimate goal of Turkish modernization movement was to reach the level of those 'advanced societies' of West and a modern republic should share the conditions and problems of Western equivalents. Hitherto, this study has invoked the concept of 'hegemony' for many times. Modernization is indisputably a long process between opposite social forces, and in this respect, it resembles a war of positions between the supporters of modernization and the historical bloc of Ottoman power. Moreover, as discussed previously, taking Ottoman society as pre-modern and defining it as Eastern/Oriental traps it within borders of Orientalist's gaze.

Turkish Republic is not an invention of one brilliant mind as in the official state discourse. It is the outcome of countless trench wars that conducted to reducing the hegemony of Ottoman sultanate (and a social order grown under it), expansion of a civil society and the success of modernist counter hegemony. Counter-hegemonic position of modernists endured and stiffened and became at a historical moment, they became strong enough to acquire the hegemonic position. Hence, those novels we examined are dexterous and intelligent enough to spot the historical enemy on the battlefield of hegemony. They are addressing the issues from a historical perspective constituted on combat experience. Although the enlightenment and modernism of our protagonists appear conclusory and mystical in a literary level, as the agents of modernism, they are implicitly well aware of this war of positions. Subconscious of Ahmet Cemal, Şahin Effendi and Aliye are full of desires to liquidate the counter-hegemonic elements that authors have physically struggled against.

Then, for very rational reasons, the message of novels coincides with the Gramscian theory of hegemony and the politics of the war of positions:

The war of position demands enormous sacrifices by infinite masses of people. So an unprecedented concentration of hegemony is necessary, and hence a more 'interventionist' government which will take the offensive more openly against the oppositionists and organize permanently the 'impossibility' of internal disintegration – with controls of every kind political, political, administrative, etc., reinforcement of the hegemonic 'positions' of the dominant group, etc., all this indicated that we have entered a culminating phase in the political-historical situation, since in politics 'the war of position', once won, is decisive definitively. (Gramsci, A., 2000, p. 230)

In this context, the reader of our novels learn about how and against whom to protect the regime and when and where to intervene to preserve Westernization's hegemonic position. Fighting against internal disintegration is a path that wants sacrifice, always being alerted and is naturally exhaustive but cannot be abandoned even mortem is the risk.

CONCLUSION

Turkish Intellectual between East and West: From Austerity to Opportunities

As analyzed in the flow of this study, those protagonists are instrumental characters that are designed from the writers to express their own positions. Moreover, they are tools that readers of same political center position can be informed and educated about the basic conflict areas of center-periphery relations. First of all and ultimately, those novels do not only draw the framework of social responsibilities that are assigned to the Turkish intellectuals but they also convey those historical benchmarks that society would hold whilst Turkish intellectual is fulfilling his responsibilities. They also carefully tell the reader, the agent of modernization that West is not trustable but for the civil progress and economic development, Western knowledge must be attained. Packed with all those messages, they are actually guides carrying all fundamental claims of Turkish modernism within an inch of a new era, an era that modernist movement eventually claiming all the power.

Murat Belge (2009) renders the thematic space that we can conglomerate and classify Turkish literature around/on as:

A historical background like “East-West Problematic” is something like a cradle that Turkish literature is born into. This cradle has miscellaneously affected and designated this borne child throughout his growing time. Those effects have endured to a considerable extent even after the child is grown.

However, if we draw the frontiers of that world we call “West” (that is not easy always. For instance, is South America honestly West?) and we inspect the historical formation of literary/artistic in more or less all countries opting out of those frontiers, we will notice that the circumstances do not change much when we move adjective “Turk” out of above sentences and replace it with the name of any country we are investigating. (p. 94)

This statement quite resembles and corroborates Jameson’s generalization of national allegoric character of Third World novel. However, generalizations do not necessarily have to be inaccurate or invalid especially when talking about such grand scale matters. In the last resort, ‘national canon’ (or anything of national character) can only be argued by generalizations based on large pools of data and/or knowledge accumulated in a long time.

There are two propositions in this citation we can discuss. First states, since the beginning our novel pried its issues out from the East-West conflict. Relevant designations were shared at the beginning of this thesis study in relation with the historical development of Turkish novel. Other proposition is on the position of backwardness and the linear civilization perception that was again mentioned previously. All non-Western societies initiate a reckoning between their cultures and Western culture universe when they trespass the field of modern. Because it is West to signify the ultimate level of civilization achieved, drawing the lines, setting the rules. Same conditions are valid for the people of culture. It is again West; the inventor of novel genre, presently the most glittering producer of it, most profitable market of literature and therefore able to restrain any meanings to its own universe of meanings.

If so, does this unequal and stringent web of cultural relations constitute a conclusive obstacle against the production of healthier and –in literary terms– more valuable work from the one in the process of becoming modern? I suppose, most comprehensive and elaborative replies for this question can be fished out from the novels of most proficient and acclaimed name of contemporary Turkish literature, Orhan Pamuk. However, my reason for addressing Pamuk is the availability of the most delicate and stylish representations of Murat Belge’s ‘cultural cradle’ in his work, rather than Pamuk’s sales success or rewards he won.

Any reader of Pamuk savvies, the novelist places ‘East-West problematic’ to a centric location while he his selecting his subjects or narrating a background for the events. It is no secret that he likes also writing on daily life, personal experiences, on his art and other artists. From one of those texts, below is a passage on his novel, *White Castle* (1985):

I was raised in an Eastern country and believed to be I am a Westerner... Now I do not look if we are Eastern or Western or what we are, who we are. But while writing this book, all my cause was to write a book which can escape from the contemporariness of this extremely political, East-West and tradition-modernity problem. I mean, before starting to write this book, I was looking for a point where I could save this East-West problem blazing in me from its gravity, where I could convert it to a play from its grave and important place in my life. I was like willing to liberate myself, sort of. (Pamuk, O., 2011, p. 145)

Orhan Pamuk’s emphasis on game can *play* a mnemonic role regarding a basic segregation between approaches to East-West problem. Pamuk’s claim of

'saving' a grand and eternal issue from its real political context and converting to an object of fiction is indeed a significant sign of approach to narration. So much so that Pamuk re-forms that cultural complexity he experienced as a game, instead of a sociology expertise via removing current and real political bindings. This is an accurate and fruitful repositioning as it strips novel from writing sociology and locates it to a place where it become a subject of sociological criticism. In fact, isn't making an event or a scene subject of art only possible through exactly this kind of an approach; with a will to play a game, by creative mischievousness?

Opposite to the literary excitement of Orhan Pamuk, we can place political didacticism and savior attitude of those three novels we have covered in this thesis³⁴. This 'malady' of East and West relations, also called as "The greatest torture of Turkish soul" (Gürbilek, N., 2007, p.9) by Peyami Safa, inevitably became one of the major topics of Turkish novelist. East – West dichotomy has sometimes been approached with conservative delusions, sometimes with reformist ebullitions but always seen as an obstacle, a difficulty to handle. We eventually witness it being remolded as an opportunity, as a fertile literary space in Orhan Pamuk novel.

All through this study, I have strived to argue a specific novel profile as displayed in *Stranger*, *Green Night* and *Slam the Harlot* that sets text's responsibility to public good and analyzed problems arising from this mind. In

³⁴ Many of articles I reviewed for the thesis research were initiating the discussions on Turkish modernism in novel genre from Ahmet Mithat Efendi, greeting Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, stopping by Oğuz Atay and finally arriving Orhan Pamuk.

this epilogue, I have shortly tried to advert on those opportunities presented by a different approach. As per the Oxford Dictionary, here below are the first to descriptions of game:

1. (n) A form of competitive activity or sport played according to rules.
2. An activity that one engages in for amusement³⁵

Game is an activity of amusement constructed on specific and consistent rules. Still, allurements of a game cannot be reduced to formulas. In my opinion, major reason behind sustainability of this amusement is the unconscious and simultaneous awareness of: a) game's fictional essence b) the resemblance of game rules' causality with the 'real life' operating principles. In short a game is what can both be consistent, sensible and fictional, imaginary at the same time. Therefore novelists approach to a construct in his imagination as a game does not necessarily eject it to a point far from plausibility and persuasiveness. On the contrary, it triggers a psychic mechanism connecting us with the need for reading and the pleasure we obtain from reading. Then, the realism defined by Yakup Kadri while defending *Stranger*, in fact does not present us reality or fragments of reality. Narrator's claim of 'presenting reality' by abnegating his narration is not only an effort exceeding literature; but it digress philosophy, sociology and any forms of social sciences. We can sense only a fraction or appearance of reality and can comprehend only some limited contexts of this fraction or appearance. Maybe we are in fact just supposing that we can comprehend even these contextual pieces. On the other hand, grabbing those appearances and designing them on a different level again and with consistent

³⁵ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/game?q=GAME>

rules like a game would serve us the opportunity to compose a text that is more *realistic*; closer or at least relative to reality. By this way, we would not break literature's connection with politics; on the contrary, we may re-construct this connection from a sounder location in both social and literary terms.

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