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POLITICAL.

~~For~~  
Not for Summary

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Note Book.

Part B.  
Deposit.

Proceedings February.

Nos. 14.

SUBJECT.

Translation of a treatise recently published in Germany on "The Turkish Pan Turkish Ideal" being an exposition of the Neo-Turanian movement.

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RETURN TO  
NATIONAL  
ARCHIVES OF INDIA

LATER REFERENCES

CONFIDENTIAL.

C O P Y.

INDIA OFFICE  
19th October, 1916.

My dear Grant,

I am sending you by this mail 4 copies of a translation of a treatise recently published in Germany on "The Turkish and Pan Turkish Idea". It is an exposition of the Neo-Turanian movement, which you may find useful.

Yours sincerely,

A. HIRTZEL.

It has been decided not to take any action in India as regards the Neo-Turanian movement. In this connection please see the marginally cited papers. In the circumstances it seems unnecessary to print the papers forwarded by Sir A. Hirtzel. Of the four M.S. copies sent, one copy may be retained and kept as an appendix to this file; one copy may be sent to Sir P. Cox; and the other two copies may be retained, respectively by the Home and Army Departments, who may see unofficially, if they require them.  
C.O'H.T. 24.11.16.

A.H. Grant, 25.11.16.

Draft submitted for approval. After issue the file will be sent to Home and Army Department.  
C.O'H.T. 27.11.16.

Denys Bray, 28.11.16.

COPY.

D. O. No. 244-W.

Dated Delhi, 29.11.16.

Dear Sir Percy,

I enclose, herewith, for your information, translation of a treatise recently published in Germany on "The Turkish & Pan-Turkish Ideal". Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/- Denys Bray

The Hon. Lt. Col. Sir Percy...

The Branch has already received two copies  
of pamphlet. from the War Office.

C. B. Stokes, M.O.IV.  
1.12.16.

A.H.C.Spence, 1.12.16.

R.no. 9256-Poll  
d.2.12.16.

Deptt.

One copy of the pamphlet may be kept for our use and  
file returned to the F. & P. Deptt. D.C.I. may see  
copy for information.

2.12.16.

Retain as proposed, and submit.

S.R.Hignell, 2.12.16.

(Original pp sent  
to F & P Deptt.)



Resubmitted

5/12

Longinell  
5.12.16

Lev.

These papers will interest H. M.

John B. S. L. G.

6.12.16

H. M.

Most interesting.

Mar

4/12/16

C. n. o. 9335 d 9.12.16

3 AD may see on way back to H. M. The Indian

policy is rather left out in the cold in this

his policy for the Taranians.

C.R. Cleveland

have kept his file along time  
for closer study

SD

H. H. H. H.  
15/1/17.

Mr Haresat  
14/2/17.

H.D.

Dec 14 1916 4027 at 15/11 February 1917

~~Amey Dey: may see Dec 1916 on page 2.~~

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15/2

no orders.

See 1129  
15/2/17

SS.

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15/2

THE TURKISH AND PAN-TURKISH  
IDEAL.

by

TEKIN ALP.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

1915.

GUSTAV KIEPINHEUER.

WEIMAR.

P A R T I.

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Nature and historical development  
of the  
Turkish National Movement.

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## P A R T I.

### Nature and historical development of the Turkish national movement.

#### Chapter I.

##### Ottomanism and Panislamism.

A close observer of the development of modern Turkey might have gained, during the last two years, an insight into the progress of a highly significant social revolution, whose very existence has been almost unsuspected by the world at large. This social revolution started with the awakening of Turkish Nationalism, which is now growing into a Pan-Turkish movement.

Three years ago, the Ottoman Turks regarded themselves simply as Mahomedans, and never considered their nation as one having a separate existence. The Anatolian peasant took the word "Turk" as synonymous with "Kisilbash" (Redhead: with red fez). Even among educated classes there were persons who did not know that members of the Turkish race were living outside Turkey. It was a very curious thing that the Turks should have realised the necessity for starting a national movement. Under the old régime, it is true, faint glimmers of awakening appeared from time to time, but were quickly quenched. Later, in Paris and also in Egypt, a few Young Turkish spirits became inspired with the fire of national aspirations and blazed into prominence, only to sink back in a moment, leaving little or no impression on the political structure. In Constantinople too, learned men such as Nejib Asim, Brussali Tahir Bey and others occupied their minds from time to time with questions exclusively connected with the old Turkish civilisation. The poet Mehmed Emin Bey conceived the

idea

idea of writing his poetry only in pure Turkish, without making use of the borrowed Arabic and Persian words which form 95% of the Turkish language. His poetry had to be published in small provincial papers because the important newspapers of the towns would not accept it.

These were, however, but isolated cases; there were no signs anywhere of a prepared or organised movement.

The Young Turks who belonged to the "Committee of Union and Progress", to whom Turkey owes her constitution, worked entirely as members of the Ottoman empire. Their leading idea was Ottomanism, which was also expressed in the word "Unity", meaning the unity of all Ottoman subjects regardless of differences of religion or nationality. Immediately after the establishment of the constitution, the Young Turks, true to their original plan, set about the foundation of a league, with other affiliated leagues, having the object of collecting together all the Ottoman elements. This league has been much talked about and has created a great deal of disturbance, but it must be admitted that it has accomplished nothing definite.

The enthusiasm of the first inspired hours of newly-won freedom began to wear off. The Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbians, who had laid down their arms and come down from the mountains in great exultation to celebrate the birth of the Constitution with the young liberators in Salonica, began gradually, one by one, to return to their mountains and their arms, to resume their struggle against Turkish authority.

This was the Young Turks' first awakening from their dreams of Ottomanism, upon which all their best hopes and beliefs were based. The pillars of the proud building were shaken.

From time to time voices were heard advocating

"Panislamism"

"Panislamism". They preached the union of all the Mohammedan elements in the kingdom, which would form a strong and reliable power upon which the Government could unfailingly depend. But this was shortly followed by the rising of the Mahommedan Albanians, and the revolts in Yemen and Hauran. The upholders of Panislamism did not, however, allow their faith to be so easily shaken by these revolutionary movements, opposed as they were to the whole Panislamitic ideal. They, like the Ottomanists, would not admit defeat. Far from giving up their policy, they struggled with undiminished enthusiasm and unquenched zeal against the difficulties of the time, with the firm conviction that they were only dealing with passing opposition.

## Chapter II.

### The Turkish Movement before the Balkan War.

There were, however, a number of people who were anxious to believe that the political ideas of the Ottomanists and Panislamists had proved themselves to be empty dreams; these people regarded the Turkish element as the saviour of the Ottoman empire; the Turkish movement was considered as the one hope of the Nation. The weak and still tentative voices of these "Saviours" were, however, shouted down by their antagonists, though the seed of the Turkish movement continued to grow underground. Unknown to the people, the ideals of this movement spread even to the heart of the Committee of Union and Progress, which was the supporter of the Government and at that time had its headquarters in Salonica.

The mainspring of the National Movement must be sought in the Branch Committee of Union and Progress in Constantinople. The Secretary of this branch (the Central Committee was still established in Salonica) was Kemal Bey, who was one of the delegates to the Committee Congress in Salonica in 1909, and showed himself on that occasion most anxious to give the first impulse to the movement in the name of his Constantinople Association. During the debates he repeatedly attempted to make his opinions heard. His words; "Gentlemen, we must first decide upon our ultimate goal, we must be quite clear about its real object - our national progress -" fell upon deaf ears, and he was unable once to give proper expression to his ideas, being continually shouted down with cries of "Our goal is organisation and nothing else, we know our goal".

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In spite of his inability to place his ideas before the congress, he got privately into touch with a quiet unassuming man, who proved to be a most energetic partisan of the National movement; this was Ziya Bey, who had been sent to Salonica as a delegate from the branch committee in Diarbekr. After the Congress, Ziya Bey did not return to Diarbekr, but accompanied Kemal Bey to Constantinople in order to come into closer contact and communication with his adherents.

There he formed a separate Committee, which for months discussed the burning question of Turkish Nationalism down to its smallest details, and finally drew up a strong carefully studied programme for the defense of their ideas. Ziya Bey was then chosen to be a member of the Central Committee, which, as we have already said, had its headquarters in Salonica at that time. Ziya Bey took up his position with the fixed idea, which almost amounted to a monomania, of working to the end for the triumph of Turkish nationalism. This modest man, who had neither a conspicuous past to recommend him, nor an impressive demeanor, nor an eloquent tongue, nevertheless showed a curious obstinacy in clinging to his monomania, wonderful stubbornness in defending his principle, calmness in fighting his political opponents, and firmness of purpose in managing and championing his cause.

He first gathered round him a group of young people who devoted themselves zealously and enthusiastically to his cause. They started a paper in Salonica called "Genj Kalemlir", (Young writers), which from the moment of its first appearance, carried on a revolutionary and offensive policy.

The "Genj Kalemlir" heralded the foundation of a new language, a new literature and a new and purely Turkish civilisation. It promised that the language should be

purified

purified of the borrowed Arabic and Persian words, opened a campaign against the expressions and ideas taken from the old Literature of these two languages, and proclaimed a new Literature and civilisation which should be based entirely on the old Turkish traditions.

All the great and celebrated writers and poets, such as Tewfik Fikret, Halid Ziya, Abdul Hakk Hamid, and others, were decried as "Dünkiler" (old fashioned).

Such men belonged to the past, and should be relegated to oblivion.

The new Literature had, however, to be made. A carefully drawn up programme for the foundation of a new language was issued, and the union "Yeni Lisan" (New Language) was founded. This new language was to consist of purely Turkish words, and those Arabic and Persian expressions which had already become part of the Turkish vocabulary.

Nearly the whole youth of Salonica took part in this movement. The "Yeni Lisan" group was soon followed by the "Yeni Hayat" (New Life) who took for their organ the "Yeni Felsefe" (New Philosophy). "Yeni Lisan" and "Yeni Hayat" soon amalgamated. They made sharp attacks in their papers on the Youth of Constantinople, and addressed them in somewhat unflattering terms, such as "Levantine" and "Supbe" (Coxcomb) and "persons devoid of any ideals, who had merely taken from Western Civilisation a dusty veneer and manners of the demi-monde, under which they cloaked their own inanity".

The leaders of the "Yeni Hayat" were more or less acquainted with Western Literature through those books which seemed to share their political ideals; Alfred Fouillet, Gustav Lebon, Bergson, Durkheim, Gobineau, Nietzsche and others. They probably built up their theories from these

books, as may be seen from the following Extract:- "We must be ourselves, that is, we must build up our intellectual life on our national traditions, and cultivate our own talents. We must only borrow from Europe method and technique. Our whole Literature, which is not Turkish in any respect, must be reformed and founded on a new basis. it must become purely national in character. Down with men such as Ahmed Midhat, who are merely blind followers, and wish to propagate a misunderstood and badly assimilated version of Western civilisation!"

In this manner, the youth of Salonica encouraged and inspired each other, with loud and excited debates and bitter quarrels with everyone who disagreed with them.

In Constantinople these young braggarts were simply laughed at at first, and the whole affair ridiculed, while no one even took the trouble to think of valid and logical arguments with which to ward off the Salonica attacks.

At the same time, the behaviour of the non-Turkish element in the Kingdom became increasingly assertive; the other Nations made no attempt to hide their own nationalism, ambitions and narrow-minded particularism. For this reason, the Central Committee was induced to attach itself to the Turkish national movement. It is true that the downfall of Ottomanism had not yet taken place on tactical grounds, but in reality the new movement received all possible support.

Everything was done to extend the Turkish National movement of Salonica to Constantinople, and the poet Mehmed Emin Bey was summoned, and entrusted with the mission of starting a source of propaganda for the new ideals in the capital.

13  
Mehmed

Mehmed Emin Bey ceased his activities after a considerable time with the conviction that the ground had been sufficiently prepared, and his place was filled by Enver Bey. This period saw the foundation of the Review "Turk Yurdu", which, under the editorship of Yusuf Akshura, soon obtained a comparatively wide circulation and was eagerly welcomed by an enthusiastic circle of readers.

Meanwhile, the Central Committee for Unity and Progress moved its headquarters from Salonica to Constantinople. Ziya Bey and his Salonican adherents followed him with the firm purpose of bringing about the outbreak of a social Revolution for the "Yeni Hayat". The efforts of this small group of intellectual pioneers succeeded in creating a circle deeply imbued with the ideas and principles of Turkish nationalism. But the social revolution did not come. The great public, the press and the classical writers still remained indifferent and took no notice whatever of the new movement.

But the ground was prepared, the seed sown, and it was soon to bear fruit.

### Chapter III.

#### The Balkan War Period.

It was at this time that the Balkan War broke out.

The false friends tore the smiling masks from their faces and revealed themselves in all their hateful ferocity.

The old attitude of the non-Turkish element, and the revolt of the Mahomedan Albanians once and for all opened the Turks' eyes, which had hitherto been blinded by lies and deception, and showed them in crude and painful fact that they could count on no one's assistance but their own and that their existence depended solely upon their political, social, intellectual and economic power and Unity.

While the Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks engaged the Turkish Armies in strife, the revolt of the bad element among the people began, the revolt of former "friends", who now one by one left the poor desolated country and nation in the lurch.

Treachery was practised on all sides, many former Ottoman deputies and politicians suddenly went over to the enemy without the slightest qualms of conscience. The rats were leaving the sinking ship.

With a few insignificant exceptions, the poor desolated nation had no trustworthy and sympathetic friend left, who would help her to endure this sudden overwhelming sorrow, or at least comfort her with words of friendship.

The only people who united themselves with the hard pressed Turks and tried to help them in these days of general mourning, bitter sorrow and pitiable misfortune, were those of whose existence she had practically known nothing - her compatriots in Russia, in the Crimea, in the Caucasus and in Hindustan, etc. Besides large gifts of money, they sent

missions

missions from the Red Crescent who did much to heal the wounds inflicted by the War.

At this time of depression several important persons came from those districts, among whom were; Ismael Gasparinski, Fatih Kerimoff, Arif Kerimoff, who was anxious to heal wounds with his own hand and personally relieve the oppressed. Among these sympathetic persons were also a number of highly cultivated women, including Gülsüm Hanum, Miriam Patatshova, and others.

While the brave Turkish soldiers were fighting with the courage of despair in front of Chatalja, to save at least military honour and the last remaining piece of their country, these compatriots were streaming in from all corners of the world to stand by their brothers in the hour of distress, and to unite and ally themselves with them, thus forming the basis of a future union of all the Turks in the world.

At that time Khalide Edib Khanum expressed the ideal of the aspiring people in the following words; "What I most wish to see is a powerful and independent union in political and intellectual matters of all the Turks in the world".

Enver Bey and other important Young Turks became closely allied to their compatriots from abroad. He was often to be seen among his Russian and Hindu brothers and friends, and even among the women, who, though Mohammedans, were no longer under the stern and repressive yoke of the harem life. The Society of "Turk Ojaghe", which was founded during the crisis with the object of raising all the Turkish Elements in the Kingdom by all possible means, arranged a dinner at their club in honour of the foreign guests. It was on this occasion that Professor Yusuf Akshura, editor of the "Turk Yurdu" spoke the inspired words, which rang with a note of invincible hope; "I no longer wish that I had never been born, since I have seen the first day of the

National and Religious renaissance of the Turkish and Tartar peoples".

During this crisis, too, came the first awakening of the Turkish women, who had hitherto led an unnoticed existence behind the impenetrable harem bars, and the Yashmak which hides the eyes, the windows of the soul.

A great women's meeting was held in the University Hall at Stamboul. This was the first time that Turkish Women appeared in public and gave a sign of life to the world at large. Many ladies of the aristocracy were present at this brilliantly attended meeting, including the Princess Ni'met Khanum, wife of the former Grand Vizier Ghasi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, Fatima Alie Khanum, a celebrated authoress, daughter of the great historian Jevdet Pasha, and many other ladies of rank and importance.

Many inspired speeches were given, which stirred the highly strung hearts of the women and caused their tears to flow. Khalide Edib Khanum spoke among others, and gave a broad outline of the nature and principles of Turkish nationalism. Gulsum Khanum spoke to the same effect as representative of the Turkish women in Russia.

This was the first shock of the great social earthquake, whose upheaval is still being felt; it was the inauguration of a great new period.

The short space of time during which the peace negotiations were being concluded, was a really historic period, in which the social revolution, so eagerly desired by the small groups of intellectual pioneers, became an accomplished fact.

The

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1. A Novel by this National-Turkish poetess will be published by our "Deutsche Orient-Bucherei". It is entitled "The New Turania, The destiny of a Turkish woman."

The youth of Constantinople flocked to join the movement. All those who had hitherto been branded as "Levantines" and "Supbe" became enthusiastic supporters of the nationalist idea. Even the classical authors, who had hitherto kept aloof, lent their eloquence to the steadily growing movement. Public opinion, the Great Public, the educated and even the learned classes, adopted the Nationalist point of view. The Government, which had fallen in to the hands of the Committee, through the "Coup d'état" of Enver Bey and his supporters, no longer considered it necessary to veil the fact that their sympathies were with the nationalist movement.

Husein Jahid Bey, former editor of the "Tanin" now vice president of the Chamber, has summed up the results of this crisis in the typical words; "The present war represents a great defeat for Turkey, but it has at least had the effect of rousing all the Turks and Mohammedans in the world from their lethargy. It has put clearly before them the dangers to which they are exposed".

## Chapter IV.

### After the Balkan War.

The end of the Balkan War found Turkey a much reduced nation.

The Congress of London took away from her the larger part of her already diminished European territory, namely Macedonia and Albania, which for fifty years had been demanding the blood of Anatolia's noblest sons in long and bitter struggles. But the Turks gained through the war their ideal fatherland, their Turania, the cradle of their nation and home of their race. With a significant gesture the Turkish nation turned aside their gaze from the lost territory, from Salonica, Uskub, Monastir, Janina, and looked instead upon Turania, the ideal country of the future.

Ziya Gök Alp, the great Apostle of Turanianism, shows us this ideal in his rhythmic and poetically inspired verses; - "The impressions which flow in my blood are the result of my history. I do not read the famous deeds of my ancestors on the dead faded dusty leaves of the history books, but in my own veins, in my own heart. My Attila, my Chingiz, these heroic figures, which stand for the proud fame of my race, appear in those dry pages to our malicious and slanderous age as covered with shame and disgrace, while in reality they are no less than Alexander and Caesar. Still better known to my heart is Oghuz Khan, a dark and enigmatic figure in history. In me he still lives in all his fame and greatness. Oghuz Khan delights and inspires my heart and causes me to sing psalms of gladness. The fatherland of the Turks is not Turkey or Turkestan, but the broad eternal land of Turania."

Ziya Bey proves himself in these verses to be the true interpreter of the feelings of educated Turks.

So at last had come the final triumph of "Yeni Hayat". It was a complete return to the beginnings, traditions and the cradle of the race. The Turks realised that in order to live they must become essentially Turkish, become a nation, be themselves. The "Yeni Hayat" which had hitherto been limited to the small circle of its own supporters now won for itself a place among the great public, the press and the educated and learned classes. After the great blow, which had finally put an end to Turkey's "Balkan troubles", the papers wrote of nothing but the awakening, the Renaissance, the rising and restoration, just as though the nation were a person who had been cured of a long chronic illness which had nearly proved fatal. Indeed every one was filled with an indestructible hope in the future of Turanianism, and was firmly convinced that the Turkish nation had been restored by its own strength and effort.

Among others, Mehmed Ali Tewfik Bey, a young writer filled with the fiery spirit of exultation, showed himself in a long series of articles in the "Tanin" entitled "Bir Turanlının defteri" (Diary of a Turanian) to be the truest interpreter of the soul of his people. In one of his most brilliant articles, which has recently been published in book form, he expresses the belief of the nation in the following words, "Constantine Paleologus, who saw the downfall of the great Byzantine empire, cried out to a group of friends; 'We need a long period of misfortune and trial in order to raise ourselves again and behold the dawn of freedom', and lo, four centuries later another Constantine enters the capital of Macedonia; the Ottoman capital is still under the economic authority of Greece and the blue and white flag still flies in triumph over the waters of the Aegean Sea".

But after this period of trial, the time of restoration for the Turkish nation will surely come.

Khalide Edib Khanum, in a lecture delivered at the University to a large meeting of Turkish women, discoursed upon the same theme, and spoke of the decline and restoration of different nations in history, and of her firm confidence in the raising of her people.

For a few months the re-awakening and return to Thuranianism formed the subject of open discussion. Professors, scholars, writers, and all who felt called upon to address the people, gave lectures and spoke at the meetings which took place once or twice a week in the University, and the "Türk Ojaghi" Club, besides speaking daily in the Theatres, etc. Nearly all the books published at this time treat of the same subject. An inspired Literature aroused the national feelings of the people. From time to time huge processions consisting of members of all classes were seen passing through the streets of the capital with the appearance of indescribable rejoicing. What had happened? Had the Turks regained Macedonia?

It was only the anniversary of the taking of Constantinople, or some similar memorial day. The procession of demonstrators, thousands strong, would repair to the grave of Fatih, the great conqueror of Constantinople, in order to appeal to his sacred spirit and thus gain strength and inspiration for the hard task of the future. The public seemed to believe that Constantinople had been conquered once more. They had never had an opportunity of remembering the names of their heroes, such as Fatih, Sultan Suleiman Kanoni, and others. It was not until this time that they began proudly to recall these heroes and celebrate their memories - this time, when the Turks first began to find themselves.

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These demonstrations were far from being ordinary public gatherings; not only the people, but the Government took part in these memorial days, by issuing the proclamation that these festivals were in future to be observed in all schools, and that deputations of school-children and students were to take part in the various ceremonies.

These celebrations, "İhtifal i milli" (national processions), as they were called in the official documents, were henceforward to be held every year, and were to be taken as an opportunity for a revival of hero worship, in which the heroes, and the glorious episodes of Turkish history, might live again to be a strength and example to the nation. Thus the nation, who had hitherto regarded its past with indifference, and remained in utter ignorance of its great men, made up for the past years, and made reparation for its omissions in erecting in its heart a Pantheon of all its national heroes.

Chapter V.  
The Opposition.

It must be admitted that discords arose from time to time in the harmonious development of the national movement. Opposing voices were heard protesting against its progress. These protests were often merely directed against a part of the "Yeni Hayat's" programme, but sometimes against its entire policy. A majority of writers declared themselves against the principles of the "Yeni Lisan", and would not consent to give up a technique and style which they had created in the course of a few decades. Well known authors, such as Jenab Shehab-Eddin, Suleiman Nazif and others, continued to use the customary Persian and Arabic phrases which were so bitterly attacked by the "Yeni Lisan".

For some time the partisans of the old school even attempted publicly to defend their theories. The loss of the great treasure of Arabic and Persian words would detract from the charm and poetry of the language, and Literature would become a dead thing without attraction, power or beauty. In spite of their former authority on literary subjects, the adherents of the old school were finally obliged to give way to the great majority of reformers, with the result that "Yeni Lisan" is to-day in possession of an unlimited and absolute authority. It is true that essays by Shehabeddin and his colleagues occasionally appear in some reviews, and are still admired by the public in spite of their old-fashioned style, but they are merely regarded as costly relics of a past age. Turkish poetry, too, was subjected to important changes. The highly complicated rhythm which had been taken from the Arab and Persian poets, and practised in Turkey, was  
unhesitatingly

unhesitatingly condemned as un-Turkish by the "Yeni Lisan" and replaced by the syllabic system.

The old rhythm was kept up for a time by a few poets, but they too were unable to resist the vigorous strength of the new movement, and were obliged to follow the general trend of feeling.

The Turanians met with serious opposition from obstinate men such as Akif Bey, Suleiman Nazif and others. The latter, especially, fought with extraordinary zeal against the Turkish movement and its principles.

He is a believer in a "political Trinity", and shows great stubbornness in the defence of his theory, which is that all three groups of ideas, Ottomanism, Islamism, and the Turkish movement should work side by side and together.

He is by no means convinced of the correctness of the Turkish theory. According to him, Turkish history from a national point of view, dates only from the foundation of the Ottoman Empire under the Sultan Osman, and from a religious stand point, from the foundation of Islam. He does not regard Attila, Chingiz or Oghuz as national heroes, though the Nationalists celebrate their memory as the greatest figures in history. Turkish history, he claims, cannot be traced back further than that; all that comes before belongs to the realms of fancy.

On account of his views, he carried on a bitter feud with Oghlo Ahmed (Ahmed Agayeff), who may be regarded as one of the Apostles of Turanianism. The unequal contest did not last long. While Suleiman Nazif and his followers had taken up the challenge from purely conservative motives, and without any set programme or organisation, his opponents attacked the defenders of the old ideas with all the energy and power of convinced revolutionaries, who had a firm organisation and countless resources at their disposal.

It was therefore no difficult task for them to silence the "relics of the past".

Still more serious opposition was encountered from the clerical party. This party has no position in Turkish politics, but exerts considerable influence in Literature and intellectual life. The "Islamji" would have nothing to do with Nationalism; the religion of Islam is the only thing they consider. Because it is written in the Koran that Islam knows no nations but only believers, they thought that to occupy one's self with national questions was to act against the interests and principles of Islam itself.

The clerical party is a dangerous foe, for it has at its disposal an organisation and newspapers whose influence must not be underrated. The "Serat-i-Mustekim" and the "Sabil-ul-Reshad" are widely-read reviews, which offer a steady and determined opposition to the Turkish movement. The last named is an especially powerful enemy because it is the organ of the "Mellami" sect, which is one of the largest Mohammedan brotherhoods, with an organisation somewhat similar to that of the Freemasons.

The Nationalists fought against the "Islamji", but wisely took care to avoid any appearance of anti-clerical views.

According to them, the Koran's declaration that only Mohammedans would be recognised was directed exclusively against the very frequent dissensions of the clans and parties in the various Arab races. Although they (the Turkish Nationalists) proclaim themselves the most zealous followers of Mohammed, they do not nevertheless conceal the fact that their interpretation of Islam is not the same as that of the Arabs. They maintain that the Turks cannot interpret the Koran in the same manner as the Arabs, for instance, and they support their assertion with the well-known principle of

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the Koran, "Wa'mur bil'-urf" (...live each according to his customs).<sup>(1)</sup> According to this, the national customs, or national spirit, should be the moral judge of right and wrong.

As the national life of the Turks is not only not identical with, but even extremely dissimilar from that of the Arabs, it follows that the same interpretation of the religion of Islam cannot be accepted by both nations. It is quite clear that profound difference naturally exist between the social life of the Semitic Arabs and that of the Mongolian Turks.

The Nationalist theologians are most anxious to insist on the great difference existing between the philosophies of the different sects and brotherhoods, which were founded, some by the Arabs and some by the Turks. While the Arab sects carry humble submission to the extent of physical self-denial, indeed almost to asceticism, the Turkish sects are chiefly characterised by a contemplative piety. The "Mevlevi" and "Mellami", the two largest Dervish sects in Turkey, have nothing of asceticism in their point of view, and in this they present a contrast to the Arab sects and brotherhoods. Their philosophy, on the contrary, is not far removed from Epicureanism.

The Turks' idea of God is also different from that of the Arabs.

The latter think of God in the same way as their ancestors the Jews; He is a God of Vengeance, and worshipped because He is feared.

(2)

"Makhafat Allah", or God of Vengeance, is He whom the Arabs worship.

The God of the Turks is the God of Love, "Muhabbet Allah"; He is worshipped because He is loved.

This difference in the idea of God is probably based on race differences.

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(1) This is a mistranslation - The meaning is;-"Command that which is just"

(2) Actually the fear of God.

The Turkish Nationalists made great efforts to nationalise religion itself, and give it the impress of the Turkish national spirit.

This idea was zealously supported by the fortnightly "Islam Majmu'asi", which has a wide circulation in Turkey and will be a great help to the Nationalists in attaining this end. It has many times been bitterly attacked by its opponents, the "Sebil-ul-Reshad" and the "Sarat Mustekim", but every attack causes an increase in its popularity. One of the noblest tasks undertaken by the "Islam Majmu'asi" is the translation of the Koran into Turkish; this is a reform of the greatest importance. It is well known that the translation of the Koran has hitherto been considered as a sin. The Nationalists have cut themselves off from this superstitious prejudice, and have had three translations made, the above mentioned and two others.

Another recently instituted reform is the reading of the "Khutba" (Prayer for the Caliph) in the Turkish language instead of in Arabic, of which all hearers and believers are ignorant.

## Chapter VI.

### The organisation of the Turkish Movement.

The various movements which attained a certain importance in Turkey during the last few years have all either disappeared entirely or almost completely lost their influence on the mind of the people.

We may perhaps mention "Ottomanism", which was supreme after the setting up of the constitution. At that time Greeks and Bulgarians embraced one another in the streets, stirring speeches were made on every side, and the lasting brotherhood of all nations in Turkey was celebrated. All should form together one body, one single inseparable nation. It is well known how this "Unity" ended.

During the Tripoli war, "Panislamism" was the cry; this outlasted the Balkan War, but is still far removed from playing an important part in internal politics.

The Turkish National movement does not exhibit the failings of the earlier movements. It is in every way adapted to the intellectual standard and feelings of the nation. It also keeps pace with the ideas of the age, which have for some decades centred round the principle of Nationality.

In adopting Turkish Nationalism as the basis of their national policy, the Turks have only abandoned an abnormal state of affairs and thereby placed themselves on a level with modern nations. The basis of the movement is so sound and firm, the movement itself is so widely spread and so much a part of the people, that it cannot now be eradicated even by force.

The movement has also a good, all embracing organisation, which takes into consideration the different

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branches of the physical and psychical development of the race.

We may first mention the "Turk Ojaghe" whose work is the education of all classes, and the "Turk Bilgi Derneyi", whose aim is the creation of a new language, Literature and civilisation on a national basis. The most important of the organisations for raising the physical strength of the nation are the "Turk Güji" and "Izji".

The "Turk Ojaghe" (The Home of the Turks) was founded on 25th March, 1912 in Constantinople. This Society, which is only open to Turks, and even excludes foreign Mohammedans, expresses its aims in the following statute which has received the approval of the Government: "To work for the national education of the Turkish people which forms the most important division of Islami; to work for the raising of her intellectual, social and economic standard, and for the perfection of the Turkish language and race". The same statute declares that the means of action is to be the foundation of clubs, the institution of evening schools, public lectures, literary and artistic evenings, the foundation of schools, the publication of books and periodicals. In order to increase and protect the national wealth, the proper authorities will be approached with a view to encouraging those interested in social and economic questions, showing them the best way to work, and if necessary supporting them; all pains will be taken to make the suitable arrangements for the carrying on of this work.

It is easily understood that the "Turk Ojaghe's" activities were very limited during the first year of its production, but in the second it increased to an extraordinary extent.

The Union numbers to-day 1,800 members in

Constantinople

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Constantinople alone, among whom are 1,600 student and former University men. It has a large and fairly well appointed meeting club in the centre of Stamboul, which is very well attended. The Turkish papers published abroad may be read here, and there is a well-stocked library which already boasts a large collection of volumes, although the Union is only two years old. There is, moreover a huge lecture hall, seating several thousand people, with arrangements for lantern slide illustrations. A lecture evening is held every Thursday, devoted to Literature and Nationalist propaganda. University professors and other influential persons speak at these evenings, either on interesting episodes in Turkish history, the Turkish heroes, ancient Arts, such as Architecture and the Art of Enamelling, now unhappily forgotten, or else on the life of the Turks abroad, and numerous other interesting subjects. The lectures are illustrated with lantern slides. Pictures are shown illustrating the old Turkish civilisation, for instance, the ancient mosques built by Turkish architects, country pictures from Hindustan, Afganistan, Turkestan, etc. The "Turk Ojaghe" has a rich and interesting collection consisting of several thousand of these pictures.

These literary meetings are repeated every Friday for the Turkish women, who are most frequent in their attendance. The "Turk Ojaghe" helps the women's movement in Turkey in every possible way. Not only do men give lectures to women, but the women, too, mount the platform and address the men. In spite of the very strict harem laws in Turkey, the non-observance of which may give rise to police interference, there are women, such as Khalide Edib Khanum, for instance, who may frequently be seen lecturing to an audience composed entirely of men.

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She has her face covered with a yashmak, but the mere appearance of a Khanum in a company consisting of men, many of whom are Khoja (priests) constitutes a historical event of the greatest importance. At one of these lecture evenings, after Khalide Edib Khanum's lecture, Turkish ladies belonging to the most aristocratic circles sat down at the piano, still hidden under the yashmak, of course, and played and sang national and patriotic airs.

At the Friday meetings every opportunity is taken of declaring that the Turks will never be a truly modern nation until their women are no longer hidden behind the bars of the harem and the folds of the yashmak. The "Turk Ojaghe" loses no occasion of preaching women's emancipation, which forms an important part of the Nationalists' social revolutionary programme. The general opinion is that the liberation of women will take place in a comparatively short time.

The "Turk Ojaghe" works hard for the enlightenment of the scholars in the Medrese and clerical seminaries.

The pupils of these seminaries, who are called Sophtas, number a few thousands in Constantinople, and formed an important body of reactionaries in the time of Abdul Hamid. They now are either members of the Union or visitors to the regular meetings.

An important philanthropic task undertaken by the "Turk Ojaghe" is that of receiving poor students in the Union's home, procuring them free medical attendance and generally looking after their welfare in every way. The national principles advocated by the Union are thus carried out in practice, by awakening and strengthening the sense of firm reliability.

The "Turk Ojaghe" has sixteen branches in the Turkish towns of the Empire; these are managed quite

independently

independently of the central body.

The provincial "Turk Ojaghcs" are animated by the same spirit as that of the metropolitan centre.

Turkish Students in France, Germany, Switzerland, etc., have founded a Union called "Turk Yurdu" (Turkish home). This Union has no great influence on the people, but is nevertheless preparing for the future. It is occupied in convincing the hundreds of Turkish students in Europe, who will surely become in a few years the leaders of Turkish intellectual life, of the truth of the nationalist beliefs. This success will certainly make itself felt in the near future.

A most excellent Union is the "Turk Bilgi Derneyi", (Academy of Turkish Science). It is semi-official in character, being supported by the Government and under the patronage of the Central Committee for Union and Progress. Although but recently founded (Summer 1913) this Union is clearly destined to lay the foundation stone of the intellectual revival and civilisation of the Turkish nation. Emrullah Effeni, former Minister of Education, who was himself engaged in the production of a Turkish encyclopaedia, is president of the Dernek, which counts among its members nearly all the famous Scholars of Turkey. The "Dernek" publishes a large well got-up monthly review, the "Bilgi Mejmu'asi", which contains articles by all the important members on questions connected with the nation. This is the only scientific review in Turkey.

The "Dernek" is divided into different sections, of which the following may be noted:-

1. The "Turkiat" (Turkological Section). The President of this Section is Nejib Asim, one of the oldest Turkish historical students and philologists. The members include the following: Erusali Tahir Bey, the

well-known

Well-known historian, Akshura Oghlu Jusuff, Ahmed Refik, etc.

2. The "Islamiyat" (section for the study of Islam), President:- Musa Kazim Effendi, former Sheikh-ul-Islam, most important members, Riza Tewfik Bey, the great philosopher, and Sheikh Mahmud, the famous Theologian.

3. The "Hayatiyat" (Section for biological Sciences), among whose members are the greatest medical authorities in the capital, including Suleiman Nauma Pasha, Director of Medical Services in the War Ministry, Kadir Rashid Pasha, and Adanan Bey, who are all well known in European circles.

4. The "Felsefe ve Ishtimaiyat" (Philosophical and Sociological section) under Emrullah Effendi, whom we have mentioned before. Its members include the following men, also well known in Europe. Javid Bey, former Minister of Finance, Lutfi Fikri Bey, the famous leader of the opposition, etc.

5. The "Reyaziyat ve Hadiyat" (Section for Mathematical and Natural Sciences) under Salih Zeki, the Director of the Polytechnic High School in Stamboul.

6. The "Türkçilik" (Executive Council) to which is entrusted the study of practical means of carrying out the plans of the different sections, the study of the encouragement and management of all scientific social and economic movements which might assist the progress of Nationalism.

This Council consists of the most zealous nationalists and authorities on every subject, including Philology, Poetry, Architecture, Aesthetics, Pedagogy, Economics, Politics, Hygiene, etc.

All the Sections are carrying out their work with the greatest enthusiasm.

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One of the national unions for the raising of the physical standard of the Turkish nation is the Constantinople Sports Club, the "Turk Güji" which is endeavouring to make a strong robust nation, like that of ancient times, out of the physically degenerate Turkish peoples.

An important union which is capable of great development, is the "Boy's Club" "Izji", which is organised after a European pattern, but in purely Turkish form. The "Scouts' Club was founded by Enver Pasha, the President, or rather by the Ministries for War and Education, and is protected and managed by the authorities, being thus of an entirely official character. The different members assume ancient Turkish names; the union is, indeed organised on purely ancient Turkish principles, adapted to modern life. The Scout movement was eagerly welcomed upon its introduction and immediately became popular. Deputies from the Provinces are sent to the capital to fraternise with their comrades there. A great deal has already been accomplished. For instance, the "Izjis" performed on foot the journey from Smyrna to Constantinople. This organization will completely revolutionise the former position of youth in Turkey. The boys, who were almost entirely inactive in their young days, and only grew up to a still more inactive manhood, will now receive new life and happiness, strength and movement. The leaders will therefore sow the seeds of national thought in the hearts of the young people, whose life is becoming daily fresher and stronger, and we may be certain that in that impressionable soil those seeds will quickly take root and be tended with loving care.

## Chapter VII.

### The Economic Organisation.

The leaders of the Turkish movement realised at the very start that the first national reforms must be in the direction of improving Turkey's economic position.

They never lost an opportunity of declaring that as long as the Turks remained poor and allowed the people of other nations to swallow up their trade, industries and indeed all the economic resources of the country, as long as they preferred to live by officialdom to engaging in trade or any free career, so long would they remain weak, and foreigners be the masters in Turkey.

The Nationalists devoted their efforts from the very first moment to raising the economic life of the country. It is, however, interesting to note that they wisely refrained from lending the banner of pure Nationalism to economic agitators.

They sought after a judicious mingling of the religious and national impulses. They realised only too clearly that the still abstract ideals of Nationalism could not be expected to attract the masses, the lower classes, composed of uneducated and illiterate people. It was found more expedient to reach these classes under the flag of religion. Religion has an universal appeal, whereas Nationalism is a finer instrument which requires good training if it is to be properly handled.

When the right moment arrives, and the masses come to believe in the national idea, there need be no hesitation in making use of the more delicate appeal of Nationalism, without, however, entirely discarding the religious element.

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The economic organisation created by the leaders of the movement is widely spreading, but is not yet perfect.

We must first mention the Esnaf (the Corporations). Those of the Kaikji (boatmen, Arabaji (cab drivers), Hammals (porters), Bakkals (retailers), Kasap (butchers), etc., etc., are inseparable bodies, whose members are bound by perfect discipline.

Each Corporation has its own rules, laws and customs, which unite the hundreds and thousands of men. The "Kehaya" (superintendent) has complete control over his people, and the leaders of the national movement use the influence of these "Kehayas" for the good of the nation.

The Corporation Union is very old, but its adaptation for idealistic aims and purposes is modern. The national leaders, who are themselves under the control of the Committee, have reorganised all the Corporations on a new basis, taken them under their leadership and added to them hitherto non-existent Corporations. Thus these Corporations form to-day a powerful tool in the hands of the Turkish Nationalists.

Besides the Corporations, which only include artisans and small tradesmen, the merchants have recently founded a Union of Turkish Merchants. This forms the so-called "intellectual party" among the merchants, and is concerned with Export and Import, Industry, etc. This Union is also the work of the Turkish Nationalist leaders. It is Mohammedan in spirit, and also admits foreign Mohammedans to membership. There are various Consumers' Unions, (Milli Istihlak), which unite and group together the Turkish Consumers. These form a further source of power to the Nationalists. There is even a Consumers' Union for women, which is managed and conducted by Turkish ladies.

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The results of these efforts and organisations can easily be seen. In the course of a few months hundreds of new Turkish shops sprang up in the different parts and quarters of the town, the suburbs and provinces, where formerly all the trade had been in the hands of Greeks and Armenians. This applies equally to the purely Turkish quarters. Nearly all these new shops bore Turkish signs. Here a restaurant called "Turania", there a draper's shop called "Mussulman" Bazaar, or a barber claiming to be a "Turkish Barber", or a tailor declaring that he employs exclusively "Turkish Labour". Some signs have their inscriptions borrowed from Turkish Literature and Poetry. Ziya Gok Alp's famous book "Kizil Elma" (The Red Apple) has given its name to a hotel. Stamboul is full of such inscriptions.

The awakening of Turkey and her economic restoration began with a great upheaval, the shock of which was even felt, to a small degree, in European economic circles, which either directly or indirectly took a certain interest in Turkish affairs. During the period of negotiations between Turkey and Greece on the subjects of the Islands, the Turks declared a boycott on the Greek element. The Turkish press openly advocated this boycott, which was pursued with obstinacy and endurance. The unaccommodating attitude of the Greek Government towards the Island question, and the Greeks' persecution of the Turks in Macedonia were sufficient excuse; the real motive was, however, the longing of the Turkish nation for economic independence in their own country. The boycott, which was at first solely directed against the Greeks, was then extended to the Armenians and other non-Mohammedan circles, and was carried out with undiminished energy.

This movement, which lasted in all its vigour for a few months, caused the ruin of hundreds of small Greek

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and Armenian tradesmen who had been living on Turkish custom and were entirely dependent upon it.

The systematic and rigorous boycott is now at an end, but the spirit it created in the people still persists. There are Turks who will not set foot in foreign shops unless they are certain that the same articles cannot be purchased under the same conditions in the shops of men of their own race, or at least of their own religion. This feeling of brotherhood has taken firm root in the hearts of the people all over the Empire.

In various important centres in Anatolia, special Banks have been founded to support Turkish retail tradesmen. The national Bank of Aidin with a capital of 50,000 Turkish pounds, and that of Konia, with an equally large capital, are flourishing concerns, in spite of certain faults of management.

It can now be asserted that the movement for restoring the economic life of Turkey is on the right road, and that, under better management, it will most probably develop still more widely and favourably. There are too many Turks who have large capitals lying idle in European Banks. A larger proportion of the real property, such as land and real estate, is in the hands of the Turks. The Government too, does not withhold its support, and is indeed a powerful agent of the whole movement. It is true that the Turkish character is usually lacking in the qualities most essential to trade or economic undertakings, but these may be acquired by a reasonable and methodical training and organisation.

## Chapter VIII.

### The Government's Part.

The Government has also adopted the Turkish Nationalist principles, and proves this fact in most of its dealings, without, however, doing anything to infringe upon the legal rights of its non-Turkish subjects. On the contrary, the national policy is strongly opposed to narrow-mindedness on the part of the Government, which is highly to its credit. One of the most powerful motives for the preservation of the absolute independence of the Arabs in their provinces, the recognition of their language as official, and the nomination of Arab officials to their provinces, is precisely that principle of nationality which the Government applies to the Turkish nation. A principle which is recognised as applicable to the Turks must also be acted upon in the case of other non-Turkish nationalities.

In nearly every Government Ministry traces can be seen of the working of this principle in different actions which all tend towards the same goal.

The Ministry for Education must be given the first place. A large proportion of the professors for the higher grade schools are chosen from among the leaders of the Nationalist Movement.

The various higher-grade schools have adopted a programme of education in the new branches of learning, such as Turkology, Turkish Sociology, etc. A special effort is being made to keep the system of education on a level with the development of the National question, in order that the National awakening may thus be encouraged in every phase of its growth.

The same idea is followed with varying enthusiasm by all the other schools, and is shown either in the programme of education, the choice of professors, or the

composition

composition of the school books.

The Ministry for Education, under the influence of the national movement, has founded various new institutions, as, for instance, the "Istilah Enjumeni" (Academy of Terminology). Hitherto no one had troubled about the creation of technical expressions, but always made use of those current in Europe. Occasionally a few technical words were adapted from the Arabic, being expressly borrowed from one writer or another. The "Istilah Enjumeni" creates the proper terms for every branch of Science and Art, as well as for Literature, taking great care to adhere as far as possible to the "Yeni Lisan's" principle of employing only pure Turkish words. This is one of the most important anticipations of an emphatically Turkish intellectual life and civilisation.

The latest institutions, that of the "Dar Elbedai" (conservatoire) is based on the same principle.

The Ministry has also just nominated a "Teelif ve Terjume Enjumeni" (writing and translation Committee) which is to undertake the translation or composition of books essential to the development of Turkish intellectual culture.

We spoke further back of the "Izji" or Scouts. These organisations have gradually been introduced by the Ministry of Education into all the schools under its control; this step will do much towards building up a strong healthy and at the same time Nationalist spirit in the youth of Turkey.

The Ministry of the Interior is directed by Talaat Bey, the leading spirit of the Committee, who devotes all his influence and power to the progress of the Turkish movement. This spirit, this national tendency, is the chief factor in the nominations of Town Prefects and Mayors, who in their

turn carry out the ministerial duties and orders with the same idea.

Most interesting of all is the work of the Evkaf Ministry (Ministry of Religious Institutions) into whose treasury millions flow from the various pious organisations. The Ministry has now started to use these millions for the economic restoration of the nation.

It has just begun the foundation of a National Bank with a capital of one million Turkish Pounds. Part of the huge, hitherto untouched, fortune of the religious institutions Ministry is in future to be devoted to the education of the Turkish people.

In future, therefore, besides the more or less "Ottoman" schools managed by the Education Ministry, Evkaf Schools will be founded, which will work on the lines of our Christian National Schools, and provide the Elementary education in Turkey.

The Evkaf Ministry has lately turned its attention to a thorough reform of the Medrees (clerical seminaries) which have hitherto been hotbeds of religious fanaticism. Hundreds of these seminaries, which have never taught anything but the most unenlightened scholastic divinity, and the most hair-splitting sophistry, and were entirely out of touch with the requirements of modern life, have now been transformed into well organised theological colleges. Profane sciences have been introduced, such as Sociology, Turkology, History and other studies, which are all taught by Professors or better still by leaders of the Turkish movement.

These reforms are not nearly completed, but in a few years the hundreds of Medrees will become theological schools in the modern sense of the word, and the "Khojas" who leave them will form a new progressive element in Turkey.

The Evkaf Ministry has also laid the basis of a new Turkish Architecture, and has caused a large number of buildings to be erected in ancient Turkish style, and after old designs. The head of this branch is Chief Engineer Kemaleddin Bey, who studied in Germany and is recognised as an authority in Turkey. The Ministry's initiative is therefore bringing about the revival of the forgotten Architecture of ancient Turkey, which is daily winning for itself new supporters and a wider popularity.

The Evkaf Ministry is also occupied with the foundation of a large general library of books dealing with Turkish life. The library of the late Russian Orientalist Katanoff has already passed into the hands of the ministry, whose new collection consists of thousands of volumes, part of which are devoted to Turkology. An attempt is being made to unite all the valuable and neglected Turkish libraries which lie forgotten in different parts of the Capital.

These are to be collected in a magnificent Library building in the Centre of Stamboul, and rendered accessible to the public.

Nearly all the Ministers declare their nationalist sympathies. The Minister of Marine, Jemal Pasha, Talaat Bey and others have declared at the "Turk Ojaghe" meetings before thousands of people that "Biz da Ojakhjes" (we too are supporters of the 'Turk Ojaghe').

The portfolio of the Minister of Trade and Agriculture, which has been in the hands of Greeks and Armenians since the time of the Constitution, and was lately given to a Christian Arab, has at last been handed over to the Constantinople deputy, Ahmed Nesimi Bey, who joined with Ziya Gök Alp in laying the foundations of the Turkish movement immediately after the proclamation of the Constitution. With one exception the members of the cabinet are all imbued with same ideas and principles.

## Chapter IX.

### The Pan Turkish ideal and Germanism.

The fact that the Turks are to-day the allies of Germany is no mere whim of destiny, but the conscious expression of an unconscious brotherhood in arms which has existed between the two nations for a thousand years. For ten centuries both nations have had one common enemy - the Slavs.

The Turkish conquerors from the East crushed the Slav peoples under their horses' hoofs; The German races from the West pressed the same nation back into her old territory with mailed fist. The Slavs then fought in century-long wars to prevent the union of the two dangerous powers, which in unconscious agreement were striving in opposite directions towards the same goal. This unsuspected community of purpose represents an alliance exacted by the very nature of things and events; it is an historical and geographical necessity. It bore rich fruit. A Russian historian writes as follows:- "It is this unconscious Germano-Turkish alliance which prevents the development of the Slav Union in the Carpathians, the Danube Country and the Balkans."

The Turkish race of the Magyars is placed like a wedge between the Northern and Southern Slavs, which remain separated still after the efforts of a thousand years.

Ten centuries of history have brought about no change in the position of the Germans and Turks towards the Slavs. The two nations have always remained the common foe of the Slav power, and must both protect themselves from the menace of the Muscovite Empire. As long as the Russian colossus remains, Germanism is threatened with isolation, on account of her geographical position and ethnographical formation. In the same way, the Pan-Turkish aspirations cannot come to their full developement and realisation until

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the Muscovite monster is crushed, because the very districts which form the object of the Turkish Irredenta, such as Siberia, Caucasus, the Crimea, Afganistan, etc., are still directly or indirectly under Russian rule. Russia, who hinders the natural expansion of Germany and Turkey, is for her part stopped in her expansion by two strong nations, the Germans and the Turks; the Germans, who have prevented the union between the Northern and Southern Slavs for which the Russians have striven in vain for ten centuries, the Turks, who bar the way to the Mediterranean for Russia, and therefore for Pan-Slavism, and keep her shut up in the Black Sea. Russia, who is unable to overcome both these obstacles at once, first directed her attention to the smaller of the two, and chose to make her first attacks against the weaker and presumably more easily overcome of her two enemies.

Then began a period of extending over hundreds of years, during which the Turks were obliged to resist endless attacks of every different kind. In spite of her great conquests, victories and successes, Turkey has never been able to remain strong outside, and was therefore not absolutely successful in repelling these long, stubborn attacks of the Russian tyrants, and the world saw the Russian bear gradually devouring one limb after another from its victim's body. So were lost the Northern frontier provinces, and so gradually in the course of many terrible battles, the Provinces on the Northern, Eastern and Western coast of the Black Sea. The Russians attempted at the same time to free the Southern Slav races from the Turkish Dominion, and give the separate nations their independence, thus forming in Turkey's very territory, a number of small, but no less dangerous

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dangerous foes. In this they were successful, and the small Balkan Kingdoms were founded. The last blow to the Turks and not the least disastrous, was the Balkan Union and consequent Balkan War, which was the grim and terrible forerunner of the present world war.

The Turks were almost entirely overwhelmed by Europe, and had it not been for the irony of fate which brought about the horrible discords among the Southern Slavs, causing them to attack each other like hungry wolves around their stolen prey, the Russian ideal would have approached realisation more quickly. Russia would have been able to protect her free exit into the Mediterranean by means of the Southern Slav puppet-states.

Immediately after the Balkan War, Russia began to make preparation for a new blow, the reforms in Eastern Anatolia.

If Russia had been able then to realise her first ideal of free exit into the Mediterranean, her efforts would have immediately been directed against Germany in order to attain her second goal - union with the Southern Seas.

In her work of destruction Russia found an unnatural ally, a degenerate branch of the Teuton race - England. Two monsters were united in the same purpose, the colosseus of darkest barbarism and the cruellest oppression joined with the colossus of a degenerate civilisation and shameless exploitation of his people. This England, whose Mohammedan subjects possessed a dangerous centre of attraction in the Caliphate, which might well wrest from her her authority over them, wished for this very reason to get possession of Arabia, and the coast of the Persian Gulf as far as Bombay, thus realising her dream of making the India Ocean an English Ocean and setting up the well-known Gibraltar-Singapore line, which would give her the monopoly of the trade of the Old World.

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"Treacherous Albion's" policy of robbery and her petty-commercial spirit brought her into opposition with Germany on two points.

1. Germany's ideal, which she has followed since the time of Friedrich List (I), has been the creation of German expansion lines, starting from Hamburg and ending at Bagdad or perhaps Bassora; this scheme is seriously crippled by the above mentioned English line.
2. By Germany's rise as a Colonial and commercial power, whose irresistible expansion threatened seriously to damage English trade, and endangered England's command of the world by its ever increasing development.

This war is merely the natural and expected conflict between the two different groups. Since Germany has always shown herself to be the natural protector of Islam and therefore of Turkey, who recognised her (unfortunately somewhat late) as her one true friend, it was therefore only logical and consistent that Turkey should place herself openly on the side of Germany against two common foes.

Nothing shows better or more clearly the community of interests between the Pan-Turkish ideal and Pan-Germanism than the following extracts from a circular sent by the "Committee for Unity and Progress" to its branches in Turkey.

This circular was sent out on the day following the declaration of War between Turkey and the Triple Entente powers; "For two centuries the outer powers of Europe have directed their expansion on land and sea against the Turkish  
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1. This prophecy of Friedrich List's has been rediscovered and given to the world for the first time by his Swabian countryman, Ernst Jackh, in a study entitled "Friedrich List as an oriental Prophet", which is now included in his book "The rising Crescent".
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and neighbouring Mahomedan countries. The Central Powers, who were being shut in and isolated by the outer nations, were obliged to confine their natural desire for expansion to themselves, being careful of course to watch the circle which was hemming them in. In consequence of this an enmity having its origin in the very nature of things grew up between the two groups of Powers. This natural hostility of the Germanic, Turkish and Mohammedan nations towards the Outer Powers brought about a sort of moral alliance between the two first named nations.

In accordance with the last will of "Deli Peter" (Peter the lunatic, i.e. Peter the Great) the Russians have been always attempting to bring about the destruction of Turkey. England and France, who until recent times thought it to their interest to allow Turkey to continue her existence, now see it as their duty to work with Russia for the downfall of Turkey, so that they may thus enjoy uninterrupted possession of Mohammedan countries such as India, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, etc., which they have grabbed with unexampled greed. These three powers have united against the Central Powers and the world of Islam and formed a Triple Entente, which is nothing less than a twentieth century crusade. The first successes in this devilish crusade have been the conquest and snatching of Persia, Morocco and Turkish Rumelia. In order to seduce Italy from the Triple Alliance the Outer Powers gave her Tripoli.

If we seek the causes of all our misfortunes, both at home and abroad during the past century, we see clearly on every side the traces of the cruel and blood-stained hand of our greatest enemy - the Triple Entente. This Entente has led us into so much misery already, and now its predatory form rises once more before us to bar our road. With a

dictatorial

dictatorial "Halt" it tried to stand in our way when our troops were advancing to our beloved Adrianople with cries of "Allah! Allah! ". It was this evil and pitiless Entente who recently forced us to give a special form to the East Anatolian Provinces. When these wretches attempted to impose the same fate upon Germany and Austro-Hungary as had been meted out to us, and to lay the same trap for the two Central Powers, the great war broke out. In order that their atrocious crime against the Central Powers should be successful, they decided upon a plan by means of which the Dardanelles should be forced from the Mediterranean side and the Bosphorus from the Black Sea side simultaneously. The robbery by England of our two Dreadnoughts the "Reshadie" and "Sultan Osman" is nothing but a direct result of this plan. It is quite obvious that if the Russians and English had gained possession of the straits, which are the key to the Caliphate, they would have forced us to take up arms against the Central Powers. Thus would the weapon for suicide have been forced into our hand. Fortunately our Government acted with the greatest wisdom, by ordering mobilisation at the right moment and taking over the "Yaruz" and "Midilli" from Germany. In this way our authority in the Black Sea and our possession of the straits were assured, and our position became one of armed neutrality. But are we to remain idle while our natural Allies are at war with Russia - our sworn, irreconcilable and eternal enemy? Will not victory for the Triple Entente be to us a sentence of death? Were it not madness if we refrain now from devoting all our moral and physical energy to meeting this danger?.

We must not forget that our participation in the world war would not take place solely to defend ourselves against threatened ruin; it would also represent something

far nearer to our hearts - the Vindication of our National Ideal.

The National Ideal of our Nation and People leads us, on the one hand, towards the destruction of the Muscovite enemy, in order to obtain thereby a natural frontier to our Empire, which should include and unite all branches of our race.

On the other hand our religious principles urge us to free the Mahommedan world from the power of the Unbelievers, and to give independence to the followers of Mahomet. For these reasons we must sooner or later become involved in the world war. The enemy has already forced the obligation upon us by trying to mine the entrance to the Black Sea and to surround or disperse our fleet. Now we know why we are fighting. The goal shines before us and we can take up our arms with zeal and enthusiasm.

We are fighting for our nation, our religion, and our National Ideal!"

This document, which is of great historical value, speaks for itself. It forms a convincing and concrete definition of the Pan-Turkish ideal. It shows still more clearly the close intimate bond which unites this ideal to that of Pan-Germanism.

Of especial importance is this sentence in the circular:-

"On the other hand, our religious principles urge us to free the Mohammedan world from the power of the Unbeliever, and give independence to the followers of Mahomet."

A third ally is added to the Pan-Turkish and Pan-German ideals - that of Pan-Islam. It is true that the Turks are striving for the Union of all Turks under the banner of Osman, but they are nevertheless determined upholders of Pan-Islamism.

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The United Turks, they say, should form the centre of gravity of the World of Islam. The Arabs of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, the Persians and Afghans etc., must enjoy complete independence in their own affairs, but outwardly the world of Islam must present a perfectly united front.

This conception of Panislamism expressed by the upholders of the Pan-Turkish movement applies perfectly to Germany's policy towards Islam. Germany, whose sovereign declares himself the friend of Islam, is also anxious to preserve the complete independence of the Mahommedan world, in order to bring about her own economic expansion.

We need only add that as long as the Turks have an ideal, as long as they remain conscious of their mission in the world, so long will their destiny be bound up with that of Pan-Germanism.

We must not believe that the Russian, that is the Slav, peril will cease after the war. The defeat which the Russians will suffer in this war cannot render them harmless for ever. It may, on the other hand, cause an awakening, an intellectual and moral renaissance of the Slav world. The Pan-Turkish and Pan-German ideals will therefore be united in their aims at least so long as the Slav Peril exists.

The two powers, Germany and Turkey, complete one another in a marvellous way. Turkey as leader of the Mahommedan world, most urgently requires European Science and the modern developments of European civilisation and intellectual life in all branches of human activity, in intellectual, social administrative and especially in economic spheres. Germany is the only country to whom she can apply for this without endangering her national independence and territorial integrity. Germany's national ideal is economic expansion. Who could

suggest a wider field for this than the inexhaustible regions of Anotalia, Asia Minor, and all Turkish territory both before and after the war?.

No power on earth can destroy such a bond which is welded out of a community of such precious solid and substantial interests!.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

P A R T II.

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Thoughts on the nature and plan of a Greater Turkey.

(Translated from a Turkish Work of the  
(Author's.)

## Part II.

### Chapter I.

#### The National Consciousness.

The Turkish's Army's defeat in the Balkan War was regarded with justifiable surprise throughout Europe.

Various writers have taken pains to discover the causes of the complete overthrow of those Armies which were once the wonder and terror of the Old World.

One of these essays interested me very much. "The Turkish Soldier in that War was unable to see before him the figures of his ancient heroes. The noble cause of the other days was lacking, and he had nothing to call forth his bravery. Once the feeling for "Jihad" (Holy War) was firmly ingrained in him. The soldier marching to war knew that he would either return as "ghazi" (victor), covered with glory, or die, and enter the happy realms of Paradise as "Shehid".

The 19th Century brought with it the wholesale destruction of the religious ideal, and placed in its stead the national idea.

This took place in Turkey also, where the old "Jihad" spirit was to be supplanted by Nationalism. The old régime tended to crush all the interests and every manifestation of a national spirit in the people. The new régime at first placed the Turkish People in a vague and ill-defined position. Which aims should they follow? They hesitated between an unrealisable "Ottomanism" - the union of all the nations in the Kingdom into one body - and "Pan-Islamism". Turkish national consciousness was not yet awakened. But a soldier who goes into battle without this national ideal cannot fight well".

I do not know to what extent this opinion is correct, but the final sentence seems to me most remarkable,

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in that it contains a bitter truth.

If the Turks had possessed a national consciousness in the Balkan War they might perhaps have been spared many trials, not only in their war against their neighbours but also in the "struggle for existence" - in their inner development.

Even before the Balkan War this state of affairs had attracted the attention of European observers. I should like to draw attention to the following extracts from an article in the "Mercure de France" of 16th August, 1912.

"The Ottoman Turks - the real owners of the Empire - form an element in the population which is ignored and forgotten in its own country. The Turks, who belong to the Turkoman race, have remarkably good traits of character, including uprightness, honesty, industry, modesty and patience. They struggle in vain with the hard soil of Anatolia, and do not even succeed in making enough to live on. They are everlasting slaves and prisoners, who waste their best strength in hard compulsory labour, while their very blood is sucked dry by the tax farmers. No one protects them. They form the one element of the people which has filled the barracks and garrisons of the Empire for centuries past. Its blood has watered the furrows of the Macedonian fields, and has drenched the trackless plains of Hauran and Yemen. A pitiless despotism snatches the sons of this race, while still almost children, from their native soil, and banishes them to the distant barracks and garrisons on the frontiers of the Empire. They are left there forgotten: - five, ten fifteen years pass, and the discharge order never comes. If the poor man who has become a stranger to his home and his work, has the good fortune to be sent home he has no more energy or strength left to work. His father and mother have probably died

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in his absence, and he sees poverty staring him in the face. The field his father left him has been sold by the hard-hearted tax farmers. Misery such as this is common in the villages on the Anatolian plain and in the gorges of Rumelia. Every kind of misfortune assails them - poverty, pestilence, and the greatest evil of ancient Turkey - the horrors of spying and suspicion. The best sons of the race are in prison or banished. There are no newspapers worth mentioning, no clubs or unions. The schools only exist to teach devotion to the authorities. The Turkish people seem doomed to everlasting slavery.

On the other hand, the Christian population of Turkey has been consistently progressing, partly by means of privileges too easily granted, and partly by their own initiative, and they are ousting the real owners of the country more and more from their heritage. Two nations, pressing upon them from either side, have succeeded in driving the old "conquerors" more and more into the interior of the country. The Greeks from the sea and the islands have taken possession of the harbours and coast towns of Anatolia, and pressed the Turks further and further back into the salt steppes of the interior. The Armenians, who thanks to their friendly relations with England, have become very rich, have cut off their retreat. The Turk is such a miserable wretch that he has long forgotten the plains of Turania, without even having been able to assure his footing in the country he has conquered. He was so convinced of his own power that he omitted to build bridges between his old and new homes, bridges between the different conquered territories. For centuries the conquerors have lived scattered over huge districts without any communication joining the separate settlements, and without any internal unity, which is of such vital necessity. Separated by

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enormous

enormous distances, they lived isolated lives, and were lacking in community of spirit, and therefore in any national civilisation. The Turks have always lived like an organism without a head or a brain ...."

This description applies of course to the old régime, and the coming of the new régime has not yet brought about any material improvement. The causes of this national evil have not yet disappeared, precisely because the Turks have not yet come to their national consciousness.

The efforts to awaken a national spirit have met with loud protests and violent opposition. People laboured at first under the delusion that a national movement meant opposition to religion. The few liberal-minded spirits who dared to identify themselves more closely with the movement, were silenced. The true awakening of national consciousness did not take place until after the Balkan Wars.

## Chapter II.

### The Awakening.

It is a well established historical fact that great political or social crises usually produce great social movements. The awakening of the German Nation came at the time of its greatest misfortune. The large part of Germany was groaning under the Corsican's yoke, and her very existence was menaced. At that time, great poets, philosophers and orators rose, summoned the youth of the nation to resist, and rallied the national thought by word and deed. The foreign yoke of France was shaken off in fierce battles, Germany's political independence was won, and the influence of the French language, Literature and civilisation was weakened and dispelled. The spirit of the German people received new life. When, therefore, French arrogance once more threatened the frontiers of Germany, the nation rose in a body against her hereditary foe. Sedan, and other names bear witness to the successes of Germany's combined forces. Men such as Bismarck, Moltke, and others were the sons of this German national spirit. Forty-four years of peace, of quiet development outside, and consistent progress inside the country, followed on this period. In a few decades Germany reached the front rank of the civilised nations, and the cowardly fear of being outstripped gave "faithless Albion" no peace until she could vent upon us the rage which is the heritage of the great German-hater, Edward VII, and raise all Europe in a furious blow against the dangerous strength of Germany. This war is a brilliant proof of Germany's highly developed national consciousness. The number of her volunteers, who can be counted by millions, bears eloquent witness to her spirit. We are now seeing the results of organisation and national strength.

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The present awakening of Turkey may well be compared to that of Germany exactly a hundred years before, in that it followed upon a critical and unhappy period.

The Turkish national spirit has changed very greatly in a wonderfully short time. It is almost a miracle. It may be asserted without hesitation that the Turkish people, who up to two years ago were totally lacking in national consciousness, are now imbued with it. This new spirit filters like beneficent life-giving rain through all the strata of the nation, restoring the whole people. The great men in whose hands is placed the nation's destiny to-day, are imbued with this spirit and are solving the national problems by its light. The newly awakened consciousness inspires in every part of the nation the will to gain for their Fatherland a strong and favourable position among the nations. The "Academy of Turkish Sciences" (Turk bilgi Derneyi) strives to create an individual intellectual life. The "National Union" (Turk Ojaglari) works at the awakening of a national idea and the union of all Turks by a strong bond of nationality. The Sports Unions do their best to give the nation a physical development equal to that of the old "Conquerors". The Turkish "Scout" movement provides a modern and patriotic education for the youth of the country, and attempts, by bringing boys into direct contact with nature, in their expeditions, to rouse in their impressionable hearts a love for their Homeland and their Nation. The economic leagues and societies are founding firms and business houses in Stamboul and all over Anatolia, and are confident of fruitful development.

The word "Turk" has now taken on a new and improved significance. Two years ago, even liberal-minded Turks interpreted this word in the European sense, i.e. as meaning raw, anti-social, anti-national, uncivilised, reactionary.

The number of Turks who were proud of their nationality was shamefully small. Now, however, "Turk" connotes, honest industrious, enduring, persevering, self-sacrificing, and progressive. The dictionary of nations is obliged to accept this change of meaning. When the word "Turk" is mentioned now, it does not express the calumny so current in Western Literature, but brings back the memory of the famous days of ancient Turkey, of noble help given freely to oppressed nations and toleration to foreign religions. To this is added a fine shade of meaning, implying the modern progressive and newly awakened spirit of Turkey.

People have also become accustomed to the fact that the words "Turk" and "Mohammedan" are not identical, and are aware that now "Turk" is the expression of national and "Mohammedan" that of religious citizenship, just as Arabs and Albanians, for instance, must be called Arabs and Albanians in spite of their religious brotherhood, and not be designated under the common title of Mohammedans.

To-day there is a Turkish nation, her subjects feel a Turkish heart beat in their breast, Turkish blood flow through their veins and Turkish feelings and ideas rule their life.

### Chapter III.

#### The Ideal.

The awakening of the national consciousness, in itself a cause for rejoicing, is only a beginning, a preparation for the real goal. The way is clear, but the end is still far away. What great distances must be covered by the people in order to reach this end! What developments from their good beginning! An ideal is needed to make the national consciousness bear fruit. A spur or a goad must urge on the nation, lest it weary before the goal is reached. Every class, every individual in the country should, through his consciousness of self, see this ideal shine before him, forming the end of all his desires, and making the goal still more worth striving for.

Every nation under the sun possesses such an ideal, be it great or small, powerful or uninspiring.

The Germans proclaim their ideal in their national songs: "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles ...". Every German knows this song from his childhood, all through his life it rings in his ears, and with those words on his lips he dies --- "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles", and in very truth, every German longs with his whole soul and will to see his nation "über alles". In striving for this ideal the Germans have become so great and powerful a nation that they are now able to defy a whole world of assailants and defeat them all.

The English have also an ideal, and as it is precisely identical with Germany's, the conflict between the two nations became inevitable.

The French ideal is in contradiction to the needs and conditions of the age.

Since the great Revolution, the nation has striven  
towards

towards "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity".

The French philosophers have created a special term for this:- "Humanitarianism". Gustav Lebon says:

"France's greatest misfortune is that humanitarianism has become her national ideal. Italy was created through this ideal, and she has always been among the enemies of France.

In short, the training of a Frenchman is not national, but anti-national".

The Balkan peoples, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, and even populations who till yesterday were under the dominion of Turkey, all possess a national ideal. From the statesman who is concerned with the hard questions of political and social life, down to the simple peasant who knows about nothing but his cow and his sickle, all long to see a powerful Greece, Bulgaria, or Serbia. As the Turks have only to-day found their national consciousness, they cannot be expected to have a very well-defined ideal yet, and indeed, they have not got it. In order to imbue a people with such an ideal, and make it take firm root, much time is needed.

To avoid misinterpretations, let us hasten to add that although the Turks had no such ideal up to quite recent times, there were nevertheless a large number of Idealists in the country, who brought about the revolution of 23rd July, and warded off the danger of 23rd April, they, too, raised Turkey from the Balkan disaster. Had Turkey not possessed men such as Enver, Talaat, Jemal and others, during those hard and disastrous times, the Ottoman Empire would have disappeared entirely by to-day.

But even if a number of Idealists are living and working in a country, it does not follow that the nation itself has its ideal.

It only proves that the nation is capable of developing ideals. In this fruitful soil the seeds of an Ideal should be sown with loving care, and the young shoots carefully tended.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

## Chapter IV.

### The Turkish Ideal.

What is to be the ideal of the Turkish nation? What aims should it embrace? What feelings and desires should be inculcated in the babies in the Kindergartens, the children in the schools, the young men at the Universities and the full grown men in their working life? Of course desires and feelings cannot be forced on a nation unless they are in harmony with its soul and individuality. A nation's ideals must rise from the spirit of tradition.

The thinkers who led the new movement in Turkey never lost this point of view for a moment.

They went back to the origins of the nation and laid bare the Turanian question.

The adherents of the "Yeni Lisan" (new language), who undertook to reform the Turkish language, confine themselves to the ancient Turkish treasury of words, and strive to purify the language from the foreign, i.e. Persian and Arab elements.

In their literary reforms they advocate the pure national impulse, and give preference to old national themes, and subjects which express the genuine Turkish spirit.

Old, forgotten Turkish songs and tales are revived, and it is hoped and believed that the soul of the ancient people will be found in the old traditions.

All these efforts only show what method is being pursued and on what lines the founding of an ideal for Turkey is being based. Turanianism itself, which lately received frequent mention in the newspapers, cannot form the true substance of this ideal, as far as it connotes the Turkish race.

Community of race is of extremely small importance in this modern age. The English and the Germans are of the same race, and yet they are the bitterest enemies in the world. The same thing may be noticed in our near neighbourhood; community of race does not prevent the Serbians and Bulgarians from nourishing the deepest hatred against each other; each longs for nothing more heartily than the downfall of the other.

Russia, of course, proclaims her hypocritical Pan-Slavism, but her policy is not really directed towards the union of all Slav nations, but the extension and glorification of Russian despotism by means of the Slav nations.

The only nation which is a true member of the "Order of the Knout" is Serbia, who has had to realize the bitter truth that as far as she is concerned "Slav" is synonymous with "Slave" and that the "Brother of Russia" comes to the same as the "Servant of Russia". Poles and Ukrainians, who live too near to their Russian "brother" to be taken in by "Pan-Slavism", hate the Russian authority with a wholehearted and bitter hatred, and regard it as their greatest, worst and most dangerous enemy.

The Czech, Ruthenian, Polish, Slovenian and other Slav soldiers who are fighting in the Austrian Army are especially bitter against their "Brothers" the Russians.

This affords sufficient proof of the fact that the bond of racial relationship is nowadays a very slight one. If, therefore, an attempt is made to give to the Turks a national ideal based on the principle of the brotherhood of all Turkish nations, the attempt will certainly fail. This does not imply that the feeling of racial community is to be discouraged

discouraged or opposed. This feeling is, on the contrary, of great value, and it is a matter of congratulation that the rapprochement between Magyars and Turks is being so well received here.

Yet once again: The Turks' national ideal cannot be the race theory, because the latter is really nothing but a Utopian dream.

The natural ideal of the Turkish nation can only grow out of the national movement. Could anything be more worth striving after, more beautiful than the union of all the Turks in the world, and the ardent desire to give all these Turks a common soul, a common consciousness and a common civilisation? It must not be forgotten that the Ottoman Turks, who already possess a national consciousness, now only represent a tenth of the whole nation. There are now sixty to seventy million Turkish subjects, who should succeed in giving the nation an important place among the other powers. Unfortunately there is no relationship between the separate groups, which are distributed over great tracts of land. Their aspirations and national institutions still divide them.

The Turks who live under foreign rule have one hope and strength - the Ottoman Turks, - but, not yet being come to national consciousness, they do not realise the great danger to which they and their brothers have been exposed: Now that the Ottoman Turks have awakened from their sleep of centuries they do not only think of themselves, but hasten to save the other parts of their race who are living in slavery or ignorance.

## Chapter V.

### The ideals of the new nation.

The history of recent times shows us that all nations on awakening to national consciousness think first of their brothers in neighbouring lands. This thought has then gradually risen to become their national ideal. This is seen for the first time in the case of Italy. Hardly had she won her national unity when she became eager to help her compatriots abroad. This movement to free her brothers in Southern Tyrol and neighbouring districts gave rise to the Irredenta. Political consideration induced Italy to enter into an alliance with Austria, but the Irredenta never lost sight of its goal for a moment. The reason for the fact that public opinion is against Austria in spite of the alliance is to be found only in the Irredenta. In spite of the community of interests between Italy and Austria, a real friendship has never existed between the two States. They were even obliged to strengthen their common frontiers. Even in this war public opinion in Italy is against her Allies. If this reaction were not heavily counterbalanced by the wise statesmanship of the leading personalities, the Italians too would have fallen into the clutches of hypocritical and self-seeking Albion at the beginning of the war.

The Irredenta policy, which has its origin in Italy, is to-day one of the strongest and most remarkable factors in the policy of nations.

Roumania has long been regarded as the satellite of the Triple Alliance, or rather of Austria-Hungary. She is almost completely surrounded by Slav nations and has her only natural point d'appui in the Monarchy. It was therefore to be expected that she would openly declare herself to be the partisan of Austria and promptly fall upon Russia, the enemy

of civilization. The latest events have unfortunately proved the contrary. Immediately after the outbreak of war, public opinion ranged against Austria and demanded that the Government should take the favourable opportunity of joining forces with Russia against Austria. An explanation of this strange and certainly unexpected fact is not far to seek. The Irredenta movement has recently spread to Roumania, and has taken a firm hold on the nation. Its object is to free the Roumanians in Transylvania from the Austrian authority, and unite them with their Fatherland. This movement has also extended to the Roumanians in Hungary, and the Hungarian Government found itself obliged to take the necessary steps. Russian money and intrigues could only have had so surprising an effect in Roumania for this reason, that the ground was amply prepared by the Irredenta. Thus the Irredenta, regarded as a national ideal, almost succeeded in perverting Roumania to the extent of inducing her to take up arms against Austria in this great war.

The Roumanian Irredenta is not only directed towards Transylvania but also to Macedonia, although Roumania has no common frontier with Macedonia, which is the home of a few hundreds of thousands of Kutzovlachs of Roumanian blood.

Innumerable unions were founded in Roumania for the purpose of protecting these people from Greece's efforts to Hellenise them, and the Roumanian Government grants them a yearly subsidy of 7 - 800,000 francs. Up to the time of the Balkan War the position of the Kutzovlachs was an important factor in Roumania's foreign policy. By this policy Roumania became a friend of Turkey, broke off her relations with Greece for some time, and drove thousands of Greeks out of the country.

The small Balkan States of Bulgaria, Serbia etc., whose foundation dates from the last century, were also willing and eager to receive Irredenta ideas. Hardly had their

independence

independence been won, when they began to think of their brothers in the frontier lands. Even their Governments were obliged to support this national ideal.

Bulgaria had hardly become a principality before it took up the Eastern Roumelian question, and by dint of revolutions, robber bands and other well-known Balkan methods, succeeded in annexing this province. After this lucky start Bulgaria used exactly the same means to bring the Bulgarians in Macedonia under her rule. It is only too well-known what was the result of this policy in Macedonia.

Serbia likewise made use of the customary methods of murder and robbery for the same purpose in Macedonia, thus finally turning the poor country into a terrestrial hell.

Macedonia is soaked in blood. Atrocities were committed there, the mere thought of which make one's hair stand on end. Nevertheless, the leaders of robber bands and members of the terrible Irredenta were not regarded by the public as wild robbers, but as heroes fighting for the unity of the nation.

The Balkan peoples, who have fought in this terrible and grisly manner, but with all their best strength, for many years for the union of their compatriots, have really attained their ideal in their victory over Turkey in the last war.

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## Chapter VI.

### The Turkish Irredenta.

The ideal of the new nations, and the policy of their Governments as interpreters of the national ideal, show a strong tendency towards the liberation of their compatriots abroad from the foreign yoke, or at least the awakening of their national consciousness.

The newly awakened Turks can have no other aim. The Turkish Irredenta may be directed towards material or moral reforms according to circumstances. If the geographical position favours the venture, the Turks can free their brothers from foreign rule. In the other case they can, like the Roumanians in Macedonia, carry on their Irredenta on moral or intellectual lines.

While the Irredenta did not come to the Italians, Roumanians, Bulgarians and Serbians at the bidding of actual necessity, it formed for Turkey an inevitable policy. The Italians and other nations could easily have carried on their national development without the help of an Irredenta, because they have in their own country sufficient political, social and economic resources to give them the upper hand over any possible alien element. Their national integrity is therefore unthreatened.

This is unfortunately not the case in Turkey. The Turks have not got the actual mastery in their own country. If Turkish civilization, the Turkish spirit, the Turkish national aspirations, were to be confined solely to Turkey, they could only be ephemeral in their influence, because they would be continually exposed to strong opposing influences. The Ottoman Turks are indeed the only strength of their brothers abroad, but they themselves are dependent on the co-operation of the different parts of their nation in foreign lands, because their numbers in the Fatherland are too small, and they are thus constantly menaced by the danger of assimilation into their 'milieu'.

The Irredenta, which other nations may regard as a luxury - though often very terrible and costly - is a political and social necessity for the Turks. The motive of the Turkish

Irredenta

Irredenta is not, as with other nations, greed for conquest, because Turkey has no need of increased territory or conquests. The fruitful land of Anatolia would provide good homes and food for a population three times greater than the present number. The Turkish element at home not only requires material but moral expansion and strengthening. The Ottoman Turks have allowed themselves to be too greatly influenced by the mode of thought and conditions of life in their country, and have lost many of their national qualities, while Turks living abroad under different conditions have been better able to retain them. The Ottoman Turks have not for instance been able to preserve in all its strength the well-known warlike spirit of their forefathers. But the Kashkai peoples in Persia, the Afghans, and other Turkish elements have retained this martial spirit to the full. The Ottoman Turks who have been under a political rule for centuries have always regarded officialdom and a bureaucratic career as the highest possible aim. The spirit of enterprise no longer lives within them. On the contrary the Turks of Azerbaijan and in Russia have this quality to a very high degree.

The Ottoman Turks have however many other good and useful qualities to a greater extent than other Turks.

If all the Turks in the world were welded into one huge community, a strong nation would be formed, worthy to take an important place among the other nations of the world.

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## Chapter VII.

### The Idealists.

It is indeed no easy (but therefore all the more noble) task, to give a common spirit and common national soul

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to all Turks. An ideal is an idea which may come to fulfilment at any moment. The ideal is the most distant point on the mental horizon of a nation, and every step taken towards it means a very real progress.

The raising of a nation depends not only upon the presence of an ideal, but also upon the co-operation of idealists who are ready to devote all their strength, and even their lives and fortunes, to its attainment. As we have seen before, the Turkish nation is in no wise lacking in such idealists. A convincing proof of this may be gained by a close study of the person holding the highest positions in the Government. These men have never ceased for a moment to work with utter self-abnegation for the good of the nation. The life of these men is a shining and encouraging example to the youth of the country. Observers who, like myself, are Macedonians, and, like myself, had ample opportunity of gaining an intimate knowledge of the Irredentist propaganda of the Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbians and Vlachs, are able to judge the significance of this striving after a national ideal, and how sweet and inspiring it is to go through the greatest dangers for such a cause. This is best illustrated by a few living examples.

First let us take the case of a young Bulgarian. He came of a wealthy family and was therefore pampered and indulged in every possible way by his parents. Up to the age of 30 he studies at the University. Does he then move to a luxuriously appointed lawyer's office in Salonica, surrounded by all the most modern comforts? No! His office is in the mountains, his desk is a rock, his pen a gun and dagger and his clients Turkish gendarmes and Greek robber bands upon which he passes sentence of death without much ceremony.

Another.

Another illustration. The young man has studied medicine in an European University, and returns home with his doctor's degree. Will he now declare war on the microbes and the thousands of diseases which assail human life? No! indeed! He wanders, armed to the teeth, from village to village, from mountain to mountain, dispensing out his only medicine, those death dealing blue pills, to all the opponents of his ideal, and even to those of his own countrymen who do not share his ideas.

A third picture is afforded by a professor of the highest philosophical attainments. Does he establish a centre of training in Athens, Bucharest, Sofia or Belgrade? No! again! In secluded villages such as Grebena and Dikwesh, etc., he instils the Irredenta principles into the minds of the village children, and prepares them to sacrifice life and fortune for this ideal.

During the last few years the prisons of Salonica and Monastir have been filled with a curious class of man. The dark dungean cells do not hide thieves or ordinary criminals, but chiefly doctors, lawyers, professors and similar idealists.

The mountains and fields of Macedonia hold hundrede of graves of such men as these. The rivers Vardar and Struma have been reddened by the blood of thousands of these idealists. The men may die, but the ideal is immortal. It is ever brought closer to realisation by the death of these men.

Will the young turks emulate the self-sacrifice of these men? Or will they rather, on leaving the University seek as their one object in life, an official or similar position in Constantinople or Smyrna or one of the larger towns in the kingdom, without troubling about the needs of their Fatherland.

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Fatherland, which demands so many young lives? They know the road, and the goal towards which it leads. They know also that this goal cannot be reached but by sacrifice of blood and fortune. But they know best of all that the Fatherland needs them and that the nation is calling.

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## Chapter VIII.

### The Turks of Azerbaijan.

There are many different kinds of countries which form a fruitful ground for the development of the national ideal. In some places ordinary propaganda is sufficient, but in hotly contested territory recourse is made to the more violent measures which were used in Macedonia.

The neighbouring land of Persia is without doubt the best of all countries with Turkish population for spreading the new ideas, and it has been found that simple propaganda is amply sufficient to produce a satisfactory effect on this fruitful soil. One third of the whole population of about 10 millions is of Turkish blood.

It can quite clearly be seen to-day that the destiny of the Persian State is closely bound up with that of Turkey. Russia and England, who saw the decline of Turkey, and tried to bring about her final downfall as quickly as possible, were also united on the subject of the complete partition of Persia. They did not even take the trouble to hide this intention. A victory for the Triple Entente would seal Turkey's fate and the inevitable result would be the fall of Persia.

The material interests of these two countries, which are exposed to the same danger, are therefore closely bound together, indeed, they are almost identical. The maintenance  
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of Turkey is a guarantee for that of Persia, just as, in the opposite case, the strengthening of Persia is a protection against a Russian invasion of Turkey.

These two Mohammedan States are obliged to defend their lives against Russian attack. It is true that this natural, and indeed necessary, rapprochement for purposes of resisting a common danger and of mutual protection, is not yet an accomplished fact. Turkey has hitherto been far too occupied with internal and external disturbances, wars and crisis, while Persia was cowering under the knout of the notorious Liakoff's cossacks, and those of his playmates. There is, however, no reason for postponing or hindering this rapprochement and union now. As soon as Iran is freed from Russian despotism, efforts will be made to form a strong and binding union between Turkey and Persia.

For this reason, the Turkish propaganda in Persia is by no means hostile to that nation, but will, on the contrary be a strong factor in the internal and external progress of the country, especially as the Turks in Persia form the progressive element in the population.

The Province of Azerbaijan, which is the richest, most active and most enlightened in Persia, is almost entirely inhabited by Turks. Two and a half million are of pure Turkish blood, and think, speak and pray in Turkish.

The Turcoman and Kashkai population, who live outside this province, are also of pure Turkish decent. Even in the other parts of Turkey, the progressive and internal power is mostly in the hands of the Turks. The national wealth of Persia belongs to the Turks, who in their turn fill the Persian Government's treasury. The warlike families in Persia are also Turks; they form the national army of the Government, whose one strong support they are.

The Kajar dynasty, which has ruled over Persia for centuries, is also of Turkish origin. Of the same descent are the Grand Vizier and other state dignatories, in whose hands has hitherto been placed the welfare of the State. The majority of Persia's thinking men are Turks. The spirit of the Administration is Turkish, as also the leading spirit of Persian civilization, even though these be clothed in Persian guise.

Unfortunately all these services rendered by Turks to Persia have been wasted for the former, because all those Turkish warriors and heroes, Shahs and Grand Viziers, thinkers and scholars, have lost their Turkish consciousness and have become assimilated with the Persians in writing, speech and literature.

It has also been proved historically that Turks have always rendered great services to science, and especially to intellectual life; never, indeed, under Turkish names and designations, but under names taken from those nations with whom they are living. This is shown in the case of the Arabs for instance. Men such as Farabi and Ibn Sina, who are famous as the protagonists of Arab civilization, belong to the Turkish race.

We needed, however, research students and historians such as Tahir Bey and Leon Kahun to enlighten us about the nationality of those heroes of civilisation, and to show the world, even the Turkish world, that it is absolutely false to believe that Turks had never cared for or helped civilisation at any time or in any place.

First these historical students had to fill many blank leaves of Turkish history books with the fame of their nation. It may be taken for granted that, if only the Turks' national

national consciousness had dawned upon them at an earlier period of their historical development, they could have looked back on an individual civilisation in the same way as other nations, such as the Romans, Greeks, Arabs, etc.

The lack of a national idea has hitherto caused the Turks, even in the independent Ottoman Empire, to clothe all their scientific and intellectual work in Persian guise. The Turkish spirit feels itself too weak to dispense with the borrowed foreign cloak.

If the Ottoman Turks do not become assimilated like their Persian brothers, the reason lies in the fact that in many places they form the majority of the population. Another reason is that a high barrier has been formed between the Turks and the Christian nations by various privileges granted by the different Sultans to the Patriarchs. Close intercourse between the Turkish subjects and those of other faith was practically impossible.

On the other hand, the Turks who poured into Persia and subdued her had once been subdued themselves. The Turkish subjects in Persia were therefore placed in a very curious position. They speak Turkish, but always use Persian when writing as though Turkish were forbidden. Even the simplest letter is always written in Persian. Although efforts have recently been made to introduce the use of Turkish in writing they have not been very favourably received. An attempt was even made to publish newspapers printed in Turkish. The journals "Forad" and "Suhbet" both had a very limited circulation and a very short life.

In spite of all this, it does not seem too hard a task to win the Turks in Persia over to the national interest, and give them all a Turkish soul. It is sufficient that a few obstinate

obstinate and persevering idealists should undertake this beneficent task.

To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to glance at the situation of the Kutzovlahs in Macedonia. The few hundreds of thousands of Vlachs in Macedonia have, until recent days, been in a far worse situation than the Turks in Persia. They are Roumanians, and write and speak Roumanian. From a national point of view they regarded themselves, nevertheless, as Greeks, and never imagined that they could belong to any other nation than Greece. Their religious services were performed in the Greek church and they always made use of Greek priests. At the same time, the language, race, customs, mode of life and even dress of the Greeks were different. And these Vlachs did not confine themselves to the mere consciousness of being Greeks, but they also opposed Greek propaganda to that of the Bulgarians.

During the second half of the 19th century, the first signs of a national awakening were seen; - not among the Vlachs in Macedonia, but among those living in Roumania and Hungary. Not until the end of the 19th century, when the Roumanians themselves rose to the occasion and started the arousing of the Vlach element, was there any real awakening. At that time, however, Vlach nationalists started to build Vlach churches and schools, and the Roumanians organized an extensive propaganda. The Greeks tried, indeed, by robber bands and all kinds of forcible means to put down the new and unexpected movement, but the leaders who were sent from Roumania took up the challenge with the greatest decision, and simply opposed the Greek gangs with Vlachs.

With

With the financial help of the Roumanian Government just one decade saw the creation of a combined Vlach element of a few hundred thousand people.

It may easily be understood that a movement which was so successfully started by a few Roumanian idealists could also be conducted in Persia, and would have an assured success, in that the difficulties encountered by the Roumanian nationalists would not have to be overcome by the Turkish idealists in Persia. There is no power in Persia to put down such a movement, because it could not do harm to anyone. The nationalisation of the Persian Turks would even be a great and unexpected help to the Persian Government, because an enlightened element of from 3 to 4 millions, thinking and acting in unison, would thus be formed in Persia. If the standard of civilization were raised in Persia by this movement a strong internal union will thus be possible between the two countries.

Persia could be situated with regard to the Turkish Government as Bavaria towards Prussia, or Hungary towards Austria, i.e. Persia can live her internal life in absolute independence and liberty, while outwardly forming with Turkey one body and soul, one great united nation.

The idea that in helping the Turks in Persia, Turkey will lay hands on the country, is foolish and unfounded. It has always been maintained that Turkey has no desire for territorial expansion. No one can be a better judge than the Turks themselves of the difficulties and disadvantages of ruling over heterogeneous elements of population. The future of Turkey lies only in the extension of her economic and progressive scope, and in an increased number of hands and

brains to work for the progress and development of the Turkish nation.

If Persia, as a Mohammedan power, accepts the idea of a Union, the Turkish population will be increased by 3 to 4 millions, but the Turkish empire by about 10 million souls.

It is without doubt that many Turks in Persia are eager for a Union, and would not hesitate to devote their lives to the realisation of the project. For among the Persian Turks too, the idealists and "Fedai" (Zealots) are numerous. They have repeatedly proved that they are willing to lay down their lives for an ideal. The Persian revolution, which was crushed under the heel of the Cossacks, and put down by the knout, was started by the Turks in Azerbaijan. The heroes who sacrificed their lives for the realisation of their plan, were mostly Turks, as also were the Martyrs of the reaction. The parts played in the Turkish revolution by heroes such as Enver, Niaz and others, were played in Persia by men such as Sadar Chau, Bakir Chau, etc.

Those brave men who, during the Reaction, made a heroic resistance for a year at the siege of Tabris, and went through the most terrible privations, were also Turks. That is to say that there is no lack in Persia of Turks who are worthy of fighting for an ideal, and even of dying.

If, therefore, a part of these many self-sacrificing idealists could be won for the Turkish national movement in Persia, the cause is assured.

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## Chapter IX.

### The Caucasian Turks.

The greater part of the Turkish nation is in Russia who is now at war with Turkey.

The Caucasus, the present goal of our doughty troop is the home of a large number of these Turks. The country south of the Caucasus range may really be regarded as Turkish territory. The Turkish element forms the chief part of the population (50%): in some provinces this figure is increased even to 80% of the whole population.

The alluvial plains of the Volga and the Kama, in European Russia, are inhabited by 4 or 5 million Turks, who are closely allied to the Ottoman Turks in language, institutions and civilization.

These, and their brothers in the Crimea and Caucasus lead an independent life, cut off from one another, especially in the provinces of Kazan and Ufa, where the Turks are in the majority. The Northern Turks are not indeed superior to the Ottoman Turks, but must not therefore be underrated: they are indeed in the proud position of having come to national consciousness before the Ottoman Turks. Their progressive economic and social organization is in every way a great help to the national movement.

The Ottoman Turks owe to their earlier despotic system of Government, the peculiarity of being always Hukümetji i.e. that they are always too much tied to their "mother" Government's apron strings and will not be independent. If any thing is to be done for the good of the people, the Government must start it. The Government, who has so much to bear, so many dangers to avert, so many cares assailing it, cannot always find time to deal with all the details, which are

really

really the people's business.

A people must make its future for itself; the Government can only help and advise, for the whole question is one of natural development. The Ottoman Turks have not yet obtained a common organization like that of the non-mahomedan peoples.

This is not the case with the Northern and Caucasian Turks, all progress among whom is the result of their own efforts. The Russian Government has given them no support, but on the contrary, suppressed them as much as possible. In spite of this, the schools, for instance, in these Turkish communities, are in no wise inferior to those in Turkey proper. The scholars leaving these schools are equal to pupils of the Russian schools and are even superior to them to a certain extent. The Russian Turks have an absolutely independent common organisation. In each district or community, the people all rally round the Imam, who is regarded as their teacher and guide. These Imams are usually very enlightened and wise men, possessing a wide general knowledge which is naturally a great help to the progress of the community.

A sort of common council is formed under the presidency of the Imam, which deals with schools and other national institutions. The work, which, among the Ottoman Turks, is given out by the Patriarchates to the different Mejtis's, is here carried out by the common council. The management and upkeep of the schools and national institutions have never been entrusted to the Government by the Russian Turks. The generosity of the members of the community, whose munificent gifts are ample for the upkeep of the various public institutions, has entirely obviated the need for a Government subsidy.

The Russian Turks have their own civilization and speech. They boast many writers, such as Tokai, Ajas, Fateh,

and others, who are also intellectual leaders. The Press does not discuss the political situation, but only questions directly connected with the national interests. In short the intellectual standard and moral attainments of these Russian Turks is so high, that they are in no need of the leadership of the Ottoman Turks. They only demand one thing of the Ottoman Empire:- the strengthening and progress of the Turkish Government and the Turkish nation, for therein they see the one support of the whole Turkish people.

The development of national intellectual life and national civilization needs a strong and independent Government

If the Russian Despotism is, as we hope, to be destroyed by the brave German, Austrian and Turkish Armies which oppose it, 30 to 40 million Turks will receive their independence. Together with the 10 million Ottoman Turks, this will form a nation of 50 million, advancing towards a great civilisation, which may perhaps be compared to that of Germany, in that it will have the strength and energy to rise ever higher. In some ways it will be even superior to the degenerate French and English civilisations.

All the desires of the Turkish nation are fixed on this goal - the building up of a new, national Turkish civilisation, founded on the basis of the old sacred traditions.

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