

TURKISM IN THE THOUGHT OF DR. RIZA NUR: A READING FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PRIMORDIALISM

Dr. Rıza Nur'un Düşüncesinde Türkçülük: İlkçi Kuram Perspektifinden Bir Okuma

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ABSTRACT

Turkism was one of the political movements emerging in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Under scope of the Turkism movement, initially Ottoman belonging and realism were identifying factors. Subject matter realism comprises of such concepts like balance, strategy and interest. In the subsequent period, matter of racial origins became prevalent within framework of Turkism movement. Racial origin was construed as descending from Turkic blood. The thinker who combined two veins in the Turkism movement was Dr. Rıza Nur. In this article, including both veins in the Turkism movement, Dr. Rıza Nur's understanding of Turkism will be examined. Dr. Rıza Nur's thought will be read in connection with the primordialism, which is one of the theories of nationalism.

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ÖZ

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son döneminde beliren siyasal akımlardan biri Türkçülük olmuştur. Türkçülük akımı içerisinde ilk olarak Osmanlı aidiyeti ve realizm belirleyici olmuştur. Sözü edilen realizm denge, strateji ve çıkar gibi kavramlardan müteşekkildir. Sonraki dönemde Türkçülük akımı dâhilinde ırksal köken konusu belirgin hale gelmiştir. İrksal köken, Türk kanından gelme biçiminde yorumlanmıştır. Türkçülük akımı içerisinde iki damarı mecz eden düşünür Dr. Rıza Nur olmuştur. Bu makalede, Türkçülük akımındaki iki damara da yer veren Dr. Rıza Nur'un Türkçülük anlayışı incelenecektir. Dr. Rıza Nur'un düşüncesi, milliyetçilik kuramlarından biri olan ilkçi yaklaşım ile bağlantılı biçimde okunacaktır.

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INTRODUCTION

Turkism movement became prevalent as a drive flourishing in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. Western Turcologists, Turkists in Tsarist Russia and Ottoman literary figures were influential in the construction of Turkism. The reason why Turkists in Tsarist Russia attach importance to Turkism is to oppose Pan Slavism. What Ottoman literati understand from Turkism is the construction of a national language based on the Turkish language (Ağaoğulları, 2013: 290-296). In his work titled "Turkism", Şükrü Hanioglu defines Turkism as follows: "In the Ottoman Empire, the current of thought that developed on relationally Turkish Nationalism after the Second Constitutional Monarchy is Turkism." (Hanioglu, 1985: 1394). Such movement originating from the efforts of saving the state from the danger of disintegration in the last period of the Ottoman Empire (Akçura, 2008: 59), assumed in the process covering Early Republican Era varying forms by using varying discourses. Although various discourses or forms appeared within the scope of the Turkism movement during the time period from the Ottoman Empire to the Early Republic, the constant thing is that Turkishness was given a central place (Karakaş, 2006: 63. Kara-Çatma, 2017: 341-345).

Initial stage of Turkish nationalism prevalent in the period ranging from the last years of the Ottoman Empire till 1930's of the Republican era consisted of soldier-bureaucrat intellectuals born in between years 1870 and 1890, educated in Military, Medical and Civil Service Schools. This generation is comprising of thinkers especially Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp, primarily possesses sensitivities pertaining to the Ottomans (Çelikçi, 2021: 153). Political analysis level of this generation is powerful. To this end, material balances, strategies and tactical interests are of essence for the first generation Turkists. Thinkers of the first generation Turkist movement were duly equipped with existence, cohesion and defense reflexes, ascribing essence to political benefits rather than racial purity (Ertekin, 2009: 348-349). In this respect, racial origins were not made a serious matter of discussion in this period, nor deemed as an existential or founding element.

The second generation Turkism deviated from such type of national identity perception of the first generation Turkists. For those second generation Turkists like Nihal Atsız, Reha Oğuz Türkkan, Fethi Tevetoğlu and İsmet Tümtürk, emerging to the stage as from 1930's, racial origins constituted the primary element of both Turkism as well as anti-Turkism. While it was possible to cover the concept of race used by the first Turkist generation with concepts like religion, tradition, culture and history, for the second generation Turkism movement, concept of race is incomparably value to be substituted by the former. Therefore, for the second generation Turkist movement, matter of racial origins was the most essential element towards humiliation in hostilities both amongst themselves as well as with their antagonists (Ertekin, 2009: 350). Concept of race for the second generation Turkist movement was defined as being born to Turkish mother-father and to this effect being of *Turkish blood/lineage*.

It is also required to refer to the domestic as well as foreign conjunction providing for the transition from the first generation Turkism to the second generation Turkism. In respect of the domestic conjuncture, the first generation Turkist movement existed in an attempt of cohesion as from the final period of the Ottoman era and to this effect was focused on political interests, strategies and tactics, the second generation Turkist movement developed in a feeling of self-confidence nurtured in the secure ambient of an established state and in this medium ascribed essence to racial origins. Besides and further thereto, attitude adopted by the government in the course of the Second World War also nurtured such transition. Whereas the foreign/external conjuncture feeding transition from the first generation Turkism to the second generation Turkism consisted of governance of Germany, Italy and Japan by fascist regimes and the whole world challenged by fascism until 1944. To this effect, ambient of foreign policies lenient on fascism dominated by these states both prior to and during the Second World War was used by the second generation Turkists in Turkey in their own favor.

There are also figures combining the first generation Turkism and the second generation Turkism. Most prominent of these figures is Dr. Rıza Nur. Dr. Rıza Nur, defending Turkish identity based

on purity of blood and race. Besides this, he gives weight to another things such as religion and history. In this respect, it is seen that Dr. Rıza Nur has an understanding of Turkism that includes both blood ties and religion and land. For Dr. Rıza Nur, who thinks about the ethnic origin of the Turkish identity, this ethnicity includes both blood and cultural elements at the same time.

Subject of this study is the Turkism perception of Dr. Rıza Nur. Turkism thought of Dr. Rıza Nur will be analysed in connection with the primordialism, which is one of the theories of nationalism. The reason for making such a choice is both in primordialist approach and in Dr. Rıza Nur's thought is to encounter ethno-cultural and political overlap. To put it more clearly, the nationalism based on blood and culture seen in primordialism recurs in Dr. Rıza Nur's understanding of Turkism will be the argument of this study. In this context, it will be claimed within the scope of the study that Turkism in Dr. Rıza Nur's thought corresponds to primordialism being one type theory of nationalism. In order to read the Turkism in the thought of Dr. Rıza Nur in the context of primordialism, it firstly should be examined the primordialism.

Primordialist Approach

Primordialism is another type of nationalist theories along with modernist theory and ethnosymbolism. Primordialism, which dominated a part of the nationalist literature until the 1960s, was imported into this field from ethnicity studies (Özkırımlı, 1999: 86). Primordialism, in its most basic sense, is used for those who define nations as natural structures that have existed since ancient times (Yalçiner, 2014: 191). Primordialist approach claims that “ethnic identity has an existence and attractiveness independent of historical and social conditions and plays a decisive role on the political tendencies of individuals with a power that economic and institutional arrangements cannot destroy” (Aktürk, 2006: 24).¹ According to primordialists, “ethnic groups are concrete and independent formations that have existed since the depths of history, and their existence cannot be reduced to and explained by other factors (economic, social, cultural, historical, geographical, etc.) (Aktürk, 2006: 24).

Primordialism was first used by Edward Shills. Shills, who uses the concept of primordialism to describe family relationships, states that this relationship is based on blood ties. According to Shills, this bond that emerges on the basis of blood ties is perceived by family members as if it has always existed (Özkırımlı, 1999: 76). Clifford Geertz, another thinker within the primordialist approach, defines primordialism on the basis of a bond, like Shills. Similar to Shills, Geertz states that this bond contains blood. However, unlike Shills, Geertz also includes religion, language, land and social habits to this bond (Jaffrelot, 2010: 71; Şimşek, 2009: 84). Considering that it includes both blood and religion, language, social habits, it can be said that primordialism combines both the ethno-cultural and the political (Yalçiner, 2014: 195).

In the perspective of primordialism, there are three viewpoints among thinkers approaching nationalism. The first of these viewpoint is described as naturalistic. According to the naturalist primordialists, ethnic identity is a natural part of human (Smith, 2002a: 29). More precisely, ethnic identity for naturalist primordialists is as natural a part of us as seeing and smelling. Naturalists argue that people born into a family are natural as borning into an ethnic identity. From this respect, according to naturalists, it is quite natural for humanity to divide into different ethnic groups and these groups tend to exclude those who are not their own. Naturalists, who state that the nation has a certain origin and character, do not distinguish between nations and ethnic groups. Naturalists, generally composed of historians who imagine a national past and state-building politicians, claim that nations are unique structures with their lifestyles and their loyalty to the land (Özkırımlı, 1999: 78-79).

¹ Frederick Barth, who criticizes the primordialists' view of the ethnic group as independent of historical and social conditions, states that ethnic identities are constantly evolving clusters. According to Barth, change is inevitable because members of the ethnic group interact (Jaffrelot, 2010: 73).

The second viewpoint that evaluates nationalism within primordialism is defined as biological. This approach looks for the origin of ethnic loyalties in genetic characteristics and instincts. Considering that genetics spreads among relatives (Berghe, 1994: 102), it can be said that the construction of an ethnicity on the basis of kinship is envisioned within the biological approach. Here, ethnicity and kinship are imagined as a shared sense of destiny (Aydın, 2000: 72). Considering that kinship is made possible on the basis of blood ties, it is understood that in the biological approach, a transferable inheritance between people belonging to the same blood is desired (Özkırımlı, 1999: 83). It is possible to think that the ethnic community consisting of people of the same blood is defined as a nation in terms of the thinkers involved in the biological approach.

The third viewpoint that evaluates nationalism within primordialism is defined as cultural. Cultural primordialism seen in the thought of Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz, as mentioned above, factors such as blood ties, religion, language and land come to the fore (Aydın, 2013: 245). From this point, it is understood that culture in cultural primordialism is based on blood ties together with cultural elements such as religion and language. At this point, what can be said is that religion, language and blood ties are responsible for separating the nation from the other (Özkırımlı, 1999: 87).

As could be seen from what has been explained so far, ethnicity stands out as the most fundamental fault line in primordialism, which is one of the concepts of nationalism. Considering that the biological view includes blood ties and the culturalist view includes such as religion, belief, loyalty to land and language, it is understood that ethnicity inside the primordialism includes both blood and culture at the same time (Smith, 2002b: 34). When asked who is the person having such an understanding of nationalism in Turkey's history, it can be said that the answer is Dr. Rıza Nur. Before examining Dr. Rıza Nur's Turkism in the context of primordialist theory, it would be appropriate to convey information about his life.

Dr. Rıza Nur's Life

The first thing to be said about Dr. Rıza Nur is that he is one of the most incongruous individuals of Turkish political history regarding both his ideas as well as acts. An important cause of such incongruity is that Dr. Rıza Nur adopted at all times a dissident attitude. Dr. Rıza Nur, opposed Abdülhamid II as a student and early part of his youth, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (İTC/Union and Progress Committee) after declaration of the IInd Constitutional Monarchy and after establishment of the Republic, M. Kemal Atatürk and Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP/Republican People's Party) and although the names opposed to varied in time, his Turkist opinions never changed. To this effect, it could possibly be stated that the basis of such opponent attitude exhibited by Dr. Rıza Nur was the ideology of Turkism.

Dr. Rıza Nur was born at Sinop in 1878, completing his primary and secondary education in the same town. Then, he graduated in İstanbul from Soğuk Çeşme Military Junior High School, Kuleli Military High School and Military Medical Academy. Starting to work at Gülhane Hospital as a Medical Officer (Captain) in 1901, Dr. Rıza Nur functioned as a faculty member in the said institution until declaration of the IInd Constitutional Monarchy and in the same period drafted works in Turkish, French and German, particularly on circumcision and venereal diseases. In that cycle of his lifetime, Dr. Rıza Nur was closely interested with German culture and classical music, an interest surviving later as well (Alpkaya, 2009: 374).

Joining İTC a short while before declaration of the IInd Constitutional Monarchy, Dr. Rıza Nur aged 30 was elected from Sinop as the youngest deputy in the elections made after declaration of Constitutional Monarchy (Adak, 2007: 127). Dr. Rıza Nur, resigning from İTC early 1909 and joining Prince Sabahattin's Ahrar Fırkası (Ahrar Party), fled to Egypt upon break out of the insurrection of March 31st. As one of the founders of Hürriyet and İtilaf (Liberty and Alliance Party) in Autumn 1911 where dissidents of İTC associated, Dr. Rıza Nur left that party as well following elections held in 1912 and recorded in political history as *elections supported by batons*. Following İTC getting hold of power

with the Raid At Babiali (Sublime Porté), he was sent abroad by Istanbul Custodian Cemal Pasha *for dealing with medical practices*. Adak (2007: 127), is stating that this assignment was an exile. The reason therefor according to the author is that Dr. Rıza Nur organized at Albania in 1910 an anti-İTC uprising and issued a text to that end. Dr. Rıza Nur, living for 6 years in France, Switzerland and Egypt, could only return to Turkey after signing of Mondros Cease-Fire Treaty.

Re-elected as Sinop Deputy in elections held in the process starting with Sivas Convention organized by Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti (Anatolia and Roumelia Defense of Law Association/Resistance Organization), moved to Ankara together with Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk and Abdullah Azmi Efendi as member of the *advice committee* of the Assembly of Deputies/Parliament receding its operations upon occupation of Istanbul by Entente Powers. Said group was stopped at Geyve, yet as a result of communications held with M. Kemal Pasha, upon the group providing guarantee to the effect that they are not advice committee members, he was allowed to travel to Ankara (Alpkaya, 2009: 375). Joining Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM), Dr. Rıza Nur took part as Education Minister in the first government of TBMM and later became Health Minister. Dr. Rıza Nur prepared the so-called *Teşrinisani Kararı* (November Decree) in 1922 in order to prevent the Ottoman Commission from attending Lausanne Conference, while in the Lausanne Conference starting in 1923, became one of the delegates of the committee sent by the Republic of Turkey. Following declaration of the Republic, Dr. Rıza Nur who was not given any mission under İsmet Pasha's Government, started writing his work titled "*Turkish History*" of fourteen volumes, which was printed by the Ministry of Education. In 1924, Dr. Rıza Nur was elected to the Culture Committee, yet never attended the meetings and works conducted by such committee.

A short while after such operation initiated to suppress/intimidate the opponents following disclosure of Izmir assassination attempt, went to Paris upon receiving leave from TBMM on excuse of his wife's sickness and lived in France until 1933 and thereafter in Alexandria until M. Kemal's death. While living in Paris, Dr. Rıza Nur wrote his autobiography of three volumes, titled *My Life and Memoirs* and *Turkey's Revival and Party Program*, leaving a copy each to the major libraries in Turkey, conditioned to be opened after 1960. Meeting Mükrimin Halil Yinanç while in Paris, thereby contacted and established relations with the second generation Turkists. While living in Alexandria, Dr. Rıza Nur published a journal titled, "*Türkbilik Revue*".

Returning to Turkey late 1938, Dr. Rıza Nur was greeted and welcomed by Nihal Atsız and spent the rest of his life with new Turkists like Hüseyin Namık Orkun, Fethi Tevetoğlu, Nejdet Sançar. At the same period, he argued with people of diverse opinions such as Nadir Nadi, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Refik Halit Karay and Valâ Nurettin on grounds of the article on Rıza Nur contained in "*Grand Larousse*" and died at Istanbul in 1942 (Rıza Nur, 2005: 195-215).

Primordialism in Dr. Rıza Nur's Nationalism Perception

As stated hereinbefore as well, in the Turkist movement starting in the final period of the Ottoman Empire, it was initially adopted political Turkism pioneered by Yusuf Akçura, in parallel to İTC coming to power, Ziya Gökalp's eclectic *Turkization-Islamization-Modernization* Formula was adopted for the national identity.

When it is necessary to read the political dimension of Akçura and Gökalp's nationalism with theories of nationalism, it is possible to benefit from modernist theory and ethnosymbolist theory. The reason for this claim is that the expression of race based on blood is not included in the nationalism envisioned by both thinkers.² When read in the context of modernist theory, it is seen that both thinkers imagine a modern community called the nation, as Benedict Anderson puts it (1995: 20).

² Although there is an emphasis on race in the works of both Akçura and Gökalp, what is meant is cultural content. In this respect, what both thinkers understand by race is not blood-based biology, but cultural identity that includes Turkishness and Islam (Ertekin, 2009: 349; Georgeon, 2009: 506; Arslan, 2009: 410) .

Considering that the modernity of the nation means getting rid of the determinativeness of religion (Anderson, 1995: 23-33), this situation appears in Akçura's and Gökalp's thoughts. In the community imagined by both Akçura and Gökalp, belonging to the Turkish nation is at the forefront rather than religion. In the modern era, when national identity is at the forefront, religion is at most an element of national identity (Georgeon, 2009: 506). In this situation, which can be defined as the construction of a new sense of honor, Turkishness is conceived as a new national identity. Considering that the modernist theory defines nations as a new situation independent from the past (Smith, 2002b: 30), it is possible to think that Akçura and Gökalp designed a new Turkish national identity. Both thinkers aim to derive a new sense of solidarity from the construction of national identity based on a modern new honor. Solidarity designed for social groups turns into solidarity between the state and the nation. Solidarity between the state and the nation, in Gellner's terms, arises in the form of the union between the political unit and the national unit (1992: 19). What Akçura and Gökalp understand from the unity of the political unit and the national unit is the support of the Turkish-based homogeneity by the state (Çelikçi, 2017: 56). The homogeneity mentioned is different from the homogeneity based on blood ties expressed in primordialism. In Hugh Seton-Watson's words, this homogeneity includes a sense of solidarity, shared culture and national consciousness (Yıldız, 2004: 27).

It is also possible to read the political dimension in Akçura and Gökalp's thoughts in the perspective of ethnosymbolist theory together with modernist theory. The reason for making such a claim is that both Akçura and Gökalp thought on the ethnic origin of modern Turkish identity. The understanding of nation based on ethnicity expressed in ethnosymbolism is also found in Gökalp and Akçura. Considering that ethnicity is based on a common history, public culture, common economy and common duties in ethnosymbolism (Smith, 2009: 42), it can be said that Akçura and Gökalp are also proponents of such an ethnic identity. Unlike the ethnicity based on blood ties in primordialism, both Akçura and Gökalp pursue an ethnic identity based on symbols, values, memories and myths expressed in ethnosymbolism. In this respect, ethnicity envisioned by both thinkers includes elements such as common culture, loyalty to the land and solidarity (Ünüvar, 2008: 31; Georgeon, 2009: 507).

After reading Akçura and Gökalp's thought in the context of modernist theory and ethnosymbolism, it would be appropriate to focus on Dr. Rıza Nur's thought. Unlike Akçura and Gökalp's thought, it is possible to read Dr. Rıza Nur's thought in the context of primordialism. The most important reason for this preference is that ethnic identity in Dr. Rıza Nur's thought includes blood and culture simultaneously. As would be seen from the paragraph hereinbelow, Dr. Rıza Nur is assuming that he is the most ideal specimen of that type of nationalism:

"Larousse called me Sinopian. That is correct. I am from Sinop. My old known ancestor was Dizdar Hacı İbrahim. His son was Mustafa, imam of Sinop's Hisar Mosque. These are told in a hand-written book inherited by that imam, transferred in our family from generation to generation, kept in my library in Sinop, duly established and endowed. They have their signature subscribed under two articles in the said book. It is said on the said signature (Sinobî) ilh... Mustafa's assignment as imam is dated 1200 (Rumi Calendar). İmam was then a reputable person. They used to become imams at least on several circumstances and no younger than forty years of age. In other words, if you include his father as well, my family is known for no less than nearly 250 years. Castle warden was an important position. They were commanders assigned to defense of castles/fortresses. My mother is likewise a local Sinopian. Shortly, we are Sinopian Turks with not one single drop of alien blood mixed in their blood for 250 years. This is my greatest pride." (Rıza Nur, 2005: 196).

As seen in this paragraph, Dr. Rıza Nur, describing the reason for drafting his works as an attempt to teach the Turkish nation its history directly is extending beyond Akçura and Gökalp's perception through his ideology defending Turkism on basis of blood affiliation. Defining the Turkish national identity on the basis of blood makes it easy to associate him with primordialism. Besides this, cultural things such as being imam and Sinopian exist in his Turkism perception. Considering that naturalists in primordialism claim that nations are unique structures with their lifestyles and their

loyalty to the land (Özkırımlı, 1999: 78-79; Smith, 2002b: 34; Jaffrelot, 2010: 71), it can be said that Dr. Rıza Nur overlaps with naturalism. It is possible to define Dr. Rıza Nur as a naturalist when being an imam is seen as a lifestyle and being from Sinope is equated with loyalty to the land. Dr. Rıza Nur, who defines the Turkish national identity on the basis of blood, religion and loyalty to the land, appears as a primordialist figure in Turkish nationalism.

In the second volume of his work titled *My Life and Memoirs* where he drafted his personal memories, Dr. Rıza Nur is assessing the persons narrated according to whether they are racially Turkish, ostracizing those whom he considers as non-Turkish, ascribing all non-favorableness to those individuals. Adopting Turkish identity to the concept of ethnicity based on blood tie, he is humiliating even those important personalities who succeeded in the National Struggle (War of Independence) on grounds of their ethnic origins, deeming them as sources of non-favorableness. To this effect, one of such important names subject to the ethnicity based on blood of Dr. Rıza Nur was Rauf Orbay who assumed critical assignments in both Ottoman as well as Republican eras. While Dr. Rıza Nur was criticizing that Rauf Orbay chaired the congregation to attend Lausanne Peace Talks, following expressions he uses are setting forth his primordialist viewpoint:

“Rauf is Abhasian. I have witnessed with my own eyes that he was spending Abhasian efforts. Isn't there any Turk who would be serving the Turkish nation? Are Turks so incapable that an Abhasian would lead such an important mission? I have not accepted and tolerated especially that. (...). Everyone has left, I am gazing; Mustafa Kemal as well rises up to leave. But I had a desire to talk to him alone in person. I pulled him aside from the doorway. I said utterly exhilarated: Pasha! Are there no worthy Turks that an Abhasian is assigned to such an important position. Would an Abhasian assume such an honor? Would the Turk still be so insulted? Is it going to be said is there no Turk to serve such a purpose that an Abhasian is expedited? Anyway, that is exactly the claim put forth by the same elements. Blt means we are once again practicing the same thing. That is a blemish. (...).” (Rıza Nur, 1993a: 180-181).

Also İsmet İnönü who assumed very important missions both in the course of the War of Independence as well as thereafter is being criticized due to non-compliance with Dr. Rıza Nur's blood based primordialist nationalism approach, he too is prone to the subject matter hatred:

“In the evenings, after dinner we chat a few hours with İsmet. Then we work. He asks the inquiries about by Turkism. He refers passionately to his Turkism. He says that he is a member of the Turkish Seedbed. One evening, he howsoever overlooked this matter and told me: My father and I are from Bitlis. Are there any Turks in Bitlis? (...). He is representing himself to the whole world as a Turk from Malatya. In fact, his father had merely served in Malatya court as a clerk. Which was actually a short period of time. I told him a few consoling words like There are Turks in that town. Yet getting acquainted with such a secret totally upset me. My conscience was covered with the fire of wrath, burning and scorching my inner self. So İsmet is a Kurd. Alas, he is not a deep-rooted Turk! We caused Rauf to be expelled from the chair of the congregation due to his being Abhasian. It is a pity that we have appointed a pure Kurd considering that he is Turkish.” (Rıza Nur, 1993a: 234-235).

As it can be understood from the paragraph, those who defend ethnicity based on the same blood and same culture do not accept foreigners to be rulers (Gellner, 2009: 59). His views on both Orbay and İnönü, Dr. Rıza Nur advocates that people born in Turkey are born Turkish. With this attitude, Dr. Rıza Nur is compatible with naturalists within primordialism. According to him, ethnically based Turkish national identity, which includes blood and culture, should be as natural as seeing and smelling. According to Rıza Nur, when people in Turkey are born into Turkish ethnicity based on blood and culture, they are also separated from other ethnicities such as Kurdish, Abaza and Circassian. According to him, the Turkish ethnic group, which is different from these ethnic groups, has the right to exclude anyone who does not belong to them. Rıza Nur, who distinguishes between us and the other, sees the Turkish ethnic identity as different and distinguished from other ethnic identities. Considering that communities such as the Kurds, Circassians and Abaza have culturally common

denominators with the Turks, it can be seen that Dr. Rıza Nur do not attach much importance to this cultural partnership. In this respect, it is understood that culture is the dependent variable in Dr. Rıza Nur's ethnic nationalism. The validity of the culture depends on being of Turkish blood. In this case, what really matters is to Turkify the non-Turks.

There were also circumstances where Dr. Rıza Nur's ethnic primordialism based on bloodline viewpoint is directed to ordinary people as well besides prominent personalities of the War of Independence and thereafter. For instance, following memory related under the heading "Matter of Being Turkish and Albanian" is indicating that he is discriminating and externalizing those not of Turkish blood lineage:

"An incident took place at Beykoz Orphanage. I lined up the children. I am examining one by one their heads, bodies, eyes. One of them is distinct, there is nothing to call him a child. What are you? I said. I am Albanian he said. And he said this so proudly... I got real angry. I said: Child, you are Turkish. No, I am Albanian he said. I repeated and he too repeated his words. I am not Turkish he said. I immediately said There is no place here for someone who is not Turkish, who renounces being Turkish. Let the Albanians feed you! and expelled him. They interceded. I did not listen to. I had him expelled from the school before my own eyes. I desired this to set an example ... In fact, while I was in Ankara, an Albanian Orphanage Principal had sorted out the Albanians and collected them all in the Orphanage at Yeniköy, feeding them well. I had dismissed the Principal, abolished the Orphanage and distributed the children amongst other orphanages in groups of five to ten. So was the fact that this Principal had instilled in these children nationalistic Albanian spirit. What a tragedy!.. There could still take place such things in poor Turkey" (Rıza Nur, 1993a: 460-461).

As could be seen from the sentence of "I had him expelled from the school before my own eyes" in the paragraph, Dr. Rıza Nur announced that the Turkish ethnic group has the right to exclude anyone who does not belong to them. Naturalists' view, it is quite natural for humanity to divide into different ethnic groups and these groups tend to exclude those who are not their own, reproduced in the thought of Dr. Rıza Nur. In addition to this, it can be argued that Dr Rıza Nur's thought in this paragraph overlaps with biological primordialism. When it is remembered that in the biological approach a transferable inheritance between people belonging to the same blood is desired (Özkırmılı, 1999: 83), it can be said that Dr. Rıza Nur is also after genetic continuity. As seen in the paragraph, Dr. Rıza Nur aims to prove genetic continuity with body and eye examination. In this respect, Dr. Rıza Nur aims at the construction of Turkish kinredness based on genetic continuity. It is seen in the paragraph that the Turkification of non-Turks in terms of genetic continuity is also advocated.

Dr. Rıza Nur, who conceived the Turkish national identity on the basis of ethnicity composed of blood and culture, is gun for population engineering, so to speak (Dündar, 2013: 31). Pursuant thereto, he aims to those who are not of Turkish race redefine as Turks. His attitude is clearly seen under the heading where "Race, Language and Religion" matters:

"The lesson to be learnt therefrom is as follows: The most essential, rightful and fatal task consists of not leaving in our country anyone from another race, speaking another language, believing in another religion. That is why I had devoted myself for years to Turkism and strict Turkish nationalism. As I yearned therefor in all my works and articles, I also attempted to spend efforts to that effect in all of my public service assignments. That is why the primary task is to disintegrate Circassian, Albanian and such other villages and settle these mixed with Turks. (...). Such alien elements constitute a calamity and vermin. These as well as the Kurds should be secluded from different languages and races through a persistent representation plan" (Rıza Nur, 1993a: 260).

Such population engineering perception of Dr. Rıza Nur is based on primordialism within theories of nationalism. As could be seen from the paragraph, Dr. Rıza Nur is in pursuit of a family based on blood ties, similar to Edward Shills, one of the important names of primordialism (Özkırmılı, 1999: 76). As could be understand from the sentence of "speaking another language, believing in

another religion” in the paragraph, Rıza Nur adds cultural elements such as religion and language to family membership as well as blood. In this respect, Rıza Nur resembles another important name of primordialism, Clifford Geertz (Şimşek, 2009: 84).

While referring to Dr. Rıza Nur’s ethnic-based Turkism, it should as well be referred to his communiqué titled *Turkey’s Revival and Party Program*. On the first article of the party program, Dr. Rıza Nur identifying the name of the Party as *Turkist Party*, is aiming such Party replace and substitute Republican People’s Party and in a sense desires the same to be and become the founding willpower. Wording under the said communiqué such opinions he supports Dr. Rıza Nur is describing his party and supporters as follows:

“We are severe Turkist nationalists. Because we still have various elements, cliques who insult the Turk and betray the Turk as they get hold of any opportunity. Those who falter to make National blood and defense against them are feeding snakes in their bosoms. Had these spoken like a Turk, dressed like a Turk and worked for interests of the Turk, they would be held high above us. However, not one but hundreds of circumstances have evidenced otherwise. We have learn the following from all of the aforesaid lessons: Turkey shall belong to people of one language, one religion, one ideology. Those who desire otherwise, just leave and go elsewhere.”
(Rıza Nur, 1993b: 518-519).

As seen, Dyke's definition of ethnic group based on race, language and religion (Yıldız, 2004: 41) appears in Dr. Rıza Nur. Dr. Rıza Nur is defending a primordialist approach where Turks hold advantageous positions and thereby attracting attention. Religion, language and social habits envisioned by Geertz in addition to blood (Şimşek, 2009: 84) are reshaped in the form of language, religion and ideology in the thought of Dr Rıza Nur. In parallel thereto, it is referred to under the program, establishment of a *“Race Directorate”*. Thereby setting forth his difference from the modernist and ethnosymbolist perception of Early Republican period, Dr. Rıza Nur is describing the duty of such directorate as follows:

“This office shall be determining the races of those to become military officers, teachers, religious officials, those to enter these schools, deputies, ministers, foreign office personnel as well as all other public servants, eliminating and dismissing those who are not Turkish. And shall prevent these from entering these schools, prohibit military officers, teachers and the like from getting married with foreigners and other than Muslims, avoid marriages of those suffering from hereditary diseases such as epilepsy, madness and the like, control maintenance and safeguarding of national history and monuments, sanction those responsible, protect the eternal cultural and such similar national proceeds, national arts, national trades, provide these with financial support and all kinds of facilitation” (Rıza Nur, 1993b: 523).

As could be seen from the foregoing paragraph, Race Directorate will register Turkishness in the context of race based on blood and Muslimism. The statements such as division into different ethnic groups and these exclusions the people who are not within group (Özkırımlı, 1999: 78-79) reproduced by Dr. Rıza Nur. In his opinion, the fact that the Race Directorate is responsible for the ethnic division of people in Turkey and the exclusion of non-Turkish people is a clear indication of reproduction. The Race Directorate will protect the national history, national culture, national economy and national arts after ensuring the security of the blood dimension of ethnicity. Considering that the national is associated with blood in the thought of Dr. Rıza Nur, it is seen that history, culture, economy and art are considered together with blood. The expression of unity in language, culture and ideal in Ziya Gökalp's thought turns into unity in language, culture and blood in Rıza Nur's thought (Kadioğlu, 2004: 12). In this context, it is possible to think that primordialism, which sees ethnic identity based on elements such as blood, history and culture, is reproduced many times in the thought of Dr. Rıza Nur.

CONCLUSION

Considering the development of nationalism since the French Revolution, it can be said that ethnicity has a specific weight in this ideology. In this case, it is observed that nations are mainly imagined based on ethnicity. Acting according to ethnicity is the fate of people who think from a nationalist position, so to speak.

The fact that ethnicity is so effective in nationalist movements and thought also affects the theories of nationalism. Although ethnic origin is not taken into account in the modernist approach, which is one of the theories of nationalism, serious importance is given to primordialism and ethnosymbolism. According to primordialist and ethnosymbolist theory, it is possible to encounter ethnic identity in every period of human life. In this respect, it is a necessity to think of today's nations in the context of ethnicity.

When nations are conceived based on ethnicity, the question that comes to mind is what kind of meaning is attributed to the ethnic. To answer this question, it is necessary to look at primordialist and ethnosymbolist theory. In primordialism, ethnic basis is defined as a combination of elements such as blood, language, religion, social habits and land. In ethnosymbolism, the ethnic is defined on the basis of elements such as culture, language, religion, memories and myths.

It can be argued that all three types of nationalism theories were encountered in the Turkism movement, which emerged as a project to prevent the occupation of the state in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. The ideas of thinkers such as Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura, who are described as the first generation of Turkism, overlap with both modernist and ethnosymbolist theories. While two thinkers who imagine the nation as a modern reality take a modernist stand. They also become ethnosymbolists by defining the ethnic origin of this modern reality on the basis of culture, language and ideal.

Along with modernist and ethnosymbolist theories, primordialist theory appears in Turkism. One of the most prominent representatives of primordialism in the Turkism movement is Dr. Rıza Nur. Dr. Rıza Nur, who defines the Turkish national identity on the basis of ethnicity, includes components such as language, religion, culture, blood and land. With this preference, Dr. Rıza Nur revises Turkism according to the elements in primordialism. It carries out the revision in blood specific. It encodes the principle of unity in language, culture and ideal idealized by Gökalp, in the form of unity in language, culture and blood. He wants Akçura's and Gökalp's understanding of honor based on culture, language and ideal to be transformed into another understanding of honor based on culture, language and blood. With this preference, he makes the biological one the priority of Turkism instead of the social one. He arranges the relationship of the biological with the cultural and religious according to ethnic theology. To put it more clearly, he envisioned the ethnic based on blood as theology. He addicts the religious to the ethnic. When Dr. Rıza Nur's place in the Turkism movement is questioned, it is seen that he is a thinker who adds primordialism to this movement.

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