

TURKISH POLITICAL CULTURE
YAKUP KADRI KARAOSMANOĞLU and ANKARA

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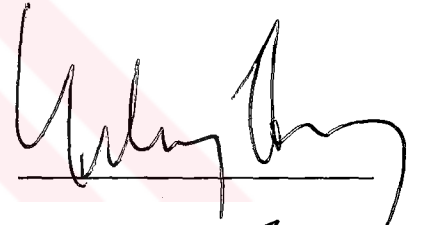
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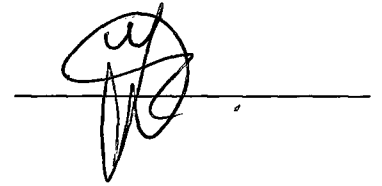
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ABSTRACT

The main aim of this thesis has been to analyse Turkey's official ideology's effect on Turkish political culture as it is reflected in Turkish novels during the early Republican era. This aim has been realized through historical analysis and text analysis of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanođlu's novel *Ankara*. The thesis argues that the intellectuals of the early Republican era had close relationships with the state elites and the impact of the official ideology on the literary elites are reflected in the novels. Certain elements of Turkish political culture such as the cult of leadership, an understanding of nation within a harmonious framework and the absence of civic engagement in the public sphere are determined in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanođlu's novel, *Ankara*. Hence this thesis argues that there is a close relationship between the novelists of the early Republican era and the Turkish political culture which is to a great extent shaped by the official ideology of the state as it is reflected in *Ankara*.

KEYWORDS : Yakup Kadri Karaosmanođlu, Political Culture, Turkish Political Culture, Ankara.

KISA ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı, Türkiye'deki egemen resmi ideolojinin, Türkiye'nin siyasal kültürü üzerindeki etkisini, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin erken döneminde yazılmış romanlardan biri olan *Ankara*'nın eleştirel bir okumasını yaparak belirlemektir. Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi aydınları, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan kaynaklanan geleneğin devamı olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurucu elitleriyle organik bir bağ tesis etmişler ve edebiyat alanında resmi ideolojinin taşıyıcısı olmuşlardır. Resmi ideolojinin Türk siyasal kültürünü şekillendirmede önemli katkıları olmuştur. Bunun sonucunda Türk siyasal kültüründe içkin olduğu iddia edilen güçlü lider özlemi, ulusun korporatist bir çerçeve içinde organik bir bütün olarak tasavvur edilmesi ve kamusal alanda sivil katılım eksikliği gibi bir takım özellikleri, erken dönem Cumhuriyet romanının temsilci bir örneği olan, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu'nun *Ankara* romanında gözlemlenmek mümkündür. Bu tezin temel iddiası cumhuriyetin kuruluş yıllarında oluşturulmaya başlanan resmi ideolojinin, Türkiye'nin siyasal kültürü üzerindeki etkilerinin erken Cumhuriyet dönemi romancılarının eserlerinde gözlemlenebileceğini Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu'nun *Ankara* romanının metin incelemesi yoluyla göstermektir.

ANAHTAR SÖZCÜKLER : Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Siyasal Kültür, Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültür, Ankara.

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INTRODUCTION

The main aim of the thesis is to analyse how Turkish political culture is reflected in Turkish novels during the early Republican era through reading Yakup Kadri Karaosmanođlu's novel *Ankara*. It is argued that the official ideology of the Turkish Republic had an impact on the formation of Turkish political culture. The intellectuals could not form an autonomous basis of opposition to the state due to the historical-sociological context in which they were raised. Since the Ottoman period, Turkish intellectuals kept an organic bond with the state. The novels written during the early Republican era reflected the effects of Turkish political culture on Turkish elites. Literary works carried the impacts of official ideology aiming at the formation of a specific political culture characterized by the cult of leadership, a harmonious nation within the corporatist framework and the absence of a public sphere where civic engagement is encouraged.

In this context, the study aims to explore the relationship between political culture and Turkish literature. In accordance with this aim, historical analysis is combined with the text analysis of *Ankara* in order to point out to the correlations between the official ideology of the state and the novels of the early Republican period. The reason Yakup Kadri Karaosmanođlu and his novel *Ankara* is chosen to conduct a case study derives from the specific context in which the novelist was raised and wrote his novels. Yakup Kadri wrote *Ankara* when he was the member of the Cadre Movement. Cadre Movement aimed to provide an ideological framework for the Turkish Republic. While doing this, its main purpose was to explain the basic tenets of Kemalism and to blend it with socialist ideas. *Ankara* reflects such an attempt for creating an ideal society. This methodology was chosen because

combining different methods is the only way of conducting an interdisciplinary study about the reflections of official ideology on the political culture of Turkish society. In order to analyse the impact of official ideology on Turkish political culture, it is crucial to discuss what political culture means.

Political culture is not a novel concept in the field of political philosophy. Rotberg states that 'before Putnam has modernized and refined the term social capital as an analytical tool capable of explaining the roots of civic engagement, social scientists had developed a theory of political culture'.¹ The roots of the term can even be traced back to the works of the ancient philosophers. Although they did not name it as such, the ancient political philosophers such as Socrates, Plato and Aristo have one way or the other dealt with the values that should be inherent in a society to make it a just polity. Socrates's concept of virtue that is necessary for the establishment of a just society may be given as an example. In her article entitled "Civil Society and Democratic Renewal", Lindsay Paterson points out to the fact that the Scottish philosophers of the Enlightenment such as David Hume and Adam Smith 'had a well-developed sense of mutual human obligation that is quite close to the ideas on social capital'.² Robert Putnam, the champion of the term social capital states that the roots of the idea of social capital can be traced back to the works of republican philosophers such as Alexis de Tocqueville, Rousseau, etc. Max Weber should also be mentioned as one of the leading social theorists who pointed out to the correlation between

¹ Robert I. Rotberg, "Social Capital and Political Culture in Africa, America, Australasia, and Europe." in *Patterns of Social Capital: Stability and Change in Historical Perspective*, ed. Rotberg. Robert I. (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press. 2000). 3.

² Lindsay Paterson, "Civil Society and Democratic Renewal," in *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*, eds. Stephen Baron, John Field and Tom Schuller (New York: Oxford University Pres. 2002). 39.

culture and economic and social development. The whole range of Weber's works aims to explore the correlation between values and development. The most prominent among them is his seminal work *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* where Weber analyses the psychological conditions which made the development of capitalist civilization possible. The significance of Weber's study derives from the fact that it was written at a time when capitalism was a newly emerging phenomenon. According to Weber, capitalism emerged as a result of the conscious acceptance of the ethical maxims of Calvinist theology.³

However, although it was not a new discovery, political culture gained prominence once more with the advent of behaviouralist approach to political science during the 1950's and 1960's. The studies conducted on political culture had revealed that social, political and economic values inherent in a society were significant in determining the political inclinations of the individual actors and the level of political and economic development. Political culture, in the most general meaning of the term is a collection of attitudes, values and beliefs in a society towards politics. Two of the leading figures which have conducted research on political culture, Almond and Verba state that 'the term "political culture" refers to the specifically political orientations – attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system'.⁴ They also differentiate their usage of the term from an anthropologist and claim that they utilize the term in one of its meaning which is the "psychological orientation toward social objects". Thus, when Almond

³ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, with an Introduction by Richard Tawney (New York: Scribner, 1958), 25.

⁴ Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶ Pye, cited in Rotberg, 4.

and Verba speak of the political culture of a society, they 'refer to the political system as internalized in the cognitions, feelings, and evaluations of its population'.⁵ Pye also emphasizes the psychological aspect of the term and argues that political culture, gives "meaning, predictability, and form" to a nation's political process.⁶ Verba defines political culture as the "system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values" that define political action. According to this definition the term 'denotes each citizen's identification with his fellow citizens and his nation, and it shapes each citizen's expectations about the legitimacy and output of his/her government'.⁷ Although, by its definition culture seems like a fixed concept since its formation takes centuries, its dynamic and evolutionary character should not be forgotten.⁸ Otherwise, culture is regarded as an essential and frozen characteristic of society similar to the genes in a human body which makes plausible the idea that the "clash of civilizations" would be inevitable and the political scientist cannot propose an alternative solution for such a problem.⁹

As it is mentioned above, it would be misleading for a social scientist to approach political culture in an essentialist manner and attribute it a characteristic which is similar to the genes of a human for two reasons: First of all, culture is not an all-explanatory concept. It is just one of the variables that can be used in political science inquiries alongside with economic and institutional factors. Second, in the period of globalization the interaction between the cultures has increased and this causes some changes to come into existence. Nevertheless analyzing the relationship

⁷ Verba cited in Rotberg, 4.

⁸ Rotberg, 4.

⁹ For the elaboration of "clash of civilization" thesis see Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. (New York: Touchstone, 1998).

of individuals among themselves, with authority and politics could open new doors alongside with economic and institutional analysis in order to elaborate on the political behaviours of a society. It should be admitted that the individuals' positioning of themselves towards power, their approach to politics and the values they are attached to has an effect on the nature of the politics conducted within a polity.

The first chapter focuses on the studies conducted on Turkish political culture and furthermore establishes the links between political culture and Turkish novel. Although both Turkish political culture and Turkish novel have been studied extensively, they had not been combined to comprehend the ramification of culture in novels before. However clues were given for the results of such a study in the works of both literary critics and political scientists. Thus, the second section of the first chapter attempts to establish the links between Turkish political culture and novel in the early Republican era. This section will discuss the efforts of creating a national literary canon and its successes and failures.

The second chapter outlines the life of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu in order to provide an account of the context in which his social and political ideas were shaped and his novels were written. Within that context, the Cadre movement of which Yakup Kadri was a member is of crucial significance since it was the first autonomous elite movement in Turkish Republic which aimed to promote the state's ideology during the formation years of the Republic. The members of the Cadre movement received harsh criticisms from both sides of the political spectrum because they attempted to construct a theoretical framework which would be able to blend socialist and Kemalist ideology. In the end, the movement ended up with giving

priority to corporatist understanding and appointing the task of leadership to Turkey among the Third World countries. The Cadre years influenced Yakup Kadri's ideas immensely and its impact can be observed in his novels, especially *Ankara*.

The third and last chapter focuses on Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's novel *Ankara* which was written under the influence of Cadre ideology and reflected the corporatist mind set of the Republican elites. In the final analysis, it is argued that the novel carries some significant elements of Turkish political culture and these findings were compared with the observations of the current studies conducted on Turkish political culture.

Thus, outlined as such this thesis is an attempt to establish links between Turkish political culture and Turkish novel during the early Republican era and aims to show how and through which values the official ideology created a Turkish political culture that had a deep impact on the intellectuals.

CHAPTER ONE

LINKS BETWEEN POLITICS AND LITERATURE IN EXPLAINING TURKISH POLITICAL CULTURE

I. I AN OVERVIEW OF POLITICAL CULTURE STUDIES ON TURKEY

The very nature of the political culture studies necessitates establishing a relationship between cultural and historical analyses since culture is the product of long time spans and hence cannot be changed easily. Şerif Mardin explains this specific trait of political culture through the example of Turkey by stating that ‘Turkey is not a developing country in the usual meaning of the word. Indeed, it is a state that carries some specific features formed in centuries. As a result Turkey’s political culture is shaped by the structural elements that history has formed. It has a bureaucratic apparatus that is given the task of applying the values that are collected in its political culture by the ethos and eidos of serving the state’.¹ A society’s culture is shaped by its history and thus it could not be easily transformed. Nevertheless, despite the continuity of history, cultural structures are also influenced by the social, economic and political transformations that a society experiences. The continuities and changes observed in Turkish political culture after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic is a sign of this fact.

¹ Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 177.

There are not many studies which deal directly with Turkish political culture.² While commenting on Turkish political culture it is inevitable to analyze the political structure of the Ottoman Empire. In his article entitled 'Civil Society and Islam' Mardin points out to the different paths of development between the West and the Ottoman Empire. He states that the 'civil society itself is a Western dream which does not translate into islamic terms'.³ A line of continuity can be observed in the theories of civil society from Locke to Habermas. All these thinkers dwell upon the idea of rationalized law which was the product of the Medieval age in the West. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire did not go through such a process and in the islamic culture there was a different dream.⁴ Muslim dream appeared at three levels. The first level was the idea that Muslims were only bound by the political obligations set by the Qur'an. On the second level there were the Qur'anic verisimilitude of the Qur'an's commentators which Muslims accepted as the only equivalent to the Qur'anic laws. On the third level, there was the idea of a just prince. Since neither of these systems were able to assert themselves unequivocally, Muslims shifted their dream to the ideal of a social equilibrium under the rule of a just prince.⁵ Outlined as such Mardin's analysis gives clues about some of the elements of Turkish political culture which derives from Islam. Thus it is also the reason why a civil society in the Western sense

² For the studies that deal with Turkish political culture see İter Turan, "Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Oluşumu", in *Türkiye'de Politik Değişim ve Modernleşme*, eds. Ersin Kalaycıoğlu and Ali Yaşar Sarıbay (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları. 2000); Süleyman Seyfi Ögün, *Türk Politik Kültürü* (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları. 2004); Şerif Mardin, *Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 1997); Taha Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları – Cilt 3 Kemalist Tek-Parti İdeolojisi ve CHP'nin Altı Ok'u* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 1992); Yılmaz Esmer, *Devrim, Evrim, Statüko: Türkiye'de Sosyal, Siyasal, Ekonomik Değerler* (İstanbul: TESEV Yayınları. 1999).

³ Şerif Mardin, "Civil Society and Islam", in *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison*, ed. John A. Hall (Cambridge: Polity Press. 1995). 279.

⁴ Ibid., 279.

⁵ Ibid., 285.

could not come into existence in the Ottoman Empire. Continuities may be observed between the Ottoman Empire and the new Turkish Republic.

Mardin highlights two distinguishing characteristics of this peculiar dream, which are firstly the reliance on the charismatic authority of a leader to fill the cracks of an unrealized system of justice and secondly associated with the former idea was the yearning for a return to a golden age.⁶ This golden age was the period of a just ruler and thus justice was accorded primary importance and freedom was not even mentioned.

The scholars who analyze the political culture of the Ottoman Empire first point out to the lack of a civil society which can constitute a link between the ruling class and the society. The patrimonial – bureaucratic ruling structure of the Ottoman Empire had divided the society into two groups: On the one hand there was the ruling class (palace, military and bureaucratic posts and prominent figures of the ulema) that was constituted of tax-collectors and on the other hand there was the tax givers. This dichotomy in the economic sphere caused a polarization in the cultural sphere. Şerif Mardin explains this relationship between the rulers and the ruled by referring to the “center –periphery” concept of Shils and states that the polarization between the center and the periphery is a ‘key to explaining Turkish politics’.⁷ There are religious and language differences between the center and the periphery. The center speaks Ottoman Turkish that carries the

⁶ Ibid., 286.

⁷ Şerif Mardin, *Türkiye 'de Toplum ve Siyaset* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), 34.

⁸ Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002). 56.

effects of the Arabic and Persian while the common people speak simple Turkish.⁸ Religion plays a dual role in the society. On the one hand it creates a polarization between the center and periphery, since the center and periphery adopts different attitudes toward religion. The center adopts a mainstream and homogeneous understanding of religion but in the periphery religion is viewed as a source of opposition. On the other hand despite the differences of attitudes towards it, religion also constitutes a bridge between the center and the periphery. The ruling class used religion as an instrument to legitimize their authority in the eyes of the public. However as the Ottoman Empire started to Westernize with the modernization period there appeared a clash between the values that the common people adopted and the ruling class began to adopt. The intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire has positioned themselves in changing positions within this clash. Although the intellectuals were the main critics of the Westernization reforms they could not move far away from state power since it was the state who provided them with the privileges of education and job opportunities. There existed an organic bond between intellectuals and the state. Thus while criticizing the rulers the Ottoman intellectuals could not dare to sever their bonds with the state.

The centralist structure of the Ottoman Empire caused that portion of the population who lived in the periphery to remain in an isolated position within a closed communitarian structure. Since the modernization process had not been completed yet, the majority of the people were not aware of state affairs and thus far from politics. The religious institutions that aimed to realize solidarity and the working of redistribution mechanisms in the society filled in the vacuum between the ruling class and the ruled ones. The role of religion in filling this vacuum continues its impact on

Turkish political culture even after a secularization movement was initiated with the establishment of the Turkish Republic. In the minds of the republican elites, the communitarian structure needed to be isolated from its religious character and this caused a corporatist framework to come into existence. Before elaborating on corporatism that is claimed to shape the mind set of the republican elites by Taha Parla, and its effect on Turkish political culture, it is necessary to mention the role of Islam in shaping the political culture of the Ottoman Empire.

As mentioned above it was religion which constituted a bridge between the ruling class and the ruled in the Ottoman society. The absence of a civil society acting as a mediator between the individual and the state caused religion to fill this gap. Religion has not only shaped the values that society had but it also facilitated a bond to be established between the center and the periphery. Islam has not always been a unifying force in Turkish society, at times, especially during the reform periods of the empire it caused conflicts between the rulers and the ruled. The main reason for these conflicts were the values that religion brought to society. Ögün claims that one of the most significant values that Islam brought to Ottoman society was the appraisal of poverty as a virtue.⁹ In the traditional Ottoman system, wealth was not something to show off but something to be distributed to the have nots.¹⁰ Since the 18th century, the new consumption patterns that the modernizing ruling elites adopted caused reactions among the common people. Mardin argues that along with other reasons, the rebellions such as Patrona Halil and Kabakçı are examples of such discontent in society.¹¹ Thus an attempt was made at establishing communitarian inspection

⁹ Süleyman Seyfi Ögün, *Türk Politik Kültürü* (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2004), 10.

¹⁰ Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, 29.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 54-56.

mechanism by the common people on the rulers. These reactions continued well into the 19th century and expanded also among the ranks of intellectuals. In this period a group of intellectuals called Young Ottomans, Namık Kemal and Ziya Paşa being the forthcoming figures among them, criticized the superficial reform movements of the Tanzimat bureaucrats because the Westernization movement constituted of promoting luxury consumption and acting in contradiction to societal values. They stated that the empire could only be saved from dissolution by bringing together the technology of the West and the values of the Ottoman society that was derived mostly from Islam. In conjunction with this point, one of the main problematics of the 19th century novel has been the reaction of society to the new values introduced by the reformist elites with the impact of Westernization movement. The effects of the criticisms that the intellectuals brought to the Tanzimat bureaucrats through the Turkish novel in its emergence phase will be discussed in the following section. Before elaborating on that it is crucial to focus on the continuity of political culture elements between the Ottoman political culture and the Kemalist ideology.

The most significant ideological movement which had an impact on Turkish political culture after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic is the Kemalist ideology. Mardin states that Kemalism's effect in changing the values of the Turkish society is only on the surface since 'Kemalism with all its ideological tools instead of constructing modernization or Westernization in the public sphere with the Enlightenment concepts such as democracy, civility and difference it represents an image that gives priority to imposing symbols with its sanctionary organs. There is not an understanding of a public sphere independent

from state's authority'.¹² By this statement, Mardin, in a way points out to the continuity between the political culture of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. According to Hilmi Yavuz, Republican elites' severing the bonds with the Ottoman tradition and establishing the public sphere as the property of the state and trying to dominate the public sphere by some symbols, in return caused the opposition movements also to organize themselves using the symbols.¹³ The current discussions on the issue of headscarff can also be explained within such a context. On the other hand, Taha Parla, in his extensive study analyzing Turkish political culture through the reading of the official documents of the Turkish Republic points out to the significance of Kemalism in shaping Turkish political culture. Parla states that Kemalism constitutes an ideological whole and had significant impacts on the political culture of Turkish society. Its main principles are the six arrows mentioned in Republican People's Party's program: nationalism, secularism, republicanism, statism, populism and reformism.¹⁴ In the concluding part of his study Parla states that the reason he focuses on the ideological constructions in explaining political culture is that, compared to institutional structures these have a long lasting effect on the political culture of a society where there is almost a "fixed" political system (including the constitutions and political discourse).¹⁵ Institutional structures have

¹² Mardin cited in Hilmi Yavuz, "Modernleşme: Parça mı, Bütün mü? Batılılaşma: Simgc mi. Kavram mı?," in *Modern Türkiye 'de Siyasi Düşünce Ansiklopedisi- Cilt3 Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, eds. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 217.

¹³ Ibid., 217.

¹⁴ Taha Parla, *Türkiye 'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları – Cilt 3 Kemalist Tek-Parti İdeolojisi ve CHP 'nin Altı Ok 'u* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992), 321.

¹⁵ Ibid., 320.

¹⁶ Ibid., 320.

¹⁷ Aykut Kansu, "Türkiye 'de Korporatist Düşünce ve Korporatizm Uygulamaları," in *Modern Türkiye 'de Siyasi Düşünce Ansiklopedisi- Cilt2 Kemalizm*, eds. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 253.

¹⁸ Taha Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye 'de Korporatizm* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 8.

more or less changed but the ideological ones have not. Thus, 'if the political culture, political socialization, political, individual and collective psychology and consciousness are shaped under the influence of the family, schools, media, associations, parties and since in Turkey there is an official/semi-official sovereign ideology which created these institutions as its reflections for 70 years, then it is worth analyzing the "latent" internalizations of this ideology in the subconsciousness as well as its manifest reflections in way of thinking, behaviour and laws'.¹⁶

It is argued that corporatism has been a source of inspiration for the founding elites and politics of the Kemalist regime.¹⁷ Parla argues that Kemalist ideology built itself on Ziya Gökalp's corporatist political thought. There may be some differences between the Kemalist ideology and Gökalp's thought but nevertheless this corporatist mind structure has had an effect on Turkish political culture in general both in the government and the opposition forces both in the right and the left.¹⁸ Corporatist ideas began to be discussed in Europe in the last quarter of the 19th century and corporatist practices were experienced in Bismarck Germany as a state policy. In France a milder version of corporatism was put into practice under the banner of "solidarism" before World War I.¹⁹ Populist discourse of the Turkish Republic carries traces of the idea of solidarism that was present in the Third Republic of France. According to solidarist thought –which is occasionally attributed to Durkheim – society is based on the unity

¹⁹ Kansu, "Türkiye'de Korporatist Düşünce ve Korporatizm Uygulamaları". 254.

²⁰ M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "Tek Parti Döneminde Halkçılık", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Ansiklopedisi- Cilt2 Kemalizm*, eds. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2002). 282.

²¹ Ibid., 282.

²² Kansu, "Türkiye'de Korporatist Düşünce ve Korporatizm Uygulamaları". 257.

of the parts which complement each other instead of conflicting interests. Thus harmony is an essential feature of solidarism. The idea challenges the liberal understanding of according primacy to the individual and instead emphasizes national solidarity within the society or community.²⁰ Solidarism has had an impact on Ottoman intellectuals such as Gökalp and it has become a system of thought that the Republican intellectuals attributed significance to and shaped the societal imagination of the populist thought.²¹ Kansu also argues that the Turkish intellectuals who were active in political life and were educated in France, Germany and Switzerland were very much influenced by the corporatist thought.²² In its essence corporatism was a challenge to capitalism and the states who adopted a corporatist state policy aimed to control the individuals on both economic, political and public spheres. According to corporatism a nation is composed of interest groups formed by the different sectors which complement each other's interests and deems it necessary to establish organic bonds between the members of the society. Corporatism's reflections in the political arena shows itself as intolerance towards opposition movements and individualism in society. In other words corporatist thinking facilitates the communitarian inspection mechanism to increase its effect on the society as it is mentioned above in reference to Şerif Mardin.

Parla claims that Ziya Gökalp is the first and still the most developed systematic thinker of corporatist thought in Turkey.²³ Theoretical base of the six principles of the Republican People's Party and Turkish Republic is found in

²³ Taha Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993). 8.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 146.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 63.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

Gökalp's system of thought. These principles whose theoretical basis is provided by Gökalp is included in the constitution of 1937 and thus legitimized on the constitutional level.²⁴ Three of these principles, nationalism, republicanism and secularism are established in Turkish political life within the framework of Gökalp's formulation without arousing much political discussion. The principle of reformism is also internalized in Turkish political culture.²⁵ Gökalp makes a differentiation between culture and civilization. According to Gökalp, the main function and significance of national culture is its capacity to provide a basis for national solidarity for the individual. Culture links the elites and the society whereas civilization links a nation with other cultures on a superstructural level.²⁶ Religion is conceptualized within this framework. Gökalp is not concerned with the theological aspect of Islam, rather he perceives it as an element of culture which contributes to the formation of national solidarity.²⁷ He does not establish a dichotomy between the individual and the nation, indeed nation is an instrument of self-realization for the individual. As mentioned above, the founding elites and intellectuals (Yakup Kadri among them) were very much influenced by Gökalp's nationalism. Upon these ideas Gökalp built up a corporatist system of thought which will not be dealt with in detail.²⁸ For the purpose of the study it is sufficient to say that, as Parla states, the populism principle of the RPP is a continuation of 'solidarist corporatist understanding of populism', meaning that it rejects any kind of class conflict in society.²⁹ Thus it has both an anti-

²⁸ For further elaboration of Ziya Gökalp's corporatism see Taha Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), chapters V, VI.

²⁹ Taha Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları – Cilt 3 Kemalist Tek-Parti İdeolojisi ve CHP'nin Altı Ok'u* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992), 323.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 323.

³¹ Karaömerlioğlu, 272.

³² *Ibid.*, 273.

socialist and an anti-liberal character.³⁰ For the founding elites of the republic populism means the representation of the different sectors and branches all together within a harmony of interests under the single-party rule. Karaömerlioğlu argues that understanding of how Turkish intellectuals utilized the discourse of populism may shed light on the political regime of the Single Party period of Turkey.³¹ Indeed ideological factors have had an impact on the emergence of populist discourse in countries such as the Ottoman Empire and Russia who were late in transition to capitalism compared to Western Europe.³² The public was conceptualized as nation, which was in conjunction with Gökalp's definition. The Turkish Republic, during the Single Party period defined the public within a corporatist framework, as a homogeneous, monolithic and organic entity. In other words, principle of nationalism and populism that was enshrined in Kemalist ideology were very much interrelated and populist discourse implied the existence of a given nation. This Rousseauian conception of political democracy (based on general will) defined the public and the nation in abstract categories and by doing that empowered the state against the individuals and the elites (who are the representors of the general will) against the society. Kahraman also points out to limits imposed on Turkish politics by Rousseauian understanding of politics and states that 'perhaps it is possible to say that the republican administration is based upon an abstract idea of nation without a subject'.³³ Thus, once public is conceptualized as such, all kinds of opposition or

³³ Hasan B. Kahraman, "Türk Siyasetinin Rousseaucu Kısıtlamaları." *Toplum ve Bilim*. Vol.93. (Summer 2002) : 57.

³⁴ Karaömerlioğlu, 276 – 282.

³⁵ Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, 24.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

³⁷ Parla, *Türkiye 'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmî Kaynakları – Cilt 3 Kemalist Tek-Parti İdeolojisi ve CHP'nin Altı Ok'u*, 324.

³⁸ Ögün, 8.

autonomous movements were regarded as the rival of the “common interest”. Karaömerlioğlu argues that a natural extension of this understanding is the cult of the charismatic leader who is the guarantor of societal harmony.³⁴

It should not be claimed that ideology is the sole factor that shapes political culture. According to Mardin, ideology ‘just tries to shape the mind set of a society, it is not a reality in itself’.³⁵ It would not be appropriate to comment on the real behaviours of a society by simply analyzing its ideology. But still, the ideologies –as a collectivity of values – has an aspect which has an effect on people’s attitudes and thus behaviours.³⁶ Parla also mentions this issue and states that Turkey’s political culture is not only the product of the Kemalist ideology; in fact Kemalist ideology facilitated the continuity and sharpened some of the characteristics inherent in the Turkish society since the Ottoman period.³⁷ These characteristics of Turkish political culture and especially the “lack of liberal understanding” has shaped the ideology of the founding Republican elites within a corporatist framework. This observation concerning the effect of corporatism on Turkish political culture is significant since in Yakup Kadri’s *Ankara* corporatist elements as internalized in the mind of an intellectual are reflected.

In order to explore the elements of political culture outlined by the scholars whose works are discussed above, this study uses Yakup Kadri’s novel *Ankara* in making comments on Turkish political culture since it is a representative novel in several aspects. A society’s political culture on the one hand provides a tool for legitimatizing the authority of the ruling class and on the other hand it forms the

elites' mind sets. Thus the political elites feel the need to rely upon some values that the society have in order to gain legitimation in the eyes of the public. Since political ontology does not produce values by itself political authority uses the inherent values in a society to continue its existence and to strengthen its authority.³⁸ Hence there is a two sided relationship between ideology and political culture. In the example of Turkey, Kemalist ideology is both affected by some elements of the political culture that it triggered and caused these values to strengthen their position in politics by ideological and institutional tools. There has been some changes during the passage from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish society and this study attempts to make a text analysis of the novels of an author under the light of these changes and continuities.

LII THE IMPACT OF TURKISH POLITICAL CULTURE ON TURKISH NOVEL

Mardin argues that Ottoman novel is a fruitful source to analyze the modernization process in Turkey since it gives an account of Ottoman intellectuals' approach to the problems of social change.³⁹ The nineteenth century Ottoman novels mainly focus on two issues: the status of women in society and the Westernization of the high class men. Mardin claims that these two issues are the most "sublime" according to the Ottoman culture, and the most sensitive according to the implicit value system and thus consciously or unconsciously dealt with by the 19th century authors.⁴⁰

³⁹ Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, 30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

It is claimed that there is a link between Turkish literature and Turkish political culture. Scholars from both literature and political science emphasized this link and tried to explain why novels are a relevant field for examining Turkish political culture. In order to dwell upon this relationship, first of all it is crucial to examine the historical-sociological context in which the first Turkish novels were written. Novel began to emerge as a literary form in the Ottoman Empire when modernization and Westernization efforts gained impetus. This time period is called Tanzimat and still a widely discussed issue in Turkish history and politics. Thus most of the first novelists came from the ranks of intellectuals who were raised in the modernized institutions of the Ottoman Empire. However there was also another current of writers which might be called as the auto-didacts but in the final analysis both groups shared similar aims. In order to explore the relationship between Turkish political culture and Ottoman-Turkish literature it is crucial to examine the historical – sociological context in which the first novels were written, a portrayal of the backgrounds and major concerns of the first novelists, the problematic of Westernization as a dominant theme in the novels and finally the passage from the Tanzimat period to the so-called National-Literature phase in Turkey.

1.1.1.1 The Historical – Sociological Context in which the Turkish Novel Emerged

Tanzimat reforms were initiated in the Ottoman Empire with the declaration of the decree of Tanzimat in 1839. Although the modernization process had begun long before Tanzimat, the Tanzimat period was the climax of these reform movements in the Ottoman Empire. The failed attempts of Selim III and Mahmud II to modernize the Empire reached its limits during the Tanzimat period. It is an often told story that Ottoman Empire had lost its power against West by the end of the 17th century.

Hence, the sultans felt the need to reform the country in order to prevent the dissolution of the Empire. Tanzimat is the name of a reform period initiated in the institutional-legal sphere as well as in the military. The pact held the Sultan responsible to society and by the signing of the pact the sultan accepted the equality of citizens under law at least in principle. This implies that the principles of the French revolution were also accepted by the Ottoman Empire. However Tanzimat was not be limited to legal and institutional means, it also implied the evolution of a new mind set in the Ottoman Empire. From then on modernization process came to be equated with Westernization and it became one of the major tension points between the rulers and the ruled.

Novel as a literary form came to Ottoman Empire soon after the Tanzimat reforms were initiated. Unlike the emergence of novel in the West, which came into existence after the emergence of the bourgeoisie class in order to satisfy the needs of the individual, in the Ottoman Empire the change was state-initiated. So the first novels were written by the elites who aimed to transform the society. Although the first novelists were a group of intellectuals who criticized the Tanzimat reforms as will be discussed in the following section, it would not be possible to introduce this specific literary form without the change of attitudes in state's mind during the Tanzimat.

Parla claims that the first Turkish novels written in the Tanzimat period display very specific narrative styles.⁴¹ The novelists adopt a special writing technique

⁴¹ Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 14.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 14

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 14 – 15.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

which seems occasionally in contradiction with the plot and personification of the novel. But this technique has its own logic. The dominant narrative style derives from apriori, idealistic and communitarian values and other elements of the story (such as the plot and personification) are of secondary importance.⁴² For today's reader this narrative style may appear as contradictory and inconsistent. However it was a necessity of the epistemology that the Tanzimat novelists adopted. This specific epistemology identified the reality as universal, fixed, abstract and unquestionable and each one of the novelists were the guardians of this reality since the Ottoman Empire was going through a reform process. They felt that the task of guarding the reality was very important since the Ottoman Empire was going through a reform process and within this process there appeared to be some legitimation gaps. These gaps occurred because the institutional authority which promoted the absolute authority of these norms in the Ottoman cultural norm system were failing.⁴³ The institutions were going through Tanzimat and some of these reforms, according to these writers were in contradiction with the Ottoman cultural norms. Thus, Parla claims that in the first stages of Ottoman culture's Westernization process, both the political and the literary discourse reflects the quest for a lost father (or a just prince, charismatic leader).⁴⁴

Tanzimat writers had some normative priorities in their mind. Most importantly, the basis of the modernization movement should be the Western world view with all its ethical and cultural aspects. The guardians of this world view should be the sultan in the level of society, father in the level of family and author in the level

of literature. Thus the authors adopted the role of father in a world dominated by an absolutist world view.⁴⁵

Parla dwells more on this specific epistemology and makes an outline about the main characteristics of this world view. She determines four characteristics. Firstly, if the epistemology of the novel is analysed it is observed that the realism in the Tanzimat novels, is the understanding of reality as determined by the Islamic philosophy and thus it is absolutist and apriorist. Thus the reality is already determined and the ways to reach that reality is identified by Islamic epistemology. Second, the persons in the novel are the members of a communitarian culture which are devoted to the societal rules. Personifications are not made under the light of behaviouralist principles but according to the ideal cultural stereotypes and allegoric models. Third, empiricism is condemned as bad in a world view where the good and bad clashes and thus used for ethical purposes. Fourthly, the novelist involved in the novel is much more dominant to the text compared to the involved novelist in the West. For the sake of engagement the novelist may fall into contradiction with the plot of the novel and his personifications. Since the logic which directs the narrative is not a causal but an alegoric logic.⁴⁶

As mentioned above, Turkish novel has followed a different development path from that of the West. Turkish society still reflected a communitarian culture so the aim of the first novelists was not to tell the story of the individual but to defend a community whose main concern was to continue to live with traditional patterns. So the first novels were written as a part of the modernization efforts in the Ottoman

⁴⁵ Ibid., 19.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 20-21

Empire. However, ironically enough first novelists emerged among the ranks of intellectuals who criticized the state of ignoring Islamic tradition.⁴⁷

In order to get a better understanding of the characteristics of the Turkish novel from its emergence it is crucial to analyze the backgrounds of the first novelists, their common characteristics and its effect on the structure of the novels.

I.II.II First Novelists and Westernization as the Dominant Problematic of the Turkish Novel: Conflicting Values

The first Turkish novels were written in the 1870's soon after the translations of French novels into Turkish. Although the first novels were inspired from the French examples to a large extent they carried the traits of the Neareastern storytelling tradition and the Divan tradition of the classical Ottoman poetry.⁴⁸ Novel was imported from the West by the elites who were raised in the Tanzimat institutions. One of the institutions who played a significant role in Turkish society was the Translation rooms. Translation Rooms were opened with the purpose of raising state bureaucrats who could represent Turkey in foreign consulates and who could translate Western sources. However, contrary to the initial aims Translation Rooms became the house of a bunch of intellectuals who criticized the Tanzimat bureaucrats for ignoring Islamic traditions. Although first novelists wrote their novels in order to criticize the excesses of the Tanzimat bureaucrats and the Westernization movements in the

⁴⁷ Murat Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne Yazılar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998), 217.

⁴⁸ Robert P. Finn, *Türk Romanı İlk Dönem* (Ankara : Bilgi Yayınevi, 1984): 9.

Ottoman Empire, writing the novel itself implied a pro-Western political stance.⁴⁹ These intellectuals were familiar with Western style of thinking and conducting politics, so they did not belong to the ranks of common people whose values they championed.

The major problematic discussed in the first novels was the conflict between East and the West which emerged with the Westernization efforts in the Ottoman Empire. First novelists wrote their novels in order to criticize the Tanzimat bureaucrats and remind the glorious past of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁰ In other words, none of these writer's primary aim was to write for the "sake of art". They saw that in the efforts to save the empire novel could be an effective popular culture tool which could have an impact on society and thus they directed their efforts to literature.⁵¹ These authors, although with different reasons criticized the Tanzimat reforms and Tanzimat bureaucrats for being alienated from the Islamic culture while adopting the technical achievements of the West. For this reason, it was claimed that the plot of the first novels were constructed according to a "ethical tale".⁵² It is possible to divide the novelists of the 19th century into two groups. The first group consists of Young Ottomans such as Namık Kemal, Şinasi, etc. who were raised in Tanzimat institutions and who criticized the Tanzimat reforms for denying the Islamic values. In fact, these writers themselves were affected from the liberal and constitutionalist movements in the West and thought that these Western developments could be adopted by the Ottoman Empire within an islamic framework. On the other hand there was a more

⁴⁹ Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne Yazılar*, 68.

⁵⁰ Jale Parla, 19.

⁵¹ Taner Timur, *Osmanlı-Türk Romanında Tarih, Toplum ve Kimlik* (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 2002).

51.

⁵² Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne Yazılar*, 217.

scattered second group whose most important member was Ahmet Mithat who was an auto-didact and whose main purpose in writing novels was to instruct the ignorant society with the information he thought was necessary. The writers in both groups, emphasized the islamic values but with different motives.

Within such a historical-sociological context, the first novels emerged and carried specific characteristics deriving from these conditions. The novelists lacked the necessary technical information to create characters and a well developed plot which was based on causality. The novelists were face to face with some technical-difficulties alongside the socio-political factors that had an impact on their writings. The historical-sociological context which is very different from the European one, caused some problems in the structure of the Turkish novels. First of all, the first Turkish novelists lacked a literary tradition of their own upon which they can derive their knowledge about creating a personality. The only source was the folk literature, and the novelists used this source very often.⁵³ However, although the traditional folk literature provided the novelists with some sort of background it did not provide the necessary elements for creating an individual in the novel. Thus, the first novelists chose to create types instead of characters through which they could articulate a specific world view that they criticized or approved.⁵⁴ The novelists wanted to criticize types such as Bihruz bey, Felatun Bey, etc. who represented the corrupt, snob and Western-oriented figures alienated from the Ottoman culture. However, ironically

⁵³ For a detailed explanation of the first novelists' usage of the traditional narrative techniques of the Ottoman Empire see Robert P. Finn, *Türk Romanı İlk Dönem* (Ankara : Bilgi Yayınevi, 1984); Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış – Cilt 1 Ahmet Mithat'tan A. H. Tanpınar'a* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997)

⁵⁴ Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne Yazılar*, 18.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

enough, the first novelists criticized the West by using a literary form that originated in the West.⁵⁵

Aside from the technical difficulties the novelists were face to face with a more fundamental challenge which was their values and the epistemology of the novel which they set up according to these values. The novel in the West emerged in order to satisfy the needs of the emergent bourgeoisie class in the West. This means increasing individuality. However in the Ottoman Empire the relationship between the individual and the state did not change that dramatically.⁵⁶ The society still championed the values of a communitarian structure. Thus a specific epistemology was formed because of these differences. Jale Parla makes an analogy to the fathers and sons in a Freudian sense in her study explaining the differences between the epistemology of the Tanzimat novel and Western novel and states that the Tanzimat novelists, while creating their persons, adopted the role of the authoritarian children who are trying to protect the communitarian cultural pattern of the Ottoman Empire. Since their father (the reformist rulers of the Ottoman Empire) has betrayed them, the sons feel alone in their efforts to restore the glorious past of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁷ Parla states that, contrary to the appearance, in this period, the intellectuals did not experience a clash of values between the East and West (except a very specific example, Beşir Fuat) and in the last analysis, it was the Ottoman norms and culture which dominated their world views.⁵⁸ The main pillars of the epistemology upon which the Tanzimat literature was built were the unquestionability of Muslim's holy book, Qu'ran, the superiority of the Aristotelian deductive logic, a world view which is manichean, an abstract idealism derived from a mystic tradition and a law derived

⁵⁶ Finn, 36.

⁵⁷ Jale Parla, 19.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 12-13.

from Islam.⁵⁹ The Tanzimat writers who base their texts on such an epistemology find out that their trusted fathers are surrendered to the West by adopting Westernization. Unlike the following generation the main concern of the Tanzimat novelists is not to kill the sultan (father) who is the symbol of power in the Ottoman Empire but to revive him. As a result the children found themselves as having the power of a dying father. Thus the criticized and caricatured Westernized types in the first Turkish novels are the victims of the authoritarian elder brothers who are trying to establish a communitarian inspection mechanism on their snob brothers.⁶⁰

Actually, most of these intellectuals, thanks to their education in the Translation Room, were influenced from the West and compared to other sections of the population acquired the privilege to better understand the West. However, unlike the reformist statesman of the Tanzimat, they believed that the technical knowledge imported from the West could and should be compromised with Islamic values. Thus, Westernization became the major problematic of the novels written in such an historical context and until 1950's continued to be the mostly discussed issue in the Turkish novel.⁶¹

L.II.III From Tanzimat to Republican Novelists: Change and Continuities

With the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic in the 20th century, religion's importance in the minds of the intellectuals started to decrease and the nation-building process started to gain more importance. The newly established republic felt the need to construct a literary canon to legitimize its achievements and support the nation-building procedure. In the

⁵⁹ Ibid., 15.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 20-21.

⁶¹ Moran, 19.

absence of mass media instruments, popular literature, especially the novel was the most appropriate tool for the ideology to be imposed on the society. The political, social and economic reforms were not yet realized fully so propaganda through the literary works was necessary. Thus the “utopic” novels were written in such a context.⁶²

Murat Belge makes an analogy to economics in commenting on literature and states that after the establishment of the republic Turkish literature passed from a culture-intensive phase of the Ottoman literature to an ideology intensive phase.⁶³ In other words, the authors started to write novels with ideological motivations rather than the cultural ones. But still the elements of culture are inherent within ideology. As it is paraphrased from Taha Parla above, Kemalist ideology not only introduced some new elements in Turkish political culture but also it was formed thanks to these cultural traits and provided the ground for their continuation.⁶⁴

Westernization continued to be a significant issue in the novel during the Republican period. The relationship with the West was a crucial issue among the elites who were discussing the new identity that the new regime would be based upon. During the War of Independence, the novelists discussed the conflicts between the different parts of the society, the modernists and the traditionalists. After that period, the new regime’s relationship with the legacy of the Ottoman Empire began to be questioned. Halide Edip tried to establish an easy synthesis between the East and West as she married the Italian piano teacher (a character representing the modern) with Rabia (a traditional Muslim girl) in her famous novel, *Sinekli Bakkal*. The

⁶² Ömer Türkes, 427.

⁶³ Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne Yazılar*, 221

⁶⁴ Taha Parla, *Türkiye 'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları – Cilt 3 Kemalist Tek-Parti İdeolojisi ve CHP'nin Altı Ok'u*, 324.

members of the National Literature Movement dealt with the problems of new life styles and conflicting values in the society. However, this time, different from the novelists of the Tanzimat period, they began to experience Westernization as a cultural dilemma and discuss the ways of bringing the new values to the society.

The main change that the Republican period brought to Turkish literature was the quest for the formation of a literary canon. Jusdanis defines the literary canon “as the collection of the texts which tells the story of a nation, provides people to perceive themselves as citizens of a unified nation” and states that thus it “contributes to the experience of solidarity”.⁶⁵ According to this definition literary canon is both the representative of national identity and a place of continuity in which the nationalist values may be reproduced.⁶⁶ With the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the republican regime, literature began to transform in parallelity to the changing cultural policies.

Türkeş claims that, during the reform period initiated soon after the establishment of the Republic, there were practical, theoretical and manipulative attempts for the creation of a Kemalist canon on the part of the elites.⁶⁷ These attempts were influenced to a large extent by the example of the Soviet Union. The cultural policy of the new socialist state and the “party literature” proved to be an influential source for the ideologues of the Republican regime. Some members of the

⁶⁵ Gregory Jusdanis, *Gecikmiş Modernlik ve Estetik Kültür : Milli Edebiyatın İcat Edilişi* (İstanbul : Metis Yayınları, 1997), 79.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁶⁷ Ömer Türkeş, “Güdükl Bir Edebiyat Kanonu”, in *Modern Türkiye 'de Siyasi Düşünce Ansiklopedisi- Cilt2 Kemalizm*, eds. Taml Bora and Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2002).425.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 425.

⁶⁹ Alangu cited in Türkeş, “Güdükl Bir Edebiyat Kanonu”, 426.

Cadre movement such as Yakup Kadri and Burhan Belge underlined the similarities between the Soviet regime and Turkey and although they distanced themselves from orthodox Marxism, they pointed out the necessity of following the social realist path of the Soviet literature.⁶⁸

Although attempts were made for creating a national literary canon in Turkey especially during the early Republican period, a number of scholars agree that it is not possible to identify a singular literary canon in Turkish literature. Tahir Alangu states that a literary canon could not come into existence since the reforms of the Republican period were not yet legitimized in the eyes of the society.⁶⁹ Belge also states that despite the attempts on the sides of the elites for the formation of a literary canon it did not prove out to be very successful.⁷⁰ Belge determines three authorities in determining the literary canon in a country. These are firstly the people that deal with literature as a professional occupation such as writers, intellectuals, teachers, journalists and literary critics. Secondly there is the political authority, meaning the state. And the third factor is the reader, the society or the public who evaluates the work of art. According to Belge, the state's role in determining the works which will be included in the literary canon in Turkey remained at a minimum level compared to the other two authorities. The political authority indeed, did attempt to be influential (especially during certain periods such as the early Republican) but the state lacked the ideological coherence that necessitated the construction of a canon. In addition to

⁷⁰ Murat Belge, "Türkiye'de Kanon," *Kitap-lık*. (January 2004) : 55.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁷² Orhan Koçak, "Kanon mu, Siz İnanıyor Musunuz?", *Kitap-lık*. (January 2004) : 61.62.

⁷³ Süha Oğuzertem, "Sentetik Bir Salata ya da Fil Hayaleti Olarak Kanon", *Kitap-lık*, (January 2004) : 69.

that, the professionals had accepted the norms that the state imposed on determining the value of the art work.⁷¹

In his article “Kanon mu, Siz İnanıyor Musunuz?”, Orhan Koçak also argues that a literary canon could not come into existence in Turkey mainly because of the discontinuities in the cultural era with the transition from the Tanzimat to the early Republican period. The new writers had difficulty to base their works on a literary tradition because of the language policies of the early Republican period and the uneasy feeling towards the Ottoman past, caused them to work in a rather isolated atmosphere. In Turkey, all of a sudden a previous generation may be seen as invaluable and this prevents the formation of a literary canon.⁷² In short Turkey has not experienced a critical questioning of her past and the result is mostly the feeling of embarrassment from the Ottoman past. The language has also gone through radical transformations and this further contributed to the hardships of forming a literary canon.

Süha Oğuzertem adopts a critical attitude towards the discussion about the existence of a literary canon in Turkey and states that the main questions have not been asked yet. Three questions must be asked in the beginning of a discussion about literary canon in Turkey: Is there a Turkish literary canon or not; is it possible to talk about a single canon and is canonization good or bad? Unless these questions are answered and the data of the sociology of literature are used, the literary canon discussions will be insignificant.⁷³ Tekelioğlu attempts to find an answer to the second question that Oğuzertem poses, namely why is the formation of a singular

literary canon impossible in Turkish literature. Tekelioğlu claims that the question of whether there exists a national literary canon in Turkish literature or not is directly linked to the establishment of modernity and the nation-building process experienced during the early Republican period. Thus, it would be unfair to argue that there has not been any literary work in Turkey which carries a canonic character. Indeed the crucial question to be asked is the reasons behind the absence of a singular literary canon.⁷⁴ He identifies four factors which made the formation of a singular national canon impossible in Turkey. Firstly Turkey has never been a colony throughout its history. Thus one of the necessary elements in the formation of a canon, defining the “other”, becomes a problematic issue. There has not been a consensus reached among the intellectuals about who the “other” would be. Some claim that it is the imperialist powers that Turkey fought with during the War of Independence; some claim that it is the minorities that supported them, and others think that the Ottoman past is the “other” of the Turkish nation-state. Secondly, there are difficulties in defining the West itself. As it is mentioned above, since the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire experienced a Westernization process and the elites had difficulties in making a peace with the West. How would they adopt the techniques of a civilization that was their enemy during the national struggle. In this context, Tekelioğlu explains the popularity of Ziya Gökalp not because of his intellectual depth but the applicability of his system to Turkey. As explored in the previous parts Gökalp thought that a synthesis could be reached between the Western civilization and Turkish culture. At that point the third difficulty should be mentioned which is the absence of a canonic basic text which the intellectuals can base their work on. Since the elites of the early Republican period had an uneasy relationship with the Ottoman past and the islam religion, the writers

⁷⁴ Orhan Tekelioğlu, “Edebiyatta Tekil Bir Ulusal Kanonun İmkansızlığı Oluşmasının İmkansızlığı Üzerine Notlar”, *Doğu Batı*, Vol.22, (February, March, April 2003) : 65-66.

could not use Quran or Ottoman classic literature (Divan literature) as a source. Instead, most of them referred to Western sources such as the Bible or the Greek-Latin classics. Fourthly, in conformity with Koçak he argues that the Language Reform caused a discontinuity to occur in the cultural tradition. These are the reasons that Tekelioğlu outlines, which makes the formation of a singular literary canon impossible to come into existence in Turkey.⁷⁵

Although, as the above scholars argue, it is not possible to talk about a singular national literary canon in Turkey, still the efforts in that direction were crucial. Indeed, the impact of the nation-building process on literature was the most important difference between the late Ottoman and early Republican Turkish literature. Türkeş claims that the literary works about the War of Independence approach the national struggle from a Republican point of view and make a canonic whole. These novels reflect the nation-building efforts of the ruling elites.⁷⁶ Türkeş divides the War of Independence novels into three periods: First one is the period between 1920 and 1950 and the novels written in this period are mostly the accounts of the participants or direct observants of the national struggle. The second period (1950-1980) is constituted of the novels written by the first generation of intellectuals that is raised in the Republican institutions and reflect the political orientations of their time. And the third period is after 1980's. The War of Independence novels written after that period aim to restructure the past according to today's needs.⁷⁷ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's two novels that we explore in this study *Yaban* and *Ankara* belongs to the first period. Türkeş identifies some main characteristics of the novels that belong to the first period. The main themes of these novels are the bravery

⁷⁵ Ibid., 68-73.

⁷⁶ Türkeş, "Güdükl Bir Edebiyat Kanonu", 430.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 430-435.

of the Turkish soldier; the military wit of Mustafa Kemal, a disdain towards the minorities such as the Greeks and Jews for holding the economic and political power in their hands; a criticism towards the corruption of cosmopolitan life style of İstanbul, especially during the War; the corruption experienced with the change (this is an extension of the problem of Westernization) and criticism of state bureaucrats. These novels concentrate on the identity of the enemy (foreign powers, minorities, the conservative people that does not support the national struggle) rather than giving an account of the main issues such as the causes of the War and the nationalist uprisings of the period.⁷⁸

The extensive transformation that the Ottoman Empire went through also caused some changes in the minds of the elites. With the establishment of the new republic there were some efforts for creating a nationalist canon in the Turkish literature. Although writers who belong to the National Literature Movement such as Halide Edip Adıvar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Falih Rıfkı Atay are claimed to be the representatives of the national canon, recently it has been argued by some scholars that a coherent and consistent literary canon could not come into existence in Turkey due to the reasons explained above. As will be discussed later, the manner in which official authorities treated Yakup Kadri supports this view. His first novel, *Yaban*, is a highly praised novel and became part of the Turkish literary canon by getting the novel award of Republican People's Party in 1942. But his other novel, *Ankara* which was very much in conjunction with the Kemalist ideology had gone unnoticed for a long time. However, it should be mentioned that with the establishment of the Republic, Kemalist ideology began to get a more important place

⁷⁸ Ibid., 431-432.

in the minds of the novelists, and although the efforts for constructing a literary canon has failed, the writers emphasized elements of national unity in their works.



CHAPTER TWO

A LOYAL INTELLECTUAL : YAKUP KADRI KARAOSMANOĞLU

III HIS LIFE AND LITERARY EXPERIENCE

Yakup Kadri's life and his literary experience are interrelated since it is his life which effects both the style and the contents of his works. As Niyazi Akı, the writer of an extended biography of Yakup Kadri states: 'sometimes it is the author that creates the text and sometimes it is the text that creates the author'¹ In this context, the third chapter aims to examine the relationship between the life and the works of Yakup Kadri in order to evaluate the significance of the novel *Ankara* in his life. Besides that, it is also crucial to focus on the life of the author to examine the socio-political transformations that the society has undergone in order to comprehend the changing political culture. Thus, firstly autobiographical information will be provided. It is claimed that Yakup Kadri's life can be examined in two parts.² In the first part he is under the influence of individualistic and pessimistic literary currents while in the second part he is directed to the social and political problems of his time.

Yakup Kadri's life story is also representative example of a generation who were born on the last decade of the 19th century and who experienced the traumatic effects of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. The experiences of this generation is significant in the sense that they were also the founders of the principles that the new Turkish Republic was to be based upon. Yakup Kadri's life will be examined mainly

¹Niyazi Akı, *Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu: İnsan-Eser-Fikir-Üslup* (İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları. 2001), 20.

² *Ibid.*, 35.

in three parts: first part being his life and literary experiences, second part his transition from a pessimistic individual to the consciousness of society and third part is his relationship with the Cadre movement and the shaping up of his political thoughts and political career.

II.I.I Family and Education

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu was born in Cairo in 1889. He belongs to the generation of Ottoman intellectuals who experienced the traumatic effects of the Balkan Wars, nationalist uprisings and finally the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. As Yakup Kadri mentions in his monography of Atatürk, the young people of his generation lived their life in 'search of a national hero'.³ Karaosmanoğulları was a well-established ayan family in the Aegean region (especially Manisa). They gained their wealth and fame when the Ottoman Empire lost its central control at the end of the seventeenth century. However soon after Yakup Kadri's childhood was over, his father lost most of the family's property. His father was an interesting figure. He is described as a courageous but a bohemian and consumptious men who did not occupy himself with the farm works. He is claimed to have provided asylum for the rebels who were escaping from the state's forces. Yücel claims that there are even some folk songs sung after Yakup Kadri's father.⁴ His father's attitudes, especially during the years of childhood, caused Yakup Kadri to get closer with his mother.

Yakup Kadri grew up in a family which is well-educated, famous and who knows manners. Before his father lost all their property they led a prosperous life in

³ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Atatürk* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 1991). 17.

⁴ Hasan Ali Yücel, *Edebiyat Tarihimizden* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 1989). 10.

Cairo, Egypt. There, they had a nice house with a garden and several servants. Soon after the bright days of the family is over they came back to Manisa due to her mother's efforts when he was six years old. Yakup Kadri and his family came to Manisa when he is six and they stayed there until he is thirteen.⁵ He attended the primary school in Manisa but he got alienated among his friends since he spoke Turkish with an Arabic accent and had some different habits and clothes compared to his schoolmates. For example, while his friends in the school sat on the floor without shoes he used to sit in a desk especially brought for him. Throughout the primary school years he was always put under the protection of some elder brothers and this fact contributed to his alienation among his friends.⁶ He became a shy and timid child. Yakup Kadri, in his memoirs, states that he was a poor schoolchild in Manisa but nevertheless, compared to the other kids in the school who didn't even have new shoes to wear, they were still well off. Having spent the childhood in Egypt differentiated him from his friends since Egypt was a more developed region of the Ottoman Empire at that time period compared to Anatolia thanks to the modernization reforms initiated by Muhammed Ali Pasha. Besides, he was raised in a rather wealthy and intellectual family environment. Thus the relationship he established with his friends in the school was that of a landlord with his peasants.⁷

Yakup Kadri's father was an influential figure in his life in the sense that his absence and his irresponsible behaviours strengthened the relationship between the mother and the son. His mother was a self-educated woman and he founded inspiration and love for literature in his mother's presence. During his childhood where there was no electricity, his imagination was shaped by the books her mother

⁵ Aki, 15.

⁶ Yücel, 15-16.

⁷ Aki, 16.

read to him and their neighbours. Among these books Yakup Kadri especially mentions the *Kont of Monte Cristo* as a book which exerted the need of adventure to his world of imagination. He mentions his mother's special influence on him in an autobiographical book called *Anamın Kitabı* (My Mother's Book). His mother was not only an intellectual – even being able to read was enough to consider a woman an intellectual at those times – but also the savour of the family from the hard times with her endless devotion and capabilities.

After primary school is over Yakup Kadri attended the Fevziye Mektepleri. After that he attended the İzmir İdadisi. However they could not live in İzmir for long because of economical difficulties. They returned to Egypt in order to live with their relatives who will attend to their needs. In Cairo Yakup Kadri attended a Western type college called the Freres School. He became homesick in Cairo and upon his insistence the family moved back to İzmir. Yakup Kadri's lycee years passed between the two cities: Cairo and İzmir. After staying in İzmir for a year he went back to Cairo for a summer holiday and there he met with the Young Turks who are struggling against the oppressive regime of Abdülhamid II. This meeting called him back to Egypt. He did not want to be far from Egypt since he thought that Egypt has a more lively and free intellectual atmosphere. In Egypt, he had the opportunity to meet some influential figures from the Young Turks movement such as Miralay İsmail Hakkı Bey, Ali Kemal, Ahmet Saip, Abdullah Cevdet, İsmail Gaspirenski and Samipaşazade Sezai, all of them former friends of his father. Although he was only seventeen-eighteen years old by that time these figures raised his consciousness about the maladministration of Abdülhamid II's period. It was the first time he began to be interested in politics. Especially Namık Kemal's ideas about love for freedom and

hatred against repression had a crucial influence on him.⁸ In Egypt, he continued to attend the school of Freres. After spending two years in Egypt he graduated from the high school. After the high school years are over he came back to İstanbul, Turkey. There he attended the Law Faculty of İstanbul University but after three years of education he left the university because he started to make a living by publishing his articles in various journals.

Hasan Ali Yücel states that the years spent in the school of Freres had some significant impacts on Yakup Kadri. Although the author says that he does not remember a lot from the high school years, the school he attended was a conservative Christian high school and it did have some long lasting effects on him. In the school it was impossible to pronounce the names of Enlightenment figures such as Rousseau and Voltaire, since their world view conflicted with Christian puritanism. Yücel states that these years has awakened a mystical world view in Yakup Kadri's mind.⁹ Later this effect was reversed and he became an admirer of the enlightenment figures, in his own way.

Both his childhood spent next to powerful elder brothers and the conservative education he went through in the college of Freres may be claimed to have initiated a sense of devotion to power figures in Yakup Kadri. Birsen Talay states that, since very young age, he always created some myths for himself and lived by believing in the products of his own imagination.¹⁰ Later on, his attitudes towards influential

⁸ Yücel, 20-21.

⁹ Ibid., 19.

¹⁰ Birsen Talay, "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu", in *Modern Türkiye 'de Siyasi Düşünce Ansiklopedisi-Cilt2 Kemalizm*, eds. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2002). 432.

¹¹ Aki, 28-29.

political figures such as Atatürk provides an example of this situation. He always had a sense of inferiority in front of power figures. Akı claims that even when he reaches the age of thirty 'he still has that childish enthusiasm in front of the power figures'.¹¹ The individualist romantic attitude of Yakup Kadri towards life changes into a romantic devotion to the principles of Turkish Revolution in a later phase of his life. In *Ergenekon* he describes his transformation like this:

I was a rebellious anarchist when I was eighteen years old. To knock down a man of high rank or in any power position was my greatest aim. Afterwards I wanted to lead a revolution and mobilize masses of people as a wind sways a forest. At thirty I had given up all that, believed in nothing and turned myself in to material pleasures. I woke up, however, from this inflammation of flesh with a different kind of inflammation of the soul. A mystical love had engulfed my heart like the flames of a fire. I became alive as this flame caught me, and I filled my warm loneliness with ghosts whose faces resembled crystal clear spring water. Thus I found love of nation and I considered sacrificing life in the name of this love a virtue. However, I was my own prophet in this new religion. For that reason my soul was desperate like a flock without an imam. It was when I heard His voice from beyond the high plateaus of Anatolia that I knew the difference between light and fire, ecstasy and fever. It is only under the guidance of the nation that I broke free from uselessly burning in this futile fire and squirming uselessly in a devastating struggle. My soul immediately went into discipline which I might call divine. Mercy those vagabond souls deprived of such discipline!¹²

As the above quotation makes clear romanticism is the dominant current in Yakup Kadri's life and very influential in his transition from individualism to the consciousness of the society. The following parts will explain this transition in more detail.

¹² Karaosmanoğlu, *Ergenekon*, 176. *On sekiz yaşında iken asi bir anarşist idim. Yüksek bir makam sahibi veya herhangi bir kudretli adamı yere sermek en büyük emelimdi. Sonradan bir ihtilalin başına geçmek ve halk yığınlarını bir rüzgarın bir ormanı dalgalandırışı gibi harekete geçirmek istedim. Otuzumda bunların hepsinden vazgeçmiş, hiçbir şeye inanmaz olmuş ve kendimi cismani hazlara bırakmıştım. Fakat, etin bu iltihabından ruhun başka türlü bir iltihabıyla uyandım. Mistik bir sevdâ can evimi bir yangın alevi gibi sarmıştı. Bu alevle tutuştukça hayat buluyordum ve ilk yalnızlığımı, yüzleri berrak kaynak sularını andıran hayaletlerle dolduruyordum. İşte, millet aşkına ben bunlar arasından ulaştım ve bu aşk yolunda can vermeyi cana minnet bildim. Lakin, bu yeni dinde kendime peygamber yine kendim idim. Onun için ruhum imamsız kalan cemaat gibi perişandı. Ne vakit ki, Anadolu yaylalarının ötesinden, O'nun sesini duydum, nur ile ateş, vecd ile humma arasındaki farkı o vakit bildim. Ancak bu millet kalavuzunun altındadır ki, kısır bir ateşle boş yere yanıp tutuşmaktan ve yıpratıcı çırpınmalar içinde boş yere kıvranıp durmaktan kurtuldum. Ruhum, hemen ilahi diyebileceğim bir düzen içine girdi. Eyvah, böyle bir düzenden yoksun kalmış serseri ruhlara!*

In a meeting held soon after the establishment of the Second Constitutional Monarchy a new literary movement called Fecr-i Ati came into existence. The people who attended the meeting alongside with Yakup Kadri were Refik Halit, Faik Ali, Müfit Ratib and Şahabettin Süleyman. It is with this literary movement that Yakup Kadri entered into the sphere of literature.¹³ Later on, in the *Cadre* magazine, he expressed his feelings about initiating a literary movement as such:

'I was an inexperienced youngster at the age of twenty. I was wandering aimlessly on Bab-ı Ali with three-and-a-half-frank yellow-cover French books under my arms. One of my friends (Şahabettin Süleyman) said: - Come on, come along with us. we are going to form a literary circle. My heart jumped in my chest. Literature was everything for me and entering a literary circle, albeit as an unknown member, was an unimaginably high felicity for me.'¹⁴

The literary movement of Fecr-i Ati was a crucial period in Yakup Kadri's life. The movement had a short life span, between 1908 – the establishment of the Second Constitutional period – and 1911 –the beginning of the Balkan Wars-. It was initiated by a group of young intellectuals who did not have a strong educational background. These young people were between the ages of 20 – 25, most of them were not university graduates and the ones who were graduates of university did not have a strong educational background except for some encyclopedic information. However, although their education was limited they still constituted a privileged class in the Ottoman society where access to the education was limited for large segments of the population. Besides they learned French either in the School of Freres like Yakup Kadri or in the Lycee de Galatasaray. Speaking French enabled them to interact with the Western-oriented ideas. Most of them were auto-didacts and among

¹³ Akı, 20.

¹⁴ Karaosmanoğlu cited in Akı, 21. *Yirmi yaşında toy bir gençtim. Koltuğumda üç buçuk franklık sarı kaplı Fransızca kitaplarla Bab-ı Ali caddesinde sersem sepet dolaşıyordum. Arkadaşlarımdan biri (Şahabettin Süleyman): - Haydi bizimle gel bir edebi cemiyet kurmaya gidiyoruz, dedi. Yüreğim ağzıma geldi. Edebiyat benim için her şeydi ve bir edebi zümreye girmek velev adsız sansız bir aza sıfatıyla, tasavvur edemeyeceğim kadar yüksek bir ikbaldi.*

them Yakup Kadri was an exceptional figure with his knowledge of literature, especially French literature.¹⁵ In general they were a group of intellectuals who had a common understanding of aesthetics. The movement did not have a well-defined political purpose and their motto was formulated as 'art is personal and sublime'. By using this motto, the members of the Fecr-i Ati Movement tried to stay immune from the conflicts between the Unionists and their opposers. However, in the end the movement had to show reaction to the assassination of a journalist, Ahmet Samim who opposed the Unionist forces and was killed by them.¹⁶

During the Fecr-i Ati years Yakup Kadri criticized the Unionists because of their despotic and undemocratic attitudes. However, at the same time he had some problems with the opposers of the Unionists. As a result of his frustration with both of the groups, once more he tended towards pessimistic attitudes and powerful individuals. In one of his novels called *Hüküm Gecesi*, one of the characters which is associated with Yakup Kadri, Ahmet Kerim thinks that 'nobody is worth ruling the state except the heroes and mystical leaders'.¹⁷ This statement also gives a clue about the political culture that shaped the world view of the Republican elites, characterized by the cult of leadership materialized in the personality of a strong and heroic leader.

In 1911, the Fecr-i Ati movement is dissolved and most of the former members of the movement began to write in the organs of the Committee of Union and Progress. Yakup Kadri did not want to be aligned with the Unionists, reacted to

¹⁵ Yücel, 71.

¹⁶ Selim İlkin and İlhan Tekeli, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü: Kadrocuları ve Kadro'yu Anlamak* (İstanbul : Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), 16.

¹⁷ Karaosmanoğlu cited in İlkin and Tekeli, 17.

this situation and moved to İzmir. In İzmir he led a rather isolated life and he began to teach French in a high school. He came back to İstanbul during the Balkan Wars, but even then he did not get involved in politics. He didn't trust his former friends anymore. After a short interval, Yakup Kadri went to Switzerland to get healed for tuberculosis. Before he went to a sanatorium in Switzerland he entered the Bektaşî sect. This was a period in Yakup Kadri's life where he began to get interested in mysticism. Although Yakup Kadri identified himself as an atheist he was interested in mystical issues throughout his life. His novel *Nur Baba* is a reflection of this search in his life. Following this interval, Yakup Kadri began to take part in political life and the second phase in his life begins. His social and political ideas will be elaborated in the next parts so before moving on, it would be crucial to focus on the literary currents that had an impact on Yakup Kadri and his first works written in this direction.

III.II Literary Influences

Yakup Kadri met the Servet-i Fünun literary movement while he attends the İzmir İdadisi and he is influenced by them. Akı claims that similar to the dichotomy between the old and the new that divides the society in the Tanzimat literature, there is a dichotomy in the Servet-i Fünun literature based on imagination and truth that almost divides the individual's senses. Yakup Kadri was raised under the influence of those polarizations such as the East and the West, old and new, imagination and truth.¹⁸

¹⁸ Akı, 22-23.

In the high school years he had a friend who had a great impact on him, Abdullah Rahmi. Abdullah Rahmi directed him to the French literature by claiming that the French literature is the source where the Turkish literature has derived upon. He was the one that makes him read important Turkish writers such as Tevfik Fikret, Halit Ziya and Mehmet Rauf. Among these writers, Mehmet Rauf* is the one who had a significant influence on Yakup Kadri.¹⁹ He admired *Eylül* and associated himself with the protagonist of the novel in the search of a true love against the corrupt world. Unfortunately this dear friend of Yakup Kadri died before he graduates from the university. During these years Yakup Kadri read Edebiyat-ı Cedide on the one hand and he read the books of realist French writers such as Zola, Maupassant and Balzac on the other hand. Thus he derived his literary influences from two seemingly contrary world views. Edebiyat-ı Cedide was a literary movement whose motto is “art should be done for the sake of art”. In a later phase of his career he confessed that while he was aiming to be a writer like Proust he ended up being a writer like Balzac.

The general sources which had an impact on Turkish literature in the twentieth century were the holy books (especially Tevrat and the Bible) and Greek and Latin classics. Since 1913, the love for the Greek and Latin classics can be observed in Turkish literature. Intellectuals believed that the Turkish literary culture had to be built upon these sources. This was a belief that complemented the Westernization currents of the time. Social and political ideas affect the aesthetic understanding of the time and that was the case with the Turkish literature. Yahya Kemal and Yakup Kadri are considered as the champions of this movement by Aki.²⁰

* Mehmet Rauf is known as the writer of the first psychological novel, *Eylül* in Turkey.

¹⁹Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990), 17.

²⁰ Aki, 52.

He was influenced by the romantic currents of his time, especially Schopenhauer. His literary influences were mostly West-oriented because he claimed that Ottoman literature is like a desert and good writers like Tevfik Fikret are nothing but some birds who lost their ways in this desert.²¹ Schopenhauer and Nietzsche were among the prominent philosophers who had a significant influence on Yakup Kadri's world view especially during his youth. However, he was also an admirer of Maupassant and it is claimed that he read Schopenhauer through Maupassant. Maupassant was the medium through which he reached the philosophy of this romantic philosopher. His ideas about the rejection of the fine arts, poetry, music and even love derived from this source. However Schopenhauer did not deny the importance of art whereas Yakup Kadri does.

The quest for a golden age is one of the characteristics of the romantic thought. Since the romantic is not happy with his/her own time, h/she looks for a golden age where an ideal order was created. Hence, the romantic literature is full of these descriptions of golden ages. Being a romantic, Yakup Kadri dwelt upon the ancient sources in order to find a golden age upon which he can concentrate his thoughts. He found the ancient Greek and Latin sources as a period of Golden Age. Akı claims that his love and admiration for the golden ages of the Ottoman Empire is a reaction against the intellectuals of his time like Tevfik Fikret who were very much pro-Western.²² However it is ironic that while criticizing the pro – Western intellectuals Yakup Kadri himself also dwelt on the same sources (Greek and Latin) upon which the Western culture flourished. At that time he read the works of Homere, Virgile, Horace and Euripides and thought that through reading the classics of the

²¹ Yücel, 50.

²² Akı, 34.

ancient Greek and Latin sources, Turkish society can reach a renaissance of its own, an enlightenment process.²³ There is also another factor behind his tendency to the classics. Yakup Kadri criticized the pro-Western attitudes of his contemporaries with the claim that they do not really understand the philosophy of the West. Thus in a way he tried to analyze the sources upon which the Western civilization was built upon in order to keep his conservative attitude.²⁴ It is also worth mentioning that soon after the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923, the Ministry of National Education followed the same path and Greek and Latin classics began to be translated into Turkish and became a part of the syllabi for the high school students.

The quest for a golden age derived from the works of the romantic philosophers directs Yakup Kadri to mainly two sources. One is the prosperous times that is described in the Greek and Latin classics and the other is the lost and glorious past of the Ottoman Empire. It is from these sources that Yakup Kadri derived inspiration.²⁵ Akı claims that there are mainly two reasons for Yakup Kadri's quest for a golden age in Greek and Latin sources. One is the frustrating time period that the Ottoman Empire is going through. The traumatic effects of the Balkan Wars, etc, on the Turkish intellectuals will be mentioned in the following section, so here only the second reason will be elaborated upon. Nietzsche's influence on Yakup Kadri was an important reason beyond his growing interest in Greek and Latin sources. Nietzsche was a very popular philosopher in the first quarter of the twentieth century and he thought that Greek art is a fruitful cultural source which the modern men can dwell upon. Values were very important for Nietzsche and they determine a culture's life span. The instincts were very crucial in Nietzsche's philosophy. The reason that he

²³ Ibid., 35.

²⁴ İlkin and Tekeli, 30.

²⁵ Akı, 42.

praised ancient Greece is that, during that time, instincts were not held under pressure like in modern times. Our society exerts a pressure on modern individual, thus making the individual shy and pessimistic. So Nietzsche found the solution in freeing the human instincts from the pressures exerted by the society on them. However here, similar to his interpretation of Schopenhauer Yakup Kadri misinterpreted Nietzsche and instead of praising the instincts, he blamed them for they distance the human beings from the mystical senses.²⁶ On the other hand, similar to Nietzsche, Yakup Kadri also praised the Greek and Latin art and finds the ideal time period, the golden age that he is constantly in search for. It is worth mentioning that Yakup Kadri and his generation had a limited access to these philosopher's works during that time and they did a selective reading. Yakup Kadri chose the parts that already fits to his nature. In a way these philosophers legitimated his pessimistic attitude towards life as well as finding new sources for it.

Niyazi Akı claims that the generation of the intellectuals who were born around the 1880's did not meet any forces of inertia during the Second Constitutional Period, while they were choosing an inspiration source from Europe since the Tanzimat reforms were already practiced and unlike the previous Young Ottoman generation the Young Turks were not hostile to the Western sources.²⁷

After Yakup Kadri began to get a self-consciousness he makes an observation about the Turkish society. According to Yakup Kadri both the young and the old people of the Turkish society were in a pessimistic mood as if they were homesick in

²⁶ Ibid., 34-36.

²⁷ Akı, 11.

a foreign country.²⁸ As an intellectual Yakup Kadri himself was not immune from the pessimistic atmosphere which surrounded the whole country.

The pessimistic philosophers that he read, the romantics, parnassiens, symbolist poets, the works that evaluates life as nothing but a lie in contrast to fruits of imagination, the systems such as idealism and spiritualism, oppression years has already created among the intellectuals – and Yakup Kadri was one of them – a kind of collective bovarysme. The content of the Servet-i Fünun literature displayed these traits. Yakup Kadri was very much influenced from these works and his personality contributed him to make this atmosphere even more pessimistic. Hence he thought that the only solution is to escape from this atmosphere. As Akı states his escape was mainly in three directions: to the past, to utopic places and to his self.²⁹ It is possible to find reflections of this escapism in Yakup Kadri's first works.

II.I.III First Works

In analyzing some of the themes that may be relevant for this study, we will limit ourselves with the time period between 1909 and 1917. 1909 is the year that Yakup Kadri's first work was published. 1917 is one of the turning points in his life, since after that time his world view changed from an pessimistic individualistic one to one who concerns himself with the problems of the society. From that time on he began to write about the social problems in Turkey. In a sense he felt this as a duty which he couldn't escape. As we have mentioned in the previous chapter, the intellectuals in Turkey in general could not keep themselves away from the problems of the state due to their privileged position in the society and this is a long lasting

²⁸ Karaosmanoğlu cited in Akı, 19

²⁹ Akı, 42.

tradition in Turkish literature. Thus following this line Yakup Kadri found himself involved both in the War of Independence and in the establishment of a new Kemalist ideology of the Turkish Republic. Thus the works that he wrote after 1917 will be analysed under a separate heading. This part limits itself with the first works of Yakup Kadri where he still displays the attitude of a romantic and pessimist individual. However before elaborating on the first works it is worth mentioning that Yakup Kadri's romantic attitude did not change to a large extent, even after he began to get involved with the social and political problems. It is just that his romanticism changed its object from the individual to the society. This will be explored in the following sections.

Yakup Kadri began to publish his first works in 1909. Before that time two literary movement has completed their period (1859 – 1909), the Tanzimat literature and Servet-i Fünun movement. Tanzimat literature is discussed to a large extent in the second chapter and Servet-i Fünun is analysed while discussing the literary influences on Yakup Kadri. Thus, here it is sufficient to say that Yakup Kadri's writing career began in a ripe environment, but still carrying the effects of the past periods.

Servet-i Fünun's effect on Yakup Kadri caused his first works to carry the imprints of a romantic world view. There is a gap between the individual and reality, the individual has hard times to adopt himself to the conditions of the real world. Although Yakup Kadri, during this time has also dealt with social issues –under the effect of naturalist writers such as Ibsen and Maupassant - this does not spring from an ideology, belief or a social concern. Rather it is the pain felt when confronted with the pressures of reality. Even in his most realist stories of the period, such as *Şapka*, *Baskın* and *Bir Tercüme-i Hal*, there is a protest against the traditions for the sake of

the freedom of the individual. Akı states that Yakup Kadri has entered the life by saying 'ME', thus the divisions between the self and the other makes his world view an egocentric one. He was mostly under the dominance of his subjectivity. However the traumas of his period, the wars, etc. has also had an impact on them which will unveil at a later phase of his life.³⁰

As it is mentioned above Niyazi Akı claims that five years interval between 1909 – 1914 in Yakup Kadri's life is a period of rejections and hesitations.³¹ During this period Yakup Kadri published his first literary works. He did not limit himself to a specific genre, he tried various forms of literature such as stories, plays and poetry in prose. Akı claims that one of the significant characteristics of these first works is the negative and pessimistic attitude of the author towards the world. As a natural consequence of this pessimistic attitude Yakup Kadri praised death in his writings. For him death is a happy end for the people who suffer from the injustices of the world. He articulated these feelings in his first play *Nirvana* as such: 'Death... death is something grand, sublime and deep...'³² As the name of the play, *Nirvana* makes it apparent, from the beginning Yakup Kadri was also interested in mystic thoughts. *Nirvana* is a one act play about the story of a young man, Necdet who is the son of a alcoholic father. Necdet has a desperate position towards life and the story reflects his pessimism towards life, art and life. In the end of the play Necdet decides that only death can be a cure for the pains that the human beings suffer. Following *Nirvana* there came a second play called *Veda*. He also wrote some poems in prose during those periods. Also his stories were collected in *Bir Serencam*. These stories were mostly the tales of the Manisa region and they reflected the social conditions in

³⁰ Ibid., 43-44.

³¹ Ibid., 30.

³² Karaosmanoğlu cited in Akı, 32.

Turkey during Yakup Kadri's youth. Yücel claims that since Yakup Kadri chooses social issues in his first stories, it indicates that he is conscious of the problems of the society even at a young age.³³

Akı claims that during the time period between 1909 and 1914, alongside with adolescence lyricism, the diversity and ambiguity of the Constitutional period can be observed in Yakup Kadri's writings. Like most of the artists who are in the beginning of their literary career he was open to literary influences and devoted to both local and foreign sources for his feelings, ideas and world view. He perceived the reality beyond the fog of the writers that he is under the influence of. Thus the only effect that the reality had on his inner world is ambiguities and inconsistencies.³⁴ Thus in his first works written between 1909-1914, Yakup Kadri's attitude towards civilization and progress was negative.³⁵

The main theme of Yakup Kadri's first works is the conflict between the individual and society, the singular and the plural. He observed himself and other individuals within the framework of whole humanity. He extended and elaborated on this main themes in his first short stories and essays such as *İstimdad* and *Erenlerin Bağından*.³⁶ His writing style was influenced by the religious sources and the rituals of the Greek and the Latin world. He discussed the current situation that the modern individual find himself in because of religious and social pressures. His first works carried the imprints of holy books, Greek and Latin classics, French parnassians, symbolists.³⁷

³³ Yücel, 116.

³⁴ Akı, 30-31.

³⁵ Akı, 36.

³⁶ Yücel, 37.

³⁷ Akı, 65.

II.II TRANSITION FROM THE PESSIMIST INDIVIDUAL TO CONSCIOUSNESS OF SOCIETY

Yakup Kadri's positioning himself against the society did not prove to be long lasting. Soon after the War of Independence began he joined the general enthusiasm which held sway among the intellectuals. Indeed the beginning of this transformation can be traced back to the Balkan Wars. First of all, it was necessary to view the West as an enemy during the War, secondly it was necessary to make peace with society in order to mobilize it both militarily and socially and third the Young Turks came from the periphery of the Ottoman Empire.³⁸ In accordance with these changes, Yakup Kadri's world view started to change when he went to Switzerland for his illness. At that period he got under the influence of Maurice Barres, Ziya Gökalp and mystical thought. Barres was a French writer and politician. He had also experienced a transformation similar to that of Yakup Kadri in his life and became a leader in defending traditionalism and nationalism. Ziya Gökalp had an influence on Yakup Kadri with his ideas about nationalism. Gökalp makes a division between culture and civilization and claims that Turkey could remain national in essence and adopt the technical developments of the West. Ziya Gökalp's effect on the official ideology of the ruling elite of the Turkish Republic has already been mentioned with reference to Parla, thus it would not be further elaborated here. After Yakup Kadri came back from Switzerland he began to get more interested in social issues.³⁹

It is claimed that Yakup Kadri's life can be analyzed in two phases, the turning point being the year 1917 when he wrote *Rahmet*. It is claimed that until 1917 Yakup

³⁸ Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, 74.

³⁹ Aki, 44-45.

Kadri had shown an individualistic attitude towards his environment but after that time he directed his attitudes to the opposite way and concerned himself with the social issues of his time.⁴⁰ There may be various causes of this change of attitude, one among them being the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. The pessimist and individualist attitudes of Yakup Kadri disappeared after 1917 due to the traumas experienced with the dissolution of the Empire.

Yakup Kadri's aristocratic attitude towards life disappeared gradually after 1917 and his emotional and ideational isolation left itself to the ideas about the public interest. He reflected this transformation in one of his novels, *Kiralık Konak* which is written in 1920. Similar to Yakup Kadri most of the men characters in his novels pass through a transformation and moves from individualism to societal concerns. However Yakup Kadri's pessimism still followed him and thus became a dominant theme in most of his works.⁴¹

Hasan Ali Yücel claims that throughout his life Yakup Kadri is always in search of grace. His tendency to mysticism is an indicator of this will. However he could not isolate himself from the conflicts of the outer world. His novels reflect the endless tensions between the spirit and the material world. His materialism is shown in his position within the Cadre movement. But Yücel claims that even when he adopts a materialistic attitude he does not rest frozen within an ideological framework. His belief in materialism derives from his need to satisfy his spiritual demands. In fact Yakup Kadri's materialism is a mystical giving up of the individualism of the artist for the sake of society.⁴² On the other hand Akı claims that

⁴⁰ Ibid., 28.

⁴¹ Ibid., 45.

⁴² Yücel, 5-6.

both in his individualistic phase and when he gets concerned with the social problems Yakup Kadri's perception of art is one sided and limited.⁴³ The reason behind this observation may be that even when Yakup Kadri directed his attention towards society he still overemphasized the role of the intellectual and swung from one extreme to another.

Between the years 1917 and 1934 Yakup Kadri went through a transformation. His ideas were converted from the individual to the society, from senses to the mind, from community to nation and from Empire to the Republic. Akı states that two points should be emphasized in Yakup Kadri's ideas at that time. First of all he opposed the Westernization movement that is a dominant theme in the Turkish literature. He thought that Turkish literature should find the necessary inspiration by referring to its own history and nation. Secondly, the new Turkish literature should be written in a simple style and Turkish language.⁴⁴ As it is mentioned above, Yakup Kadri's ideas were shaped by the influence he derived from Ziya Gökalp and Barres. There is also a change observed in Yakup Kadri's works written after 1917. After that period the writer tried to practice his ideas by writing novels that deals with the social issues.⁴⁵ *Hüküm Gecesi*, *Kiralık Konak*, *Yaban*, *Ankara*, *Panoramalar* are all examples of this new attitude.

II.III SOCIAL & POLITICAL IDEAS

II.III.I The Cadre Movement

The Cadre Movement was formed around the *Cadre* magazine which was began to be published in 1932 in Ankara by the initiative of five intellectuals: Yakup

⁴³ Akı, 180.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 187.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 188.

Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974), Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1897-1976), İsmail Hüsrev Tökin (1902-1994), Burhan Asaf Belge (1899-1967) and Vedat Nedim Tör (1897-1985). The members of the Cadre movement had a common point: All of them were middle-class bureaucrats except Mehmet Şevki Yazman who was a former soldier and who participated the movement at a later phase. Türkeş claims that with the participation of Mehmet Şevki Yazman to the Cadre movement an alliance between the military and the civilian bureaucratic class came into existence which was in conformity with the period.⁴⁶ Vedat Nedim Tör, Burhan Asaf Belge, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir and İsmail Hüsrev Tökin actively participated in politics within the ranks of the left before joining the Cadre movement. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir and İsmail Hüsrev Tökin were educated in KUTV, a socialist university in Soviet Union. KUTV was a very influential university and had some prominent students such as Nazım Hikmet, Sen Katayama, Liu Shao-chi and Ho Chi Minh.⁴⁷ Some of them were former members of the TKP (Turkish Communist Party). Burhan Belge published articles in a leftist oriented journal, *Aydınlık*. There was a communist purge in 1927 in Turkey and most of the members of the Cadre movement's lives were influenced by these purges. By 1928 the purges were over and in the following years the former communists set up a new life for themselves in Ankara, most of them were employed in state's offices.⁴⁸ The main challenge of the members of the Cadre movement who took an active role in socialist movement was to reconcile their socialist ideas with the official ideology of the state. Thus the movement had an aim to blend the socialist ideas with the Turkish revolution but they ended up with giving priority to the

⁴⁶ Mustafa Türkeş, "Kadro Dergisi," in *Modern Türkiye 'de Siyasi Düşünce Ansiklopedisi- Cilt2 Kemalizm*, eds. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002). 464.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 465.

⁴⁸ İlkin and Tekeli, 124.

Kemalist Revolution and giving up some basic principles of socialism. Şevket Süreyya has a famous book called *Suyu Arayan Adam* where he told the story of the achievements of Turkish revolution in parallel with his own life story. At a later phase of his life Aydemir told Mete Tunçay that while they were searching for the water they lost their way.⁴⁹

Before establishing the *Cadre* magazine, the members of the Cadre movement published their articles in some other magazines. Among them *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* was the most significant one, since it was the official publishing organ of the state. Vedat Nedim, İsmail Hüsrev and Şevket Süreyya were former friends from the socialist movement and they began to cooperate once more in the *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*. Yakup Kadri joined the movement by the invitation of his brother-in-law, Burhan Asaf Belge. His role was the role of a mediator between the state and the former socialists. There was a generation gap between him and the other members of the movement.⁵⁰

The *Cadre* magazine began to be published when the new regime experienced some serious drawbacks. The world economic crisis of 1929 affected Turkey as well as the developed countries. There had been an attempt to realize the transition to democracy two years before the magazine was published. A second party named Serbest Fırka was established under the leadership of Fethi Okyar and after a very short period it became a center for the opposers of the regime. A religious rebellion occurred in Menemen and this incident aroused suspicion among the ranks of the ruling elite against the opposers of the new regime. It was understood that the new regime was under the threat of some segments of the society so the elites began to

⁴⁹ Aydemir cited in İlkin and Tekeli, 130.

⁵⁰ İlkin and Tekeli, 128-129.

look for new ways to legitimize the regime. Mustafa Kemal took a three-months trip throughout the country to discuss the problems of the new regime with the society after the Serbest Fırka was closed. The new government has faced the challenges with the failure of the second trial to the transition to the democracy phase. Thus, in the second half of 1931, RPP felt the need to disseminate the ideology of the revolution to wider segments of the society.⁵¹ However the establishment of the *Cadre* magazine was not state initiated. Cadre movement was the result of coming together of six intellectuals with the aim of providing the regime an ideology upon which it can base its legitimacy. At that point the story of the members of the Cadre movement coincided with the problems of the new regime.

The signals of the new movement was given in a conference given by Şevket Süreyya Aydemir in Turkish Heartlands (Türk Ocakları) in 1931. The title of Şevket Süreyya's speech was 'The Cadre and the Revolution'. In his speech he mainly stated that the new republic needed a strong cadre to legitimize and explain the reforms to the public. Aydemir stated that the revolutionary phase has not been completed yet and in order to internalize the revolution in society's mind the elements of the revolution needed to be collected within a coherent ideological framework. Thus, there was a need for a vanguard cadre to do this job.⁵² Later the speech is published in the form of a small brochure and disseminated through the Turkish Heartlands. This speech aroused wide discussions among intellectuals. One of the most significant criticism came from the Neşet Halil, a journalist of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. Neşet Halil criticized Aydemir's speech by stating that he perceived democracy as an old-fashioned regime and stated that it is irrelevant to talk about the ideology of the revolution without a belief in democracy. Aydemir replied to this criticism by stating

⁵¹ Ibid., 135.

⁵² Ibid., 129.

that the Turkish revolutionary regime is in contrast with liberalism and parliamentarism and it has to be evaluated within its specific context. In Aydemir's view the dynamic nature of the revolution could not be reduced to the static nature of the democracy.⁵³ After the *Cadre* magazine began to be published Aydemir had also a number of other polemics with several other intellectuals.

Şevket Süreyya Aydemir can be considered as the most influential member of the *Cadre* movement, almost an unpronounced leader. The members of the *Cadre* magazine had a division of labour among themselves. Şevket Süreyya wrote the editorials which expresses the ideological position of the magazine. Vedat Nedim and İsmail Hüsrev dealt with the issues concerning planned economy, agriculture and monetary policy. Burhan Asaf dealt with contemporary cultural and political movements. Mehmet Şevki Yazman wrote about issues concerning engineering, especially energy. Yakup Kadri was both the franchise holder of the magazine and writes about literary issues.⁵⁴

Cadre magazine focused mainly on economic issues, since most of its writers had a socialist background and promoted a planned economy. They did not defend an orthodox Marxism, instead they limited themselves with national boundaries. They stated that the main conflict in the world is not between the classes but between the center and the periphery. Thus, in a world where the main clash is between the imperialist and undeveloped countries Turkey would eventually play the role of a leader for the third world countries. No wonder, they received criticism from the left in Turkey. Şefik Hüsnü wrote a long letter to Aydemir and stated that the *Cadre*

⁵³ Ibid., 130-131.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 145.

movement

misinterpreted

socialism.⁵⁵

İlkin and Tekeli state that the most distinguishing aspect of the Cadre magazine compared to the others was the effort of the writers to follow the recent developments in the world. All of the writers were very well educated, all spoke foreign languages, thus they established a strong connection with the rest of the world.⁵⁶ As it is mentioned above Yakup Kadri played the role of a mediator between the state and the movement since he was close to Mustafa Kemal and he was a parliamentarian. When they decided to publish the magazine, Yakup Kadri first went to Recep Peker, the general secretary of the RPP to state their wish to publish a new magazine in order to construct the ideology of the republic. Peker refused this claim by stating that this mission only belonged to the party itself. Then Yakup Kadri got the permission from Mustafa Kemal himself.⁵⁷ This incident gives the clues that there would occur some tensions between the Cadre and RPP in the future.

In the first issue of the magazine the Cadre movement makes its position clear. The idea behind the movement can be outlined as follows: The revolutionary phase that Turkey is going through has not ended. Indeed revolution is not a purpose in itself but the instrument of the following reform process. The reforms have to expand and deepen in order to create the future of Turkish society. Thus a conscious and progressive minority should represent the will and interest of the revolution. This minority is the Cadre itself. Turkey is in a reform process and contains all the ideological elements which could provide the mind setting for the people who will contribute to the survival of the revolution. However this ideological elements have

⁵⁵ Ibid., 229.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 145.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 142.

not yet been compiled in a coherent and consistent IDEOLOGY. After the original ideas of the revolution was explained one by one by one by the cadre, a new revolutionary type would come into existence and a new world view would eventually appear in the society's mind. In order to keep the revolutionary enthusiasm awake, we have to know and internalize its principles within criterias whose limits are certain.⁵⁸ That was the aim of the Cadre magazine. İlkin and Tekeli comment that Aydemir has used a very diplomatic language in this statement by claiming that the revolution already contains the necessary ideological elements within itself. In fact Cadre made an implicit criticism to the leaders of the revolution since they don't explain the reform process to the public. The diplomatic language is used because the movement always faced a threat from the ruling elite of the Republican regime.⁵⁹

The *Cadre* magazine is published between 1932 -1935. The movement is identified as the first patriotic leftist movement⁶⁰ in Turkey. It is argued that Cadre movement's understanding of statism has some differences from the statist policy that the state has adopted at the same time period.⁶¹ Cadre's understanding of statist economy relies on a world view based on planned economy. Türkeş identifies the major sources that the Cadre movement based its ideas upon. These are two Turkish nationalist authors who gained popularity during the Unionist era, Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura; Leninism; Tatar Bolshevik Sultan Galiyev; Soviet experience,

⁵⁸ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, editorial, *Kadro*, no:1 (1932) : 3.

⁵⁹ İlkin and Tekeli, 149.

⁶⁰ Mustafa Türkeş, "The Ideology of the Kadro [Cadre] Movement: A Patriotic Leftist Movement in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 14 (1998).

⁶¹ Ömür Sezgin, "Kadro Hareketi" in *Kadro 1932 - Cilt 1 (tıpkıbasım)*, ed. Cem Alpar (Ankara: Ankara İktisadi ve Ticari İlimler Akademisi Yayınları, 1978), 11.

⁶³ Mustafa Türkeş, "The Ideology of the Kadro [Cadre] Movement: A Patriotic Leftist Movement in Turkey, 92-100.

⁶⁴ Sezgin, 15

especially in the economic field during the phase of 'New Economic Policy' (NEP) and the planned economy and the German economists such as Friedrich List, Adolf Wagner and Werner Sombart.⁶³ The Cadre movement established a synthesis of nationalist and socialist ideas derived from these sources which they name as the Third Way.⁶⁴ They received criticism from both the left and the right.

The main argument of the Cadre movement relied upon the idea that the basic conflict in the world did not rely on classes but between the developed and undeveloped countries. Nationalist movements in that sense became the champions of socialism and Turkey was a significant example of this purpose. In the *Cadre* magazine revolution was defined in two stages, the first stage was the achievement of national political independence (revolution) and the following second stage was the achievement of economic independence. This was the fundamental argument behind Cadre's ideology.⁶⁵

We will not go into the details of the economic program of the Cadre movement since what is significant for the purpose of this study is how the Cadre movement contributed to the formation of Turkish political culture and how this understanding was reflected in Yakup Kadri's novel, *Ankara*. Cadre's impact on Yakup Kadri and his novel will be further elaborated in the following chapter, thus in this part, the new values that the Cadre movement aimed to bring to the society will be discussed with reference to some of the articles published in the magazine by Yakup Kadri and the others.

⁶⁵ Mustafa Türkes, "The Ideology of the Kadro [Cadre] Movement: A Patriotic Leftist Movement in Turkey," 95.

II.III.II Yakup Kadri and the Cadre Movement

In the *Cadre* magazine Yakup Kadri generally wrote about literary issues. He perceived the literature as a social subject and his essays were mainly centered around the issue of the purpose of literature and the mission of the artist in the newly established Republic. According to Yakup Kadri, the new regime required the formation of a new understanding on the part of the artist. His views about literature were in conformity with the world view of the *Cadre* magazine in general. He also wrote chronicles about the new regimes of Rome, Moscow and Turkey and derived some conclusions about the revolutionary movements. Yakup Kadri's essays in the *Cadre* magazine will be briefly outlined in this part, before analysing his novel, *Ankara*.

Yakup Kadri adopted a critical attitude towards the literary currents of his time. He stated that expressionism is an old tale, futurism is an ambiguous instinct, dadaism aims destruction and surrealism is a cloud that aims to surround this chaotic elements. However, thanks to the nationalist revolutionary movements a new order is created in the world and the artists should give up their old habits and try to find new ways of expressing themselves⁶⁶ In this search for authenticity the Turkish writers should direct their attention to the nation itself and search for inspiration in Turkish folk literature. Since the Tanzimat period the Turkish writers looked for inspiration in the West, thus an artificial literature came into existence. Yakup Kadri thought that the purpose of the writers of the new Republic should be the exploration of the new social issues that the new society is confronted with. The individuals in the art works should reflect the problems in the society. Thus he gave clues about his future works

⁶⁶ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Şairin, Bize Anlatacağı Şey Kaldı mı?." *Kadro*, no:1 (1932) : 28.

in the *Cadre* magazine. The new artist should express a new world view in conformity with the reform process that Turkey is in since the establishment of the Republic.

According to Yakup Kadri, new expression styles were the result of a change in the mind settings of the individuals.⁶⁷ Thus, first of all, the content of the art work should be changed. He criticized his contemporaries by claiming that they are telling stories about some simple love affairs and the characters in the novels are artificial and do not reflect the new man which is the result of the new life. Yakup Kadri thought that the contemporary writers do not occupy themselves with the problems of their time and thus fail to be creative.⁶⁸ Art should be done for the sake of society. The artist needs a social environment to exist and to do his work properly. At that point Yakup Kadri compared the work of an artist to that of an artisan and stated that both produce their work for the benefit of society. This comments make clear a dramatic change of attitude in Yakup Kadri towards art compared to the views explored in the previous part. The artist belonged to the community and to the crowds. The artwork was created for the community and the community only accepts and approves the collective feelings and enthusiasms.⁶⁹ Thus the main aim of the artist should be to satisfy this very basic need of the society. Great artist was not a man of dreams and inner conflicts but a hero fighting with the harshest realities of the word.⁷⁰ Art was above all an element of war, struggle and reform.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Ibid., 29.

⁶⁸ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Ham madde ve halkla sanatkar," *Kadro*, no:3 (March 1932) : 18.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 18.

⁷⁰ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Haile unsuru," *Kadro*, no:4 (April 1932) : 15.

⁷¹ Ibid., 17.

⁷² Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Enderun Şairleri ve Halk Edebiyatı," *Kadro*, no:10 (1932) : 26.

⁷³ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Maxim Gorki ile mülakat," *Kadro*, no:5 (Mayıs 1932) : 30.

The method for making art for the society is very simple and clear. First of all the writers should write about issues concerning the society. While doing that they can dwell upon the sources that the folk literature provides for them. At that point Yakup Kadri differentiated folk literature from simple folklore since the writers of the folklore are anonymous. By folk literature he referred to the works of prominent poets such as Karacaođlan and Yunus Emre and stated that the national Turkish literature should get inspired from their works. Concerning the issue of language, Ottoman Turkish should be left aside and a new Turkish language based on years of tradition should come into existence by the conscious efforts of the intellectuals. Yakup Kadri's comments echoed the world views of the nationalist movements of the time. He gave examples from Dante to Petrarca in order to support his views.

While praising the folk literature Yakup Kadri, on the other hand condemned the Divan literature and stated that it is both artificial and inhuman.⁷² However, the Turkish intellectuals should also dwell upon the Divan literature to find an anti-thesis. Divan literature focused on the worldly pleasure and was consumed as a luxury product by the intellectuals around the palace. However, according to Yakup Kadri, art work of the future should not be a luxury product such as the "lavender of Cotty", "diamond of Cartier" or "shoe of Peroujia"⁷³ He gives the example of Russia and states that art has become a basic need in Russia after the revolution and the bakeries are not crowded as the theatres in Russia.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Ibid., 31.

Apart from his essays written from a wider perspective on the role of the artist and the literature in the reform process, Yakup Kadri also wrote a chronicle about Ankara, Moscow and Rome in the *Cadre* magazine. He stated his aim is to make a comparative analysis of the Russian, Italian and Turkish revolutions. Before writing this series he visited Italy and Russia several times but he did not only aim to write his impressions.⁷⁵ In these essays he mainly concerned himself with the achievements of these regimes in creating the new type of man which is the result of the new order. His chronicles about Russia are significant in displaying the *Cadre*'s attitude in evaluating these new regimes. Besides Yakup Kadri's comments are also significant for the purpose of this study since they reflect the new values that the Kemalist elite aims to introduce to the Turkish political culture.

Yakup Kadri began his chronicles about Russia with a self-criticism. He got informed about the Russian revolution while he was in Switzerland in a sanatorium from a conservative French newspaper, *Journal de Geneve*. He criticized himself by not being able to understand the significance of the Russian Revolution for undeveloped countries such as Turkey since he was evaluating the events from a European perspective and the Russian revolution did not carry the significance for the Europeans as it did for the undeveloped countries. Only after Turkey has gone through a national struggle could Yakup Kadri understand the meaning of the Russian Revolution and he states that the friendly relationships conducted between Russia and Turkey during the War of Independence was no simple coincidence. In fact these countries shared the same fate, both had the same enemies: imperialist countries.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Ankara-Moskova-Roma," *Kadro*, no:13 (İkinci Kanun 1933) : 29.

⁷⁶ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Ankara-Moskova-Roma," *Kadro*, no:6 (June 1932) : 35.

Yakup Kadri aimed to inform the readers about the aim and the achievements of the Russian Revolution and wants to draw parallelities between Russia and Turkey. He wanted to save the reader from the limited, small and prejudiced measurements of the Western liberal bourgeoisie.⁷⁷

First of all Yakup Kadri gave the reader some basic information about Marxism and Leninizm. He emphasized Lenin's contribution to Marxism since the Cadre movement uses the imperialism analysis and vanguard cadre idea of Lenin. He then advanced by reflecting his observations in several Russian cities. His first impression about Russian cities was the dominance of a serious and proud atmosphere created by the Russian revolution.⁷⁸ Yakup Kadri claimed that the Russian Revolution has not yet succeeded in removing all the conflicts in the society. There were still some changes to be made in the legal system. He also drew attention to the position of the intellectuals. The intellectuals, especially the artists and the writers were not collectivized and proletarianized yet. They still kept the weaknesses and hesitations of the bourgeoisie life style. In a way they were similar to the intellectuals of the world in general, and especially the Turkish intellectuals with their individualism and snobism.⁷⁹ However the position of the intellectuals is an anomaly in the revolutionary atmosphere of Russia. Yakup Kadri criticized the Western oriented young people and women by claiming that they do not associate themselves with revolutionary principles.

Yakup Kadri's observations about Russia are very crucial since they give clues about the new individual that the elites of the new Turkish Republic want to create.

⁷⁷ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Ankara-Moskova-Roma," *Kadro*, no:9 (September 1932) : 36.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

⁷⁹ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Ankara-Moskova-Roma," *Kadro*, no:10 (Birinci Teşrin 1932) : 40.

He compared Westernized elites of Russia to the Western-oriented people living in İstanbul. He criticizes them for not being productive and thought that the people living in İstanbul are cosmopolitan and apathetic.

It is very interesting to observe the fact that Yakup Kadri did not adopt a negative attitude towards fascist Italy. Instead, he perceived fascist Italy as an example of revolution which controls itself perpetually. Italy was like a big machine whose parts work in harmony with each other. In such a context Mussolini was nothing but a chief artisan, not even a dictator. Thanks to fascism Italy has become a well-working revolutionary mechanism. Indeed, for Yakup Kadri, fascism was neither an ideology nor a political view but a new state technique or a technical state.⁸⁰ He then compared Italy with Russia and derived the conclusion that the latter one could not reach the perfection of the former one since Russia had to begin whole development process anew with the dissolution of the Tsarist regime.

Yakup Kadri emphasized the external threat for Russia and internal threat for Italy and claimed that Turkey confronted both the threat of imperialism from outside and the threat of the conservative people within the society. Therefore the task of the Turkish revolutioners were harder than those of Russia and Italy. The interesting point here is that, for Yakup Kadri liberals also constituted a threat to the regime. They also challenged the current revolutionary order.

Yakup Kadri drew some commonalities between fascist Italy and communist Russia. While doing that he referred to Mussolini's words. Mussolini stated that both the Italians and the Russians were against the liberals, democrats and parliaments.

⁸⁰ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Ankara-Moskova-Roma." *Kadro*. no:11 (İkinci Teşrin 1932) : 38.

Thus Yakup Kadri derived the conclusion that the three major revolutions (Turkish, Russian and Italian) are equivalent to each other in terms of their sources.⁸¹ All of them were a reaction to the current order. However the systems they used and the ultimate purpose was different. The similarity between the systems of fascism and communism was in their demands from the society. Indeed both the fascist leaders and the communist leaders demanded obedience from the society they rule. At that point Yakup Kadri did not make a comment on the Turkish Revolution. In order to get clues about the political culture of the new man of the new Turkish Republic we can make some observations about what Yakup Kadri admired in the revolutionary Russian and Italian society.

In order to define the ideal features of the new man that the revolutions aims to create Yakup Kadri derived examples from a little village called Bolşeva that he visited. He observed that all the people living in the village live and work in harmony. When he asked one of his companions how they succeeded in constructing such a society he got the reply that everything in the Russian society was shaped according to the needs of the society. The individual has lost its significance in such a world order. In a society which is constructed according to the ideals of the revolution, individuals automatically became an instrument in a well-working mechanism. While making comments on the individuals Yakup Kadri emphasizes values such as responsibility and love of work instead of freedom and interest. The only exceptions within the society are some women who wanted to keep their old habits. No wonder, Yakup Kadri harshly criticized this type of women and made analogies between them and the women who live more or less in the same way in İstanbul. Yakup Kadri claimed that women are harder to change and he has a regretful tone in making this

⁸¹ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, "Ankara-Moskova-Roma." *Kadro*, no:12 (Birinci Kanun 1932) : 33.

observation. His ideas on art in Russia are similar to his views about art in general. Therefore it is not necessary to mention them separately.

The phase of Cadre movement is significant in Yakup Kadri's life since it created some tensions between him and the state. Nevertheless, unlike his friends he always stayed loyal to the Kemalist elites. The Cadre magazine is closed in 1935. There were several reasons behind this. First of all, since the beginning RPP did not want to share the monopoly of creating ideology for the state with an independent publishing organ. Secondly, the Cadre movement almost became an independent movement after a certain point. Thirdly, the regime may be irritated by the efforts to blend socialism with the principles of Kemalism. Thanks to the efforts of Mustafa Kemal, the Cadre movement could publish their magazine for approximately three years but after a period the tensions increased. Before the *Cadre* magazine is published Yakup Kadri is very often invited to the dinner table of Atatürk (which is an indicator of acceptance by the official authorities), but after the magazine gained some popularity these invitations decreased.⁸²

Thus the *Cadre* magazine is closed in 1935 with a clever political manœuvre on the part of Atatürk. Yakup Kadri, the franchise holder of the magazine was appointed to the Turkish embassy of Albania and the magazine is closed. İlkin and Tekeli claims that it was not the members of the Cadre movement but the magazine itself which irritated the official authorities. Most of the members continued to occupy their posts in the state offices after the magazine is closed. Yakup Kadri, in his memoirs never blames Atatürk for his decision. He believed that he had to close the

⁸² İlkin and Tekeli, 349.

Cadre magazine because of increasing pressure coming from the ranks of the party members.

The period of Cadre movement is very significant in Yakup Kadri's life since it affects his most influential novels, *Yaban* and *Ankara*. In the next chapter, *Yaban* and *Ankara* will be analysed with regards to the elements of Turkish political culture derived from the official state ideology.



CHAPTER THREE

ANKARA

III. I ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT, *ANKARA* : THE UTOPIA OF A KEMALIST INTELLECTUAL

Before analyzing the elements of Turkish political culture in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Ankara*, it is crucial to focus on *Yaban* because of several reasons. First of all, *Ankara* can be considered as the continuation of the same story which began to be told in *Yaban*. Although the characters are not the same, the story of the National Struggle is given in *Yaban* and the consequences are given in *Ankara*. Secondly the motive of Yakup Kadri in writing these two novels was more or less the same. Both of them were written within the ideological framework of the Cadre movement. Although *Yaban* was written before the establishment of the Cadre movement the novel was discussed and admired in the pages of the *Cadre* magazine. Thirdly, *Yaban* carries a significance in itself by being the most widely approved novel of Yakup Kadri by the official ruling elite. In 1942, the novel won the Republican People's Party's novel award.

Yaban is the story of a soldier, Ahmet Celal who lost one his arms during World War I. After the War is over Ahmet Celal cannot go back to the army and he does not want to live in İstanbul which is occupied by the Allied forces. Upon the invitation of his former soldier he moves to a small village in the middle Anatolia, close to Eskişehir. During the War of Independence Ahmet Celal makes observations about the attitudes of the villagers and he gets frustrated by what he sees. The peasants are unaware of the importance of the national struggle, have primitive ways of living and on the other hand they perceive Ahmet Celal as an alien and the name of

the novel derives from the nickname that the peasants have given to him: *Stranger* (*Yaban*). After his frustration is over, Ahmet Celal thinks about the reasons behind the current situation of the peasants and derive the conclusion that it is the fault of the rulers who did not bring necessary resources and education to Anatolia. The novel ends with a criticism of the rulers and the intellectuals.

Yaban has created much controversy because of its style and content. Yakup Kadri himself hesitated to call *Yaban* a novel since it is full of soliloquys and it does not carry the necessary characteristics of the novel. In an introduction he wrote to the second edition of the novel he claimed that: ‘This piece is something that came from the depths of my soul, as if torn away by itself. I’m calling it a thing because this is neither a novel in the true sense, nor a work of art and literature in the true sense. It has nothing to do at all with daily business called politics... Yaban is filled to the brim with monologues that must not be written according to objective novel techniques. So much so that a critic should have objected with artistic concern to these loud sermons that tear the main narrative into bits and pieces.’¹

And they did. However the style of the novel was not very much criticized compared to the controversy aroused around the content of the work. *Yaban* is praised by the *Cadre* magazine and identified as the “first original Turkish novel” by Vedat

¹ Karaosmanoğlu cited in Zeki Coşkun, “Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu: *Yaban*. Ankara, Sodom ve Gomore,” in *Türk Romanında Kurtuluş Savaşı*, ed. Mürşit Balabanlılar (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2003). 98. ‘Bu eser benliğimin çok derinliklerinden, adeta kendi kendine sökülüp koparak gelmiş bir şeydir. Bir şeydir, diyorum. Zira, bu, ne bütün manasıyla bir roman, ne bütün manasıyla bir sanat ve edebiyat işidir. Hele, politika denen gündelik davalarla hiçbir ilgisi yoktur... Objektif roman tekniğine göre yapılmaması gereken tiradlarla *Yaban*’ın her tarafı tıklım tıklım doludur. O kadar ki, sanat bakımından, bir tenkitçinin, asıl hikayeyi bölük pörçük eden bu feryadimsı hutbelere itiraz etmesi gerekirdi.’

² Vedat Nedim Tör, “İşte bir roman: <<Yaban>>,” *Kadro*, no:16 (April 1933) : 49.

Nedim Tör.² Şevket Süreyya also focuses on the thesis of the novel in the *Cadre* magazine. According to Süreyya, *Yaban* is the end product of a certain phase of Turkish revolution. If the novel were written during the War of Independence it could have aroused much discontent since the only thing expected from the artist during that time was his/her participation to the enthusiasm of the mystical and wide crowds. However after the enthusiasm is over, time becomes ripe for the establishment of the reform process and all kinds of criticism is welcomed. Thus *Yaban* is written at a time period when the new Republic is in the phase of establishing the reforms and the elites are occupied with the mission of showing the realities to the ruling elite and making critical thinking.³ Reşat Nuri Güntekin, a famous Turkish writer praised the novel as the Yakup Kadri's masterpiece.⁴ On the other hand there was criticism to the Yakup Kadri's description of the peasants in the novel. Most of the criticisms directed to Yakup Kadri centered around his description of the peasants. İsmail Habib Sevük argues that Yakup Kadri has written *Yaban* with the romanticism of a pessimist. His novel is praised because of his realism however according to Sevük, the villagers portrayed in the novel are as unreal as the ideal type of honest and industrious peasants which are generally described in the novels of the period. Until 1960 the criticisms directed to the novel were mostly occupied with its political significance.⁵ After that period *Yaban* is criticized more objectively as a literary piece but still evaluated from a political perspective.

³ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "Yaban," *Kadro*, no:18 (June 1933) : 87.

⁴ Güntekin cited in Özkırmı, foreword to *Yaban*, p.265.

⁵ Özkırmı, foreword to *Yaban*, p.282.

Zeki Coşkun identifies *Yaban* as a “manifesto” novel, meaning that the novel is written with the purpose of reflecting the ideology of the Cadre movement. According to Coşkun, the period that the novel is published in, its content, discourse and thesis and its impact on the Turkish literature requires the usage of such a term.⁶ Coşkun refers to Ahmet Celal’s words in the novel in order to support his argument. While Ahmet Celal criticizes the apathy of the peasants he addresses the reader and states that: ‘If they are unaware of the national struggle then it is our fault. It is the fault of the reader of these sentences. You and me have left them in the shadow of the wild nature, since centuries, isolated from all kinds of satisfaction as if they were survivors of a great accident. They are hungry and ill. And their souls are in the prison of darkness called ignorance.’⁷ As this quotation makes clear the novel carries the character of a manifesto to the founding elites (or the Cadre) of the Turkish Republic. Coşkun also claims that *Yaban* is the continuation of the village novel tradition in the Turkish literature, but unlike the previous ones, it does not idealize the lives of the peasants, on the contrary it directs harsh criticisms to them. Thus the novel reflects the role of the intellectual in giving consciousness to the peasants in the reform process of the Turkish Revolution. With this characteristic it could be accepted as the champion of the populist view that directs its attention to the peasants during the Republican era.

Berna Moran points out to another specificity of *Yaban*. First of all, unlike the other critics of the novel Moran does not think that the novel lacks a tension and plot that the classical novel form requires. Karaosmanoğlu has located the War of Independence at the center of the novel and as the war advances, it creates a tension between Ahmet Celal and the peasants. According to Moran the main conflict is not the one between the intellectuals and the common people as it is commonly perceived

⁶ Coşkun, 97.

⁷ Karaosmanoğlu cited in Coşkun, 97-98.

but between the supporters of the national struggle and its opposers. The local merchants and the peasants have allied against the bureaucratic-military class and the intellectuals during the War. Thus *Yaban* aims to tell the story of this tension.⁸ The nationalist intellectual is in the search of a nation but fails to find the appropriate community which could play that role. In a way *Yaban* is the novel of this frustration on the part of the intellectuals.

Ankara can be perceived as the continuation of *Yaban*. The novel begins at the time period before The War of Independence, where *Yaban* has ended.⁹ However unlike *Yaban*, in *Ankara*, Yakup Kadri draws an optimistic description of the future of the Turkish Republic which is in conformity with the ideal order in his mind. What differentiates *Yaban* and *Ankara* is that the latter is written during the time period when Yakup Kadri was actively participating the Cadre movement. Thus the novel is written within the framework of the Kemalist ideology which the Cadre movement allies itself with. The scheme of development in the novel reflects a top to bottom approach, incidents happen without the necessary people who have the potential to realize them. *Ankara* carries the major defects of Turkish political novel. The characters are not fully developed so as to gain an individuality and internal coherence. Thus the changes in their life are far from convincing. The examples will be provided in the following paragraphs.

The novel consists of three chapters. In the first two chapters, Yakup Kadri describes the developments of the time period between 1921 and 1926 through the life of Selma Hanım –the protagonist of the novel-. The last part reflects an utopic future which Karaosmanoğlu has in mind as a Kemalist elite. A Turkey which has developed

⁸ Moran, 156.

⁹ Aki, 106.

according to the ideal scheme of Kemalist Single-Party ideology is portrayed in the last section. Thirty years after the book is written, Yakup Kadri writes a note for the third edition of his book and admits that the Turkey that he had dreamed of in the last chapter of the novel is far from being realized. He complains that although twenty years has passed since the foundation of the new state, Turkey is still in the corrupt condition that is described in the second chapter.¹⁰

In the first chapter of the novel, Selma Hanım comes to Ankara with her husband Nazif Bey. Nazif Bey works as a manager in a bank and Selma Hanım is a well-educated woman who grew up in İstanbul. At the time of their arrival to Ankara in 1921 during the War of Independence, Ankara is still a rural town but it has a symbolic importance for the role it plays in the war. Thus, in the beginning, she and her husband have difficulty adapting themselves to the poor and uncomfortable life conditions in Ankara. The house they moved in is owned by a local merchant who is very much conservative. They criticize the way people live in İstanbul and gossip about Selma Hanım as soon as they arrive. Ömer Efendi is a merchant who turned out to be rich by selling goods to the needy people during the War with high prices. Although he is not content with his neighbour's life style, he doesn't dare to move them out, considering the strong position that Nazif Bey occupies in the bank. The course of events begin to change when Selma Hanım begins to realize the importance of the great struggle of the people in Ankara for the success of the war. The moment of enlightenment in her life comes when she meets with a prominent soldier, İsmail Hakkı, in a friend's house. İsmail Hakkı, being a charismatic soldier affects her by

¹⁰ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*. (İstanbul:İletişim Yayınları. 1999). 13.

telling stories about Atatürk and the national struggle. Selma Hanım, very much affected by the stories about the War of Independence, decides to be a nurse in Anatolia to help the wounded soldiers and she moves to Eskişehir. As her consciousness about the problems of the liberation movement increases her husband seems as a passive and inconvenient figure to her.

In the second part of the novel, the reader finds Selma Hanım in the new Turkish Republic as the wife of İsmail Hakkı. However, her husband has lost his traits which caused Selma Hanım to fall in love with him during the war. In conformity with the developments in Ankara her husband has changed and began to adopt Western style of consumption patterns. The new elites of the Turkish Republic (İsmail Hakkı Bey being one of them) distanced themselves from the common people they fought side by side during the War. Ankara transformed itself to a new city where the bureaucratic elites leads a life of luxury. New houses are built everyday, balls are organized very often. On the other hand, the common people lived in poor conditions and did not have an access to the opportunities of getting a good education and a good job. When Selma Hanım feels frustrated by her husband's attitudes in a ball, she meets with Neşet Sabit, a young journalist who shares her dissatisfaction with the corrupt condition that Turkey is in.

The last part describes an utopic future in the 10th and 20th anniversaries of the Turkish Republic. The society has transformed itself and Ankara has become a new place. Selma Hanım has got married with Neşet Sabit and they lead a productive and happy life. Selma Hanım becomes a teacher and Neşet Sabit works as a writer and director. The country is socio-economically developed and the self-seeking people are alienated from the society. The differences between the common people and the elites

have disappeared. There is trust and solidarity all through the country. The novel concludes with a happy end.

Selma Hanım is constructed as a microcosm of Turkish society through which Yakup Kadri may present an ideal evolution scheme of the individual in conformity with the Kemalist ideology. She gets married three times and each of her husbands represents a phase in the evolution of the Turkish Republic. By leaving her husbands and making new marriages Selma Hanım goes through an artificial transformation process. Her first husband Nazif Bey is a passive Ottoman bureaucrat but he loses his charm for Selma Hanım in Ankara when she meets a powerful officer, İsmail Hakkı, a symbol of prestige, who fights in the War of Independence. After the war is over and the Turkish Republic is founded, İsmail Hakkı leaves his occupation in the military and gets himself adapted to the civilian life. He goes through a quick transformation and becomes a symbol of the Westernized elite who imitate Western modes of consumption in his life. Selma Hanım instantly meets a young intellectual, Neşet Sabit, who is a journalist. Neşet Sabit represents Yakup Kadri's world view and together with Selma Hanım they move into an other stage, which is the ideal condition of Turkish society. Selma Hanım's marriages occur automatically without causing neither inner conflicts nor conflicts with her environment. It is as if her husbands know the time to go and when it is the right time they disappear automatically, not causing any bit of trouble for their wife. It must be admitted that the organization of the events as such is not very realistic considering the fact that the setting of the novel is Turkey in the first half of the twentieth century. Selma Hanım does not have any parents to criticize her, even the suspicious neighbours do not make comments on her marriages. Most significant of all, she does not have inner conflicts. This is because Selma Hanım is chosen by Yakup Kadri to represent the Turkish

people. Indeed the author, implies his modernization project on the body of Selma Hanım on purpose. However, her inherent values do not facilitate radical transformations. Indeed, the changes in her life do not have implications or inner conflicts in Selma Hanım's world. This very fact makes the novel an unsuccessful one, as a literary piece. The author does not dare to use an uneducated woman as the protagonist, since he believes that it is the elites who can first transform themselves and then transform the society.

As it is mentioned above *Ankara* is a novel which has a certain thesis. The setting, plot and the characters are organized in a specific way by the author to explain the political project in his mind. In other words, *Ankara* draws a picture of the utopia of the Cadre movement and gives clues about the new man which is trying to be created within the new order. Thus the novel reflects Kemalist ideology's effect on Turkish political culture. By observing the changes in Selma Hanım's life the reader can distinguish certain elements of the Turkish political culture that the Kemalist elite aimed to internalize in the society. As quoted from Parla previously, it would be wrong to attribute the formation of the political culture only to Kemalist ideology. Below there will be a text analysis of the novel *Ankara* in order to make some observations on the political culture of Turkish society.

III.I Elements of Turkish Political Culture in *Ankara*

Ankara is written within the ideological framework of the Cadre movement which aims to blend socialist ideas with Kemalism. Taha Parla points out to the effect of Kemalist ideology on Turkish political culture and stated that the Kemalist ideology has created the social institutions such as family, school, mass media,

associations and political parties which shaped the Turkish political culture. This ideology does not only make itself apparent manifestly in the political thought, laws and behaviours, etc. but also is latent in the individual and collective subconsciousness.¹¹ In the following sections, I will focus on this ideology's effect on Turkish political culture, as represented by the literary elite.

III. I. I Individual versus Power: The Cult of Leadership

Political equality in a society is reached through horizontal relations of reciprocity and cooperation. It is necessary for the leaders to be responsible to the people. However both the excess of power and the absence of it is a barrier against political equality.¹² The need for a strong leader in a society harms the development of political equality in a society. Parla points out to the existence of the chief cult in Kemalist ideology. The chief cult creates a paternalistic understanding of the state rule.¹³ The recent studies conducted on Turkish political culture indicates the fact that the need for a strong leader is still a strong tendency of the Turkish society.¹⁴

The need for a strong leader is apparent in the novel, in the author's descriptions of Selma Hanım's meetings with Atatürk at various times in various places. Atatürk is regarded as a semi-Godly creature by Selma Hanım. Her feelings towards him point out to the reflections of the chief cult both in Turkish society and in Yakup Kadri himself. Thus, one should not be too eager to attribute Selma Hanım's trait to the whole Turkish society. Yakup Kadri's personality traits also seem to play

¹¹ Parla, *Türkiye 'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları Cilt 3 : Kemalist Tek-Parti İdeolojisi ve CHP'nin Altı Ok'u*, 320.

¹² Putnam, 88.

¹³ Parla, *Türkiye 'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları*, 323.

¹⁴ Esmer, 78.

an important factor in giving the details of these descriptions. In his biography of Yakup Kadri, Niyazi Akı states that he always had that inherent respect for the powerful figures since he had a shy nature. Yakup Kadri criticizes himself by saying that even when he was in his thirties he felt a childish enthusiasm in front of big names.¹⁵

The first account on Selma Hanım's feelings towards Atatürk is given in the novel when she first sees his house in a visit with her husband. Selma Hanım is shocked by the modesty of the small cottage-like house in which Atatürk lived in during the War of Independence. After she learns that Atatürk lives in this small place by paying his own rent, her admiration increases. In this first rencontre, Selma Hanım feels grace in her heart as if she is in a sacred place. The paysage gains an allegoric context in her mind. She raises her head and realizes that everything surrounding her has changed. Indeed what has changed was Selma Hanım's perception of the world.

'This picture took an almost allegorical character for Ms. Selma. So much so that a pious reverence that can only be felt before holy statues came over her heart. She bowed her head down for a while and stared and when she lifted her head up again she saw that everywhere had changed. The young woman now saw the whole Ankara in a different way.'¹⁶

The moment she sees the house of Atatürk is one of the peak points in Selma Hanım's life. Up to that period, living in Ankara has never satisfied her, she has always felt herself as a stranger. However as soon as she meets with Binbaşı Hakkı in his husband's friend's house and sees the cottage of Atatürk, she begins to gain

¹⁵ Akı, 29.

¹⁶ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 73.

Selma Hanım'ın gözünde bu manzara, adeta alegorik bir mahiyet alıyordu. Öyle ki, yüreğine ancak mübarek abideler önünde hissedilen bir huşu çöktü. Bir müddet başını önüne eğip daldı ve başını tekrar kaldırıp etrafına baktığı vakit her yanı değişmiş buldu. Genç kadın bütün Ankara'yı şimdi başka türlü görüyordu.

consciousness on the significance of the War of Independence and Ankara becomes the symbol of national struggle.

Selma Hanım first sees Atatürk in Eskişehir, where she works as a nurse during the war. Once again the chief appears in physical perfection, indeed he carries the novelty of the whole race. His physical beauty is attributed by her to the novelty of the whole race (Turkish nation) and he is described as a father of the family. Atatürk's appearance as such inspires the feeling of grace and security in her.

'He had on a brownish green hunter's outfit. A silver colored fur cap came down to his thick eyebrows with edges curling upwards. His beautiful hands with long fingers displaying the nobility of a whole race were playing with amber prayer beads. He was like the young head of a family, strolling in his garden at resting hours and it looked as if the things that incessantly poured down from the sky were the first drops of a summer shower'.¹⁷

These accounts present perfect examples of how the paternalistic chief culture is inherent in Turkish political culture. At different parts of the book, again Atatürk is mentioned each time with a description used to define mystical bodies. In describing the physical traits of Atatürk's face, Selma Hanım treats him as a mystical figure. He is ageless, as God himself is and none of his parts is similar to the ordinary human beings. Indeed, there is one step further for the mystification of Atatürk, he was portrayed as carrying the beauty of a whole race. Now he is turned into a semi-godly body which does not share any similarities with the ordinary human beings.

And she was looking at his blonde profile, fresh with eternal youth.¹⁸

¹⁷ Ibid., 95. *Üzerinde nefli bir avcı kostümü vardı. Bir gümüşü kalpak, gür ve uçları yukarıya doğru kıvrık kaşlarının hizasına kadar iniyordu. Bütün bir ırkın asaletini taşıyan, uzun parmaklı, güzel elleri bir kehribar tesbihle oynuyordu. Sanki, bir istirahat saatinde bahçesinde dolaşan bir genç aile reisi gibiydi ve sanki gökyüzünden durmaksızın yağan şeyler bir yaz yağmurunun ilk damlalarıydı.*

¹⁸ Ibid., 176. *Ve onun sonsuz bir gençlikle taravetli sarışın profiline bakıyordu.*

It was as if his clay was molded with a completely different ore than other people's. Neither his skin looked like our skin, nor his hair looked like our hair and he had nothing to do with years and time.¹⁹

This was a "second creation of the earth". God, whose face he saw and voice he heard four years ago, had said let there be light! and there was light. He said let there be water! and there was water, and he had said "Let there be a tablet among the waters". There was a tablet and he said "seed yields the plant and let there be trees that bear fruits according to the type of seed" and many kinds of trees of the same type as the seed grew out.²⁰

In the concluding chapters of the book, the novelist introduces the new leader, İsmet İnönü by using Selma Hanım, signalling the continuation of the chief tradition in the society.

It is concluded that the need for a strong leader is an essential element of Turkish political culture, but it should not be overemphasized since it is a common phenomenon throughout the world as the statistical researches indicate. However, what is worth noticing in the Turkish society is the high percentage of trust on the role of military in state affairs.²¹ The fact that the military is held superior to other state institutions in decision-making, harms the political equality feature of civic community. Parla identifies militarism as one of the features of the Kemalist ideology.²² Selma Hanım's story with her second husband provides significant indicators of this trait. Her second husband, İsmail Hakkı, has appeared to her as a

¹⁹ Ibid., 200. *Onun mayası, öbür insanlarunkinden büsbütün başka bir cevherle yoğrulmuş gibiydi. Ne derisi bizim derimize, ne saçları bizim saçlarımıza benziyordu ve senelerle ve zamanla hiçbir alakası yoktu.*

²⁰ Ibid., 178. *Bu bir "dünyanın ikinci yaradılışı" idi. Bundan dört yıl evvel yüzünü gördüğü ve sesini işittiği Tanrı, aydınlığa, ol! demişti; aydınlık oluyordu. Suya ol! demişti, su oluyordu ve "Suların arasında Levh olsun" demişti. Levh, meydana gelmişti ve "tohum verir nebatı ve yeryüzünde tohumu kendisinden olarak cinsine göre yemiş veren ağaçlar husule gelsin" demiş ve tohumun cinsinden türlü ağaçlar bitmişti*

²¹ Esmer, 79.

²² Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmî Kaynakları*, 323.

power figure in the peak of the War of Independence. But soon after the war ended, he resigns his post in the military and becomes a parliamentarian. Selma Hanım's feelings then are described as such by the author:

My God, how peculiar and dumb had civilian clothes turned him, how they had alienated him from his own self and made this man, whose every move inside military uniform was so characteristic, so perfect, an artificial being.²³

Selma Hanım's feeling towards İsmail Hakkı Bey shows the fact that she falls in love with a man only when he is a symbol of power in front of her. Paradoxically, Selma Hanım blames his husband for the passive role he appropriates to her as a woman but she loves him only when he is authoritative and strong.

'Shall I tell you something? I pity my husband every time I look at his face. As you know, my husband was one of the major heroes. He was a tough idealist with a keen spirit. He was a man who always inspired me to respect and obey him. I remember the day when he returned from the front, a victorious commander. At that time he was not anything to me. But he was my everything. He had an influence, a kind of power on me that nobody could share. Every time his eyes touched mine, I used to feel like saying "Tell me, what are your orders?". But now.. now?'-²⁴

Selma Hanım's relationship with the leader of the Turkish Republic and her three husbands give an account of how the Republican Turkish elites position themselves vis-à-vis power figures. The quotations above indicates that the chief cult is inherent in the minds of the intellectuals of the early Republican era. This part explored the relationship between the individual and the power figures. In order to

²³ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 124. *Yarabbi, asker üniforması içinde her hareketi, o kadar şahsi, o kadar kusursuz olan bu adamı, sivil kıyafet, ne kadar acıvipteştirmiş, salaklaştırmış, kendiliğinden ayırıp sunileştirmişti.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 147. *Size bir şey söyleyeyim mi? Kocamın yüzüne baktıkça, ona acıyorum. Bilirsiniz ki, benim kocam, belli başlı kahramanlardan biriydi. Sert ve keskin ruhlı bir idealistti. Bana, daima hürmet ve itaat telkin eden bir erkekti. Muzaffer bir kumandan olarak cepheden döndüğü günü hatırlıyorum. O vakit, o benim daha hiçbir şeyim değildi. Fakat her şeyimdi. Üstümde, hiç kimsenin paylaşamayacağı bir nüfuzu, bir hükmü vardı. Gözleri gözlerime her değişinde: "Söyleyin, emriniz nedir?" diyeceğim gelirdi. Halbuki şimdi.. şimdi?*

complete the picture the following part will deal with the conception of ideal society within a corporatist framework in *Ankara*.

III. I. II A Harmonious Nation Within Corporatist Framework

The elements of trust, solidarity and tolerance among the individuals is necessary for the consolidation of a democracy and a healthy political and economic system. However, the existence of trust, tolerance and solidarity in a political culture does not necessitate the existence of a homogeneous, monolithic society. According to Rousseau, political harmony and social cohesion is the precondition of good government. Putnam opposes this idea and states that civic community is by no means harmonious and distinctively strife-free.²⁵ Indeed democracy necessitates the clash of interests in a society upon which compromise and consensus can be reached. Thus the elements of solidarity, trust and tolerance becomes crucial in a society which is based on the premise of clash of interests. The third chapter of *Ankara*, reflects the scheme of an ideal polity which is developed within a corporatist framework in Karaosmanoğlu's mind.

The Cadre movement's attitude towards democracy is reflected in a dialogue between Selma Hanım and Neşet Sabit, his third husband. In a ball where she meets Selma Hanım, Neşet Sabit states that in modern democracies the differences between the classes are the most dramatic.

'I do not profess the issue as such, nor would I like to. That would imply that I digress towards a kind of demagogy. In my opinion, there is no regime style issue present

²⁵ Putnam, 117.

here. I know that the setting where class contradictions are manifested the most and are very clearly defined are these modern democracies.²⁶

Neşet Sabit's comments reflect the ideal in Karaosmanoğlu's mind which is built upon an understanding of the society as a unified whole. As he comments on the 1931 party programme of RPP, Parla states that the populism principle of Kemalism is based upon a refusal of the existence of classes in the society. Division of labour is emphasized instead of classes. All the members of different occupations work harmoniously under the single-party framework. Thus a corporative understanding is developed instead of a liberal or a socialist one. The party aims to create total harmony by establishing the social order and solidarity instead of class struggle.²⁷ This view finds its realization in the ideal scheme of last part of Yakup Kadri's novel. The description of the peasants and the workers alongside with the engineers under cooperative structures are described in detail. The solidarity is based upon an understanding of society as a unified body. There is total harmony of interests as it is seen in the following passage:

'Turkish workers, Turkish engineers were not as unhappy as their counterparts in Europe. There was no trace in Turkey of the misery and disaster of the European

²⁶ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 120. *Ben meseleyi böyle vasetmiyorum, böyle vasetmek de istemem. Çünkü, bir nevi demagoji'ye sapsmış olurum. Benim için burada bir rejim üslubu davası mevcut değildir. Bilirim ki, sınıf tezatlarının en çok tebarüz ettiği, en çok keskinleştiği yerler şu çağdaş demokrasilerdir.*

²⁷ Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları*, 42-44.

²⁸ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 187. *Türk işçileri, Türk mühendisleri, Avrupa'daki arkadaşları gibi bedbaht da değildiler. Eski Roma'nın esir sürüleri gibi bin bir mihnet ve cefa altında, bin türlü mahrumiyetle ruhları ve suratları ekşimiş, içkiden, açlıktan bütün insani faziletlerini kaybetmiş Avrupa proletaryasının sefalet ve felaketinden Türkiye'de eser görülüyordu. Türkiye'de işçiler birer devlet memuru idi ve yüreklerinde bir devlet memurunun hayşiyetini, vekarını, mesuliyetini taşıyorlardı. Başlarında patron diye bir bela yoktu. Kimsenin esiri değildiler. Yalnız memleketin hizmetçisi olduklarını ve alınlarından akan terin vatan topraklarına bereket getirici bir rahmet gibi yağdığını biliyorlardı. Onun için, her biri, insana, harb sahnelerindeki neferler gibi birer kahraman heybetinde görünüyordu.*

proletariat, whose souls and faces were writhen under a load of affliction and suffering like the slave flocks of Ancient Rome, and who have lost all their humanly virtues because of drinking and starvation. Workers in Turkey were civil servants, and they carried in their hearts the honor, pride and responsibility of a civil servant. They did not have a calamity called boss on top of them. They were nobody's slave. They just knew that they were the servants of the homeland and that the sweat dripping from their foreheads was pouring like holy rain which brings abundance to the soil of the fatherland. For this reason, each of them looked as magnificent a hero as the privates on the battlefield.²⁸

The spirit of collectivity is emphasized very often in the third chapter of the novel. Neşet Sabit is a director in the theatre and this specific occupation is not randomly chosen by Yakup Kadri. Theatre is chosen because unlike writing novels, directing and writing plays requires collective work. How could this ideal harmony came into existence by the suspicious and unaware members of the Turkish society described in the first two sections is still a question mark. As we know from the first two sections the common people do not trust the elites and gossip about their life styles. This paradox is explained only by the top to bottom approach of Yakup Kadri as a Kemalist elite in finding solutions to the development problem. For him, development is an issue of technology. Political decision-making procedures do not seem to play a role since there are no clashing interests in the society. The people who defend their self interest are portrayed as selfish and individualistic persons and blamed by the society as a whole. In Neşet Sabit's play, there is a part on the discussions on the construction of an electric powerhouse in the municipality. The private sector defends its interests and want to maintain the administration of the power house that is built by them. However, the system they established is ineffective due to the conspiracies of the self-interest seeking private businessman. In the end, the bureaucrats decide to nationalize the system. After the scene is played a loud applause

comes from the audience. The play portrays the clash of private and collective interest and the latter is praised while the former is condemned.²⁹

Nevertheless, despite the ideal harmony schemes presented in the last part, *Ankara* contains elements of distrust and intolerance in the society. There is no intolerance for the religious minorities. Indeed when Selma Hanım first comes to Ankara with her husband they want to stay in a pension which is owned by a Jew, since the pensions that belong to the Jews are the most clean ones. An Armenian cleaning lady gossips with Ömer Efendi's wives about the way rich women live in the city. Ethnic groups such as Kurds are not mentioned in the book. Like the Turkish state in the Lausannes Treaty, Yakup Kadri does not accept other ethnic groups as minorities. This attitude is in conformity with the nationalism principle of Kemalist ideology where the existence of different ethnicities is ignored.

The distrust and intolerance exist between the elites and the common people. They criticize each other's life styles. The military-bureaucratic elites of the republic do not trust the conservative figures as it is indicated by İsmail Hakkı during a lunch at Murat Bey's house. He comments on the imams that visit them by these words: “Black terror, black terror” he shouted. “Europe is not our only enemy... One they we have to fight with them, too..”³⁰

We may find reasonable grounds for the existence of distrust soon after the War of Independence is completed. However, interestingly enough, the results of Esmer's study reveals the same distrust in the society in the contemporary period.³¹

²⁹ Ibid., 201.

³⁰ Ibid., 51.

³¹ Esmer, 86.

Thus it seems inevitable to conclude that “we are surrounded by enemies” discourse of Kemalism has left deep impacts on Turkish political culture. Whenever someone speaks of Europe in the novel, it is to underline a negative feature of Europe or to state that the Turkish state cannot trust the European governments.

III. I. III The Lack of Civic Engagement in the Public Sphere

Civic engagement is the active participation of the citizens in public affairs. In order to ensure civic engagement, citizens should define their self-interest in a large framework so as to include the needs of the society. Active participation requires to develop an understanding of self-interest alive to the interests of the others. However, it does not necessitate being selfless saints or altruism for the individuals. Kemalism does not have a pluralist nature.³² In the novel Selma Hanım’s and Neşet Sabit’s participation to the public affairs are always done in the state level and with the intent of serving the state. An interest outside the scope of the state is not defined. The people who participate in politics for their own interests are condemned.

Another element of civic community is the propensity to form civil & political associations. It is concluded that the propensity to form associations contribute to the development of a civic culture in a society.³³ Associations are not mentioned in *Ankara*. The only form of association is the form of cooperatives and this does not appear as an interest group in the modern sense of the word. All the associations are formed by the state’s initiative in order to increase the efficiency of production and establish social order. There is no mention of even an independent sports club in *Ankara*. Thus it reflects the attitude of Kemalist one-party ideology that the

³² Parla, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları*, 322.

³³ Putnam, 92.

associations can only be formed under the state framework. This is the impact of the Ottoman tradition that an independent public space does not exist in the society.



CONCLUSIONS

The main aim of the thesis was to analyse how Turkish political culture was reflected in Turkish novels during the early Republican era through reading Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's novel *Ankara*. In accordance with this aim, historical analysis is combined with the text analysis of *Ankara* in order to point out to the correlations between the official ideology of the state and the novels of the early Republican period.

The first chapter outlined the elements of Turkish political culture derived from the works of several political scientists. It is concluded that there was a line of continuity between the political culture of Turkish society from the Ottoman period to the early Republican era of the Turkish Republic. The impact of the relationship between the official ideology of the state and the Turkish political culture was discussed. In this context, the historical-sociological context in which the first novelists were raised and its effect on the construction of novels was explained. The main problematic of the first novelists was the Westernization movement initiated during the Tanzimat period. In the last part of the chapter, changes and continuities in literature were discussed. The efforts for creating a national literary canon was the main trend of the nation-building process of the Turkish Republic.

The second chapter gave an account of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's life, works and social and political ideas. Yakup Kadri began his literary career with the motto of "art for the sake of art" but the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire caused him to change his attitudes towards life. He began to get involved with the political movements of his time. Among them, the Cadre movement was the most significant

one. His relationship with the Cadre movement and the Cadre movement's impact on him was discussed in reference to his articles published in the Cadre magazine. The Cadre movement aimed to set up the framework of the official (Kemalist) ideology of the ruling elites.

The third chapter focused on Yakup Kadri Karaosmanlı's novel *Ankara* in order to trace the impact of Kemalist ideology on Turkish political culture. It is concluded that the novel reflected the corporatist mind set of the Kemalist intellectuals. Within this corporatist framework, Yakup Kadri portrayed an utopic future for the Turkish society. In this context, some distinguishing elements of Turkish political culture such as the cult of leadership, harmonious nation and the lack of civic engagement in public affairs were mentioned. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's novel *Ankara* presents a significant case for the exploration of elements of Turkish political culture. The society is perceived as an organic whole in the idealized scheme of society described in the last chapter of the novel. The individual's relationship with power, state and civil society is shown in the plot and personification of *Ankara*. The absence of civic engagement in the public sphere, perception of the society as an organic and harmonious whole and the cult of leadership are some basic characteristics of Turkish political culture that is provided by the official ideology of the Turkish Republic. Bearing in mind the dynamic character of culture, these observations may be used in order to draw some parallels between Turkish political culture and its impact on the future of Turkish politics.

It would be too overambitious to derive the elements of Turkish political culture from the single work of a single author. However, case studies as such may provide new perceptions for the scholars who aim to blend political science and

literary criticism. In that context the parallels drawn between the recent studies conducted on political culture and the elements of political culture may hopefully provide inspiration for further interdisciplinary studies on political culture.



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