

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF A UTOPIAN INTELLECTUAL:

ŞEVKET SÜREYYA AYDEMİR



NURDAN GÜVEN-TOKER

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BY

NURDAN GÜVEN-TOKER

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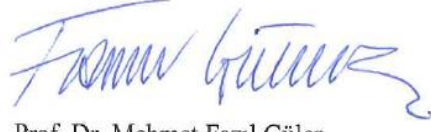
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Prof. Dr. Mehmet Fazıl Güler

Director

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



Prof. Dr. Cengiz Erişen

Head of Department

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



Assistant Prof. Bilgen Sütçüoğlu

Supervisor

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Cemil Oktay (Yeditepe University)



Prof. Dr. Emin Gürses (Sakarya University)



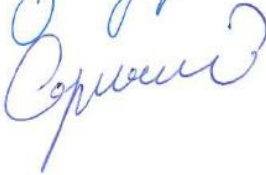
Assistant Prof. Bilgen Sütçüoğlu (Yeditepe University)



Assistant Prof. Bahar Gökpinar (Yeditepe University)



Assistant Prof. Cangül Örnek (Maltepe University)



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Date : 09/01/19

Name/Surname: Nurdan Güven-Toker

Signature :



ABSTRACT

Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1897-1976) was one of the most prominent intellectuals in Turkish political thought in the Republican period. Besides his voluminous biographical masterpieces about the historical figures of the Turkish history, he was also known as an ideologue of *Kadro* (Cadre) Movement, one of the writers of *Yön* (Direction) Journal. Leaving a mark in the history of Turkish political thought thanks to writing on social, political and economic issues in Turkey, Aydemir personally witnessed the events of the period and sometimes he was even one of the people taking parts in the incidents. The aim of this study is to contribute to the literature on Turkish political thought with an intellectual biography of Şevket Süreyya Aydemir who is a well-known author and thinker. Aydemir's social circle, family, education as well as the developmental process of his thoughts are analyzed within the framework of Turkish political life. Even though Aydemir's ideological stance was inconsistent, it is argued here that Aydemir is a utopian intellectual who had followed world events with a critical eye, determined the needs of the society he lived in, and formulated systematic solutions that were realizable.

Key words: Aydemir, a utopian intellectual, biography, Kemalism, Kadro, Turkish Revolution.

ÖZET

Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1897-1976) Cumhuriyet dönemi Türk siyasi düşüncesinin önde gelen aydınlarından biridir. Aydemir, tarihi şahsiyetler ile ilgili yazmış olduğu biyografi kitaplarının yanı sıra, Kadro Hareketi'nin ideoloğu ve Yön Dergisi yazarlardan biri olarak bilinir. Türkiye'nin siyasal, sosyal ve iktisadi konuları üzerine yazdığı eserleri ile, Türk düşünce tarihinde önemli bir yere sahip olan Aydemir, 79 yıllık yaşamı boyunca Türkiye'nin geçirdiği birçok dönüşüme bizzat tanıklık etmiş, hatta bazen bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, tanınmış yazar ve düşünce insanı olan Şevket Süreyya Aydemir'in entelektüel biyografisi ekseninde Türk siyasi düşüncesi üzerine yapılmış çalışmalara katkı sağlamaktır. Bu bağlamda Aydemir'in sosyal çevresi, ailesi, eğitim süreci ve tabii ki düşüncelerinin gelişim süreci, Türkiye'nin siyasi yapısı çerçevesinde analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmanın savı, Aydemir'in ideolojik tutarsızlığına rağmen, ütopyacı bir aydın olduğudur. Ütopyacı bir düşünür olarak dünyadaki gelişmeleri sorgulayan Aydemir, içinde bulunduğu toplumun ihtiyaçlarını tespit etmiş ve böylece gerçekleştirme kapasitesi yüksek olan sistematik çözümler önermiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aydemir, ütopyacı entelektüel, biyografi, Kemalizm, Kadro, Türk Devrimi.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Turkish Political Life offers a wide spectrum of topics for those who want to write a thesis in the field of Political Science; however, it is not a common case to examine this period by analyzing a historical personage. Studying Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, a prolific author who wrote the biographies of people leaving marks in history, by means of a biographical method is thought to be useful to close the gap in the field at least to some extent. Figuring out his course of life means understanding the Turkish Political Life in many aspects as well. By conducting a small-scale research, it can easily be seen he clung to different ideas such as Turanism, Communism, Kemalism throughout his life, yet it has not been questioned why his ideas rotate from one thought to a completely different one. Georg Lukacs, one of the Marxist thinkers of the 20th century, states that whenever someone starts being dissatisfied with the current system and changes it; then, the possibility of getting out of the vicious cycle he has been in arises (Lukács, 1971, p. 51). Lukács' description may signify that the reason behind Aydemir's passing from one movement of thought to another was that he was in a quest. Additionally, another and at least as important as the preceding one for this study is to understand whether or not his ideas really altered as long as he changed ideological stops from one to another.

Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1897-1976) was one of the prominent intellectuals in the Turkish political thought beginning from the last period of the Ottoman Empire and continuing to the Republican era. He witnessed the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the Second Constitutional Period started by the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, the First World War (1914-1919), the Second World War (1939-1944), and the Cold War (1945-up until 1976). Besides his voluminous biographical masterpieces about the

pioneer figures of the Turkish history, he was also known as an ideologue of *Kadro* (Cadre) Movement, one of the writers of *Yön* (Direction) Journal, the daily *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. Moreover, he also became a celebrated author by virtue of *Suyu Arayan Adam* (The Man Seeking the Water) in 1959 and he went one step further by writing a utopic novel *Toprak Uyanırsa* (If the Land Wakes Up) in 1963. However, what is little known about him is that he also wrote many books such as *Ege Günü* (Aegean Day), *Orta Yayla* (Central Anatolia), *Halk İçin İktisat Bilgisi* (Economic Knowledge for the People), and *Mektep Kooperatifçiliği ve Tasarruf Terbiyesi* (School Cooperative System and Saving Education), *Cihan İktisadiyatında Türkiye* (Turkey in World Economics), to inform the public about the economic issues and to show the affluence of Turkey. These works have been neither examined nor mentioned in a research about him before. Elaborating these books will help to unveil how he tried to make a contribution to the improvement of Turkey by giving concrete examples and how he devoted himself to the education of peoples.

Generally, the works of an intellectual leaving a trace in history reflects the context in which he grows up, his life experiences and under which conditions he adopts a thought. Thereby, analyzing and elaborating the course of his life is not only shed light on his life but also help to evaluate the events of his time. To that end, the method of biographical study was chosen as a research method that takes such factors in the background of the formation of ideas into consideration.

At this stage, some critical questions arise about the research method that is chosen: Does the biographical study could be a convenient research method in terms of political science? To what extent objective findings can be reached by means of a biographical study? The answers of these questions present both some limits of the study and the ways of overcoming some difficulties which stem from the research

method. In that regard, firstly, it will be beneficial to look at the discussions in philosophical hermeneutic¹ about understanding how it can be penetrated into the ideational world of the writer of a text. This issue is important for the study because one of the goals of intellectual biography is finding out the effects of thinker's personal experiences on his writings. There are different approaches on the issue of penetrating to the ideational world of the writer in the philosophical hermeneutic. Schleiermacher, who initiated major transformations in hermeneutic, describes hermeneutic as a process that enables us to understand an author better than he understood himself. He thinks that if we consider the author within the hermeneutical circle,² we can set up true correlations about how he comprehends the facts and incidents, and observe how these comprehensions reflect his style. Therefore, we can understand more from the text than the intention of the author since we can grasp the psychology behind the text (Schleiermacher, 1998, pp. 98-112). Following the path of Schleiermacher, Dilthey underlines the importance of establishing familiarity with the author. According to him, developing an empathy with the mental status of the author is a prerequisite for the success of the true interpretation of the text. This empathy can only be achieved with an effort to penetrate into the belief systems and concepts of the author and to incorporate these concepts into our own notions (Dilthey, 1996, p. 251). On the other hand, Gadamer, who criticizes Schleiermacher's and Dilthey's approaches, argued that it is not possible for a commentator to penetrate into the writer's state of mind. To him, it may be misleading to try to enter the author's mind for various reasons, such as the historical distance between the author and the commentator, the prejudices that are proportionately the commentator's own

¹ Hermeneutic is the general teaching of understanding and interpreting of texts, art objects and expressions (Topakkaya, 2007, p. 75).

² According to hermeneutical circle, one work of a writer is a part of all his works.

³ The dates given for the conquest of Edirne are debatable in the literature. While C.Jirecek gave the date of the conquest in 1363, İbrahim Hakkı Uzunçarşılı predicted that this date could be between 1364-65 and E.Zachariadou stated that the conquest of Edirne was in 1369. Halil İnalcık declared that

historical position. Instead of this, if it is necessary, the commentator should try to transpose himself into the perspective within which the writer formed his views (Gadamer, 2006, pp. 277-304). Similarly, Hirsh also adopts a negative attitude on the issue of penetrating into the mental state of the author. He argues that a psychological analysis of a text is not possible as we cannot reach the knowledge of an author's mental states. However, he does not exclude the author totally from the interpretation process of the text; rather, he focuses on the intention of the author and stresses that it is essential for a sensible interpretation (Hirsch, 1967, pp. 1-14). The common point of both positive and negative opinions of these thinkers about penetrating into the author's world of thought is that the subjectivity of the writer may influence the text.

By following the path presented by Schleiermacher and Dilthey, in this study Aydemir's writings will be handled within the hermeneutical circle. The connections and conflicts of his evaluations and interpretations will be tried to be discovered in this study by comparing the historical events. Hence, a general frame will be tried to be formed for interpreting the effect of his ideational world on his writings. Moving from that point, during the study, the possibility of subjective statement in the writings of Aydemir, especially in his autobiographical book, was constantly taken into consideration. Besides, the fact that he wrote most of his books from a retrospective point of view remained a non-negligible truth during the study. Lastly, in parallel with the warnings of Gadamer, instead of making inferences on the things belonging the deep side of his physiological world, such as measuring the density of his love on somebody, the study dealt with general issues like the destructive effect of war on the psychology of Aydemir.

When the criticisms in the literature on biographical studies are examined, the subjective position of the biography writer draws attention. Focusing on the

subjectivity of the biographer, Mary Evans argues that it is impossible to produce an objective work in auto/biographical way. From her point of view, since the biographer judge the subject within his/her own value judgments and historical condition, he/she tends to marginalize or ignore the important parts of the subject's life. Therefore, even though the biographer claimed that he/she reveals the whole life of the subject, this is just a fiction that reveals a portrait of how the biographer wanted to see the subject. When it is thought that some important part of the knowledge about the subject gathered from the other people, biography turns to the literary equivalent of gossip (Evans, 1999, pp. 1, 78-84). These criticisms directed to the biographical study present some challenges that must be taken notice, but it does not mean that it is an unscientific research method. Moreover, the study did not aim at revealing normative, law-like generalizations but aimed at making contributions to the existing literature about Turkish political life by way of meaningful findings.

The study examines the life of Aydemir which dates back almost a century ago from today. Therefore, in order to evade from today's value-judgment, it was benefited from the miscellaneous works written in his period and about him. By this way, making a comparative analysis will be possible about his life. Additionally, by taking advantage of the works of competent researchers such as Şerif Mardin and Feroz Ahmad who have studied on the history of Turkish modernization and development, again, it will be tried to abstain from the subjective position. Furthermore, it will be drawn on the memoirs of some of the renowned figures who witnessed to the same period with Aydemir such as Ali Fuat Cebesoy (Politician and Turkish army officer), Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (novelist, journalist and diplomat), Vala Nureddin (journalist and writer), and Vedat Nedim Tör (journalist and writer), as background information. These memoirs will be supportive not only to

observe different opinions on significant events of Turkish politics and the political life of the country but also to apprehend the spirit of their period. A sort of documents, including books, articles, letters, and conference papers written by Aydemir will be examined. By all means, the articles of Aydemir in *Aydınlık*, the Ottoman Turkish, *Kadro*, and *Yön* Journals, and then, his writings in daily, *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, will be handled as primary sources, by doing so, the possibility of another subjectivity will be avoided. Besides, his utopian novel, *Toprak Uyanırsa* will provide an advantage for the study to penetrate into his imaginary world. Last but not least, Aydemir's an autobiographical, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, and biographical books, mainly *Tek Adam* (The Single Man) and *İkinci Adam* (The Second Man) will be used as a guideline to this study.

In the literature, there are two master's theses and a dissertation about Şevket Süreyya Aydemir. In his study titled "*Şevket Süreyya Aydemir; Siyasal, Sosyal, Ekonomik Görüşleri*", Tuncay Önder analyzed Aydemir's thoughts by focusing on a specific period of time, notably 1930s. As for Eray Yılmaz, he elaborated only Aydemir's understanding of history and state in his study named "*Şevket Süreyya Aydemir; Tarih ve Devlet Anlayışı*". In her study called "*Cumhuriyet Aydını Olarak Şevket Süreyya Aydemir'in Düşünce Dünyası (1923-1976)*", which we can consider as one of the most comprehensive studies on Aydemir, Hayriye Yüksel Gürbüz centered upon the ideas of Aydemir in *Kadro* and *Yön*. All these works are valuable to understand Aydemir as an ideologue of *Kadro* and as a writer of *Yön* has a different point of view. However, many essential issues which are critical in terms of the formation of his ideational world such as the ideological stops of his early years, Ottomanism, Pan-Turkism, and Communism, were handled only as background knowledge instead of analyzing in detail and also, his projects and books that he

penned while working in public institutions were unnoticed. Besides these studies in which Aydemir was the subject, there is also a wide range of studies carried out on the *Kadro* and *Yön* movements. Moreover, the only biographical book on Aydemir in the literature is "*Bilinmeyen Yönleriyle Şevket Süreyya Aydemir*" written by a friend of him, Halil İbrahim Göktürk. Yet, reflecting the subjectivity of the writer to a large extent, the work may be classified as a hagiography. The distinguishing feature of the study from the others is that it was intended to analyze many elements such as education, social environment, political conjuncture which are effective in the formation of Aydemir's thoughts by carrying out the work in a biographical method.

When investigating a person's life, it is not possible to be contented with the single-sided findings. Within this methodological framework, and in parallel with the goal of this study, initially, it will be tried to be revealed that Aydemir built his ideas on a synthesis by passing from many different ideological stops. Moreover, it is aimed to reveal that Aydemir was a utopian intellectual who pursued his ideals throughout his life by considering the realities of the society objectively. In addition, displaying utopian approaches, Aydemir mainly dealt with the question of how to achieve the development of newly established Turkish Republic built on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, Aydemir had the same motivation with the decision makers to try to come up with a solution to get over the economic, political and social problems of the newly founded nation-state. Third and lastly, this study will aim to expose that Aydemir did not firmly change his thoughts developing upon a synthesis of different thought currents throughout his life.

Since one of the findings of this study is to reveal the fact that Aydemir is an utopist intellectual, it is seen as a necessity to make an explanation on how the concepts of "ideology" and "utopia" are considered. It is important to note that

ideology has been a debatable issue, there is no consensus what the meaning and functions are and whether it is possible to describe it as scientific or not. The term has remained as a questionable issue from person to person. For some, Marxism is a partial doctrine distorting the reality whereas for others it can be seen as a scientific tool to provide the emergence of reality. In addition, at first, without a doubt, the Keynesian economic theory came up with a scientific economic solution, but, in the process of time, it was found out to be serving for the ideological functions of capitalism (Mardin, 1992, pp. 16-17). On the other hand, "utopia" is defined as an ideal and imagined place of things in which everything is perfect; it occurred firstly in the book of Thomas More in 1516 (More, 2010, p. 12). Explanations and examples can be multiplied, but the content and aim of the thesis are included neither the discussion about the understanding of the ideology nor the meaning of utopia in general meaning.

Within the framework of the study, rather than the generally accepted meaning, it will be endeavored to use Karl Mannheim's term of "utopia". This is because; it is aimed to reveal that Aydemir who tried to harmonize his utopias with the realities of the Turkish society and through his writings and projects he wanted to create an ideal Turkey in his own perspective. Moreover, Aydemir's thoughts are, in a sense, the thoughts of his own generation that were concerned about the development of the newly established Republic. Thereby, understanding his utopian views makes it possible to comprehend the utopian perspectives of contemporaries. Therefore, it is critical to explain the term "utopia" from the viewpoint of Karl Mannheim starting from his understanding of "ideology".

According to Mannheim, though not being compatible with the structure of the system they are in, there are two types of ideas arisen from within the system they

exist; ideology and utopia. Even though it is difficult to distinguish, in practice, these two terms from each other, it is possible to describe them by their purposes. Ideologies, which are the situationally transcendent ideas and is not compliant with the system, never succeed *de facto* in the realization of their projected contents. He clarifies his description by giving an example; the idea of Christian brotherly love in a society based on serfdom remains unrealizable and the ideological idea, even when the intended meaning is, in good faith, a motive in the conduct of the individual (Mannheim, 1954, p. 175). Similarly, utopias are transcendent ideas and not accord with the system as well. On the other hand, they are not ideologies. Unlike ideologies, utopias try transforming the social reality from which they originated. Mannheim challenges to the general meaning of utopias - the unrealizable idea in principle- and states that his term does not confined itself to the type of works which got their name from the utopia of Thomas More, thus, he defines the utopias as going beyond the existing order. Additionally, to Mannheim, it is not a coincidence that a person who has tended to stand consciously or unconsciously in favor of the existing and prevailing social order should not be expected to have extensive, clear and detailed standpoint regarding the utopias. With regard to his point of view, it is almost impossible to surpass the borders of the existing *status quo* (Mannheim, 1954, pp. 177, 180). Besides, Mannheim states that the conservative mentality has no utopia, by structure it is completely in harmony with the prevailing reality, so he deprives of progressive thoughts and illuminations (Mannheim, 1954, p. 206). He concludes by comparing these two ideas asserting that while the decline of ideology means a crisis only for certain strata, the total disappearance of the utopia from the human thought and action cause wholly changing the character of human nature and human development (Mannheim, 1954, p. 236). Thus, being an ideology or utopia of a

thought depends on the possibility of making itself properly realized or not. It can be deduced from his explanations that ideology clings to the past; so, it does not design future of a society, on the contrary, utopia refers to the imagination of the future of the society and tends toward the improvement of the current situation. When Mannheim's description of utopia is taken into consideration, the productive period of Aydemir's life is coincided with the newly established Turkish Republic, based on the rejection of the Ottoman values, and provided a basis to create his utopias.

By influencing Mannheim's ideas about ideology and utopia, Şerif Mardin sampled Mannheim's description saying that a "paradise" thought apart from the society is such a non-structural idea. On the other hand, if some groups take on the idea of "paradise" and commence to say that there is a "paradise" on earth, then it means the idea of "paradise" has turned into a utopia (Mardin, 1992, p. 57). To him, utopia is a project, aims and reflects the ideal society by acting the principles which we are looking for, desiring for and longing for; a utopist is a person with an ability to imagine the changes of the entire society in his own eyes (Mardin, 1990, pp. 192-193). Nevertheless, the imagination is not sufficient on its own, utopias should have a potential of realizing itself. Mardin mainly focuses on the term of utopia in Turkey and constructs a correlation between intellectualism and utopia. He emphasizes that since there has been a considerable increase in the means of reaching to the knowledge in parallel with the increase of school and publishing in Ottoman Empire, Turkish intellectuals, starting from the 1890s with the development of education system, began to see the world and their society with a broader perspective. Hence, they began to read the needs of their society more objectively and began to produce utopias. Herein, Mardin gave the politics of Young Turks as an example of the period (Mardin, 1990, p. 172). According to Mardin, only if one who sees, evaluates, and

wants to change the society as a whole, also, offers relatively consistent ways for the solution, it means he is a type of utopian- exceptional man. As a result of this, such a person's attitudes and thoughts are different from the ordinary people, so needs explaining (Mardin, 1990, p. 213). What's more, Mardin asserts that Mustafa Kemal was one of the uncommon people to be able to realize his utopia.

Both Mannheim and Mardin descriptions and understandings of "utopia" will be the starting point to describe Aydemir as a utopian intellectual. Moving from this point, this study tries to reveal that Aydemir read the needs and the realities of his society objectively and thus produced thoughts that have a potential of realizing themselves. Analyzing Aydemir's life will provide meaningful findings in the way of understanding the Turkish intellectual and, consequently, understanding of Modern Turkey. In this sense, the study will state that Aydemir is a utopist intellectual having the similar attitude with policy-makers of Turkey in the same period.

Studying the entire life of Aydemir via biographical method is too long and complicated, so each chapter will be divided in accordance with the turning points of his own life. Just as these partitions help to study his ideas in each period of his life, it will also give apparent information about the political, social and economic atmosphere of Turkey in the specified time. Following chapter will focus on Aydemir's childhood years. The homeland of Aydemir; Edirne -one of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire- will be explained in terms of the importance in the Empire besides the memories of him. Aydemir was born and raised in a turbulent period of the Ottoman Empire; so, his family and educational life were affected by the social and political tensions of the Empire. Thereby, understanding his family life will give clues about Aydemir whether or not he went beyond the mission given by his family. As for his educational life, following the local school, he started to *Ruṣṭiye* School

where he adopted the ideology of Ottomanism. Elaborating these years will be essential in terms of understanding the emergence of his utopian ideas. Upon starting education in *Ruṣtiye*, Aydemir was believed to take different ideas from his peers, and so isolated himself from his social surroundings. According to Mardin, people educated by *Ruṣtiye* School equipped with the new values like patriotism and gained the utopian qualities with the help of the publications (Mardin, 1990, p. 189). This part will aim to show that his first utopian ideas shaped when he was at tender ages. This chapter will also include his abandonment from the idea of Ottomanism mainly due to the frustration of the Balkan Wars. To sum up, this part will illustrate how his birthplace, family, social and educational life that contributes to shaping his utopian ideas in the next years.

The third chapter will mainly center upon the idea of Pan-Turkism which was the second stop of Aydemir. Pan-Turkism was an idea arisen from the Tsarist Russia before not known by Ottoman subjects. How and why the idea emerged in the distant lands from the Empire and how the idea became influential and spread in the Ottoman land will be analyzed. Elaborating on these issues will help us perceive under which condition Aydemir adopted this idea and how he turned it into his utopia. After that, it will also illustrate that how his utopia swept him to the distant land in order to look for *Turan*. His prompt decision to leave from Edirne and moving to the Azerbaijani as a teacher was a turning point in his life and caused two-sided effects. The first one was his passion about the Pan-Turkism which converted into an imagination following his experiences in Nuha. The second one was the adoption of Communism examined in the next chapter.

The fourth chapter will concentrate on the idea of Communism adopted by Aydemir after Pan-Turkism. For Aydemir, it was not easy to embrace the communist

thoughts he was not familiar with ever before. He tried to get accustomed himself to the discourses of the ideology by searching something similar to his belief and thoughts when he was commissioner in the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku. This part tenders a wide document coverage for not only the communist utopia of Aydemir and his activities in Turkish Communist Party, but also the reactions of the Ankara Government to the communist activities within the state. The chapter will also include his education in KUTV and his first teaching experiences in Istanbul along with becoming an author in *Aydınlık* which was the communist publication organ. Finally, it will be elaborated how Aydemir got further away from the communist thoughts by realizing his utopia did not convenient to communism.

The fifth chapter will mainly analyze his Kemalist thought after Communism. What was his desire for the newly established state was and how he desired to put his thoughts into practice will be illustrated. Moreover, the thoughts of Aydemir will be examined in the light of the *Kadro* Journal. In the same vein, how he differentiated himself from his contemporaries in terms of having a utopia will be the issue of the chapter. Additionally, the essential events, decisions, innovations, ups and downs of the newly established Republic will also be handled while penetrating the thoughts of Aydemir.

In the sixth chapter, Aydemir will be examined in such a way that covered all the details of his civil service life. As his activities in this period are elaborated in detail, it will be understood that Aydemir was an intellectual who pursued his utopia rather than working as an ordinary state officer in the institutions he served. Besides working in the government institutions, he penned several books in an attempt to contribute "*İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*" (The National Economy and Savings Society). Furthermore, Aydemir continued to follow his utopia in "*Ankara Ticaret*

Lisesi" (Commercial High School in Ankara) where he was the founder and educator by practicing the idea of cooperation. Mentioned works and services of him will be explained and analyzed in detail in the concept of this chapter. The years of his officialdom coincided with both renovation and suffering period of the Republic. What are the things Aydemir offered to tackle with the problems of Turkey and how he contributed to renovation by preparing projects will be one of the main issues of this chapter. This chapter will end with the decision of the Council of Minister about the retirement of Aydemir.

The seventh chapter will focus on the utopist ideas of Aydemir after the retirement. Firstly, it will be examined his utopian novel, *Toprak Uyanırsa*, and then his writings in *Yön* in the 1960s and articles in *Cumhuriyet* from the beginning of 1960s until the midst of 1970s. This part aims to illustrate whether or not his core ideas changed over the years, how he revised his thoughts as he gets older, whether he become stiffer or more tolerable in terms of his fundamental ideas. These questions will be answered on the basis of his last writings. Moreover, within the context of the chapter, Aydemir will be handled as a biography writer. Which reasons stimulated him to write biographies of people leaving mark in history? How he scrutinized these people? Whether or not he looked at their lives in an objective manner or tended to conceal some well-known facts will be examined in this part. Finally, in the main conclusion part of the thesis, findings will be exposed after a short summary.

2. THE EARLY PHASES OF THE FORMATION A UTOPIAN CONSCIOUSNESS

2.1. Introduction

In the axis of the proposal that Şevket Süreyya Aydemir was a utopian intellectual, this chapter examines his early years as the first stage of the quest of seeking for a utopia. In other words, this period is the phase in which a utopian consciousness was formed. Mannheim, while explaining the development process of utopias, stated that the driving force of utopian mentality is not only the product of ideas. He points to a psychological state behind utopian consciousness (Mannheim, 1954, p. 192). As it is stated while explaining the term utopia, there is a search of heaven on Earth from the point of utopian. When the individual wants to change the conditions in which he/she is in, he goes towards the quest for heaven. The difficulties experienced, and bitter memories correspond to the psychological state feeding the utopian consciousness in the search of a heaven.

Looking at Şevket Süreyya's autobiography and other works, it can be seen that the memories and experiences he has accumulated since his childhood left permanent traces in his mind world. The atrocities committed by Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian militias in Rumelia, which became the tales of his childhood, appear frequently as one of the reasons for seeking a utopia. In this respect, analyzing the life of Şevket Süreyya from the traces of his childhood marks a great importance in terms of understanding his thoughts.

The goal of this chapter is not limited with examining the psychological state behind the driving function of utopian consciousness. As Mardin stated, while the society directs human life with a number of values, history, legends, and laws, people

adapt to the society in which they live, or they want to change, reorganize, and form it with their actions; thus a community map occurs (Mardin, 1990, p. 176). The efforts of a utopian cannot be considered independent of this community map. Even though they have a transcendental thought structure, utopians are not disconnected from their own society. Having knowledge about the social structure, in which the utopian grow, is critical in terms of understanding his utopia. In that regard, the early years of Şevket Süreyya will be examined within the framework of his family, his close circle and social structure of the late Ottoman era.

2.2. The Traces of Childhood Years in a Frontier City

Cities integrate their own cultural patterns and habit of living into the lives of those who live in. The life of the residents shape in the axis of the facilities given by the city they live in there. In other words, Edirne, the province where Şevket Süreyya was born, has a privileged place in this respect. It was one of the provinces that witnessed the fall of a centuries-old empire from the closest distance. The destinies of Şevket Süreyya and his family were so closely intertwined with the fate of the province that they became virtually identical. For this reason, it has become a necessity to deal with his life in the axis of the historical, political, economic and social structure of Edirne.

An ancient Byzantine region located in the Eastern Thrace, Edirne entered into Ottoman administration in 1361 (Peremeci, 1940, pp. 11-12; İnalçık, 2008, p. 55; İnalçık, 1993, p. 159).³ Edirne served as the capital of the Empire until the conquest of the Istanbul in 1453. During the reigning of Sultan Murat II (1421-1451), the

³ The dates given for the conquest of Edirne are debatable in the literature. While C.Jirecek gave the date of the conquest in 1363, İbrahim Hakkı Uzunçarşılı predicted that this date could be between 1364-65 and E.Zachariadou stated that the conquest of Edirne was in 1369. Halil İnalçık declared that Murat I conquered Edirne in 1362 before he came to the throne. In this study, the information of Halil İnalçık was taken for the conquest (İnalçık, 2008, pp. 55-56; İnalçık, 1993, pp. 137-159).

province properly became a center of commerce as well as a government center (Peremeci, 1940, p. 14). Although Sultan Mehmet II (1451-1481) moved the government center to Istanbul, the Edirne preserved a sort of a second capital or a semi-capital position and continued to be one of the largest centers of the Empire and protected its position as a military base in the occupation continuing in the direction of Rumelia (Ünver, 1993, p. 238; Peremeci, 1940). Selimiye Mosque, which constructed by the Architect Sinan⁴ as his masterpieces in the reigning period of Sultan Selim II (1566-1574), has been symbolizing the importance of the province for the Empire by rising on the top of the highest hill of the city (Aslanapa, 1993, pp. 227-228). This magnificent construction has made the residents remember that they live in a special place. Şevket Süreyya's described his admiration of the Selimiye Mosque in his autobiography titled "*Suyu Arayan Adam*" as follows;

"Selimiye rose up on the most dominant hill of the city.... Selimiye is beautiful rather than imposing.... It gives human admiration rather than spiritual feelings....Mankind can boast it for being an art of human and they do not want to give chance to any more of an inspiration" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 27).⁵

The province had a dynamic trade and population structure since it was at the center of the main thoroughfare between Rumelia and Anatolia. The multi-ethnic population structure of the region, which reached to a hundred and forty thousand at the beginning of the 19th century, began to change radically with the emergence of the effects of the nationalism, current of the French Revolution, in the Ottoman geography and the following political events such as the Ottoman-Russian Wars (Yaşar, 2009, p. 197). Nationalism-centered riots in the Balkans which began in

⁴ Mimar Sinan (1489-1588) was the chief Ottoman architect. He is considered the greatest architect of the classical period of Ottoman architecture.

⁵"Şehrin en hakim tepesinde Selimiye yükselirdi... Selimiye azametli olmaktan ziyade güzeldir. İnsana ruhani duygulardan ziyade hayranlık verir... İnsan onunla, bir insan eseri olduğu için övünebilir ve bir eşinin daha yapılabileceğine her nedense ihtimal vermek istemez."

Greece in 1821 and spread to Bosnia Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria in the process of time. The intervention of European states and Tsarist Russia in these problems led to further political turmoil. The city was invaded by Russian forces in the Ottoman-Russian War (1828-1829) which started due to the developments after the Greek revolt in Mora.⁶ As the turmoil in the Balkans increased, the province began to be home to the migrants who had to leave their home.

Edirne was occupied for the second time in the 1877-1878 War (the '93 War)⁷ between the Ottomans and Russia (Baykal, 1993, p. 186).⁸ The war began on two fronts, the Caucasus and the Balkans, ended with a severe defeat of the Ottoman Empire. After the war, the *Yeşilköy* (Ayastefanos) Treaty was signed on March 3, 1878, and revised⁹ with the Berlin Treaty. As a result of the treaties signed, Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro left from the Ottoman sovereignty and gained their independence. Besides, a Principedom of Bulgaria (provided of being Ottoman dependency) was established in the Balkans (Ateş, 1994, p. 392). According to the treaties, while Kars, Ardahan, and Batum left to Russia, Bosnia Herzegovina was decided to be governed by the demands of Austria and Russia (Karal, 1983, p. 66). Edirne remained under the rule of the Ottomans, but it was damaged from the war.

⁶ The Ottoman Empire did not accept Greece's request to become autonomous and suppressed the rebellion, but Britain, France, and Russia supported the autonomy of Greeks and oppressed the Ottomans in this respect. As a result of this oppression, the Ottoman Navy, in Navarin, was burned in 1827. The demand of the Ottoman State for compensation after this event was not accepted by allied countries. While France and England did not make war with the Ottomans, Russia declared war to the Empire (Ateş, 1994, pp. 297-299; Baykal, 1993, p. 180).

⁷ Due to the year of 1293 coincidence in the Julian calendar, the war is also known as '93 War in history.

⁸ This war also was a consequence of the continuing nationalism-centered riots in Balkans. The European states Britain, France, Austria, Germany, Italy, including Russia were convened in 1876 to organize the Ottoman administration in the Balkan States at the Istanbul Conference. At the end of the conference, which was dissolved without a decision because of the declaration of the First Constitution in the Ottoman Empire, these states signed the London Protocol among themselves and demanded that the Ottoman Empire fulfill the promises for non-Muslim subjects (Karal, 1983, p. 39). In April 1877, when the Ottomans rejected this Protocol, Russia declared war against the Ottoman State (Ateş, 1994, p. 399).

⁹ England accepted the revision of the *Yeşilköy* Treaty with the Berlin Treaty, and received the Cyprus Island from the Ottoman administration.

Moreover, after the war, the province lost its status as an inland city and became a frontier city of the Empire. Edirne and its immediate surroundings came to the accommodation characteristics of the immigrant population during these periods (Baykal, 1993, p. 186; Özey, 2001, p. 1).

Şevket Süreyya's family was also among this immigrant population who had to leave their home in the '93 War. His father, Mehmet Ağa, had migrated to Edirne from the Deliorman region which was around Danube River. As to his mother, Şaziye Hanım, she had migrated from a village in the mountainous region of Western Thrace in Bulgaria border. The milieu in which Şevket Süreyya grew up also consisted of the immigrant families who were the living witnesses of the fall of Ottoman Empire in Rumelia. Each family brought different stories of the disaster they lived with them. A belief that this bad trend would continue, settled into the center of social life by constantly being fed with these painful memories. In his memoirs, Şevket Süreyya stated that everyone in his neighborhood believed that one day they would have to migrate again (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 18-19).

The traces of his childhood years that he described as "the first tissues of a child's spirit"¹⁰ were not only made up of what he heard from the neighbors. Şevket Süreyya begins his book with this statement: "The first memory of my childhood is a fire.... my life started with a fire...." (Aydemir, 2016, p. 7).¹¹ When he was born in 1897, the Ottoman Empire and Greece were in war-called the Thessaly (*Teselya*) War. The war broke out because of Greece's irredentist policies in the axis of Megali Idea (The Great Design).¹² In 1897, Greece landed troops in Cretan and announced the annexation of the island, yet, Great Powers did not accept the occupation. Then,

¹⁰ "Bir Çocuk Ruhunun İlk Dokuları"

¹¹ "Çocukluğuma ait ilk hatıram bir yangındır..... hayata bir yangınla başlamış gibiyim..."

¹² Megali Idea was an irredentist concept of Greek nationalism that expressed the goal of uniting all Greeks in one country.

Greece began to concentrate on the Balkans, and the militia forces of the Ethnic Eterian Union¹³ began to attack the Ottoman territories in Tesalia borders and in Macedonia (Karal, 1983, p. 116). The Ottomans declared war on Greece after the bands of Greek irregulars crossed the border. Although, the war resulted with the victory of the Ottomans, assaults of militia group continued. The fire which left trace in Şevket Süreyya's memory was symbolizing the attacks of Greek and Bulgarian militias on the villages and farms of Edirne. The news and stories of atrocities committed against Muslim civilians in Macedonia by the anti-Ottoman underground revolutionary militias and gangs became the mostly talked issues of the daily life. Exaggerated stories of the neighborhood residents' home meetings and coffeehouse conversations filled the children's imaginary worlds. Şevket Süreyya described how the stories of the gangs and underground revolutionary activists left permanent images in his minds with those words:

"Everyday life in the streets of our neighborhoods was a bit like a continuation of the stories that they had heard in their nightly meetings in low-ceilinged of small rooms, or stories that they lived in their dreams. Our games consisted of mostly fightings, incursions, and wars... Gangs, underground revolutionary activities had come at the beginning of our games. For this, firstly, captains and voivodes were chosen. These words are the names given to the heads of the Greek, Bulgarian gangs" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 14).¹⁴

¹³ The association played a major role in gaining the independence of Greece's. After the independence, the association reorganized and aimed to include Epir, Macedonia and Crete into Greece (Karal, 1983, p. 115).

¹⁴"Mahallemizin sokaklarında günlük hayat, biraz da, çocukların gece toplantılarında, basık tavanlı küçük odalarda üst üste yığılarak dinledikleri, yahut rüyalarında yaşadıkları öykülerin bir devamı gibi geçirdi. Oyunlarımız, daha ziyade kavgalardan, baskınlardan, savaşlardan oluşurdu...Oyunlarımızın en başında gene, çetecilik, komitacılık oyunları gelirdi. Bunun için önce kaptanlar, voyvodalar seçilirdi. Bu sözcükler, Rum, Bulgar çetecilerin reislerine verilen isimlerdir."

In parallel with the wars, migrations, and invasions, the economic structure of the city deteriorated. The borders of the state drew back as near as the mountains lining the horizon of the city and Edirne became a border town. It was not seen as a military base anymore. Besides, the activities of the gangs right next to the border had limited the trade opportunities of the city tradesmen. Especially in rural areas of the province where the migrated families resided, the rate of the poverty was relatively higher. Şevket Süreyya stated that his neighborhood was composed of poor people who lived between mats and pillows made by fabric pieces or grasses in single-story, small adobe houses but not looking for a better life. Having a simple chair even was a luxury for those people (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 11-12). Şevket Süreyya also grew up in a poor family in one of the rural zone of the province. His father was a gardener in a mansion which belonged to the richest family in the city. His two elder brothers enrolled to the *Askeri Rüşdiye* (Military Junior High School) in order to enter to the army which was seen as an income channel for the young people of low-income families. Şevket Süreyya began to work at very early ages to help his father. Engaging with agriculture would become a life style of him when he wanted to go into his shell.

The childhood years of Şevket Süreyya passed in a social structure in which traditional way of life was predominantly shaped around religious values and the literacy rate was low. His mother was the only literate woman among her neighborhood and he learned read and write from his mother. Şevket Süreyya described the reality of illiteracy in his resident with those words:

"In our neighborhood, there were not a lot of people who know how to read and write except my mom and school but younger or older respected to the literate people, book, and the school. The stories or books of religion in our house always keep up, in the cells of the high places of the wall, or on the

shelves. As for the Qur'an, we could only carry it after we kissed and put our forehead..... Anyone who saw a piece of written paper in the streets of our neighborhood immediately removed it from the ground... Because it could be a leaf from Qur'an that could be blown up by the wind...." (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 27-28).¹⁵

His parents brought up Şevket Süreyya in the axis of a life style that was shaped by religious values. He got his first religious education from his mother becoming a guide to women in the neighborhood as well. In the special religious nights, the women of the neighborhood gathered in her house and spent time with invocation and worship (Aydemir, 2016, p. 25). It can be said that Şevket Süreyya was influenced by this spiritual atmosphere, but his belief leaned more towards the Sufi Islamic tradition. His acquaintance with the Sufism began with his educational life. His parents enrolled him to a local school which was in the circle buildings of Muradiye Mosque. There was also a Mevlevi¹⁶ dervish lodge around the mosque. Şevket Süreyya began to visit the lodge and was influenced a lot from the rituals of the Mevlevis. He explained how he was affected by this atmosphere;

"It was another world. A dragging world that attracts spirits. It has come to me that these whirls (Mevlevi dervish whirl) break away from the world. Got rid of the earth. Seems like, it was included in the eternal time of the stars. It flies

¹⁵"Bizim mahallede mektep ve anamdan başka az çok okuyan, yazan yoktu ama, büyük küçük mahalle halkının mektebe, okuma bilene, kitaba karşı içten yerleşmiş saygısı vardır... Bizim evdeki masal veya din kitapları da daima yukarıda, duvarın yüksek yerlerindeki hücrelerin içinde veya rafların üzerinde dururdu. Kur'an-ı Kerim'e gelince, onu ancak öpüp almımıza koyduktan sonra elimizde taşıyabilirdik... Bizim mahalle sokaklarında yerlerde yazılı kağıt parçasını gören büyük küçük herkes, onu hemen yerden kaldırırdı... Çünkü o rüzgarın uçurduğu kağıt parçası bir Kur'an yaprağı da olabilirdi."

¹⁶ The mevlevi order is a Sufi path in Islam, founded by the followers of Jalaluddin Rumi. Mevlevis are mostly known as the Whirling Dervishes in the West due to their famous ritual of whirling as a form of dhikr (Schimmel, 1975, p. 309).

away to the eternity with gyrating like sphere from lights" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 33).¹⁷

The ceremonies performed in the lodge, the charity activities like giving food to the poor every morning from the imaret next to the lodge left permanent traces in his mind. He says that when he visited Edirne after many years, seeing the loss of this atmosphere made him sad very much (Aydemir, 2016, p. 31). As it is understood from his memoirs, Şevket Süreyya's experience with Sufism was mostly limited with the observations of a curious child. There is no clue from his writings and no mentioned studies about whether he was affiliated to the lodge of the Mevlevi dervishes. His tendency to the Sufism in his childhood years seems to be more relevant to the need for a different environment. It can be said that the spiritual atmosphere of the Sufism provided needed environment for Şevket Süreyya whose life was surrounded by bitter tales of a falling empire and poverty. The following words of him clearly express this quest:

"Indeed, the beginning of the school was something like a permanent separation from the neighborhood. Because everything was different in my new environment. In here, everything was quiet and deep in a worship. As if I was prepared before to this spirit... After a while, I became so tied up this atmosphere, when I came to my neighborhood, I started to see my old friends on the streets of our neighborhood while struggling among themselves seemed meaningless to me anymore" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 29-30).¹⁸

¹⁷"Bu başka bir alemdi. Ruhları çeken sürükleyen bir alem. Bana öyle gelirdi ki, bu dönüşler (mevlevilerin semahları), bu devran içinde bu sofa, bu dünyadan kopardı. Bu topraktan kurtulurdu. Sanki yıldızların ebedi devranı içinde karışırdı. Nurdan bir küre gibi döne döne sonsuzluklara doğru uçar giderlerdi."

¹⁸"Nitekim mektebe başlayışım, benim, kenar mahallenin sokaklarından devamlı ayrılışım gibi bir şey oldu. Çünkü yeni çevremde her şey başkaydı... Burada herşey sessiz ve derin bir ibadet içindeydi... Ben bu havaya sanki evvelden hazırlanmış gibiydim... Bir süre sonra bu aleme o kadar bağlandım ki, gün akşama yaklaştığı zaman kendi mahallemize inince, mahalle sokaklarındaki eski arkadaşlarımı, onların kendi aralarındaki itişip kalkışmalarını, artık manasız görmeye başlamıştım."

2.3. The First Ideological Stop of Şevket Süreyya in Search of Utopia.

Following the path of his brothers, Şevket Süreyya enrolled to the *Askeri Rüşdiye* after accomplishing his primary education. *Rüşdiye* was a secondary school established to train officers for the army. Students were taken from their families at an early age and trained with military discipline. The army became a family, a community, even, a homeland for them (Georgeon, 2008, p. 26; Mardin, 1990, p. 189). Military schools were also an opportunity to skip a status, especially for the children of poor families. Şevket Süreyya describes the effect of enrollment to this school on him by those words: "When the school finished and I went to the streets, I looked everybody who was not a soldier or not educated in military school as inferior" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 36).¹⁹

Within the framework of this study, the most important effect of this school on Şevket Süreyya was its contribution to the development of his utopian consciousness. Mardin puts a positive correlation between the schooling and development of utopain minds. To him, in parallel with meeting with knowledge and increase in learning ability, people educated in modern school began to look at the incidents and their society from within a new perspective. They began to reach the thoughts in other countries and, concomitantly, they began to come up with new ideas. Thus, people educated in modern schooling starting from the 1890s, resulted as the emergence of a generation which looked for an ideal society; they grew up developing utopist ideas (Mardin, 1990, p. 172). Undoubtedly, getting an education in *Rüşdiye* caused Şevket Süreyya to acquire utopian mentality and shaped his knowledge about the ideal and the reality.

¹⁹ "Mektep dağılıp da sokaklara çıktığım zaman, asker veya asker mekteplerinden olmayan herkese karşı, bir nevi yüksekte bakardım."

In *Rüşdiye*, Şevket Süreyya's world of thought began to go beyond the boundaries of his neighborhood. He began to understand the reasons of decline of the empire that he had tried to figure out within the framework of the gang stories he listened to, why the families around him had to migrate. More importantly, he met with an ideal that would help him cherish hope for the future. In that regard, Ottomanism was the first ideological stop of his life which passed with a quest for utopia.

Ottomanism was one of the political thoughts like Turkism and Islamism which were put forth by intellectuals and statesman in order to present a political prescription to stop the decline of the Empire. While trying to modernize the various institutions of the state, especially the army, to put an end to the military defeats of the state against European states and Russia, on the one hand, the Ottoman statesman made an effort to establish a shared patriotism conscious among the subjects of the Empire to prevent nationalism-centered revolts, on the other hand. The goal of Ottomanism was to gather all subjects of the Empire under the roof of Ottoman patriotism. Historical development of Ottomanism goes back much more than the thoughts of Turkism and Islamism. The *Tanzimat Fermanı* (Rescript of Gulhane), declared on November 3, 1839, can be indicated as the first written document of Ottomanism thought. By the Rescript, the rights of all Ottomans regardless of religion or ethnic groups were guaranteed. *Islahat Fermanı* (Edict of Reform), declared on February 18, 1856, aimed to accept Non-Muslims and Muslims as equal in terms of religious and political rights (Ateş, 1994, p. 333). However, as mentioned above, these steps were not enough to prevent nationalism-centered revolts; and the intervention of the European states and Russia made the problem more complicated.

The first constitution of the Ottoman declared on December 23, 1876 was a much more serious step. According to the Constitution:

"All subjects of the empire are called Ottomans, without distinction whatever faith they profess; the status of an Ottoman is acquired and lost according to conditions specified by law. Every Ottoman enjoys personal liberty on condition of non-interfering with the liberty of others" (2004).

The Constitution²⁰ was more than a political document; it was a declaration of Ottomanism and Ottoman patriotism, and demonstrated that the empire was capable of resolving its problems against the European powers. It was also based on the idea of Ottomanism and intended to maintain the existence of the empire within the current borders (Karal, 1983, p. 498).

Aydemir was acquired strong patriotism sentiments in *Rüşdiye*. As Mardin stated, Ottoman patriotism was one of the core themes of education system in the military schools. In the education given in the *Rüşdiye*, patriotic feelings were imposed to the students in order to create "*esprit de corps*" among them (Mardin, 1990, p. 220). In this context, "the army was the foundation of the state. It was the army that kept the state alive" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 36).²¹ The loyalty to the sultan was the indispensable component of the patriotism. He was the head of the Army. Şevket Süreyya said that the Sultan was imagined strong enough to stop the whole world. In parallel, since the goal of the school educated officers for the army, the students were being trained to have a warrior sentiment. Şevket Süreyya stated that the great conquerors were taught as the greatest men of the world in the classrooms where the walls were decorated with the pictures of Fatih, Yavuz Selim, Napoleon, and Great Frederik. The biggest nations were presented as the most warrior nations in the

²⁰ Sultan Abdulhamid II, who was concerned about losing the war-'93 War-used the authority granted by the constitution and decided to close down the Assembly on February 14, 1878.

²¹ "*O halde ordu vatanın temeliydi. Devleti yaşatan ordumuzdu.*"

conception of a world whose only purpose was becoming a conqueror in order to shape the students' cognitive world. It can be said that the concept of the motherland became synonymous with conquest in the minds of the students; the homeland was the borders where the army of the state had reached. Şevket Süreyya described the effect of the education given in the school on his thoughts with those words:

"Nation is everyone who lives in the homeland. It was not necessary that this nation had a religion, a wish, and a language unity. Besides, there is no unity of right in this nation. The right are only belongs to those who constitute and manage the army. There were no Yemenis, Hedjazis, Duruses, Greeks, Bulgarians, Albanians. Their duties were only paying taxes and obeying the rules. If they do not pay taxes, do not obey, or if they demand to privileged rights, it is called as a revolt in the name of law" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 36-37).²²

It is not surprising that Şevket Süreyya did not hesitate to adopt the imposed Ottomanism understanding. Feeling that they were the children of a great empire and thinking that the bright days of the past would come shortly were quite seductive for these young people many of whom were children of the immigrant families. Şevket Süreyya began to think with an idealist view. He described the alteration in his attitudes with those words:

"...in the break time, the children gathered around these maps. We looked at the borders of our state. The lands that borders encompassed we were saying our territories..... While we were saying these things, we felt that something was overflowing, something was swelling inside us, and I felt these emotions amplifying me. I had changed my attitude and walking..... These lands

²² "Millet bu vatanın içinde yaşayan herkeste. Bu milletin bir din, bir dilek ve bir dil birliği olması şart değildi. Zaten bu millet içinde hak birliği de yoktu. Hak yalnız, orduyu teşkil eden ve onu idare edenlerindi. ...Yemenliler, Hicazlılar, Dürziler yahut Rumlar, Bulgarlar, Arnavutlar diye bir şey yoktu. Bunların vazifeleri sadece vergi vermek ve itaat etmekte. Eğer bunlar vergi vermez, itaat etmezlerse yahut ta kendilerine ayrı haklar düşünülürse kanun adına isyan denirdi."

seemed insufficient to me. In break time, I showed the countries like Caucasia, Crimea, Romania which were unfairly taken away from us. We would like the borders of the whole world to be within the borders of our state" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 35-36).²³

On the other hand, Şevket Süreyya's thoughts were changed as he began to compare the real life with what was taught in *Rüşdiye*. Contrary to the image presented in the school, he observed that there was disorder in the army. He stated that forcing officers to give early disbanding by preventing them to enter the barracks became a common habit among the soldiers. Furthermore, it was not so possible to see that the army paid serious efforts to prevent the activities of the gangs and militias (Aydemir, 2016, p. 38). Such kinds of political issues became the most important issues of conversations among his friends. The nature of these conversations and so the thoughts of Şevket Süreyya continued to evolve in parallel with the transformation that the state underwent.

Moreover, a group of people educated in modern school began to change the fate of the Sultan and the Empire over time. They, Young Turks, had initiated a political movement against the authoritarian rule of the Abdülhamid II. This enterprise was a continuation of the Young Ottomans²⁴ movement and adopted the principles of the French Revolution like them. They advocated that the only way to prevent the decline was adopting a constitutional regime in which all religious and linguistic elements of the Empire were being represented. The movement was formed

²³ "Ders aralarında çocuklar, bu haritaların başına toplanırdık. Devletimizin sınırlarına bakardık. Bu sınırların çevrelediği topraklara bizim topraklarımız derdik... Bunları söylerken, içimizde bir şeylerin coştüğünü, bir şeylerin kabardığını ve bu hislerin beni büyüttüğünü, gururlandırdığını duyardım. Duruşumu, yürüyüşümü değiştirmiştım... Bu topraklar bile bana az görünüyordu. Ders aralarında çocuklara bizden haksızca koparılan Kafkasya, Kırım, Romanya gibi ülkeleri gösterirdim... Bütün dünyanın sınırlarının bizim devletimizin sınırları içerisinde olsun isterdik."

²⁴ Young Ottomans were a secret society established in 1877 by a group of Ottoman intellectual who were dissatisfied with the Tanzimat reforms and sought to revitalize the empire by transform the state by modernizing and adopting a constitutional government (Akşin, 2009).

in 1889 under *İttihat-ı Osmani Cemiyeti*²⁵ (the Ottoman Unity Society) which was established by a handful of students at the Ottoman Military Medicine School. The movement, carrying out its activities in secret, enlarged gradually by joining of new members, who were discontent with the rule of Abdülhamid II, from various institutions of the state including the army. In 1895, the name of the organization became *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (The Committee of Union and Progress- in short CUP) (Akşin, 2009, pp. 49-51). On February 4, 1902, the CUP held its first congress in Paris and some of the individuals who attended the congress were Prince Sebahattin, Ahmet Rıza, İsmail Hakkı, Yusuf Akçura, Doctor Nazım Ferit Bey, İsmail Kemal, and Hoca Kadri (Karal, 1983, pp. 520-521). One of the main issues discussed in the congress was that the way of press and propaganda was not effective enough to reach the goal, therefore, the way of revolution should be adopted. The second issue was the need to reform in the country with the support of foreign governments (Akşin, 2009, p. 81).

Although reestablishment of the constitutional monarchy was the common goal, the movement ideologically divided into several factions. The most organized and effective group of the Young Turks was the CUP led by Ahmet Rıza. Contrary to the leading faction, Private Enterprise and Decentralization Society (*Teşebbüsi Şahsi Ademi Merkeziyet Cemiyeti*), led by Prince Sebahattin²⁶ (1877–1948), advocated the decentralization of the governance and conducting liberal politics. While not being opposed to Ottomanism, the leading faction insisted upon a very centralized, unitary state in which Turks would be the dominant group. They also rejected the idea of accepting the support of the foreign governments for reform. Besides, the prominent

²⁵ The first members were from the Military Medicine School, İshak Sukuti, Mehmet Reşit, Abdullah Cevdet, İbrahim Temo, Hüseyinzade Ali (Akşin, 2009, p. 49; Tunaya, 1988, p. 19). While Akşin and Tunaya wrote Hüseyinzade Ali was one of the founders of the society, Bayat argued that Hüseyinzade Ali was not among the founders (Bayat, 1998, p. 12).

²⁶ He was head of the *Terakki* (Progress) Newspaper which was first published in 1906 (Ahmad, 2010).

names of the CUP, especially Ahmed Rıza, inspired by the ideas of August Comte and believed that progress could be achieved by a program promoting positivism (Akşin, 2009). On the other hand, as most of the researchers indicated, the leading faction even had not a concrete reform program at the beginning. They all concentrated on accomplishing of the first goal. These ideological disagreements were set aside until the revolution achieved. The leading faction under the roof of the CUP, tried to enlarge its organizational structure by inviting the Muslims to unite and revolt against the "despot" administration of Abdulhamit II.

The CUP had become powerful in Macedonia by propagation of the ideas of the Young Turks among the officers of the third army which was responsible for the quashing of the nationalist revolts. The point that led the CUP to act was a summit held in Reval, Russia (modern Tallinn, Estonia) in July 1908 between Great Britain and Russia. Popular rumors within the Ottoman Empire had it that two states had agreed on the intervention to the Macedonia (Ahmad, 2010, p. 17). The revolution sparked by the revolt of a group of soldier and civilian under the leadership of Niyazi Bey who was affiliated to the CUP on July 3, 1908. The CUP-led rebellions spread throughout July and, on July 23, the constitution was proclaimed in Manastır by the Union and Progress and a telegram was sent to the Yıldız Palace (Akşin, 2009, p. 130; Lewis, 1968, p. 209). Finally, Sultan obliged to declare the re-establishment of the constitutional monarchy. Popular demonstrations were held in support of the new regime organized by the leaders of the religious and ethnic communities as well as by the various factions of the Young Turks (Ahmad, 2003a, p. 31). Freedom, equality, brotherhood, progress and unity words were the mottos of the revolution. This new era was also the time of freedom and let the Young Turks not only change the political system but also redesign society.

Şevket Süreyya and his brothers were among those who welcomed the revolution with enthusiasm. Especially one of his brothers was a vindictive enemy of the Sultan Abdülhamid II. He called the sultan as "devil Hamid". On the other hand, as to his father, he was a faithful supporter of the Sultan. He felt a traditional loyalty to him and did not have disrespectful ideas against the sultan. While Şevket Süreyya welcomed the revolution, like his brothers, he was also aware that something was going strange. He stated that although the revolution was welcomed by everyone, almost no one had concrete knowledge about the developments; everyone was ascribing various meanings to the revolution on their own. The constitution was being bandied around as a concept whose meaning was not known. As for Şevket Süreyya, who started to be interested in political issues despite his young age, the revolution was a promise of hope for the future for him. As one of the few educated people in his neighborhood, he was explaining his sense of revolution to people who were trying to understand the developments with curious eyes with the following words:

"The great powers would no longer interfere with the Ottoman state. There would be no more gangs in the mountains. There would be no rebellion anywhere. Even, it would not stay limited with this. Crete, the Caucasus, Bosnia and Herzegovina would be taken back. The Bulgarian Prince and the King of Montenegro would give us taxes. The borders would reach the Danube again" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 40).²⁷

Şevket Süreyya's hopes began to fade after a while. As Lewis stated, the revolution evolved into a transition from absolutism to a kind military oligarchy of the Young Turks (Lewis, 1968, p. 211). One of the significant reasons was dissociation

²⁷"Osmanlı devletine Düvel-i Muazzama artık karışmayacaktı. Dağlardan, kırlardan artık çetecilik kalkacaktı. Hiçbir yerde artık isyan olmayacaktı. Hatta iş bununla da kalmayacaktı. Girit, Kafkas, Bosna-Hersek geri alınacaktı. Bulgar Prensi ile Karadağ Kıralları bize geri verilecekti. Hudutlar tekrar Tuna'ya varacaktı."

among the Young Turks due to ideological disagreements (Karpas, 2010, p. 100). Besides, it was not easy to change the system in which pashas and bureaucrats of the old regime still had strongholds, additionally, the ruling elites of the committee were young and inexperienced about state government. Therefore, they did not handle the government directly and steered from out.²⁸ As a consequence of the combination of these factors, the transition period was the scene of latent political struggles for power between the sultan, supported by conservatives and reactionaries, the high bureaucrats, supported by the liberals, and the Unionists who relied on their organizational strength in the army and society at large (Ahmad, 2003a, p. 35).

The first five years of constitutional period were marked by unstable governments and *coup d'etats*. Many opposition parties, such as the *Ahrar Fırkası* (The Party of Ottoman Liberals) and the *Hizb-i Cedid* (New Group), were founded against the Unionists. In November 1911, almost all the opposition groups and parties were united in one new party, called the *Hürriyet ve İtilâf Fırkası*²⁹ (Party of Freedom and Understanding), which was a conglomerate of conservatives and liberals with hardly anything in common apart from their hatred for the CUP (Akşin, 2009, p. 299; Zürcher, 2004, p. 102; Tunaya, 1988, p. 265). As the power of the opposition increased, the Unionists began to resort to extraordinary measures.

The chaotic developments of the period led Şevket Süreyya to left the Ottomanism idea. When a counter-revolutionary movement broke out in 1909 in Istanbul, his two brothers participated to Army which was comprised of the volunteers in order to squash the rebels. Contrary to his expectations, non-Muslim residents of the city did not participate to the voluntary army. Şevket Süreyya understood that the brotherhood which was one the core elements of the revolution

²⁸ Sina Akşin defines this management method as supervisory government (Akşin, 2000, p. 27).

²⁹ The party which did not have a homogenous structure composed the supporter of Ottomanism, decentralization, and liberal economy was united against the CUP (Tunaya, 1988, pp. 268-269).

would not be maintainable ideal. His belief in the dynasty, such as the hope that the state would return to the glorious days had also weakened.

In addition to the existing internal political confusion, the Empire tried to tackle with the successive wars. In that regard, while the Turco-Italian War breaking up in 1911 caused the Empire to lose Libya, the war also triggered the further chaotic atmosphere in Balkans. The idea of Ottomanism got the most severe damage with the outbreak of the Balkan Wars between 1912 and 1913. In the first Balkan War between Balkan countries, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro versus Ottoman Empire resulted from signing the Treaty of London, on June 10, The Ottomans lost all territory to the north and west of a line from Enos on the Aegean to Midye on the Black Sea, including Edirne. On the other hand, in the second Balkan War the Ottoman Army recaptured Edirne and entered the city on July 23 (Baykal, 1993, p. 192; Peremeci, 1940, p. 36; Ahmad, 2003a, p. 38; Zürcher, 2004, p. 108). The Wars influenced Şevket Süreyya deeply and his comment on the Balkan Wars was as follows: "A fairy tale, an Empire tale was ending. It seems that what we suppose is our reign, just a woolgathering" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 43).³⁰ The Balkan Wars have led to a despair that the empire could not return to its former strong days. He described this period, in terms of suffering people in the empire, as follows;

"The collapse which coming by Balkan War was full.. This time, the Turks in European provinces of the Ottoman could not find time to migrate. A relentless liquidation began within raids, lootings, and slaughter.... All of these were unexpected things for the Turkish children who newly-growing up and living the first youth ages" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 44-45).³¹

³⁰"Bir masal, bir imparatorluk masalı sona eriyordu. Meğer bizim saltanat zannettiğimiz şey, sadece bir gaflet uykusuymuş."

³¹"Balkan Harbinin getirdiği çöküntü tamdı. Bu sefer Osmanlı Avrupası vilayetlerindeki Türkler, göç etmeye bile vakit bulamamıştı. Baskınlar, yağmalar ve toptan öldürmeler içinde amansız bir tasfiye

For Şevket Süreyya, this desperate situation dominating the country became more distressing because of his brother that was martyred in the Balkan War and his mother who deceased due to her illness. In this mood, he also questioned the loyalties that he embraced in *Rüşdiye* years. The magnificent Ottoman history, the palace, and the sultan were shaping frustration in his mind. When Aydemir's memories are examined, it is seen that the feelings of Ottoman patriotism and Ottomanism had been a dominant ideology in his life until the Balkan Wars and while the thought of Pan-Turkism had not yet been shaped. He described the impact of Turco-Italian and Balkan Wars looking on the maps which were widening his horizon and exhilarating Ottomanism in school years, and this had begun to evoke different emotions on him;

"Until that day, in this case, we were living in a dream world, all the things that we believed was a delusion and befooling. This empire had perhaps dead already. Maybe, we had just kept it alive in our own dream. The lost Ottoman Africa maybe had never been ours. The Ottoman Europe may not be ours for a long time. We could have said that there was nothing in our existence other than our wasted blood since centuries. Especially the sultan, especially the Place! In these storms, he had fizzled out like a soap bubble, without burning and collapsing" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 45).³²

başladı.... Bütün bunlar o zaman ve hele yeni yetişen ve ilk gençlik çağlarını yaşayan Türk çocukları için beklenmedik şeylerdi."

³²"O güne kadar demek ki bir hayal aleminde yaşamıştık. Bütün inandığımız şeyler demek ki bir vehimdi, bir aldanıştı. Bu imparatorluk aslında belki çoktan ölmüştü. Biz onu belki de sadece, kendi hayalimizde yaşatmıştık. Şu kaybolan Osmanlı Afrikası, belki hiçbir zaman bizim olmamıştı. Şu Osmanlı Avrupası belki çoktan beri artık bizim sayılamazdı... Diyebilirdik ki, oralarda, yüzyıllardan beri israf edilen kanımızdan başka bizim olan hiçbir şey yoktu... Hele padişah, hele saray! Bu fırtınalar içinde o, yanmadan, yıkılmadan bile bir sabun köpüğü gibi sönmüş gitmişti..."

2.4. Conclusion

The main point of the chapter is to explain the circumstances that led Şevket Süreyya to think like a utopian. Elaborating the life of Şevket Süreyya starting from the traces of his childhood has a great importance in terms of understanding how his utopian mentality was shaped. The life of Şevket Süreyya examined within the framework of his family, education, his close circle and social structure of the late Ottoman era. As it is tried to be revealed, the environment in which Şevket Süreyya grew up was very convenient in terms of looking for a utopia. Wars, invasions, poverty, desperate migrant families and political turmoil of the Empire; these were all formed the childhood years of Şevket Süreyya. His thought was shaped when he started to education in *Rüşdiye* where the idea of Ottoman patriotic mentality shaped in his mind. This idea presented him both necessary answers to make sense of the calamities he witnessed and hope for reaching a glorious days. In parallel, he began to interest in political issues and this led him to look at the society from within a broader perspective. As his knowledge and experiences increased, his thoughts also began to change. He began to observe the realities of the society and criticize the things that were taught to him in the school. Although he could not comprehend the purpose of the 1908 Revolution and its concepts adequately, the hope emerged with the revolution attracted him. However, the Balkan wars revealed in a short time that Ottomanism thought was not an applicable policy anymore.

Şevket Süreyya began to learn that the ideas which were incompatible with the necessities of the societies and the reality of time had no capacity of realizing a heaven on the earth; and, if an idea did not have capacity to do this, then it could be abandoned. He had abandoned the Ottomanism thought, but it did not mean the end of his quest. He acquired a utopian conscious now, and it led him to go after new ideals

in order to realize a heaven on the earth. As his experiences continued to increase, he would come close to his utopia.



3. THE IDEA OF PAN-TURKISM: HISTORY, SUPPORTERS, AND

ŞEVKET SÜREYYA

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will mainly center upon the period in which Şevket Süreyya's transition from childhood to adulthood shaped around the Pan-Turkism thought he adopted as a new ideal after Ottomanism. Pan-Turkism was a political movement, in the long run, trying to bring together the Turkish communities living in Russia, China and similar geographies and get them attached to the Ottoman Empire (Georgeon, 1986, pp. 7-8). Before it was known by Ottoman subjects, Pan-Turkism had started to be influential in Tsarist Russia. A group of prominent intellectuals living in Russian lands contemplated to constitute the notion of Turkishness and worked for the purpose of spreading the idea of Turkishness. Within the context of the chapter, how and why the Pan-Turkism emerged in the distant lands from the Empire and how the idea became influential and spread in the Ottoman land will be analyzed. Moreover, how these intellectuals contributed to enhancing the idea of Turkishness and how their activities became influential in the creation of a consciousness of being Turk will be examined. Elaborating on these issues will help to perceive under which condition Şevket Süreyya adopted this idea and how he turned it into his utopia. Furthermore, they will also facilitate being understood how his utopia swept him to the distant land in order to look for *Turan*. Leaving from his hometown and attending the war led him to confront the reality of Anatolia. What's more, the decision to go to Azerbaijan as a teacher will be one of the milestones of his life and will lead to a bilateral effect. The first one was his passion for the Pan-Turkism which turned into an imagination

following his experiences in Nuha. The second one was the adoption of Communism will be an issue of the fourth chapter. In parallel with the purpose of the study, the other factors that had a significant effect on the development of his utopian consciousness will be tried to be expressed in this part of the thesis.

3.2. The Origin and Development of Pan-Turkism in Russia

The French Revolution that triggered the spread of nationalist ideas rapidly paved the way for establishing the national states of minorities in Ottoman subjects by gaining their independence at beginning in the 19th century. While the non-Muslim subjects demanded for having their own nations, Turkish-Ottoman subject did not have the consciousness of being Turk at that time. By the time the Turks in the Empire affiliated with the idea of Ottomanism, the consciousness of being Turkish had begun among the Turks living in Russia during the first half of the 19th century. Hence, the Pan-Turkist ideology found supporters in the Tsarist Russian lands at first and then spread to the Ottoman lands. The main reason for the emergence of the Turkism movement in Russian lands was that many Turkish people were willing to protect their faith and national origins -Islam and Turkism- against the Christianization and *Russification* policies of the Russian authorities (Landau, 1995, pp. 7-8; Kalsın, 2014, p. 96). Thus, a group of intellectuals living in the Russian territory called "Outside Turks" initiated various activities for an awakening of the consciousness of Turkism.

İsmail Gaspıralı (1851–1914) or İsmail Mirza Gasprinskiy or İsmail Bey Gasprinskiy is one of the most well-known intellectual among the "Outside Turks". He was a Crimean Tatar, journalist, educator, author, and politician who tried to encourage the national revival and cultural development of Muslim Turks living in Russia. Şevket Süreyya was impressed by him and dwelled on the importance and

contributions of Gaspıralı as to the rise of Turkism. Süreyya mentioned about him as the defender of the Pan-Turkist ideology among Turks and regarded him as the "Father of the Turkish Movement" in Russia (Aydemir, 1993b, p. 454). Şevket Süreyya fascinated from the emphasizes of Gaspıralı on educational issues and he used the slogan of Gaspıralı "Union in Language, Idea and at Work" (*Dilde, Fikirde, İşte Birlik*) as the prologue in one of his books which will be mentioned in progressing parts of the study.

Gaspıralı was the pioneer in creating the idea of "unity" among Muslim Turks. He believed that the language is one of the major tools to reach the unity, so he aimed to create a common Turkish language which had minimal foreign words and which could be read and understood by the Turks around the world (Toker, 2001, p. 36; Kushner, 1998, p. 20; Kocaoğlu, 2004, p. 218). By creating the common Turkish language, he believed, Russian Turks could connect with the outside world and this would be the essential step in their way of modernization.

Gaspıralı thought that the orientation of both Muslims constituting the largest society, and the Turks, primarily the Russian Turks, towards a unity that a modern society requires, could be provided by two main instruments: education and publication (Kırımlı, 2004, pp. 62-63). To this end, he primarily focused on press activities³³ and education in order to create awareness of national unity among the Turks. After overcoming the bureaucratic hurdle of Tsarist Russia, on April 10, 1883, Gaspıralı succeeded to publish *Tercüman/Perevodcik* (Interpreter) Newspaper in the Turkish language on condition of pressing together with Russian translation. The two

³³Among the Muslims in Russia, the first Turkish newspaper was published in Baku, in 1875, by Hasan Melikzade Zerdabi (1832-1907) under the name of *Ekinci* (Harvester). For the first time ideas about liberty, democracy, women's law and nation were spread via this newspaper. Yet, *Ekinci* was closed in 1877 by the Tsarist regime because of the 1877-1878 Ottoman–Russian War (Kalsın, 2014, p. 104; Landau, 1995, p. 27; Kushner, 1998, p. 20; Akçura, 1978, p. 88; Bayat, 1998, p. 4).

pages of the newspaper, which consisted of four pages in total, were published in Russian whereas the other two were written in Turkish. The fame of the newspaper spread across the Turkish-Islamic world in a short time (Kalsın, 2014, p. 95). Over the course of 35 years, the *Tercüman* reached a wide circulation given the conditions of the time and the rate of literacy. The great success of *Tercüman*, which was sold in the Caucasus, Kazan, Siberia, Turkestan, China, and even in Iran and Egypt, was about Gaspıralı's devotion not only to Russian Turks but to all Muslims in the world (Kalsın, 2014, p. 107).

Following the success of the newspaper, in 1884, Gaspıralı contributed to the implementation of *Usûl-ü Cedit* (New System) which refers to adopting science, education, training methods and a western-influenced way of life. By doing so, he reformed both the curriculum and the methods in education and enabled Turkish to be learned together with Arabic at the Bahçesaray School (Landau, 1995, p. 9; Bozkurt, 2004, p. 296). Gaspıralı proposed the simplification of education in order that it could easily be understood by the general masses and to provide them with the basic concepts of modern national and religious units with this channel (Kırımlı, 2004, p. 63). Furthermore, he explained how the *Usûl-ü Cedit* system was implemented such as the duration of the education, curriculum, time and duration of lessons, exams and marking in detail (Bozkurt, 2004, p. 295). The *Usûl-ü Cedit* School was a turning point in terms of the overall education system where religious sciences, as well as positive sciences began to be taught and spread to the Turks in the North by his initiatives. The essential Turkish intellectuals received education by the system of *Ceditizm* one of whom was Sadri Maksudi (Arsal)³⁴ (1878–1957). He had prominent roles during the formation of the historical studies in the Republican Turkey

³⁴ His brother Ahmed Hâdi Maksudî was one of the leading figures of the Ceditizm movement among the Muslims of Russia. He began tutoring by the invitation of Gaspıralı in Bahçesaray (Miftahov, 2003, pp. 7, 12).

(Miftahov, 2003, pp. 49-50). To sum up, İsmail Gaspiralı's initiatives were accepted by the Turks living in Russia and outside of the Russian lands. He became a mastermind of various innovations in the field of the literature, education and culture. While the *Tercüman* Newspaper issued a call for awareness of Turkishness, the system, *Usûl-ü Cedid*, became the leader of the renewal movement in education and modernization. His contributions can be considered as the renaissance of the Turkish world. Besides, Gaspiralı spread his ideas without breaking the rules of the Russian authority and attempted to make his own reforms moderately. This was his praiseworthy success based on the conditions of the time.

Another center for the development of Turkish nationalism was Baku, a city of Azerbaijan, thanks to the struggle of intellectuals such as Ali Hüseyinzade (1864-1940), Ahmet Ağaoğlu (1869-1939), and Mehmet Emin Resulzade (1884-1955). These intellectuals began to support the Turks living in Russia by the articles they wrote in the Russian *Kaspi* Newspaper (Ülken, 1966, p. 401). In 1905, Ali Hüseyinzade, Ahmet Ağaoğlu and Ali Merdan Topçubaşı (1865-1934) began to publish *Hayat* (Life) Newspaper (Akçura, 1978, p. 185; Bayat, 1998, p. 14; Orkun, 1944, p. 76). After *Hayat* was closed, Hüseyinzade founded his own journal *Füyûzât*³⁵ (Enlightenment) in 1907. The *Füyûzât* was a precious achievement for Turks in Azerbaijan but it also strengthened the idea of nationalism among all the Russian Turks (Toker, 2001, p. 40). Hüseyinzade Ali formulated his nationalism understanding with the slogan of "*Turkism, Islamism, and Europeanism*" (Landau, 1995, p. 13). He stressed in his writings that the Turks have to modernize while advancing on the path of becoming a nation. To him, this modernization program had to base on integration with developed civilization while preserving the cultural and

³⁵ The Journal published only 32 issues and closed in October 1907 (Bayat, 1998, p. 16).

religious values (Akçura, 1978, p. 183; Bayat, 1998, pp. 31-32). Furthermore, he cared about the language issues and attracted attention to the spread of the Ottoman Turkish language among all Turks since he believed that language is a bridge on the way to Turkish union. His activities also continued in the political scene that was one of the representatives attending the Congress of Russian Muslims which was held three times between 1905 and 1906. These Congresses contributed to the awareness of Russian Muslims in political affairs and provided a basis to understand what they could do in religious and social areas. Moreover, the congresses became an important initiative for Russian Muslims to act together and to seek their rights against the state with a common consciousness (Kırımlı, 2004, p. 65; Bayat, 1998, p. 14).

The other Azerbaijani intellectual was Ahmed Ağaoğlu (1869-1939), a journalist, politician, academician, and writer, who wrote articles together with Hüseyinzade Ali and Mehmet Emin Resulzade in the Russian *Kaspi* Newspaper. He defended the rights of the Turkish people against the Russian authorities (Ülken, 1966, p. 401). Like Hüseyinzade Ali, Ağaoğlu founded his own newspaper titled *İrşad* (Act of showing the true path) and continued to struggle for the rights of the Turks. The newspaper aimed to protect the rights of Turks, and increase their knowledge and culture (Akçura, 1978, p. 200). Ağaoğlu came to Istanbul after the 1908 Revolution and continued to support the idea of Pan-Turkism via various journals, newspapers and associations such as *Sebilürreşad*, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, *Türk Yurdu* (The Homeland of the Turks), *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearts), and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (National Sovereignty), *Üç Medeniyet* (Three Civilizations) is one of his famous works written when he was exiled in Malta between 1919 and 1921, but published in 1927. Another sensational book of Ağaoğlu, published in 1933, was

Devlet ve Fert (State and Individual) which criticizes the thoughts of Şevket Süreyya and *Kadro* Movement will be mentioned in the progressive part of the study.

The cultural Pan-Turkism initiated by İsmail Gaspiralı in order to protect and develop the entity of the Muslim-Turk communities living in Tsarist Russia with a slogan of "Union in Language, Idea and at Work" turned into a political platform with the article of Yusuf Akçura named *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Systems of Government) (Özdoğan, 2008, pp. 394-395). In the articles, Akçura discussed the practicable and impracticable sides of Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Turkism policies. He stated that from 1903 onwards, the Ottoman unity had been shaken severely and that it was not possible to prevent the people living in the Ottoman state from reaching their national ideals (Akçura, 1978, p. 169). Moreover, he rejected Ottomanism in that the idea reduces the rights of the Turks in the empire. While Akçura adjudicated the impossibility of the implementation of Ottomanism in his article, he has the same certainty about the applicability of Pan-Islamism. According to him, the idea of Pan-Islamism created antagonism in non-Muslim groups against the Muslim community. According to Akçura, despite having some disadvantages like causing the separation of non-Turkish Muslim subjects of the Empire, Turkism could be considered as a convenient alternative to Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism for the survival of the Ottoman Empire. He believed that the idea of Turkism united the Turks who shared the same language, race, tradition, and –to some extend– religion, and was able to maintain the Turks' presence among other nations in the large part of the Asia Continent and the Southeast of Europe. Hence, the Ottoman State would play the most important role in the implementation of this idea (Akçura, 1978, p. 172).

Yusuf Akçura was the first thinker to discuss the wrongs and difficulties in terms of the implementation of Ottomanism and Islamism (Kushner, 1998, p. 13).

Except for *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, no other study had been written classifying the politics of the last period of the Ottoman Empire or given a specific name to each ideology to reveal their main lines until that time (Akçura, 1978, p. 174). Even though Akçura has been generally known with his famous work, he was very influential in political and intellectual areas in the Tsarist Russia. Besides being a writer in several journals and newspapers, he also created a party together with İsmail Gaspıralı in order to protect the rights of the Muslim Turks living in Russia.

The last "Outside Turk" to be mentioned in the context of this study will be Zeki Velidi Togan (1890-1970), who was a teacher, educator, and researcher on the national history of the Turks. In 1917, Togan published *Yurd Mecmuası* (Country Journal) in Kazan and *Kineş* Newspaper in Taşkent to contribute to the protection of Turkish rights. His first book named *Türk-Tatar Tarihi* (History of Turk-Tatar) in 1911, was praised as "the most important work written regarding the national culture". Furthermore, the book was appreciated by Yusuf Akçura in *Türk Yurdu* (The Homeland of the Turks) and İsmail Gaspıralı in the *Tercüman* Newspaper. Hüseyinzade Ali referred to Togan as "a Turkish intellectual" (Togan, 1969, pp. 104-107). Moreover, Togan was one of the founders and the first president of the *Türkistan Milli Birliği* (National Unity of Turkistan). Additionally, he actively participated in Basmaji Resistance Movement against the Soviet Union (Togan, 1969, pp. 376-396). *Tarihte Usul* (Method in History), *Bügünkü Türk İli (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi* (Today's Turkestan and its Recent History) were the two famous books among his various works. When he settled in Istanbul in 1925, he became a history professor at Istanbul University where he worked to contribute to developing the national history of Turks.

As well as the press activities, as mentioned, these intellectuals took active roles in politics to enhance and protect the right of Muslim Turks in Tsarist Russia. Yusuf Akçura, İsmail Gaspıralı, Ali Merdan Topçubaşı and Abdürreşid Kadi İbrahimov helped to found a party named *Rusya Müslümanları İttifakı* (Union of Russian Muslims) in the course of 1905 Russian Revolution. It aimed at bringing together all Northern Muslims under the same national political organization and succeeded to send representatives to the Duma. Another important initiative was that using Istanbul Turkish language and getting rid of the foreign accent was accepted in the Congress of the Union by an offer of İsmail Gaspıralı (Akçura, 1978, pp. 175-177). However, in 1907, the reactionary movement was started against the regime and the Tsar abolished the 2nd Duma and restricted non-Russian activities.

Following the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, these intellectuals, Yusuf Akçura and Ahmet Ağaoğlu in 1908, İsmail Gaspıralı in 1909 and Hüseyinzade Ali in 1910, came to Istanbul and found the ground to spread their Pan-Turkist ideologies via associations and journals, which will be mentioned below. As for Tsarist Russia, the Soviet Union, which was established as a result of the regime change in the country, did not allow the dissemination of an ideology with its separatist and ethnolinguistic internationalism characteristics, like Pan-Turkism, on its own class internationalism. Thus, there was no well organized activity of Pan-Turkism within the Soviet Union beginning from the mid-1920s, and Pan-Turkism continued as preserving the Turkish language and literary works (Landau, 1995, pp. 16-20).

3.3. Development the Idea of Pan-Turkism in the Ottoman Empire

Though it was not possible to speak of a common national consciousness among the Turkish subjects of the Empire when it came to the threshold of the Balkan Wars, the budding process of consciousness of Turkishness traced back to the

Tanzimat era.³⁶ The intellectual efforts of some Tanzimat elites focusing mainly on the simplification of Turkish language can be considered as the first steps in that regard.

One of the most famous writers and poets in this period was Ziya Pasha (1825-1880) whose article was *Şiir ve İnşa* which revealed the significance of using Turkish words in the poems. Then, the *Tercüman-ı Ahval* Newspaper, which began to be published in 1860 by Şinasi (1824-1871)³⁷ and Agah Efendi (1832-1885), was the first private Turkish newspaper. *Tercüman-ı Ahval* has been considered as the beginning of the idea of Turkish journalism in the Empire. The two founders of Turkish journalism- Şinasi and Agah Efendi- paid significant efforts in the direction of the purification of the Turkish language so as to be understood easily by the public (Sağol, 1999, p. 507; Köktener, 2011, p. 215; Kushner, 1998, p. 79). Similarly, Namık Kemal (1840-1888) who had initiatives on the simplification of the language believed that the written language should be simplified and transformed into a form that the public can understand (Sağol, 1999, p. 507; Koç, 2007, p. 16). One of the greatest developments of this period was the publication of the book of *Türkçe Şiirler* (Turkish Poems) in 1899 by Mehmet Emin Bey (1869-1944). He introduced the notion of writing poems by using only pure Turkic words, without using Arabic or Persian words (Landau, 1996, p. 177; Akçura, 1978, p. 142). The poems in the book caused the praise of the writers of the time because they showed that it is possible to express emotions and the supreme ideas of people by using the pure Turkish language (Kushner, 1998, p. 106). In his famous poem *Cenge Giderken* (En Route to the Battle)

³⁶ Before Tanzimat, purification of the language, partly, started with the *Takvim-i Vakayi* and continued with other newspaper. It can be said that *Takvim-i Vakayi* was the official newspaper published between 1831 and 1836 by the order of Sultan Mahmut II aimed to announce the state activities to the subjects of the empire (Sağol, 1999, p. 507; Köktener, 2011, p. 214).

³⁷ Şinasi's work of *Şair Evlenmesi* (Poet's Marriage) was the first theatrical work written and published in Turkish (Koç, 2007, pp. 13-14).

which was written in the time of the Turkish-Greek War of 1897, Mehmet Emin Bey, named after "national poet" addressed Turks with the verse that "I am a Turk, my religion, my ancestry is supreme".³⁸ Ahmet Vefik Pasha (1823-1891) was the first intellectual separating the Turkish words from the Arabic and Persian words in his literary work *Lehçe-i Osmani* (Dialect of Ottoman), in order to demonstrate the significance and the affluence of the Turkish words. In addition to the efforts to improve the Turkish language, it was possible to see the primitive efforts for the development of Turkish culture and history. In his work titled *Eski ve Yeni Türkler* (Old and New Turks), published in 1869, Mustafa Celaledin Pasha³⁹ (1826-1876) emphasized that Turkish race had a significant place in the history of humanity and the Turkish language did not need other languages (Akçura, 1978, pp. 47-54; Ülken, 1966, pp. 73-74; Orkun, 1944, p. 53; Gökalp, 1968, p. 7).

Similar efforts continued to be paid in some journals. Ali Suavi (1839–1878) pointed out in his articles in *Muhbir* that began to be published in 1867 and in the *Ulûm* Newspaper that published in Paris that it was necessary to use plural forms according to Turkish rules instead of using the plural forms of Arabic and Persian. (Koç, 2007, pp. 14-15; Orkun, 1944, p. 53). When it comes to 1893, Ahmet Cevdet determined the identity of *İkdam* Newspaper by writing "a Turkish newspaper" to the heading. (Akçura, 1978, p. 115).

It is also possible to see some reflections of this trend in the government policies. The importance given to Turkish increased in the 1860s and the education began to be carried out in Turkish in some educational institutions such as *Mekteb-i*

³⁸ "Ben bir Türküm, dinim, cinsim uludur." The poem is also known as "Anadolu'dan Bir Ses" (A Voice from Anatolia).

³⁹ His actual name was Constantin Borzecki, a Polish aristocrat. After he came to the Ottoman lands in 1849, he became Muslim and the name Mustafa Celaledin was given to him. Celaledin worked in different departments in the Ottoman bureaucracy. His book was originally written in French, *Les Turcs Enciens et Modernes* (Akçura, 1978, p. 55; Orkun, 1944, p. 54).

Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye and *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye Şahane* (Ergin, 1977, pp. 348-352; Kushner, 1998, p. 123). Another important development was in the Constitution of the Ottoman Empire, which was declared in 1876. The article 18⁴⁰ declared that knowing the Turkish language was laid down as a condition to be able to work in state institutions: "Eligibility to public office is conditional on knowledge of Turkish, which is the official language of the State" (2004).

As a conclusion, the Tanzimat period brought innovations to the society and the state had initiated the first serious debate on the subject of the simplification of the language, tending to the public language and grammatical rules. Despite all these initiatives, the elites of Tanzimat supported the policy of Ottomanism and thought the conditions of that period were ideal for protecting the status quo. After the 1st Constitutional period ended, the empire was exposed to the autocracy of Sultan Abdulhamid II. He forbade publishing activities since he thought they could be developed outside his own will. As a result, during his time, acts such as Pan-Turkism were perceived as a threat to his regime. As Georgeon pointed out that there was not an organizational attempt and systematic publication effort that could provide a groundwork for the development of Turkism in the Empire (Georgeon, 1986, p. 53). Accordingly, at beginning of the 1900s, Yusuf Akçura described the atmosphere in the empire with these words: "Although the idea of nationality has begun to penetrate among the Turks under the influence of the West, this case is very new. The idea of Pan-Turkism, Turkish literature, unifying the Turks is an imaginary yet a newborn child" (Akçura, 2011, p. 37). On the other hand, with the Young Turk Revolution, the Pan-Turkism Movement found a favorable environment to be developed and organized in the empire.

⁴⁰ *"Tebaa-i Osmaniye'nin hizmet-i devlette istihdam olunmak için devletin lisan-ı resmisi olan Türkçeyi bilmeleri şarttır."*

3.4. The Systematization of Pan-Turkism and the Reflection to Ideas of Şevket Süreyya

Until the Balkan Wars, the Ottoman Turks were hesitant about Pan-Turkism. On the other hand, Turks coming from Russia were so courageous with the influence of the struggle about Pan-Turkism after the Russian Revolution of 1905. At the beginning of the 20th century, although the idea of Pan-Turkism began to be adopted by some intellectuals and spread among the people, it did not become a systematic movement. However, 1908 Young Turk Revolution encouraged the supporter of the Pan-Turkism and provided an opportunity for the foundation of associations and journals. Moreover, following 1908 the immigration of "Outside Turks" to the empire such as Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Hüseyinzade Ali, Yusuf Akçura, accelerated the foundation of the Turkish associations and the journals.

The first organization that brought together the 'Outside Turks' and intellectuals in the Empire on the ground of Turkish nationalism was *Türk Derneği*⁴¹ (The Association of Turks). The Association was established in December 1908 in Istanbul by the initiatives of Yusuf Akçura, Necip Asım (Yazıksız) (1861-1935) and Veled Çelebi (İzbudak) (1869-1950) and focused on conducting researches on the history, literature, language, and the social structure of the Turks. The association is important not only for being the first nationalist organization of the Young Turk period but also for bringing together the Turks inside and outside the Ottoman territory under the same roof (Akalın, 2011, p. 6; Arai, 1992, pp. 23-24; Georgeon, 1986, p. 57). The *Türk Derneği*, which was not a political community but rather a small elitist group of intellectuals, emphasized tacitly cultural Pan-Turkism, was

⁴¹ The publication organ of the Association was *Türk Derneği Dergisi* (The Journal of Association of Turks), but only seven issues appeared. İsmail Gaspıralı, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Hüseyinzade Ali, Ahmet Mithat, Yusuf Akçura, Necip Asım, Veled Çelebi, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, and Mehmet Fuad Köprülü were the writers of the Journal on which Turcology researches were done predominantly (Arai, 1992, pp. 47-48).

dissolved because some of the active members left Istanbul between 1911 and 1912. While the big part of the writings of the Ottoman Turks stayed on the issue of simplifying the language in order to provide the Ottoman national unity consisting of various ethnic groups, some writers from Russia put an emphasis on the unity of Turks from the past to present day (Landau, 1995, p. 40). The writers, who were unable to express their thoughts as they wished, started to write in the Journal of *Türk Yurdu* (The Homeland of the Turks).

It is possible to see the similar understanding in *Genç Kalemler*⁴² (Young Pens) Journal that began to be published on April 11, 1911 in Salonika. The Journal was initiated the *Yeni Lisan Hareketi* (New Language Movement) by the leadership of Ömer Seyfettin (1884-1920) Ali Canip (1884-1967), and Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) and focused on language issues such as proliferation and purification of the Turkish Language (Karabulut, 2012, p. 317; Arai, 1992, p. 64; Akalın, 2011, p. 8). According to Ömer Seyfettin, the only way to the well-being of the state is the national awakening and the New Language Movement constituted the language and literature sections of this process. He thought that the Turkish language which has lost its naturalness because of being influenced by Arabic, Persian and French for hundreds of years, so it should get rid of foreign language rules and should be combined with the spoken language (Sazyek, 2012, pp. 120-124; Orkun, 1944, p. 82).

While the main issue of the Journal was to use pure Turkish Language, the idea of Ottomanism idea was still dominant. By the late 1911, the poem "*Turan*"⁴³

⁴² The Journal was the continuation of the *Hüsni Şiir* published in Salonika. The name was changed in the 9th issue as *Genç Kalemler*.

⁴³ The stanza of the poem was recognized as a symbol of Turanism; "The Homeland of the Turks is neither Turkey to the Turks nor Turkistan. The Homeland is large and endless country: Turan! "*Vatan ne Türkiye'dir Türklere, ne Türkistan, Vatan büyük ve müebbed bir ülkedir: Turan!*"

written by Ziya Gökalp,⁴⁴ one of most important intellectual supporting Pan-Turkism among the Turks born in the Ottoman lands, was a sign of a conversion in the journal (Arai, 1992, p. 75; Orkun, 1944, p. 80). He believed that the language matter does not sufficient for the improvement of Turkism which has to emerge with whole ideas and programs. According to Gökalp, "The Poem was published at the right time. Because, the young spirits who saw that the Ottomanism and the Islamic Union would be dangerous for the country, were looking for a rescuer. The *Turan* Poem was the first spark of the ideal" (Gökalp, 1968, p. 13). Ziya Gökalp supported the idea of Turanism in many of his works; for instance, his poem *Turan* became a motto for Turanism. To him, the Turk is the name of a nation which is a community that has its own culture while Turkism means raising the Turkish nation (Gökalp, 1968, p. 15). According to Gökalp, there can only be one language and culture (*hars*) of Turks; the near ideal of Pan-Turkism is the dominance of the Turkish culture on the Turkish geography. In other words, the unity of Turks but unification was based on culture rather than politics at the time. The future ideal of Pan-Turkism is the *Turan*. He described the *Turan* as the unification of all branches of Turks such as Yakuts, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Tatars and Oghuzs in the language, literature and culture. To him, the word *Turan* must be devoted to the great Turkestan that contains all Turkish branches. The future ideal, contrary to the current or short-term ideal, is a dream that increases the spirits' enthusiasm, while its true reality is not questioned (Gökalp, 1968, pp. 22-25). Without the *Turan* ideals, Pan-Turkism would not spread rapidly, but he leaves the door open for the idea of *Turan* which in the future perhaps will be possible.

As it is seen, *Genç Kalemler* hosted a variety of intellectuals having different ideas but the sign that the Balkan War is about to start led to the withdrawal of the

⁴⁴ In fact, before Ziya Gökalp, the first *Turan* poem and the idea of "*Turkism, Islamism, Europeanism*" belonged to Hüseyinzade Ali and Ziya Gökalp was impressed from his ideas (Bayat, 1998, p. 32; Georgeon, 2008, p. 86).

Journal from the publication at the 27th issue and also resulted in the New Language Movement to an end. Thereby, the members of the movement needed to go to Istanbul and maintained their literary activities there (Sazyek, 2012, p. 129).

The Pan-Turkism ideal was brought to the political stage by *Milli Meşrutiyet Fırkası* (National Constitution Party) which was founded by Ahmet Ferit Tek (1876-1971) and Yusuf Akçura on July 5, 1912. The party was the first nationalist party that supported Turkism directly in the 2nd Constitutional period. The party could not enter the Assembly and not get involved in the election because the Assembly was dissolved by Sultan Mehmet V in August 1912 (Tunaya, 1988, p. 351). Mainly, the party opposed to Ottomanism and to the decentralization of policies. The publication organ of the party was the *İfham* (Declaration) Newspaper the editorial staff of which was Ahmet Ferit and the managing director of which was Mustafa Suphi (Aslan, 1997, p. 11). The party and its newspaper could not live for long due to both the attendance of Ahmet Ferit to the Balkan Wars and the circumstance under which the empire was at that time (Akder, 1971, p. 118). The party and the *İfham* Newspaper were reopened after the First World War with an initiative from Ahmet Ferit Tek once again.

The most durable and most important of all organizations of the Pan-Turkist ideology in the empire was *Türk Ocakları*⁴⁵ (The Turkish Hearts) which was established with the initiatives of the Military Medicine students in June 1911 and supported by the CUP. Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul), Yusuf Akçura, Ahmet Ferit (Tek), Hüseyinzade Ali, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Veled Çelebi, Müfide Ferit (Tek), Necib Asım, Yahya Kemal, Ziya Gökalp and Halide Edip Adıvar were the members of the Association (Baydar, 1968, p. 55). The main objectives of *Türk Ocakları* was to

⁴⁵The date of establishment of the association was in June 1911, and the official foundation date was in March 1912 (Baydar, 1968, p. 54).

encourage the feelings of Turkishness in the Turkish youth and then to make people fully aware of this issue, and create a sense of Turkishness in the new generation. In order to achieve these purposes, the association aimed to organize conferences, publish books and magazines, and to provide financial and moral support to the Turkish students to open the new schools if necessary (Arai, 1992, p. 114; Landau, 1995, p. 41; Akçura, 1978, p. 78). The *Türk Ocakları* abided by its founding principles and did not engage with politics in the era of the empire. It was the most comprehensive and long-running among the Pan-Turkist activities in the liberty atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Period, continued to operate in the new Republican period.

Besides the political party and *Türk Ocakları*, *Türk Yurdu*⁴⁶ was a journal that supported strong ideas on Pan-Turkism published for the first time in November 1911. The articles of *Türk Yurdu* contrary to the *Türk Derneği Dergisi* and *Genç Kalemler* did not mention the integrity of Ottoman Empire; the journal supported Pan-Turkism and continued in a progressive line (Arai, 1992, p. 85; Georgeon, 1986, p. 61). The basic principles of the journal were, firstly, the articles should be written in a manner that would be understood by as many Turkish people as possible, secondly, the Turkish national spirit would be developed and strengthened among the Ottoman Turks. Thirdly, the journal would not be a part of any political party in the empire, and lastly, the main idea of the journal was to support the benefits of the Turkish world in the international politics (Arai, 1992, p. 83; Akçura, 1978, pp. 213-214).

While in the early years of the *Türk Yurdu*⁴⁷, Yusuf Akçura⁴⁸ (one of the founders), Ethem Nejad, İsmail Gaspıralı, Parvus Efendi,⁴⁹ Abdullah Cevdet, Ahmet

⁴⁶ It was the publishing organ of *Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti* was published twice a week except between August 6, 1914 and December 10, 1914 (Arai, 1992, p. 85).

⁴⁷ It provided a literary supplement named *Halka Doğru* (Towards the People) intended to establish a connection between people from the rural and intellectuals (Georgeon, 1986, p. 61).

Ağaoğlu, Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul), Hüseyinzade Ali, Halide Edip, Abdülhak Hamid and Tekin Alp were the important writers; Ziya Gökalp, Celal Sahir, Necip Asım, Rıza Tevfik and Hamdullah Suphi were involved in the upcoming years (Gümüšoğlu, 2008, p. 269; Akçura, 1978, p. 212). The fact that the journal had a wide range of writers made it possible to discuss a variety of issues about Turks and Turkism. Besides issues of Pan-Turkism, the journal also gave an opportunity for intellectuals to discuss the reasons for underdevelopment, poverty and lack of solidarity in the Turkish world and to express their thoughts on development and modernization. Therefore, it became the intellectual center for the awakening of the Turkish nation in the relative autonomy atmosphere of the 2nd Constitutional Period. For instance, according to Ahmet Ağaoğlu, sectarian conflict, not being familiar to our tradition, language and history were the reasons for underdevelopment, poverty, and lack of solidarity. He insisted that the absence of national consciousness was the main reason and also the result of the current situation of the Turkish world (Gümüšoğlu, 2008, p. 270). Another example from one of the writers of the journal; Tekin Alp⁵⁰ (1883-1961) who gave importance to national unity rather than individualism suggested that Turks should use their historical potential to create the nation of Turk, and they should turn back to their self-identity (Landau, 1996, p. 36). According to Landau, Tekinalp was the first Ottoman patriot believing Pan-Turkism is a complete system of political, economic, social, and cultural reforms could solve the urgent problems of the empire and protect from increasing threats (Landau, 1996, p. 52).

⁴⁸ He was the writer of Journal from 1911 to 1917 and when he left İstanbul in September 1917, due to solving the Turkish war prisoners' problems in Russia, the administration of the Journal passed to the Central Committee of *Türk Ocakları* until its closure in August 1918 (Georgeon, 1986, p. 59).

⁴⁹ His real name was Alexandre Israel Helphand.

⁵⁰ He preferred to use different names such as M. Kohen, Moiz Kohen, Tekin, Tekinalp, Tekin Alp or M. Tekinalp (Landau, 1996, p. 24).

Upon Balkan Wars, Şevket Süreyya who tended to Pan-Turkism idea deepened his knowledge by reading *Türk Yurdu*. An article titled "*Üzümcü*" (The Grape Seller),⁵¹ which was published in the journal, left deep traces on him. He described the influence of the journal on his thoughts with following statements:

"According to this journal, there was an unknown but great Turkish nation. The history of this nation did not start from the Söğüt or Domaniç plateau, where Osman Gazi set up a tent. The nation's first existence was not only the people of three hundred tents. This Nation's homeland is even bigger than the Ottoman State's borders. This Nation's homeland was everywhere the Turkish nation lived. The homeland was divided. It was splintered. The nation was captive everywhere. But if becomes a unity in history, race, language, and wishes, it was said that one day it would be possible for them to be saved, to be developed, and to establish their own reign over their own land. Because according to this new view, the real is nation. Homeland was everywhere this nation lives. No matter which throne and under which flag this land had a name: Turan" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 47).⁵²

In parallel with the increase in his knowledge about Turkism, Şevket Süreyya began to redefine his worldview. He started to learn the Turkish history from the very beginning again. According what he learned, the history of the Turks dated back centuries beyond the Ottomans. Now, he thought that nation is everywhere where Turks live. These new thoughts swept him to the idea of *Turan*. Turanism, as one of

⁵¹ The story written by Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu on Turkish peasant and the Turkish military, the messages of the formation of Turkish unity and Turkish consciousness were desired.

⁵²"*Bu mecmuaya göre bilinmeyen, fakat büyük bir Türk milleti vardı. Bu milletin tarihi, Osman Gazi'nin çadır kurduğu Söğüt, yahut Domaniç yaylasından başlamıyordu. Millet'in ilk varlığı da üç yüz çadır halkından ibaret değildi. Bu Millet'in vatani, Osmanlı Devleti'nin sınırladığı yerlerden bile büyüktü. Onun vatani Türk milletinin yaşadığı her yerd. Gerçi bu vatan bölünmüştü. Parçalanmıştı. Millet her yerde esirdi. Fakat tarih, ırk, dil, dilek birliği olunca, onun bir gün kurtarılması, kalkınması ve kendi toprakları üstünde kendi saltanatını kurması mukadderdir deniyordu. Çünkü bu yeni görüşe göre, asıl olan millettir. Vatan bu milletin yaşadığı her yerd. Hangi taht ve hangi bayrak altında olursa olsun bu vatanın bir de adı vardı: Turan...*"

the most basic political divisions of radical Turkish nationalism, had emerged as Pan-Turkish tendency which aimed at the unification of Turks living in the Ottoman region and later Turkish geographies, especially the Turkish tongue communities living in the East Asia and Russian territories, under the claims of common race-blood, culture, and history (Özdoğan, 2008, p. 388).

After *Rüştiye*, Şevket Süreyya enrolled to the teacher training college in Edirne. Following the death of his mother and one of his brothers, his father lost his seeing ability and, therefore, fired from his job. His other brother served as an officer in the military. All these family events affected him badly, for a while, he lived with his father. Şevket Süreyya stated that this new ideal became a kind of solace that reduces the sadness he felt due to the collapse of his family and makes him hold on to life. Thus, he became an ardent advocator of the Turkism at school. When he gathered in front of the map on the wall of the classroom with his friends, this time, he was dreaming of a geography stretching beyond the Ottoman borders to the Caucasus, Turkistan, and reaching the borders of China. He thought that the recent past is a gloomy dream and the truth will be in the future (Aydemir, 2016, p. 51).

The defeat in the Balkan Wars paved way for unifying these young people around a new ideal quest, as Ernest Renan expresses common pain is more unifying than happiness and among national memories, mourning is more acceptable than victories because mourning imposes to duty, order for common efforts (Georgeon, 2008, p. 36). Renan's thought corresponds into Şevket Süreyya's feelings and he describes his emotions regarding the idea of Pan-Turkism, which he had encountered lately, as follows;

"This voice, even if just as a consolation of view, our generation was in need.

Because this voice was something that made us forget the misery of the

undignified soul, save us from the feeling of inferiority, despise the worries of everyday life and give us a hope and vitality. It was opening new, broad horizons. This was a hope of salvation... We were Turk before we became Ottoman. It is only the Ottoman motherland that gets lost... Everywhere the Turks live is the homeland of Turks no matter which flag they are under... This case; had shaken, but for a young man whose active life has not yet begun, a new ideal, a gate of salvation, a new Ergenekon⁵³" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 49).⁵⁴

The war that broke out in 1914 led him to go to these geographies where he had dreamed of going.

3.5. A Young Turkish Looking for a "Turan" in the Caucasus Front

When the teacher training college was on summer holidays, Şevket Süreyya spent time by working in villages nearby Edirne and Istanbul to make money. The news of the First World War came to Çerkesköy where he worked, with a banner written "There is Mobilization! Soldiers came with guns!". He met the mobilization news with a kind of curiosity related to his ideal. He depicts the geographical horizon and the effect it creates in itself as follows:

"(With the mobilization order) the countries which Caucasus, beyond of the Caspian Sea, Altai, reaches to the Altın Mountains began to flourish in my dream. Did not we always consider these lands as our own motherlands? Or,

⁵³"Ergenekon is a legendary country. A rebirth and salvation symbol. According to this myth, the Turkish tribe was defeated and disintegrated. Only two young men and two girls, behind a mountain, were sheltering in a rock of an empty country. Four hundred years were passing. But one day Bozkurt (A large Grey Wolf) seems. A shepherd sees the Bozkurt. He found out the place where the Bozkurt escapes. An ironworker made a fire and drilled the mountain. People got out there and reached their freedom" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 49).

⁵⁴"Bu ses, hatta sadece bir teselli görüşü bile olsa, bizim kuşağımız buna muhtaçtı. Çünkü bu ses bize mağlubiyetin haysiyet kırıcı ruh sefaletini unutturan, bizi aşağılık duygusundan kurtaran, günlük hayat kaygılarını hor gösteren ve kafalara ümit, hayat enginlikleri veren bir şeydi. Yeni, geniş ufuklar açıyordu. Bu bir kurtuluş ümidiydi.Biz Osmanlı olmadan önce Türk'tük. Kaybolmakta olan sadece Osmanlı vatanıdır... Türk'ün yaşadığı her yer, hangi bayrak altında olursa olsun Türk'ün vatanıdır Bu dava sarsılmış, fakat aktif hayata henüz başlamamış bir delikanlı için, yeni bir ülkü, bir kurtuluş kapısı, yeni bir Ergenekon'du."

was a period of new conquests beginning into a new direction? Or, was the big Turan's birth-bell now about to ring?" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 53).⁵⁵

Shortly after the beginning of the War, his brother was martyred in Sarıkamış region in the Caucasian front. Thereupon, Şevket Süreyya applied in order to be enrolled in the military service to fill the gap left by his brother on the Caucasus front. His appeals were rejected several times since he was underage to be a soldier, but he continued to apply insistently. Finally, at the end of the summer in 1915, his appeal was accepted although he was just 18 years old (Aydemir, 2016, p. 57). Now, Süreyya was both a soldier fighting at the frontlines for the defense of his homeland and also an Ottoman young man who was looking for *Turan* at the Caucasus front where he went with great hopes. His journey to the front would be a turning point in his life that would also shape his thoughts.

Şevket Süreyya came to Istanbul to be trained in a military camp for six months before joining to the front. Within the six months that he spent there, he was able to predict the progress of the war by the fact that ships carrying soldiers to the Çanakkale (Dardanelles) Front were going full, but it returned almost empty. On the last day of the training, the camp commander talked about the future waiting for them: "You will die, all of us will die". Şevket Süreyya states in his memoirs that he and his friends were already ready for this future because his generation had not learned to ask something for themselves. They had not had the conscious of possessing rights. Instead, they were grown up with duties and sacrifices to be done (Aydemir, 2016, p. 59).

⁵⁵"(Seferberlik ilanı ile) hayalimde Kafkaslar, Hazer Denizi ötelere, Altaylar, Altın Dağ'a varan ülkelere canlanmaya başladı. Hem buraları artık biz, hep bizim vatanımız saymıyor muyduk? Yoksa yeni birtakım istikametlerde şimdi gene yeni fetihler devri mi başlıyordu? Yoksa büyük Turan'ın doğum çanı artık çalmak üzere miydi?"

After accomplishing his training, Şevket Süreyya set out to the front. This journey and the days he spent at the front had a critical role in the development of his utopian consciousness; he recognized the homeland and people for whom he would construct his utopia. His journey began with a train trip to Ulukışla⁵⁶ Station and continued with a pedestrian trip which took weeks because there was no railway or motorway to reach the Caucasus Front. The landscape that he encountered at the very beginning of his journey created a disappointment on him. He had not seen any other place except the fertile lands of Edirne and Istanbul that had all grandeur of the Empire before this journey. However, this time he was watching the barren soils of the Anatolia from the window of the train. The scene he witnessed was very different from the ones that were being told in the journals he was reading. Anatolia was being described in the writings of the Turkish intellectuals as one of the most beautiful homelands of the Turks (Aydemir, 2016, p. 62). Upon arriving at the Ulukışla, he had to continue his journey to the front by walk so that he had the opportunity to recognize this geography and its people more closely. When the group he was walking together gave a break in villages in order to take a rest, he listened to the real stories of the Anatolia from the real residents of this geography. During the road, he came across with migrating families and villages where people were living underground or in the caves, absence, poverty, pain, and sadness. He stated in his memoirs that there was no carriageway connecting the cities to each other, no one had seen a motor vehicle and the electricity had not reached there yet. Moreover, there was no school, hospital or any sign representing the state authority except the gendarmerie that was collecting young people for the army. In the face of this reality he witnessed, he asked himself that "What did we give to the Anatolian soil that we

⁵⁶ Ulukışla was the nearest station to Caucasus and far from the front approximately 600 kilometers away. Moreover, this railway was the single line which was used to transfer all ammunitions from Istanbul to Syria, Mesopotamia and Caucasus Fronts (Çolak, 2014a, p. 94).

entered a thousand years ago?" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 66).⁵⁷ Nevertheless, he appreciated the loyalty of those people to their state. Even if these lands were neglected parts of the empire, the people unquestioningly depended on the state and were sending their husbands and sons to wars for years. On the way, Süreyya met migrated families from Erzurum, Ağrı and Bayburt, and the eastern parts of the empire; they were in great sadness and obscurity. He thought that the Turks needed to take back the provinces they lost and quit emigration. Otherwise, if the war is lost, our losses will not be only the empire, which had already been lost, but we will also lose our people (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 74-75).

After forty days of journey, Şevket Süreyya reached to the front and just in the night of the day he arrived there, he began to witness to the cruelty of the War. The war in the Caucasus front had begun with Russian attack at the beginning of November 1914, but the Ottoman Army had managed to stop them. A counter offensive attack under command of Enver Pasha who personally led the Third Army aimed to cut the Russian lines of communications from the Caucasus to their main base at Kars and to reoccupy Ardahan and Batum that had been lost by Berlin treaty in 1878. After a successful start, in January, the Ottomans were heavily defeated at Sarıkamış, on the road to Kars (Shaw & Shaw, 2002, p. 315; Zürcher, 2004, pp. 113-114). The Sarıkamış Operation, which ended at the beginning of January 1915, was one of the most disputed attacks in the First World War due to the planned time and military strategic techniques. It resulted in loss of almost 90.000 soldiers' lives because of the unplanned weather condition and tactics. Süreyya referred to the

⁵⁷ *"Biz bin yıl önce girdiğimiz şu Anadolu topraklarına ne verdik."*

Sarıkamış Operation as a "disaster" and said that "The last persecution of the decayed Empire to the Turkish nation" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 79).⁵⁸

Şevket Süreyya was seeing himself as one of the great-hearted warriors who came to war as the first step to reach the Turan, but he found himself as one of the "Unknown Soldiers" (*Meçhul asker*) belonging to the 28th division. According to Oktay, "Unknown Soldier" is an anonymous actor who fights against an anonymous enemy, it is a subject more than a human. He lives with an unknown identity at the time of peace. While the "Unknown soldier" loses his value as a human, he is meaningful in accounts and numbers in the battle and valuable in total rather than as an individual (Oktay, 2012, pp. 32-33). Şevket Süreyya stated that being an unknown soldier was already an indigenized conscious state by those soldiers. They were accustomed to be a component of society rather than being worthy of consideration as single individuals, therefore, they always needed a leader to follow. He thought that "the existence in the community, was probably the characteristics of the people of Anatolia" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 86).⁵⁹

Upon appointed to a reserve troop, Şevket Süreyya had more chance to recognize closely to people coming from very different parts of the Anatolia. During the training hours, he was gathering the soldiers of his company and making speeches in order to imbue them with nationhood consciousness. He was aware that there was no literate man except a master sergeant coming from Istanbul, but the scene he faced had revealed that the situation was much worse than his estimates. He got so astonished when he heard the answers given to his questions. Nobody correctly and precisely knew his own religion. While most of these soldiers did not know their prophet's name, some of them knew Enver Pasha as their prophet. Although Islam

⁵⁸ "Çöken imparatorluğun Türk milletine en son zulmü."

⁵⁹ "Topluluk içinde var oluş, Anadolu halkının herhalde öz bir vasfı idi."

was written in their identity card and disk, there were a number of different religions, sects, and beliefs among these soldiers. When he asked a number of people who had a mosque in their village, only a few had raised their hands. Moreover, when asked about the number of schools, no one raised his hand. Şevket Süreyya stated that a book he had read in those days explained this situation very clearly (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 86-89). The name of the book was "*Hurafetten Hakikate*" (From Superstition to Truth) which was written by Mehmet Şemseddin (Günaltay 1883-1961)⁶⁰ in 1916. The book widely explains old superstitions affecting and ruining the Anatolian people and how these superstitions had been increasing rapidly because of the ignorance of these people. According to Günaltay, when the Turks came from Middle Asia, they maintained their loyalty and commitment to the religion of Islam but, in today's Anatolia, a considerable part of the people who lived under a Muslim identity began to believe superstitions in the name of Islam. They came under the influence of people who called themselves "*Dede, Seyyid, Ağā*"⁶¹ and they gradually moved away from the true principles of Islam (Günaltay, 1997, pp. 208-215). In his book, Günaltay recommended that the Anatolia should necessarily get rid of these superstitions and reach prosperity via education which teaches national spirit and truths of Islam to the people so that the situation of the state will be able to be changed completely within 20-30 years. Moreover, he believed that if Anatolia is lost, there will be no way to achieve the Turan and wrote that "If the Anatolia is saved, Turkey is saved. And if Turkey is saved, the Turan is revived" (Günaltay, 1997, p. 226). According to Süreyya, the book was portraying the great part of the reality of Anatolia but not the

⁶⁰ He was an educator, intellectual, politician and writer in *Sebilürreşad*, *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, *İslam Mecmuası*, supported to idea of Turkism combined with Islamism. In the Republican period, he became deputy from Sivas and was the Prime Minister in 1949 until the Democrat Party came into power. Moreover, he was one of the founders of the Turkish Historical Institution and Head of the institution until the end of his life.

⁶¹ These names were some epithets used by people who had influence on people by claiming a religious authority.

whole. He tried to complete the remaining part on his own by asking himself who is the culprit; the people or the state? (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 90-91).

The answer to this question and the Anatolian reality would be the most essential pillars upon which he would construct his utopia. Şevket Süreyya, in all parts of his life, endeavored to educate people and found out realizable solutions for the development and prosperity of the state. He dedicated himself to teach people to be a part of a meaningful whole by gaining consciousness of nationhood, while, at the same time, how to become individuals having their own rights. To Süreyya, first of all, they should get rid of their unknown identities and have to know the fact that they have Turkish origin since he believed that the *Turan* would be accomplished by these people.

While the years of Şevket Süreyya in the front were passing by educating people and fighting, the course of the War changed suddenly in 1917. The riots that started in March in Russia caused the dethronement of Tsar Nicholas II and the establishment of the provisional government, which survived until the Bolshevik Revolution took place under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin in November 1917. The Bolshevik government decided to recede from the war in December and signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty⁶² between Russia and the Central Powers, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Ottoman Empire, on March 3, 1918 (Renouvin, 1982, pp. 403-411). Şevket Süreyya described how the war with the Russians ended on the Caucasus front as follows:

"A Russian soldier was coming on us with a loaf of bread in his lap, I saw that a handful salt was placed in the middle of this loaf of bread. The old soldier extended me bread with a soulful, gentle expression. This was a known Slavic

⁶² According to the treaty, Kars Ardahan and Batum were invaded by Russia in the 1877-78 War and were given back to the Ottoman Empire. These three cities were also known as Elviye-i Selâse (*Üç vilayet*).

tradition in the Balkans. It meant that peace and friendship. I ate the bread with dipping into the salt. The soldiers who saw this event screamed that raised the roof the war which has been continuing with the Tsar army for years was finished by chance in my front" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 97-98).⁶³

Şevket Süreyya thought that the war was ended officially but in fact, it was not. While the Russian Army was withdrawing from the battlefield, they gave up their guns and ammunition to the Armenian Association, so the Ottomans started to struggle with these groups. While the army was moving towards Kars, Şevket Süreyya had been through the danger of freezing once. When he reached Kars, this time he was wounded in the middle of a battle and was in danger of being captive to the enemy. He stated that it meant death because capturing was not a rule of this war. While he was receiving treatment at the hospital, he had forgotten the damage caused by the war and had found the excitement of the young person in his soul who had brought him to this geography in the name of *Turan* ideal again. He was finding solace in these thoughts: "Now, there was South Caucasian provinces ahead of us; Georgia, Armenia, and further Azerbaijani!...Namely, the Caspian Sea and finally Turan... " (Aydemir, 1993c, p. 374).⁶⁴

After a while, the Ottoman Army reached the border of Georgia and Armenia. Following the withdrawal of Soviet Russia from the Caucasus⁶⁵ and gave back to Kars, Ardahan, and Batum, the Ottoman State wanted to go one step further in the Caucasus policy and gave attention to the independence of Muslims beyond Batum.

⁶³"Bir Rus askeri kucağında bir ekmeğin somunu ile bize yaklaşıyordu, bu somunun ortasında bir avuç tuz yerleştirilmiş olduğunu gördüm. Yaşlı asker duygulu, gülümser bir ifade ile ekmeği bana uzattı. Bu Balkanlar'da bilinen bir Slav adeti idi. Sulh ve dostluk demektir. Ekmeği tuza batırarak yedim. Bu hareketimizi gören askerler dağları inleyen çığlıklar ile karşıladılar. Çar ordusu ile yıllardan beri süren harp, o gün, orada ve tesadüfen benim cephemde bitti."

⁶⁴"Şimdi önümüzde, Güney Kafkas illeri vardı: Gürcistan, Ermenistan ve daha uzakta Azerbaycan!.. Yani, Hazar Denizi ve nihayet Turan..."

However, this decision fuelled the tension of the two allies states, the Ottoman Empire and Germany, because of the competing interests in these areas (Çolak, 2014b, p. 31). Pan-Turkism, which Germany supported in order to gain the help of Ottomans in the war, was started to be seen as a threat and Germans worried about the Ottoman Army's advances in the Caucasus. Germany was interested in the Caucasus because of economic reasons -Baku oils, and underground sources of Georgia- therefore, for them, the Ottoman State should not have passed beyond the three provinces which regained in the Brest-Litovsk (Çolak, 2014b, p. 207). On the contrary to the German side, for the CUP, in particular, Enver Pasha, Caucasus was on the way to Turkestan, thus the area had in a special position for the idea of Turanism. What is more, Enver Pasha wished to recover his reputation which he lost in the Sarıkamış Operation by capturing these lands.

Şevket Süreyya expressed the excitement of proceeding into the land of Caucasus with those words: "We were in the door of Turan. Now, what really mattered was this. When we stepped into this door, we were going to have a new era in our history. When we set foot in the great Turan, at the back, the Anatolian truth would find the support" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 108).⁶⁶ To reach his utopia, he left the hospital despite the fact that his treatment had not been completed yet so as to attend the troops entering the Caucasus geography. After arriving to his troop, he bought a dress from the Turks living there and began to get around the villages and announced the coming of *Turan* to the villagers with those words: "We all Turks and brothers, our country is the same. The name is Turan.... Now, these countries will be rescued

⁶⁶"Artık Turan'ın kapısında bulunuyorduk. Şimdi aslolan buydu. Bu kapıdan adımımızı atınca, tarihimizde yeni bir devir açılacak diyorduk. Biz, büyük Turan toprağına ayak basınca, arkamızda Anadolu hakikati dayanağımlı bulacaktı."

one by one. New Turkish states will be born in the saved countries. Then, they will unite" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 115).⁶⁷

The Ottoman Army occupied Baku on October 15, 1918 and progressed towards the north to Dagestan. However, Şevket Süreyya's great hopes for Turan were completely destroyed with the Enver Pasha's ceasefire order on November 1918. The World War I finished for the Ottoman Empire with the Mondros Armistice Agreement on October 30, 1918. Süreyya expressed his disappointment and also hopes for these lands with those words: "We were retreating while leaving behind not only the lands we saved, but also the dreams that we imagined... But after I fulfilled the order of the army, all the official recordings were made, I had decided to come back to Caucasus, these lands" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 118-119).⁶⁸

3.6. Aydemir: A Volunteer Educator on the Way to Turan

When Şevket Süreyya came to Istanbul, he met with an occupied city. Thereupon, he passed to Edirne, but this city was also under control of the Italians. Süreyya set up some resistance organizations *Türk İttihadı* (Unity of Turks), and *İslam İttihadı* (Unity of Islam) with his friends who served a reserve officer in the army like him. They worked in coordination with *Trakya-Paşaeli Cemiyeti* (Trakya-Paşaeli Community) which was one of the resistance groups calling themselves The Union for the Defence of Law (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti*) formed in eastern Thrace and Anatolia against enemy invasion (Ahmad, 2003a, p. 49). These resistance groups which Süreyya involved would unite under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal and would carry out a national struggle against enemy invasion. However, Şevket Süreyya

⁶⁷"Biz hepimiz Türk'üz ve kardeşiz, memleketimiz ise birdir. Adı:Turan... Şimdi bu ülkeler birer birer kurtulacaktır. Kurtulan yurtlarda yeni Türk devletleri doğacaktır. Sonra bunlar birleşecektir."

⁶⁸"Yalnız kurtardığımız toprakları değil, kurduğumuz hayalleri de geride bırakarak çekiliyorduk... fakat ben ordunun emrini yerine getirdikten sonra, her türlü resmi kayıtları atlattıktan sonra, Kafkasya'ya, bu topraklara dönme kararımı vermiştim."

changed the course of his life in a different direction. While in Edirne, he graduated from the teacher training college which he discontinued on account of attending to the war. News that Azerbaijan government requested educators from Istanbul government created an opportunity for Süreyya to reach his *Turan* ideal. In his memoirs, he stated that he was in a dilemma of staying in Turkey and take part in the national struggle in order to save the country from the enemy invasion or going to Azerbaijan so as to establish Turan there.

He explained the reason why he preferred to go to Azerbaijan as the lands where he went was also the lands of Turkey, so he thought there was a necessity of working and settling there. Besides, there were not enough people to fight in the Caucasian lands, whereas many young people like him could struggle against the enemies in Anatolia. After all, the Turkish nation was a warrior nation (Aydemir, 2016, p. 122). It can be thought that Şevket Süreyya whose all life passed among the Wars and had great pains due to the wars might be tired of fighting; therefore he can have chosen to go to the abroad. However, a more likely reason is that he wanted to pursue his ideal. He had always been a utopian seeking an ideal and adhered strictly whenever he found the one. This feeling was very strong in Süreyya and his activities in Azerbaijan revealed this very clearly.

Şevket Süreyya settled to Azerbaijan with a new identity. When he applied to the ministry of education to be assigned as an educator, he introduced himself as Aydemir. He inspired from the novel of Müfide Ferit Tek (1892-1971)⁶⁹ titled *Aydemir*, he had read in the battlefield. He stated in his memoirs that "After that day

⁶⁹ Müfide Ferit Tek was one of the most important female writers of the Turkish literature. Her first novel, *Aydemir*, was written in 1918 when she was in Sinop where her husband, Ahmet Ferit (Tek), was in exile at the time. The book which evoked strong nationalist emotions was the first Turkish novel after "*Yeni Turan*" (New Turan) which is one of the novel of Halide Edip (Adıvar). Müfide Ferit was known as an "Author of *Aydemir*" (*Aydemir müellifi*) in the newspaper and journals of the time (Demircioğlu, 1998, pp. 8, 41). Moreover, Ziya Gökalp mentioned that Müfide Ferit contributed to the idea of Turkism by writings, books, and giving conferences in Paris (Gökalp, 1968, p. 14).

my name became Aydemir. I was in Turan now and I was an Aydemir too" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 124).⁷⁰

The Novel "*Aydemir*" tells the story of a hero named *Aydemir* or Demir who goes to Turkestan, at the expense of leaving his lover, in order to organize the Turks living in Tsarist Russia on the basis of a "national identity". *Aydemir* is a character travelling to villages, helping people living, educating the illiterate and instilling people with Turkishness consciousness there. Over the time, he is loved by all people and begins to be seen as a preterhuman by the people of Turkestan (Tek, 2002, pp. 40-66). At the end of the novel, *Aydemir* sacrifices himself in order to save a family and is executed by hanging. The novel deeply influenced Şevket Süreyya who adopted "Aydemir" as a nickname and then accepted as a surname. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir⁷¹ described how the novel affected him with these words:

"The book which was written by a woman fascinated me the day I first read. *Aydemir* was a half-prophet, a half-mystic character. But this book was written in such a time and I read it in such a place and such a condition that it came to me as an inspiration from the God. I was not being able to leave it in the front. The book took me under its wings and carried me to a totally different universe. At that time, I was clarified all kinds of depression. While I was reading the book, sometimes I closed my eyes; I saw myself in the deserts, roads, villages, towns of Turan giving out hopes and solace to the people around me (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 110-111).⁷²

⁷⁰ "İşte o günden sonra benim adım Aydemir oldu. Artık Turan'daydım ve ben de bir Aydemir'dim..."

⁷¹ Until this part of the thesis, the name Şevket Süreyya or Süreyya was used. From this part and on, the name "Aydemir" will be used instead of them.

⁷²"Bir kadının kaleminden çıkan kitap daha beni daha ilk okuduğum gün büyüledi. *Aydemir*, yarı peygamber, yarı meczup bir tipti. Fakat bu kitap öyle bir zamanda yazılmıştı ve ben onu, öyle bir yerde, öyle şartlar içinde okumuştum ki, o bana derhal Hakkın bir ilhamı gibi geldi. Onu cephede elinden bırakamıyordum. Kitap beni kanatlarına alır, başka bir aleme sürüklerdi. O zaman her türlü ruh kırıklıklarından sıyrılırdım. Bu kitabı okurken bazen gözlerimi kapardım. Kendimi Turan'ın

Aydemir attributed himself to a missionary role that resembles the *Aydemir* character in the novel. To that end, he asked to be assigned to a provincial city instead of staying in Baku which was the most prosperous city in the country. He was assigned to Nuha city located in the northern part of Azerbaijan. He gave his first speech to the people in Nuha called out them with these words: "We are Turks first, then, we are all Muslim. We are all both Turks and our homeland is the same" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 124).⁷³ Subsequently, he read the famous poem of Ziya Gökalp: "The Homeland is neither Turkey to the Turks nor the Turkistan. The Homeland is a large and endless country: Turan!" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 125-126).⁷⁴

Aydemir who started to stay in an apartment consisting of two rooms next to the school expresses that the door of the house stood invariably open at night and day for everyone, just as the hero of the novel: *Aydemir* (Aydemir, 2016, p. 126). He kept this enthusiasm for a long time, had great efforts in order to get the people of Nuha to acquire Turkish nationalism consciousness. Besides being a teacher, he pretended as if he was a nationalist missionary giving sermons at different mosques in Friday prayers. Furthermore, he was the pioneer in the volunteer resistance group formed to fight against Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh region. However, as the time passed by, he opened to questioning his ideas about Turanism:

"... slowly, but every day I understand a bit better that, in order to realize the dream we have been living in our minds for years, many components are lacking. How beautiful and charming was the great Turan as an illusion, an imagination structure, a feeling? When it was handled as a construction and a

çöllerinde, yollarında, köylerinde, kasabalarında, etrafıma koşan insanlara ümit ve teselli dağıtırken görürdüm."

⁷³"Biz evvela Türk'üz, sonra Müslümanız. Hepimiz hem Türk'üz, hem de hepimizin vatanı birdir."

⁷⁴"Vatan ne Türkiye'dir Türklere, ne de Türkistan, Vatan, büyük ve müebbet bir ülkedir: Turan!"

foundation that needed to realize; lack and the inadequacy of homogeneity were immediately being demonstrated itself" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 131).⁷⁵

In that regard, Aydemir made emphasis of the religious schism in the society. Although they were all Muslims, some people saw themselves as Shiite, some as Sunnis and they were separated from each other. In addition to that, the influence of the Russia was still so strong that the education was given in the school by Russian teachers in Russian. Aydemir made great efforts to move the Russian teachers away from the school and to make the education in the Turkish language. However, he saw these problems as an obstacle to constitute the unity of Turks were not issues that he could handle on his own. In order to describe the influence of Russia on Azerbaijan, he stated that the young intellectuals of Azerbaijan had set up their first national state over a non-national ground (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 127-130). Besides this, one of the other factors that greatly influenced his thinking was the lack of a long-term explanation of the ideology of Turan and lack of sufficient instructive works. He stated that only the work of Tekin Alp, titled Turan, had considerable ideas on this issue but whenever he read the book in detail, he encountered just an imagined country: "In Turan, I was looking for Turan and could not able to find it" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 131-132).⁷⁶ When he was in the battlefront, he had been reading Ziya Gökalp's works and his ideas on Turanism had been rational for him in those times. On the other hand, after he spent time in the region with the native people and closely acquainted with them, he began to realize the ideas he held on tightly were unreal and imaginary. He described the Turks living in the Caucasus as the masses that did not

⁷⁵"...yavaş yavaş fakat her gün biraz daha iyi anlıyordum ki, kafamızda yıllardan beri yaşattığımız hayal yapısının gerçekleşebilmesi için, birçok unsurları eksiktir. Büyük Turan, bir ilüzyon, bir hayal yapısı, bir his manzumesi olarak ne kadar güzel, ne kadar çekiciydi? Fakat gerçekleştirilmesi gereken bir inşa ve kuruluş davası olarak ele alındığı zaman, eksikliği ve bağdaşıklık yetersizliği kendini derhal gösteriyordu."

⁷⁶"Turan'da, Turan'ı arıyor ve bulamıyordum."

know what to do. Furthermore, he understood that they had different languages, religion, and sectarian factions and that they had different purposes in their life rather than unity of Turks. A question began to occupy his mind: "Or, was Turan solely a spiritual ideal, rather than a material building case? Was it the name of an imaginary ideal that could never be reached? For example, a Red Apple!" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 133).⁷⁷

What is the "*Kızılelma*" (Red Apple) Aydemir mentioned about? It is one of the most famous conceptions of Turkish nationalism, but it is not possible to say that there is a common and concrete equivalent of it. Basically, *Kızılelma* is a symbol found in the world of ideas rather than a constant and single fact. According to Ziya Gökalp,⁷⁸ *Kızılelma* is neither in India nor in China, it is in the spirit of Turks. In the work of Ziya Gökalp, *Kızılelma* is the ideal of Turan, a place where Turks want to reach throughout the history. He pointed out that the unification of the Turkish nation under the ideal of "*Kızılelma*" was a way of salvation, and the unity of Turks was the ultimate goal in his work (Gökalp, 1976, p. 21).

Ömer Seyfettin, who was another thinker, wrote a story titled "*Kızılelma Neresi?*"⁷⁹ (Where is Red Apple?) in 1917. The story passes in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566). He tries to find an answer to the question "where is *Kızılelma*?". The word, *Kızılelma*, is used by the soldiers and subjects of the empire during the military expedition at that time. The Sultan does not get a satisfactory answer from the senior executive and he thought that "*Kızılelma* is a reality which is beyond nature, knowledge, wisdom" (Seyfettin, 1998, p. 97). At the end of the story, the Sultan decides to ask three soldiers "*where is Kızılelma*", and they all give the

⁷⁷"Yoksa Turan maddi bir inşa davası değil de, yalnız manevi bir ülkü müydü? Hiçbir zaman ulaşılamayacak hayali bir ülkünün adı mıydı? Örneğin bir *Kızılelma*!...."

⁷⁸"*Kızılelma*" was his first poetry book which was published in the *Türk Yurdu* in 1914 (Gökalp, 1976, p. 131).

⁷⁹The story was published in *Yeni Mecmua* in 1917, Volume 1, Number 21.

same answer "Kızıl elma is the place where our Sultan will take us, so only the Sultan knows where it is" (Seyfettin, 1998, pp. 99-100).

While in Ziya Gökalp's work the ideal of *Kızıl elma* is combined with idea Turan; in the story of Ömer Seyfettin, the *Kızıl elma* is in anywhere that the Sultan would lead the Turks. In both literary works, the *Kızıl elma* is a symbol which is used to unite the Turks and to bring them success. Aydemir who went to Azerbaijan with great passion to realize the idea of Turan was frustrated after a while as he understood that it was not possible to ever realize the Turan;

"The ideal of Turan was driving force of our youth age. But this ideal; since neither the activist nor the leader who determines the direction to find it, the action of Turan remained rather as an aspiration, a dream, and an excitement. And I think that it is found the most inclusive statement in the symbol of *Kızıl elma* (Red Apple), in a word, an ambiguity..." (Aydemir, 2016, p. 120).⁸⁰

3.7. Conclusion

To make remembered, the core difference between utopia and ideology in sense of Manheim is the capacity of revealing a realizable program, and, in parallel, the utopian is the person who seeks for realizable ideals. As tried to be revealed also in the previous chapter, Aydemir was a young person with a tendency to pursue high ideals and to dedicate him to an ideal when he thought he found it. After Ottomanism, Pan-Turkism became one of the ideological stops of Aydemir in search of his utopia. At first, Pan-Turkism was seen as a much more realizable ideal to him. On the other hand, after a while, he began to question the capacity of a realizable future of this ideal as well. In the face of the political, social and economic realities he witnessed,

⁸⁰"Turan ülküsü; gençlik yıllarımızın itici gücüydü. Ama bu ülkü; ne eylemci, ne de yön tayin edici önderini bulamadığı için, Turan davası, daha ziyade, bir özlem, hayal ve heyecan kaynağı olarak kaldı. Ve sanıyorum ki, en kapsayıcı ifadesini, Kızıl elma sembolünde, yani bir belirsizlikte buldu..."

he came to the conclusion that Pan-Turkism could not be a realizable goal. However, he adopted many of the principles of this ideal and continued to embrace throughout his life.

The first reality to reveal this situation in terms of Aydemir was the poverty and the underdevelopment of the Anatolian geography that he recognized in years of World War I and the ignorance that dominated the life of the people of this geography. The second one was that the situation was not so different in the Caucasian countries which lived under Tsarist Russian hegemony for long years. He came to a conclusion that there were much more critical issues to be handled before running after the ideal of *Turan*. Instead of a romanticized *Kızılelma* ideal, he preferred to focus on more basic issues. On the other hand, it should be indicated that he did not fall far away from the path of Turkish intellectuals such as İsmail Gaspıralı. Aydemir believed that the first step should be modernization and development which could be achieved only by education. When he wrote a book on education in the further years of his life, he put Gaspıralı's famous motto of "Union in Language, Idea and at Work" to the prologue of his book. Not Turanism, but Turkish nationalism remained as one of the core principles of his character had a critical role in the development of his utopian consciousness.

4. THE THIRD IDEOLOGICAL STOP: COMMUNISM

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with Aydemir's adoption of communism thought which was the last ideological stop before finding his utopia. His "adventure" of communism started in Baku in 1920, continued in Moscow and ended in Istanbul in 1927. For him, it was not easy to embrace the communist thoughts he was not familiar with ever before. He tried to get accustomed himself to the discourses of the ideology by searching something similar to his belief and thoughts when he was a commissioner in the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku. Within the framework of the study, the Congress is preponderant in that this congress shaped the thoughts of Aydemir regarding communism. Additionally, it reflected the attitudes of the Soviet Union towards Turkey in the process of National struggle. In a similar vein, communism understanding of Turkish decision-makers and their approaches to communist activities will be discussed in this section. The chapter also includes his education in KUTV and his first teaching experiences in Istanbul along with becoming an author in *Aydınlık* which was the communist publication organ. In addition to all, his time in prison was a milestone in his thoughts during which he abandoned communist ideas and decided to disengage with *TKP* and embrace Kemalism. In this context, starting with the Congress, the reasons that led Aydemir to adopt communism as an ideal, how he interpreted this thought, why or to what extent he abandoned this idea, what kind of contributions communism made on the development his utopian consciousness will be tried to be addressed.

4.2. A Young Man is in Limbo

When Aydemir realized that Pan-Turkism was not an ideal which is able to be realized in Azerbaijan that he came with great enthusiasm, he started to be interested in communism which was completely different from the ideas and concepts he was familiar with. Those days Azerbaijan came under the influence of the Soviet Union and he personally witnessed the occupation of Nuha by the members of the Cheka, Soviet Union Secret Police Organization, on April 30, 1920 (Quliyev, 2010). He stated in his memoirs that the invasion of the city dragged people into anxiety for their future. An uncertainty dominated the atmosphere of the city in a way that no one could fully understand the developments and did not know what would happen in the future. Similarly, Aydemir also began to question the reasons for his presence there and his future. He had already been questioning the realizability of the Turan ideal and the Soviet invasion made it clear for him that uniting Turkish nations would not be possible anymore. He expressed his feelings with these words: "Azerbaijan was no longer yesterday's Azerbaijan. The way to the other Turkish nations is closed for us now. Some anxious feelings started to appear deep inside me. I was thinking what kind of duties left that I need to do around here" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 149).⁸¹

Aydemir felt as if he was stuck in limbo. On the one hand, he had realized these incidents were the signs that he was in a turning point in his life, on the other hand, he did not know what to do under these circumstances and how to direct his life.. The events he witnessed were not promising and his first impressions of communism, in a sense, were worrisome. Valuable items of the people such as household goods, carpets, and jewelry were collected by trucks and moved to the building of the Revolutionary Committee in the name of the war against the

⁸¹"Azerbaycan artık dünkü Azerbaycan değildi. Diğer Türk ülkelerinin yolları da, bizim için, artık kesilmişti. İçimde birtakım kaygılı duygular belirmeye başlamıştı. Buralarda yapacak artık ne işim kalmıştır, diye düşünüyordum."

bourgeoisie. People were judged in the courts of revolution (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 151-154). What is more, these things were being done in the name of discourses, arguments that made no sense to him. It can be said that this situation took him to depression. He stated in his memoirs that when he came across with a Red Army soldier in the first days of the invasion, he answered to the soldier's question "Where are you going" in a melancholic mood as "I do not know comrade, I do not know where I am going" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 151).⁸²

Aydemir tried to make sense of the developments by attending the meetings. One thing that attracted him in these meetings was the anti-imperialist discourses of the revolution. He stated in his memoirs that the class struggle and dictatorship of proletariat did not mean anything to him, but he fully agreed with the discourses that Tsarist Russia had been a despot. Moreover, the history was full of wars due to the ambitious politics of European and American politicians, the oppressed nations of Eastern countries were being exploited and massacred by the Western powers. For him, these expressions were an exit from the limbo. He stated that the grasping of these events had exceeded of his imagination and his horizon of understanding, but in order not to lose his hope and not to lose himself he tried to put the events in order calmly (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 155-156). In that regard, he tried to persuade himself by identifying the enthusiastic slogans of the revolution with himself. It can be said that he did not have too much difficulty to establish persuasive patterns with his life. To him, after years of wars, there was nothing bigger than a delusion and disappointment in the hands of the people who had fought on the front like him. Besides, at that time, Turkey's situation under the occupation by the West was also a good example for the legitimization of these anti-imperialist slogans of the revolution. On the other hand, it

⁸²"*Bilmiyorum yoldaş, nereye gittiğimi bilmiyorum*".

should be pointed out that the communism is not comprised of just anti-imperialist discourses and the core logic of it was so unfamiliar to him. Therefore, he needed to form a supreme concept under which he could legitimize these thoughts. His supreme concept became humanity:

"It was mentioning in all speeches, the meetings from the class struggle and the party politics. ...I did not understand anything from these speeches. ...The thing to be told is probably something else? The real matter is neither a class nor a party. The main thing is humanity! Yes humanity!... I already found it. Yes, what is needed now is humanity" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 156).⁸³

After making up his mind that the real matter is humanity, he began to interrogate the ideals he had embraced until that time. Humanity had been neglected ideal both in Ottomanism and in Turanism. From the new perspective of him, Ottomanism was a befooling that trailed many people like him into the war for the sake of dynasty. As for Turanism for which he went to distant lands was another type of hegemony which was based on the ascendancy of "the superior nation" over other nations. To him, the idea of ascendancy and privilege brought along the competition, conflict and so the wars (Aydemir, 2016, p. 157). However, communism was the ideal of humanity which was promising living of people together in prosperity and equality:

"But now ... the era of humanity is rising! The thrones, the crowns, and all the oppressors will be destroyed! All religions will be single and people will be together. The new religion, new language, new art, new civilization, new prosperous will be born. In the new world that all people are equal, all the

⁸³"Bütün nutuklarda, mitinglerde, sınıfların kavgasından, parti politikasından bahsediliyordu. ...Ben bu nutuklardan bir şey anlamıyordum. ...Anlatılmak istenen şey herhalde başka? Aslolan ne sınıf, ne de partidir. Aslolan insaniyet! Evet insaniyet!... İşte şimdi buldum. Evet, şimdi kurulmak istenen şey, insaniyettir!..."

nations will live free and together without war, revolution, and privilege!" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 157).⁸⁴

It can be thought that Aydemir's legitimization of communism in his mind was such a conceptualization that might have been a reflection of being combat fatigue. He had struggled for many years in the battlefields for the sake of his ideal but, in the end, he was disappointed. However, he was also aware that the communist revolution was not happening in a peaceful way because he witnessed that the many residents of the city were relegated or killed. Besides, the nationalist and religious leaders were in prison and people were being interrogated by the revolutionary committee. He legitimized these incidents himself as the reimbursement of the old sins. Ultimately, to him, every revolution brought the new order and new civilization with blood, so in order to reach the supreme goal, that is the humanity, the war was a necessity that should be faced up (Aydemir, 2016, p. 158).

Actually, this logic comprises a dilemma in itself. There is an ambiguity in his mind rather than a combat fatigue. He also expressed that he was in a quest but did not have a concrete reason to adopt communism:

"What a beautiful dream this was! This dream was, of course, nonsense. But my thoughts seemed appealing to me. ...This was, of course, a dream. ...Certainly was a befooling. The thing which brings me to this befooling; the events and developments that I am living I assume different meanings that it does not in reality, in fact. ...I believed the mirage that arose from my soul. I was in need of " (Aydemir, 2016, p. 158).⁸⁵

⁸⁴"Halbuki şimdi?... İşte artık insaniyet devri doğuyor! Tahtlar, taçlar ve bütün zalimler yıkılacak! Bütün dinler bir ve bütün insanlar beraber olacak. Yeni din, yeni dil, yeni sanat, yeni medeniyet, yeni mamureler doğacak. Bütün insanların eşit, bütün milletlerin hür ve beraber yaşayacakları harpsiz, ihtilalsiz, imtiyazsız yeni bir alem!..."

⁸⁵"Bu ne güzel bir rüyaydı? Bu rüya elbette ki saçmaydı. Ama düşündüklerim bana çekici görünüyordu.... Bu elbette ki bir hayaldi. Elbette ki bir aldaniştı. Bu aldanişa beni sürükleyen şey,

Unlike Ottomanism and Turanism, Communism was an ideal which should be discovered first for Aydemir. In that regard, the anti-imperialist notion of the revolution became his first hold because wars that took long years and military defeats against the West left remarkable traces in his mind. He stated that his generation was enemy to the West and resentful to the East; in their eyes, the West was the enemy of their existence, homeland, and religion. Therefore, the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku became his first station in the way of discovering communism. And, wake up thoughts of the East and withdrawal of the foreigners from the lands of Asia were the initial motivations guiding him (Aydemir, 2016, p. 158).

4.3. A Delegate in the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku

Gathering the Eastern people together and making an agreement under a common political union were seen as the most important way of fighting Western imperialism by Soviet Russia. The First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku (*Bakü Birinci Doğu Halkları Kurultayı*, in short-Baku Congress,) was held between 1st and 7th of September 1920 as the first serious step to realize these purposes. The congress was attended by a total of 1891 delegates from different countries and the Turks were the most crowded group with 235 delegates (Aslan, 2007, p. 45).

In the first session of the Conference, Zinoviev, Head of the Congress, explained the aim of the Congress as establishing cooperation among the peoples of the East who had never had the chance to come together and discuss all issues disturbing them. Having explained the purposes, Zinoviev continued to his speech by describing the task of the Congress was to awaken the millions of peasants and to

içinde yaşadığım olaylara, gelişmelere, onlarda olmayan manaları yakıştırmamdı. ...onun ruhumda uyandırdığı seraba ben inanıyordum. Çünkü ona muhtaçtım..."

explain them the necessities of alliance with the whole organized working classes of the world (Pearce, 1977, pp. 23-28). At the Congress, during which the reasons and the purposes of the allied powers in the First World War were discussed at length, Radek, secretary of Zinoviev, stated that "The world war of 1914 that was fought in order to decide which group, the Anglo-French one or the German one, should rule the world, should be in a position to enslave hundreds of millions of workers and peasants of the peoples of Asia" (Pearce, 1977, p. 41). Both authorized names of the Comintern⁸⁶ concluded that making an alliance would rescue them from the British and the French who had oppressed them for decades.

Being elected as a delegate to the Congress was the reason that brought Aydemir to Baku. His first impressions about the city were that Baku was like one of the big multi-colored cities of the Asia in the Medieval Period in the Congress days. It was hosting Arabs, Indians, Iranians, Afghans, Mongols, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Iranian Kurds and more people from the tribes and nations. Besides, "No one was asking to anybody: what is your language? Which religion do you belong to? But, in the air, a wind was blowing as though there was a common language. Everyone was trying to smile each other" (Aydemir, 1993c, p. 573; Aydemir, 2016, p. 160).⁸⁷ All of these people were gathered to save their nations from the Western domination. He thought that he was in the right place:

"In every corner, everywhere, the salvation of enslaved, oppressed nations was being declared... It means that the East was waking up... This idea seemed more brilliant to me than any other things that I have heard before such as

⁸⁶ World Congress of the Communist International which was described as the 3rd International and adopted the name of Communist International (in short Comintern) in the first Congress was held between 2nd and 6th March 1919 in Moscow. The 3rd International was founded in the 1st Congress (Aslan, 1997, p. 73).

⁸⁷ "*Kimse kimsenin ne dilini, ne dinini soruyordu. Ama havada gene de, müşterek bir dil varmış gibi bir rüzgâr esiyordu. Herkes birbirine gülümsemeye çalışıyordu...*"

class conflict, party politics, proletarian dictatorship. Now, everything was understood. Here, the idea that I hold on..." (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 160-161).⁸⁸

The congress was also of great importance for Turkey where the national struggle required warfare on multiple fronts because different regions of the country had been invaded by allied powers. Therefore, making the alliance with the Soviet Russia Government and getting assistance from them were regarded by the leaders of the national struggle as necessary in order to cope with this situation. From the standpoint of Soviet Russia, towards the summer of 1920, it was time for the Bolsheviks to fully dominate the situation to export the revolution to the outside world as well. The situation and future of Turkey had a special place in their policies and they carefully followed the events of the country where western capitalist powers tried to take control (Aslan, 2007, p. 23). However, Turkey desired to establish this cooperation without getting under influence of Bolshevism. In the secret session of Grand National Assembly (GNA) on May 29, 1920, Mustafa Kemal, President of the GNA, explained the policy of Turkey with those words:

"...we are not uninterested in the Bolshevism and Bolshevik movement, we gain advantages from it. ...if we do not take our power into consideration and rely upon the external forces and if the help does not come, we are disappointed. Therefore, firstly, we attach importance to our power. But paying attention to affluence of the number of our enemies, we need additional forces to our potential. By this means, we will get the help that possibly comes from the East... However, at this juncture, the two point of view should be distinguished from each other. One of them is being a Bolshevik, the other one

⁸⁸"Her köşede, her yerde esir, mazlum milletlerin kurtuluşu ilan olunuyordu... Demek ki Şark, uykusundan uyanıyordu... Artık her millet zalimlerini, istilacılarını başından atacaktı. Bu iş bana, o güne kadar dinlediğim, şu sınıfların kavgası, parti politikası, proleterya diktatörlüğü gibi şeylerden daha aydınlık görünüyordu. İşte şimdi her şey anlaşıldı. İşte benim bağlanacağım dava..."

is being an alliance with Russian Bolshevism. We, Executive Committee, are mentioning about alliance with the Russian Bolshevism; not about being Bolshevik. Being a Bolshevik is a completely different issue. We do not need to be busy with this matter. But the issue of alliance is followed with seriousness and importance, and we hope that we will succeed" (1985, pp. 47-48).⁸⁹

It is obvious that the main aim of the GNA was to acquire monetary and military aids and the government was far away from the ideology of Bolshevism and avoided its effects on the country. Following the establishment of the GNA, in the first meeting, the relations with Soviet Russia were handled and a committee was formed in order to send Moscow (Aslan, 2007, p. 210). The committee was formed with the leadership of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bekir Sami Bey.⁹⁰ The Committee was instructed to sign an alliance agreement and receive military and financial aids and all types of war materials (Aslan, 2007, pp. 210-211; Cebesoy, 1955, p. 61). After they had arrived in Moscow on July 19, 1920, they negotiated with George Vassilievitch Chicherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Kara Han, Assistant of the Commissar, and Lenin. As a result of the negotiations lasting for more than a month, a Friendship Treaty was initialized between the Turkish and Russian delegates

⁸⁹ "...biz bolşevikliğe ve hareketına ve bolşeviklerden edebileceğimiz istifadeye bigane değiliz. ...Çünkü kendi kuvvetimizi nazari dikkate almaksızın hariçten, şuradan buradan gelecek kuvvetlere istinaden emel takip edersek ve o kuvvetten ve o imdattan muavenet de gelmezse sukütu hayale uğrarız. Bunun için iptida kendi kuvvetimize ehemmiyet veriyoruz. Fakat kendi kuvvetimize düşmanlarımızın adedinin çokluğunu nazari dikkate alarak kuvvet ilave etmek bir farizedir. Bu suretle bittabi şarktan gelmesi muhtemel olan müsbet kuvvetlere iltifat edeceğiz...Ancak bu noktada iki ciheti bir birinden tefrik etmek lazımdır. Biri bolşevik olmak, diğeri bolşeviklik Rusyasıyla ittifak etmek. Biz Heyeti İcraiye bolşeviklik Rusyasıyla ittifak etmekten bahsediyoruz. Yoksa bolşevik olmaktan bahsetmiyoruz. Bolşevik olmak büsbütün başka bir meseledir. Böyle bir mesele ile iştigale bizim ihtiyacımız yoktur. Fakat ittifak meselesi kemali ciddiyet ve ehemmiyetle takip edilmektedir ve muvaffak olacağımıza ümidimiz berkemaldir."

⁹⁰ Other delegates were the Minister of Economy Yusuf Keman (Tengirşek), Doctor Miralay İbrahim Tali (Öngören), Deputy Osman, District Governor Seyfi (Dizgören).

on August 24, 1920, but it did not come into force (Cebesoy, 1955, pp. 74-75, 80).⁹¹ Ankara Government had to wait almost one year for the signing⁹² of the Moscow Treaty.

The Baku Congress was held in several months after the frustration of the treaty. Neither the Executive Committee of the Comintern nor the Soviet Russian Government sent an official invitation to the GNA, instead, Turkish people were directly invited to the Congress. This caused the severe reaction of Mustafa Kemal who wanted to establish good relations with Bolsheviks. He had no chance to send an official delegate, but he also did not want to be excluded from the process. Therefore, he decided to send a group of delegates⁹³ led by İbrahim Tali (Öngören) as unofficial observers (Aslan, 1997, pp. 144, 216; Aydemir, 1993c, p. 574). The Turkish group which was not authorized to take a decision about Turkey was instructed to show to the European participants that the people of Anatolia were the real reformists (Cebesoy, 1955, p. 19). On September 4, in the fourth session, İbrahim Tali presented a paper that was read by the secretary Ostrovsky in Russian. The declaration of Tali was explaining the National Struggle of Turkey in a style blended with communist discourses. It was stated that world imperialism, at the end of four years, had brought Turkey to a state of complete breakdown and the Anatolian revolt was triggered by two types of elements: external and internal (Pearce, 1977, pp. 79-80). With regard to the external reasons, the process of the invasion of the Anatolia was explained briefly. In his text, the Western powers were described as robbers. The internal reasons were also explained within the same discourse and the national struggle was described as a

⁹¹ The treaty was prepared but was not signed because at that time Soviet Government on the brink of signing a commercial and economic agreement with the British. Therefore, it was thought that signing a treaty with Turkey, under the British occupation, would damage the Russian-British agreement (Cebesoy, 1955, pp. 96-98).

⁹² The Moscow Treaty was signed on March 16, 1921 and the National Pact (*Misak-i Milli*) was recognized. Moreover, the capitulations were abolished with the Treaty (Cebesoy, 1955, pp. 150-151).

⁹³ In total, 40-50 delegates were sent to the Baku Congress by the GNA (Aslan, 2007, p. 223).

revolt of the people against the hegemony of both the Sultan and bourgeoisie which was comprised of Pashas of aristocracy:

"The poor peasant of Anatolia had for centuries suffered from the violence and tyranny of the bourgeoisie, he was oppressed, he was worn out by the disease that came from Stambul -the bureaucracy, the dictatorship both of the Sultan's government and of the aristocrats, and also the parasitic officials sent to him by the Government, and now there awakened a feeling of holy anger in him against those aristocrats and Pashas who had never spent one day of their lives with him when the peasant was working in his fields and dying of hunger, but, in splendid palaces and villas on the shore of the Bosphorus, had given themselves up to the vilest pleasures, consuming the results of the work of the poor class and always acting provocatively towards the peasantry. By this revolt the peasant made it clear that in future he would not give a single crust of his bread to Stambul, its Pashas and Beys and their parasitical hangers-on. There, comrades, are the causes and factors of the recent revolution in Anatolia, so that this is not in the least a movement based on the bourgeoisie, as is supposed in the West" (Pearce, 1977, pp. 80-81).

The declaration of the group was welcomed by the members of the Congress and it was decided to support the Turkish National Movement against the imperialist states without adopting the Communism. However, it was emphasized that communism propaganda would continue and in the end, Turkey would be obliged to accept the communist administration, but before that Turkey would have to get rid of the invasion of the Western capitalist states. The speech of Zinoviev proves his statement;

"...Soviet Government supports Kemal. ...We do not for one moment forget that the movement headed by Kemal is not a Communist movement. ...the

policy which is being pursued by the present people's government in Turkey is not the policy of the Communist International, it is not our policy. And at the same time we say that we are ready to help any revolutionary struggle against the British Government. Today the scales of the balance in Turkey are still tipped in favor of the richer people, but the time will come when the otherwise matters (Pearce, 1977, pp. 32-33).

It is interesting that Aydemir was not too much interested in the Turkish delegates and their declaration about National Struggle, rather, he was trying to make sense the communism and to find a path for him to follow. He had come to the Congress with chauvinistic feelings for the salvation of the Eastern nations and he was thinking to go back to the battlefields with these people, under the communist flag. He stated in his memoirs that he was very impressed from the atmosphere of the Congress that was comprised of enthusiastic shouts of the people, voices of dagger and swords, screams, and marches (Aydemir, 2016, p. 161). Yet, when Pavlovich, the leading Soviet Orientalist, started to give his speech, Aydemir realized that the real matter was not as he thought. Pavlovich was not talking about taking out swords and going ahead of the Red Sea, India, and China. Quite the contrary, he mentioned having equal rights for all nations, gaining the victory of labor above the capital, removal of the colonialism, an alliance of the proletarians and peasants whatever their languages and religions. Moreover, he stated that the nations, which were taken under the pressure in the time of the Tsarist Russia and were not allowed to be autonomous, had been ebulliently welcomed by the Russian Socialist Federal Republic such as the autonomous Bashkir Soviet Republic and the autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic (Pearce, 1977, pp. 92-94).

Aydemir tried to interpret from his own point of view to what Pavlovich said; "In the words of Pavlovich, little national or ethnic communities who were oppressed under the claws of cruel capitalists and villainous big Russian chauvinists were now more important. In this case, every tribe would now have a language and alphabet. Above all international culture would take them under its protection" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 163).⁹⁴ Aydemir thought the possibility of Pavlovski's words being real for a moment and had difficulty internalizing this kind of system that meant hundreds of autonomies or ethnic cultures.

The Congress remained in Aydemir's mind with speeches which were listened to among the enthusiastic slogans of the delegates, but the things he learned were far from being decisive for his future path. One of the reasons for this was that the Congress was used by Soviet Russia as a way of propaganda. Cebesoy stated in his memoirs that "the Congress, at the same time, had presented the threat show of the Comintern together with the people in the East against the Europeans" (Cebesoy, 1955, p. 32). To Cebesoy, the Baku Congress could have been a special political effort for the eastern nations and their countries, but it was abandoned. The aim of the Congress changed and it turned into a revolutionary congress in order to prepare and mobilize the nations in the East against western capitalism and imperialism. Therefore, it was decided that the participants of the Congress did not necessarily have to be socialist or revolutionary (Cebesoy, 1955, p. 15). Zinoviev's speech can be a proof for the sentences of Cebesoy. He addressed to the delegates with those words: "We did not ask What party do you belong to? We asked each one: Are you a man who lives by his labour? Do you belong to the working masses? Do you want to put a stop to the strife between the peoples? Do you want to organize a struggle against the

⁹⁴ "Pavlovich'in deyimi ile zalim kapitalistlerle, gaddar büyük Rus şovenistlerinin pençeleri altında ezilen şu küçük milli, yahut etnik cemaatler, şimdi artık önem kazanıyordu. Demek ki her kabilenin artık bir dili, bir yazısı olacaktı. Hepsinin üstüne de enternasyonel kültür kanat gerecekti."

oppressors? That is enough. Nothing more is required" (Pearce, 1977, p. 25). On the other hand, the idea that the only way to get rid of imperialism and its supporters was to integrate Soviet Russia with the people of East were frequently emphasized in the congress. The real holy war was declared against the British and French capitalists for the liberation of all the Eastern people and revolutionary proletariats of West but, before this, the Eastern people had to build their own Communist organizations and they had to be ready for the labor revolution.

The Baku Congress did not have a concrete meaning for Aydemir but it became a turning point for GNA Government in terms of approaching the Soviet Union and the communist activities in Turkey (Aslan, 2007, p. 246). While the Soviets were expecting communism to be effective in Turkey, Mustafa Kemal was very cautious in this regard. Even if a communist movement in Turkey was to develop, as a necessity for a good relationship with the Soviets, it had to be under the control of the government and could be defused when necessary. Nonetheless, a communist movement had been already initiated in Baku by Mustafa Suphi.

In this context, the first emergent organization, "*Türk İştirakiyun Teşkilatı*" (Turkish Communist Organization), was established in July 1918 in the Turkish Socialists Conference in Moscow. This Conference, which was held between 22 and 25, July 1918 under the chairmanship of the Mustafa Suphi, discussed the situation of Turkey, as well as the attitudes of the Turkish Socialists to the Russian Soviet Government. It was also the first important meeting of the Turkish Communists (Aslan, 1997, pp. 56-57). Cebesoy indicated that "During the First World War with the declaration of the Bolshevism, *Türk İştirakiyun Teşkilatı* which was established with the arrangement of Communist International by some civilians and officers of Turkish War prisoner, aimed to spread the Bolshevism into the Anatolia and found the

Turkish Soviet Republic" (Cebesoy, 1955, p. 36). At that time, the Turkish Communist Party was also known as "Baku Gruppa" and was founded in the spring of 1920 in Baku with the initiatives of the two groups:⁹⁵ Halil Pasha (Kut) and Dr. Fuat Sabit. The aim of the groups was to provide support for the Liberation War in Anatolia. In order to do this, it was necessary to get in touch with the Bolsheviks and work with them against the British forces in the Caucasus. Moreover, they helped the Russian and Azerbaijani Bolsheviks for the establishment of the Bolshevik regime in Azerbaijan (Akal, 2008, p. 152). The Turkish Communist Party played an important role in establishing good relationships between the Bolsheviks and Mustafa Kemal Movement. It also helped to provide weapon and financial aid for the Turkish national forces, but later it was extinguished by Mustafa Suphi when he moved his own organization to Baku.

Upon the end of the Baku Congress, the First Congress of the *Türk İştirakiyun Teşkilatı* was held between 10 and 15, September 1920. One of the purposes of the Congress was to establish the Turkish Communist Party-*TKP*. The program and the charters of the party were designed in the Congress and September 15th was accepted as the foundation day of the *TKP* (Aslan, 1997, pp. 209, 244; Tuncay, 1978, p. 225). Moreover, with the decision taken in the First Congress of the *Türk İştirakiyun Teşkilatı*, it was agreed that the communist groups and organizations in Turkey and Russia would be united under the roof of the *TKP*. While, on the one hand, it was determined to support the Anatolian movement, on the other hand, the protection of the independence of the party was taken as the most important task (Aslan, 1997, p. 241; Galiyev, 1971, p. 54; Akal, 2008, pp. 155-157). The point of view of the Turkish Communists in the Congress towards the Anatolia and the national movement was

⁹⁵ The group of Halil Pasha (Kut) occurred from Küçük Talat and Baha Sait and the group of Dr. Fuat Sabit composed of Süleyman Nuri and Captain Yakup.

that in order to reach the main objective, which was the constitute the communism in Anatolia, they wanted to use the national movement as a stepping stone (Aslan, 1997, p. 227; Aydemir, 1971f, p. 2). Mustafa Suphi, Mehmet Emin, Ethem Nejat, İsmail Hakkı, Süleyman Nuri, Nazmi, and Hilmioğlu Hakkı were elected to the Central Committee of *TKP* (Aslan, 1997, p. 264). Aydemir, one of the participants of the Congress, explained his observations as:

"The First Congress of the Organization named "Turkish Communist Party" was held on 10 September, again in Baku. When you look at the crowds in the hall of the Congress and delegates who were taken to the stage, each speaks on behalf of a province of Turkey and based on their speeches, It would be safe to say that Turkey is a communist country from now on. But if you had paid attention, it could have been seen that the people who joined this crowds were not representing any place, any organization. There was no common connection among them. Each has different understanding of communism. In fact, the community that filled the Congress consisted of Turkish soldiers who became war prisoners and stayed unattended thanks to the Russian Revolution and who were looking for ways to return to Turkey" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 169-170).⁹⁶

From the perspective of Aydemir, the congress, which was executed by Mustafa Suphi and his colleagues with great hopes and excitement, was, except for those who devoted themselves to the ideals of communism, nothing more than a gathering of Turkish war prisoners who could not understand how events had

⁹⁶"Adına Türkiye Komünist Fırkası denilen bir teşkilatın ilk kongresi 10 Eylül'de gene Bakü'de oldu. Eğer kongre salonundaki kalabalığa ve burada sahneye çıkarılan ve her biri Türkiye'nin bir vilayeti adına konuşan delegelere ve söylenen nutuklara bakılırsa, Türkiye'ye artık komünist bir memleket demek yerinde olurdu. Fakat dikkat edilirse görüliyordu ki, bu kalabalığa katılan insanlar aslında hiçbir yeri, hiçbir teşekkülü temsil etmiyorlardı. Aralarında müşterek bir bağ yoktu. Her birinin komünistlik anlayışı da başka başkaydı. Ortallığı dolduran topluluk aslında, Rus İhtilali üzerine başıboş bırakılan ve memlekete dönmek için yol ve çare arayan harp esiri Türk askerlerinden ibaretti."

developed. According to the decisions taken at the congress, Mustafa Suphi and a group of his friends planned to go to Turkey so as to meet with Mustafa Kemal. Their demand for a meeting responded positively by Mustafa Kemal and when they arrived to Turkey, what they will do had already been designed by Ankara Government and had been decided to work with Official Turkish Communist Party (*Resmi Türkiye Komünist Fırkası*).

Concerning the communism could damage the war of independence, the Ankara Government decided an Official Communist Party⁹⁷ to be established under their control. Founded on November 18, 1920, the Party aimed to gather all the increasing leftist movements under a single roof and to control them by keeping in the hand of the government, but it could act only three months and then, disappeared in the wave of suppressing the left following the Çerkez Etem Revolt (Tuncay, 1978, p. 177; Cebesoy, 1953, pp. 508-510; Akal, 2008, p. 158; Aslan, 1997, p. 291). In parallel with the aim of the Party, the newspaper of the party "*Yeni Gün*" (New Day) warned people against the Communist propaganda and provocations and abide by the spirit of the National Struggle. Moreover, it was emphasized that adopting the Bolshevism of the Soviet Union could cause damage to Turkey and so, if it were necessary, it could be implemented by the Government of Ankara in itself (Tuncay, 1978, p. 166).

While Mustafa Suphi and fourteen of his friends departed from Baku in order to meet with Ankara government were killed in the Black Sea on the night of January 28/29, 1921. This event had caused a great impact on the *TKP*, and for a while İsmail Hakkı tried to revive the organization, but according to Moscow Treaty, on March 16, 1921, and the Treaty of Kars, on October 13, 1921, they were not allowed to continue

⁹⁷ Members of the Party consisted of politicians such as Tevfik Rüştü (Aras), Mahmut Esad (Bozkurt), Yunus Nadi (Abalıoğlu), Kılıç Ali, Hakkı Behiç (Bayic), Refik Koraltan, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Adnan Adıvar, Eyüp Sabri (Akgöl), and Süreyya (Yiğit) (Tuncay, 1978, p. 163; Sayılğan, 1972, p. 178).

the activities of the party in Soviets, so the party in Baku was abolished (Aslan, 2007, p. 324; Aslan, 1997, p. 374; Akbulut & Tuncay, 2012, p. 80).

After the Baku Congress and the First Congress of the *TKP*, Aydemir tried to figure out the events that he lived;

"When I came back to Nuha, dispassionately, I was trying to sort what I saw in Baku. There was no much difference between rambling meeting called the Congress of the People of the East and the other Organization which formless, aimless crowded. But surely, I had seen many things, I had heard many things. Everything I heard was new and different" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 171).⁹⁸

In May 1921, meetings and festivals were held in Baku to mark the first anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet administration and Aydemir attended the celebration as a representative of the Teacher's Union (Quliyev, 2010). After the celebration, Aydemir returned to Nuha and evaluated the year he had experienced; he thought that everything had still been the same enigma for a year when the events happened one after the other; nothing seemed to be understood fairly easily by him. According to him;

"The flow of these events perhaps may be brightening for someone else. But my thoughts and discernments: could not appreciate properly the position of the rings in the chain which separately carrying the meanings. The events mixed one another and did not comply with each other in my mind" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 182).⁹⁹

⁹⁸ "Nuha'ya döndüğüm zaman, Bakü'de gördüklerimi serinkanlılıkla kafamda sıralamaya çalışıyordum. Şark Milletleri kurultayı denilen derme çatma toplantının, şu diğer kongredeki şekilsiz ve maksatsız kalabalıktan pek farkı yoktu. Fakat muhakkak ki çok şeyler görmüş, çok şeyler dinlemiştim. Duyduğum her şey, yeni ve başka türlüydü."

⁹⁹ "Bu olayların akışı, bir başkası için belki de aydınlıktı. Fakat benim düşünce ve muhakeme kudretim, bu zincirdeki halkaların yerini ve ayrı ayrı taşıdığı manaları layıkıyla değerlendiremiyordu. Onlar kafamda birbirine karışık ve birbiriyle bağdaşmadan kaynaşup duruyorlardı."

In Nuha, it was learned by the Soviet officials that Aydemir previously had been an Ottoman soldier, a nationalist and Turanist, also in actions against the Armenians. One day, president of the committee of health told him secretly that he would be arrested. Following the events, Aydemir felt uncomfortable and planned to leave the city where he had spent almost two years (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 172-175). He had promised to establish the Turan at first, but the ongoing events dragged him away from his goals. He still did not know where the "water" is; maybe it is in communism, he did not know. On the way to Batumi, he was thinking that

"I was nameless. I would search for my fortune. I would establish my reign. Now, these lands are the lands of Turan. However, rising uncertainty in front of me was darker than the day when I first set out. It was full of more unknowns. My way could arrive wherever it wants from now on. But I chose the way to the North..." (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 183-184).¹⁰⁰

The first stop of Aydemir was Batumi which was under the Soviet administration. He attended the first meeting of the *TKP*. After the abolishment of the *TKP*, the communists, who were confused, started to gather in Batumi in order to pass to Turkey (Aslan, 1997, pp. 368-369). Aydemir's ideas about the meeting were that; "This was a meeting of both 'cleaning' and 'selection' of new members. ...Cleaning, that is, discharging of the party members from time to time" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 188).¹⁰¹ In the meeting, as the names of those who were exported were announced, he comprehended that being a party member was not a positive or appealing thing: "Here, I saw for the first time that party's member, even a leader, a hero, how it was a

¹⁰⁰"Ben bir adsızdım. Turan'da bahtımı arayacaktım. Saltanatımı kuracaktım. Şimdi bu topraklar, işte Turan topraklarıydı. Halbuki önümde yükselen belirsizlik, benim ilk yola çıktığım günden daha karanlıktı. Daha çok meçhullerle doluydu. Yolum artık, istediği yere varabilirdi. Ama ben, kuzeye çıkan yolu seçtim..."

¹⁰¹"Bu, hem "temizlik", hem de "yeni üyelerin seçilmesi" toplantısıydı. ...Temizlik, yani zaman zaman, parti kadrosunda tasfiyeler."

creature all alone. When the party gave up on him... he became nothing" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 189).¹⁰² Aydemir felt uncomfortable there, but he thought there was nothing to do. He wrote about his regrets with regard to the place and his position "I wish, those doors were open, I could be back to idleness of my life again. ... But the doors were not opened. ... While I was leaving there, I was a party member, a revolutionary, too" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 189-190).¹⁰³ He got married in Batumi and planned to go to Moscow together with his wife, *Leman Hanım*, to pursue education at a university. "Was there a revolutionist in the tissue of my childhood dreams? I do not know... but in our journey of life, we live what our age set out for us rather than our childhood dream stayed in the past" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 185).¹⁰⁴ After getting introduced to communism via the congresses, Aydemir was to be an active member of *TKP* both in Moscow and Turkey.

4.4. Years in the University

The Bolshevik regime aimed to spread their ideology to the other states by using educational tools and so the Communist University of the Toilers of the East¹⁰⁵ (*Doğu Emekçileri Komünist Üniversitesi- KUTV*) was founded to undertake this mission of educating revolutionary people by gathering students from across the world. Like many left-oriented people around the world, the KUTV became the center for Turkish people who received education in this university between 1921 and 1938 (Çomak, 2016, pp. 87-88). In addition to Aydemir (see Appendix B), Nazım Hikmet, Vala Nurettin (Vâ Nû), Dr. Şefik Hüsnü (Değmer), General Secretary of *TKP* and founder

¹⁰²"Burada partinin, hatta bir lider, bir kahraman olsa bile, nasıl yapayalnız bir yaratık olduğunu ilk defa o gün gördüm. Parti onu bıraktığı anda,bir hiç haline geliyordu."

¹⁰³"Keşke şu kapılar açılrsa, hayatımın başıboşluğuna tekrar dönebilsem... Fakat kapılar açılmadı... oradan çıkarken artık ben de bir partili, bir ihtilalciydim..."

¹⁰⁴"Çocukluk rüyalarımın dokusunda, bir de ihtilalcilik var mıydı? Bilmiyorum... Ama biz, hayat yolculuğumuzda biraz da artık geride kalan çocukluk rüyalarımızı değil, çağımızın önümüze serdiği serüveni yaşıyoruz."

¹⁰⁵ The Russian name of the university is Komunistiçeski Universitet Trudiyaşihsa Vostoka.

of the *Aydınlık* Journal in 1921, Vedat Nedim (Tör) and İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), one of two founders of the *Kadro* Journal in 1932, were known Turkish students educated at this university. The *TKP*, which was responsible for organizing the Turkish students in regard to receiving education at the KUTV, wished to get the number of the Turkish students to become almost a hundred by the end of 1924 (Akbulut & Tuncay, 2013, pp. 19, 170). However, while some students went there by means of *TKP*, some other such as Aydemir, Vâ Nû, and Nazım Hikmet did not attend KUTV using the party channel.

While Aydemir was in Batumi, he was acquainted with the Nazım Hikmet (1902-1963) and Vâ Nû (1901-1967) through Ahmet Cevat (Emre)¹⁰⁶ who was a member of the *TKP* in Baku and also a lecturer at a university in Moscow. He helped Nazım Hikmet, Vâ Nû, and Aydemir to receive education in Moscow (Nurettin, 1965, pp. 234, 327; Çomak, 2016, pp. 95-96; Akbulut & Tuncay, 2013, p. 280). Aydemir told how his path crossed with his two friends as follow:

"His (Nazım) coming to this front was the result of both a bit coincidence and a bit his enthusiastic emotions. In the Armistice, together with our third friend, Vâ Nû, they escaped from Istanbul to Anatolia where they had met with some people who thinking free. ... Their romantic suggestions prepared a ground for poet and his friends to come to the lands of revolution. After that, the coincidence completed its process" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 204).¹⁰⁷

When they arrived at Moscow, the university was closed because of the summer vacation, and the three friends attended the language camp in Udelnaya. The

¹⁰⁶ Ahmet Cevat (Emre) (1887-1961) returned to Turkey in 1924 and gave up the communist idea, years later he became the deputy from Çanakkale (Nurettin, 1965, p. 235; Çomak, 2016, p. 96).

¹⁰⁷ "Onun (Nazım) bu cepheye gelişi, biraz tesadüfün, biraz da coşkun duyguların eseri idi. Mütarekede üçüncü arkadaşımız Vâ Nû ile beraber İstanbul'dan Anadolu'ya kaçınca orada, serbest düşünceli birkaç kişiyle tanışmışlardı. ... Onların romantik telkinleri, şairin ve arkadaşlarının ihtilal topraklarına geçmelerini hazırladı. Ondan sonra ise tesadüf seyrini tamamladı."

coincidence caused them to become close friends in a fairly short time and they spent their free times together. When they came together, their primary issue was discussing on a wide array of subjects ranging from history to philosophy, economics, societal issues and religion. Aydemir stated that Nazım Hikmet was the most aggressive one in these debates. However, he thought that he did not need to be there because in his family's blood, there was a piece of all the countries of the former Empire from Poland, Hungary, to Istanbul and Anatolia. His ancestors, relatives were governors, commanders, pashas, even a supreme commander. He was carrying his ancestors' lines in his facial features (Aydemir, 2016, p. 203). The family origin became a debate among them about the issue of being a communist. Contrary to Aydemir, Nazım and Vâ Nû did not come from a farmer family. Nazım Hikmet was born to a reputable family; his mother's grandfather was Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha, which was mentioned in the previous chapter. Furthermore, Ali Fuat Cebesoy was the uncle of Nazım and Mehmet Ali Aybar, Head of Worker's Party of Turkey, was the grandson of his aunt. Also, his mother, Celile Hanim, was a painter (Nurettin, 1965, pp. 32-34). Vâ Nû, who was the son of the Governor of Salonica, was educated in Galatasaray High School and Vienna Commerce Academy. Nazım did not see Aydemir as a real communist by arguing that the peasantry was the low grade of the revolution and should be ruptured. Similarly, Aydemir also accused Nazım for not being a real communist:

"Nazım called his poems as Communist Poems. ...In my opinion, he never became a communist. Besides, the Communist Party did not register¹⁰⁸ his name as a member at that time. For this poet, revolution did not mean the party programs, factories, schools, roads, construction issues, agriculture

¹⁰⁸ Nazım Hikmet was registered as a candidate member to *TKP* on December 2, 1921 and his position changed in Vienna Congress, 1926 (Akbulut, 2002, pp. 18-19).

affairs. According to him, these issues could never be at the forefront. The thing called revolution should wave like seas, overflow like winds" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 194, 205).¹⁰⁹

These debates among three friends shaped around their primitive experiences and limited knowledge about the revolution and communism. When the academic year started, Aydemir began to look for answers to questions about communism in his mind. Actually, one of the most important contributions of the university on the development of his utopian consciousness was to obtain knowledge of economics. He began to look at the world from the perspective of economics which led him to comprehend the events more realistically. On the contrary, there were still some gaps he could not fill. One of the ground matters he could not fit with communism was religion. While he, on the one hand, immersed himself in the communism wind; on the other hand, he could not abandon his previous lives and memories. In the summer of 1923, a professor asked a question in the lecture: "Are humans the creation of Gods? Or Are the Gods creation of humans?". When he heard the question, he was startled and felt his heart was shaking: "From my generation, the matter of God must remain out of the discussion. The religion: even though we do not comply with its principles and do not obey its requests, it inexhaustibly lives in our soul" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 253-254).¹¹⁰ According to Aydemir, the idea of God which was never questioned and discussed has always lingered in the minds. The question of the professor carried away Aydemir to his hometown, the worship of his mother,

¹⁰⁹"Nazım yazdığı şiirlere daima komünist şiirleri derdi.Bence hiçbir zaman komünist olmadı. Hatta o zaman Komünist Partisi de onun adını, azaları arasına kaydetmedi....bu şair için ihtilal; parti programları, fabrika, mektep, yol ve inşa davaları, ziraat meseleleri demek değildi. Ona göre bunlar, hiçbir zaman ön planda gelemezdi. İhtilal denilen şey, denizler gibi dalgalanmalı, rüzgarlar gibi coşmalıydı."

¹¹⁰"Benim neslimden, bizim kuşağımızdan olanlar için Tanrı konusu, tartışma dışında kalması lazım gelen bir konudur. Din, hatta onun ilkelerine uymasak, isteklerini yapmasak bile, ruhumuzun dokusunda yaşayan ve yıpranmayan bir duygudur."

Mevlevi's rituals; he felt this spiritual atmosphere deep down his soul, and he thought that "The feeling of God composing my first beliefs quietly and unobtrusively now is becoming the matter of discussion" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 254-255).¹¹¹ Aydemir was annoyed with the question and the lecture of the professor. To him, it was not necessary to interrogate the beliefs about the innocent existence living inside of people. They are there in order to establish a new world without war, revolution, or starvation; it was not necessary to think about things such as the beliefs of the people.

As the days passed, Aydemir began to criticize the university; he described it as "a student manufacturing shop established for specific purposes" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 216).¹¹² He believed that the university aimed at training people in order to attract supporters to communism rather than to educate the students scientifically. Çomak also emphasized this nature of the university and stated that the duration of education in the university was planned as three years, but if the Communist Party needed, the students could return to their homes without completing all the semesters (Çomak, 2016, p. 98). For Aydemir, KUTV was a university preparing them for the unknown adventure of the future and the missions of tomorrow; the students were educated as the warriors of tomorrow's wars. The basement of the university was full of weapons to be used against the enemies of the revolution. Besides, he added that they also adopted this mission and were ready to be pioneers, and heroes of the new era. "As if, said Aydemir, the round of the world was rotating in our palms. Yes, we believed that we will possess this round tomorrow" (Aydemir, 1979, p. 67).¹¹³ Akbulut, who worked on the student profile of KUTV, confirmed Aydemir's observation by stating that the university was filled with young people who came from all over the world and they

¹¹¹"...benim ilk inançlarımı sessiz sedasız dokuyan Tanrı duygusu, şimdi bir tartışma konusu oluyordu."

¹¹²"...Belirli maksatlar için kurulmuş bir öğrenci imalathanesi gibiydi."

¹¹³"Sanki dünya yuvarlağı bizim avuçlarımızın içinde dönüyor gibiydi. Evet, öyle inanıyorduk ki yarın bu yuvarlağın sahibi biz olacağız."

believed that they would realize the revolution immediately as soon as they went back to their countries (Akbulut, 2002, p. 8).

While studying at the university, Aydemir suddenly decided to return to Turkey without his wife at the end of 1923. What was the cause of his sudden decision is not explained in his writings. On the other hand, as it is clear from the official document of *TKP* and Comintern, his leaving from Moscow was the request of *TKP* rather than his own will. According to the correspondences between Şefik Hüsnü, General Secretary of *TKP*, and the Chief Executive of the Comintern, the *TKP* called Aydemir in order to make him continue his activities in Istanbul (Akbulut & Tuncay, 2013, p. 19). Moreover, Hüsnü emphasized the importance of sending Aydemir's wife and Nazım Hikmet immediately to Istanbul in his further letters. After they came back to Istanbul in the middle of 1924, the Central Committee of *TKP* requested, this time, Vâ Nû and İsmail Hüsrev Tokin to return to their homeland by stating that those comrades would be more effective in the Istanbul branch of *TKP* (Akbulut & Tuncay, 2013, pp. 33, 37, 40, 152).

Aydemir stated in his memoirs that the decision to return from Moscow was due to the change in the political situation in the country. For him, after the death of Lenin, the romantic era of the revolution ended; Stalin became the only leader in the Soviet Union and the party was in his hands and so the route of the party was determined on his request. The expulsions, deportations, and finally the disappearance of the intellectuals such as Trotsky started. Thus, the excitement of the revolution turned into the totalitarian regime of Stalin and the world revolution was over with his famous slogan "socialism in one country" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 297). He expressed his feelings in his memoirs with those words:

"When the revolutionary romanticism in Russia came to an end, the foreigners who participated in these incidents and attended these group with the excitement of a rebellious romanticism or with a coincidence rather than the class-consciousness, needed to choose a way for themselves. The large disintegration started among them. I was also a foreigner. ... What will I be? I had too many ways and too many deserts and stages to surpass in pursuit of this group that I attended" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 300).¹¹⁴

Aydemir's quest of his utopia in communism brought him back to his country. This was also his last journey in communism. After Moscow, this time, he continued to his activities in Istanbul under the roof of *TKP*.

4.5. The Communist Activities of Aydemir in Istanbul

Following Baku and Moscow, when he came to Istanbul, Aydemir realized how alienated he was to the city. In the past, the city was the place where the most beautiful Turkish was spoken and the last time he saw, she was under enemy occupation, but now, in his eyes, she was a semi-colonized city that the imperialist states of the world were always struggling for. According to him, every Greek and Armenian shopkeeper was as a servant of capitalists. Actually, it was not the city that had changed but Aydemir himself. In his memoirs, he described the change in himself with a regretful mood with those words: "I had become a robot... I could not find myself anymore" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 303-304).¹¹⁵

He could find a teaching job at *Barbaros Hayrettin İlkokulu* in Beşiktaş thanks to the help of one of his old friends. After the school, he was working in *Aydınlık*

¹¹⁴"Rusya'da ihtilal romantizmi sona erince, bu hadiselerle katılan ve bir sınıf şuurundan ziyade asi bir romantizmin heyecanı ile veya tesadüflerle bu kervana karışan yabancılar için de, kendilerine birer yol seçmek görüldü. Bunlar arasında geniş bir çözüme başladı. Ben de bir yabancıydım. ...Ya ben ne olacaktım? Benim bu katıldığım kervanın peşinde, aşacağım daha nice yollar, nice nice çöller ve aşamalar vardı..."

¹¹⁵"Artık bir otomat olmuşum, ...kendimi bir türlü bulamıyordum."

Journal as a writer and translator. He settled communism into the center of his life, so he evaluated each incident within the framework of communism. In his eyes, even the slightest incident of the municipal police was indicative of the oppression of the capitalists over the working class. His old friends also began to move away from him because in each meeting, he began to talk about the world economy, class conflict, colonialism (Aydemir, 2016, p. 305). Working in the *Aydınlık* Journal had been an important platform for him so as to express his thoughts explicitly.

The Workers and Farmers Socialist Party of Turkey (*Türkiye İşçi ve Çiftçi Sosyalist Fırkası*-TICSF) was the over-ground extension of the *TKP*¹¹⁶ and the *Aydınlık* Journal was the publication organ of the organization founded on June 1, 1921, by Şefik Hüsnü Değmer (Akbulut & Tuncay, 2012, pp. 67-68; Tuncay, 1978, p. 308). The *Aydınlık* could not be a periodical journal at that time, but it became the backbone of the leftist publications from the Liberation War up until the *Takrir-i Sükun Law* (Law for the Maintenance of Order) and then, in February 1925, it was closed with the 30th issue.¹¹⁷ The journal generally appealed to intellectuals even though it tried to draw the attention of the working class to the leftist movement, it was not successful (Toprak, 2016, p. 4; Tuncay, 1978, p. 359).

A significant part of Aydemir's articles published in the journal composed of the translations from the Marxist literature. Besides these, he argued that a new political system has been developing in which the proletariat discovered its own rights and capacity. However, Turkish intellectuals have not comprehended this reality yet because they look at the world and particularly at the Eastern societies by a narrow

¹¹⁶ In 1920, Şefik Hüsnü founded Istanbul Communist Group-ICG which was the first Communist group of Turkey was recognized by the Comintern, unified with the THIF (*Türkiye Halk İştirakiyun Fırkası*), then Turkish Communist Party was occurred (Akbulut, 2010, p. 25).

¹¹⁷ The 31st issue, "*Fevkalade Gençlik Nüshası*", was published on 18 February 1925, Nazım Hikmet, Burhan Asaf, Memduh Necdet wrote in this issue rather than the main writers of the *Aydınlık* core (Akbulut & Tuncay, 2013, p. 176).

point of view. To him, if you looked at it from a broader perspective, it is possible to see that there is a developing social revolution waking up Eastern peasant and workers beyond the small villages, devastated mosques, shops, houses. Thanks to the support Soviet Russia, the Eastern societies began to establish their own national capital and industry. Turkey also should follow the same path and establish its own national capital and industry (Süreyya, 1925, p. 783). It is possible to observe that anti-imperialism and development of a national economy were at the center in Aydemir's discourses. The issues such as universal proletariat revolution were secondary matters for him. In his writings, Soviet Russia was just a model that could be taken as an example instead of capitalist countries in Europe.

At the beginning, when Aydemir took part in the activities of *TKP* in Istanbul, the party gave importance to his opinion and suggestions. Yet, after a while, a conflict occurred between Aydemir-Vedat Nedim Tör front and the *TKP*. Mainly, the dispute was the result of changing attitudes of the *TKP* after the V. Congress of the Comintern. In the Congress, held between on June 17 and July 28 1924, the main slogan was the Bolshevization of the communist parties. In the congress it was addressed that the *TKP* supported the government of Mustafa Kemal during the national struggle and continued to promote the activities of the government which aimed towards the consolidation and empowerment of the capitalist state. In that regard, the Comintern warned the Turkish comrades that they should give up supporting bourgeoisie which democratized the country and they should keep the position of an uncompromising war against the bourgeoisie. In addition, it was asked that the struggle for national independence and democracy, which is not an objective of the communist parties, should be understood as a struggle to create the most favorable conditions for class warfare and this vision must be emphasized

continuously to the worker masses (Akbulut & Tuncay, 2013, pp. 320-322). As it is clear from the report of the Comintern, the *TKP* was criticized for supporting national bourgeoisie against imperialism. Hence, Comintern attempted to direct the party to support Bolshevism and struggle against the government which was seen as a representative of the bourgeoisie. These criticisms coming from Comintern caused to the renewal of the program of *TKP* and fuelled the conflicts among the members of the party.

Following the instruction of the Comintern, the 3rd Congress¹¹⁸ of the *TKP*, called "*Akaretler Kongresi*", was held in February 1925.¹¹⁹ In the Congress it was decided to abide by the instructions of the Comintern and planned to support further Bolshevization, increase its influence over the working class, and gain leadership in the workers' movement (Akbulut & Tuncay, 2013, pp. 188-189). The Congress triggered the ideological separation within the party members. Aydemir was elected as a member at the Central Committee with participation of 21 delegates (Tuncay, 1978, p. 362). As a leader, Aydemir wanted to take the party in his hands. While Vâ Nû, Ahmet Cevat Emre and İsmail Hüsrev Tokin supported Aydemir, Şefik Hüsni was against to him (Akbulut & Tuncay, 2013, p. 229). Aydemir put emphasis on the evaluation of the socio-economic situation of the country, but was blamed to be Menshevik and supporting the development of the bourgeoisie (Akbulut, 2002, pp. 65-67). He explicitly explained his ideas about the current situation of Turkey in his book *Lenin ve Leninism*, written in 1924, and also in an article in *Aydınlık* as follows:

"In our country unemployed, not specialized briefly the lumpen proletariat were increasing rather than the proletarian. ...In our country, there has been no

¹¹⁸ The first congress had been held in 1920, Baku. The congress which was held in Ankara 1922 was accepted as the first congress of the THIF (*Türkiye Halk İştirayikun Fırkası*) in Ankara, was approved as the second congress of *TKP* (Tuncay, 1978, pp. 276, 363; Akbulut & Tuncay, 2013, pp. 188-191).

¹¹⁹ At that time the *TKP* was referred to as an *Aydınlık Grubu* (Akbulut, 2002, p. 29).

social ground in order to implement neither the social democracy nor the other kinds of mass movement yet. ...To be a prosperous, capitalist and developed country that is the historical duty of the day should be succeeded by the disciplined and composed Republican Party" (Aydemir & Sadrettin, 1924b, p. 44; Süreyya, 1924a, pp. 519-523).¹²⁰

While these discussions were going on, unexpected events occurred for both the future of *TKP* and Aydemir. In February 1925, a Kurdish revolt broke out in the Eastern provinces under the leadership of Sheikh Said who was the hereditary chief of the Naksibendi dervishes against the Republican regime. In order to cope with the revolt, the government took rigid measures. In that regard, *Takrir-i Sükun Law*, which enabled the government to put extra-ordinary measures into practice, was introduced on March 4, 1925 and remained in force until 1929 (Lewis, 1968, p. 266; Karpat, 2010, p. 133). Independence tribunals, had been set up in 1920 to prosecute those who were against the system of the new regime, were reactivated in the East and in Ankara. The new regime decided to oppress the opposition as well. In that regard, *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*¹²¹ (Progressive Republican Party) was founded on November 17, 1924 by an opposing group from the Republican People's Party (RPP), because of the rebellion (Karpat, 2010, pp. 133-134; Ahmad, 2003a, pp. 57-58). *Aydınlık* had already been closed before *Takrir-i Sükun Law*, but the *Orak-Çekiç* was closed like all opposing publications in March 1925. Some writers of *Aydınlık* escaped abroad such as Şefik Hüsnü to Germany, Nazım Hikmet and Hasan Ali Ediz to Soviet Russia in April 1925 (Akbulut & Tuncay, 2013, p. 244; Tuncay, 1978, p.

¹²⁰ "Bizde henüz proletarya değil, işsizler, ihtisassızlar, hülasa lumpen proletarya artıyor. ...Bizde ne sosyal demokrasi, ne de diğer şekil kitlevi hareketler için lazım olan içtimai zemin henüz tabiatıyla teşekkül etmiş değildir. ... Memleketin zengin, sermayedar, ileri bir hale gelmesi şimdi günün tarihi vazifesidir ve bu vazife ise disiplinli ve müteşekkil bir Cumhuriyet partisine düşer."

¹²¹ It was founded by Kazım Karabekir, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Rauf Orbay, Adnan Adıvar, Refet Pasha and İsmail Canbulat. The party supported traditionalist, conservative and the liberal policies.

369). Aydemir preferred to stay in Istanbul. He stated in his memoirs that he wanted his destiny to be linked to his country (Aydemir, 2016, p. 308). Therefore, on May 25, 1925, he was arrested and brought to Ankara to be judged by independence tribunal.

When Aydemir was in prison (see Appendix B), the prominent names of the *TKP*, B. Ferdi (Şefik Hüsni), Halim (Hasan Ali Ediz) and Nazım Hikmet, Şamil (Hamdi Şamilov), Asım (Vedat Nedim Tör) and Mehmet (Baytar Mehmet) held a Congress in Vienna on May 27-29, 1926 (Akbulut, 2002, p. 67; Tuncay, 1992b, p. 31). The conflicts between Vedat Nedim and Şefik Hüsni explicitly surfaced in Vienna meeting. According to Vedat Nedim, the situation of the country should not be exaggerated. Besides, it was said the conscious working class in Turkey was a movement that was born by the communists, but the *TKP* was not strong enough and could not resist the bourgeoisie. His statements annoyed Şefik Hüsni and he objected to him by saying that: "I see, some friends have a wrong consideration about the working class. As a representative of the Turkish Communist Party, I am rejecting the words of the Asım (Vedat Nedim Tör) comrade about the working class in Turkey" (Akbulut, 2002, p. 73). Despite the disputes between Vedat Nedim and Şefik Hüsni at the congress, the problems were solved. As a result, it was agreed to struggle against the government in the long term, but the organizations among the workers and the realization of an educational program were accepted in the short term (Tuncay, 1992b, p. 49). Moreover, it was decided that the *TKP* would follow the instructions coming from the Comintern and the members who represented the external bureau Şefik Hüsni's, and Nazım Hikmet's return to Moscow and represented the *TKP* under the rule of Comintern (Sayılğan, 1972, p. 193).

Aydemir sentenced for ten years, but after staying in prison for 18 months, he was released on the Republic Day on October 29, 1926. In the following period, the

TKP was in the hands of Vedat Nedim, General Secretary, and administration of Aydemir until the second arrestment of him in the summer of 1927 (Tuncay, 1992b, p. 40). When Aydemir was released, he evaluated the situation of Turkey as follows:

"In Turkey, a national bourgeoisie has not developed until now. Kemalism does not represent anything other than a bureaucracy that uses the state government to facilitate the formation of a state bourgeoisie. But reactionary and feudal forces are maneuvering against this bureaucracy, this causes that the bureaucracy has to defend itself with a terrorist regime against these forces. The political struggle of the proletariat against the Kemalist government will be equivalent to support to the reactionaries, the Turk proletariat is already very weak, inexperienced and lacks class consciousness. The current tasks of the *TKP* consist of educating the proletarians and fulfilling their partial demands and awakening the sense of solidarity of their classes. If we put them the targets which exceed the framework of their daily anxieties, the crowds do not follow us. Our cells must maintain a careful and touching attitude. If we open our flag, the Kemalists will destroy our administrative staff and the workers will away from us!..." (Akbulut, 2002, pp. 82-83).¹²²

While the ideas of Aydemir were criticized by Şefik Hüsnü and Nazım Hikmet, Vedat Nedim agreed with him. The Central Committee of *TKP*, especially

¹²²"Türkiye'de günümüze dek bir ulusal burjuvazi gelişmemiştir. Kemalizm, devlet erkini böylesi bir burjuvazinin oluşumunu kolaylaştırmak için kullanan bir bürokrasiden başka bir şeyi temsil etmemektedir. Ancak gerici ve feodal güçler bu bürokrasiye karşı manevralar çevirmekte; bu da bu bürokrasiyi kendini bir terör rejimi ile savunmak zorunda bırakmaktadır. Proletaryanın Kemalist hükümete karşı siyasal mücadelesi, gericileri desteklemeye eşdeğer olacaktır, zaten Türk proletaryası da çok zayıf, deneyimsiz ve sınıf bilincinden yoksundur. *TKP*'nin halihazırdaki görevi, emekçileri eğitmekten, onların kısmi istemlerini desteklemekten, onlarda sınıfların dayanışma duygusunu uyandırmaktan ibarettir. Gündelik kaygılarının çerçevesini aşan hedefleri önlerine koyduğumuz takdirde yığınlar bizim peşimizden gelmez. Hücrelerimiz, dikkatli ve temaşacı bir tutumu korumalıdır. Bayrağımızı açmaya kalktığımız takdirde, Kemalistler yönetici kadrolarımızı yok edecek ve işçiler bizden yüzlerini çevirecektir!..."

Aydemir and Vedat Nedim, were criticized for implementing a small bourgeoisie dictatorship, and they were seen as an obstacle to the development of the party. It was also argued that they were narrow-minded nationalists who did not understand the enthusiasm of the working class and did not have internationalism in their ideologies or actions. Aydemir refuted the claims by stating that "The route of our behaviors was determined firstly the possibilities provided by the objective situations that we live in and then our own material and moral powers" (Akbulut, 2002, p. 90).¹²³ He wanted to manage the party with regard to the current conditions of Turkey rather than the directives of Comintern in Moscow. They, Aydemir and Vedat Nedim, thought that the External Central Committee could not evaluate the situation in the country thoroughly; therefore, they had to return to Turkey as soon as possible.

In July 1927, Şefik Hüsnü came to Turkey but he did not aim to work together with the current Central Committee. On the contrary, he intended to take them down. Şefik Hüsnü wrote letters to the Comintern and the necessary authorities stating that despite all warnings, the Central Committee did not implement the decisions taken by the Comintern and there was a lack of effective administration within the party. To him, the current administrative board seriously jeopardized the existence of the party (Akbulut, 2002, p. 86). In the report, written on August 5, 1927, Şefik Hüsnü was accused the party with the following words:

"Asım (Vedat Nedim Tör), Şevket Aydemir, Salih Hacıoğlu, Samilof (Hamdi), Mahmut, Nuri (Electrician): these people should be urgently removed from the Central Committee due to social democratic ideological degenerations and lack of commitment to the Comintern. They do not have a qualification to be a manager and do not worthy of a full trust" (Akbulut, 2002, p. 91).

¹²³ *"Davranış hattımız yalnızca birinci olarak içinde yaşadığımız nesnel koşulların sağladığı olanaklar ve sonra da kendi öz maddi ve manevi güçlerimiz belirliyor."*

A short while after these events, Vedat Nedim handed the secret documents of *TKP* to the police and informed about the activities of the party. Upon this, Şefik Hüsnü¹²⁴ was arrested on October 25, 1927. Similarly, Vedat Nedim (Tör) and Aydemir was also arrested. While Vedat Nedim (Tör) was sentenced for two months, Aydemir was released. During his first imprisonment, Aydemir's ideas had begun to change; but after his second arrestment, he decided not to return to his previous life for certain. A new life was about to begin for him in which he would find the utopia he was looking for.

4.6. Conclusion

Like the other ideals that he had adopted, communism also had some promissory discourses that attracted Aydemir. It can be argued that the anti-imperialist discourse which was frequently used in the Baku Congress was the core reason that made him begin his adventure of communism. Yet, this time, his introduction with this new ideal did not take place as a result of a quest as it was in his adoption of Turanism after Balkan Wars. Instead, he found himself in the middle of communism due to the invasion of Azerbaijan by the Red Army. Therefore, he obliged to find or, in other words, to construct the motivations that would lead him to adopt this ideal after he met it. As a natural consequence of the relationship with communism, his adventure took place within a continuing quest on what he could find for himself. In parallel, he had difficulties in adopting some core principles of communism such as class conflict and achieving universal revolution of the proletariat. Besides, it should be underlined that some values of his past such as religious atmosphere of his childhood were also effective factors shaping his comprehension of communism.

¹²⁴ On Nisan 17, 1929, he was acquitted. For a while, he lived in Germany, then moved to Paris.

Aydemir mentioned to his adventure of communism in his memoirs by a regretful mood. It can be argued that this is the result of his unwillingness to be associated with his communist identity. However, his experience of communism made significant contributions to the development of his utopian consciousness. One of the core ones of these contributions was the ability to comprehend the incidents within the economic ties that he acquired whereby the education of economics in the KUTV. Besides, although he criticized KUTV for being far away from scientific purposes, his intellectual world also enriched in parallel with the education he received at this university. When he turned back to Istanbul after years, now, he was capable of evaluating comprehensive issues through the translations he made from the Marxist literature. All the ideals to which Aydemir was bound left a remarkable mark in his utopian mind and helped him reach a synthesis by which he tried to make a contribution to the ideal of Kemalism that he would defend until the end of his life. The anti-imperialist discourse, the state-run economic model and the idea of cooperative system were the prominent components that Aydemir adopted from his communism experience while creating his own synthesis.

5. PASSING FROM THE IDEA OF COMMUNISM TO THE IDEA OF TURKISH REVOLUTION

5.1. Introduction

Aydemir experienced communism both in Russia and Turkey, but was not able to entirely attach himself to this ideology. He decided to serve to the Turkish Revolution to which he felt himself closer even in the midst of his communist activities. After years of his adventure in different ideologies, he began to construct his utopia and Turkish Revolution was the core of this utopia.

In order to fully comprehend the thoughts of Aydemir, it would be beneficial to conceptualize the model that the administrative cadre of the state followed on the way to building the Modern Turkey. In that regard, Edward Shils' conceptualization of modernizing oligarchies is employed in this study. According to Shils, there are five types of political systems in the "new states" of non-Western world: political democracy, tutelary democracy, modernizing oligarchy, totalitarian oligarchy, and traditional oligarchy. The modernizing oligarchy which Turkey was given as an example under the rule of Mustafa Kemal possesses a well-organized elite, clique-like structure (Shils, 1960b, p. 394). Shils described modernizing oligarchies which do not completely mean or in all respects illiberal, a unitary public would be needed at the command of the elite who wanted to legitimize themselves (Shils, 1967, pp. 49,63). Moreover, the elite who may use an authoritarian party as an instrument of mobilization and aggregation, the basic aspiration was to modernize the society. Another characteristic of his term was the absence of a competitive party system and having limited or controlled associations. The last principle of modernizing oligarchies was that they were usually strongly motivated toward economic

development (Almond & Coleman, 1970, p. 53). His specification fits both the policies of the Mustafa Kemal period, especially the period between 1930 and 1938, and the economic and political methods that Aydemir had designed. Furthermore, the intellectual accumulation that he acquired during this adventure led him to adopt the system of modernizing oligarchy. In this chapter, his thoughts will be analyzed within the framework of the political condition of the Turkey and in the axis of his writings in the *Kadro* Journal which he began to publish with a group intellectual in order to realize his utopia.

5.2. *Quo Vadis Comrade?*

Aydemir's detention process, which began in 1925, and the incidents he experienced in prison became a kind of educational process for him that the dilemmas he had been having in his mind for a long time became clear. He said that "the pulse of the country and the community was partly pulsating in the prisons. For intellectuals who know how to listen and evaluate these pulsating, prison can be a university" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 326).¹²⁵ The period in which he was imprisoned had become one of the turning points in his life; the years of prison enabled the formation of new beginnings in his mind.

In the early years of the republic, an array of reforms were carried out to save the Turkish society from traditionalism and to place to the trajectory of contemporary civilization. Some of these reforms related to the political field such as the abolishment of the caliphate while some others were aimed at the transformation of the society. The Hat Revolution, which put into force on November 25, 1925, was one of the works of destroying the ties with traditionalist way of life in the society.

¹²⁵"Memleketin ve toplumun nabzı, biraz da cezaevlerinde atar. Bu atışları dinlemeyi ve değerlendirmeyi bilen, aydın insan içindir ki, Cezaevi, bir Üniversite olabilir."

According to Berkes "Changing what is worn on head is an important step and a tool for making a revolution in the mind" (Berkes, 2011, pp. 547-548). Within the logic of modernizing oligarchies, these revolutions were introduced to the people through the top to down policies conducted by ruling elites. As Ahmad stated, these revolutionary reforms aimed at a radical transformation that would lead Turkey to progress rapidly into the twentieth century (Ahmad, 2003a, p. 56). On the other hand, the revolutions met with the reaction of some circles, especially that of conservatives. As tried to be revealed in the previous chapter while mentioning to the arrestment of Aydemir, the regime could apply extra-ordinary measures in order not to be interrupted the process of revolution. Newly established modern Turkey was passing through a radical change within this kind of tensions.

Aydemir was a witness to the radical transformations of the country both in the corridors of the courts and in prison. His observations on the reflections of the revolutions on people, especially during his imprisonment period, shaped some of the basic goals and principles that he would follow in the further part of his life. Shortly before the Hat Revolution, while he was waiting in the corridor of the court, he witnessed that a young journalist who was wearing a hat was manhandled by a member of the court who worn calpac. After the enactment of Hat Law, this time, he witnessed that the same court member, who began to wear a straw hat, judged İskilipli Atıf Hodja because of violating the law (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 310-315). In one of his trials, when he used the term "revolution", the court president scolded him severely with those words: "Revolution? What the fallacy is? Revolution is over! The country finished its revolution. There is no revolution to be done anymore! What is the

revolution? They are all imagination, all nonsense" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 316).¹²⁶ From his perspective, these events were real examples of how the revolution was perceived by the people and how the people had accepted the revolution. The man, who pushed a young journalist off the stairs because he had worn a hat, could execute a Hodja after a short while because he did not wear a hat. To him, some people were running from behind of the revolutions rather than ahead, but everything was getting easier with revolutions when laws were enacted in the parliament. In the face of these incidents he witnessed, he came to the conclusion that the revolution in Turkey should be carried out by the guide of the legislative authority. Aspiring by Heinrich Heine's¹²⁷ statement that "There cannot be a revolution in Germany. Because it forbidden by law"¹²⁸, Aydemir expressed his evaluation of the revolution with those words: "In Turkey, every revolution can be implemented, but only through law" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 316).¹²⁹

While he was being judged in the independence tribunals, he saw that many people were judged since they did not abide the revolutions. Besides, he also witnessed that some of those people lost their lives by the decision of these highly authorized courts. In the eyes of Aydemir, those who were judged in these courts were "undisciplined people who could not comprehend the new conditions of life" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 319).¹³⁰ Perhaps because of the revolutionary discipline he had adopted in communism, Aydemir had a pretty strict stance on the success of the revolution. He expressed that no revolutions had ever taken place without blood in the history, in that regard, Turkish revolution, in his eyes had been very quiet when

¹²⁶"İnkılap mı? Bu ne mugalata? İnkılap bitti! Bu memleket inkılabını bitirdi. Artık yapacak inkılap yok! Ne demek inkılap? Hepsi hayal, hepsi saçma..."

¹²⁷ Christian Johann Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) is a German poet.

¹²⁸ "Almanya'da inkılap olamaz. Çünkü kanunen memnudur!"

¹²⁹ "Türkiye'de her inkılap olur, fakat ancak kanun yoluyla..."

¹³⁰ "kabına sığmayan, hayatın yeni şartlarını kavrayamayan insanlar."

compared to the Russian Revolution. To him the revolution was concerned about its settlement, so these events were its reflections to the people. Besides, he argued that the Turkish people were accustomed to these situations. To him, throughout the centuries, every innovation has been accepted as top-down reforms; the state has requested and the public have had to obey. Again, the revolution needs to be carried out by the state itself, that is to say, "for the people in spite of the people" but the question was whether the people would conform to them (Aydemir, 2016, p. 319).

The compulsory residency of Aydemir in prison together with his comrades caused him to lose his belief on the sincerity of his friends about the revolution as well. He stated in his memoirs that many of his communist friends, called themselves as "Professional Revolutioner"¹³¹, identified themselves as propulsive power of the proletarian revolution. According to him, the Professional Revolutionary¹³² "means a man who devotes himself to the revolution unconditionally, turning a blind eye to the blessings of the coming temporary world, sacrificing himself for the ideal is a must" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 322-323). However, one day, he witnessed that one of these professional revolutionaries, replaced his bed with a new one for his own comfort although he had already had one. The fact that how one of the most ardent advocates of the revolution moved away from his revolutionary ideas for his own personal comfort or interests affected Aydemir very much (Aydemir, 2016, p. 323). This kind of incidents caused Aydemir to alienate to his communist milieu and change his way to Turkish Revolution.

After Ankara, Aydemir was dispatched to Afyon prison where some new windows in his life opened up. Aydemir and his friends had a privileged position in the eyes of other convicts due to their title of "political prisoners" who were

¹³¹ They preferred the term for those who used revolutionism as a profession.

¹³² *"kendini kayıtsız şartsız inkılaba veren adam demektir, onda gelici geçici dünya nimetlerine tam manasıyla göz yumarak, kendisini yalnız dava için feda etmek asıldır."*

intellectual people whose words were respected by others. Aydemir, who always attached importance to education and tried to teach people something at every opportunity, this time, began to educate the other prisoners, so he had an opportunity to get to know them better. He said that "prison was like a drop placed under the microscope in boiling blood of the society. The pulse of the Anatolia was throbbing in these wards" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 329).¹³³ As he began to get to know these people better, he understood that he encountered again with the Anatolian reality with which he confronted both on the way of Caucasus and at the battlefield. In his eyes, this reality presented its silhouette this time as irregularity, ignorance, primitiveness, tyranny, negligence, and struggle for land. To him, for centuries, the Turkish nation had been crushed by irregularity which was named regularity and the present situation is a reflection of that order (Aydemir, 2016, p. 330).

While he was teaching the other prisoners how to read and write and explain some political issues, Aydemir observed that they had more and more desire to learn each day. The fact that they are dealing with something other than their own little world and being so enthusiastic about learning impressed Aydemir. He thought that the government has not connected with the people yet and that the society needed a clearing and regulating revolution rather than subversive and disrupting rules (Aydemir, 2016, p. 330). One day, after a lecture during which he talked about the differences between Sultanate and the Republican regime, a prisoner said to Aydemir: "why do not they talk to us? Why do not they explain this to us? The biggest problem of this nation is ignorance, sir. This is the fault of the government, not us. The government is the Imam. We are the congregation. If the Imam does not teach, how

¹³³"Hapishane, bir toplumun, kaynayan kanından mikroskop altına konulmuş bir damla gibiydi. Anadolu'nun nabzı bu koğuslarda çarpıyordu."

the congregation will know? (Aydemir, 2016, p. 336).¹³⁴ The words of the prisoner which revealed how the Anatolian people were to accompany the revolution, deeply influenced Aydemir and shaped the flow of his life. The state would be imam and the people would be the congregation. The state would be the supplier to the people who would be a receiver and ready to obey the rules of the state. This relationship would constitute the core of his understanding of development. To Aydemir, the real matter was the integration of the state and the people, because these two existences (imam and congregation) had been far from each other over the centuries. The people had been the ones who had always been giving but could not get anything, their needs had always been neglected. This is the reason why the people could not keep up with the revolution and many people were in prison instead of working for their future. Aydemir summarized his thoughts with these words: "We, probably, did not settle down yet to these lands that we had embraced for one thousand year ... Now, we have to lean over these lands and whatever we are looking for need to be searched here" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 337).¹³⁵

With these thoughts, he wrote a book titled "*Musair Türkiye'nin İktisadi İnkişâ İstikametleri*" (The Way of the Economic Development of Contemporary Turkey) in prison.¹³⁶ In the book, he argued that Turkey needed a national economy based on etatism. For him, Turkey was to achieve prosperity by way of following a national program and connecting with other economies of the world without causing bloody revolutions. The etatist economic model also brought him to think on imam (state)-

¹³⁴ "bize niçin böyle konuşmazlar? Niçin böyle anlatmazlar? Bu milletin bütün derdi cahilliktir efendi. Bunun suçu bizim değil, hükümetindir. İmam o. Biz cemaatiz. İmam öğretmeyince cemaat nerden bilecek?..."

¹³⁵ "biz bin yıldır sahiplendiğimiz bu topraklara galiba henüz yerleşememiştik. ... Artık bu toprağın üzerine eğilmek ve aradığımızı bu toprağın üzerinde aramak gerekti."

¹³⁶ The book was completed in 1926, and in 1927, it was examined by the Ministry of Education in Darülfünun, but was not considered as appropriate to publish, because it was mentioned about the principle of historical materialism (Aydemir, 2016, p. 337).

congregation (people) relations. After establishing this relationship in his mind, he came to the conclusion that the national movement should be carried out in a legal way by a guiding party rather than a secret revolutionary party like the *TKP*. The first seeds of his changing ideas, were also expressed in his book, *Lenin and Leninism*, As mentioned in the book, in the time of the empire, unnecessary wars, and capitulations resulted in a semi-colonized state and hindered economic development. Lack of capital stock caused an increase in poverty and lumpen proletariat. Every movement that the Republican Party would do for the development of the state would be true and progressive (Aydemir & Sadrettin, 1924b, p. 44).

His changing ideas showed that he completely disassociated to the ideological ties with communism and *TKP*. He expressed the transformation he went through with these words:

"My researches and thoughts have brought me from a communist order and communist procedures that can bring an order and yet, of course, cannot be brought by our opportunities which means, of course, that cannot be successful by our possibilities to a etatist economic view, and separated me from the communist revolution ties... The robot (otomat) who came back from Moscow to Istanbul is no longer alive now" (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 337-339).¹³⁷

He began to dream of a Turkey which was without fightings, revolts, classless, unprivileged. This Turkey would be a prosperous, progressive and independent country. What is more, this Turkey would be an example to all similar states (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 341-342). For the last time, Aydemir was courageous enough to

¹³⁷"Araştırmalarım ve düşüncelerim beni komünist bir nizamdan ve bu nizamı getirecek ve elbette ki bizim imkanlarımızla getirilemeyecek, yani elbette ki bizim imkanlarımızla başarılamayacak komünist usüllerden, Devletçi bir iktisat görüşüne götürmüştü, bir ihtilal bağlılığından ayırmıştı... Moskova'dan İstanbul'a dönen otomat artık ölmüştü."

say *Quo Vadis comrade?*¹³⁸ (*Kovadis yoldaş?*) (Aydemir, 2016, p. 342) because now, he knew where he was going and was decisive and brave enough to overcome the obstacles which stood in his path. He decided to dedicate himself to explain the ideology of Turkish revolution to the people and bring them together with the state as an intellectual. Now, he was under the command of the Turkish Revolution.

5.3. Under the Command of the Revolution

After acquitting, Aydemir had planned to be a teacher in a village school in Ankara, but he started to work as a sub-manager in the "*Maarif Vekaleti Yüksek ve Teknik Öğretim Umum Müdürlüğü*" (General Directorate of Higher and Professional Education in the Ministry of Education). Moreover, at the same time, he worked as "*Yüksek İktisat Meclisinde Umumi Katip Yardımcısı*" (Assistant of Clerk in the Higher Economic Council). Then, he founded *Ankara Ticaret Lisesi* (Commercial High School in Ankara) and worked in as a principal until 1936. Thanks to his chance to be able to work at essential state institutions, Aydemir had the opportunity to follow the government policies closely and observe the development of the revolution.

In 1929, Turkey witnessed two important events; the first one was that the restrictions of the customs tariffs, accepted at the Lausanne Treaty¹³⁹ were over. The second one was the Great Depression. The global crisis started with the crash on the New York Stock Exchange in October 1929, spread swiftly across the world and manifested itself with unemployment, falling prices and trade stagnation. With the Izmir Economic Congress in February 1923, Turkey had begun to follow a liberal

¹³⁸ It is a Latin phrase meaning "where are you going?" According to a legend first found in the apocryphal Acts of St Peter. The Apostle Peter, fleeing the persecutions in Rome met Christ on the Appian Way and asked him 'Domine, quo vadis?'. Receiving the reply that Christ was going to be crucified again, Peter understood that this would be in his place; he accordingly turned back, and was martyred (Marlowe, 2004). The phrase is used as a proverb in various languages.

¹³⁹ According to Lausanne Treaty, custom tariffs were frozen at the 1916 rates, with prohibitions on differential rates for imported and locally produced goods. These restrictions came to an end at the beginning of 1929 (Ahmad, 2003a, p. 94).

economic model. Yet, following the global crisis, it was seen that the liberal system lacked the power to achieve the economic development of the country. Thus, state supervision and the state-run economy seemed to be enduring against the crisis. The capitalist governments of the West were even trying to solve the crisis through increasing the state's control in the economy via the Keynesian economic model as opposed to their own principles. Even if Turkey had not completely integrated with the Western World of capitalist free enterprise, it was badly affected by the reduction of prices of agricultural products on which the country was largely based in terms of export trade (Lewis, 1968, p. 281). Therefore, the expectations coming from the autonomy of the customs tariffs caused disappointment for the government. As a consequence of the great depression, Turkish political elites decided to pass into a state-run economic model. In May 1931, the Third Party Congress was held; the principle of etatism was adopted by the party's program, and the Kemalist ideology was launched with the six fundamental and unchanging principles: Republicanism, Populism, Etatism, Nationalism, Secularism, and Revolutionism/Reformism. These principles became the six arrows¹⁴⁰ of the party and the symbol of its emblem (Ahmad, 2003a, p. 63).

For Aydemir, who was always in favor of a state-run economic model from the very beginning, the great depression revealed one more time that the liberal economic model was not a convenient path to be followed. On the other hand, he thought that this crisis would be an opportunity as well for both Turkey and other developing countries. According to him, there were two alternative ways to be followed: the first one was to mobilize the people by reviving the excitement of the Turkish revolution, and the second was to arouse the national power and technical

¹⁴⁰ Besides etatism, secularism and revolutionarism were added to the party's programme. In the Second Party Cogress, populism, republicanism and nationalism had been added the programme in October 1927.

capability of the country by obtaining technical means and personal sources of the Western world whose prices decreased considerably due to the economic stagnation stemming from the global crisis (Aydemir, 2016, p. 359). As will be examined in detail in further parts, he would engaged in producing some programs to Turkey so as to follow the direction of etatist economic model.

In addition to the economic stagnation, there was also a political tension and a discontent stemming from the radical change came along with the revolution. In order to cope with this situation, Mustafa Kemal offered Fethi Okyar to found a political party. Within direction of Mustafa Kemal's instructions, Okyar founded the *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*¹⁴¹ (The Free Republican Party) on August 12, 1930. According to Ahmad and Karpat the two-party system was expected to ease political tensions and create a consensus about financial and economic reforms. The people were so alienated to their rulers, thus they responded with an enthusiasm to the appeals of the *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası* (Ahmad, 2003b, pp. 59-60; Karpat, 2010, pp. 151-153). It was thought that the role of the party was a controlled opposition (*güdümlü muhalefet*). By means of this party, the demands and suggestions of the discontent masses would be able to be brought to the Assembly. Besides, it would be able to avoid these demands to change the direction of the revolution thanks to the loyalty of the leader cadre of the party. However, the great support that the party received although it was founded only a few months ago disquieted Fethi Okyar. He thought that it would not be possible to come to power without falling into dispute with Mustafa Kemal, thus he decided to close down his party. In that context, the party dissolved itself on November 17, 1930 and the country continued to be ruled by the

¹⁴¹ Other founders of the party were Nuri Conker, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, Reşit Galip, Süreyya İlmen, Refik İsmail Kakmakçı, Tahsin Uzer, and Nakiyeddin Yücekök.

single-party system which would evolve to the integration of the party and the state (Yücekök, 1983, p. 113).

Soon after the dissolution of the *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, the discontent against the revolution showed itself with a reactionary revolt in a town of Izmir. A group of reactionaries, belonging to Naqshibandi order, revolted under the leadership of Dervish Mehmed with the demand of the restoration of both Sharia and the Caliphate. A young reserve officer, Kubilay, who tried to intervene against the reactionaries, was slaughtered wildly by them in the incidents. The rebellion known as Menemen Incident had a traumatic effect on the regime because it occurred not in a backward region of Anatolia but in a city that was expected to be a model for the transformation of the society within the guide of the revolution. In the letter he sent to the General Staff, Mustafa Kemal expressed the disappointment he felt with these words: "shameful for all republicans and patriots because some of the people of Menemen had applauded and encouraged the savagery of the reactionaries" (Ahmad, 2003a, p. 60). The following words that quoted from the article written by Yakup Kadri in *Hakimiyeti Milliye* (National Sovereignty) Newspaper, illustrates the reaction of the Kemalists intelligentsia:

"...Who were the passive, silent observers of this tragedy? Citizens of this secular, contemporary Republic of Turkey. That is the real tragedy ... It means that the prevailing climate and environment, the moral climate, the moral environment was not that of the revolutionary, republican and patriotic Turkish youth; it was the climate and environment of Dervish Mehmed, a devotee of the Naqshibandi order which we have described with such adjectives as 'rebellious' 'brutal', 'thieving' and 'reactionary'. Had it not been

so, this man could not have found twenty minutes to do his work... Shaykh Mehmed is just a symptom, a shadow" (Ahmad, 2003a, p. 60).

For many observers, the incident was an illustration of how the revolution was perceived by the people. According to Ahmad, the incident exposed the shallow rootless character of the reforms and showed that the reforms, which would not take root in society on their own, had to be explained to the people and needed to get their approval and support (Ahmad, 2003b, p. 88). In that regard, on March 10, 1931, Recep Peker was appointed as a general secretary of the party to bring new ideological functions to the RPP and activate it (Tekeli & İlkin, 2003, pp. 132-133). It can be said that newly established Turkey – when the political attempts, economic changes and social reactions of the time is taken into consideration – was seeking for her own utopia.

Şerif Mardin stated that one of the main reasons why the revolutions did not take root among the people was that most of the state administrators and intellectuals of the period had no utopian consciousness like Mustafa Kemal. To him, Mustafa Kemal was a utopian who always kept the current situation, the political, economic and social realities of the country constantly in mind while pursuing his ideal. For instance, shortly after the *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası* had been closed on November 17, 1930, he went on a three-month nationwide tour in order to understand the public's reaction to the government. On the other hand, high-level bureaucrats of the period lacked the capability of objective observation. Many of them were unaware of understanding the realities of the country and the people. Most of the time, when they thought that they were in connection with the society, in fact, they were befooling themselves. Therefore, when Mustafa Kemal's decisions passed through the filter of

the bureaucracy, they reached out to the society in an irrational and grotesque form (Mardin, 1990, pp. 208-212).

Not connecting the state with the people was one of the main reasons that triggered Aydemir to do something. According to him, statesmen and intellectuals of the period could not keep up with the progress of the revolution. They were either lagging behind the revolution by losing their enthusiasm, or they exaggerated by ignoring or misinterpreting the social realities. In order to clarify the situation, Aydemir gave example of the attitudes of the intellectuals towards the language, history, archeological issues. At the beginning of 1930, Mustafa Kemal, who thought that "the true place of the Turks in world history and their role in the world of civilization" should be addressed, initiated the formation of Turkish History Institution. The issue was discussed at the 6th Congress of the *Türk Ocakları* in April 1930, and the framework of the foundation of the Turkish History Institution was constituted. In that regard, a committee, namely *Türk Tarih Heyeti* (Turkish History Committee), was formed by the participation of prominent scholars and intellectuals.¹⁴² Following the closure of the *Türk Ocakları*, the Turkish History Committee became an independent institution, and on April 12, 1931, it was officially known as *Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti* (Society for the Study of Turkish History) by the directive of Mustafa Kemal (İnan, 2009, pp. 257-268). Apart from the studies in Turkish history, Mustafa Kemal also wanted to make scientific examination for the Turkish language. Within this context, *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti*¹⁴³ (Society for the Study of the Turkish Language) was established on July 12, 1932 by Samih Rifat,

¹⁴² The committee held its first meeting on June 4, 1930. In the meeting, Tevfik (Bıyıklıoğlu), Secretary General of the Presidency of the Republic, was elected as president. Other members of the committee were Yusuf Akçura, Samih Rifat, Reşit Galip, Afet (İnan), Vasıf (Çınar), Halil Edhem (Eldem), Yusuf Zıya (Özer), Sadri Maksudi (Arsal), Reşit Saffet (Atabinen), and İsmail Hakkı (Uzunçarşılı) (İnan, 2009, p. 264).

¹⁴³ The Society was named *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Turkish Language Institution) in 1936.

Ruşen Eşref, Celal Sahir and Yakup Kadri (İnan, 2009, p. 294). Mustafa Kemal was the founder and protector of these two Institutions.

According to Aydemir, the real aim of Mustafa Kemal was to initiate a noble scientific process that would lead the intellectuals to conduct researches in the fields of history, language, and archeology. However, as these researches became more widespread among the intellectuals, they gradually deviated from the original aim and take different forms. He stated that the days of these intellectuals were passing by totally tentative and personal studies such as searching for different words, making word plays, developing different history thesis. The expiry of many of the scientific discoveries reached was just a day long. In his view, most of the researches carried out by the intellectuals of the time, such as trying to determine which type the Turkish nation belong in terms of the skull shapes were meaningless debates did nothing but a waste of time (Aydemir, 2016, p. 366). The need and priority of the Anatolian people that he experienced in the battlefields and in prison were much more different. Aydemir was aware of the social and the cultural structure of the society on which the new state was tried to establish. In order to be able to adopt such kind of issues, the public should first understand the idea of becoming a citizen and develop a commitment to its state. This could only be achieved through an education process which should be carried out in coordination with the economic developments. And, above all, the ideology of the revolution was needed to guide this process.

Upon entering into the service of the Turkish Revolution, Aydemir was in search of a tool to explain his ideas on the development of the revolution. In that regard, he began to spend time in the *Türk Ocakları*, which was one of the most important institutions of Turkism, and attended the discussions. As stated previously, the association had been closed down by the occupation forces in 1920, so could not

be active until 1922 when it was reactivated under the presidency of Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver. In the new period, the association became a primary supporter of the Turkish revolutions until it was closed down in 1931 and the government provided moral and material support for their activities. Moreover, after the First Congress of *Türk Ocakları*, held in 1924, it was decided to reactivate the *Türk Yurdu* as the publishing organ of the association (Üstel, 2004, pp. 133, 157; Georgeon, 1986, p. 105). According to the second article¹⁴⁴ of the *Türk Ocakları* charter which was determined in 1924 "The aim of the Turkish Hearths is to strengthen the national consciousness among the Turks, to reveal the Turkish culture, to ensure civilized and healthy development and to work for the improvement of the national economy" (Üstel, 2004, p. 162). The *Türk Ocakları* had declared itself as an association independent from politics in 1912 and tried to keep its attitude since its foundation, but in the congress, held in 1927, the article: "in the state politics, the *Türk Ocakları* is together with the Republican People's Party" was added to the charter of the association. Moreover, the same year in the Grand Congress of the Republican Party, it was accepted that the *Türk Ocakları* was an institution under the supervising of the party. This was a sign of tendency of the association being seen as a cultural branch of the party (Üstel, 2004, pp. 402-403; Tuncay, 1992a, p. 296; Koçak, 2000, p. 155).

At that time, Aydemir felt himself closer to the *Türk Ocakları* since it supported the Turkish Revolution. He expressed his feelings in his memoirs with these words: "the first day when I entered into the Ankara *Türk Ocağı*, I could not refrain myself from feeling some young frissons inside of me" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 365).¹⁴⁵ Under the roof of this association, Aydemir had the opportunity to express his

¹⁴⁴"*Türk Ocağı'nın maksadı bütün Türkler arasında millî şuûrun takviyesine, Türk harsının meydana çıkarılmasına, medenî, sıhhî tekâmüle ve millî iktisâdın inkişâfına çalışmaktır.*"

¹⁴⁵"*Ankara Türkocağı'nın çatısının altına ilk girdiğim gün, içimde birtakim genç ürpermeler duymaktan gene de kendimi alamadım.*"

thoughts in front of some prominent Turkish intellectuals. In the following weeks of the Menemen Incident, a series of conferences were organized to discuss both the incident and the development of the revolutions with the participation of the important intellectuals such as Hamdullah Suphi, Yusuf Akçura, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Sadri Maksudi Arsal, Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (Toker, 2018, p. 46). Aydemir attended these series of the conferences with the issue named "*İnkılabın İdeolojisi*" on January 15, 1931¹⁴⁶ (Üstel, 2004, p. 392; Aydemir, 2011b, p. 27). The main idea of the conference given by Aydemir was the description and comprehension of the Turkish Revolution. He started his speech as "Turkey is now in the process of a revolution. The revolution did not stop, it is broadening and deepening, has not said its last word yet" (Aydemir, 1970c, p. 5; Aydemir, 2016, p. 362).¹⁴⁷ Additionally, the Turkish revolution, which was a national liberation movement, was not only concerned with the condition of Turkey, but it was also a solution to the greatest conflict of our era. This conflict was the contradiction between the imperialist, colonial, and semi-colonial countries, included in the field of the whole world. History gave Turkey this decisive role in the solution of this contrast; this is the historical mission that we have to embrace and succeed (Aydemir, 1970d, p. 5; Aydemir, 2016, p. 363). At the end of the conference, he put emphasis on the economy that the state has to lead in the development of the country. He described his economic model as "an order of a social nationalism. It was neither a total socialism

¹⁴⁶ The date of the conference remarked as January 05, 1931 in the article on November 12, 1970 in daily *Milliyet*, but Aydemir corrected the fault in his following articles in *Milliyet* and stated that the exact date of the conference was January 15, 1931.

¹⁴⁷"*Türkiye bir inkılap içindedir. Bu inkılap durmadı. genişliyor, derinleşiyor. O henüz son sözünü söylemiş değildir.*"

nor a totalitarian state capitalism. It was just a planned etatist regulation" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 363).¹⁴⁸

Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, Yusuf Akçura and Ahmet Ağaoğlu attended the conference as an audience, and were impressed and found his speech useful. The conference was a turning point for Aydemir who decided to improve his opinion in great detail. However, he realized that *Türk Ocakları* was not the right place to realize his aims. He thought that there were not many things that the association could give to Anatolia anymore. He added that the prominent people of the association were busy with budget deficits and bills to pay, and did not have time to work for ideals.

After a short while, *Türk Ocakları* dissolved itself with the extraordinary congress held on April 10, 1931 and *Halkevleri* (People Houses) took its place. Considering that the party-state integration does not favor the multi-organized society, the closure of the *Türk Ocakları* and the opening of the *Halkevleri* is an expected attitude in the modernizing oligarchies. On contrary to *Türk Ocakları* which dates back to the Second Constitutional Period, *Halkevleri* was established depending on the Republican Party and worked in direction of the party's principles. It was opened as nationwide cultural centers and designed to train and unite all people whether they are party members or not. Additionally, the preservation, spreading and adoption of the values of the Turkish Revolution were among the purposes of the *Halkevleri* (Koçak, 2000, p. 155; Ahmad, 1996, p. 171). As it was explicitly stated in its charter, for the dominance and eternalization of the six basic principles, the People's Party points to the importance of raising strong citizens having these qualities, the strengthening of fine arts and scientific activities. The objective of the *Halkevleri* was to bring up idealist generations who would work for these ideals (1932, p. 5; 1943, p.

¹⁴⁸"bir sosyal milliyetçilik nizamı. Bu ne bir topyekün sosyalizm, ne de totaliter bir devlet kapitalizmi idi. Bu sadece planlı ve devletçi bir nizamdı."

3). In modernizing oligarchies, the elite would either suppress the autonomous associations or organize them into para-military corporations. While these associations were entrusted with responsibilities in the implementation of the governmental policy, they empowered acting in favor of the government (Shils, 1960a, p. 397). Oktay stressed that instead of being a para-military corporation, *Halkevleri* functioned as a tool for modernizing oligarchies that is run with the purpose of making the elites of the society gain new and modern attitude (Oktay, 2010, pp. 139-140).

Aydemir took part in the foundation process of *Halkevleri* and was the head of one of the branches in Ankara. However, he was not hopeful for the success of this institution because, to him, it was born in a vicious atmosphere. He stated that what wanted to do was not based on an analyzed system of ideas and an idealistic enthusiasm that would feed this idea system. Therefore, just in the beginning of the process, they began to face with problems. Nobody had a common opinion about what the revolution was (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 365-366). For him, the systemization of the revolution was one of the prior and fundamental issues. He believed that an idealist intellectual cadre should determine the ideology of the revolution and explain the directions and conditions to the people. In that regard, he organized his thoughts in the axis of the conference he gave in the *Türk Ocakları* and presented to Mustafa Kemal. The study received the appreciation of Mustafa Kemal and was asked to be published in large numbers. Aydemir developed his thesis in his book, titled *İnkılap ve Kadro* (Revolution and Cadre) published in 1932. Then, he made an attempt to establish *Kadro*, which gave him a suitable ground to elaborate his thoughts in detail.

5.4. An Avant-garde Movement: *Kadro* and *Kadrocular*

Kadro (Cadre) Journal was founded for the systematization of the Turkish revolution and published between January 1932 and December 1934 by Şevket

Süreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tör (1897-1985), İsmail Hüsrev Tokin (1902-1992), Burhan Asaf Belge (1899-1967), Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974), and Mehmet Şevki Yazman (1896-1974). Due to the Journal's distinctive character and its impact on Turkish political life, these intellectuals were evoked by the title of the journal as *Kadrocular* (see Appendix B) and their attempt was identified as a Movement.

Even though *Kadro* was founded by six intellectuals, the opinion leader of the journal was Aydemir. According to İsmail Hüsrev, the pioneer and the ideological architect of the *Kadro* Movement was Şevket Süreyya and other four friends¹⁴⁹ adopted and followed the same ideas in different and separate directions (Tökin, 1976, p. 5). Likewise, for Tekeli and İlkin, Şevket Süreyya had such a dominant role in the movement that it could be true to call this movement Şevket Süreyya movement instead of *Kadro* Movement such that if it was thought that Şevket Süreyya withdrew himself from this journal, it could be understood that there will be no *Kadro* movement around (Tekeli & İlkin, 2003, p. 144).

As an ideologue, Aydemir, described *Kadro* as an idea movement and stated that its purpose was to investigate and compile the ideology of the Turkish revolution and the principles of the national liberation movement (Aydemir, 1973a, p. 62). Moreover, he explained *Kadro* Movement as:

"A movement that tries to investigate and evaluate the ideological concepts and principles of our revolution with unique world-view"¹⁵⁰ and his description of *Kadrocular* was "People who come together in the journal and in the publications with a different worldview and with a unity of thought,

¹⁴⁹ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Vedat Nedim Tör, Burhan Asaf Belge and İsmail Hüsrev Tokin. He did not include Mehmet Şevki Yazman as one of the founders of the Journal.

¹⁵⁰ "...Kendine özgü dünya görüşü ile, devrimimizin ideolojik kavram ve ilkelerini araştırmaya, değerlendirmeye çalışan bir hareket."

who have given struggle lasting for years, has been stiff but could not be eroded" (Aydemir, 1975e, p. 102).¹⁵¹

It will be significant to briefly explain who were *Kadrocular* prior to the movement in order to understand the idea of the Journal and its publishing process better. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu was a novelist, author, and politician serving in the Assembly as a deputy between the years 1923 and 1934. Besides being the franchise owner of the Journal, he mostly concentrated on literature, culture and art issues (Karaosmanoğlu, 1984, p. 12). Additionally, he also had a special duty between the bureaucracy and the Journal was always under the supervision of the bureaucracy. Thanks to his close relationship with Mustafa Kemal, Yakup Kadri was serving as a bridge between the bureaucracy and the journal. Aydemir described the mission of Yakup Kadri with these words: "The most difficult task was the one Yakup Kadri had because Ankara and Turkey of that day, to some extent, meant Çankaya. The doors of the Çankaya castle were open to Yakup Kadri, in that case, he would be our envoy in Çankaya. It happened so" (Aydemir, 1975e, p. 105).¹⁵² Due to his efforts, Aydemir mentioned him with thankful words: "...Yakup Kadri was neither an institutional man, nor a musketeer. But, he was the man who was a frontrunner, opener of the paths. He was the man who used himself as a shield against arrows but carried the flag" (Aydemir, 1975e, p. 103).¹⁵³

Besides the challenging argument disturbing some politicians and intellectual, Journal exposed to severe criticism due to the background of some founders. Except for Yakup Kadri and Mehmet Şevki Yazman, the pioneers of the *Kadro* involved

¹⁵¹ "... ayrı bir dünya görüşü ve düşün birliği ile bu dergi ve yayınlar üzerinde birleşen, yıllarca süren çetin, ama yıpratılmamış bir mücadele veren kişilerdir."

¹⁵² "En güç görev, Yakup Kadri'nindi. Çünkü o günkü Ankara ve Türkiye demek, biraz da Çankaya demekti. Çankaya kalesinin kapıları ise Yakup Kadri'ye açıldı. O halde Yakup bizim Çankaya'da, bir elçimiz olacaktı. Öyle de oldu."

¹⁵³ "... Yakup Kadri ne bir kurumsal bileşimler adamı, ne de bir silahşördü. Ama, önde giden, yol açan adamdı. Kendini bütün oklara siper eden, ama, bayrağı taşıyan adamdı."

communist activities before 1930. Vedat Nedim Tör, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was the writer of *Aydınlık* Journal and was also the member of the *TKP* like Aydemir. Furthermore, he worked as the general secretary of the party, then he worked in National Economy and Saving Association (*Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*) as a consultant manager (*Müşavir müdürü*) which will be mentioned in the next chapter. He was an editor in *Kadro* and generally focused on the economic issues in his writings. Another founder and author of the journal was İsmail Hüsrev Tökin. After studying in KUTV University, he worked in several government institutions, then taught business economy lessons in the Commercial High School in Ankara where Aydemir was the headmaster (Ertan, 1994, p. 293). Aydemir referred to his two friends with these words:

"In Ankara, there were two other colleagues of mine; Vedat Nedim Tör and İsmail Hüsrev Tokin who came from the same source of thought and action but were no longer robots (otomat) and were trying to assess the needs and problems of our own country with realistic but free perspective" (Aydemir, 1975e, p. 105).¹⁵⁴

Burhan Asaf was also a writer in *Aydınlık* and the general secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Presidency of the Republic in 1927 (Tekeli & İlkin, 2003, p. 102). The last founder name of the Journal was Mehmet Şevki Yazman who was an engineer, who started to write in the *Kadro* after the 13th issue and contributed to the technological development and energy issues. In addition to these founder names, the prominent politicians and intellectuals of the period such as İsmet İnönü, Falih Rıfkı Atay, Ahmet Hamdi Başar, Muhlis Etem Ete, and İbrahim Necmi Dilmen

¹⁵⁴"Ankara'da aynı düşün ve eylem kaynağından gelen, ama artık robot olmayan, çağın akışı ile, kendi ülkemizin gereksinim ve sorunlarını, gerçekçi, ama özgür bir açıdan değerlendirmeye çalışan iki arkadaşım daha vardı: Vedat Nedim Tör ve İsmail Hüsrev Tökin."

made contributions to the journal via their writings. Why *Kadro* was established was explained in the first issue of the journal as follows:

"Turkey is now in the process of a revolution. This revolution possesses the theoretical and intellectual elements that form the revolutionary principles giving consciousness to people who will survive the revolution. But, these theoretical and intellectual elements are inadequate within an ideological system to become an IDEOLOGY for the revolution. Our revolution is one of the most meaningful movements of history in terms of both its national characteristics and international effect. Clarifying these advanced ideas and principles which already inherent in the nature of the revolution is one of the most urgent and honorable tasks for the Turkish revolutionary intelligentsia.This is the cause for the publication of *Kadro*" (1932, p. 3).¹⁵⁵

As it is seen clearly, the first qualification of the *Kadro* Movement was to accept the fact that the principles of the Turkish Revolution had not been identified, explained, or handled yet. According to *Kadrocular*, Turkey experienced a revolution but the theory of the revolution has not been made, its conditions created in history has not been investigated, and the principles has not been put forward. In order for the revolution to be able to live, it needs to be known and its ideology must be created. The *Kadro* Movement was an initiative to fulfill these two basic functions.

Kadro was the first research carried out on the national liberation movement and had two starting points as a method and world-view approach (Aydemir, 1970f, p.

¹⁵⁵ The original text is as follows: "*Türkiye bir inkılâp içindedir. Bu inkılâp kendine prensip ve onu yaşatacaklara şuur olabilecek bütün nazari ve fikri unsurlara maliktir. Ancak bu nazari ve fikri unsurlar inkılâba İDEOLOJİ olabilecek bir fikriyat sistemi içinde terkip ve tedvin edilmiş değildir. Gerek millî mahiyeti gerek beynelmilel şümül ve tesirleri itibarile, tarihin en manalı hareketlerinden biri olan inkılâbımızın, zatında mündemiç bu ileri fikir ve prensip unsurlarını, şimdi inkılâbın seyri içinde ve onun icaplarına uygun bir şekilde izah işi, bugünkü Türk inkılâp münevverliğine düşen vazifelerin en acil ve en şereflişidir... Kadro, bunun için çıkıyor.*"

7). As to method, *Kadrocular* appealed to historical materialism for their theory of the Turkish National Liberation Movement. As a method, historical materialism which examines the society and the war of society against nature is an inclusive world-view system for every place and era in which society meets nature (Aydemir, 2011b, p. 42). Even if *Kadrocular* used the method of historical materialism, they thought that Marxism based on class struggle, was inadequate to explain the national liberation wars. By this manner, they both separated the economic and political theses of Marxism from its philosophical foundations and so, while they were rejecting Marxism, they advocated the historical materialism (Yanardağ, 1988, p. 124).

In the historical materialism which was handled by Marx and supported by Aydemir, there was the consensus about the possession of the technique and technological basis in modern societies. The breaking point was about the evaluation of the contradiction between the national liberation movements and the colonized and semi-colonized countries. For Aydemir, today, there was a contradiction between the capitalists and underdeveloped countries rather than the capitalists and the proletarians (Aydemir, 2011b, p. 47). He supported that before anything else, in order to overcome the contradiction, it is necessary to extinguish economic dependency between industrialized and non-industrial countries, which means that it is mandatory that the economic division of labor has to be changed. Means of production, industrial and transportation facilities, had to be distributed more rationally around the world and thus, injustice would be over. The distribution of the resources should not be based on the looting of developed countries by the non-industrial and underdeveloped states, but rather it should be by way of the national independence war which Turkey gave the most successful example (Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 42-47). *Kadrocular*

expressed their method by using historical materialism which they thought plays an essential role in order to come up with the contradictions in the world.

Moreover, Aydemir described the national liberation movement by a historical dialectic way. To him, every social movement, revolutions, national liberation movements, or the transition from one era to another in the world are the antithesis of their pre-existing orders. These antitheses, in one form or another, matures and society begins to crack in time, thus destroying in the structure of society. Eventually, a system turns into another system, a status to another status, a circumstance to another circumstance. Thereby, the new order becomes a result of the old one such as a republic instead of the sultanate, and national honor instead of spiritual dependency (Aydemir, 1973a, pp. 62-63). He thought that the new Turkey was a reaction to the Ottoman Turkey, so she had to completely accept a new order in every condition. In fact, to him, this reaction was the result of the creation of the imperialism period which started in the West at the end of the 18th century and continued during the 19th century. The improvement of the industrial revolution resulted in the development of Western countries while other states lacking the national industries were exploited. As a result, Turkey was born from the destruction of semi-colonized Ottoman Empire, as to the historical dialectical way, the Turkish National Liberation War was an unavoidable consequence of the old sultanate regime.

After describing the method of *Kadro*, Aydemir clarified the world-view claimed to be unique. Aydemir stated that nowadays, the world has been undergoing a transformation because of two big conflicts, but for *Kadro* there have been three contradictions that labeled the destiny of the world. The first one is the contradiction between the capitalists and proletarians in advanced industrialized countries which gives rise to class conflicts. The second one is among the developed countries

themselves which are competing for the division of the world markets. The imperialist conflicts performing over the periphery and semi-periphery countries resulted in world wars. Finally, the third contradiction is between the periphery or semi-periphery countries whose industries have collapsed, that lacks national capital and have become market for the industries of the developed countries and the metropolitan countries and this contradiction results in national liberation struggles (Aydemir, 1970f; Tökin, 1976, p. 5; Aydemir, 1973a, pp. 65-66). For Aydemir, the last contradiction which *Kadrocular* supported and put as a principle is the main characteristic of the national liberation movements and is also the real contrast in the world (Aydemir, 1970b, p. 7; Aydemir, 1970e, p. 5).

Even if the last contradiction constituted the core argument of *Kadrocular*, İsmail Hüsrev pointed out that it was the structure of Aydemir's idea system that he constructed, considering the world economic conditions in the aftermath of the First World War (Tökin, 1976, p. 5). To Aydemir, the only aim of the Turkish revolution was not dismissing the Greeks from Anatolia which was the military aspect of the Revolution but also was to create a nation. Therefore, he designed and systematized a unique nation structure with every aspect and supported the idea that Turkey would be an example for other countries struggling for their own liberation.

5.4.1. Systematization of the Turkish Revolution

The primary mission that Aydemir and *Kadro* attributed to themselves was to compose a doctrine for the Turkish revolution. Aydemir as an ideologue of the movement undertook the clarification of the mission. Therefore, his early articles in the *Kadro* Journal were about why it was necessary to constitute a doctrine for the Turkish revolution. To him, the first and the foremost issue was to keep the enthusiasm of the revolution in the society alive. In the article, titled "*Pesimist*"

(Pessimist), which he penned in the first issue of the journal, he drew attention to a pessimist existence in the societies going through a revolutionary process. He described the pessimism as a psychology of the people who are against the Turkish revolution and being defeated to the reality: the *pesimist* is the person who lacks the excitement of revolution and who expects the idealism and the excitement of the revolution which the revolutionary cadre keeps alive will disappear by itself one day. Aydemir argued that if pessimism prevails the psychology of the community, it is necessary to abandon hope from the society. In order to cope with pessimist characters, the most invincible and the efficacious forces which are the optimism and enthusiasm of revolution should be mobilized (Süreyya, 1932f, pp. 4-7).

In parallel, Aydemir emphasized the necessity of bringing up a revolutionary generation who would constitute the optimist part of the society and imposed the duty of bringing up this generation to the revolutionary cadre. To him, the most substantial tasks of the revolutionary cadre are to carry out revolutionary enthusiasm, symbolize and organize the ideology of the revolution. Because they cannot be picked spontaneously out of the crowds in streets, they are to be raised and prepared in a certain community organization within a certain revolution discipline. Therefore, Aydemir believed the necessity of a precursor cadre which will mobilize the revolutionary generation, instill the enthusiasm of the revolution, advocate the interests of the society and educate the generation. If a revolution cannot create its own enthusiasm, and if it cannot find its own fighters for freedom, then it cannot be a revolution (Süreyya, 1932e; Aydemir, 2011b, p. 229).

In addition, as a precondition of keeping the revolution enthusiasm alive, Aydemir argued that it is necessary to believe the fact that the revolution has not finished yet. According to him, "A completed revolution is a revolution that is

believed to be a finished" (Süreyya, 1932g, p. 5).¹⁵⁶ He explained why the Turkish Revolution has still continued; if a revolution reached all its aims such as legal, art, moral, and if it defeated all the reactions inside and out, then it is over. However, the Turkish Revolution has still been in the process and has not said its last words yet. (Süreyya, 1932g). His explanation about the continuation of the revolution was a response to the people who believed that the Turkish Revolution ended up with a victory in the Turkish Liberation War. In other words, it was a response to the pessimist of the society.

According to Aydemir, the Turkish Revolution possessed all the institutional components such as the principles and consciousness of the people who executed it. However, these institutional and ideological components were not constituted as a system of ideas. In that regard, the primary role of the cadre was to explain and define the system of ideas which would be the guide, particularly, to the young generation. Then, the intellectual cadre deepens the idea of the revolution by explaining it to the people in villages and cities (Süreyya, 1934b; Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 73-76). *Kadro* identified itself as an organ of this organization and undertook the spreading the ideology of the Turkish Revolution as a mission.

Aydemir began to work of the conceptualization and systemization of the Turkish Revolution with the definition of the national liberation struggle. According to his definition, national liberation movements are the inevitable consequence of the economic and political contradictions between the colonialist states and colonial or/and semi-colonial states. As the starting point of the national liberation movements is a contradiction internationally and worldwide, its purpose and target are the solution and settlement of the conflicts on a world scale; that is to say, the end of the

¹⁵⁶ "Biten inkılap, bittiğine inanılan inkılaptır."

colonialism (Süreyya, 1932i; Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 201, 206). Anti-imperialism is the core, original and unique characteristic of the national liberation movements. This definite characteristic is one of the obvious qualities that distinguish it from fascism, capitalism, and socialism (Süreyya, 1933b). Aydemir strictly refused the comparison of his ideas with fascism and communism. He claimed that his systematization was different from all ideologies in the world and had an indecisive character.

After explaining the national liberation movement in general, Aydemir identified the definition of the Turkish National Struggle as the reaction against the political and economic hegemony of the European invaders and argued that the victory Turkey obtained would be an example for all countries under the exploitation of the developed countries. He emphasized that the compulsory intervention of the people to the Turkish national war was not a kind of street rebellion or confusion rather, it was a independence war carried out against the invaders and imperialists forces. Besides, the liberation war, at the same time, occurred as a revolt against the Palace which submitted to the conditions of the invasion (Aydemir, 2011b, p. 127). According to Aydemir, the Turkish National Movement was a complete structural change of the society. In short, it was a revolution, which represented the juristical, political and economical independence against the imperialist countries in the world.

The system of revolution necessitates an order of the intervention and the discipline because in the revolutionary order, there is no homogeneous society that presents the unity of the spirit, ideas, interests. Therefore, the new elements of the society live together with the ruins of the old regime. The landscape that attracts the attention in the revolutionary society is an open war between the new society, the new economic conditions and the old, primitive values and forces (Aydemir, 2011b, p. 241). According to him, the Turkish Revolution was such a unique revolution that

tried to establish an unprivileged, classless, and coherent nation structure inside the country. Also, acquiring an unconditional political and economic freedom abroad, at the same time, having an economic and political cooperation under an equal condition with all countries in the world; these were the purposes and targets of the Turkish Revolution which represented the Turkish National Liberation Movement (Aydemir, 2011b, p. 98; Süreyya, 1934c). Thus, the Turkish Revolution was not a continuation, an imitation, or a compilation; rather, it was a different case, an example, and a new beginning. It was not the copy of democracy (assumed to be political ideology of capitalism) socialism, fascism, or any other social order (Süreyya, 1933a, p. 5). Additionally, Aydemir believed that what is necessary for the success of a revolution are the needs of a strong will and authority.

"The essential issue for us", said Aydemir, "is that the Turkish nation which recently got rid of the poor management that lasted for centuries and from the regime of semi-colonialism that prevailed more than a century, is capable of establishing a new economy and community order deserving itself despite all terrifying possibilities that the current status of the world have. This can only be achieved by a single revolutionary front" (Aydemir, 2011b, p. 242).¹⁵⁷

A revolution means neither internal disturbances and bloody events nor just reforms. He defined revolution as the revelation of the accumulated needs in the economic and social base of the society by the forceful intervention of the people who had been deprived of political authority before. Therefore, this grassroots movement had to be under the guidance of leaders who would direct the society. These leaders should act as spokesmen for the needs and wishes of the people, but could even act "in

¹⁵⁷"Bizim için esas olan, asırlarca süren bir kötü idare şeklinden ve bir asırdan fazla süren bir yarı sömürge rejiminden yeni kurtulan Türk milletinin, cihanın gebe olduğu bütün ürkütücü ihtimallere rağmen, kendine layık olan yeni iktisat ve cemiyet şeklini arızasız kurabilmesidir. Bu da ancak inkılapçı bir tek cephe ile kabil olabilir."

spite of the people" if necessary (Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 126-127). That is to say, the revolution that is not a neutral order should be organized by the strong authority in order to be adopted by all people who live in the country whether they support the rule or not but must obey them. As it was seen in the classification of the Shils, modernizing oligarchy was ruled by the single-party regimes. In the condition of Turkey, for Aydemir, the authority of a single party and the single chief which were described as a revolutionary party and chief was needed.

Aydemir's belief in a single-party regime for the continuation of the revolution led him to reject democracy. He explained democracy, in *Kadro* and his book, *İnkılap ve Kadro*, as such: Democracy, in contemporary science, can be described as a "reasonable" social order that allows the development of all the capabilities in the society in a coherent and balanced manner. This kind of a social order, of course, provides benefit to the people, however, in which country of the world democracy had been established with a suitable feature to its "ideal meaning?" Democracy produced its ideological principles between the last years of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century and finalized its fight and was developed as an order in the second half of the 19th century. Despite the various anti-democratic movements after the First World War, democracy relatively kept its hegemony. However, when democracy confronted with the global depression, it lost its functions and came out inadequate to solve the problems that occurred from the events and crisis. Thus, democracy was the most excellent and efficient one from the regimes before itself. Of course, it was a progressive and advanced movement. For this reason, classical democracy, with its current form, gave whatever it would be able to give in terms of its main principles to the institutions of the West. Apart from the West, it promised nothing to other countries (Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 143-145; Süreyya, 1934a). What young Turkey needs

is a single-party rule that cannot impede the flow of the revolution so as to constitute its development without reactions and problems. For him, the sense of liberty of our own revolution, of course, will be different from understanding a democratic society that is stray and contradictory.

Aydemir's ideas about the democracy caused polemics with Ahmet Ağaoğlu who basically supported Western democracies. Ağaoğlu believed that democracy was one of the most important factors in the rise of the Western countries. He stated that the democratic principles must be founded in Turkey immediately (Ağaoğlu, 1932a, p. 3). Another conflict between two intellectuals was about the duty of the individual. As he refused the democracy Aydemir, rejected the idea of the freedom of the individual as well. He believed in the primacy of the necessity to provide equal rights for all nations on the world scale, then, in an independent nation, "a work" and "a duty" should be given to the individual. For him, to have "work" and "duty" under the service and the benefit of the society is liberty itself. The individual can find his real place and dignity in an independent national order which works for the interest of the people rather than the profit of a certain group, purified from the imperialist aims. This is the liberty regime that the Turkish Revolution supported and represented (Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 146-148). He stated that "in the young Turkey, the individual belonged to the nation first, then belonged to themselves. Half of the day belongs to the state and the other half is his day" (Süreyya, 1932d, p. 35).¹⁵⁸ He negatively approached individualism and exerted an attitude against the individualist societies. Instead of individualism, educating the young people within the fundamentals of the revolution and providing their assistance to the revolutionary *avant-garde* are today's issue (Süreyya, 1932b, p. 7). Whereas Aydemir gave importance to the interest of the

¹⁵⁸"Yeni Türkiye'de fert, evvela memleketin, sonra kendinindir. Günümüzün, yarısı bizim, yarısı devletindir."

society rather than the profit of the individual, Aġaoġlu put emphasis on that the expansion of individual liberty created a ground for the progress of individualism in the West. Aġaoġlu believed that in the eastern civilizations, the individual is under pressure, and the rights for the freedom of movement is not recognized and the people cannot develop themselves (Aġaoġlu, 1932b). While Aġaoġlu advocated that Turkey has to follow the Western values to improve itself, Aydemir believed that Turkey does not need an example because the regime is the national regime which came from the nature of the revolution itself.

Aydemir designed a nation structure for newly established Turkey that is the non-contradictory society which is running towards the "newer" and the "more advanced" under the service of revolution and single party administration. According to him, the Young Turkey had to maintain a political order that is outside of the imperialist conflicts and interest struggles which dragged the European nations into the world wars. The ideal nation structure for Turkey is a national society which does not leave any chance for the conflicts, social struggles, and fragmentations in itself. For him, Turkish nation has a historical duty to create this type of nation (Aydemir, 2011b, p. 157). The nation structure that will be purified from all contradictions and underdevelopment will give a new type of nation of the history. The Turkish Revolution was neither a reform nor an administrative change and it was full, original, and important in terms of its influences, and has all the conditions to be an example for all similar countries. The nation is a society that expresses the unity of fate and interests of those who live in these boundaries together with the elements of race and culture, which are the heritage of national history. The new Turkish nationalism which will be the expression of the new national regime, will get rid of all exploitation movements (Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 165-166; Süreyya, 1934e). In the new

national structure of Turkey, both socialist and liberal class dictatorships are refused; rather there is a new understanding called social nationalism that rises above the national structure and prefers the unity of the nation in economic interest. This concept of social nationalism is an understanding based on a nation structure which is organized around a state-run economic model and it is anti-imperialist outside, anti-capitalist inside (Aydemir, 2011b, p. 166; Süreyya, 1934d-1935).

As a result, according to *Kadrocular*, the Turkish Revolution was the first successful national liberation movement against imperialism and had a unique place in the world history. It did not occur from class struggle and internal conflicts; rather it happened due to the inevitable consequences of the economic and political contradictions against colonialist states. For Aydemir, the contradictions leading to the National Liberation War are different, so the system of the revolution has to be different from capitalism and socialism. The system of Turkey should be national, not containing class contradictions and struggles. The starting point of Aydemir was the enthusiasm of the revolution. Enthusiasm would be a shield against the negative critics of the revolution. Besides, it would help the continuation of the revolution. In addition to that, an *avant-garde* cadre was needed as it would provide spreading the ideology of the revolution via educating the young people. Furthermore, in his systematization, based on the authoritarian understanding that single party and the single chief, was supported. Moreover, while he opposed democracy, he advocated the liberty for all nations rather than individual freedom. The ideal nation structure for Young Turkey is social nationalism that does not contain contradictions and fragmentations within the society. It also has equal economic and political conditions in the international arena. Socialism that is based on class domination; fascism that performs for the minority dictatorship and serves imperialism (Süreyya, 1933e); and

the democracy that represents the political shield of the capitalism cannot be a model for newly established Turkey.

According to him, political independence must bring economic development with it. Thus, with the success of National Liberation, Turkey should get rid of being an open market and should take place in the world economy with equal economic and political rights immediately. To accomplish this, for him, the only way is the implementation of etatism. In the following part, the etatism that was offered as an economic model for Turkey by Aydemir will be handled together with the state implementation.

5.4.2. Etatism: Quest for the Third Way

Turkey was to feel relieved by gaining the autonomy of the customs tariffs, but the Great Depression caused disappointment for the government then the necessity of the etatism in the economy was understood. For the first time, etatism was used by the statesman, İsmet İnönü, in 1930, Sivas as "moderate etatism" (*mutedil devletçilik*), then in January 1931, Izmir, Atatürk explained this principle in a speech as follows;

"The program that our party follows, on the one hand, is totally democratic, populist as well as from the economic point of view is an etatist. ... Our people are statist by nature, have a right demanding all kinds of their needs from the state. In this respect, there is a precise consensus between the nature of our people and the programme of our party. We will follow to this direction. And there is no doubt that we will succeed" (Arsan, 2006, pp. 390-391).¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹"Fırkamızın takip ettiği program, bir istikametten tamamıyla demokratik, halkçı bir program olmakla beraber iktisadi noktai nazardan devletçidir.... Halkımız tab'an devletçidir ki, her türlü ihtiyacı devletten talebetmek için kendisinde bir hak görüyor. Bu itibarla milletimiz tabayii ile fırkamızın programında tamamıyla bir mutabakat vardır. Bu istikametten yürüyeceğiz. Ve muvaffak olacağımızda şüphe yoktur."

Etatism entered the Party Program in 1931 and in 1937 and took part in the constitution. In the Third Congress of the Party, etatism was described as follows:

"Together with keeping the works and the activities of civilians, in order to achieve national prosperity and development in a short period of time, the state intervention is necessary fundamental for us in the vital interest of the nation, especially in the field of economy" (1931, p. 30).¹⁶⁰

The interpretation of the etatism stayed flexible when compared with other five principles. Even liberalism, which is the opposite of etatism, could have been maintained as etatism. Therefore, a broad spectrum emerged about the principle (Tekeli & İlkin, 1982, p. 80; Ertan, 1994, p. 7). From the perspective of the government block, Recep Peker had a tendency to see the etatism as a natural outcome of the RPP's practices since the beginning of the revolution rather than as a result of the Great Depression. Furthermore, İsmet İnönü in his article, which was published in *Kadro*, stated that before anything else, the politics of etatism in the economy showed its necessity as a defense mechanism. For İnönü, etatism would compensate the negligence lasted for centuries, resist the conditions of today's world, so in order to establish a strong state; etatism would rescue the state from the abrasive factors that have negative effects on the economy (İnönü, 1933, p. 4). Like Peker, İnönü did not have a tendency to interpret statism as a necessity that the historical condition forced us to implement. Both politicians perceived etatism as a permanent solution as opposed to a temporary one and thought that some areas of the production should stay in the hands of the state permanently for the interest of the society (Tekeli

¹⁶⁰ The original text is as follows: "*Ferdi mesayi ve faaliyeti esas tutmakla beraber, mümkün olduğu kadar az zaman içinde milleti refaha ve memleketi mamuriyete erdirmek için milletin umumi ve yüksek menfaatlerinin icap ettiği işlerde -bilhassa iktisadi sahada- devleti alakadar etmek mühim esaslarımızdandır.*"

& İlkin, 1982, p. 103). Their proposals were neither the creation of the new societal system nor the third way; they only made a plan in the range of politics in industrialization.

In the government block, a group of politicians, such as Celal Bayar, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, who adopted liberal economic policies perceived etatism as a temporary solution and described his understanding of etatism as follows: "the state does the things that the people cannot do" (Tekeli & İlkin, 1982, p. 81; Ahmad, 1996, p. 172). Moreover, Yakup Kadri stated that the principle of etatism was not understood as an economic system; many deputies supposed that the meaning of the principle was in favor of the state. Also, etatism was perceived as a state capitalism and a monopolism whereas etatism did not have these kinds of claims (Karaosmanoğlu, 1973, pp. 50-51). Tekeli and İlkin explained why etatism was not understood adequately by the state authorities; according to them, the leaders of the National Struggle were passionately attached to the establishment of the political independence, so the economic dimension of the independence was not get enough attention (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p. 53). Although the interpretations of the government side extended to different grounds, commonly, they agreed with the planned etatism.

Shils stated that modernizing oligarchy was usually strongly motivated toward economic development. Aydemir also focused on the development of the country after gaining its independence and found a ground to explain his own ideas in the *Kadro* Journal which carried the claim of making an original analysis of the Turkish Revolution. Within this analysis, the concept of etatism also took an important place and the journal made a great impact on the economic discourses from the beginning of its first issue. The reason for this idea, according to Aydemir, was that the gaining of national independence was only a phase of the national liberation movement; the real

case is the economic development of the country as much as it is politically free (Aydemir, 2016, p. 377). Therefore, Aydemir and other *Kadro* authors were in an endeavor to find a theoretical basis for the etatist policies of the government.

Generally, for *Kadrocular*, etatism is the continuous fundamental element for a society to reach in the future and on the contrary to the government side, they saw etatism as a necessity that historical conditions were forced to implement. A central point of the *Kadrocu* etatism was the demolition of an atmosphere that would create the class conflicts that would only be possible with the rejection of liberal and socialist policies. Their etatist system was more than the classical way of state intervention; it was not only limited in the scopes of industry and economy, but also it aimed at establishing the social order (Ertan, 1994, p. 105). The etatism that Aydemir suggested was the quest for a third way that was different from capitalism and socialism (Tekeli & İlkin, 1982, pp. 81- 89). Thus, he tried to explain his own etatist view. Before digging deeper into his etatism, it is necessary to grasp his evaluation about the situation of Turkey in the past to describe his opinion better.

In the West, where the contemporary technique had begun to be born and developed and when the great industrial revolution had emerged, Ottoman Turkey was condemned as being non-industrialized, semi-colonized and underdeveloped, so it was impossible to control neither the internal fragmentations which occurred in the condition of the high technique nor the class struggles that were the inevitable results of the fragmentations in the society (Süreyya, 1932j, p. 10). Moreover, in the old Turkey, small industries, founded before the industrial revolution in the West, could not resist the cheap productions of large industries following the industrial revolution and dispersed themselves. Besides, free trade was in the hands of the non-Turk population who were resided in Turkey. Their activities were over with the flow of

the Western capital. As a conclusion, the national economy in the Ottoman Turkey militated in favor of the foreign interests from the last quarter of the 19th century to the First World War (Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 222-223; Süreyya, 1932k, pp. 19-20; Süreyya, 1933d, p. 7). After the victory of the Turkish Independence War, in the period following the Treaty of Lausanne, it was expected to increase the agricultural export to the maximum extent and was reached an unseen range of foreign and domestic trade activities. In this way, it was supposed to accumulate the commercial capital flowed into an industrial area. However, in a short time, it was understood that the world conditions were not ready for a classic capital accumulation; the world entered a deep global crisis and the desperation atmosphere of the world covered Ankara as well (Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 223-224). With the crisis, the world was in an economic storm that human history had not recorded before; Turkey might have lost what it had earned up to now. Even if the apparent conditions were not in favor of Turkey, it could have turned the negative situation into a positive once (Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 53-54). From the perspective of Aydemir, the global crisis, in fact, was nothing more than a quake at the hegemony of the developed countries based on an exploitation system. While the economic crisis is a disaster for the industrial countries, the depression is only "a labor pain" (*doğum ağrısı*) for the countries that try to establish their own national economic system like Turkey (Süreyya, 1932c, p. 11). He advocated that only abolition of the sultanate and declaration of the republic did not mean something, added that if we do not set up our new corporations and do not seek for the improvement, we would be swiftly dragged into an oligarchy and satellite state. The Turkish Revolution that created its own principles, would form its own political and economic institutions convenient to its own qualification step by step (Aydemir, 2011b, p. 180; Aydemir, 1970a). Therefore, in the condition of the

global crisis, the Turkish Revolution had to live, hold onto its principles and take its place in the world and Aydemir added that the condition of the world resulting from the Great Depression had an advantage for countries like Turkey and could obtain the capital goods of industrialized countries which were looking for suitable markets to migrate. With this way, Turkey which was protecting their internal markets via custom barriers could turn the negative atmosphere of the global economic crisis into her own profit through importing the western capital goods. It would provide improvement in her national industry (Süreyya, 1932k, pp. 23-24). Aydemir emphasized that the protective customs policies are one of the significant and necessary features of capital accumulation for Turkey. To reach the purpose of the Turkish Revolution, it was necessary to establish an advanced national industrial system where the raw materials of the country operated the utilities of the nation; this development required a protective customs policy (Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 195-196).

The idea of the plan was handled as the most important criteria at the conference given in the *Türk Ocakları*, in the book of *İnkılap ve Kadro* and also in the *Kadro* Journal. The plan had been considered to be a socialist economic order that was the characteristic of the socialist states in that period. However, for the first time, the plan was suggested in a state which was closer to the democratic front and preferred to be outside of the socialist states (Aydemir, 1970h). For *Kadrocular*, in general, the planned economy was a system, called etatism, in which industry, transportation, and major financial institutions would be in the hands of the state (Yanardağ, 1988, pp. 140-141). Although all *Kadrocular* had explanations about the planned economy, Aydemir emerged as the most prominent theorist of the "plan" among the authors of *Kadro* (Ertan, 1994, pp. 102-103). The plan which was offered by Aydemir did not have a system based on the complete liquidation of the private

property and the centralization of the production in a single hand like the socialist states. To Aydemir "The plan is a national cooperation that is regulated. The concept of Plan is now the most characteristic feature of the period and the order of the society of tomorrow can only be an order of the planned society" (Süreyya, 1932j, p. 8).¹⁶¹ It was not possible to ask for monetary aid from the other states; we had to create our own national capital by mobilizing our own national industry. In order to create our own national capital, it was necessary the state had to intervene into the economy and the enterprises (Aydemir, 1970h). The social structure and the qualifications of the newly established Turkey would be the effort of "the planned development" as opposed to the Western societies. Turkey would represent and protect the first examples of a nation that is independent in politics and self-sufficient in the economy; but this does not mean being isolated from the world and becoming a primitive society. Using this way, Turkey, in the new balance of the international arena, will develop itself, organize its national industry, possess its own transportation network, market the surplus of its production, and take its part in the global trade. In fact, this means that struggle of Turkish Revolution is a leader and a sample not just for Turkey but for the other countries that is similar to Turkey, as well (Aydemir, 2011b, pp. 69-70). For Aydemir, supervision of economic activity with a plan was necessary for the development of Turkey. Additionally, he had a certain attitude toward the class conflicts and he stated that the revolutionary state order could prevent class struggles which were the domestic contradictions of the capitalist states, and in order to accomplish this, a plan was needed to be implemented (Aydemir, 1970h). As a result, the national liberation state, Turkey, was a planner and interventionist in the economy. These qualifications were not a temporary characteristic because they

¹⁶¹ "Plan, tanzim olunmuş bir milli işbirliğidir. Plan mefhumu artık devrin en karakteristik mefhumudur ve yarının cemiyet nizamı ancak planlı bir cemiyet nizamı olabilir."

emerged as a historical reaction against the liberal democracies and a follower to the order of the liberal democratic states; Turkey would be a new state type which would be economically and politically independent, and based on classless society (Süreyya, 1934e).

For Aydemir, the planned development would be successful with the implementation of the etatism. The etatist system offered by Aydemir was the enterprise order for the benefit of the public and created industrialization, technique, and organization under the roof of the state plan without causing the conflict of interests. Etatism does not mean monopolism, or does not represent the activities and the enterprises of the state on the expense of the profits or interests of some classes, neither. The duty of the state, on condition of leaving the private sector free on some fields that it may work profitably, is to set the national energy and advanced techniques based on national economy into motion. The issues of organizing and operating, and accordingly, planning are the fundamental matters of the new Turkey and the etatism in Turkey (Süreyya, 1932j). The victory of the machines and ordering the national economy by advance technique would be with the will and intervention of the etatism; within this way, Turkey would be a new type of society with the methods and nature of the policies in the industrialization and the mechanization (Süreyya, 1933f, p. 9).

Moreover, Aydemir would not refuse to join the international cooperation with all technical powers and possibilities of the world as long as it would be under equal conditions. As it is understood that the thoughts of Aydemir and generally all *Kadrocular* supported the mixed economy that both state enterprise would be dominant to this order and private sector would find its own place in the economy. However, the relationship between the private enterprises and the state institutions

would be at a certain level; in the face of these new developing state institutions, the class struggle should not dominate the economic functions of the state and the private enterprises in the economy should not cause the creation of the classes. According to Yanardağ, instead of the "anarchic structure" of the production of the capitalism, based on private enterprise, "planned etatism" was suggested. *Kadrocular* saw the transition from the colonial economy to the national economy as the most important task on the front the Turkish Revolution (Yanardağ, 1988, pp. 140-141).

Following the adoption of the principle of etatism in Turkey, the two different policy tools were together applied. In order to develop the industry in the country, on the one hand, protectionism was applied, and on the other hand, industries were established by the hands of the state and the private sector was encouraged to make industrial investments (Tekeli & İlkin, 1982, p. 134). Planning had gained legitimacy in the agenda of Turkey; however, the plan was very limited when compared to the plan of *Kadro* (Tekeli & İlkin, 2003, p. 187). While for *Kadro* understanding etatism was not limited only to the economic field, the etatist policies of the government were implemented mostly to the economic areas. As Aydemir emphasized in the last issue of the *Kadro*, etatism had to cover not only the economic issues but also cultural and social affairs and local government issues (Aydemir, 1970h; Süreyya, 1934d-1935). The concept of a planned society was the expression of a rising society that had no contrast and conflict in the Turkish society living a national liberation movement (Süreyya, 1932j, p. 12). As a consequent, Aydemir did not see etatism as a state intervention to economic life, instead, for him, etatism was proposed as a national and social order in which all the fields of national life were organized in such a way that the national interests were above all the individual interests. With the proposes of Aydemir for the economic solution, Turkey would get rid of both imperialism and the

negative effects of the Great Depression; the country would become self-sufficient with advanced technology.

Between April 25th and May 10th 1932, İsmet İnönü,¹⁶² Prime Minister, provided \$ 8 million credit from the visit to the Soviet Union and Turkey started to prepare the implementation of its first industrial plan (Tekeli & İlkin, 2003, p. 187; Lewis, 1968, p. 285). The plan was called the first five-year development plan carried out with a technical staff under the supervision of Mustafa Şeref (Özkan),¹⁶³ the Minister of Economy, and Ahmet Şerif (Önay), General Manager of Industry (Tekeli & İlkin, 1982, p. 144). It entered into force in 1934 and aimed to use domestic raw materials, give priority the production of consumer goods, and to distribute new industries locally. After the Soviet Union, Turkey was the second country to implement the planned economy which was completed in 1939 (Lewis, 1968, p. 286).

According to Tekeli and İlkin, etatism of the 1930s should be defined with regard to the condition of the Turkey which was trying to survive against the Great Depression. Etatism in that period was the state intervention to the economy by establishing industries that produce market goods and services (Tekeli & İlkin, 1982, p. 320). As a result of the technical and financial aids, the most important institutions as public economic enterprises in the Turkish economy: Sümerbank, Etibank, and Denizcilik Bank were established in this period. Besides, the modern state enterprises in textile, in 1934 Kayseri, Bakırköy, Ereğli and in 1935 Nazilli weaving factories were founded, iron and steel, paper production were introducing advanced technology into Turkey; mining production began to develop under the state entrepreneurship, contrary to the 1923-1931 years of private enterprises (1936, pp. 2-3; Yücekök, 1983,

¹⁶² After the Soviet Union, he visited Italy and got credit from Mussolini.

¹⁶³ He resigned at the end of the 1932 and Celal Bayar (1883-1986), General Manager of the İş Bank, became the Minister of Economy until 1937 when he became the Prime Minister (Boratav, 1974, p. 146).

p. 118). While the first five-year development plan was operating, the preparations for the second five-year development plan was begun. This plan came into force in 1938; however, lost its efficiency because of the military expenditure and lack of enough raw materials (Boratav, 2005, p. 157; Lewis, 1968, p. 296). Between 1932 and 1939 railways, maritime lines, port, and pier operations were completely nationalized, but after that period, the economic recession started due to the effects of the Second World War. In short, it can be said that etatism between 1932-1939 can be interpreted as the effort of national industrialization and achieved success (Boratav, 1974, pp. 158, 269; Tekeli & İlkin, 1982, p. 321; Lewis, 1968, p. 287), following the period, implementation of etatism was abandoned and liberal policies were adopted.

As a conclusion, Aydemir basically supported that state intervention into the economy was mandatory. For him, capitalist and socialist economic systems, which dominated the world, were based on class struggle and could not be an example for Turkey. He proposed the third way that it was the mixed economy including both state and private entrepreneurs, aiming to get rid of being a colonial state and bringing new fundamentals to the structure of the society without class conflicts. The third way of Aydemir had the characteristics of a challenge to capitalist and the socialist economic systems. He believed that Turkey, like becoming the pioneer of the national liberation movement, would be the first enforcer country of the planned etatism. Turkey had to develop its own production power via creating an economic regime that is convenient to the characteristics of the revolution. The aim is to create, in a short time, the technology that industrial the state already possesses. Aydemir was criticized by Ahmet Ağaoğlu because of being a supporter of etatism. According to Ağaoğlu, who saw etatism as a temporary solution, capital accumulation and technical development had to be carried out by the private sector, which should be a pioneer in

economic matters. Thus, he refused the idea of etatism that covered the political, social and economic areas (Ağaoğlu, 1932c, p. 3). As it was explained before, Ağaoğlu was a supporter of the liberal economy and thought that Turkey should follow the Western capital style economy. Aydemir answered all the accusation of Ağaoğlu, and for this issue, he stated that Ağaoğlu was not in favor of creating a new model and he preferred to adopt known samples of the West. On the other hand, Aydemir added that the economic system proposed by *Kadro* was unique and was not tried before. Hence, it was clear why Ağaoğlu rejected the ideas of *Kadro* (Süreyya, 1932a, p. 3). According to Aydemir, although it was included in the constitution and party program, etatism was not completely implemented and the revolution could not progress a certain economic order and systemized ideology. (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 378-379). The determination of Aydemir's explanations will be examined in the following section on a clearer scale with the activities of him in the civil service.

5.5. Conclusion

After much confusion, Aydemir is believed to have found his own way by serving the revolution. He had wished to spread the ideas in his mind since he was in prison. While he was working in the state as an official, he decided to establish *Kadro* with the help of Karaosmanoğlu and other four friends. Even though all criticism from the government and intellectual sides, they succeeded to publish 36 issues of the journal. According to Aydemir, every revolution is a war of creating and establishing a new type of state; the Turkish Revolution which played a unique role in history must create its own ideal state. The uniqueness of this revolution comes from the National Liberation Movement that is the solution of the conflict between the imperialist states and the colonized states. *Kadro* was an *avant-garde* movement that intended to systematize a worldview and an economic policy arising from the

conditions of Turkey which tried to be a nation state from the semi-colonized empire. Aydemir believed that the idea of the revolution had to be explained by *avant-garde* cadre; he took this idea as a mission. To him, the power of *Kadro* was born from the correctness of the ideas that reflected the wills and the interests of the nation, besides, the movement was gathered around a single and idealist party, and a unique and an idealist leader of the revolution. These thoughts of Aydemir were in compatible with the classification of Edward Shils who described the period of Mustafa Kemal as a modernizing oligarchy.

Kadro was criticized from the beginning for many reasons such as their assertive ideas and communist backgrounds of founders. While Recep Peker rejected their idea that to create an ideology of the revolution, their etatist view was opposed by the business world. In addition to these, *Kadro* was accused of supporting communist and fascist ideas. Which factors or events caused the closure of the journal have not still been enlightened, but with the appointment of Karaosmanoğlu to Tiran as an ambassador, the journal was closed after publishing the 35th and 36th issues in January 1935. After many years, Aydemir attempted to expressed his ideas by a new journal named *Yön* that created a great impact and understood as revival of *Kadro*. The evaluation of the *Yön* movement within the thoughts of Aydemir will be a subject discussed in the seventh chapter of this study.

6. ACTIVITIES IN CIVIL SERVICE

6.1. Introduction

Aydemir did not lose his motivation to continue the struggle for the Turkish Revolution with success even though he had lost the intellectual agent in which he could present his thoughts following the closure of the *Kadro*. His duties as a civil servant gave him the opportunity to serve on the field, that is to say, he performed these tasks by the motivation of serving the Turkish Revolution every time.

He began his career as an educator and continued in high positions in government offices during the single-party rule. After his short-lived teaching life in Istanbul, his first mission in the state departments started in June of 1928 as the Assistant of Rüştü Uzel who was the General Manager of Higher and Technical Education, Aydemir was assigned to the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Vekaletine bağlı Yüksek ve Teknik Öğretim Umum Müdürü*). At the same time, he was working as an assistant clerk in the Higher Economic Council (*Yüksek İktisat Meclisinde Umumi Katip Yardımcılığı*) and then he served as a headmaster in the Ankara Commerce High School (*Ankara Ticaret Lisesi Müdürü*) until 1936. Even though he resigned from the school Directorate in 1936, he continued to teach at the same school and maintained to work in Ankara Municipality as an economic manager (*Cumhuriyet*, 13 August 1936, p. 3). In 1939, he began to work as a general manager in the Industry Audit. Concomitantly, he worked as the General Directorate in the Provisionalism (*İaşe Müdürlüğü*) in Ankara and was affiliated to the Ministry of Economy (*İktisat Bakanlığı Sanayi Tetkik Umum Müdürü*), until the year 1947. After all these duties, he took part as a member in the Prime Ministry High Board of Supervision (*Başbakanlık Yüksek Denetleme Teşkilatı*) until the Democrat Party (DP) came to power. Thanks to the positions in the bureaucracy he worked in, he got

opportunity to contact and to cooperate with the civil and military administration mechanisms. Thus, he could observe the country's state affairs closely through obtaining the official information such as the country's agricultural potential and food status, industrial production, petroleum, and transportation problems, financial and commercial power sources, and worked with clear and accurate information based on a central review and assessment (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 130-131).

Dealing with the economic issues of Turkey and preparing plans for the economic development had been one of his main interests starting from in the 1920s. Now, he found a ground to test the accuracy of his plans and to put them into practice more extensively. Moreover, during his tenure in civil service, Aydemir tried to enlighten the public by writing books within the scope of National Economy and Savings Society (*Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*- in short, the Society) which was established for the development of national capital in the country, further to that, he executed a new system in the school where he was the headmaster, was appreciated by Mustafa Kemal. Then, in order to get rid of the effects of the Second World War with the least damage, he spent effort by preparing reports or taking an active role in some parts of other reports. He lived the greatest frustration when he compulsorily retired in 1950, so he isolated himself from everyone for a while. In this part, the works of Aydemir in civil servant life will be examined within the framework of the political and economic situation of Turkey.

6.2. National Economy and Savings Society

Getting rid of the negative effects of the world economic depression had been one of the main problems of the government and a series of measures were taken for the capital accumulation. One of them was to transfer the idea of saving to the public and to encourage people to use domestic goods. For this purpose, in December 1929,

the National Economy and Savings Society (in short-the Society) was established in Ankara under the auspices of Mustafa Kemal. As stated in the charter, the purpose of the Society was to promote and generalize the domestic products, to increase the usage and the number of domestic goods, to struggle with the wastage, to live economically, and finally to decrease the prices of national goods and to bring them to the same quality with the foreign goods (1929). The Society in which Mustafa Kemal was honorary president was established under the Chairmanship of President of the Assembly Kazım Özalp. According to the Consultant Manager of the Society, Vedat Nedim Tör, the activities of the Society were the first conscious light to move from "dependent" economy to "independent" national economy. First of all, as the state and then as a whole nation, the Society was a movement to reach a totally new salvation enthusiasm (Tör, 1999, pp. 15-17). The Society tried to establish a new understanding of the notion of the National Economy in minds; in the context of this idea, it was proposed to reach as many people as possible by realizing a series of activities.

The Society operated as an ideological apparatus of the state (Althusser, 2000). Two days before the association was established, the Prime Minister İnönü gave a speech in the Assembly pointed to the necessity of such an organization. Some of the main issues that İnönü stressed in his speech were the speculative comments that were effective in the depreciation of the Turkish lira against the sterling, the budget deficit caused by the import and export balance in parallel with the depreciation of the Turkish Lira and the need for accumulation of capital for the financial support of the national industrialization. In that regard, the establishment of an institution was seen necessary to raise awareness of the people in economic issues, to inform people with true knowledge against the speculative information, and steer and mobilize people in the direction of capital accumulation (*TBMM Tutanakları*

Dergisi, 12 December 1929, pp. 31-34). Moreover, the association was formed as a state-funded private organization because the state needed foreign investment as well, however, making the propaganda of using domestic goods might have affected this process negatively. As stated also by İlkin and Tekeli, the state elites refrained from the formation of a perception abroad that the state was conducting a boycott campaign for foreign goods. (Tekeli & İlkin, 1977, p. 97). In his speech mentioned above, İnönü emphasized that making the propaganda of using domestic goods is a sensitive issue that should be considered carefully and added that the government had not an intention that might inspire the people to boycott the foreign goods (1929, p. 33). In that regard, the state conducted this mission by means of a private association. It can be said that this intention of the government was also taken into consideration by the intellectuals of the period. Yunus Nadi, a founder of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, emphasized that the activities carried out by the association were not about rejecting or boycotting the foreign goods but promoting the accumulation of national capital by preferring domestic products (Nadi, 1930).

In accordance with its character of being an ideological apparatus of the state, the association carried out its activities compatible with the government's economic and political policies. As illustrated further, the association also became a mean by which the state elites expressed their policies to the people and steered them. This mission of the association was a sample model that Aydemir always emphasized in the axis of the integration of the state and society. Therefore, he participated in many activities of the association and wrote several books serving to the mission of the association.

One of the most famous activities of the association was organizing Savings and National Products Week (*Tasarruf ve Yerli Mali Haftası*, in short-the Savings

Week) which was celebrated for the first time in 1930 in order to steer the people to use domestic goods. In the celebrations, Prime Minister, İsmet İnönü gave an opening speech at the Ankara *Türk Ocakları* and stated that citizens need to use national resources and should demand their own products. While he emphasized the necessity of the increasing number of export goods rather than import, he added the importance of the Society that would teach the nation how to accumulate the national capital from the small national savings. İnönü ended his speech saying that all citizens had to help the Society and its attempts should be adopted as a national duty (*Cumhuriyet*, 13 December 1930). In the scope of the celebrations, various conferences were given, exhibitions were opened, cinema shows related to domestic trade and industry were presented, and the best showcase competitions were organized. How the individual savings may turn into the national wealth and how the great richness comes from the small accumulation were frequently emphasized. Besides, avoiding the luxury consumption and using domestic products were the main issues of the First Savings and National Products Week. Additionally, the importance of using domestic goods was taught to schoolchildren (İloğlu, 1974, p. 22). The Week raised the awareness of the citizens, and increased the use of domestic goods; additionally, tradesmen preferred to sell national goods, and people invested their saved money in the bank (*Cumhuriyet*, 12-13 December 1930; Tör, 1937, p. 2).

Aydemir also penned an article with regard to the Savings Week. In his article, Aydemir indicated the importance of saving with numerical data and described the necessity of saving in terms of national interests as follows: "The case of Saving became a national case. Now, the strongest nations are the most saving nations, and the most saving nations, again, are the strongest nations. If we want to be powerful,

we must accumulate" (Süreyya, 1930).¹⁶⁴ He underlined that the world is becoming more and more economizer; before the war, saving was a family and personal matter, but after the war, it became a matter of national power and people became more frugal and more affordable. Aydemir explained this situation through developed countries; recorded that in post-war America through making the saving propaganda, \$ 2,800,000 was accumulated in the primary school between the 1919-1920 school year. He added that the same situation applied in the Soviets; post-war Soviet citizens behaved increasingly economical. The situation of Turkey was lagging when compared to those countries, however, she could catch substantial growth in a short period of time by the progressive savings. He ended his words using the slogan: "Citizen save! Because there is a necessity to accumulate" (Süreyya, 1930).¹⁶⁵ As Aydemir noted above, saving became an important subject for many countries in the world after the First World War. In Switzerland, "Swiss Week" was organized every year to introduce local products and crops to the public and to increase the use of domestic products. In addition, in countries such as Germany, Austria, France, Hungary, Holland, Serbia and Bulgaria, the National Products Week was conducted. A similar implementation was the celebration of the "Grape Day" conducted in many cities of Italy (İloğlu, 1974, p. 46). Similar to these countries, Turkey was aware of the importance of saving in the post-war period; the Savings Week which was supported by both the state authorities and the intellectuals succeeded to make a great impact on the people beginning from school children. As being one of the organizers of the activities of the Society, Tör stated that there had been no national issue that was created around such a nationwide excitement and interest as the Savings and National Products did (Tör, 1999, p. 16).

¹⁶⁴ "Tasarruf davası bir milli dava oldu. Şimdi en kuvvetli milletler, en çok biriktiren milletlerdir ve en çok biriktiren milletler de, gene, en kuvvetli milletlerdir. Kuvvetli olmak istiyorsak biriktirelim."

¹⁶⁵ "Vatandaş biriktir. Çünkü biriktirmek zarureti vardır."

In parallel with its activities oriented to the people like the Saving Week, the Society carried out serious activities addressing to the industrialists, merchants, and farmers in order to be a mean for finding out solutions for the development of national economy. In this regard, the association organized the First Industrial Congress (*Birinci Sanayi Kongresi*) which was held in Ankara on April 23, 1930. The congress whose some sections were performed under the spokespersonship of Aydemir aimed to learn about the situation of the national industry at that time and about various problems related to the future. Rahmi Köken, Secretary-General of the Society, stated that the congress was organized in order to explain why the public should use domestic goods, and to explain the industrialists how they should work in order to provide high quality cheap products to the people (1930, p. 717). In addition, the Society organized the First Agricultural Congress (*Birinci Tarım Kongresi*) in January 1931, in Ankara, which aimed to bring the agriculturists together and worked on the matters concerning culture together. Like the First Industrial Congress, Aydemir attended workings of the First Agricultural Congress (İloğlu, 1974, p. 38; Aydemir, 2011a, p. 335).

Other important activities of the Society were to hold exhibitions in domestic and international areas. The first exhibition in the national sense was opened in April 1930 in the name of "*Milli Sanayi Sergisi*" (National Industry Exhibition) with the speech of İsmet İnönü (*Cumhuriyet*, 21 April 1930). As to international area, it was intended that Turkish products had to take place in international exhibitions in order to increase exports and establish trade links. For this reason, the Society participated in exhibitions abroad and tried to introduce Turkish goods and crops there. In this regard, they participated in the International Budapest exhibition held in 1931 (Nadi, 1931a; Tör, 1999, p. 17; İloğlu, 1974, p. 22). As a result of the questionnaire

conducted by the Hungarian newspaper, *Azest*, the Turkish pavilion was selected to the first place among the participants with 80,000 votes (Nadi, 1931b). The second foreign exhibition the Society participated was the international Leipzig Exhibition opened on March 6, 1932. In both international exhibitions in which Vedat Nedim Tör was responsible for the organizational board, products such as carpets, figs, nuts, and grape were exhibited contributing to the Turkish goods to be known abroad (Dođanođlu, 1932). Later on, the Society needed an art gallery in order to continue their activities. With this purpose, in 1934, an art gallery was opened in Ankara which included some departments such as the *Lozan Salonu* (Lausanne Hall) and the *Gazi Köşesi* (Gazi Corner) which were welcomed with great interest by the public. The exhibition remained open for 15 days and was visited by 90,000 people. Besides various painting exhibitions, the Art Gallery hosted for Agriculture, Health and Contagious Disease exhibitions, thus the art movement had made a remarkable improvement in Ankara. Furthermore, an exhibition named "*Türkiye: Tarih, Güzellik ve İş Memleketi*" (Turkey: History, Beauty and Business Hometown) organized by Vedat Nedim Tör attracted considerable attention and became an essential step for the idea of tourism (İlođlu, 1974, p. 61).

A magazine "*İktisat ve Tasarruf*" (Economics and Saving) was established by the Society and published by Vedat Nedim, Editor-in-Chief, on a monthly basis since 1930. The Magazine, which was published for the purpose of promoting savings, aimed to be a guide for the public with issues such as the importance of domestic goods, increase of domestic production, promotion of export and saving of money. Recep Peker gave an interview for the magazine where it was stated that the Society was one of the main branches of Turkey's foundation and resurrection workings. He emphasized that for the advancement of the national economy not only the state but

also the whole nation had to act together, so he appreciated the Society that worked on spreading this understanding among the public and invited all the citizens to support the Society (Tör, 1935, p. 7). His phrase¹⁶⁶ "Citizens, save money! If 5 million people save 5 kurus a day, it is accumulated 90 million lira a year. And that's how national capital come into existence!" started to be used frequently in the magazine. Prime Minister, Celal Bayar, spoke on the Savings Week in 1938, and stated that the savings accounts of 90 million in 1937 reached 102 million in 1938. The attention and effort in saving money had been gradually increasing (Nadi, 1938).

The Society founded in the year of Economic Depression that severely affected Turkey provided considerable success with many activities. As a result of these activities, the demand for domestic products increased, Turkish products were recognized in abroad, saving consciousness occurred in the minds of the public and they preferred to invest their accumulated money in the bank. Moreover, it also helped the children at school-age to grasp the importance of domestic production. The name of the Society was changed in 1935 on the demand of Mustafa Kemal and became "*Ulusal Ekonomi ve Artırma Kurumu*" (National Economy and Enhancement Institution). In 1955, the institution was unified with the "*Türk İktisat Cemiyeti*" (Turkish Economic Society) in which Aydemir participated as a founder member (İloğlu, 1974, pp. 67, 106). The publishing organ of the Society, *İktisat ve Tasarruf*, had also changed its name as "*Ulusal Ekonomi ve Arttırma*" (National Economy and Enhancement).

Additionally, the Society published a series of books by which all regions of Turkey were handled in detail with the heading of "*Yurdunu Tanı! Yurdunu Sev!*" (Know your own Homeland! Love your own Homeland!) Aydemir contributed to

¹⁶⁶"*Vatandaş, para biriktir!.. 5 milyon kişi günde 5 kuruş biriktirse senede 90 milyon lira toplanır. Ve işte milli sermaye böyle vücut bulur!*"

these series by writing several books, *Cihan İktisadiyatında Türkiye* (1931), *Mektep Kooperatifçiliği ve Tasarruf Terbiyesi* (1932), *Ege Günü* (1933), *Orta Yayla* (1937) and *Halk İçin İktisat Bilgisi* (1938). In addition to being known little, this book series written by Aydemir has never been the subject of any investigation, research. In the following sub-headings, his books will be analyzed, paying attention to the topics rather than the publication date.

6.2.1. "*Cihan İktisadiyatında Türkiye*" and "*Halk İçin İktisat Bilgisi*"

When Aydemir was working as a headmaster in *Ankara Ticaret Lisesi*, he wrote a book titled *Cihan İktisadiyatında Türkiye* (Turkey in World Economics), (see Appendix H). He emphasized in the book that the Eastern Question had been an issue of being colonized area in the past, but as a result of the current situation, the Eastern Question became an issue of those states' struggles for getting rid of colonized/semi-colonized conditions and being economically and politically independent states. Although Turkey was in such a state in the past, it completed its national struggle. However, so as to be entirely independent, it is necessary to conclude economic progress and economic relations with other countries in equal conditions. While he had been explaining Turkey's economic activities since 1923, he stated that he aimed to make people gain consciousness about the economic struggle of the country. In the book which included a great number of tables and statistical data, Aydemir stated that the statistical issues were not evaluated enough in Turkey and by this book, the national economic life of the country was explained using these data as much as possible (Süreyya, 1931, p. 4). According to his statistical data and explanation, even if Turkey had the most extensive land (760.000 square kilometers) among the European Economic Circle, except for Soviet Russia, it had a poor population (13.500 000). For him, when Turkey would industrialize like Germany, it could sustain

105.000 000 population internally. Turkey which was a rural society, as people who were living in villages were representing 75% of the total population, had many things to contribute to the world economy. In that regard, he stated that the lands of Turkey needed to be cultivated. Because, in the current situation, only 4.8% of the total lands were used for farming; and added that this rate was very low when compared to the European countries, even having a different surface area, such as in Denmark 77%, Greece 22% (Aydemir, 1931, pp. 6-13). Additionally, he described the course of events of the national economic life of Turkey; emphasized that it was necessary to work in systematic and organized way in accordance with the demands and requirements of the world market. The book contained the detailed information about the basic products in cultivated areas such as cotton, opium, grapes, figs, hazelnuts, olive oil, and explained which year and how much export with the detailed table. Moreover, he explained the situation of Turkey about livestock, forestry, industry, and mining branches with further data.

Aydemir's book was exposed to criticism of the Recep Peker, Secretary General of the RPP. Having a speech in the Congress of the Society, held in 1933, Recep Peker criticized the book by pointing out that some sentences written in the book were not convenient to our national principles, ideas, and national direction:

"It was mentioned that Turkey is a hometown that produces raw materials. It was said to be a semi-colonized, dependent country. It was mentioned Turkey was not a technologically advanced country. From no point of view and under no circumstances, no one can use these words for our country, even if it was used to encourage and to warn the people for the growth of the national economy, it makes me sad. The reality is not like that. To say semi-colonized

and raw materials country for Turkey is a work of incorrect mentality" (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 May 1933).¹⁶⁷

These sentences that Recep Peker objected originated from the sentences written by Aydemir in the introduction section of the book. This part is as follows:

"Ottoman Anatolia was a typical semi-colonial state that produced raw material which did not record any contribution to the national capital, despite the efforts of Turkish producers. The New Turkey has to leave from the semi-colonized condition; must be a modern and progressive country that comprehends and adjusts the necessities of economic independence" (Aydemir, 1931, p. 3).¹⁶⁸

Actually, in the book, Aydemir indicated that he handled the general situation of Turkey after the Treaty of Lausanne; and had emphasized in his previous sentences that the country was made progress in the way of being a modern since that time and continuing to develop. When Rahmi Köken began to speak in the Congress, he thought Recep Peker was right and remarked that it was not true to say that Turkey was in a semi-colonial state. On the other hand, Köken indicated that in the book by recognizing Turkey as a raw material country was used for explaining the situation of the old period and the aim was to show and explain the current industrial and the economic situation. Moreover, Köken justified the words of Aydemir and pointed out that before coming to the advanced country level in terms of the industrial area as soon as possible, it is necessary to explain the existing deficiencies of the country

¹⁶⁷ "Türkiye'den ham madde memleketi diye bahsediyorlar. Yarı koloni, yarı müstemleke diyorlar. Geri teknikli memleket diye bahsediyorlar. Hiç bir bakımdan, hiç bir benzeşimden uygunluk olmadığı halde memleketimiz için -veleç ki halkımızı ikaz ve milli iktisada teşvik maksadıyla olsun- bu tabirlerin söylenmesi beni üzüyor. Hakikat böyle değildir. Türkiye'ye yarı müstemleke ve ham madde memleketi demek hatalı bir zihniyetin eseridir."

¹⁶⁸ "Osmanlı Anadolu'su, Türk müstahsilinin tükenmez sayine rağmen milli sermayede hiçbir teraküm kaydetmeyen bir "ham mal müstahsili" yani tipik bir yarı müstemlike idi. Yeni Türkiye'nin yarı müstemlike şartlarından çıkarak, iktisadi istiklalini zaruretlerini idrak ve onlara intibak etmiş modern ve progressif bir memleket olması mecburiyeti vardır."

(*Cumhuriyet*, 1 May 1933). Despite the criticisms of Peker, the book clearly showed that Turkey was not a semi-colonized Ottoman Turkey, but the new Turkey had to follow advanced technology, had to use the opportunities of the fertile land.

Another work written by Aydemir and published by the Society was the "*Halk İçin İktisat Bilgisi*" (Economic Knowledge for the Public), (see Appendix I). According to Aydemir, Economics Knowledge is important in terms of being both a discipline and one of the essential matters of the state and public life. In the Ottoman Turkey, people had nothing to do with the functioning of the economic policies, further to that the state had no economic policies. However, in a state where the authorities who now attach importance to national economic politics are in the foreground, people cannot stay away from this situation either. He expressed that the fact that the state was in the front-line in economic issues gave way to be adopted by the people. Therefore, to prepare a piece of work so as to explain the economic issues to the people became a necessity and the book was published for this purpose (Aydemir, 1938, p. 9). Furthermore, he believed that the public needed economic knowledge in order to contribute to the national capital by making savings and using domestic goods and thus, he wanted to create an understanding of the national economy among the people. The book which involved the basic subjects of economics such as the fundamentals of national economy, the main principles of economic activities and economic functions of the government had benefited from the graphical and numerical data at the same time; the subjects had penned in such a manner that the people could understand easily.

6.2.2. "*Mektep Kooperatifçiliği ve Tasarruf Terbiyesi*"

Aydemir, who dedicated himself to education in all areas of his life - even in the years of battle and in prison- had endeavored to teach people. Moreover, he saw

the education as a fundamental matter for the Turkish Revolution to achieve success. Throughout his teaching life, he had made various studies with his own personal efforts. The most important of these studies were the work of the "*Mektep Kooperatifçiliği*" which was the first to put into practice in the Ankara Commercial School where he was the authority (see Appendix D). Aydemir gathered his experiences gained by the project and wrote a book entitled "*Mektep Kooperatifçiliği ve Tasarruf Terbiyesi*", which was published by the Society (see Appendix C).

The idea of School Cooperative System was a successful example of the synthesis that Aydemir did between different currents of thought. As an educator, he already knew education was one of the most critical issues needed in the way to progress. Moreover, he combined the idea of cooperative system, which he adopted from the idea of communism, with a training program in this direction. As emphasized in the second chapter, İsmail Bey Gaspıralı who gave importance to education for the salvation of the Turkish nation had become the pioneer of many reforms in education with the *Usul-ü Cedid* system. In order to reflect the understanding of Gaspıralı, Aydemir had begun "*Mektep Kooperatifçiliği ve Tasarruf Terbiyesi*" with the famous motto of Gaspıralı "What is a nation: "Union in Language, Idea and at Work". By stating that "The history of the cooperation is as old as the history of the community and the history of the community is nothing else except the development in cooperation interrelation and business contacts among people" in the first section of his book, Aydemir emphasized the importance of working in cooperation and making collective activities are compulsory in developing countries (Süreyya, 1932h, p. 9).¹⁶⁹ He thought that developed countries had become more collaborative nations, so the difficulties that students would face in their future life

¹⁶⁹ "*İşbirliğinin tarihi cemiyetin tarihi kadar eskidir ve cemiyetin tarihi, insanlar arasındaki işbirliği münasebetlerinin ve iş karşılaşmalarının inkişai ve istihalesi tarihinden başka bir şey değildir.*"

could be overcome by knowing how to work together. For this reason, by believing that the cooperation life should be taught to the students, Aydemir brought a new idea to the school. According to him, the school cooperative system is the most advanced educational tool to raise children's ability for collective work in modern schools, it was aimed to strengthen the common economic conscious. He stressed in the book that if we want to give our children a sense of company and decency and to save the next generation from the confusion that we witnessed today, we should be obliged to accustom the hardships of the economic goings-on starting from the school age (Süreyya, 1932h, pp. 11-13).

Aydemir who was against individualism wanted to raise a disciplined, unselfish generation who was accustomed to living together starting from younger age with a cooperative approach. He stated that with the practice in the school, the students gave very pleasant examples of their serious and discouraging abilities in the cooperation affairs. Moreover, he observed that students gained experiences in these jobs and were accustomed to working more easily because of studying in the Commercial High School when compared to other schools. Furthermore, he added that the School Cooperative System was founded without any commercial purpose, so the objectives were to mobilize the desire of cooperation and working in a mutual discipline for the economic morality (Süreyya, 1932h, pp. 16, 27).

One of the other purposes of the School Cooperative System was to awake the morality of saving for the school children, so Aydemir established "*Mektep Tasarruf Teşkilatı*" (The School Saving Organization) in the school (see Appendix E). According to him, saving is an individual issue related to thinking about the future life. However, if this individual accumulation is made through banks or similar organizations, the saving contributes to the national capital; thus, saving becomes a

social matter. When the individual saving is collected in their own safe box, it turns into the national infidelity, which becomes an economic reactionism. Basically, the first goal of School Savings Organization was to transform individual savings to the socio-economic matters and it encouraged the students to adopt this behavior as a moral habit (Süreyya, 1932h, p. 14). He believed that the School Saving Organization was the - first and foremost - source to ensure a habit of individual accumulation to the nation and the next generation. For him, this was a mutual accumulation and an aid organization that proposed the concept of encouraging students to practice saving in a collective manner (Süreyya, 1932h, pp. 70-71). Besides the school cooperative system, Aydemir contributed to the students and served the state for the improvement of the national economy as well, by teaching the importance of saving for their future life.

The book *Mektep Kooperatifçiliği ve Tasarruf Terbiyesi* was also exposed to the criticism of Recep Peker once again. In the Congress of the Society, mentioned in the previous sub-heading, Peker criticized Aydemir's book by mentioning this sentence: The goal of making cooperatives in the schools was to give collective decency to Turkish citizens since a young age. He stated that collectivism which does not recognize the right of property (everything belongs to everyone) is a way that the Commercial School followed, but, quite the contrary, this idea was not convenient to our principles. Besides, Peker never accepted to provide the Turkish citizens with collectivist education in the schools and urged the Society to be careful in their publications (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 May 1933). As a response to Peker's criticism, Secretary-General of the Society, Rahmi Köken, pointed out that the book had been examined by the Ministry of Education before published. Vedat Nedim also participated in the debates and stated that Peker had implied the communist thoughts of Aydemir in the

past. In response to Peker's criticism, he emphasized that the national consciousness dominated the whole publications of the Association (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 May 1933). Even if Peker objected to the works of Aydemir, his endeavors won many intellectuals and politicians' approval as well. Alaettin Cemil, Former Deputy, stated that the republic had made great progress in the field of education in the past 10 years and Aydemir had had a great contribution to this success. Cemil added that Aydemir who educated the students by great patriotism worked day and night tirelessly and should be an example to the people who worked for this purpose (Cemil, 1933, p. 3). *İktisat ve Tasarruf* (Economics and Saving) magazine also praised the book in which Aydemir gave the first example of an education model and stated that it could be a guide for the schools that wanted to establish a cooperative system and the saving organizations (1932, p. 11). Above all, Mustafa Kemal personally visited his school in 1933 and wrote an appreciation for Aydemir because of the originality of his work.

6.2.3. "Ege Günü" and "Orta Yayla"

In order to contribute to the activities of the Society, Aydemir penned another book titled *Ege Günü* (Aegean Day) (see Appendix F). The book was the first publication of the Society for the purpose of "*memleketi ve memleket mahsullerini tanıma*" (familiarization of the hometown and its products). As a reflection of this purpose, he stated in his book that "The first requirement of loving your homeland and connecting to it is the knowing about the homeland. The homeland love that does not base on the knowledge of the country, is groundless" (Süreyya, 1933c, p. 4).¹⁷⁰

The Society aimed, by these series of the books, to introduce the richness and the power of lands to the people and brought it as a national case. It had been aimed

¹⁷⁰ "Yurdu sevmenin ve ona bağlanmanın ilk şartı yurdu tanımadır. Yurt bilgisine dayanmayan yurt sevgisi köksüzdür, temelsizdir."

for these books to be read in schools, people houses, clubs, factories, and barracks. By this way, people who were living in a region would have a chance to know other districts and, hereby, it would be provided for the national integrity, spiritual unity, and common interest in their minds. According to Aydemir, "Before we belong to a city that is about where we born, we belong to Turkey and our qualification that is to be a Turk is enough to attach and protect to all parts of the homeland" (Süreyya, 1933c, p. 4).¹⁷¹ After these explanations, he described the love of homeland with these words: "Homeland love is not a vague, cloudy feeling, it is a belief by knowing the common history of the nation, in short, it is a perception, a consciousness, cognition, and an identity!" (Süreyya, 1933c, p. 3).¹⁷² Aydemir also added that "The most patriotic nations are those who best protect their lands from one side and optimize to use the yield and the power of the land from the other side, that is to say, it means the nation who knows their lands best and best connects to the land" (Süreyya, 1933c, p. 4).¹⁷³ Beginning from the ancient times, Aydemir gave detailed information about the Aegean Region such as its geology, land productivity, climate conditions, growing crops, economy, and occupations in the First World War, aimed at reaching a wide readership. The *Cumhuriyet* newspaper introduced the book as a complete Aegean guide that included the selection paintings, excellent maps, comprehensive statistical data, and wide knowledge (*Cumhuriyet*, 29 April 1934, p. 5).

Another piece of work of Aydemir, *Orta Yayla*, was written to introduce the region of Turkey. By saying that having a full command of nature was necessary, Aydemir added that to do this, knowing about the nature was required. He expressed

¹⁷¹"Biz şuralı buralı olmadan önce Türkiyeliyiz ve Türk olmak vasfımız, vatanın bütün parçalarına aynı derecede merbut ve sahip olmamız için kafidir."

¹⁷²"yurt sevgisi şekli belirsiz, bulutlu bir his değil, milletin, müşterek tarihini bilerek inanış demektir, hülasa yakın bir idrak, bir şuur, bir biliş ve tanıyış demektir!"

¹⁷³"En vatanperver millet, bir taraftan toprağını en iyi koruyan, diğer taraftan toprağının verim ve kudretini en iyi kullanan, yani yurdunu en iyi tanıyan ve ona en iyi bağlanan millet demektir!"

the purpose of his work with a slogan-like expression as follow: "Know your own Homeland! Love your own Homeland But to love it; First, you need to know it!" (Aydemir, 1937, p. 6).¹⁷⁴ Like *Ege Günü*, in *Orta Yayla* (Central Anatolia), (see Appendix G), he comprehensively handled the area in all its aspects. In *Orta Yayla*, he mentioned that the reason to handle the regions of Turkey one by one was to help people act together. He added that promoting the national products in the region was beneficial in order to increase the demands of goods (Aydemir, 1937, p. 5). He made elaborative classification about the Anatolian territories such as Ankara, Kırşehir, Eskişehir, Konya, Malatya, Niğde, Kayseri, which constituted the main masses of the Turkish homeland.

According to the book, in the Ottoman period, the region had been deprived of the industry, but in the Republican era, *Orta Yayla* started to develop. Since Ankara became the capital, the region grew into a political center and road construction works were speeded up. Moreover, in the old period, the railway which ended in Ulukışla started to continue directly to the other districts. In parallel with all these developments and with the first development plan, textile mills which were constructed in Kayseri, Nazilli, and Ereğli caused the region to arise and besides being a political center, these districts are going to develop as an industrial and a cultural center as well (Aydemir, 1937, pp. 92-97). As it was understood from these two books, Aydemir was equipped with detailed information about geography, history, economic development, and underground treasures.

The thing that pushed him to examine such a comprehensive work was a deep feeling of success of Turkish Revolution and deep love towards his country. He believed the most patriotic people were those who knew their homeland most.

¹⁷⁴"Yurdunu Sev! Yurdunu Tanı! Fakat onu sevebilmen için; Evvela tanıman lazımdır!..."

Aydemir became one of these people with his works that did not hesitate to support his ideas and aimed to be beneficial to as many people as possible.

6.3. Activities of Aydemir between 1938-1950

6.3.1. On the Eve of the Second World War

The period after Mustafa Kemal, İsmet İnönü (tenured from 1938 to 1950) became President and Celal Bayar (tenured from 1937 to 1939) continued his duty as a Prime Minister. In the country, "National Unity and Solidarity" (*Milli Birlik ve Beraberlik*) was the dominant slogan among the people who got used to the ordering of "the Single Chief, the Single Party", and the authoritarian government (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 28-29). The innovations had been initiated by Atatürk were not thoroughly evaluated after his death, in a sense, in terms of Aydemir, the "golden age" of the Turkish revolution ended with his death. However, Aydemir stated that the Turkish revolution had not declared its last word yet and that the "The Era of Heroes" did not end in the ongoing revolutions.

İsmet İnönü, who came after the "Single Man", was elected as the party's Permanent Chairman besides becoming the "National Leader" (*Milli Şef*) in the Extraordinary Congress of the RPP held on December 26, 1938. Aydemir had an opinion that there was a historic responsibility in front of İnönü, "the Second Man", which was to maintain and complete the revolutions that started in Atatürk period (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 49). On the other hand, Aydemir added that there was a great challenge in front of İnönü: this was the Second World War. Even if Aydemir remarked that not entering the Second World War was the best politics that was pursued, he believed that the danger of being dragged into the War had always hung upon on the state like a Sword of Damocles that determines everything in the country.

(Aydemir, 2011a, p. 226). In this part, before explaining the economic policies that followed the war years, it would be appropriate to look at the economic situation of the pre-war period of the state in the direction of Aydemir's works.

Aydemir stated at any possible opportunity and overstressed on the eve of the Second World War as well that one of the most important issues of Turkey was the agricultural and lands politics. To him, as a primitive agricultural country, these should have taken part as a top priority matters for Turkey, however, in the Mustafa Kemal period, except for the abolishment of Aşhar tax,¹⁷⁵ there was nothing done between 1923 and 1938 about the agricultural and peasantry activities (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 60-63). Moreover, İnönü did not make a breakthrough about these issues during his tenure. It is a fact that the agricultural issues had not been taken into consideration since the establishment of the republic; Feroz Ahmad stated that Mustafa Kemal did not have a serious attempt in order to change the structure of rural areas where 80 percent of the population lived and worked (Ahmad, 1977, p. 8).

Besides the agricultural problems in Turkey, Aydemir emphasized that on the threshold of the Second World War, although the army prepared itself, no preparation was made about the war economy of the country. For Aydemir, a war economy should not have been an issue of an organization or the people, but rather it should be addressed by the state. However, unfortunately, it was not evaluated among government officials and its branches as a substantial matter. He described the war economy as the setting and direction of intention to supply war requirements in view of public needs. Additionally, money, credit, transportation and the industry should have been assessed by taking the war conditions and the distributions into consideration which had a complementary function in these situations (Aydemir,

¹⁷⁵ The tax, which the Muslim landowners had to give the 1/10 of their harvest to the state, was abolished in 1925.

2011a, pp. 70-71). Aydemir defended the "total war" asserted by Ludendorff; total war indicates war as a whole not merely the army but also all the society which is a part of the war together with the army (Oktay, 2012, p. 47). That is to say, it is the mobilization of the political, military, economic, moral sources and all individuals of the state. The war economy was that the people and the forces were organized by thinking about the requirements of the war in the first place before the war started. For Aydemir, the war economy, of course, would be performed in a controlled and planned economic organizational movement. These kinds of structuring would include the mobilization of industry, agriculture, nutrition, labor force, commerce, price politics, finance, and transportation. In other words, national economy was to be organized together with the national defense. Turkey, however, lacked this kind of organization on the eve of the Second World War; this situation affected both the army and the public subsistence during the war (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 207-208).

The war was a war of giants, but the countries which were not giants like Turkey needed to take some important measures by themselves. Aydemir had the opportunity to observe while he was working as a state official that the horizon of the government was very narrow in this sense. Also, in the governmental department, he had a chance to work with clear and precise information based on a central review and assessment of Turkey both agricultural potential, food status, industrial production, fuel, transportation problems, and even financial and commercial power. These duties gave him direct contact with civil and military authorities, cooperating with them. He also had a chance to collect all materials from resources and found a possibility to follow the breathing and the pulse of the country at any time. After his direct contacts and works with the governmental office, departments in the national defense and the coordination committee, he realized that the state was sluggish and inadequate in

almost every aspect against the possibility of a war. He clarified the conditions by giving examples; the facilities of the storage fields, such as warehouses and silos, and agricultural and food products were not sufficient (Aydemir, 2016, p. 388). The storage capacities of all fuel-oil tanks, Istanbul, Izmir, and Iskenderun, in Turkey, were only 10.000 tons. Prior to the war, while he was working as President of the Petroleum Commission, based on his investigations at these facilities, Aydemir stated that this capacity could never be fully used at any time. In the event of any war, the army would be suffered from the lacking of fuel as much as the people. As a matter of fact, during the war, the capacity of the fuel storage in the country could drain within sometimes a week or even less. Moreover, he added that a similar situation was also true for compulsory consumer goods such as sugar, cotton, wheat, and iron; the production of these substances was quite insufficient. While the number of cotton per capita was 6 meters per year, the simplest normal need was 20 meters, and the sugar was 4 kilo whereas simple normal need was 14 kilos (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 131-133). As a result, all the explanations showed that if Turkey was dragged into a war, it would encounter very serious problems; no matter what the cost was, it should have remained out of the war.

6.3.2. Projects of Aydemir in the Refik Saydam Government

In September 1939, with the invasion of Poland by Germany, the Second Great War of the 20th century began. In the years of the war, even if Turkey was not included, like the whole world, it was the start of a new era that would determine the fate of the country in the end. Aydemir described the Second World War as a war between the two-front and two the social orders: the war of capitalism and socialism. To him, fascism which all authorities are personalized and based on offensive racial

superiority did not seem to be promising, therefore, it is only an interim order based on political dictatorship without an economic base (Aydemir, 2016, p. 384).

Turkey entered the era of the Second World War with a cadre which was totally opposite to the narrow-minded clique that had been holding the state in their hands at the beginning of the First World War. To Aydemir, the war period passed under the rule of a cadre who were non-militarist, non-dreamer and knew what the war was, as well as the value of peace; this was the greatest chance of the Turkish history. In this period, the war was not an issue of concern, but protecting peace was what dominated the spirit of the Turkish ruler (Aydemir, 2016, p. 385). Despite everything, İsmet İnönü succeeded in not getting involved in the war; however, the administrative and the economic structures of the country were in inadequacy and poverty. The fact that agricultural policies and agricultural progress could not have been mobilized throughout the early Republican years came out with all the realities during the war (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 199). Aydemir stressed that in the Second World War era, Turkey was in case of the deficiencies that resulted from the missed opportunities in the interwar period. Just as the national capital stock with the liberal economy was not realized during the period of 1923-1929, so was the fulfillment of the cheap and long-term machines and facilities into the country not assessed in the years of the Great Depression; between 1929 and 1933. Moreover, it was not possible to dwell on issues such as industrialization, the First and the Second Development Plans, on a wide and systematical basis (Aydemir, 2016, p. 381).

Aydemir thought that the opportunities that occurred in the Mustafa Kemal period and the presence of him could not be evaluated adequately. However, he added that the railway policy that started in the Prime Ministry term of İnönü continued in the Saydam government and reached success. The fast nationalization process started

in Refik Saydam, after Celal Bayar came to power at the beginning of 1939 and until 1942; Istanbul Tramway Company, Istanbul Tunnel Company, and Electricity companies in Bursa, Ankara, and Adana were nationalized in a short time. When it came to the first half of the year, he completed all nationalization matters. After that time with the effect of the war, the nationalization process could not keep its momentum (Koçak, 2007, pp. 365-366; Aydemir, 2011a, p. 64).

With the starting of the war, Turkey had entered the semi-mobilization atmosphere; an active part of the population, which was the most dynamic age groups, had been put under arms and the gradually increasing rates of the budget were reserved for defense expenditures. The government needed to take various strict measures to ensure that Turkey would be ready in case of a possible war. Hence, the increasing military expenditures caused economic difficulties of the country. The country's relations with the world were broke-off because of the war conditions. Importation decreased from 120 million dollars in 1938 to around 50-55 million dollars in 1940-41 (Boratav, 1974, p. 291). Moreover, as Aydemir indicated that lack of national stock, if there were any, lack of storage areas and famine had left the country in a very difficult economic situation.

From the beginning of the war, the Refik Saydam government began to be equipped with mandatory legal powers and administrative organization to implement a strict control mechanism (Koçak, 2007, p. 389). Aydemir who had been working as a general manager in the Industry Audit since 1939, prepared the first economic defense project under the name of "defense economy" in detail. In the report, he handled the issues of "The Peace Power of the Country" (*Memleketin Sulh Kudreti*) and "The War Power of the Country" (*Memleketin Savaş Kudreti*) as a starting point. The study covered the industrial, agricultural, transportation, commercial and

financial mobilization matters, but was not yielded and evaluated adequately. The project was completed in September 1939, immediately after the beginning of the war, and submitted to the Ministry of the Economy, then was sent to the Prime Ministry (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 211-212). Then, it was presented to the RPP Group Presidency and a commission was gathered to review. As a result, this project was adopted as the First Economic Defense Law Project (*İlk İktisadi Savunma Kanun Projesi*). Thereupon, the Party Group constituted a new and wide commission under the leadership of Recep Peker, and their project was enacted in January 1940 as the National Defense Law (*Milli Korunma Kanunu*) (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 213-214). Boratav said that the law was the most important economic law of the period between 1940 and 1945 and the regulations on the basis of this law constituted the main elements of the economic policy of the war years. In addition, the National Defense Law that could provide a variety of opportunities to the governments which wanted to pursue interventionist economic policies from time to time, especially outside the conditions of the war, had a special importance (Boratav, 1974, p. 326; Ahmad, 1977, p. 8).

According to Aydemir, in the years of the Second World War, Turkey had two different economic policies to follow; the first of which was the price stoppage that was implemented during the period of Refik Saydam, and the second of which was price liberalization which was applied by the Şükrü Saraçoğlu will be elaborated in the next part. The price stoppage adopted at the time of Refik Saydam was a policy that fixed the prices on compulsory necessities. In this period, the state which confiscated the goods with the extremely low price from the market prices unilaterally determined the prices. These were mainly in cereals, meat, clothing, and furniture (Koçak, 2007, p. 389). Saydam government followed the policy that major

agricultural products are purchased by the state with prices well below the market prices, which means that prices and trade were controlled and limited by the state. By controlling commerce and prices, the government aimed to prevent black-marketeering and profiteering (Boratav, 1974, p. 297; Koçak, 2007, p. 428).

Actually, the price stoppage policy was applied in Germany, but Turkey was not as equipped as Germany. Thus, it was not easy to carry out the policy. By indicating that it was Aydemir's own influence and responsibility in the selection of this policy, the application of price stoppage was a result of the government policy, trying to survive by its own means together with keeping out of war was necessary in terms of the conjuncture (Aydemir, 2016, p. 389). The restriction of prices had made substantial success and a balanced budget had been maintained as a showcase of this achievement. Furthermore, the success achieved by this policy, which is called "struggle with the cost of living" (*hayat pahalılığı ile mücadele*), gave the government authorities a sense of spiritual pride and safety. They believed that the spirit of the War of Independence could be woken up again, if necessary (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 227). As a result of the economic policy in Saydam government, the economic system was neither worked perfectly nor had it completely gone bankrupt. Soldiers had been cheaply fed and dressed; the urban population had been able to provide bread and coal without exceeding the income limits. On the contrary, the negative side of the price restriction policy prevented the capital accumulation of the producers; thereby it prevented an increase in production. According to Boratav, the policy had led to greater results that triggered the increase of stowage, black-marketeering, and bill trading (Boratav, 1974, p. 293). Thus, the National Defense Law gave broad authorities to the government, and Refik Saydam preferred to implement strict economic policies where prices were controlled by the government and the private

enterprises could not act by their own wishes. The national capital stock could not accumulate and production stayed in low level, but the people did not suffer from hunger.

In 1941, the Trade Office and the Undersecretariat of Subsistence (*İaşe Müsteşarlığı*) were established under the supervision of the Ministry of Commerce in order to ensure that the state was actively involved in the domestic and foreign trade. The Trade Office had mainly worked as one of the main executive bodies of the controls on commercial activities. The Undersecretariat of Subsistence, where Aydemir was appointed as a deputy secretary and was working as General Manager in the Industry Audit at the same time, aimed to establish the state control over private trade and provided effective distribution and stockpile with necessities such as food-drink, clothing, fuel (Boratav, 1974, pp. 338-339). In 1942, while Aydemir was working in this institution, he prepared a wide-ranging report which offered a change program covering issues such as price problems and fiscal measures to a commission that include the representatives of various ministries (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 222-223). The report which was prepared by Aydemir on the wish of Refik Saydam who wanted to overcome the current problems via strict and uncompromising controls was suspended because of the death of Saydam and the leaving of Aydemir from the Deputy Secretary of Undersecretariat of Subsistence in Saraçoğlu period (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 225).

The government of Refik Saydam was aware of the need to be prepared for the war economy of the country; limited success was provided with the measures taken, but these were not enough to prevent economic and social troubles. According to Aydemir, the war economy and the economic mobilization issues had only consisted of National Defense Law whereas he had supported the idea that more organized and

more detailed projects were needed to be implemented, but it was not done. In the preparation of the National Defense Law that was based on the report of Aydemir; even if economic data had been ignored and the Law had not been as productive as it should have been, it was still considered as the most important development of Refik Saydam period (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 212-215). Over time, the Law had also been changed significantly. The most important of these changes made possible the restriction of the rights about the working conditions and the reduction of workers holidays, besides abolishing the right of vacation for one day a week. As a result of the changing in law, the workers who gained rights in 1936 for the first time by the labor law¹⁷⁶ that was enforced, was badly affected by the National Defense Law. Another important change made in 1942 gave rights to the government to personally manage by confiscating all types of industrial and mining businesses without boundaries or conditions (Boratav, 1974, p. 334; Avcioğlu, 1976, p. 470). The National Defense Law continued to be implemented in the course of the war (1940-45), together with some changes in the process of the multi-party system (1946-50), and the Democrat Party period (beginning from 1956-60) (Koçak, 2007, p. 383). Aydemir continued his work as a general manager in the Industry Audit after the death of Refik Saydam and he offered the government of Saraçoğlu new projects.

6.3.3. Projects of Aydemir in Şükrü Saraçoğlu Period

After Refik Saydam, Şükrü Saraçoğlu (tenured from 1942 to 1946) became the Prime Minister, he followed the opposite direction of the economic policies of the previous government. Moreover, Saraçoğlu extinguished the Undersecretariat of

¹⁷⁶ The law did not allow the right to bargain collectively, to strike and right to establish unions, so everything depended on the desire and will of the employer. Even if some marked improvements were done beginning from 1945 such as law for worker's insurance, an establishment the Ministry of Labor and foundation of an employment agency, the important steps were taken by 1960 and so on (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 363).

Subsistence which was affiliated to the Ministry of Commerce; and so, the duty of Aydemir in the Undersecretariat was ended. Therefore, he continued his duty as General Manager in the Industry Audit where he had been working since 1939. The direction of the new government was to reduce intervention and government control on the economy, to end the price controls, encourage the prices and, accordingly, increase the production (Koçak, 2007, pp. 412, 432). The aim of the government was to open markets to both axis and to the allied powers as much as possible and to increase the internal and external demands in order to encourage the producers. Thus, by increasing the volume of money, it was proposed to get the items needed in the outside market and to ensure the capital accumulation in the hands of the producer (Boratav, 1974, p. 301).

Aydemir who favored the implementations of Saydam government thought that after the death of Refik Saydam the abandonment of the price-stoppage policy and the adoption of the liberation of the prices could have been very dangerous if Turkey had entered the war. According to him, despite the inadequacy of the production, non-execution of the price-stoppage policy caused a rise in monopolists like "*hacıağalar*" and high inflation. Moreover, he added that the new economic policy caused to get the stocks out of the hands of the government which had been constituted by very favorable prices in the price-stoppage policy. He explained the situation by given examples; the price of wheat determined as 13.5 kuruş increased to 100 kuruş. The price of olive oil, which had been calculated over 85 kuruş and could meet an annual requirement, increased to 300 kuruş. As a result of the liberation of the prices, while the monetary depreciation had been occurring, gold prices had risen, the budget balance had deteriorated and the state had difficulties paying the military expenditures (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 230-231). Doğan Avcıoğlu had the same ideas

with Aydemir and called the economic policies of Saraçoğlu "seasonless liberalism" (Avcıoğlu, 1976, p. 472).

During the war years, governments tried to increase taxes while giving importance to saving as much as possible in expenditures. As a result of Saracoğlu's policy of ending the state intervention on economy and prices, new measures had begun to be considered in the face of increasing the prices extraordinarily in a short period of time (Koçak, 2007, p. 475). The inadequacy in the budget caused the implementation of a policy called the Wealth Tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) in the month of November 1942. The Wealth Tax, for Aydemir, was the mandatory implementation of the situation that the country was in. This tax, which was the subject of many debates, was an extraordinary practice. It is not a desire or a work of caprices, but an inevitable need and necessity. He believed that the necessities of an implementation of the Tax resulted from the economic policies of the Saraçoğlu government; these were the liberation of the prices and the abolition of the Subsistence Undersecretariat. Moreover, he stated that in the report which he had submitted to Refik Saydam in 1942, but not put into effect, he had expressed that "the personal wealth tax is the ultimate measure that can be applied in the financial area" Therefore, he believed that the Wealth Tax was nothing else than a tax of personal wealth and the government could have taken alternative measures to cope with the budget deficit (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 229-235).¹⁷⁷ In addition to being an extraordinary means of financing, the tax was seen as a precaution of an anti-inflationist economic policy by Saraçoğlu (Boratav, 1974, p. 340). According to Lewis, a country which was in economic and financial crisis could get some measures as a means of collecting revenue in order to recover the national economy, but the Wealth Tax, in fact, was planned and

¹⁷⁷ "şahsi servet vergisi, mali sahada başvurulabilecek en son tedbirdir."

implemented in a manner neither normal nor justifiable (Lewis, 1968, p. 297). The Tax was implemented classifying by being Muslim and Non-Muslim of the people and it would force people to labor hard in Erzurum Aşkale camp located in the eastern part of the country if they could not afford to pay their tax debt. Sütçüoğlu interpreted the tax as was one of the cases where the mentality that saw non-Muslims as "others" set the parameters of state practices; they were perceived as part of a wealthy, privileged population (Sütçüoğlu, 2010, p. 56). In addition to not giving the expected result, the unfair implementation of the tax resulted in the destruction of the non-Muslim wealth and big capitals changed from the hands of the non-Muslims to the Turkish businessmen (Yücekök, 1983, p. 119; Lewis, 1968, p. 301). Although the Law of Wealth Tax had the main effect on the non-Muslim minorities, it had created a tremendous shock in the confidence of the groups, the capital owners, against the government; namely, as the broader expression, this had caused mistrust against the regime (Koçak, 2007, p. 569). The tax was repealed in 1944 after being practiced nearly 16 months, had been an attempt that severed last ties of the government with the group of capital owners.

A year after the end of the application of the Wealth Tax, Saraçoğlu Government, this time, carried a new tax into effect called Agricultural Products Tax (*Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi*), was resembled the Aşar Tax, the tax rate was again 10%. Moreover, the tax was seen as a complement of the Wealth Tax by the taxpayers, farmers, who benefited from the condition of the war (Boratav, 1974, p. 351; Avcioğlu, 1976, p. 347). However, contrary to Wealth Tax Law, there was no discrimination between the big and small farmers in the Law of Agricultural Product Tax. The small farmers who produced little and had not completely integrated into the market, their production had already been fallen because of the war conditions, thus

small farmers had become the most suffered group from the tax. With this implementation, the big farmers had also been subjected to the taxation and for the first time since the removal of the Aşar, they widely participated in the financing of public expenditures (Koçak, 2007, p. 525). With the Law on Agricultural Products Tax, which came into force in 1943, the estimated income could not be provided by the tax and was repealed at the beginning of 1946. As a result, while the government lost capital owners' confidence via the execution of Wealth Tax, they lost the belief of farmers via the Agricultural Products Tax as well.

Another law that was enforced during the Saraçoğlu period became the Land Reform Law (*Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu*). The slogans were "giving land to a landless farmer and no farmers without a land" (*çiftçiyi topraklandırmak ve topraksız çiftçi bırakmamak*) as old as the proclamation of the republic. On the other hand, even if in the period of Mustafa Kemal, many successful initiatives were done, almost nothing had happened in agricultural policies except for the abolition of the Aşar tax. After his period, the Second World War broke out and Saydam government did not take an important step toward land reform. Finally, in the middle of 1945, at the time of Saraçoğlu, the land reform law was enacted, but became functionless immediately. For Aydemir, the land reform act was a stillborn law. RPP was hesitant to implement the Law because they were going to the election in the near future. Thus, the party did not want to lose the votes of big landowners and the people who were in their hands (Aydemir, 2011a, pp. 338, 351).

In the context of land reform debates, a group of people thought that the law would provide the peasant to be the landowner and would inspire them to work enthusiastically. Therefore, the land reform would help increase productivity, which in turn would lead to the growth of the economy in general and cause an increase in

demand for industrial goods (Karaömerlioğlu, 1998, p. 34). On the other hand, according to economic historians, Şevket Pamuk and Çağlar Keyder, the Land Reform Law was prepared with political concerns rather than economics. The intention was to drive the opposition group who was newly emerging and involved a large number of landowners into a corner (Keyder & Pamuk, 1984-85, p. 59). As a result of all disputes, the law was enacted but not being able to achieve success between 1945 and 1950. Moreover, the law caused an opposition of land bourgeoisie and landlords to the RPP and increased the voice of opposition group within the party.

While the draft of Land Reform Law was being discussed, the disputes and the internal conflicts within the party, had already reached to the peak. The opponents of the law, also known as the liberal group, consisted of the large landowners were Adnan Menderes, Emin Sazak, Cavit Oral, also Celal Bayar, Fuad Köprülü and Refik Koraltan who strictly rejected the law (Karaömerlioğlu, 1998, p. 33). The four people (Adnan Menderes, Celal Bayar, Fuad Köprülü and Refik Koraltan) presented a proposal, in June 1945, known as "*dörtlü tahrir*" (the memorandum of the four) to the party's Assembly Group opened way to pass to the multi-party system. In the "*dörtlü tahrir*", it was demanded that democratic procedures be implemented fully as stated in the constitution. The "*dörtlü tahrir*" was rejected by the Assembly Group and Menderes, Köprülü and Koraltan were expelled from the party and also, Celal Bayar resigned his seat in the Assembly (Ahmad, 1977, p. 12) Thus, the founder cadre of the new party became clear and DP was founded on January 7, 1946. According to Yücekök, by the implementations of etatism at the beginning of the 1930s, capitalist and entrepreneurial class started to emerge and began to take its place in Turkish society between 1934 and 1939. This liberal group was, in a sense, new social and political elite that begun to flourish with economic development against the military-

civilian bureaucratic elite. This newly emergent group wanted to plan and direct, within the framework of the liberal economy, their own entrepreneurship without the obstacle of the state; their desire required a changing of the mono-party system (Yücekök, 1983, pp. 118-120). With the foundation of the DP, Turkey experienced democracy, and the RPP was to take its place on the opposition side not in 1946 but in 1950 elections.

6.4. Developments in Post-War Period

The end of the Second World War had also been the end of the European-based power balance in international politics. The new balance of power occurred between the Soviet Union and the United States; the world swiftly dragged into the bipolar order called the Cold War. In the new world order, Turkey was to take a new shape and found a new ally which was neither in Europe nor in the Soviet geography; the new ally was an emerging power beyond the ocean—the United States. The foundations of the new international economy were laid in the Bretton-Woods conference which was held with the participation of 44 countries upon the call of US president Roosevelt between 1 and 23 July, 1944. Turkey gave its first signals of being a part of the capitalist system of the West following the war by accepting the treaty. Within the scope of this treaty, Turkey believed by this treaty that she could be an industrialized country in the free foreign trade regime (Tekeli & İlkin, 2010, pp. 365-366).

Aydemir, who assessed the Second World War as a war of capitalism and socialism, had the opinion that the real struggle would take place between these two sides. This struggle would have happened above the grave of fascism and after all its power had been weakened. With the German defeat, fascism disappeared and gave its place to a great deal of revenge of the two different societies and different economics

based states which had been against each other for centuries (Aydemir, 2016, p. 384). He had expressed his development plans for the post-war period in the journal, named "*Hep Bu Topraktan*", published by Vedat Nedim Tör in 1943, when Tör was working as a director in Ankara Radio (Tör, 1999, p. 171). By putting an emphasis on the geopolitical importance of Turkey, Aydemir stated that while constituting the industrial policy of the country, the geopolitical conditions needed to be taken into consideration for the post-war period. To him, nations would survive as long as they follow the speed of development of advanced techniques (Aydemir, 1943a). He signaled, in another article, that the international economic cooperation had become more expanding and Turkey should be in economic collaboration with countries which especially had an advanced technique like the Anglo-Saxon countries and the United States. To Aydemir, besides protecting industrial and mining facilities, Turkey needed to build facilities with high technique as soon as possible; the country would find new opportunities for the industrialization, reconstruction, technical development by means of its own geopolitical characteristics and geographical location (Aydemir, 1943b). Aydemir always gave importance to the heavy industry rather than the small businesses and he was in favor of the international cooperation with the technically advanced countries under the same conditions, these ideas also prevailed for the post-war report which he was to prepare in the future. On the other hand, the economic policies of Turkey were not in favor of the improvement of the industry and etatist policies because of both internal and external conjunctures that emerged in the post-war period.

It was normal to make plans and programs for the post-war situation in the countries which were not included in the war. For this purpose, commissions and even institutes were established. In Turkey, the development in the post-war period became

one of the main concerns of the government. Turkey, as one of the non-included countries in the war, in the summer of 1944, Saraçoğlu government decided to establish a Post-War Commission consisted of four deputies and "Post-War Development Plan and Program" (*Harp Sonrası Kalkınma Plan ve Programı*) working for preparations. Aydemir became the rapporteur and secretary of the Commission which was convened under the chairmanship of the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Economy (Koçak, 2007, p. 536; Aydemir, 2011a, p. 397; Tekeli & İlkin, 2010, p. 372). The Minister of Economy, Fuat Sirmen, closely supported the works of the Commission which İsmail Hüsrev was a member too. According to the authority granted to Aydemir, he was asked to prepare the report even at the expense of neglecting his primary duties. The preliminary report¹⁷⁸ was approved and submitted to the government in May 1945 and almost a year later, in April 1946, it received its final form as a "Five-Year Plan" (*5 Yıllık Plan*) (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 398). Aydemir stated that this plan had been prepared as a very ambitious and independent industrialization program. In addition, the report which was prepared also to make an assessment of the post-war world conjuncture mentioned the formation of a bipolar system and drew attention to Turkey's prospect of staying in the middle of these two poles: "After the war, Turkey would be on conflicting line of two opposing political and economic systems. On one side there is the democratic system represented by the western world, on the other side there is a controlled and totalitarian socialism. The borderline of these two systems will probably pass from middle-Europe by including a part of Eastern European countries" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 391).¹⁷⁹ By preparing the

¹⁷⁸ The original name: "*Türk Sanayiinin Harb Zamanından Sulh Zamanına İntikal ve Sulh Zamanının Muhtemelen Yeni Şartlarına İntibak Devrelerinde Korunması ve Gelişmesi ile İlgili Genel Problemler Hakkında Ön Rapor.*"

¹⁷⁹ "*Harpten sonra Türkiye, birbirine zıt iki siyasi ve iktisadi nizamın çatışma hattı üstünde bulunacaktır. Bir tarafta Batı aleminin temsil ettiği demokratik sistem, diğer tarafta güdümlü ve*

report within this direction, he handled the recent epoch economic history, economic problems and opportunities of Turkey, he also mentioned about the actual investment and development issues in the axis of political conjuncture that would occur at the end of the war. According to Aydemir, the report were not taken into consideration because of changing the Saraçoğlu cabinet in the middle of 1946 and the fact that Recep Peker (tenured from 1946 to 1947) became the Prime Minister, so the "Post-War Development Plan and Program" lost its force. (Aydemir, 2016, pp. 389-390; Avcıoğlu, 1976, p. 571). On the contrary, according to Boratav, the issue of American aid became effective for the plan not to come into force. He supported his idea by stating that the plan was presented to the Americans. The "Five-Year Plan" was rejected by Americans; it became clear that the economic policies of Turkey would be shaped in the direction of the requests and the tendency of the United States. Boratav added that, of course, it would not have been possible to reconcile an industrialization strategy including a moveable, assertive, independent and etatist policies with the American "model" adopted by the "foreign aid blackmail" (Boratav, 1974, pp. 360-361). On September 23, 1947, after the American rejection, the Prime Minister formally gave the "Five-Year Plan" to the Ministry of Economy back. In the meantime, Peker left the Prime Ministry and Hasan Saka (tenured from 1947 to 1949) came into his place (Tekeli & İlkin, 2010, pp. 404-405).

From 1947 onwards, an increasing American effect on Turkey had been felt with the Truman Doctrine, giving support to the countries which had "Soviet threat", and in the 1948 Marshall Plan, with American aid for economic recovery, it seemed obvious that Americans would not invest for the industry in Turkey (Avcıoğlu, 1976, p. 561). At the same year, the restriction on foreign capital investment was removed;

totaliter bir sosyalizm. Bu iki nizamın sınır hattı, muhtemelen bir kısım Doğu Avrupa memleketlerini de içine alarak Orta Avrupa'dan geçecek olsa gerektir."

meaning that Turkey was moved away from the planned industrialization which was implemented by the etatist system that had been practiced since 1930. Etatism, in fact, had lost much of its dynamism aftermath of 1937 and during the war, so it would inevitably become a thing of the history and it had happened to be so. Moreover, the Turkish Economic Congress, which was held in the middle of November 1948, had paved the way for the liberal policies to be adopted in the 1950s (Toprak, 1982, p. 37). Thereby, while Turkey was trying to grow by being neutral in the foreign politics and self-enclosed in her economic relations during the pre-war period, she turned into a country that tries to be a part of the Western block and so become a country that can implement the economic and political conditions of this block during the post-war period (Tekeli & İlkin, 2010, p. 369).

After the rejection of the five-year plan, the new investment program which was hastily prepared, convenient to the wish of Americans, giving priority to the agriculture and infrastructure facilities, contained the years from 1948 to 1952, submitted to the Americans and was responded positively this time. Aydemir was able to follow the situation as a member of Supreme Supervisory Board of the Prime Ministry (*Başbakanlık Yüksek Denetleme Teşkilatı*) because he quit his duty in the General Management in the Industry Audit; he explicitly saw that the government had not prepared a development and organizational plans. The fact that not preparing a plan for the development of the state had not only happened during the tenure of the Prime Ministries Recep Peker and Hasan Saka, but also the same situation was valid when Şemsettin Günaltay (tenured from 1949 to 1950) was in power (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 419). This is an interesting sample that shows how the plans that was prepared in a country that post-war plans prepared in 1946, foreign affairs and internal political organizations were undergoing an important changes left out of the political

agenda in a short time because of the uncertainty she was facing (Tekeli & İlkin, 2010, p. 406). Aydemir expressed that "There was no longer an economic development on the stage, but rather a political orientation towards a multi-party regime and the person who carries the flag was İnönü" (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 420).¹⁸⁰

Aydemir, as a RPP member since 1930, had attended the activities of the party loyally and diligently (Aydemir, 2016, p. 390). In that period he asked himself why İnönü and therefore the RPP did not attempt for the economic development of the country after the war. According to him, the answer of this question was the exhaustion of the power. He believed that his government was exhausted and each day it was becoming progressively weaker. Moreover, instability and unsteadiness were the symptoms of this illness. The emergence of a new government and the opening of a new diagram were no more inevitable. There was no doubt that the RPP had been the main factor in succeeding the liberation of the country and in realizing many revolutions, but did not need to change anymore. He added that the RPP, which was in power exhaustion, could not realize the planned development even if the projects were ready, so prepared a ground for the unplanned power of DP (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 391). Like Aydemir, Ahmad and Boratav emphasized the instability in the RPP by saying that in 1945, the political alliance that had stabilized since 1923 deteriorated and it was necessary to establish a new political balance as soon as the war ended (Ahmad, 1977, p. 24; Boratav, 1974, p. 357). Moreover, the bourgeoisie of industrial, commercial and agricultural, developed by the hands of the state between 1923 and 1950, greatly strengthened the situation by integrating with the foreign capital once before taking the power (Yücekök, 1983, p. 121). The developments within the party and social structure reflected the political arena as changing hands of

¹⁸⁰ "Artık sahnede bir iktisadi kalkınma değil, çok partili rejime doğru siyasi bir yöneliş vardı. Ve bunun bayrağını İnönü taşıyordu."

the power from the civilian-bureaucratic elite to the large landowners. The expected result became true and the Democrat Party came to power, only four years after its establishment, in the elections on May 14, 1950.

The abandonment of the statist policies which Aydemir supported as a necessity in order to be an industrially advanced country and economic developments resembled a new beginning for him. Mustafa Kemal period was the "golden age" for him and the period after his death was the continuation of the Turkish revolution, but now, the "the Era of Heroes" was over. With passing to the multi-party system, RPP took place in the opposition and remained as a minority party throughout the 1950s. For Aydemir, with the end of "the Era of Heroes", the new era which no "national chief" or "national heroes" take place would start and the people who would be honored or denied by the wish of the masses would come to power (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 423). When the DP came to power in 1950, Aydemir had to have obligatory retirement by the decision of the cabinet. When facing up with the obligatory retirement, he felt a deep disappointment and turned in on himself; he stopped to write especially in economic issues in a certain period of time and moved to a village in Ankara.

6.5. Conclusion

It is possible to see the reflections of Aydemir's utopian consciousness in the activities that he performed during his civil service. As frequently emphasized, the most distinctive quality of a utopian is the compatibility of his thoughts with the political, economic and social realities. In order to achieve this, the utopian always observes the developments in the society, tries to understand its dynamics, and, in parallel, tests the realizability of its thoughts. Aydemir was also a utopian intellectual who did not satisfied with the abstract and theoretical thoughts. He was always in

need of testing the compatibility of his thoughts with the realities and putting his thoughts into action. The duties he had in the state institutions presented him the opportunity to reach at necessary and actual information which enabled him to test his thoughts. Besides, instead of pretending as if an ordinary state officer, he used this opportunity to develop sustainable economic programs and to raise the awareness of people by writing books and articles in the axis of the capacity of the country.

As tried to be revealed, the political and economic realities stemming from the great depression led the Turkey to follow an etatist economic program. The mobilization of people and steering them towards making saving for national capital accumulation was seen a critical part of this new economic program. In that regard, Aydemir participated in the activities of the National Economy and Saving Society which carried out serious projects such as the Saving Week which was the first economic festival of Turkey. He contributed to the activities of the association, which was seen as a "national case", by writing books in the light of the information he got in the state offices. Another creation of his utopian consciousness was the education program, School Cooperative System, he developed. Aydemir believed that it is not so possible to achieve a sustainable economic progress only by the initiatives of the state. The people also should be integrated to development program of the state. In that direction, he tried to educate his students in the direction of making personal saving and turning them to larger scaled investments by establishing a cooperative atmosphere.

Thanks to being assigned to various state officials, he had an opportunity to follow the economic affairs closely and when the Second World War broke out, he was one of the responsible people who prepared reports during the war. Aydemir witnessed and supported the etatist policies of the government and also he saw how

the implementation of this policy had been decreased step by step and finally was abandoned when he was working in state officials.

The observing habit of Aydemir and his nature of updating his thoughts in the direction of these observations led him to adapt to the changing circumstances. He was one of the exceptional intellectuals who could realize that the post-war era would take shape in the axis of the rivalry between two opposing ideological polar and Turkey's geopolitical position would have a more significant role in the shaping of its political and economic programs. Within this framework, he developed a new development plan with the contributions of some other state officers, however, the plan did not put into force. As the time passed and he witnessed the events, he concluded that there was a power exhaustion in the government. To him, the emergence of a new government and the opening of a new diagram were inevitable anymore and so did it happen. With the DP coming to power, the "The Era of Heroes" that closed down would never revive again for him. His new term would start as an unwilling retiree with the decision of the new government.

7. RETIREMENT YEARS

7. 1. Introduction

It can be said that the retirement years of Aydemir, which took place starting from 1950, is divided into two. The first one of these periods is when he continued his life in a farmhouse, and when he turned in upon himself and get lonely (see Appendix J). During this period, even though Aydemir moved away from daily politics, he went on his writings because of the habit that the years brought to him. It is possible that he had the chance to review his entire life and wrote down his autobiography "*Suyu Arayan Adam*". Furthermore, "*Toprak Uyanırsa*", which was depicted with the effects of these years, is a product of his time spent in farmhouse.

Starting with the beginning of 1960s, because of the fact that the political condition of the country had changed, he started dealing with daily political issues and became a part of *Yön* movement to which he felt closest. *Yön* became a new hope for Aydemir to realize his utopia; however, the fact that he could not entirely harmonise with the *Yön* movement and his increasing age directed him to write the biographies of historical persona through which he believed to be more beneficial. These biographies that he wrote when he was at his 60s have become the most comprehensive works about realizing his utopia. While he was dealing with biographies for many years, he – at the same time – wrote daily articles on *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. In this chapter, the life and works of Aydemir in his late stages starting from the years 1960 until his death in 1976 will be examined by taking the conditions of the period into consideration.

7.2. "Toprak Uyanırsa..."

Aydemir who has devoted himself to working in state service for many years both in his teaching life and in government departments made efforts to be able to serve the Turkish Revolution as much as possible. However, the decision of retirement which was dictated to him, worn out his soul and he opted to move to his farmhouse located in Kayaş, Ankara, led a quiet life. In the farmhouse, getting away from all sorts of complexity, conflicts, and adventure, he headed toward land, took care of feeding animals and dealt with the cultivation of his lands. Even though he was spending time doing his favorite activity by engaging in farming, he was having hard time suppressing the untimely decision of retirement. He was trying to adapt to his new life and forgetting his recent past by making his inner voice speak as if somebody had been telling him something. His inner voice whispered him these things:

"Do you think that they made a wrong decision about you? But, try to understand that these people taking this decision had to do it! Do not accuse either yourself or anybody else. Why are you sad? Do you want a job and a building? Indeed, there are so many things that need to be demolished and rebuild in ourselves..." (Aydemir, 2016, p. 400).¹⁸¹

His inner voice summons him to turn into himself first for a new beginning. His years spent in his farm gave Aydemir enough time to go through all his life and became a source of inspiration for him to write a work "*Suyu Arayan Adam*" that will be identified by his name. Living in village also inspired him to write his novel "*Toprak Uyanırsa*" that would be published in 1963.

¹⁸¹"*Senin hakkında yanlış bir karar aldıklarını mı düşünüyorsun? Fakat bu kararı alanların, buna mecbur olduklarını düşünmeye çalış! Ne kendini, ne de başkasını itham etme. Hem üzölmek niçin? Bir iş ve bir inşa mı istiyorsun? Ashnda içimizde yıkılacak ve yeniden inşa edilecek o kadar çok şey var ki...*"

"Toprak Uyanırsa" is a work of Aydemir's in which he narrated Turkey in a fictional setting. Along with his fluency and the power of his depictions, one of the most important characteristics of this novel is its utopic composition. Besides, another one of its remarkable characteristics is that the connection between the characters in the novel with the real life of Aydemir. For instance, according to Tekeli, the rural utopia that Aydemir developed in his novel is an autobiography of his victory that he gained against the land during his village life in Kayaş (Tekeli, 2012, p. 109). As a matter of fact, the connection of the novel to Aydemir is much deeper than the detections of Tekeli. This novel is a follow-up of the autobiography of Aydemir that he terminated in the year when he stepped down and is a product of the settlement that he had with himself during his farm life.

The novel starts with a retired teacher who become depressed upon retirement and who thinks that he is worthless and even his friends and family sees him as a worthless person asking to be assigned to a village school. His disappointment dragged him into a melancholic mood in which he considers the changes he achieved during his tenure are insignificant. His mood, in a sense, reflects the disappointment of Aydemir that he experienced upon retirement. Just like Aydemir himself, the teacher in the novel also needs a new beginning in which he will realize his own power. Keltepe to which he assigned offers him this chance.

Keltepe, also called as Ekmeksizköy, is a poor and underdeveloped village in which there is no chance for farming because of the swamp upon which the village is established. When the teacher comes to the village, he comes across with a village that lost their faith, that are suffering from diseases and uneducated. In a sense, Aydemir depicted the Anatolian reality that he knew during the First World War period here. The teacher, just like Aydemir educated the soldiers in the battlefield,

starts his job by teaching the children of the village their names and last names. Later on, besides his work as an educator, he orients towards being a leader in a program that will provide the full development of the village. He applied to the relevant institutions and organizations of the government to solve the problems of the village. As a result of the efforts of teacher; the machinery, engineers, geography experts of the government come to the village gradually and start working for the development of the village. With the efforts of the village, the swamp is drained over time and agriculture could be started again.

Aydemir narrates his own utopia by depicting the success of this village whose destiny changes with the leadership of this retired teacher. He constructed his utopia on the Anatolian reality that is a work of ignorance which took over centuries. As the retired teacher in the novel gets to know the people of the village, by emphasizing the fact that the people of the village have been ignored by centuries, he indicates that not the village people but the government is the guilty one. These people have been stalled off and cheated for centuries. He thinks about what the state have given to these people for centuries (Aydemir, 1975d, p. 80). Aydemir, while commenting his early life, frequently emphasized the fact that despite being ignored, Anatolian people continued to serve their state in the wars that lasted for years. He explains the fact that village people were also aware of this issue by the words of the village headman to the authorities: "Gentleman, where have you been until now? If you were really capable of these things...Wasn't it a sin to make people live in such a contemptible, miserable conditions till now?" (Aydemir, 1975d, p. 80).¹⁸²

Aydemir, who supports the idea that Turkish revolution must continue with a cadre leading the way in real life, also reflected this view on his novel. He believed

¹⁸²"Efendiler, neredeydiniz siz şimdiye kadar? Madem böyle işler gelirdi elinizden? Günah değil miydi bu milleti rezil, sefil yaşatmak bu güne dek?"

that congregation which means the people, needs a leader -the state- that will show them the way and have a feeling for them. This connection between the state and the congregation will be set up with an intellectual. If they can set up the connection, both the state and its subjects will be ready to do everything for the development. The retired teacher in the novel is the person that makes that connection and meets the state with the people. This is the consciousness throughout the novel. The real problem of the village people is not laziness but a lack of leader that will show them the way. The village people works with great sacrifices when given a hand. Aydemir expressed this thought by these words: "Everybody has a character and identity in this world. Everybody wants to do something. Everybody serves a purpose. If a person belittle himself, maybe this is not his fault. Doesn't he want to do something, to feel the pride of achieving something?" (Aydemir, 1975d, pp. 78-79).¹⁸³

The accomplishment gained in the village is also presented as a work of the integration between the state and the people. While the teacher was making an effort for the development of the village, he does not experience any negative reaction. State officials presented the support to the service of the village people. He also gives some important messages regarding how this integration between the state and the people could be accomplished via the characters in the novel. One of the foundation stones of Aydemir's thoughts that not the individual but the whole nation should be developed is presented through the district governor who gives whatever support is necessary for the village. The words that the district governor says "It is not about you or me, it is about us", is the thought process that is dominant throughout the novel. In parallel with this, Aydemir states his belief in Turkish people and the state by stating these words: "If a society wants and especially this society has an ancient history, vast

¹⁸³"Bu dünyada herkesin bir benliği, bir kişiliği vardır. Herkes bir işe yaramak ister. Herkes bir işe yarar. Eğer bir insan kendini küçük, faydasız görüyorsa, bu belki de onun suçu değildir. O da bir iş yapmak, o da bir şey başarmanın gururunu duymak istemez mi?"

opportunities, a large population of labor force, a potential of intellectuals that have important qualities like Turkish society; it is possible that this society can achieve remarkable success without revolutions, bloodsheds on their own land." (Aydemir, 1975d, p. 213).¹⁸⁴

Another point that needs attention is that the character Ayhan Bozkır who is an agricultural engineer in the novel reflect the early years of Aydemir. This character is a man who is young, ambitious, wants to work for his country, devoted himself to serve his country with plans and struggling to realize these plans. Just like Aydemir, the reports that Bozkır prepared was ignored by some offices in bureaucracy. Indeed, one of his teachers ridiculed and humiliated his ideas one day (Aydemir, 1975d, p. 184). According to Ayhan, by following the path that the developed countries follow, we cannot turn back to our own realities without losing our values. The most important one of these realities is that our country is an underdeveloped country. The solutions to our problems are congested with this reality. To keep up with the pace of the progress of our century, to reach the level of living or at least to come closer is our real matter. The base principle of Atatürk was to reach the level of advanced civilizations and nations as an equal and independent nation (Aydemir, 1975d, pp. 208-209). Just like Aydemir, Ayhan in the novel also believes the necessity that we should keep up with the developments in the world without breaking our contact with our own realities, by this way Turkey take their part among the developed societies.

The retired teacher, who devoted himself to serving the country for years, holds onto life as he sees the joy of life of the people living in this village just when the hopes are depleted. He expressed the struggles of the village people, thanks to the help coming from the state authorities, gets better as the time passes, the swamp

¹⁸⁴ *"Bir toplum isterse ve hele o toplum Türk milleti gibi eski bir tarihe, geniş imkanlara, kalabalık bir insan gücüne, değerli vasıfları olan bir aydın potansiyeline sahipse, o toplum ihtilaller olmadan, kanlar dökülmeden, kendi toprağı üzerinde nice fetihler yapması mümkündür."*

drains, and the infertile lands of the village becomes green again, and a depleted, hopeless teacher succeeding these things by stating:

"I was pleased a little bit every day with my life. I get to know my identity and find myself again in Ekmeksizköy day by day. It is like my professional life that I experienced until that day was a trial period for my life and I started my real profession right now. Now I am a retired teacher, though. That retired and depleted person..." (Aydemir, 1975d, p. 142).¹⁸⁵

As stated above, Aydemir placed his ideas about the development of Turkey into this novel. He narrated in this novel that a retired teacher who starts to believe that you can cope with any difficulty in this life with cooperation and while being a hope for the people with the struggles that he coped with, he also finds the things that makes him hold onto life in the village that comes with desperation. The psychology of this retired teacher is similar to the psychology of Aydemir during the process of writing this book. Moreover, the character of Ayhan reflects the decisive, hopeful, enthusiastic Aydemir in his youth. That is to say, by dividing his life into two as before and after the retirement, Aydemir explains the period through using two characters in the novel. This novel chastely explains how village people can change and develop without breaking their connection with their roots and how people who lost their hopes can hold onto life again. This hope, at the same time, signals a new period for Aydemir had obligatory retirement and he decided to turn back to his writing life again. This time, he will start to state his opinions that he defended for years in a different form in *Yön Journal*.

¹⁸⁵"Hayatımdan hergün biraz daha memnundum. Ekmeksizköy'de benliğimi her gün biraz daha tanıyor, biraz daha buluyordum. Sanki o güne kadar geçirdiğim meslek hayatım benim için yalnız bir deneme devresiydi de, asıl öğretmenliğime şimdi yeni başlamış oluyordum. Oysa, artık emekli bir öğretmendim. Yani, şu emekli ve tükenmiş insan ..."

7.3. Revival of Aydemir with *Yön* Journal

Having faced with compelling circumstances in many phases of his life, Aydemir never gave up clinging to life. He thought that "I either would have turned towards a new life order or would have destructed myself within frustrations and resentments" (Aydemir, 2016, p. 405).¹⁸⁶ Towards end of the years, when he was away from the issues about daily politics, also coincides with the beginning of a new period in Turkey called as a "relatively free atmosphere". In this part, the issues handled will be about the ideas of Aydemir in *Yön* Journal between 1962-1966.

In *Kadro* Movement, Aydemir had realized that capitalism was not the way to the salvation for Turkey, however, he learned from the experiences he obtained throughout his life that socialism was not possible to be implemented with the conditions of the country, as well. Therefore, Aydemir tried to find a theoretical basis for the Turkish Revolution which would be different from socialism and capitalism, so he attempted to create "a new model of etatism" for the development of newly established Turkey. His effort was to provide some kinds of guidance for the government. As well as the political independence, he believed that Turkey would gain economic independence under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal and an intellectual cadre accompanied to him. As it will be seen in the following of this part, in the 1960s, besides he supported the same ideas, he went one step further in his thoughts and supported socialism that was unique to Turkey.

After almost three decades passed from *Kadro*, Aydemir attended a new movement called *Yön*. The atmosphere of Turkey at that time was incomparable with the *Kadro* years when the country was under the rule of single party and single man. Within these 30 years, after the single-party rule, Turkey passed to democracy and

¹⁸⁶ "Ya yeni bir hayat nizamına yönelecektim. Ya da hayal kırıklıkları ve kırgınlıklar içinde kendimi tüketecektim."

Democrat Party came to power up until 1960 by the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. On May 27, 1960, this administration was ended by the military intervention which was the first, but not the last *coup d'etat* that the Turkish Republic would faced. The constitution redrafted and came into force in 1961 formed in a manner of giving more rights to political parties, associations, and the press. In this part, it is planned to be explained what the *Yön* basically was before analyzing his ideas and contributions to the movement.

Yön was established by a group of intellectuals who came from RPP in 1950s, when DP was in power. They found a ground to express their ideas six months after the military coup, when the "relatively free atmosphere" was started to be dominant in the country, thus, the Journal started its publication life led by Doğan Avcıoğlu on December 20, 1961. Even though various intellectuals contributed to the journal, the core cadre of the authors, besides Avcıoğlu, composed of Mümtaz Soysal, İlhami Soysal, İlhan Selçuk, Cemal Reşit Eyüboğlu (Atılğan, 2008, p. 240).

The first military coup of Turkey, which was called "27 May movement" by *Yön*, chiefly targetted at right-wing DP government and aimed to turn back the state to the Kemalist principles, met thankfully by the most of the leftists and founding fathers of *Yön* as well. The comment of Avcıoğlu about the *coup d'état* was a kind of summary of the general ideas of *Yön* writers that 27 May Movement was a reaction of "active forces" (*zinde güçler*) against the government that gave way to lose the valuable years to the country (Avcıoğlu, 1962a, p. 3). The founders of the Journal stressed that *Yön* came up with a solution to rescue Turkey from the underdevelopment situation and aimed to bring the state back to the Kemalist principles. Basically, they had a strong feeling to bring a socialist order to Turkey, because they believed that the country was among the underdevelopment countries, so

the only method for the liberty and social justice was socialism. In the first issue, the Journal published its declaration called "*Aydınların Ortak Bildirisi*" (The Declaration of Intellectuals) signed by a range of intellectuals from lawyers, teachers, academicians, journalists to tradesmen. As stated in the declaration, the purpose of the Journal was to reach contemporary civilization level aimed by Atatürk Revolutions, to solve the educational problems, to protect the Turkish democracy, and to establish the social justice. Besides, it was believed that succeeding in these issues could only be achieved by means of a rapid development in the economic field, namely, achievement of these issues depend on the success of increasing the national production level. Since they attributed continued instability of politics to the underdevelopment of Turkey's economy, economic well-being was seen as a major problem above any other issues of the state. Furthermore, *Yön* believed in democracy and the importance of the democratic institutions, however, the establishment of these values in the society would be futile as long as a solution were not found to the unemployment and increasing the level of welfare (1961, p. 12).

The perception of *Yön* about the RPP, thought to be closest to their own ideas, varied from time to time. When the first election held on October 15, 1961 and Turkey met coalitions in politics for the first time, *Yön* was in favor of RPP. Though RPP won the election, its percentage of votes could not be enough to come into power alone and the party formed a coalition with Justice Party (JP), thought to be the successor of DP (Tachau, 1991, p. 107). Avcıoğlu stressed that even though conservatives were outnumbered in the parliament, deep-rooted reforms are still possible under the Prime Ministry of İsmet İnönü. He thought that in the current situation of the parliament, İnönü can handle the land reform, problems about education and taxes by democratic means (Avcıoğlu, 1962b, p. 3). Moreover,

believing to the RPP in the parliament, *Yön* also trusted to the leading power of the military so as to implement reforms. On the other hand, as the time passed, *Yön* began to believe that RPP was not capable of challenging other parties, JP, NTP (New Turkish Party), RPNP (Republican Peasant Nation Party), in the parliament about the issues such as the land reform, social justice, and etatism, so *Yön* withdrew its support from RPP (Avcıoğlu, 1962a, p. 3). It was believed that the only way out for Turkey was the non-capitalist development finding its best shape in the socialism.

It is important to note that like *Yön*, the Turkish Labour Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*-in short *TİP*) was set up at the beginning of 1961 as a result of the relatively free atmosphere, as well. Even if they both had socialist origins, had different understandings in terms of how to reach their aims. While *TİP* was founded as a working-class based party from the beginning and discoursed upon the proletariat, *Yön* Movement neither took shape towards the leadership of the workers nor embraced politics as a struggle among classes. For *Yön*, politics was a process occurred between the military officers and intelligentsia called "active forces" and reactionaries named as "status quo supporters" (Atılğan, 2008, p. 168). Even though both *Yön* and *TİP* had the same aim, bringing socialism to Turkey through legal means, *Yön* authors did not prefer to collaborate with *TİP*. The main reason was that contrary to *TİP*, *Yön* followed a militaristic approach which caused close ties with the military that was considered as an ultimate protector of Turkey (Sütçüoğlu, 2010, p. 133). *Yön* believed that working-class was not strong enough in Turkey, they opted to collaborate with the already strong classes who were military officers and intelligentsia. Likewise, though Aydemir supported the working class movement and sympathized with their gaining of legal rights, he abstained from attributing socialist movement to the proletariat. As a result, when Aydemir wrote the article in 1962s,

signaled the necessity of a socialist-based party, but he did not refer to *TİP* which had already been existing at that time.

The reappearance of Aydemir as a writer might have resulted from his strong passion about finding a solution the problems of the country, so he made use of the opportunity of "relatively free atmosphere" and started to write in *Yön* whose ideology he found as close to his thoughts. It could be also possible his deep belief about the continuation of the Turkish Revolution and he might have undertaken this thought as a mission again after a long time. One way or another, he must have believed that there is still something needed to be explained and thus, he preferred to write in *Yön* a few months after being established.

Generally, the articles Aydemir wrote in *Yön* were in the direction of the elimination of the existing problems about the adoption and implementation of the Kemalist principles. According to Aydemir, who constantly expressed this situation beginning from the first article, he wrote in the sixth issue of the journal, the principles of Atatürk were understood as ordinary words and degenerated rather than adopting their meanings. For him, adoption of these principles was a matter of changing the mentality that was at least as essential as the military victories, at this point, Aydemir stated that not stable but a dynamic notion of Kemalism should be adopted (Aydemir, 1962g; Aydemir, 1962s). Alongside the Kemalist principles, he penned articles about the life story and successes of Mustafa Kemal. Aydemir believed that Turkey missed the opportunities of Mustafa Kemal period and later on, the country, particularly beginning from 1945, was governed by the politicians looking for the future of the state at outside of the territory (Aydemir, 1962p, pp. 10-11; Aydemir, 1963a, p. 16; Aydemir, 1963b, pp. 8-9).

Moreover, the main contribution of Aydemir to *Yön* was using the term "Turkish socialism" which was written by him for the first time in the journal. As Yanardağ stated that while Aydemir defined the socialism, he added the "Turkish" to the socialism, thus he combined socialism with a nationalist manner (Yanardağ, 1988, p. 195). Before describing Turkish socialism, it will be important to explain his ideas about socialism in general. He thought that the word of communism becomes a term which had had an avoided and feared meaning for many years, however rather than these, it would be correct to determine our attitude and clarify our targets. He added that communism is a kind of socialism, but it is a revolutionary socialism, therefore, it mainly based on class conflicts. In general, if economic conflicts leap to the social area in a society, it causes the revolution and finally, the communist order takes place (Aydemir, 1962o, p. 20). Contrary to revolutionary socialism, he explained, there is also non-revolutionary socialism called "reformist socialism" set off their own struggle in Western Europe. Reformist socialism neither bases on class conflicts nor targets to reach a revolution, instead, it aims to prevent excessive class differentiation through the interference of the state in social and economic areas and to provide the fair distribution of income within social justice. According to him, the reformist socialism is the basis of "Turkish socialism" also named as "new-etatism as well" by many other *Yön* writers. Turkish socialism supports that the state must be at the forefront in economic functions and classes in the society can live together in harmony (Aydemir, 1962r, p. 7). While he declared that Turkish socialism was a reformist socialism on the one hand, he put emphasis on the differences between Turkey and Western European countries in terms of implementation of reformist socialism on the other hand. To him, the fact that Western countries exporting their goods to the rest of the world, caused great capital accumulation, so workers of these

countries benefited from this wealth as much as possible. On the contrary, Turkey has not have these kinds of accumulation and affluence since the beginning of the Republic due to the feudal ruins, capitulations, the interest of foreign countries and their investments. Turkish socialism is against all these ignorance and deficiencies and believes to create self-contained economy instead of waiting for the foreign aids. These are also the same as what Mustafa Kemal desired to do (Aydemir, 1962l, p. 8; Aydemir, 1962d, p. 13; Aydemir, 1964, p. 16). He believed that Turkish socialism is a major way to keep pace with the the developments in the contemporary world and substantial to protect our national values from backwardness. Besides, he added that it was consistent with the principle of social state which was brought by the new constitution (Aydemir, 1962j, p. 9). As well as being in compatible with the Kemalist principles, Turkish socialism, which is an idea and regime movement, could meet the society's needs and wishes under the guarantees of the constitution. Additionally, as Aydemir had given a mission to the *avant-garde* cadre in *Kadro* to spread the ideology of the Turkish Revolution to the masses, he also emphasized the importance of the intellectuals who are responsible for the construction of Turkish socialism in *Yön* (Aydemir, 1962r, p. 7; Aydemir, 1962e, p. 6).

Furthermore, Aydemir defended himself and the ideology of *Yön* against some people who judge him as a communist and accuse *Yön* of being a communist movement. He stated that in the period we live the most fashionable thing is to create an imaginary communist and to blame a publication for supporting communism (Aydemir, 1962k, p. 6). It was very common that almost every intellectual who emphasizes the problems with social issues and comes up with a solution of these problems is called a communist. He called these accusations as "communist manufacturig" (*Komünist İmalatı*) and declared precisely that neither he nor *Yön*

intend to bring, spread or support communism in the country (Aydemir, 1962l, p. 8). Also, he believed that Turkey does not need to be one of the communist countries; she is able to create her own system in accordance with its historical background, social structure, and the development. Thus, to him, it is meaningless to fight with each other and to blame somebody for being a communist (Aydemir, 1963e, p. 16). He thought that people attacking the ideas and believing to defeat *Yön* Journal, in fact, resembled Don Quixote who attacked windmills. Meaning that they fight against the shadows and illusions which they create in their own minds. Aydemir urged that these people who combat imaginary enemies and see them as giants must be well-equipped about what the communism is and what it is not; otherwise, he stated that their aims will be an exercise in futility (Aydemir, 1962f, p. 7). Aydemir remarked that he stood behind his words supported in *Kadro* period and added that he is still against the class struggle and class revolution. To him, social state principle in the constitution can prevent rising of a specific class in the society. To accomplish it, the state has to perform its functions over the economy and private sector also has to play its own role in order to the economic well-being of Turkey (Aydemir, 1962c, pp. 10-12; Aydemir, 1962h, p. 9; Aydemir, 1962i, p. 8). From the perspective of Aydemir, state control over the economy is much more necessary than it was in the past. Because, since 1945, the principle of etatism has been degenerated just like other principles of Kemalism, but now, adoption of a mixed economy in the new constitution will provide the economic welfare of the country. To him, the mixed economy does not mean the state has to assist to the private sector, on the contrary, both of them have to serve for the welfare of the people (Aydemir, 1962a, p. 9). Aydemir criticized the current situation in the economy by saying that Turkey tackled with the Great Depression via etatism in the 1930s, but if there is a global economic crisis again, it

may not be easy to overcome this kind of crisis, because the country is dependent upon the foreign capital and aids (Aydemir, 1962m, p. 15). He also criticized the political parties of the term for being opportunists and not having a doctrine. He said that the parties were struggling against each other instead of working for the welfare of the country. What's more, they were ignoring the fact that outside forces were interfering with the internal affairs of the state by abusing the religion by their own passion and relying on foreign aids (Aydemir, 1962o, p. 20). In that regard, Aydemir, strictly rejected Justice Party's capitalist policies on economy, saying that etatism has to be implemented not only on the economic field but also in political and social areas (Aydemir, 1962b, p. 14). Moreover, he signified that there is not a political party in the parliament which will accomplish etatism properly, thus, he pointed to the necessity of a new reformist party which will respect to Kemalist principles. According to him, this new party has to transform Turkey into a socialist state within the framework of the constitution (Aydemir, 1962n, p. 20).

While *Yön* has a noteworthy reader and valuable writer population, an unexpected development led to a pause in the journal's life. By February 22, 1962, a group of a soldier under the leadership of Talat Aydemir attempted a military coup and he tried it for the second time on May 21, 1963. *Yön* was accused of supporting the intervention, thus it was closed down on June 5, 1963, upon 77th issue, for a fifteen-month (Yanardağ, 1988, pp. 189-190; Atılgan, 2008, p. 175; Özdemir, 1986, p. 57). When it was opened again, the journal perpetually continued to be published on a weekly basis until 1967 in total 222 issues. The period when the journal was started to re-publish on September 25, 1964, deterioration of Turkish-American relations, basically because of the Cyprus Question, gave way to the rise of American antagonism among the public at that time. *Yön* followed remarkably anti-imperialism

issues in its columns; they called for a boycott of American goods like Coca-Cola (Atılğan, 2008, p. 183; 1965a, p. 1). Following the closure, the ideas of the journal changed and they believed that rapid development within social justice is not possible to be implemented by the current power. They supported that only when the existing system is changed by the democratic reforms, they will reach their aims. *Yön* advocated "democratic national liberation movement" at that period, so the salvation of the nation attributed to the democratic parliamentary way (Atılğan, 2008, p. 175). It was very likely that they attempted to try whether the parliamentary way is still possible or not, just before they take a big leap toward an idea of revolution.

Aydemir started to write less articles on the journal during the following of the opening of journal. The reason for this may be the fact that Aydemir focused his energy on studies of biography. Another reason may be the fact that Aydemir's staying on the course of *Kadro* and meaning he is against the class struggle made him logged out off of *Yön* line. The intellectuals of the journal stated that they have different view points than the *Kadro* and they support the liquidation of class struggle and class dominance (1962, p. 4), the refusal of the class conflict is an opposite approach of Aydemir.

Many people who have written about *Yön* made a connection between the journal and *Kadro* and found close relations and main differences. For this study, it should be taken into consideration whether thoughts of Aydemir changed its shape or remained the same, so when the similarities and the differences of both journals are analyzed, it gives us clues about his ideas after almost three decades passed from *Kadro*. According to Tuncay, within the resurgence of his left in the 1960s, the effect of Aydemir was mostly seen in the *Yön* line and maybe he tended to assume the movement as a new *Kadro* (Tuncay, 1976, p. 3). Like *Kadro*, for *Yön* the main

problem of Turkey was the economic development and these two movements tried to cope with the underdevelopment situation of the country and they both believed the way of the economic development was not by liberal means. The way of economic development was called as "etatism" in *Kadro* and named as "new-etatism" in *Yön* (1961, p. 12), however, these two methods were basically the same. Besides, mainly, the *Yön* writers precisely declared that they attempted to complete Atatürk Revolutions believed to be unfinished until that time. The idea was not new for Aydemir who referred to the uncompleted nature of Kemalist principles in *Kadro*. Despite similarities, there are main differences between *Kadro* and *Yön*. First of all, *Kadro* targeted to create a doctrine for the government at that moment whereas *Yön* did not support even the ideas of existed power and aimed to create the future of Turkey. In addition to that, while *Yön* tried to come to power and to govern the country by way of the socialist order, *Kadro* took attention to be in harmony with the government. One more difference between the two Journals was, as mentioned above, that while *Kadro* explicitly rejected the class conflicts in the country, *Yön* did not.

Unlike the general understanding, Aydemir was not one of the founders of the *Yön* Journal, but he was among the founders of the *Sosyalist Kültür Derneği* (Socialist Culture Association-in short *SKD*) set up under the presidency of Osman Nuri Torun in December 1962. According to Charter of the Association, which considered the labor as the superior value of the society, *SKD* examines the conditions for establishing a genuine democratic regime under the light of science, which will remove any kind of exploitation and investigates the cultural values of such a system and tries to spread them (1962, p. 9). As stated in the memorandum of the *SKD*, in the wake of the Second World War, implementation of the capitalist economy did not give way to a revenue growth; on the contrary, it deteriorated the division of income

in the society. Besides the economic retrogressive, lack of a solution over the social issues made the situation of the society worse. 27 May Movement was realized as a result of the reaction from the society; while it contributed to the awakening among the intellectuals, it also triggered them to take actions against the irregularities (1963, p. 16). Upon a year passed from the military intervention, RPP came to power, *SKD* expressed its dissatisfaction against the government saying that even though the ruling power accepted the development plan, they went ahead with old ties with capitalism. Moreover, *SKD* claimed that it was not possible to constitute a social justice while serving to the interest of capitalist order in a developing country, socialism was the sole way to the development in social justice. Turkish socialists undertook the development mission by means of socialist mixed economy within the democratic order without the domination of a class over another (1963, p. 16).

Within the framework of *SKD*, Aydemir described the fundamentals of Turkish socialism as an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist meaning a supporter of the national economy, proponent of social justice, anti-revisionist against foreign states. He also stated that all the basis of Turkish socialism are coherent with the principles of Mustafa Kemal. He noted that in order to succeed all these principles, an existence of a socialist party is required. But *SKD* founded to do scientific research in specific affairs such as translation of foreign publications, studying social issues from the historical perspective, and examining the history of socialism (Aydemir, 1963f, p. 10; Aydemir, 1963d, p. 16). Additionally, he stressed that the target of Turkish socialism does not have the same way or methods with the communism, so it does not work for the revolution (Aydemir, 1963c, p. 16). Aydemir became effective both in *Yön* and *SKD* until the election of 1965, but the day when the election result was declared, it was a turning point for *SKD* and Aydemir. Upon disappointment in the parliamentary

system, *Yön* changed its discourses and transformed into a radical form supporting military intervention to seize the power; as a consequence, *SKD* lost its functions (Atılğan, 2008, pp. 193-194).

Just before the 1965 general elections, the fact that RPP declared its new line as left-of-center had met with appreciation by the *Yön* (Atılğan, 2008, p. 187). Besides the new slogan of the party, strict behavior of İnönü against America was welcomed by *Yön*. Thus, *Yön* explicitly supported to RPP in the election declared that RPP placed a substantial point in terms of economic independence, social reforms, and foreign policy affairs (1965b, p. 4). 1965 election held on October resulted, in which JP marked an overwhelming victory gained 52% of the total votes and Süleyman Demirel became Prime Minister. The results were completely disappointment for the *Yön* whereas *TİP*, which succeeded to gain fifteen seats, was glad being the first socialist party represented in the Parliament. The result of the election showed that the "left-of-center" slogan of RPP was not met what they expected, their votes decreased comparing with the previous elections, got the worst electoral performance in its history (Tachau, 1991, p. 107).

From *Yön* point of view, it was not possible to struggle with imperialism and its partners and to change social structure through making reforms by means of the election at all (Atılğan, 2008, pp. 193-194). The new solution of *Yön* was the idea of *Milli Demokratik Devrim* (National Democratic Revolution in short- *MDD*). *MDD* was a political movement initiated by Mihri Belli that became an effective group among the Turkish left in the last years of the 1960s. Demanding to take over the power by way of armed struggle, *MDD* was closer to *Yön* line instead of *TİP*. On the other hand, *MDD* preferred to choose revolution to be a proletariat movement while *Yön* emphasized the intellectuals (Sütçüoğlu, 2010, p. 137).

The *Yön* was closed down in 1967 and most of its members started to release another journal named *Devrim* (Revolution) after the general election of 1969 when JP, Süleyman Demirel, became the governmental power again. *Devrim*, published by a weekly basis until the military intervention in 1971, was the outcome of the period when the *Yön* adopted the strategy of seizing power by way of revolution (Atılğan, 2008, p. 288).

The writings of Aydemir in *Yön* mostly belonged to the first years of the journal. As Sütçüoğlu pointed out that in the history of left, the interpretation of Kemalist principles was based on its progressive, anti-imperialist and continuous characteristics (Sütçüoğlu, 2010, p. 156), the articles of Aydemir addressed the magnitude and served the revival of Kemalist principles which were ignored after 1945. When it is examined, it is clearly seen that since *Kadro* years, the ideas of Aydemir about adhering to Kemalist principles had not changed, but he lost the belief to the RPP about the implementation of these principles. Moreover, he strongly believed the Kemalist principles and their coherence with socialism. Within this regard, his main contribution to the Journal was to offer a new kind of socialism which was unique to Turkey. When the journal changed its discourses from the parliamentary way to revolution, there was no article written by Aydemir to support the new target of the Journal. Even if he wrote in some issues, he just penned the anti-Americanism and responded to the criticism about his newly published book "*İkinci Adam*".

7.4. Aydemir as a Biography Writer

Aydemir, whose life has been examined in a biographical way until this part, will be handled as a biographer in this section. For the first time, Aydemir began to publish biographic works by writing his autobiography in 1959. Following the "*Suyu*

Arayan Adam", he canalized himself to write biographies¹⁸⁷ of prominent people in Turkish history. Starting from 1963, almost every year, he published a volume of his biographies until 1972, thus in nearly ten years, Aydemir managed to establish a voluminous corpus shedding light to the history of Modern Turkey.

One of the issues that he frequently emphasized after he entered into service of the Turkish Revolution is to write its history in order to understand and systematize the revolution. Therefore, it is possible to evaluate Aydemir's biographical works as a part of his efforts for the systematization of the Turkish Revolution.

It is substantial to query that why Aydemir preferred biography genre for writing the history of the Turkish Revolution. According to him, historical persona is both a product of the lands and affects the destiny of the society in which he grew up, and can leave his mark on the society. In that regard, Aydemir preferred to write the history of Turkish revolution by a leader-centered approach. Moreover, he stated that one of the reasons that pushed him to write biographies were that people leaving marks in history such as Atatürk had not elaborated in detail yet. Another reason might be that even though he desired to write the history of Turkey, he hesitated to write a history book since he was not a historian. He remarked that although these biographies include important knowledge about the periods and the person he examined, they are neither a work of philosophy of history nor a work to which this philosophy employed (Aydemir, 2015, pp. 10-11). Therefore, he aimed not only at presenting large-scale information about the subject and the period he examined but also impressing the reader by making them feel the same atmosphere with the subject.

¹⁸⁷ His biography books are as follows: "*Tek Adam*" (The Single Man) published in three volumes between 1963 and 1965. "*İkinci Adam*" (The Second Man) published in three volumes in 1966, 1967 and 1968, "*Menderes'in Dramı*" (Drama of Menderes) published as single volume in 1969, "*Makedonya'dan Ortaasya'ya Enver Paşa*" (Enver Pasha from Macedonia to Middle Asia) published in three volumes in 1970, 1971 and 1972.

In that regard, by writing the biography of the historical characters, Aydemir may have wished to use an opportunity to express his views in a free atmosphere as well. An example which can be given from "*Tek Adam*" in order to understand his approach for writing biography of the historical characters:

"Tek Adam is not just a history. It is neither a book of documents and nor a chronology collection. But it is a collective work that tries to adhere faithfully to history, documents and chronology, and to give the story of Mustafa Kemal as completely and fully as possible... Also, it is desired that without being overwhelmed by abstract and subjective idea compositions and doctrine organizations, without the author's imaginative right based on intuition and circumstances too much is wasted, every reader obtain as much information about him as possible from this book" (Aydemir, 2015, pp. 10-11).¹⁸⁸

When his books are examined from this perspective, it is possible to observe that he benefited from a great amount of personal and official documents comprised of parliamentary minutes, telegraphs, letters and reports in order to establish the factual framework. For instance, he declared to examine approximately three-thousands document while writing the biography of Enver Pasha (Aydemir, 1993a, p. 9). In addition to the documentary sources, Aydemir also benefited from oral history by applying the memories of those who witnessed the period of the historical character he examined. For instance, he was in contact with the close circle of Atatürk such as İsmet İnönü, Afet İnan, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Falih Rıfkı Atay and Recep Peker while writing the *Tek Adam*. Above all, Aydemir personally witnessed the events of

¹⁸⁸ "*Tek Adam sadece bir tarih değildir. Bir belgeler kitabı, bir kronoloji derlemesi de değildir. Ama tarihe, belgelere ve kronolojiye sadakatle bağlı kalmaya çalışan ve Mustafa Kemal'in hikayesini mümkün olduğu kadar tam ve toplu olarak vermek isteyen, her kitaplıkta, her evde, herkesin her zaman bakabileceği bir toplu eserdir... Hem öyle olsun ki, soyut ve subjektif fikir terkipleri ve doktrin örgütleri içinde boğulmadan, yazarın sezgi ve şartlara dayanan düşsel hakkı da fazla israf edilmeden, her okuyucu bu kitaptan onun hakkında mümkün olduğu kadar etraflı bilgiler edinsin.*"

the period and sometimes he was even one of the people taking parts in the incidents. Even though he tried to describe the historical conditions and incidents in the light of the information he acquired from these sources, he did not hesitate to use his mastership in literature and his imagination when he could not find concrete information as well. For instance, he portrayed one of the difficult days of Atatürk in Damascus as follows: "He grapples with his dreams in sweat and mopes at nights in the two nude, gloomy rooms of a dirty colored, cold stone building opening to narrow, anfractuous streets in a dingy neighborhood of Damascus" (Aydemir, 2015, p. 89).¹⁸⁹ Aydemir explained why he used descriptive method with these words: in order for a historical persona to be understood better, the reader must be made the condition of the times when the decisions of this historical persona were made understood (Aydemir, 2015, pp. 10-11). In that context, while he shed light to the history by presenting original documents on the one hand, he behaved like a novelist by portraying the moods of the subject and physical conditions in which he lived, on the other hand. As a consequence, Aydemir states that in his biography works, which consists of 10 volumes in total, the personas, events and atmospheres of the 100 years of Turkish history starting from 1860s to 1960s is presented. (Aydemir, 1993a, pp. 9-10).

In parallel, Aydemir also drew attention to the challenges resulting from the political, ideological and spiritual position of the subject examined in the society. According to him, the opinion of the society about the subject might drag the biographer into dilemma because the opinion of the society and the opinion of the author on the subject constantly collide with each other. If the biographer was to insist on its opinion, he should face the reactions that might come from the society. On the

¹⁸⁹ "O, Şam'ın pis bir mahallesinde, daracık, eğri büğrü sokaklara açılan kirli renkli, soğuk bir taş binanın iki çıplak, kasvetli odacığında geceleri bulantılar, terler içinde hayalleriyle boğuşur."

other hand, the biographer might become wholly absorbed in the debates, thus might become vulnerable to the intervention of the opinion of the common or the opinion of a certain section. In such cases, the subject breaks himself away from its true roots and condition. Thus, the subject is disconnected from reality and it is either idolized or turned into a cursed entity by surrendering to the grudge, hatred, and revenge of the community. If the subject is a historical personality such as Atatürk, İnönü, and Menderes, this situation becomes more acute (Aydemir, 2011a, p. 7).

Aydemir argued that the responsibility of a biographer is to be ready to face with the opinions in the public. What is more, the biographer should also left its prejudice against the subject. He resembled the biographer to a doctor and stated that just as a doctor takes only objective findings into consideration about his/her patient, a biographer should only deal with the information he had collected about the subject as fairly as possible (Aydemir, 2000b, p. 9). However, it can be asked that to what extent Aydemir could achieve this. Aydemir stated that he wrote "*İkinci Adam*" regardless of prejudices (Aydemir, 1993, p. 8). Nevertheless, it was not so possible to talk about the same objective stance in the "*Tek Adam*". Aydemir described his mental state while writing the biography of Atatürk with these words:

"In the personality of Mustafa Kemal, we see not only a powerful soldier, a puissant state founder, and a contemporary revolutionary but also a superior person of our age. We are getting loyal to him by getting to know him better. We are getting proud of him more and more gladly. Also, we sense that tomorrow not only we, the Turks, but the whole realm of humanity, will understand him better and will glorify more. In the *Tek Adam*, this is the spirit and understanding that dominates us while examining all his life, all his

ordeals, sufferings, conflicts and successes he got by the solutions he found" (Aydemir, 2014, p. 13).¹⁹⁰

It is possible to observe the reflection of this mental state to the work very clearly with Aydemir's portraits of Atatürk. He described Atatürk by aggrandizing him as a person having an aureola on his head. For instance, he described the Atatürk in the battle of Gallipoli as follows: "....when he gave the sign of the attack to his troops, the aureole which he draws himself around his own head, at the end of this war, on his head, remained as a victory that no one could ever take, no one can erase. Mustafa Kemal, in the middle of the epic battle called the battle of Dardanelles, is seen in this aureole of victory " (Aydemir, 2015, p. 234).¹⁹¹

In parallel with this glorification, the critical dimension of "*Tek Adam*" was quite limited. Besides, it is also possible to say that he was not totally independent of his personal convictions in his other biographical studies. For example, it can be observed that he has a protective motive towards İnönü when his biographies about Menderes and İnönü are compared. As mentioned before, from his point of view, while the single-party period was "the Era of Heroes", the period of the Democratic Party was the "Period of Crowds". He evaluated Menderes and İnönü also in line with this point of view. While describing the personal qualities of İnönü in his biography, he spoke of him with a respect and did not give any place to negative comments. On the other hand, he described Menderes as a member of the crowds by mentioning some of his behaviours that can be considered as impolite (Aydemir, 2000b, p. 131).

¹⁹⁰ "Mustafa Kemal'in şahsında biz, yalnız kudretli bir asker, kudretli bir devlet kurucusu ve çağdaş bir inkılâpçı değil, çağımız ölçüsünde bir üstün insan görüyoruz. Onu gittikçe daha iyi tanıyarak, ona bağlanıyoruz. Onunla, gittikçe daha severek övünüyoruz. Hem seziyoruz ki, yarın onu yalnız bir Türkler değil, bütün insanlık alemi de, daha iyi anlayacak ve daha çok yüceltecektir. Tek adam'da onun bütün hayatı, bütün çileleri, mihnetleri, çatışmaları ve bulduğu çözüm yolları ile ulaştığı başarılar incelenirken, bize hakim olan ruh ve anlayış budur."

¹⁹¹ "... birliklerine hücum işareti verirken, O'nun kendi başı etrafında çizdiği hale, bu savaşın sonunda, onun başının üzerinde, hiç kimsenin alamayacağı, kimsenin silemeyeceği bir zafer halesi olarak kaldı. Mustafa Kemal, Çanakkale muharebeleri denilen destanın ortasında, işte bu zafer halesi içinde görülür."

Although Aydemir's personal convictions are reflected in his works, they are not dense to affect the whole work. As he was able to look at the society and the events with a utopian consciousness, he was able to make very successive assessments such as revealing the Anatolian reality. Besides, the fact that he has brought together the opinions of many different people, and has been able to base his arguments on a large extent of documents, is another successful side of his works. For this reason, his biographical works have been one of the most important sources of reference taken by researchers for examining the Turkish history. In addition, by stating that he conducted these studies by collecting the documents and information within the boundaries of possibility of the term; Aydemir argued that more extensive studies should be performed in the future.

7.5. His Last Writings in *Cumhuriyet*

Upon quitting his writings in the *Yön* journal, Aydemir focused his attention on writing biographies. When the writings of Aydemir who was also writing at the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper is analyzed, it can be seen that these writings are mostly about the recent past through the use of historical personas. In this context, a lot of his articles under the name of "*İkinci Adam*" and "*Menderesin Dramı*" have the characteristics of a summary of his books with the same name. Yet, in 1970, he began to write about daily political issues again because he believed that Turkey was suffering from a regime crisis (Aydemir, 1970i, p. 2). Aydemir saw one of the main reasons for this situation is the fact that the military intervention failed to achieve the desired transformation. To him, May 27 was a movement against oligarchy on the behalf of democracy at the beginning, but the movement turned into crisis instead of changing the bad goings on. He discussed the reasons for this failure of the movement both in the articles he wrote in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper and in his book, titled

"İhtilalin Mantığı ve 27 Mayıs" (The Logic of the Revolution and the Movement of 27 May), which was published in 1973.

According to Aydemir one of the core reason that lay behind the failure of the movement was the fact that the cadre which carried out the coup did not have a concrete plan and development program regarding the post-coup period (Aydemir, 2000a, p. 315; Aydemir, 1972). In paralel, the second reason was the fragmentation among the cadre that executed the 27 May coup. As a result of this dissociation, instead of the group that aims to establish new institutes by creating a new revolutionary excitement; the group which aims to set up a western democracy became dominant (Aydemir, 1970g, p. 2). In addition, the movement could not realize the reforms that the state needed because of several facts such as the lack of leader and organization, lack of idealist representatives especially in the provinces and a lack of authoritarian leadership in the National Unity Commitee (Aydemir, 1973c, p. 2). By this way, a lot of opportunities that could be gained on the way to the revolution were missed. Yet, thanks to the commission that includes scholars to prepare new constitution, the coup turned into a revolution. Therefore, Turkey needed to go through a reform period (Aydemir, 2000a, pp. 356-359). According to Aydemir, this reform need made itself more clear when it comes to 1970s. He believed that Turkey had passed into the regime of democracy in the Western sense, but there were significant shortcomings. First of all, Western democracies had a capitalist system based on the wealth they derive from the great colonies. In contrast, Turkish capitalism was devoid of these colonies in order to grow up. For this reason, she had to endure the implausible exploitation of the domestic market. The group, which had to realize this economic structure change, needed to control the domestic and foreign policy and power of the state. They first achieved this by establishing dominance over

parliament. As a result of this structural change, Turkish democracy has evolved into the system of oligarchy where the interests of a minority group are represented, bribery and nepotism became the main components of the system (Aydemir, 1975b, p. 2).

In parallel this structural change, Aydemir signaled the inequality in income distribution and the class conflict among the society. As a reflection of this class conflict, student movements that started towards the end of the 1960s also showed the emergent need of reforms. Aydemir frequently emphasized that a strong government is needed and criticized the present political parties for not performing their duties of embracing reforms (Aydemir, 1971g, p. 2). According to him, political parties in the parliament is only established based on their disagreements towards other political parties (Aydemir, 1972, p. 2). For this reason, he criticized the memorandum that was given by Military on March 12, 1971. Aydemir emphasizing the fact that Turkey need a strong government argued that the strong government he mentioned cannot be realized with a parliament consisting of political parties that do not want to be together (Aydemir, 1971c, p. 2).

As in the early years of Republic, Aydemir continued to emphasize the fact that public and the state should come together in a national mobilization spirit and focus on economic development which is a matter of priority. He stated that national agriculture and national industry should be developed and this matter should be regarded as a war of independence by the state officials. In this context, by emphasizing the importation of agricultural products, in order for Turkey to be a credible country in the world, he emphasized that Turkey should create her own agricultural products and continued to look for solutions to this matter. Aydemir highlighted that as a starter, the government should get rid of the laziness situation

that she is in. State officials should meet with peasants, artisans and industrialists by getting out of their offices (Aydemir, 1971d, p. 2). In addition, the state should head towards the eastern provinces and implement development programs there (Aydemir, 1973b, p. 2). In addition to the agricultural development, industrialization should also be a matter of focus. By emphasizing the reliance of Turkey to the west on arms industry, he emphasized that national arms industry must be prior matter (Aydemir, 1975c, p. 2). As always, the main criterion of this development is the presence of a strong state and an integrated society for Aydemir. In this context, by emphasizing the act of violence that was increasing among the young people, he criticized the thought movements that draw the youth into these violent actions. According to Aydemir, all of the thought movements that cause a political tension in the country is far from being a real thought movement because none of them is universal and humanistic. Political violence and anarchism are the concepts belonging to 100 years ago (Aydemir, 1975a, p. 2; Aydemir, 1971a, p. 2). What Turkey need is to keep the base principles of Turkish revolution alive without idolizing Atatürk (Aydemir, 1971h, p. 2).

Aydemir, who believed that education is the most critical issue for social development, frequently criticized political violence spreading to the educational institutions, as well. Aydemir, who stated that "At universities, when the gun enters from the door, ideas run from windows", argued that the government should rescue them from these acts of violence by approaching the problems of university students from a social perspective (Aydemir, 1971b, p. 2).¹⁹² In parallel with this, he frequently emphasized the fact that teachers were accused of being a communist and were assaulted for that reason. Aydemir, stating that the only intellectuals with a grave in

¹⁹² "Üniversitelerde silah kapıdan girince, fikir pencereden kaçır."

villages are teachers, argued that teachers being assaulted are signs for the continuation of scholastic movement (Aydemir, 1971e, p. 2).

In his advancing ages, Aydemir continued looking for solutions to the problems of the country. However, it is also possible to say that he was in a pessimistic mood due to the fact that the country was being ruled by unstable coalition governments and political violence was increasing continually. According to him, the conditions that Turkey is experiencing have become an agony which cannot even be compared with the pre-1960 period (Aydemir, 1976a, p. 2). However, he supported that hopelessness means defeat. He started his last article who was written a few days prior to his death with these words: "Pessimism means defeat. But, even if we are not pessimistic about the future of our country, we are writing these lines with doubtfulness. We are doubtful, sad and even with some serious trauma" (Aydemir, 1976b, p. 2).¹⁹³ Aydemir who comes into prominence among Turkish intellectual for being a utopian, assigning his main responsibility to the intellectuals again, completed his intellectual struggle by these words;

"But let's turn back to the intellectuals who have the biggest responsibility in this social awakening again. But, let's speak to the real intellectuals who sees the incidents with all their aspects as if looking at the country and the world from a high ground, not to the demagogues who believe that the horizon is limited to the blind walls that they are in..." (Aydemir, 1976b, p. 2).¹⁹⁴

The life of Aydemir, who was a diabetic person, ended on March 25, 1976 after a life of 79 years full of struggling. His coffin wrapped into a Turkish flag and after the ceremonies held at Ankara commercial high school that he founded and at

¹⁹³ "Kötümserlik yenilgi demektir. Fakat memleketimizin gidişatı üzerine kötümser olmasak bile, bu sütunları, tedirginlikle yazıyoruz. Kuşukulu, üzgün, hatta ciddi sarsıntılar içerisindeyiz."

¹⁹⁴ "Ama biz gene, bu uyanışta da en büyük görev gene kendilerine düşen aydınlara dönelim. Ama bütün ufukları, kendilerini içine kapandıkları kör duvardan ibaret olan demagoglara değil de, ülkeyi ve dünyayı 'bir sert kaya üzerinden' bakar gibi, bütün boyutları ile gören gerçek aydınlara seslenelim..."

Ankara Municipality Directorate of Economics which he had important contributions, he was bid to his farewell.

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter dealt with his approximately last 20 years upon his obligatory retirement. Aydemir, who settled in a farmhouse in Kayaş upon his retirement, did not write about the contemporary politics, he focused on his autobiography and utopian novel during this period. However, not writing about the daily politics did not remove him from this issue; on the contrary, prepared the ground for the biographies he would write in the future.

With the change in political conjuncture in Turkey, Aydemir who faced up with an environment where he can explain his utopia, started writing articles in *Yön* journal to which he felt closest. *Yön* was a remarkable periodical journal through the 1960s in terms of offering a solution for the development of Turkey in a socialist way. In his writings on *Yön* journal, without conceding from his *Kadro* line, supported that Turkey should develop without allowing the class conflicts of socialism. As of 1964, Aydemir rarely wrote in *Yön* and he focused on his biography books.

Aydemir, who wrote about the important personas leaving mark in Turkish history, shed light on a history of 100 years starting from the last period of Ottoman Empire until the 1960s of the Republic of Turkey. Even though he took breaks occasionally, he evaluated both the past and the present politics in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper for 10 years from 1966 to his death (see Appendix K). By stating that Atatürk period could not be comprehended and politics were getting degenerated, he embraced a pessimistic mood, and he reflected his mood on his article which was released three days prior to his death.

8. CONCLUSION

In this study, the life of Şevket Süreyya Aydemir who is a prominent intellectual during the Republican period is investigated in the axis of biography. The main finding that the study tries to reveal is that Aydemir is a utopian intellectual who had followed world events with a critical eye, determined the needs of the society he lived in, and formulated systematic solutions that were realizable. Aydemir, who is seeking for the ideal and is in two minds between the present situation and the ideal one, passed through different ideological stops until he reached his utopia; however, each thought movement that he embraced, contributed to his synthesis that he would create in the future. In this context, in the second, third and the fourth chapter, the thought movements that he adopted and the contributions that they made to his utopian identity was tried to be determined in detail in the axis of the conditions of the period.

As a result of the analysis made in these chapters, it was explained that Aydemir was connected to these thought movements in order to change the current situation of the society and quited them the moment he realized the fact that these movements were not realizable. In the Ottomanism, which is the first of one these ideological stops, he believed that the empire will return to its glorious days; however, Balkan Wars made him understood that this first ideal that he embraced had no chance of being realizable. Nevertheless, the idea of Ottomanism provided him not only an improvement in the feelings of patriotism but also made him gain a world perspective. The will to change to circumstances he is in lead him to another movement called Turkism. The patriotism that he have made him easily embrace the idea of Turkism and made him see the only way to the salvation of country is to develop the Turkish nationalism. By having a massive change in his life in the axis of

this thought movement, he fought in Caucasian front in order to realize his Turan ideal, afterwards, he settled in Azerbaijan as a teacher. According to Aydemir, the loss of Ottoman Empire in the First World War reduced the chance of realizing this ideal. In addition, the main reason why he quitted this thought movement was his observations on the society in Baku. As a result of these observations, he comprehended that there is no chance of following Turan ideal especially when there is a more important matter like the economic development of the society. However, such prominent figures of the movement of Turkism like İsmail Gaspiralı influenced the ideal world in his mind. The necessity of modernism and education occurred to him during this period. Furthermore, the greatest contribution of the period when he embraced the Turkism ideology is the experiences that he had during his trip to Caucasia in pursuit of his ideal. In this period, Aydemir faced up with Anatolian reality which revealed that the people of Anatolia had primary needs such as education and poverty. One of the key factors that distinguish him from the other intellectuals of his time is that thanks to this Anatolian reality, he realistically grasped the needs and opportunities of society. During the time he quitted this thought, a new movement – communism – opened him a new door into a new and completely unknown world. Anti-emperialist discourses of communism allured Aydemir and he interpreted communism from his own perspective. As a result of the actions he took and the observations he made in Turkey, he concluded that Turkey needs a distinctive development programme. However, when he realized that this kind of plan could not be accomplished with the directives coming from Moscow and with a secret communist party, he quitted this movement, as well. Like the previous currents he embraced, communism had a critical role in the construction of his utopia. As well as gaining a huge intellectual knowledge to analyze the political and social issues by

having a huge command on Marxist literature, his university education at KUTV helped him gain a deep understanding of economics. Thanks to his education, Aydemir obtained the ability to explore the society and events from a perspective of economics. In addition, his understanding of cooperative system which he would put into practice at the school he would establish is the result of these gains from communism. This cause and effect relation used by Aydemir while embracing and quitting these thought movements can be regarded as a sign that he is looking at the world with a utopian identity.

In the fifth and the sixth chapters, how Aydemir synthesized the intellectual knowledge that he gained up until that point was investigated, and how he put this knowledge into practice is explained. Aydemir, who was serving for the Turkish revolution, took an active part in some governmental offices as well as his teaching career. During the period mentioned, it was explained that newly founded Turkey – when the political, economic and social conditions of the time is taken into consideration – was seeking for her own utopia. In this period, a number of reforms and alterations in the structure of the state and the society were carried out under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. Policy makers of the government not only tried to observe the reflections of the reform movements on the society but, at the same time, tried to decide what the economic and political structure of the country should be. In this context, for example, the multi-party system was tried with the establishment of Free Republican Party; however, it was thought that the country was not prepared for a transition like this yet and decided to continue the one-party system. Similarly, liberal economy policy which was embraced with Izmir Economic Congress of 1923 left its place to an estatist economy policy due to the Great Depression of 1929. That

is to say, Aydemir's effort to find the ideal, in a similar vein, coincides with Turkey's quest for her utopia.

During the period when the policy makers were looking for what is the best for the ideal of Turkey, Aydemir had become one of the exceptional intellectuals who argued that Turkish revolution had not completed yet; on the contrary, it should continue in a systematized way. Aydemir reached this kind of conclusion by examining the conditions of the society and the country. The Anatolian reality that he witnessed showed him the fact that a complete development is essential in order for the changes brought by the reform movements to take their roots. Aydemir, who supported his thoughts for the first time in a conference named "*İnkılabın İdeolojisi*" in the year 1931, started to be remembered as the leader and ideologue of the *Kadro* Journal which would be established shortly. According to Aydemir who supported that Turkish revolution had not said its last words yet, the war of independence and so the independence of the country had been accomplished; and it was time for an economic development now. To Aydemir, who was in search of a model specific to Turkey, economic development can only be achieved through a planned etatist system. He argued that most of the people living in Turkey were ready to keep up with the reforms; however, a connection between the state and the people should be established. One of the main arguments that Aydemir and the journal supported was that Turkish revolution should be systematized and explained to the people by an *avant-garde* cadre. The purpose of this *avant-garde* cadre is to keep the excitement of revolution alive and ingrain this excitement to the public. Moreover, Aydemir argued that Turkish revolution is one of a kind and this revolution will be an example for the other countries, as well. Aydemir, who supported an authoritarian state system during *Kadro* years, argued that this authority should be based on a superior chief who is

Mustafa Kemal. Furthermore, he provided a model in which not individual but the public comes forward and the state is dominant. *Kadro* journal became one of the considerable journals and thought movements in the political life of Turkey.

As tried to be emphasized in the study, Aydemir constituted his thoughts based on his observations and analysis he made on the economic potential of the society as well as being inspired by communism on his etatist economic model. The innovations brought by the Turkish revolution taking its roots could only be achieved by a development plan led by the government. It is interpreted that Aydemir's capability to analyze the alignment problem that the society had through the process of establishing a nation from a wide perspective is a reflection of his utopian characteristics.

Aydemir started to work in direction of these ideas since the early years when he entered into the state's service. Instead of being an ordinary government officer, he distinguished his life as an official by his innovations. He transformed the idea of cooperation, which he adopted from the idea of communism, into an education program at the Commercial High School where he was the authority. He thought that developed countries had become more collaborative nations, so the difficulties that students would face in their future life could be overcome by knowing how to work together. Moreover, he founded the School Savings Organization in order to teach students how individual savings can turn into a large-scale accumulation and he encouraged the students to adopt this behavior as a moral habit. Aydemir won Mustafa Kemal's approval thanks to this system that he realized. This education programme that he put into practice became a sample of the synthesis that shaped his imaginary world.

According to Aydemir, in order for the independence gained with the war of independence to improve and be permanent, state and public have to work together around a common goal. In this context, Aydemir actively participated in the activities of the National Economy and Savings Society, which was an example of integration of the state with the public for national capital accumulation. In order to inform the public about economic issues he published "*Cihan İktisadiyatında Türkiye*", "*Halk İçin İktisat Bilgisi*". Besides "*Mektep Kooperatifçiliği ve Tasarruf Terbiyesi*", he wrote "*Ege Günü*", "*Orta Yayla*" so as to make familiarization of the hometown and its products. Another one of the important contributions that this dissertation made to the literature is that the works of Aydemir, one of the stepping stones of his thought-world, is analyzed in detail.

Another one of the questions whose answer is sought in this study is to what way the thoughts of Aydemir shaped over time. Aydemir constituted his thoughts that he expressed in *Kadro* journal in the axis of political, economic and social conditions of Mustafa Kemal period. Even though with the death of Atatürk the golden age came to an end for him, he remained loyal to the single party system and served for the country. The breakaway point of Aydemir from RPP coincides with the later years of the Second World War, Aydemir started to criticize the government who tried to move away from statist view and go towards liberalism. With the democratic party being the government, "the Era of Heroes" came to an end for him and soon he stepped down from his duties compulsorily.

During the period following his obligatory retirement, Aydemir was in a blank state between the current situation and the tone meaning what should be in reality. Aydemir, running away from the depression of the real world, preferred village life with the aim of seeking for purity and calmness and turned towards the nature. His

silent period ends up with him starting to write in *Yön* which was stood in Kemalist-leftist ideological current. Despite his advancing age, he still kept his interest in politics alive, because he thought there was still something to do. Aydemir made essential contributions in *Yön*, he came up with an idea of Turkish socialism based on the state-run economic model. In the Turkish socialism thesis that he offered, there was not any difference from his *Kadro* line except for the authoritarian party and the authoritarian system. When Aydemir returned to his writing life back, he started criticizing the governments with the harshest tone ever. Because, "the Era of Heroes" had already ended for him and "the Era of Demagogue" started. The country kept being ruled by unstable governments and demagogues were taking the lead. Aydemir believed that during this period, the governments were moving away from the Atatürk principles and turned into a view which is a so-called Kemalism. The main direction of the suggestions he offered while criticizing the course of the country was in parallel with the thoughts that he had supported in the *Kadro* journal. His faith in the Turkish revolution and Atatürk remained stable. Additionally, as Aydemir had given a mission to the *avant-garde* cadre in *Kadro* to spread the ideology of the Turkish Revolution to the masses, he also emphasized the importance of the intellectuals who are responsible for the construction of Turkish socialism in *Yön*. Another stable thing in Aydemir's thoughts is anti-imperialist discourse. In parallel with this discourse, he continued emphasizing the need for Turkey to break her chains from the West by improving its capacity of gross national products via an etatist policy.

It was observed that the base motivation that made him write biography books about the historical development and personas of the Turkish revolution since the 1960s is that these leaders and developments should be understood by the next generations. In each of his biography books, Aydemir depicted the history of an era

within the life of a persona. When his voluminous books in which he dealt with historical personas is analyzed, it is observed that he shed light to the 100 years of history of Turkey.

Another question that is tried to be revealed in this dissertation is whether the thoughts of Aydemir changed over time or not. As an intellectual seeking for the ideal, Aydemir changed some of his ideas because of the fact that the conditions of the period changed; however, he never lost his main direction. In this context, in the seventh chapter of this book, it is tried to find out how the thoughts of Aydemir changed in the axis of the structural changes of Turkey. As a result of the analysis made in the axis of the articles he published in *Yön* journal and *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, the most distinctive side of the evolution of Aydemir's thoughts is his moderate attitude towards democracy. Democracy became a reality for Turkey with the transition to multi-party system. For Aydemir, who shapes his utopia based on the conditions of the period, it was not possible to reject democracy during the 1960s. So, he had a more moderate attitude toward democracy. Instead of a single-party regime, he advocated struggling within the multi-party system. In parallel, he criticized the political turmoil stemming from the ideological struggle between right and left wing among young people because to him, approaches other than democracy lost their validity.

The most important contribution to the literature that this study made is that the creation of the thought process of Aydemir is investigated within the framework of the changes in his life by carrying out the study with an intellectual biography method. Thanks to this, the process of Aydemir in the social life which made him a utopian intellectual could be dealt with in detail. In this study, how an intellectual coming from multiple currents of thought can contribute to the situation of the newly

established Republic could be observed. In that regard, it is tried to be revealed that the utopia of Aydemir was the construction of an educated and developed Turkey which was free of class conflicts, anti-imperialist, and a sample for all developing countries by continuing the Turkish revolution with a development model which was based on Atatürk principles with the guidance of an intellectual cadre. Thus, patriotism, Anatolian reality, the anti-imperialist discourse, the state-run economic model and the idea of the cooperative system were the determinant components that Aydemir adopted from his former ideals while constructing this utopia. Futhermore, this study provides an alternative reading for the political and intellectual life of Turkey from the last period of the Ottoman Empire until the mid-1970s.

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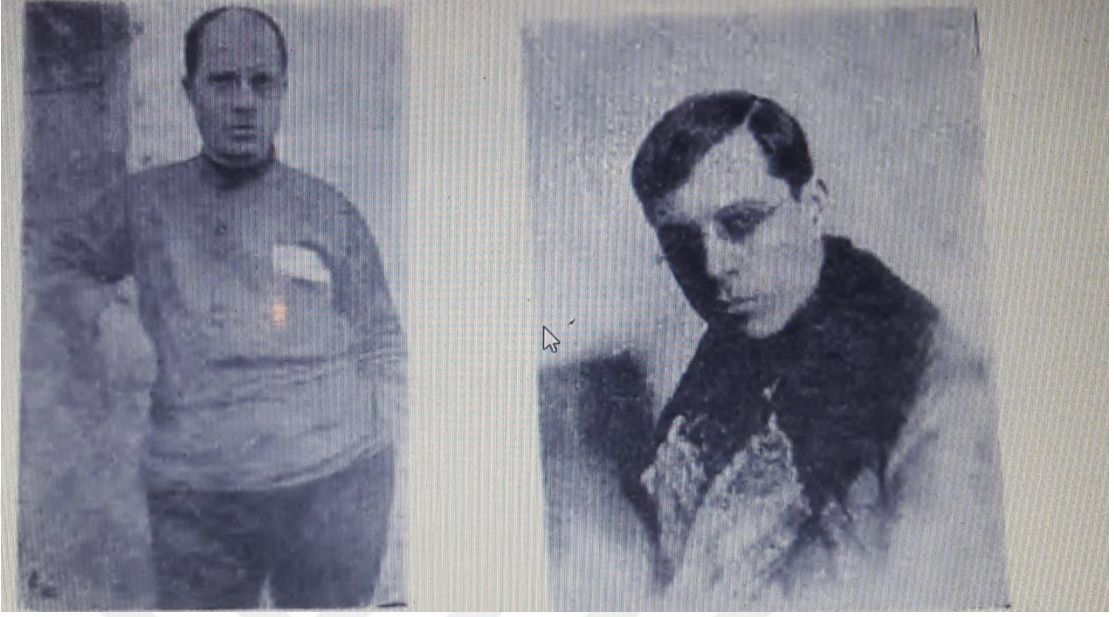
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Appendix A**ABBREVIATIONS**

- Baku Congress: The First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku
- CUP: The Committee of Union and Progress
- DP: Democrat Party
- GNA: Grand National Assembly
- ICG: Istanbul Communist Group
- JP: Justice Party
- KUTV: Komunistiçeski Universitet Trudiyasıhısa Vostoka
- RPP: Republican People's Party
- RPNP: Republican Peasant Nation Party
- SKD: Socialist Culture Association
- The Savings Week: Savings and National Products Week
- The Society: National Economy and Savings Society
- TICSF: Workers and Farmers Socialist Party of Turkey
- TİP: Turkish Labour Party
- TKP: Turkish Communist Party
- MDD: National Democratic Revolution
- NTP: New Turkish Party

Appendix B



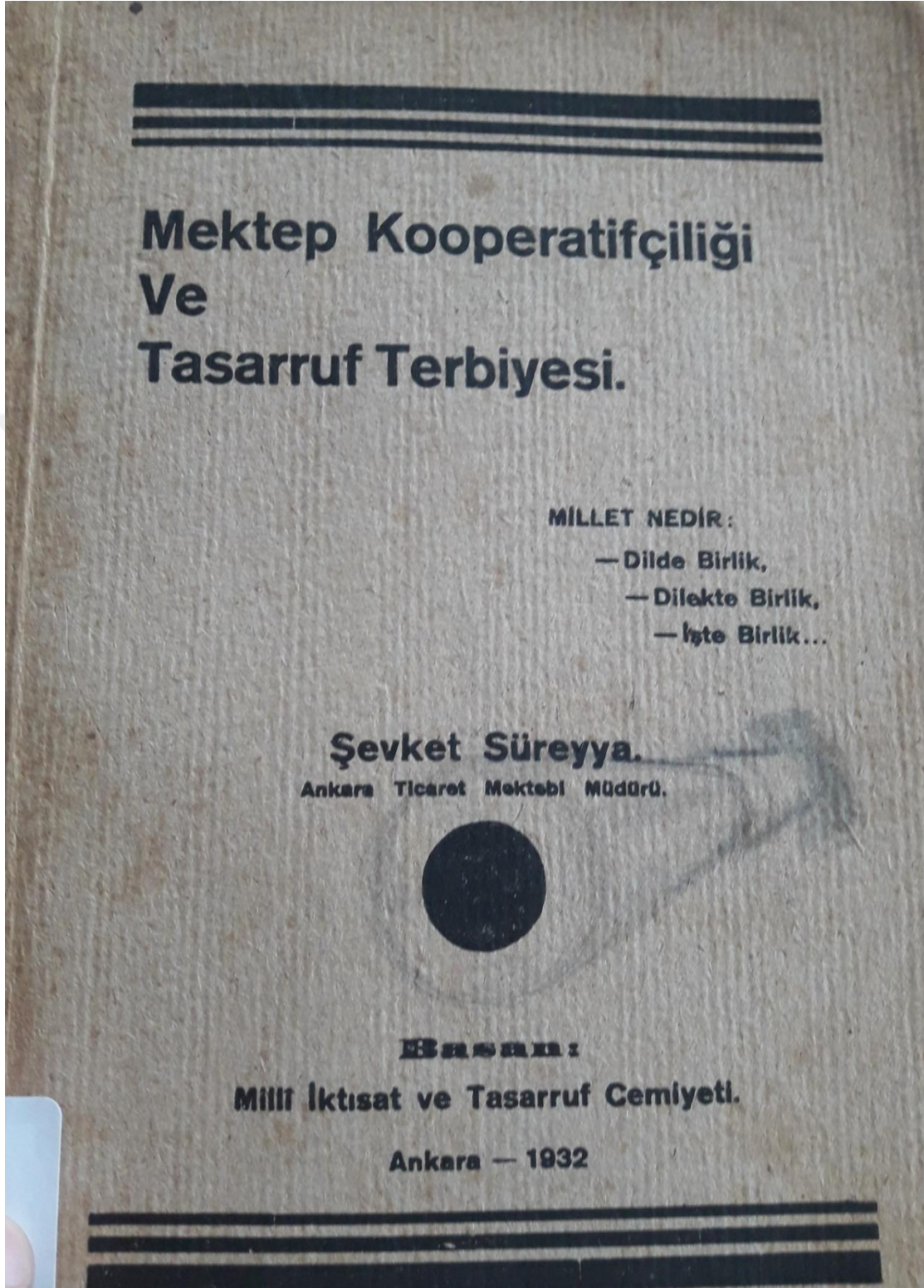
In Afyon Prison, 1926

In KUTV, 1922

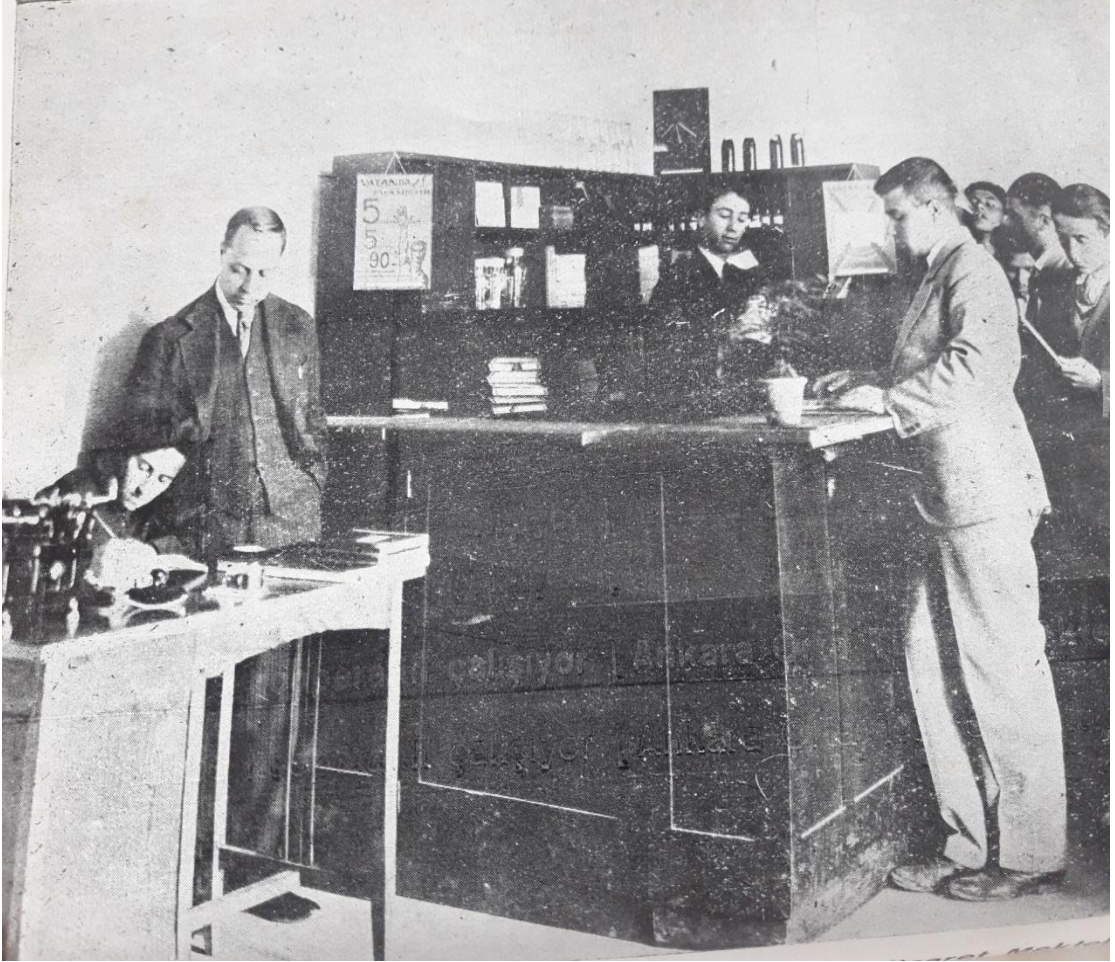


Kadrocular

Appendix C



Cover Page of "School Cooperative System and Saving Education" Book

Appendix D

Aydemir in Ankara Commercial School while practicing School Cooperative system.

Appendix E: Practising Saving Organization

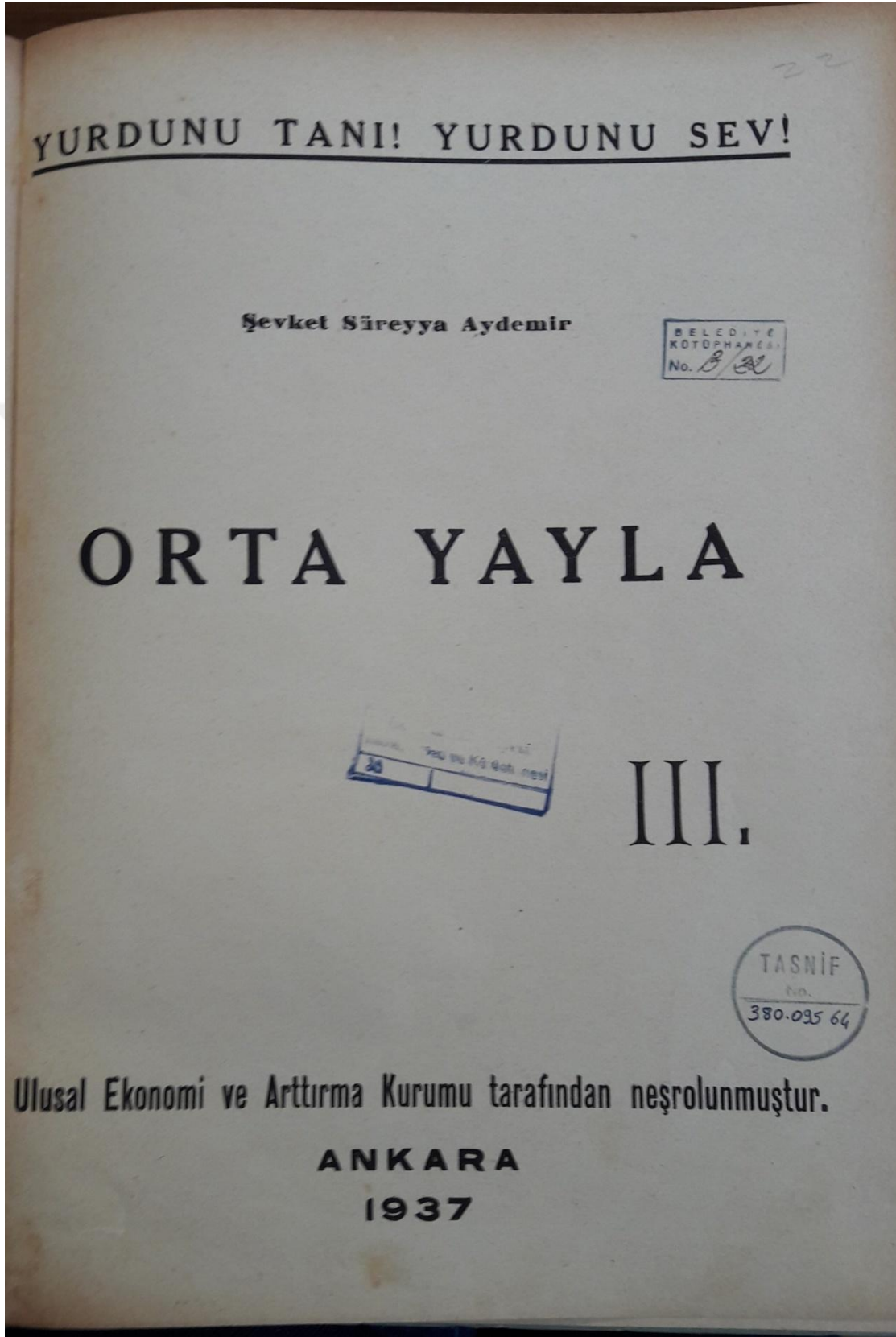


Appendix F



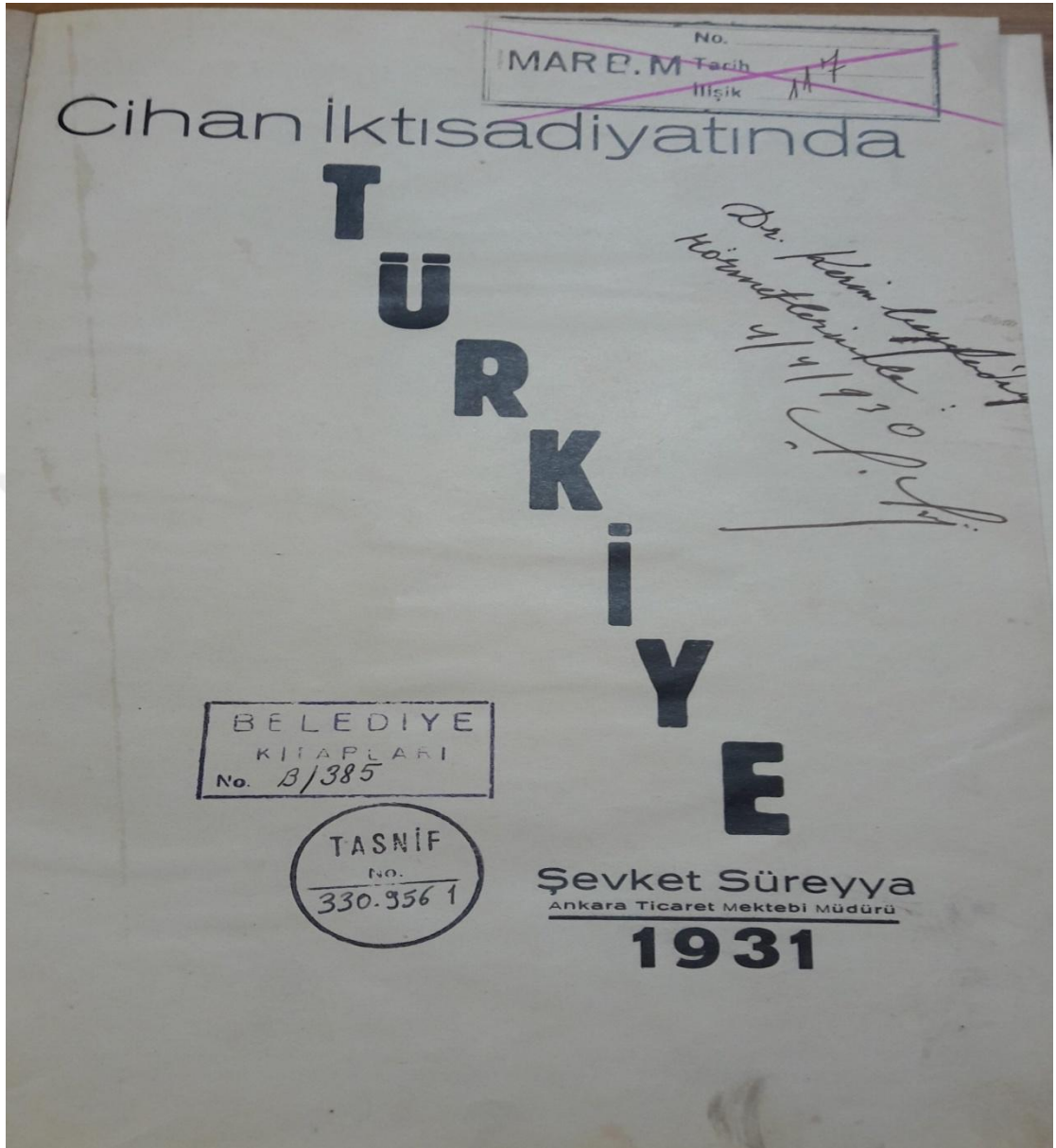
Cover Page of Aegean Day Book

Appendix G



Cover Page of Central Anatolia Book

Appendix H



Cover Page of Turkey in World Economics Book

Appendix I



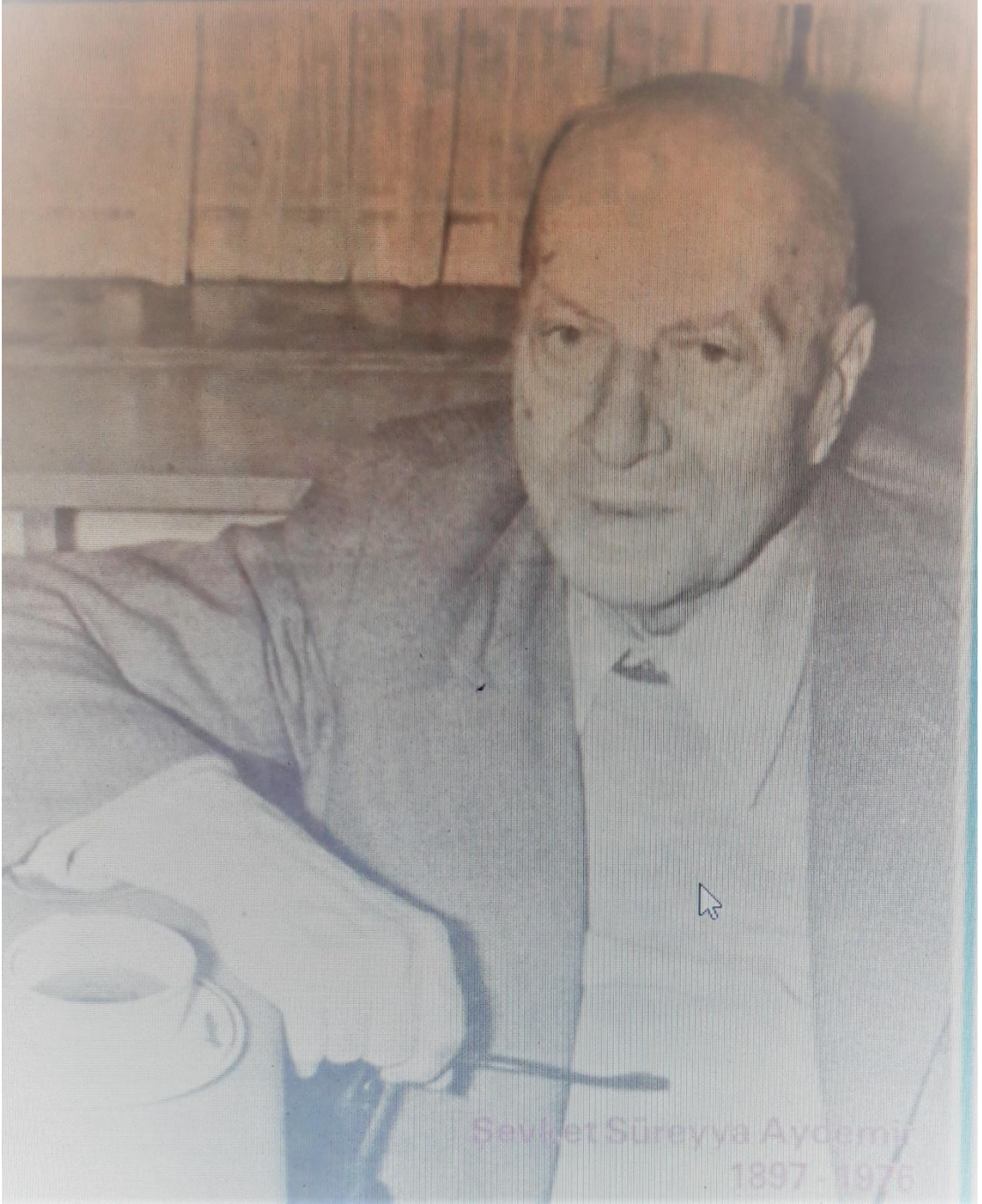
Cover Page of Economic Knowledge for the People Book

Appendix J



Retirement Years.

Appendix K



Last Years.