

WESTERN PERCEPTION OF KADRO MOVEMENT

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MURAT KARAMAN

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Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences

Doç. Dr. M. Murat ARSLAN
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
Müdürü

Manager of Institute

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

Prof. Dr. Yılmaz BİNGÖL
Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi
Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yön.
Bölüm Başkanı

Head of Department

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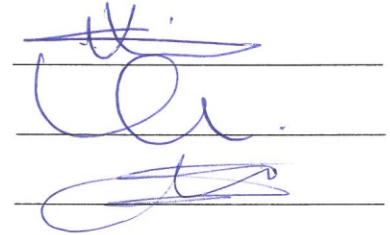
Doç. Dr. Aytaç Yıldız
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Sabri Kurtuluş Kayalı (AU, History)

Doç. Dr. Aytaç Yıldız (YBU, PSPA)

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mümin Köktaş (YBU, PSPA)



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Name, Last Name:

Signature:

WESTERN PERCEPTION OF KADRO MOVEMENT

Karaman, Murat

Master of Arts, Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aytaç Yıldız

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Kadro Journal was a periodical of thought that was published between 1932 and 1935, period after Great Depression, with 36 issues. Authors of Kadro Journal are mentioned as Kadro Movement. The Journal, emerged to produce ideological background for Turkish Revolution, expressed different ideas related with the West from the regime's ones. This work aims to exhibit the Western perception of Kadro Movement what had a significant place in Turkish political life. The examination of Western perception of Kadro Journal is based on analysis of Kadro authors' articles what evaluated the West in terms of political, economic and cultural sides. Kadro Movement, provided different perspective about relations with the West as a significant issue in Turkish political life, maintains its importance.

Keywords: Kadro Journal, Kadro Movement, Imperialism, Western Perception

KADRO HAREKETİ'NİN BATI ALGISI

Karaman, Murat

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Kadro Dergisi, 1929 Buhranı sonrası dönemde, 1932 ile 1935 yılları arasında otuz altı sayı çıkmış bir fikir dergisidir. Kadro Dergisi'ni çıkaran ekip Kadro Hareketi olarak anılmaktadır. Türk inkılâbına ideoloji üretme iddiasıyla ortaya çıkan dergi, Batı'ya ilişkin olarak o güne kadar rejimin benimsediğinden farklı görüşler ortaya koymuştur. Bu çalışma, Türk siyasal yaşamında oldukça bir yere sahip olan Kadro Hareketi'nin Batı algısını ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Hareketin batıya olan bakış açısının tespiti; Kadrocu yazarların Batı'yı siyasal, ekonomik ve kültürel anlamda ele aldıkları makalelerinin çözümlemesine dayanmaktadır. Türk siyasal hayatında önemli bir başlık olan Batı ile ilişkilere farklı bir perspektif getiren Kadrocular, günümüzde de önemini korumaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadro Dergisi, Kadro Hareketi, Emperyalizm, Batı Algısı

To my brother, Ahmet Karaman



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ABBREVIATIONS

TBMM: Grand National Assembly of Turkey

A-RCRO: Anatolian and Rumelian Countrywide Resistance Organization

RPP: Republican Public Party

PRP: Progressive Republican Party



INTRODUCTION

The topic of this thesis is how the intellectual people, who had published Kadro Journal and also known as Kadromembers, considered the Western world. Kadro Journal was a monthly journal of idea which had been published from 1932 to 1935. The publishers were Yakup Kadri Karaosmanođlu, Burhan Asaf Belge, Őevket Sűreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tűr and İsmail Hűsrev Tűkin. The first issue of the journal was published in 23rd January 1932 and it finished the publishing in January of 1935. It is a very interesting fact that the publisher team, except Yakup Kadri Karaosmanođlu, were all Marxist-origin. Also İsmet İnűnű, the Prime Minister of the time, wrote some articles in Kadro Journal. Kadro has been a very effective journal on Turkish political life in both its own time and in contemporary life of Turkey by its everlasting effects.

The main goal of this thesis is, revealing the emergence of Kadro as an anti-Western movement in a westernization movement such as Kemalism; and revealing on which argument the Kadroists have founded their anti-Western view. We will do it by talking on the West world thought of Kadro. On the other hand, the thesis will sketch a general map of Turkish political life in 1919-1935 era and present a general view of east-west debates of the time.

The importance of thesis is that it investigates the Kadro Movement which had deep effects on Turkish intellectual life, by centralizing a feature of it, anti-Western sentiment and commentary of Euro-centrism. This feature has never been embraced so far. Although there are many papers which embraces Kadro movement in respect of many ways, there is not any academical work which has centralized the commentary of Western World. Thus, this thesis is applicant to fill this gap in the literature. The commentary of Euro-centrism and anti-Western sentiment of Kadro Movement has not affected only the era in which the journal was published, but it also have leded many ideal movement during the following time. Since the YűnJournal published in 1960s, there have been many publications to date, which have defended the Kadroist ideals. Nowadays, as the East-West debates are still all hot, there are some political and ideal movements which evaluate the Western World in respect of Kadroist ideals. Therefore, comprehending the thoughts of Kadro on West will have the same meaning of

comprehending the thoughts of the ideal movements of present day on the Western World. Today, the thoughts of ideal movements called “National Left” on Western World are usually shaped by Kadroist ideas.

In this thesis, literature search will be followed as method. Besides this, we will use descriptive analysis. Unlike the quantitative analysis method, the descriptive analysis seeks answer for the question that which meaning the people ascribe to the events and situations and how they make the sense of them. According to Altunışık, the descriptive analysis involves four basic grades: Forming a frame for the descriptive analysis; processing the data by the thematic frame; describing the findings and commenting them (Altunışık and others, 2010: 322). In this context, in order to determine the viewing of Western world of Kadro, we stated 36 pieces of articles about West and published in the journal. These articles were assorted by particular themes and then some findings were stated in them and were interpreted.

The thesis will involve three main parts except the introduction and conclusion parts. In the first part, a general view of political events will be given, from 1919, regarded the start date of National Struggle, to 1932, the year which Kadro started to be published. The reason for this is the fact that none of the intellectual movement can be emerge suddenly. Every political and intellectual movement emerges under the influence of some historical dynamics. Understanding these historical dynamics is the first condition in order to understand those political and intellectual movements. When this situation is evaluated in context of Kadro Movement, we have to analyze the early years of Republic. As to the second part, we will try to give a general view of Kadro Movement. The emergence progress of the movement, its general political and ideological inclinations, the political agents of the time and their relations and lastly the closure progress of the movement will be handled in this part. The second part, which will be founded on a secondary literature of Kadro, will ensure us to understand the movement. By this way, it will be easier to make the sense of view of the movement on a specific event, of which the general codes are already known. In the last part, we will interpret the 36 pieces of article by the method of descriptive analysis. Those articles were published in Kadro Journal and all of their theme was Western world. By this

analysis, we will try to determine the Western view of Kadro movement. We will discuss their used arguments for reading the West and their titles under which the Western world was evaluated. This part will examine the Kadroists' view of West in context of political, economic and cultural way.



PART I: THE WAY TO KADRO: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC HAPPENINGS FROM 1919 TO 1932

All the political, social, cultural and economical idea movements emerge from a historical background. In order to understand such movements properly, we have to understand that historical background and make the sense of it properly. When we think this argument in context of Kadro Journal and Kadro Movement, we understand that we have to read all political, social and economic happenings from the late era of Ottoman to the time that the movement emerged, which was usually called Ottoman modernization, very sufficiently. When we think all the political, economic and social events of that era, also the reforms and political struggles altogether, we can easily understand the causes which emerged the journal of Kadro from. A background reading done in this context, by taking the size of this thesis into the consideration as well, will be started by War of Independence. In order to make the investigation easier, we will examine the era from War of Independence to proclamation of Republic under a title; and will examine the post Republic era under another.¹

1.1919-1923 Era

By the defeat of Ottoman Empire in the First World War, the sharing plans for Anatolian land were started to be practiced one by one. According to the Treaty of Sevres signed just after the war, Ottoman Empire was a little state with the capital of İstanbul and its Anatolian part was divided into many regions for sharing (Zürcher, 2004: 220). However, many times before this treaty was signed, the resistance movements in Anatolia was started to be woke by several inducements. The start of this resistance movement, in official history books, is 19th May of 1919, the landing date of Mustafa Kemal to Samsun. However, this is nothing more than a symbolic date. As Karpat stated, the organization basis of the War of Independence roots in some societies like Countrywide Resistance Organization, Society of Refusal of Annex in Anatolia;

¹ For the chronologising debates of Turkish political life, see: Zürcher; 2010, 13-21

and Karakol Society in İstanbul (Karpas, 2014: 19). On the other hand, the War of Independence actually started by the landing of Greeks to İzmir.

1.1 Institutionalization of the Struggle of Independence

The first stage of institutionalization of the Independence Struggle is Amasya Protocol. On the other hand, the protocol is aurora of the leader staff of the struggle. “Amasya Protocol was signed by Mustafa Kemal, Ali Fuat Cebesoy (commander of Ankara army), Refet Bele (a commander in Samsun) and Rauf Orbay (former Minister of Navy) on 21st June of 1919; and was afterwards accepted by Kazım Karabekir (commander of Third Army which was relatively in a good condition) (Karpas, 2014: 20-21). The protocol which is so much important for the progress of Independence Struggle, says at first that the national unity and domination are at risk; then it says in a critical way that the İstanbul Government does not do his duty. Then, in protocol, as a most important point, it is said that the method of independence is national decision and effort; that it is necessary to establish a national council free from the effects of foreign agents, in order to act as an executive organ (Karpas, 2014b: 118). Besides to these, the protocol says, as Akşin stated, that the military and national organizations would not be extinguished, and the appointments of the İstanbul Government for the military united commandments would be countermanded (Akşin, 2010: 128). In this protocol, as the first document of the Independence Struggle as we can see in above expressions, the concept of “national” is very explicit. On the other hand, by countermanding the appointments of the İstanbul Government, the leader staff had declared that they would act free from the Ottoman Empire dominion. When we think this two situation together, we can easily see the first clues about the characteristics of postwar era as well as the era of war.

After Amasya Protocol, the institutionalization efforts of National Independence went on by the congresses arranged in Anatolia. As it is said above, two congresses were established in order to provide the management of national struggle societies from one hand and these congresses revealed the program of the struggle movement. Erzurum Congress (23rd July-7th August of 1919) and Sivas Congress (4th to 11st of

September 1919) centralized the dispersed Countrywide Resistance Organizations in Anatolia; these local resistance organizations got together by the results of these two congresses. By this way, the National Oath, as a program for national struggle progress, was approved (Karpas, 2014: 21). In addition to that, as Zürcher also mentioned, in conclusion of Erzurum Congress, a Deputation was appointed the leader of which was Mustafa Kemal (Zürcher, 2010: 225). It was a government-like structure. The leadership of Mustafa Kemal is especially attractive and it is worth to talk more. According to Karpas, the appointment of Mustafa Kemal as leader for Deputation, means that his situation among the National Struggle was almost shaped. Mustafa Kemal believed that it was necessary for very himself to lead the resistance and independence movement; because he believed that he could properly see the course of history and also he could properly see the true desire and expectations of Turkish people (Karpas, 2014b: 121). Afterwards, this belief will affect the fate of the state and become a key determinant of the way of state in postwar era.

The National Oath document, which reveals the program of national struggle, is also worth to talk on more. This document is very important since it led new principles and make the first clues of future Turkish state more clear. The document not only led the principles of national struggle, but it also gave clues about the structural transformation. By the words of Karpas, in context of Turkish political history, it is clear that the articles of National Oath are really revolutionist. By these articles, the land has become free from its emperor past, and it stated the foundation of a new political system which has been adapted from the thoughts of European political philosophy. The first and most important thought in National Oath is the concept of “national state which exactly dominates its own land” (Karpas, 2014: 21-22). Just as in Amasya Protocol, we can frequently see the words of “nation” and “national”. These concepts, which have a nationalist tone, are very important in respect of their meaning for a society remainder of Ottoman Empire. It is necessary to handle the fact which sense the concept of “national” made in that period, which was historically just after the modernization of Ottoman. According to Karpas, by this concept which is frequently mentioned in declaration and congresses, a society is expressed consolidated by a common religion,

language, genealogy and fate (Karpas, 2014b: 120). Thus, construction of a new individual and identity was started by these concepts.

1.2 Opening of TBMM (Grand National Assembly of Turkey)

The document of National Oath, affirmed by partials of National Struggled, immediately impelled the Entente States who had plans to share the lands of Ottoman. The first reactions against this document were occupying İstanbul and adjourning the parliament. The partials of National Struggle in parliament and also the members of Anatolian and Rumelian Countrywide Resistance Organization (A-RCRO) were arrested and exiled. On the occasion of adjourning first Ottoman Parliament and occupation of İstanbul by Entente States, Mustafa Kemal issued a circular and declared that a parliament would be established in Ankara, which was given exceptional powers. In this circular which was issued by Mustafa Kemal in behalf of Deputation on 19th March of 1920, five elected representatives from each sanjak were demanded and to come to Ankara within 15 days. "According to the circular, 349 congressmen were elected from 66 election districts. By 88 congressmen who came from İstanbul Ottoman Parliament (included the men from Malta) the number became 437. However, 34 congressmen had resigned without participating the parliament and so the total congressmen number of I. Period became 403." (Çoker; 1994, 39). Under these circumstances, Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT) was opened on 23rd April of 1920. As Karpas mentions, the goal of opening the Assembly was declared as providing the independence of land and saving the caliphate and sultanate posts from the enemies (Karpas, 2014c: 123).

Opening of the National Assembly have the meaning for getting a new dimension of Anatolian resistance movement. According to Zürcher, besides to the opening of Assembly, the resistance movement continued to legitimize the authority of Sultan-Caliph; however the Ankara commanding center of national movement gained an exact government identity. The most distinct signification of this fact is a declaration of new Assembly which announced that the whole of laws legislated by İstanbul Government after 16th March were cancelled (Zürcher, 2010: 227). According to

Tunçay, this was the seizure the power of land by Anatolian and Rumelian Countrywide Resistance Organization; the society was acting just like a government and the president of foundation was exercising the constitutional powers of Sultan (Tunçay, 2012: 33). According to Karpat, legislating the Constitution in 20th November 1921, assigning its own authorities and shaping the civil and administrative organizations are signification of a new political system for Assembly. Besides to these, the Constitution had assigned the Assembly as only representative of nation and had given the authority of war declaration to it (Karpat, 2014b: 126). This situation can be held as a manifestation that the Ottoman government has been officially ignored by opening of the Assembly.

In spite of fact that the situation was like mentioned above, the Assembly, leading actor of the resistance movement, was not entirely homogeneous in respect of members. As Yüzgeç mentioned, in that era, there were some members who supported Ottoman sultan and of whom the only aim was to save the sultan and caliph; as well as some other members who supported only the National Struggle. The Assembly was opened in an extraordinary era such as war period, and the goal was to make the nation free from the captivity (Yüzgeç, 2006: 30-31). During this period, which can also be called as Ottoman modernization, although all political tendencies were represented in first Assembly, the distinctions were not much in sight since the basic motivation had been saving the land. Mentioning this common ground, the declaration announced just 2 days after the assembly was opened is very significant. In this declaration, as also Yüzgeç told, it was mentioned that the main goal of National Assembly was to save Caliph-Sultan from pressure of enemies and save the land from the occupying powers (Yüzgeç, 2006: 41). Although the basic inclinations of that term were based on a philosophical ground, all of them were focusing on the state. All of those political inclinations were pretending to be the proper thought for saving the state. In paralel with abating of the war conditions, the distinctions would be more visible. This is a very important fact to evaluate the opposition of later years truthfully.

During the later years, the factionalism of National Assembly about sahaping the new state will arise more significantly. The Assembly was divided into two main

fractions in that period. According to the description of Karpaz, the first fraction was of the elite soldiers and bureaucrats who had close links to the government. Those men had a strong motivation to change all traditional institutions, organisations and especially the traditional culture since they had described them as obstacles on the way to improvement. They were claiming that this change had to be actualized in a jacobean way. The second fraction in Assembly was generally of the provincial leaders. In their opinion, the government had to pave the way for economical activities by means of its authority, while the social traditions were preserved. Thus the state would have provided all opportunities for the individuals to improve their talents and make their dreams come true (Karpaz, 2014: 26). In progress of time, the struggle between these two fractions, which had two opposite imaginations for the future manner of the state, became more apparent. According to Karpaz, the first and Westernist fraction which was led by Mustafa Kemal, was a minor group in National Assembly when the political struggle had started in 1923. However, as Zürcher mentioned, it was a huge advantage for this group to have Mustafa Kemal as a leader, who had a big prestige during the War of Independence. Mustafa Kemal founded the Countrywide Resistance Organization in May of 1921 with a group of deputies, in order to increase his dominance on Assembly and to be able to direct its acts (Zürcher, 2010: 237). This group will be named as Republican People's Party later on. In Assembly and against this group, there has been founded "Second Group" in 1922. According to Tunçay, the Second Group of which the main goal was to resist the personal dominance of Mustafa Kemal Paşa, is accepted to have been officially founded during the discussion of third extending the Chief-Commandership Law; however it is explicit that the basis of this opposition which was founded by his own expression was rooted in earlier times (Tunçay, 2005: 39). As to the aggravation of the struggle between two groups, it will bring a decision of early election of Assembly. According to Ahmad, there are some considerations of Mustafa Kemal and his supporters behind this decision of early election, according to whom the Islamist and "Westernist" opponents had aimed at steering the Assembly to renovate the Sultanate in a new way (Ahmad, 2014: 69). In these circumstances, First Assembly went off the legislations and the election was called.

2. The Period After 1923

In 1923, there were crucial happenings in Turkey. As Yıldız mentions, the war term of National Struggle had finished and the political struggles started. The Sultanate was extinguished and the dissensus between two groups of First Assembly became more significant. Opposite opinions on the political way of state and the criticisms, which could not be pegged down since the war conditions of National Struggle, were now being expressed more explicitly (Yıldız, 2011: 61). “Alleviation of international tensions caused the revelation of ideological and philosophical contrasts between the Westernist-Modernist group of Mustafa Kemal and the other group of populist-traditionists” (Karpas, 2014: 29). Besides to these, Zürcher mentions the fact that the population had been decreased and became poor since the continuous war conditions of ten years, in an unseen way during the contemporary times (Zürcher, 2010: 242).

2.1 Proclamation of the Republic

The fractionation between two groups in the Assembly is based on this mental ground. As Karpas mentioned, the basic political view of First Group led by Mustafa Kemal, was aiming at giving rulings in sake of people’s benefit by means of a strong state domination. However, the Second Group was defending that the reforms had to be appropriate for the culture, traditions and way of living of people as well as for their demands and needs (Karpas, 2014b: 142). The debates between two groups mentioned above, started to be more apparent by later months of 1923 in case of particular issues. Probably, the first debate issue was proclaiming Ankara as the capital city of state by a law dated on 12nd October 1923. This law, according to Ahmad, was a death blow to the conservative fraction who had strong relations with previous imperial capital (Ahmad, 2014: 70). Akşin claims that the Second Group which was supposed to be conservative and reactionist was aiming at pushing Mustafa Kemal out (Akşin, 2010: 182). Following this law, a crisis outbreak which was claimed to be harming the work of government and hindering the stability. According to Koçak, it was an artificial crisis (Koçak, 2013: 134). By this crisis which outbreak in a term which Mustafa Kemal was principally planning to give a name to the regime, Republic of Turkey was proclaimed

on 29th October 1923. Mustafa Kemal was elected as the first president of the Republic and as also Karpat mentioned, he past into history by being first elected president of the Muslim world (Karpat, 2014: 30).

The proclamation of Republic revealed the secret tension between Mustafa Kemal and his opponents. Thus the tension increased more and more. According to the claim of Ahmad, in that time, there were some whisperings that the generals had been preparing to stand against Mustafa Kemal. In response, Mustafa Kemal enacted a law on 19th December in order to weaken his opponents in the army and to make them chose only one of the army and politics (Ahmad, 2014: 74). By enacting of that law, the soldiers were disqualified from the politics. In addition to the increasing tension, the proclamation of Republic caused the fractions being more sharply circumscribed. Old wounds which had been closed since National Struggle were started to open. Within that period, the reformists led by Mustafa Kemal continued to suppose the Caliphate as a threat against their dominance although they were controlling Assembly and civil administration; while the conservative fraction, known as Second Group, was gathering around the Caliphate (Karpat, 2014c: 130).

2.2 Abolition of the Caliphate

The Ottoman emperors had gained the degree of Caliphate by the caliphate institution was taken to the regime. According to Tunçay, a Caliphate without Sultanate had emerged in Turkey from the abolition of caliphate on 1st November 1922 to 1924 (Tunçay, 2012: 70). This situation made the constitutional relations between Assembly and Caliph vague.

The Caliphate became a religious institution by abolition of Sultanate on 1922; its political aspect, even if on paper, was knocked out. However, according to Zürcher, it was inevitable for majority of people, even if formally, to continue to suppose the caliph as leader of the state. In addition to this, the realm of authority of Caliphate was exceeding the lines of Turkish state and –at least theoretically– addressing to the whole Muslim world (Zürcher, 2010: 248). This situation was going against the national state notion which was founded in the years of National Struggle. As Akşin mentions, the

addressing potential of Caliphate institution to the whole Muslim world was evaluated by the reformist fraction as a threat, especially for the foreign policies of newborn state. From this point of view, keeping this institution which claimed to be leader of Muslim world in state had the same meaning with letting the imperialist states to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey. This may have caused the imperialist states to take interfering in the internal affairs of Turkey for granted (Akşin, 2010: 186).

The conservative groups which had acted as all others to save the land during the struggle of independence, continued to make opposition after proclamation of Republic just as they did in the First Assembly. According to Ahmad, these groups were introducing the caliphate as a symbol of opposition and evaluated that institution as a balancing power against the president (Ahmad, 2014: 70). “For that matter, Lütfi Fikri, bar president of İstanbul, wrote an open letter to the Caliph and demanded him to be more effective. A similar letter was sent even to the prime minister, by Indian Muslim Emir Ali and Ağa Han” (Zürcher, 2010: 249). Koçak says that these letters were demanding them to clarify the legal status of the Caliphate, within his evaluation about the letters. On the other hand, he says that the letters contained some messages that the Caliphate was a spiritual link among the Muslims and it must have not be broken off (Zürcher, 2010: 249). As to the reaction of government to these letters, it was Independence Tribunal mechanism which was run just before the abolition of Caliphate. The newspaperman who published the letters and also the bar president of Istanbul were arrested. Thus the government hectored about the opponent press.

According to the claim of Akşin, the Caliphate had potential to be a gathering focus and mainstay for the opponents of Republic to revive the Sultanate (Akşin, 2010: 185). As a matter of fact, Koçak also mentioned that the final period of the Caliphate in Republic of Turkey was an open conflict between the Republicans and Caliphate supporters who were evaluated as an alternative for Republic and expected to rise a new sultanate regime (Koçak, 2013: 135).

According to Ahmad, another cause lied behind the abolition of Caliphate was the fact that the Islamic state notion was strange for Mustafa Kemal’s group. They had

evaluated such a state as a continuation of status quo and Turkey's backwardness (Ahmad, 2014: 69). By a campaign launched from this point of view, according to Karpaz, the suitability of Caliphate to the national goals of Turkey was started to be questioned and negated in consideration of contemporary circumstance. By the end of this period, the Caliphate was abolished on 3rd March 1924; Caliph and his family were exiled from state and dispossessed. In addition to this, the religious education institutions were abolished by National Assembly on the Law on Unification of Education, in order to unite the education system. The very day, Ministry of Religious and Charity Affairs was extinguished and Directorate of Religious Affairs was founded which was less authorized than the former. After a couple of weeks, the spiritual courts were abolished (Karpaz, 2014: 31).

The abolition of Caliphate has a cultural and historical aspect beyond being an assault within the political balancing movements of that period. The first meaning of this abolition come to mind is a victory of Westernist mind against the traditionalist one, which were poles apart during the decline stage of Ottoman State on the consideration of saving prescription of future of the state. According to Karpaz, the abolition of Caliphate was clearing the primary hurdle on the way to laicism and reformism in the point of view of Reformists. On the same day, abolition of Ministry of Religious and Charity Affairs by National Assembly and establishment of Directorate of Religious Affairs subordinated by prime ministry, and union of all education institutions in the hand of Education Ministry, are explicit significations for big cultural importance of abolition of Caliphate (Karpaz, 2014c: 130-131). These decisions are, free from any doubt, the evidences for the fact that there was an inclination from religious and monarchical state which was defended since first years of the National Struggle, to the laicist state. As to the "laicistic" denotation of this policy in following years, it does not signify a laicism based on a philosophical ground like in Europe, but the hard power struggle of that period (Karpaz, 2014b: 146).

2.3 1924 Constitution

Just after the National Independence Struggle, the state by opening the National Assembly and proclaiming new regime, had embraced a different organizational form than its predecessor, Ottoman Empire. After giving the name of regime, it was goal to make it official and undoubtedly it was possible by a new constitution. As Akşin mentions, the reformist staff were thinking that the 1921 Constitution was made to remove the practical difficulties of Independence War conditions, it did not contain any determination about the political regime and a new and detailed constitution was necessary after the proclamation of Republic (Akşin, 2010: 192).

When the period of making that Constitution is observed, it can easily be seen that there were severe polemics about the new situations of actors within the system. This indicates that there was not a consensus about the qualify of a superstructure need mentioned above. Koçak expresses the occurrence of this situation during the making period of constitution in following words: “The high point during the constitution discussions of 1924 in Assembly is the struggle of legislative organ against the managing organ, especially against the authorities which were wanted to be warranted to the President. National Assembly wanted to keep these authorities. Mustafa Kemal desired President to be warranted important authorities in the constitution, and these offers were all expressed in the constitutional draft” (Koçak, 2013: 136-137). After these discussions, the new constitution legislated on 20th April 1924, as also Karpat mentioned, was describing the structure and functions of new state more detailedly than the constitution of 1921. The essential principle of it was uniting of legislation, managing and judgement in National Assembly. The deputies would be assigned by a two-stage election. On the other hand, new constitution was accepting Islam as the religion of state as well (Karpat, 2014c: 131-132).

It is essential to labour the point of basic features of 1924 Constitution in order to comprehend its basic mentality. In this way, the features of it can be summarized as following:

- a) It was mentioned in the first article of constitution that the basic characteristic of the state is Republic, in which it says: “State of Turkey is a Republic.” By this constitution, it was proclaimed that none of the empery dynasty would be legitimized; the legislating organ and prime minister of the state would be assigned directly or indirectly by election.
- b) It was stated in constitution text that the religion of state was Islam.
- c) 1924 Constitution was evaluated as the only organ which used the sovereignty of Turkish Grand National Assembly.
- d) It could be seen that a smoothed version of the principle of unity of power was maintained in 1924 Constitution. Accordingly, the managing authority was with President and the council of ministers assigned by him.
- e) It could be seen that the authorities warranted to the President by this constitution were similar to those warranted to the presidents in parliamentary systems.
- f) Constitution of 1924 was restricted by uttering basic rights and liberties and sketching out them, just like the Ottoman First Constitution. The economical and social rights were not expressed explicitly. There was not any arrangement made in order to assure the basic rights and liberties.²

When considered in context of these features, Karpat says that the constitution of 1924 was an attempt to reconcile two conflicting inclinations which have been effecting all steps of making constitutions in Turkey since beginning of the political modernization. In his own words: “On the one hand, the new constitution was generously granting all liberties and rights formed by Western politic and industrial democracies to the Turkish society; on the other hand, the omnipotent National Assembly was establishing a strong semi-presidential single party system” (Karpat, 2014: 34). According to Ahmad, the fifth part of Constitution was securing the “General Rights of Turkish people” and legitimizing all rights known as necessities of a liberal system (Ahmad, 2014b: 204). When the archetypes of 1924 Constitution’s draft, 1875 constitution of France and 1921 constitution of Poland were observed, these arguments can be easily seen. The Assembly which was renewed when the reforms to do came to the fore by the end of war, aimed at making a strong state system to actualize these

² For more information see: Çiçek, 2005, 54-82

reforms. This background penetrated into the soul of constitution and thus a strong state view was embraced.

The qualities of constitutions cannot be evaluated in context of only the written texts. Their practice way is also very important. In this respect, apart from the technical details, the texts of constitutions, even the intentions caused to write them are not so much important as the practice way of them. 1924 Constitution, therefore, by the words of Tunçay, was a document which majorly remained on the paper under the government of Mustafa Kemal Paşa (Tunçay, 2012: 94).

2.4 Progressive Republican Party

In the midst of 1920s, Mustafa Kemal's group had eliminated all particular persons who sympathised the ancient regime and thus they had captured the political power to a large extent. However, as Ahmad mentioned, there were a mass which looked askance at the new regime unsatisfiedly (Ahmad, 2014b: 196). When the reactions against secularistic reforms by this society which had been administered and shaped by a religious structure for centuries got together with the severe economical conditions, the opposition became more apparent. As also Karpat mentioned, this disfavour manifested itself as severe criticisms to the People's Party in National Assembly and to the leader of government, İsmet İnönü. The cause of the fact that Mustafa Kemal was not criticised in that period, is can be said to be sympathy of people to him, his influence and reputation (Karpat, 2014c: 132). On the other hand, free from any doubt, it is impossible to see the fact that the opposition of that period was similar to that of Second Group in First Assembly as a coincidence (Karpat, 2014b: 145).

As mentioned above, although Mustafa Kemal and his supporters –i.e. People's Party– designated the assembly and politic affairs, the Assembly and People's Party never had an appearance of homogenous political structure in that period. According to the claim of Koçak, quite the contrary, there were burning disagreements in Assembly and Party. The opponents of Mustafa Kemal about proclamation of Republic and abolition of Caliphate went on during the discussion and legislation periods of 1924 Constitution as well (Koçak, 2013: 138). Mustafa Kemal thought that, the staff who

led the opponents and assumed important commandship offices during the National Struggle, drew their strength from army and attempted to end their affair with the soldiers. Some of the former commanders, who had to choose between soldiery and politics, resigned RPP and formed an opposition party. “The leaders of this party which is called Progressive Republican Party (PRP) and described by a liberal journalist as ‘a newborn child into the pains and without liberty’ in a ‘country under a strange and agonising dictatorship’, were Ali Fuat (Cebesoy) and Rauf (Orbay), and some other former military officers” (Ahmad, 2014: 74).

According to Karpat, the principal mentality of Progressive Party was the thought that a national assembly which holds whole power without any control of opposition would cause an authoritarian government. Thus, the Party mentioned that its goal was secure the personal liberties by standing against the “oligarchic desires” of a handful of people. In these words, free from any doubt, they were intending Mustafa Kemal and his supporters (Karpat, 2014c: 132). Of course, this view would be uttered in the party manifest. Ahmad speaks about the party manifest as following: The first article of the manifest was “Turkey State is a republic which depends on the sovereignty of people.” The second was proclaiming that the party was faithful to the liberal doctrine and people’s sovereignty. Besides, the Party was promising to show respect to the “religious thoughts and beliefs.” Also the party manifest was committing to legitimize the direct election with the universal suffrage, instead of two-stage indirect election which was supposed to be on the side of elite of towns and countryside. Finally, it was mentioned that the both domestic and foreign trade would be liberated and the state intervention would be kept minimum (Ahmad, 2014: 74-75). The high point here was the promise to show respect to all religious thoughts and beliefs. When the circumstances of that period are considered, it is not a surprise to see that a big mass, who were worried about their religious belief, had shown favor to the Progressive Party.

It is not easy to describe the ideological standing of Progressive Republican Party. Both the political inclinations and pasts of the particular actors in the Party, and the circumstances of that period make this description more difficult. However, Karpat’s description about the Party in whole literature of the issue seems significant. According

to Karpaz, Progressive Republican Party was neither ultra-liberalist nor ultra-conservative. It was on the left side of Republican People's Party in respect of political regime and on the right side of it in respect of cultural issues. Being in the middle-of-the-road, it was a republican and democrat party; was defending free enterprise liberty and decentralization (Karpaz, 2014b: 149). However, in the point of view of power struggles, it can be seen that Mustafa Kemal supposed this challenge from his own party as a threat against his authority (Ahmad, 2014: 75). According to Tunçay, Mustafa Kemal, supposing the new party in this understanding, sided against it (Tunçay, 2012: 108).

According to Ahmad, Progressive Republicans had never found the opportunity of being such an opposition force that was able to soften the radicalism of Mustafa Kemal (Ahmad, 2014: 75). The most significant event that prepared that cooked the goose of first opposition Party of the newborn Republic was a religious Kurdish revolt in the East region, in February of 1925. Tunçay says that the first reaction of the government against this revolt had been proclaiming a martial law and changing the first article of Treason Law in a way to prevent the religion being used for politics (Tunçay, 2012: 142). As to Koçak, he thinks that the article of respect about religion in the Party manifest mentioned above was evaluated by the regime as reactionism (Koçak, 2013: 141). Thus, the Progressive Republican Party, being correlated with the Kurdish revolt, was closed by government on 3rd June 1925 and this event finished the first multi-party system experience of the Republic of Turkey.

2.5 The Law of the Maintenance of Order and the Independence Tribunals

Sheikh Said Rebellion, rose in Eastern provinces at the dawn of 1925, has an important place in the history of Republic, in respect of both its characteristics and results of its quashing period. In the time course which brought this rebellion, as also Zürcher mentions, the relations of condensed Kurdish population in the East region to the Turkish dominated Republic government had got worsen in 1924. Zürcher thinks that the cause lies behind this situation was the abolition of the Caliphate, which was at

the same time extinction of the religious symbol which held two societies together. On the other hand, the nationalist Republic was doing an oppressive politics against the Kurdish identity; moreover, the openly talk and teaching of Kurdish language were forbidden (Zürcher, 2010: 253). The Kurdish people, who were in conflict with the regime in respect of religion and ethnic origin as a couple of ultrasensitive point, rose against the regime in early months of 1925, as mentioned above.

By the spreading of rebellion, Mustafa Kemal gave a brutal response. He discharged Prime Minister Fethi Bey on 3rd March and assigned İsmet İnönü, who known as more rigorist. Following this, the Assembly legitimized a two-year law which granted very broad authorities to the government: The Law of the Maintenance of Order. In lines of this law, the government, with a confirmation granted by the President, would be able to forbid and close all institutions and publications by only an administrative decision, in case of any supposition that they harmed the social order and peace of the state (Koçak, 2013: 142). The law had remained in force till the year of 1929. Within this period, a private court was established in order to enforce the law. According to Ahmad, the regime shut up all opponents by means of those private courts widely known as Independence Tribunals, which had so particular private authorities. The Progressive Republican Party was closed in June of 1925 and all other opposition groups were digested in a short while. The tribunals had given over 500 death penalties within two years. The regime used this opportunity in order to actualize radical reforms (Ahmad, 2014: 76). Because, again in words of Ahmad, a more suitable environment was made by means of many laws, in order to get the regime stronger at least in cities (Ahmad; 2014, 99).

Tunçay says that the first enforcement of the Law of the Maintenance of Order was closing of some particular media organs by the government. In this context, some newspapers and magazines published in İstanbul like *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, *İstiklâl*, *Son Telgraf*, *Aydınlık*, *Orak Çekiç* and *Sebilürreşat* were closed. In addition to this, the behavior of government against press was not limited by closing some of the media organs, but also some journalists were arrested and judged by Independence Tribunals (Tunçay, 2012: 149). When we give a look to the closed media organs, we can see that

the regime was not oppressing only the press associations correlated with Sheikh Said rebellion and had religious motives, but it was oppressing the leftist press as well. It can easily be understood that the government was in an act of revenge against whole opposition groups and desired to remove all opponents in order to save the regime, by means of the Law of the Maintenance of Order and the Independence Tribunals which were enacted in order to quell the riot (Karpas, 2014b: 150).

After quelling the rebellion, a new account was settled between government and the Kurdish people, during which the government had a very harsh feel. According to Zürcher, many of the Kurdish leaders were executed and more importantly, a step was taken which would bring a sociological trauma with it in the later years: Over twenty thousands of Kurdish people were deported from South-East region and settled in the Western regions (Zürcher, 2010: 255). However, the only results of the revolt was not punishment of Kurdish people and squelching the opponent press. The emergent results have more meanings beyond these two. According to Koçak, the political results of Sheikh Said Rebellion was an important milestone within the establishment of one-party dictatorship. After the rebellion, the first multi-party system experience of Turkey was finished just when it was newborn; the government achieved to grow an authoritarian regime by means of Law of the Maintenance of Order. In the following period, the opposition movements of Assembly and external groups had been so weak when compared to the past; possibility of free speech and criticism had majorly disappeared (Koçak, 2013: 143). In that term the government increased its influence and it had been felt in almost all around the state. The organized opposition was squelched to a large extend. Mustafa Kemal's group, which was of the former soldiers and bureaucrats, who had sociologically came from the below part of the middle class, exactly grabbed the power in state (Karpas, 2014c: 135).

Law of the Maintenance of Order did not only quell the riots. It is a law which had extended effects. According to Karpas, it was a strong step for the regime to have the shape of single party system. As a matter of fact, after this law which was enacted during the rebellion, the term of "reactionism" had been a common element of current politics' jargon (Karpas, 2014b: 150).

2.6 İzmir Assassination

Political opposition and opponent press were squelched in 1925, as mentioned above. However, according to Zürcher, the closed Progressive Republican Party's former leaders as blacked heroes of Independence War may have been seen as alternative governors of the state by discontented citizens, as long as they lived (Zürcher, 2010: 257).

Mustafa Kemal spent the May and June of 1926 by an investigate tour in South-West region of the state. As part of the tour, when he was about to arrive to İzmir, an assassination attempt was detected. During the inquest in order to find out conspirators, former deputy Ziya Hurşit was arrested. Ziya Hurşit was a member of Second Group in the First Assembly. Independence Tribunal of Ankara, investigating the matter, demanded the houses of closed Progressive Republican Party's deputies and to arrest them (Koçak, 2013: 143). Then the former deputies were arrested and judged by Tribunal. Although the assassination attempt was evaluated on a political ground and the former deputies were arrested, there are some arguments that the assassination was depending on personal hostilities and the true aim of arrestments and death penalties was squelching the opposition of both National Assembly and press. Thus, the reactions against reforms would be digested as well (Karpat, 2014b: 151).

The political results of the trial of İzmir Assassination, just as the results of the Law of Maintenance of Order, are so much important in respect of new shape of the regime. After this event, it was seen again that the regime was very sensitive for the objections against itself. The reflex of regime to both events of Sheikh Said Rebellion and İzmir Assassination was far beyond the punishment of the persons involved. As also Koçak mentions, in consequence of the trials judged in Tribunals, the former deputy group of Progressive Republican Party and political staff of Unionists, who were trying to organize again in and out of National assembly, were all clarified. By the way, as another important point emphasized by Koçak, this period was the final phase of the fracture among the leader staff of National Struggle and Mustafa Kemal's supporters were in the stage of judging the other group before court (Koçak, 2013: 145).

2.7 Economic Policy Started by İzmir Economic Congress

After the achievement of National Struggle and establishment of a national state, the new discussions were on the economic policies which would be pursued by new state. After the anti-imperialist struggle put against West, it was being discussed how kind of a contact would be set with West. In this contact, Tunçay says that the Republic of Turkey has been supporter of “private enterprise” from the beginning and it has never exceeded these limits except particular exemptions. According to him, a liberalist line had been pursued till year of 1929; afterwards the protectionism was appropriated; as from year of 1932, statism was decided up in the meaning of inclining to the statist capitalism (Tunçay, 2012: 188). As to Boratav, he calls period of 1923 to 1929 term of reconstruction in circumstance of open economy and the period of 1930 to 1939 protectionist-statist industrialization term (Boratav, 2013: 297).

In the year of 1923, in respect to the economy policy seeking of new state, an economic congress was done in İzmir in order to determine the development policy. Although the main goal of the congress was to determine the economy policy of the state, it had some secondary goals as well. According to Karpat, the congress was aiming at convincing the Entente States that the Turkey would not pursue the socialization in economy, although it had good relations to the Soviet Union (Karpat, 2014: 34). According to Ahmad, the other goal was “to show that the political governors and some economic commerce groups, especially mediated to the foreigners to infiltrate into the state in term of Epmire and still are doubtful in respect of national feelings, were in goal congruence” (Ahmad, 2014b: 227). In order to achieve the goal mentioned above, Mustafa Kemal praised pluralistic system and collaboration of the classes in his speech, expressed that the main problem of the state was not class struggle but the national development (Karpat, 2014: 34). While the congress was made, the Independence War had been finished and Lausanne negotiations were started. The new Republic had achieved the goals of National Pact to a large extend, which were maxim principles of the government. However, there was a big effort during the peace talks, in order to achieve the goals of economic area. According to Ahmad, for this reason, almost all arguments of Turkey in the Congress were only one target driven: “To

develop the establishment of a national economy and to improve the economic powers in order to shape the socio-economic ground of a newborn Republic state in a short while” (Ahmad, 2014b: 227).

Within the aforesaid period, there was scarcely any private equity in the state. Certainly, the main reason of this is having been just got out the war and losing the rich magnates to abroad as a result of population exchange. Thus, it can be seen that the foreign capital which was supposed to be efficient on the private enterprise in the state was reluctant to come and invest in a newborn state. According to Karpat, the reason of this is that the magnates both did not content the offered conditions and could not understand how to distinct Turkish Revolution from the Russian Revolution. According to him, also the governors of Republic were suspicious about everything to be given to the foreign investors in respect of any economic responsibility, since their psychological trauma caused by the capitulations. And finally nationalism, the major characteristic of the regime, made a nationalist economy policy essential: A self-assured and self-sufficient economy (Karpat, 2014c: 173). In that term, the main sense about the foreign investors was, as mentioned above, going around the sense caused by capitulations. As also Mustafa Kemal expressed in his speech made for the opening of İzmir Economic Congress, the regime was open to the foreign capital as long as they obeyed the laws. According to Boratav, this understanding, that is to say the manner of inviting foreign capital into the state without giving any privileges like capitulations, entirely dominated the official attitudes and policies of the period (Boratav, 2013: 312).

Also the steps following the Congress are also important for us to understand the economy policy appropriated by the state. The first step in this context was founding of İş Bankası in year of 1924. According to Ahmad, the main goal of the bank was to establish a national financial institute which could enter into rivalry with both foreign banks working in the state and the non-Muslim capitalist men who were still effective in İstanbul (Ahmad, 2014: 118). Just after İş Bankası, in year of 1925, Bank of Industry and Mines was established. This bank, which would be named as Sümerbank in later years, was aiming at an industry thrust in Turkey (Karpat, 2014c: 174). In accordance with the outlined economy policy, another important happening is abolition of Dime

Levy in year of 1925. Afterwards, the Law of Stimulation of Industry was enacted in year of 1927. This law was important in respect of stimulating the private enterprise for investment. As also Boratav mentions, the law was providing the industrial investments and enterprises with very broad dispensations, privileges and stimulations (Boratav, 2013: 316).

Although the aforesaid liberalist economy policy of Republic government bore fruits till the year of 1929, the global economic crisis arose in year of 1929 caused massive changes on the economy policies.

2.8 Great Depression of 1929

Although the global crisis arose in year of 1929, its infrastructure was created by the First World War. The effects of war on the economic order were so destructive. Besides to this, the treaties with appalling conditions which were signed by defeated states under the pressure of winner states dragged the global politics into a deadlock. The high point of the deadlock was the collapse of American Market in the year of 1929. This event, which past into the literature as Great Depression of 1929, caused a full-scale unemployment, deflation and a global financial crisis. The harm of the crisis on the world was very harsh; international commerce decreased and whole of the commerce on the world regressed back to its one third (Ezer; 2010, 430).

In the year of 1929, while the world's economic climate is like this, Turkey's economic climate seemed like it tries to develop by creating a state-sponsored national bourgeoisie, as we said in previous section. Great depression of 1929 prompted Mustafa Kemal and RPP to find new ways. Effects of 1929 Depression are not only reason of the inevitableness of this. According to Karpat, the economic development had to be actualized in order to prevent the disfavor wave which was ever increasing among people, to reach a dangerous grade. This necessity would be the statist economy policy of 1930s in form of a mild industrialization program (Karpat, 2014: 36).

Another factor which harshened the effects of big economic crisis in Turkey is that the bourgeoisie tried to be created always looked out for itself. The Kemalists had to

review their *laissez-faire* policy in respect of the global crisis; this policy was on the side of selfish behaviors of their own bourgeoisie. From 1929 to 1931, the government took precautions in order to get economy, especially the foreign trade under the rule of state by a protectionist manner. In that period, it was not on the point of having the direct intervention idea into national industry. However, this policy which was said to be statism, was ventilated in 1930 (Ahmad; 2014, 119). These discussions would bring with it a disengagement from the economy policies which had been appropriated since the proclamation of Republic.

Boratav mentions that the two characteristics of Turkey's 1930-1939 term to describe the economic policies were Protectionism and Statism. According to him, during 1930s, the depressive years of capitalist global economy, economy of Turkey was self-enclosed and the state was striving to actualize a statist and nationalist industry (Boratav, 2013: 322). This attempt was not started suddenly but it was performed gradually. The first reaction against the great crisis was a couple of protectionist precautions in years of 1930 and 1931. Afterwards, under the circumstance of political happenings of state, a stationist manner was appropriated in year of 1932. As to the following period, it was under the thumb of political happenings as well. In that period, Statism was grown stronger.

As the war-weary Turkish people was discontent with radical reforms performed by new Republican regime, suddenly outcropped economical crisis increased discontentedness and made it more apparent. Undoubtedly, this situation made politicians take new precautions and opened the door of second attempt for multi-party system in the history of Republic of Turkey.

2.9 Free Republican Party

Political and economical effects of 1929 Global Depression appeared in a short while in Turkey just as all other countries of the world. Newborn Republic, which had not reach the economic goals yet, had become much worse by ill effects of this crisis. As mentioned above, reactions of the people against Kemalist reforms which suddenly arose after the proclamation of Republic; quelling methods adopted by government

against those reactions and fact that the government could not reach real successes in social and economic areas, caused a widespread discontentedness of populace and this situation were being more common and apparent day after day (Koçak, 2013: 174). According to Karpat, the domination of Republican People's Party and the fact that some members of party carried interest from their office were contributing the increase of this discontentedness (Karpat, 2014c: 151).

By the adverse effects of 1929 Economic Depression and aforesaid discontentedness, a range of conflicts arose among the members of governor Republican People's Party and some members settled on forming a new party with the cooperation of former members of closed Progressive Republican Party. Ahmad says that this new party would function as a safety valve against the discontentedness of people and make the knockers of regime reveal (Ahmad, 2014: 76). Besides, just as Karpat mentioned, such a party which was about to be formed, could remove the discontentedness of people and urge the government to correct its mistakes and seek new ways to solve the worsening economical conditions (Karpat, 2014c: 151). Again, as Ahmad mentions, another effect of such a party was consider that it would increase the prestige of Turkey in environments of West, especially the Western economy platforms (Ahmad, 2014b: 206). Within that period, when the features of governing regime is taken in consideration, the initial condition to form an opposition party was the approval of Mustafa Kemal. According to Koçak, Mustafa Kemal thought that the economical and social problems of the state were caused by free manners of government in Assembly without any critic or restrain. In this context, it may have been considered that an opposition party would be profit. Critics and discussion platform by an opposition party in National Assembly would be so much useful for the government (Koçak, 2013: 147). As to Tunçay, he attracts notice to the effects of relations with foreign world in context of forming a new party. According to him, the motivation of regime for selling itself to the foreign world –of course it was Western world– and effects of 1929 Economic Depression even if indirectly, were the external factors of forming the new party (Tunçay, 2012: 247).

When the convenient conditions aforesaid have been occurred to form the party, Mustafa Kemal invited Fethi Bey to the country, who was ambassador of Paris in that time. Then, on 12nd August 1930, Free Republican Party was officially formed. It is meaningful that the party forming duty was imposed to Fethi Bey, when he provided controlled opposition role to the party and close relation between Fethi Bey and Mustafa Kemal are taken into the consideration. “The Party declared a manifest just after it was formed, under the title of *Law of Free Republican Party*. According to the manifest, the Party took the stand of Liberalism; demanding the taxes to be deducted, not to load widely only one generation with the charge of public works and railways etc., to permit the foreign investments, to take private enterprise as essential, universal direct suffrage and right to vote and stand for election for women. In the manifest, liberty was demanded for conscience, thought and labour; the necessity of controlling the managing organ was mentioned and the people was demanded to be able to vote and control their governors” (Koçak; 2013, 148). When it is considered within the political business cycles of that period, a party formed by such a manifest would be alternative for the government in a short while.

Aforesaid roles were given to the party which was formed at the request of Mustafa Kemal; however it was not considered that the new party would be an alternative for government. But, as Ahmad also mentions, the Kemalist staff was so disconnected with the people that, they thought the governors to be necessarily protected by the state when the opposition leaders criticised them. In fact, the people were alienated to the governors and thus the Free Party was welcome enthusiastically (Ahmad, 2014: 77). This response given to Free Party did not have ideological or religious references. The masses, who were so much discontented, showed favor to Free Party in the hope of a political alternative.

The favor of opposition party had been apparent first-time in a tour of Anatolia held by particular leaders of Free Party. There had been a serious participation to the organised open-air meetings. However, Free Party would hit the jackpot by the municipal elections. By the election which was performed in the shade of dubious whisperings, Free Party became a serious alternative for the government. Following this

development, a serious criticism wave occurred in the environment of People's Party. In the words of Tunçay, in a short while, the signs of achievement whetted the appetite of Free Party to be governor and this was the major factor which prepared the end of party (Tunçay, 2012: 272).

It was not an expected result of second attempt for multi-party system, for Free Party to be an alternative of government. From this point on, it would not be surprising for Free Party to enter into the process of being closed. However, unlike the previous attempt of multi-party system, the government did not close but Free Party extinguished itself. Aforesaid dubious claims of municipal elections were taken to the Assembly by an interpellation, however the government succeeded to win a vote of confidence against it. Following this development, Fethi Bey declared that he extinguished the party, by means of an application which he sent to the Home Office on 17th November 1930 (Tunçay, 2012: 274-75). While the closing process of the party was apparently like this, according to Ahmad, the virtual factor was the fact that Mustafa Kemal, being shaken by unexpected reaction of the people, dispersed his loyal opposition and finished the political experience of two-party system (Ahmad, 2014: 77).

2. 10 Last Step Towards the Kadro: Seeking the Color of Regime

In period of 1930s, the main discussion topic in context of the shape of regime was the loss of reputation by liberalism and democracy. The regime began a new quest since the liberal economy hit the wall in year of 1929. In that period, as Ahmad says, one-party regimes, especially the Blackshirt Italy, was an attractive alternative for the Kemalist regime. Besides, there was sympathy for Bolshevik regime with which close bonds were established during the National Struggle years (Ahmad, 2014: 79). In that period, the policy was based on corroborating the single-party government and maintaining the reforms of laicism-nationalism principles (Karpat, 2014c: 155). The end points of these efforts were monarchy of Republican People's Party and finally proclamation of single-party system in Turkey's politics in Party's congress of 1931 (Zürcher, 2010: 261). This development will be followed by a party-state union in later years.

Another important factor on the politics of 1930s was the experience derived by regime led by Mustafa Kemal, during the events of Free Party. The regime, by recognizing the grade of opposition against themselves, banned all independent social and cultural organisations and attempted to bring cultural and intellectual life under control as well as the politics; thus increased its influence (Zürcher, 2010: 267). The first victim of this political manner was Türk Ocakları organisation, the primary focus of nationalist ideology. The organisation was closed in April of 1931 and its all properties were transferred to the Republican People's Party, which have formed "Halkevleri". By the words of Ahmad, the aim of forming Halkevleri was to penetrate the masses living in cities and countryside in order to infuse Kemalist revolution into them (Ahmad, 2014b: 208). As to Tunçay, he indicates in this context that, the changeover from Türk Ocakları to Halkevleri was a very meaningful stage in process of grounding the single-party dominion in Republic of Turkey (Tunçay, 2012: 306).

After the experience of Free Party, by taking some precautions, the regime rang the changes in context of its ideology. When the global conjuncture of 1930s is taken into consideration, it can be said that the fascism seemed convenient for the ideological needs of Ankara. As also Ahmad says, "hatred to the class struggle which was negated by supposing harmful for the nationalist perspective and nationalism, was common for fascism and Kemalism. Besides, the fascism had been successful during a crisis period in Italy and thus it was an example for Turkey striving in its own crisis. The attraction of fascism was in practical and organisational area rather than the ideas; it was legitimating the primary role of the state governed by a single party. Kemalists were acting in this manner" (Ahmad, 2014: 80).

Third Grate Congress of Republican People's Party in May of 1931, was also an important milestone for the future shape of regime. In the congress, the party has accepted a manifest for its policy. Tunçay speaks as following, about the accepted manifest by party: First of all, this program approves the union of powers as a principle of constitution. Besides, this program accomplishes the principles supposed as basic principles of Republican People's Party and described as 6 arrows and attaches two new, Statism and Reformism principles to those which were accepted in Congress of

1927 (Koçak, 2013: 154). In circumstances of a single-party system, it is obvious that these principles exhibit the property of regime. The following period would be shaped by acts in the way of these principles. Finally, these principles would become constitutional principles in year of 1937.

A reassignment event occurred just before the Third Great Congress of Republican People's Party, is also worth-emphasizing in this period. Recep Peker, who was widely known for his rigoristic manner, was assigned as floor manager of the party, a short while before the congress. "Peker made an effort to corroborate the party in respect of organisation and doctrine, he endeavored to make it such a strong political institution that can control the state organisation and government" (Koçak, 2013: 154). In this context, when the decisions of congress and accession of Peker considered together, the point which state desires to reach can be understood more easily.

Kadro Journal would begin its broadcasting life in January of 1932, within such a period that the regime was in search of its identity.

PART II: BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF KADRO

It is important to be aware of the basic characteristics of Kadro Journal, in order to explain its points of view to particular issues properly. In this section, happenings occurred in the process of beginning broadcasting life, views of Kadro members to the political and economical issues, their ideological features and the factors of closing the journal will be embraced.

1. Process of Beginning the Broadcasting Life

As we mentioned in the previous section, political and social idea movements arise by depending to the historical happenings. The main factor caused Kadro Journal and Kadro Movement to arise is whole of economic, political and social happenings discussed in previous section. Specifically in literature, there are various approaches about the milestone of Kadro Journal's beginning its broadcasting life. In this section, we will inquire the process of its beginning broadcasting life and then we will embrace the basic characteristics of journal and movement. Finally, we will seek the process of closing the journal.

Although the Kadro Journal started to be published in year of 1932, its mental and intellectual infrastructure had started to be shaped since 1930. Yıldız says that two particular happenings occurred in 1930 have given Kadro movement a ground. The first of two is abandonment of liberalist policy in economic area and strengthening of statism, as a result of backfiring of Free Party experience. As to the second, it is the fact that the regime was seeking for a new way which could be seen clearly in nationwide tour of Mustafa Kemal (Yıldız, 2001: 105). This circumstance described by Yıldız, would be a convenient environment for the staff to speak and form the Kadro movement in later period. Especially after the experience of Free Party, the Kadro members would strive for being a fresh blood for the system.

We can mention the leagueing of the publisher staff together in Ankara, as the first step of springing process of Kadro Journal. The Kadro members and authors Şevket

Süreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tör, İsmail Hüsrev Tökin, Burhan Asaf Belge and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu settled in Ankara since various reasons. Among this staff, all men were Marxist-origin except Karaosmanoğlu. The aforesaid names who published journal started to make new friends in Ankara after settling. As Tekeli and İlkin say, they started a serious publishing action in order to make an appearance in this environment. This publishing action was occurring in Hâkimiyet-i Milliye journal which was the voice of the regime, and some other journals close to it (Tekeli ve İlkin, 2003:126).

The Society of National Economy and Savings which was formed to ease the harm of 1929 Economic Depression and encourage using of domestic goods, had been effective on leaguening of the Kadro authors. Türkeş says that this society was not a place in which the authors came together, but it was also make the way of participating to the Kemalist bureaucrat and well-read environments for Kadro authors (Türkeş, 1999: 67). Tekeli and İlkin indicate the “Reform and Cadre” titled conference of Şevket Süreyya Aydemir in Türk Ocağı General Center on 15th January 1931 as an event which strengthened their brotherhood and impelled them to publish a new journal (Tekeli ve İlkin, 2003: 129). Dirlikyapan says: “In the conference, Şevket Süreyya said that they must have not be sank into pessimism of Ankara’s environment, that the reforms had not been finished and all practical and mental elements were prepared; and that it was necessary to deepen these and collect in an ideal system in order to locate into the conscience of people” (Dirlikyapan, 2014: 54). As a matter of fact, by these words he was giving clues of the primary causes for journal to be published. They would put themselves in for this compilig work in an ideal system. As also Tekeli and İlkin claim, the publication idea of Kadro Journal was probably started to grow mature within the preparation process of “Reform and Cadre” conference (Tekeli ve İlkin, 2003: 142). However, one point is so much important, failed to be noticed by Tekeli and İlkin. Beforehand the conference of Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Burhan Asaf Belge had given a lecture in Türk Ocağı General Center under the title of “Our Reform and Youth Movements”. As also Yıldız expresses, Şevket Süreyya had pulled attention towards himself during this lecture which was the first platform of Kadro authors to present their

opinions open to the public, except their columns. Thus, Şevket Süreyya was demanded to give a lecture by himself (Yıldız, 2011: 107-109). So, it will not be a mistake to start the waygoing to Kadro Journal by the lecture of Burhan Asaf. Besides, another point to be mentioned is the fact that Aydemir had received support of Burhan Asaf and İsmail Hüsrev while preparing his text of lecture (Yıldız, 2010: 110). This is an important point which helps to us for comprehending the weight balance in movement.

The common grounds Kadro members had were also effective for them to get together. The first of these grounds can be said as a common ideological past of them, except Yakup Kadri. It is surprising to see that the authors had undergone similar changes in same period; while they had *been* educated in similar ways, influenced by similar men and shared the same fate within the Turkish political life. Besides to this, as another common ground of authors, the membership to the bureaucratic bourgeoisie can be mentioned (Türkeş, 2011: 464). According to Orhan, the primary factor which got Kadro members together was the fact that all of them had witnessed the dissolution of Ottoman Empire and exploitation of the imperialist states of that time. Thus, all of the authors were angry with the Western world (Orhan, 2009: 130).

Yakup Kadri played a crucial role in the period after the motivation of publication and finally the decision to publish the journal. As Türkeş mentions, there were three important conditions to be provide for publishing a journal in that period: An official editor-in-chief, approval of Mustafa Kemal and somewhat money (Türkeş, 1999: 92). At this point, Yakup Kadri both became owner of the journal and took the approval of Mustafa Kemal. In fact, Yakup Kadri was the figure which established close contact of journal with the regime. When the conjuncture of period of beginning the broadcasting took into consideration, it will be understood that the primary condition for journal to be published and maintain was gaining the acceptance of Mustafa Kemal and RPP environment (Sunar, 2004: 511). He who succeeded it was Yakup Kadri. He who made the way of Yakup Kadri, playing a crucial role in beginning process of the journal, to be a member of group was Burhan Belge (Yıldız, 2010: 11). At this point, determination of Türkeş is very meaningful. As we have strived to say, Kadro members got in touch with the regime by means of Yakup Kadri. However, Türkeş claims that,

Atatürk was purposing to keep the journal under control by means of Yakup Kadri (Türkeş, 1999: 94). After all conditions had been met, the journal began its broadcasting life by the first issue published in January of 1932.

2. Basic Characteristics of Kadro

Essentially, the basic features of the Kadro Journal can be understood by the reactions of Kadro members against political and economical happenings. Their perspective of political movements and economical views of that period will help us to draw a general framework of Kadro authors' ideological inclinations.

2.1 Kadro's of Understanding Politics

It is important to determine the basic features of the political aspect of journal in order to draw a general framework in context of our next discussions. From the point of this view, when the analysis of Kadro members is observed, we can see that they made their analysis about political issues on an economical basis. Besides to this, as Yıldız mentions, the essential starting points of movement were: "Individuality of Turkey, anti-liberalism, originality of reform, power of attorney and nationalism" (Yıldız, 2011: 122). Also the concepts of statism, elitism and national independence were main themes for Kadro members (Sunar, 2004: 515). Another essential feature which could be seen in very dominantly in analysis of Kadro members was, as Türkeş dedetermined, the consider that all exploitees would gain independence and that process would subvert the capitalism (Türkeş, 1999: 105). As to Dirlikyapan, he states that the Kadroist political view was established on the basis of anti-liberalism and anti-Euro-centrism themes (Dirlikyapan, 2014: 59). Another fact which gave Kadro authors the ground of make their discussions was the consideration that the economical independence needed to be gained just after the political indepençe; otherwise the political indepençe would count for nothing by itself (Türkeş, 1999, 106). As to Karpat, he states that the political aspect of Kadro was a superficial compilation of nationalism, Marxism and corporatism; and then characterises it as apocrypha and artificial (Karpat, 2014c: 156-158).

2.1.1 Kadro and Ideology

The concept of “ideology” had been in the center location of Kadro Movement both during its rising process and broadcasting life. Among the movement, we confront the importance of ideology in two different ways. One is the own ideology of movement in context of the ideas it defended; and second is an effort of producing ideology for Kemalist government. As Tekeli and İlkin states, such a movement that has a strong claim to produce ideology for the regime, has to have an elucidated and in some way completed ideology at first; also has to have a determined standing in context of domestic and foreign happenings (Tekeli ve İlkin, 2003: 486). Therefore the Kadro movement had presented its ideology at first; then it started the effort of producing ideology for regime.

The question of what the ideology of Kadro movement was, can not be responded at one swoop. Both the political environment and period in which the Kadro movement arose, and the personal backgrounds of its supporters, make the response of this question more complicated. According to Orhan, the most refined definition to represent the Kadro’s ideology is: “Attempting to impose an ideal movement which is suitable for the socio-political grounds of a new development ideology, which would be improved by looking at Soviet experience and the conditions of Turkey within that period” (Orhan, 2009: 131). As in this interpretation, it is possible to evaluate the ideology of Kadro from the point of view of seeking a development way. One of the most crucial questions which Kadro members seeked response for is the question of how to actualize the development. One of the most effective factors on their worldview was the response of each one for this question.

For the question about the ideology of Kadro, one of the answers is that the movement had a “nationalist leftist” inclination. For this definition made by Türkeş, the supporter facts are assumed to be that the movement tried to settle nationalism into the historical materialism, it was impressed by Lenin in respect of thoughts about imperialism, it defended positivist modernism and thought that the state had to keep bourgeoisie under control (Türkeş, 2011: 470). When the movement of Kadro is read

from the point of this ideological definition, it will be seen that this movement have impressed many other movements which arose after itself and have been effecting the history to date.

According to another interpretation about the mentality which was appropriated by Kadro; the primary thought lied behind this movement was the belief that economical development hat do be actualized in order to reach total independence and it could be succeeded by an efficient state intervention at all costs. In addition to this interpretation of Karpaz, it is mentioned that Kadro was anti-traditionalist and on the line of materialism and laicism (Karpaz, 2014: 36). As mentioned above, one of the most distinct issues which the journal embraced was econimical development. When we take into consideration that the Kadro authors had a view of economy-centred reading in respect of global happenings, it becomes clear why the economical development issue had an essential position in their ideology. Thus, they were denying all traditional institutions and appropriating a laicist development line, in accordance with the modernization methods of Kemalist regime.

Kadro movement mentioned that an ideology was necessary to be produced for the revolution, just after clarifying its ideology and stating that the Turkish revolution did not have an ideology. As Yıldız mentions, according to the Kadro members, Turkey was in a reform period and the reforms had not been finished yet. The first thing needed to be done was making the ideology of reform, deepening it and reaching to a theory (Yıldız, 2010: 118). As a result of elitism of the movement, this ideology must have been produced by an enlightened “cadre”. It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the basic motivation of the rising of this movement was goal of producing an ideology for regime and revolution. As also Akkaya mentions, the aim of rising this movement was to determine the ideology and principles of change and alternation which occurred by the proclamation of Republic. According to Kadro members, continuity and permanency of the revolution was based on this fact (Akkaya, 2002: 212). As Sunar mentions, the root cause of fact that the Kadro members assumed this mission of producing an ideology was their belief that it would be mistake to expect the mission of producing ideology for revolution from themselves who revolutionized (Sunar, 2004:

515). What is more, Kadro members, as also Kayalı mentions, were of opinion that the society which was a goal of new Turkey would be built by an elite cadre. The mentality of ‘For the sake of people, in spite of people’ was key concept of Kadro. The essential thought was that an enlightened cadre would make people weather the storm (Kayalı, 2014: 17).

As stated at the outset, one of the essential discourses of Kadro Journal when beginning its broadcasting was the thought that reforms had not finished yet. At this point, the Kadro staff mentioned as a deficiency that the reform must have been deepened around an ideology and reach to a theory. As also Yıldız states, in the most general sense, the name of this ideology was “movement of national independence” (Yıldız, 2011: 119). This ideology would be the ideology of RPP at the same time; because RPP was devoid of a view which could be supposed as an ideology as well (Bostancı, 1990: 19). This designation of Kadro members and then another designation that the reform ideology could be made by only a group of enlightened men, were so much important in respect of gaining legitimacy for their existence (Tekeli ve İlkin; 2003, 497). As a matter of fact, the Kadro members were legitimating themselves by mentioning that the procedure of changes and alternations would be determined by the revolutionist leaders, however the mission of explaining and interpreting these changes and alternations was a mission of “enlightened group of reform” (Bostancı, 1990: 17).

It is a crucial point why the Kadro authors assiduously mentioned the importance of producing an ideology. The essential reason of this manner is a thought that the Turkish revolution would be a model for other third world countries and colonial regions. According to the Kadro members, Turkish revolution was a vanguard movement. This is because “Kadro members considered the way and methodology of Turkish revolution as a potential guidance for all future revolutions opposed to the imperialist/capitalist world order” (Sunar, 2004, 519). At this point, we have to emphasize that the Kadro members did not evaluate this exemplifying of Turkish revolution, which they called as a pioneer revolution, as a revolution exporting action of

Turkey. According to them, this exemplifying would actualize by itself within the natural course of history (Sunar; 2004: 523).

2.1.2 Kadro and Marxism

It is necessary to overemphasise the Kadro's relation to Marxism since the fact that all authors were Marxist-origin except Yakup Kadri. Both within the beginning period of journal to its broadcasting life and within the period from its closure to date, Kadro Journal have been "accused" by being Marxist. Although they had stayed out of the Marxism, they could never get rid of this accusation.

Kadro members, within their interpretations about Marxism, said that it was a thinking system arose and grew in European conditions. According to them, Marxism was a commixture of German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism (Bostancı, 1990: 128). From the point of this view, they claimed that the Marxism was not convenient for Turkey. Besides to this, Kadro members said that the Marxism made its analysis going for the class-centred organised societies but in Turkey there were not such classes, thus Marxism was not a suitable ideology for Turkey. Mentioning that there were not classes in Turkey and the Turkish revolution was not a class revolution, they had got any contradiction with classless, nonprivileged and coherent society ideal of Kemalism; while they were preparing a substructure for it, according to the mention of Yanardağ (Yanardağ, 2012: 132). Thereby, by denying any class discrimination in Turkey, the Kadro movement both distinguished itself from Marxism and remained in accordance with the Kemalist government.

The essential point, which distinguished Kadro Movement from the Marxist ideology, was behind their view of "contradiction" concept. As it is well known, Marxist ideology considers the essential global contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Accordingly, all problems will be solved when this class contradiction is removed. As to the Kadro Movement, they said that the essential contradiction was not this but the one between developed industrial countries and underdeveloped non-industrial countries, which caused the global injustice. According to them, industrial countries brought to their "homelands" much value by means of colonialism. Since the

proletariate of homeland took its hush money from this plus value, it did not object to the system (Akşin, 2010: 214). Şevket Süreyya Aydemir explains the issue like following:

“... First of all, in our opinion, the economic dependence between industrial countries and non-industrial countries has to be removed in order to solve this huge contradiction. In other words, it is a necessity to change the economic division of labour of today on the world. It is a necessity to allocate big factors of production, namely industry and transport factors on the world once again and more rationally” (Aydemir, 2011: 43).

As is seen, the Kadro members considered the first contradiction to be solved as the one between industrial countries and those which were deprived of production factors. This contradiction attracts the attention as one of the dominant themes in articles of Burhan Belge as well. In addition to this, Belge was saying that the essential critic issue was Euro-centrism (Yıldız, 2010: 124). This reading way was appropriated partly because of the fact of imperialism. The Kadro members thought that the factor of this contradiction was colonialism and first of all it was to be removed. The primary way to remove this contradiction was movements of national independence. As also Yıldız mentions, according to the Kadro members, the main source of national independence movements was the exploiting action on technically underdeveloped countries since the injustice of allocation (Yıldız, 2011: 119). Also at this point, we must mention that the Kadro Movement made reference to the Turkish revolution and Kemalism as a model, by uttering the national independence movement (Akşin, 2010: 214).

2.1.3 Kadro and Fascism

Kadro Movement exhibits a position to be distinguishing itself from fascism as well as from Marxism. There were some politic cyclial motivations of this manner, as well as the ideological and philosophical motivations. As also Türkeş determines, it is possible to see a serious relation between the fact that Kadro sided against fascism and the one that Kemalist regime started to regard Mussolini as a threat (Türkeş, 1999: 127).

The primary reason of the objection by Kadro against fascism was the imperialist aspect of it. It is impossible for Kadro members to sympathise any imperialist movement, since they were mentally against the fascism and also the foreign policy of Kemalist regime was denying imperialism. They were looking for the imperialism in the basis of fascism. The definition of Burhan Belge while talking on fascism is a synoptic statement for the Kadro's consider of this issue. Belge defined the aim of fascism as following: "Primary aim of fascism is passing to an authoritarian and systematic imperialism; also to evaluate and administrate the colony markets just as farmsteads" (Yıldız, transmitting from Belge, 2010: 119). As is seen from this definition, the Kadro members considered fascism as a climax of the imperialist intentions. As also Bostancı stated, Kadro members were frequently mentioning the imperialist aspect of fascism in order to distinguish national independence movements from it (Bostancı, 1990: 133).

Another example to the fact that Kadro members distinguished themselves from fascism is their reaction against an article published in the journal of *Politika ve Edebiyat*. In this journal which was broadcasting in a view of Italian fascism, an article was uttering national independence movement of Turkey in the words of "a fascism in its childhood" (Bostancı, 1990: 133). Burhan Belge was objecting to this metaphor in 8th issue of journal and explains the distinctions between fascism and Turkish revolution lengthily.³ According to Belge, Turkish reform was not only a matter of Westernization and it was not an imitation of any other ideologies (Yıldız, 2010: 127). Kadro movement would be extinguished with its own hand in case of any assent of such a metaphor. Although nevertheless they had some similar aspects with fascism, the aim of their emergence was improving a "Third Way" to be a model for whole world, different from Marxism and Fascism. Therefore, the Kadro authors harped that they were far apart from all thought movements of the Western world. This proclamation mission was mostly Burhan Belge's part.

³ For Burhan Belge's analysis of the distinction between fascism and Turkish Revolution, see: Yıldız, 2010: 128.

It will be profit to emphasize the similarities between Kadro and fascism as well. At this point, the first feature comes into our mind is, as Yanardağ transmits, an authoritarian and monolithic state and society model which has a descending order (Yanardağ, 2012: 146). Besides to this, between two, there are some common traits more in context of view of democracy, which we will embrace in following sections. Their consider that the people is ignorant about the “good” for itself is common. As also Bostancı mentions, the pioneer cadre view of fascism is also similar to the Kadro’s understanding of “avantgarde” (Bostancı; 1990: 140). Besides to this, there are some methodological similarities between Kadro and fascism. As Türkeş mentions, both movements appropriate an authoritarian approach and considers the society as an organic structure. At this point, Türkeş emphasizes one more point which is very important: Within the circumstance of 1930s, it was an inevitable fact that the authoritarian regimes were in demand; however, the difference of Kadro was that it accepted authoritarianism in principle as well (Türkeş, 1999: 129).

As is seen, Kadro Movement had a denying approach for both Marxism and fascism, although nevertheless it had some common traits with both of them. This approach became visible in expressions of Burhan Belge. He, in order to define the reform, says: “Our reform is unique with its sacred characteristics, a first in the world and an authentic birth. The mainstay of this reform is national independence and its necessity.” By these words, he emphasizes the authenticity (Yıldız, 2010: 108). At this point, the first thing to be done in Turkey is to find an original “Third Way” by hanging though on planned economy (Dirlikyapan, 2014: 60). They were aiming at giving a ground for establishing a national economy free from both Russian system and Western capitalism (Hilav, 2013: 409). This understanding is abstracted within the expressions of Burhan Belge: “Turkish reform is neither fascism of Italians nor the communism of Russians. Turkish reform is shouting the ‘independent and free people’ concept by its all social, economical and political aspects from the rooftops, while the imperialism is strifing itself without being freed of depression.” (Yıldız, transmitting from Belge, 2010: 112).

2.1.4 Kadro and Democracy

It is not so hard to guess the view of Kadro Movement in context of democracy, when their aforesaid characteristics are taken into consideration. The movement was standing against the democracy since various motives. There are some facts behind this objection like anti-Westernism, inability of democracy as a system, the fact that it was not convenient for that period and the Kadro members have read it in a capitalism-centred way.

First of all, Kadro members considered democracy as an outmoded system. According to them, democracy was such a system that designed for economical and political cycles of 19th century and it was valid only within that period. However, in 20th century, the relation types of previous century lost their validity. As Bostancı mentions, Kadro members thought that the democracy was declining even in Europe and giving place to some other regimes (Bostancı, 1990: 92-93). They have used this fact as an evidence for their claim that the democracy lost its function. In the words of Aydemir; “The classical democracy as is, has given to the Western world whatever it could, by all its main principles and institutes. As to the countries of non-Western world, it convenants nothing. It is now a system which have losen its vitality and fluency in the face of new flows of life” (Aydemir, 2011: 145). Thus, it counts for nothing for Turkey to chase an ideal like democracy. In addition to this, another argument of Kadro members to demonstrate that Turkey must have not chase democracy ideal, as Akkaya mentions, was the belief that democracy had been a Western-focus culture which was developed by longtime evolutions (Akkaya, 2002: 215). Kadro members were emphasizing a huge distinction between the political cultures of Turkey and Europe and concluding that a functional system of that world would not count for anything in this land. This fact can be seen more clearly by the expressions of Burhan Belge in which he criticized Western consideration of liberalist intellectuals: “They go and rummage the cabinet of West and say ‘That’s the truth, we found the cure!’; however they forget that the Western world could achieve this miracle within a century and a half” (Yıldız, transmitting from Belge, 2010: 114). As is seen, Kadro members were of the opinion that the democracy was not a template suitable for any gate.

Another theme to show the opinion of Kadro members about democracy is the discussions around individual and his liberty. The Kadro members accord a restricted property right and realm of liberty for the individuals (Karpaz, 2014c: 157). Because in the Kadro's understanding, as Yıldız mentions, the reformist regime has to be authoritarian and disciplined. Again, according to this understanding, the nation precedes the individual. According to them, individual liberties play second fiddle of the social liberty and it depends on the liberty of society for individual to be free (Yıldız, 2011: 119). As to Kayalı, he evaluates the relation of Kadro to the democracy on basis of their elitist approach. According to him, "of necessity, change of traditionalist people by means of reformist intellectual is never related to the democracy" (Kayalı, 2014: 17).

As is seen, the individual is in an accidental position in face of society, in opinion of Kadro members. As it can be seen in the analysis of Tekeli and İlkin on opera of Kadro authors, they have ever used the concepts of "individualism" and "individual enterprise" in a negative context (Tekeli ve İlkin, 2003: 509). Kadro members had an opinion that the interest of individual was against the interest of society in the democratical order. Therefore, any intellection which lays mass weight on the individual is neither an aim nor a thesis of "Turkish Reformist Order" (Akkaya, 2002: 214). When it is thought that one of the essential characteristics of democratic system is individual and his liberties, it can be seen that the Kadro's view and democracy view were diametrically opposed.

The Kadro members had an opposite opinion to the capitalism, which they had read in relation with imperialism. As Bostancı mentions, they considered democracy as a political sheath of capitalism (Bostancı, 1990: 93). In other words, democracy was the political ideology of capitalism in their opinion (Sunar, 2004: 520). Bostancı says following words about the issue: "As is understood, Kadro members considered democracy as a political regime which gains its meaning in capitalist relations. Therefore, Turkey, having been actualized a national independence movement, could appropriate neither capitalism, nor democracy as a political governing system of the

former” (Bostancı; 1990: 93). Because the individuals would look out for number one and finally it would be impossible to improve a national economy.

As we expressed above, Kadro members were standing against the democracy. Their manner which considers democracy as harmful, took side with an authoritarian and disciplined regime. As Yanardağ mentions, in this opinion, the state must be able to resort to force against individuals if required, in order to maintain the principles of reform. In this circumstance, using of the force is legitimate in front of the history (Yanardağ, 2012: 146). Orhan reads the fact that Kadro Movement legitimated using force and denied the ideal of democracy in relation with the fact that within the circumstance of that period democracy was not in fashion. According to him, it will be an anachronical illusion to accuse Kadro Movement and Kemalists for not having any democracy ideals within the world of 1930s (Orhan, 2009: 123).

2.2 Economical View of Kadro Movement

In order to state the economical view of Kadro members, it will be meaningful to work through the issues of national economy, statism, planning and industrialization. These concepts which were so much important and widely discussed within the broadcasting period of the journal, also contains the codes of economical view of Kadro members.

2.2.1 National Economy for Kadro

The idea of necessity of a real national economy was considered by Kadro as a complement of the gaining political independence. Because the political independence by itself would count for nothing in a state which could not gain its economical independence. Besides to this, the idea of national economy was being read in context of imperialism as well. Kadro members thought that building its own economy for a country is one of the ways to resist against the imperialism. New Turkey had gained its national independence by fighting a national independence struggle. However, the supporters of Kadro had opinion that it was necessary to gain also the economical independence to complete this independence process, as we mentioned above. As

Yanardağ states, Kadro members considered the building national economy and getting rid of exploitee economy as the most important duty of Turkish Revolution. According to them, Turkey, being a model for other countries by its national independence struggle, must have created an economical regime in accordance with the characteristics of revolution and thus become the leader of economical independence as well (Yanardağ, 2012: 144). As long as it was not accomplished, there would have always been a risk to lose also the political independence. Because the opinion of Kadro Movement had a background in which there was a belief that the economical relations were essential factors to determine the politics. Within the scope of this view which can be summarised as economy determines the politics, they were prescribing a new economical system.

The supporters of Kadro had read the necessity of building a national economy in context of imperialism-capitalism. As Türkeş mentions, Kadro members thought that the development of capitalism was depending on its colonial policy (Türkeş, 1999: 124). In this system of thought, Europe's wealth and level of welfare was being evaluated through the plus value derived from the colonies. Kadro staff thought that the only way of resisting this system was building a national economy; according to them, the colonial system was enrichment of the Western countries fixedly with the making of some countries no progress.

In order to build a national economy, Kadro members denied all values of liberalism and capitalism, bringing the economical aspects of liberalism into the forefront and negating them. As Yıldız transmitts, in opinion of Burhan Belge, liberalism was a system invented by some countries, particularly England, in order to conquer the world (Yıldız, 2011: 115). The Kadro members, who believed that Turkey had to remain outside of this system, uttered that the aim of Turkish Revolution was finding a new development method except the capitalism. As Türkeş mentions, they suggested forming banks under control of state, contributing the capital stock by means of finance and budget policies, and etc. (Türkeş, 1999: 180).

Another aspect of Kadro members' demand of forming a national economy is their opposition to the foreign capital. Kadro Movement was standing against the establishing economy of state on the basis of foreign capital. As Türkeş states, there was the belief that foreign capital would look out for itself, under the skin of this opposition. Besides to this, they stood against the foreign capital not because the feature of circumstances of that period, but entirely ideologically (Türkeş, 1999: 181). As for Bostancı, he mentions that there was "capitulation trouble" of past under the skin of this opposition; thus the Kadro staff, who experienced the period of Public Debts, inevitably embraced the economical issues in context of independence matter (Bostancı; 1990: 69). For this reason, economy had to depend on national and domestic sources.

2.2.2 Kadro and Statism

The supporters of Kadro made state the very centerpiece of their economical view as well as the political view. When studying the Kadro's understanding, it is important to define its statism in respect of comprehending general ideology of movement. Since majority of authors had crystalized their point of view on the issue of statism, we can reach the general codes of their ideology from the point of their considering on this issue.

The most distinct aspect of Kadro Movement's statism is, as Orhan mentioned, its strong emphasis on nation and national unity concepts (Orhan, 2009: 135). Within the scope of this understanding, the Kadro's statism does not content only the economical issues. "Kadro members attribute a negative meaning to the individual and individualism not only in context of economy, but also of society" (Sunar; 2004, 521). Bostancı mentions that the statism view of Kadro members was explained throught the "nationalist" concept by themselves. In this context, their statist view amounts to protecting the national independence against external powers, spreading the national economy to the base in a body, improving it in accordance with the national interests and increasing the national income (Bostancı, 1990: 66).

As we mentioned within the previous sections, the Kadro members did not find the statism manner of İnönü group sufficient. From the point of Kadro's view, the

margins of statism are far wider than it. In the world of 1930s, as Orhan stated, there were two inclinations at the point of statism. The first was a pragmatist approach which did not assign an ideological meaning to the statism; while the second was considering statism as an alternative of socialism and capitalism, so was ascribing an ideological meaning to it (Orhan, 2009: 135). Among these two approaches, the one which was appropriated by Kadro was coinciding with the second one. Because for the Kadro members the statism had some meaning beyond handling the economy under the circumstance of that time; statism was not an instrument, it was the goal in itself. As Akkaya mentions, the statism did not mean protectionism of the state for Kadro; it was an understanding which addressed to all zones of the society. The statism was not remaining limited by economy, it was penetrating into all areas of social life and the state was planner in every respect (Akkaya, 2002: 216-217). Kadro staff demanded the state to design culture as well as the economy and politics (Sunar, 2004: 520). Before being included by RPP manifest as a principle, the “Statism” was uttered by Burhan Belge in words of “actual manager” and “actual economist” and these expressions are synoptic for the view of Kadro members about statism (Yıldız, 2010: 106). The enterprises in question could exist in all areas of social life and expresses an open-ended approach. As Yıldız mentioned, according to Kadro’s view Turkish reform was statist in every respects and it was the only way of development (Yıldız, 2011: 120).

As to another aspect of Kadro’s statism consider, it was opposition to the individualism and private enterprise. According to Kadro, the economy had to be administrated by state. Also the other important areas of industrialization and economy had to be under control of state. Just as the statism, this opposition to the private sector was also not because of pragmatism, but ideological. As Türkeş states, Kadro’s opinion was of the fact that the private sector would make political demands on the state in case of a growing up. Thus the private sector must have been able to invest only in the areas assigned by state and under the control of it (Türkeş, 2011: 474). As is understood, the statism idea of Kadro denied private sector to be able to invest in the areas which state could not reach. Because of this reason, Bostancı says that the Kadro’s statism did not have the meaning of protectionism, interventionism or

progovernmentalism; but constructiveness, creativity and a state which is directly entrepreneur (Bostancı, 1990: 67). At this point, we must not conclude that the Kadro's opinion was of the fact that all agents of production had to be kept by state. The Kadro members, who gave a central position to the state, did not deny the private sector entirely. As Yıldız mentions, "within this statism the private sector also must exist, but it must be in the areas determined by state and carry on its business under the control of state" (Yıldız, 2011: 120). We have stated that the opposition of Kadro to the private sector was not because of pragmatical reasons, but only ideological. Akkaya evaluates this opposition of Kadro members through the relation between the private entrepreneurs and their financier state and then mentions that this is the very point which was objected by Kadro (Akkaya, 2002: 218). According to Kadro, the financially supporting the private sector within the period up to 1929 Depression by decisions of İzmir Congress of Economy was a faulty policy.

Another evidence given by Kadro members for their statism view is the claims that Turkey necessarily had to pursue a statist policy. As Bostancı states, according to the Kadro members there were two essential ways for stocking the capital. The first was bringing plus value from underdeveloped countries to the homeland by means of colonialism, and the second was stocking the capital by establishing strong commercial organisations. As for Turkey, when its revolution and national independence struggle were taken into consideration, was not a country expected to be a colonialist. However, it had neither qualify employee neither the capital to establish strong commercial organisations (Bostancı, 1990: 50). For Turkey, which could not attempt any of these two ways, the only alternative was a statist policy. The fact that there was not any stocked capital in Turkey to establish strong commercial organisations was interpreted by Kadro as there was not also a class conflict. As Lewis mentions, Kadro thought that it was a duty of state to keep capital stocking processes under control and thus hinder any conflict between the classes. Again, this understanding considered Turkish revolution as a part of global way for gaining independence from capitalism and imperialism; and claimed that the state, as effective governor of all economic and social issues, had to create an advanced technology and developed economy (Lewis, 1991:

464). Besides to this, the state was not responsible for only building an internal capital stock and national economy, but at the same time, it was responsible for controlling the external trade as a part of this process. According to the Kadro members, the government had to even decide that which goods would be import and not (Türkeş, 1999: 179).

2.2.3 Kadro and Planning

For the Kadro members, another matter which was as important as statism was planning. It would not be an exaggeration to claim that Kadro considered the succession of planning as a way to the succession of the statist policy. Moreover, as Orhan states, there was a thought dominating Kadro's world of idea that the foundations of global capitalist system would be shaken in case of that the planning was successfully done (Orhan, 2009: 138). Therefore, the Kadro members were defending the planning idea harshly both in issues of social life and economy.

The Kadro members did not use only the argument of succession of statist policy while they were grounding the need of planning. According to them, a well-done planning would remove all contradictions of the social life. As Tekeli and İlkin mention about Şevket Süreyya, the Kadro members were reading the need of plan around the quick technological developments and they said that there would be a chaos when these technological developments were set free. Thus, the reforms of post-war period and removal of the social contradictions were supposed to be successful by a planned controlling mechanism (Tekeli ve İlkin, 2003: 186). As is seen, the Kadro members who prescribed an organical and monolithic society were considering the concept of plan as an efficient method in order to reach this society model. This approach, which thinks the social change and alternations were dangerous when they advanced in their own course, is an utterance that the change had to be governed by a superior mind. Therefore, the state would have also the warrant of doing a social engineering since it was granted the power of planning the social life in addition to the economic one.

As we mentioned above, the Kadro members were thinking the planning issue majorly around the politics of statism. Within this scope, the main cause of that they

cared about the planning issue so much was, as Bostancı mentions, its importance in respect of the perpetuity of economic and political independence. According to them, the economic and political life necessarily would be rebuilt delicately and carefully, so that the state would not become an exploitee again. The only way to achieve this, within the circumstance of that time, was an authoritarian state. Consequently, the plannerism and statism were two interwoven and complementary element in view of the Kadro Movement (Bostancı, 1990: 82). They believed that the state needed some governments pursuing a statist policy in order to achieve the planning; and it needed a strong planning in order to achieve the statist policy. Within this scope, the Kadro members who stood against a plan on the basis of only sectors mentioned that the planning was needed for all layers of the society (Orhan, 2009: 138). In the analysis they made on the structure of economy, they said that also the agricultural sector, which had a special meaning for Kadro, had also to be controlled by state in the scope of planning (Yıldız, 2011: 120).

2.2.4 Kadro and Industrialization

The approach of Kadro members about industrialization is similar to their approaches about the issues of statism and planning. First of all, it must be said that they were reading the issue of industrialization in parallel of the view of statist politics. Also the national independence and freedom concepts, as two keystones of their world-view, were efficient on the development of their perspective of industrialization.

As Bostancı mentions, the Kadro members emphasized three way of industrialization in sum: Capitalist industrialization, communist industrialization and statist industrialization (Bostancı, 1990: 52). The Kadro Movement, which stood against communist and capitalist industrialization methods since the reasons aforesaid, claimed that the ideal industrialization way for Turkey was statist one. At this point, Kadro Movement has a special meaning in context of Turkey's industrialization plans prepared after 1929 Depression. As Türkeş mentions, they offered various suggestions about the prepared plans and tried to draw a framework for them (Türkeş, 1999: 183).

It will be profit to discuss about the importance of industrialization matter in opinion of Kadro members. Since they cared so much about the industry issue within their thinking system, we can find the reasons of this importance of industry in their world-view. First of all, Kadro authors supposed that the essential global contradiction was between the industrialized and non-industrialized countries. The concept of industry was so important that it could be the primary source of global contradiction. They were suggesting a new allocation of the industry possibilities in order to remove this contradiction. According to them, ending of exploitation system was depending on having own national industry of the underdeveloped countries. Thus, in the Kadro's opinion the industry was not only about the economic development, but it was an ideological matter in itself. Bostancı mentions that the Kadro members used to response the question of why Turkey had to be industrialized in some way that Turkey had to be both independent and an example for the other underdeveloped countries (Bostancı, 1990: 48).

The vision of Kadro Movement about the method of industrialization took its shape around their ideological framework. As we mentioned above, they were on the side of thought that the industrialization had to be actualized by favour of the state. Bostancı mentions following words about the industrialization method which was defended by Kadro Movement: "The way to pursue for establishing the industry which would be essential power of the development of new Turkey, could not be from micro industry to macro industry as seen in its own development course of the Western world. First of all, there had to be established macro industry which was described as factories producing factories; and afterwards the micro industry would be established in a way that it could be integrated with the macro one. The only power which was able to establish macro industry was state in circumstance of that time" (Bostancı, 1990: 47). The Kadro members, who were distinguishing themselves from the Western world in context of industrialization as well, were continuing to refer to the genuine condition of Turkey as well as all other issues, as a subtext. As a matter of fact, the genuine conditions of Turkey made an original and unprecedented ideology necessary. This was the very thing which Kadro members attempted to success.

3. Closure of Kadro Journal

Kadro Journal, of which basic features were spoken above, published its last issue in year of 1935 and finished the broadcasting life. Although there was not an official closure decision about the journal, it was obvious that the regime closed it. There were two essential motivation of the closure: First was the reaction of private sector, and the second was some displeasure occurred in Republican People's Party.

It is obvious that the radical statist policy which was defended by Kadro Journal caused a tension between the Kadro members and private sector agents. The industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, which was newly growing up and strengthening by support of regime, was suddenly faced with a movement which claimed that the production means must have been granted to the state. As Türkeş mentions, the criticisms by Kadro about the financial relation of the private enterprises, which were being grown by state to the government made Kadro Journal get a lot of stick in a short while (Türkeş, 2011: 464). As to Bostancı, he mentions the cause of pressure and finally closure of journal was the fact that their state vision was keeping the orbit of state so much wide. The private sector, in this context, considered the Kadro and its ideology as an enormous danger for themselves and wielded their political influence in order to prevent the publication of journal (Bostancı, 1990: 150). Within the conjuncture of that day, the severest reaction against Kadro was that of İş Bankası group led by Celal Bayar, as a representative agent of the private sector.

As we mentioned in the previous sections, Kadro Journal undertook the mission of producing ideology for the reformist state and this mission was the primary dynamics of their dawn. However some reactions came to light in Republican People's Party, against the desire of the journal to produce ideology for the system which had been expressed itself by RPP. One of the most reactive men was Party's secretary-general, Recep Peker. According to Tekeli and İlkin, Peker had been discontented of the journal since its first issue was published. It was nonsense for him that the Kadro members were undertaking the politically guiding mission of the Party and he thought that the true man to undertake this mission was himself (Tekeli and İlkin, 2003: 420). According

to Yanardağ, “Recep Peker considered the deeds of Kadro supports as a priggism. Kadro was attempting to steal the role of him and his group” (Yanardağ, 2012: 154). Peker, supposing the journal as an attempted entry to his own orbit, did not strike an attitude to attack to the journal directly. Rather, as Tekeli and İlkin mentions, he preferred to defend himself by transmitting the issue to Mustafa Kemal’s dinner table as a complaint matter. Those complaints were very efficient for rising an inclination for closure process of Kadro (Tekeli and İlkin, 2003: 420). As to the journal of Ülkü, published by elites of Republican People’s Party, became the final stage of the breaking between Peker and Kadro members. As Sunar mentions, a principle like “the ideology of revolution can be made by only the party of it” was born in that time (Sunar, 2004: 515). Kadro, which could not dare to take RPP on, silently accepted to be closed (Türkeş, 2011: 159). As a more important factor of this acquiescence beyond the political pressure of RPP elites, the National Chief kept silent (Sunar, 2004: 511). According to the Kadro members, his silence was an approval for the closure of journal.

The effects of Kadro Journal, which published the last issue in year of 1935 and finished the broadcasting life, have not been limited to the period of its publication, but survived until today. As Yanardağ mentions, “the fact of Kadro partiality is still being defended by a particular part of society, although nevertheless they do not utter” (Yanardağ, 2012: 79). As is understood, the ideas kept by Kadro members were not valid for only that time and then evanescent. They effected following idea movements deeply, by their methodology as well as the ideological inclinations. Thus Kadro Movement has put its stamp on the history of Turkish intellectual environment (Bostancı, 1990: 150).

PART III: WESTERN WORLD IN OPINION OF KADRO

In this part of our research, we will analyze the perspective of Kadro Movement on Western world. In this way, the articles published in Kadro Journal about Western world will be studied. Within the scope of this study, we have stated thirty six pieces of articles written by various authors in various issues of the journal. When these articles are observed, it is understood that the vision of journal about Western world was shaped in context of political, economic, social and cultural matters. Thus, we stated the subtitles of this section in same way. When it is taken into consideration that the global conjuncture of journal's broadcasting period was containing the discussions on the issues of these subtitles, it is impossible to suppose the Kadro members who pretended to produce an ideology for the newborn regime, to be indifferent about those issues. It can be said as another reason of the crowd of articles about the Western world that the Westernization debates were a determining factor of final period in Ottoman Empire. It is not an exaggeration that the situation of newborn Republic would be determined by its situation in context of the Western world.

1. Vision of Western World in its Political Aspects

The opinion of Kadro Journal about the European politics was shaped by effects of various themes. In this section, we will do a framework about the political opinion of Kadro about Europe; and then we will analyze their vision of westernization under their themes of national aspect against Europe, anti-Euro-centrism, exploitee-imperialism, democracy and fascism.

The first feature of the analysis of Kadro authors on Western world is the thesis that the system in Europe was being destructed. According to Kadro, the order of Europe, which had determined the global politics for several years, was declining. Vedat Nedim Tör used to utter his passenger-captain metaphor while explaining the situation of Europe. According to him, everyone in Europe was talking and had a style to explain the happenings, everyone had a claim. However, these claimants could not

understand each other, rather they were struggling against. In Tör's own words: "The whole land of whites ran into an iceberg like a transatlantic ship in a horizonless and dark sea: Passengers are thunderstruck, everyone is striving for his own life. Where is the captain? There is not. Each one is captain of his own..." (Tör, 1932: 27). As is understood, Kadro was considering that the order of Europe had been in a big commotion. Tör, again in the same article, attributed the reawakening of Goethe's thought in Europe to the same reason. According to him, European people were getting together around the centennial corpse of Goethe. The reason of this was the sultry aureola of that period. From the point of view that the human being begins in a mystic way when he gives up the materialism, he claims that the people who bought into the thought of Goethe were in the same situation with those who start to pray in case of they caught by the storm in open sea (Tör, 1932: 30). All of these are significations that the Europe in opinion of Kadro was going through a crisis.

Kadro members made several observations in order to make a framework of Europe after the First World War. For instance, according to Belge, the post-war happenings were being shaped around the peace treaties which divided Europe into the two parts of contended and discontented people, disordering of the global balances by war indemnities and debts and development of capitalism in America (Belge, 1932d: 28). However, according to Aydemir, the most effective factors of the post-war era were the class conflicts in scope of Europe and the rebellious nations in scope of the world (Aydemir: 1932e: 42). Understanding the general framework drawn by Kadro is very important in order to make the meaning of analysis made by them. In order to understand the vision of Kadro properly about Europe, for which we discussed and made a framework of intellectual life in previous section, we have to take these themes into consideration as well.

The Kadro maxims made by Burhan Asaf Belge who had an important place in Kadro Movement, have many significant references to their vision of Western world. Belge determined as the aim of movement like following: Belief to the productivity of nation rather than the admiration to Europe of Tanzimat thought; and as to the solving problems of nation, showing decisiveness to handle the problems carefully and to analyze them one by one, rather than bringing the European regulations into the

homeland by slopping just as looking up a dictionary (Belge, 1932: 14). As Belge mentioned very explicitly, Kadro's vision of Western world was not too positive. Finally, we can urge upon the "reformist Turkey" definition of Vedat Nedim Tör. According to this definition of "reformist Turkey", the newborn Turkish state could be neither a bourgeoisie state like the one born by the French Revolution, nor a proletarian state like the one formed by Communist Revolution (Tör, 1933: 13). Both expressions of Belge and Tör, mentions a state apprehension different from the Western world, as a common trait. It is possible to understand the evaluation of Kadro Movement on specific themes about the Western world properly by only taking this general framework into consideration.

1.1 Westernization

The westernization discussions made in Kadro Journal was usually rooting in the criticism of Tanzimat thought. According to the Kadro members, the effort of patterning the Western world cut a wide swath through the Ottoman world and made destructive effects. By this reason, a serious anti-Westernization consider can be observed in the articles of journal. By the same mental basis, there are some determinations in articles that the Kemalist revolution was not a westernization movement and did not have such a motivation in itself.

The considerations aforesaid are essentially become perceptible in an article written by Burhan Belge. The basic aim of this article is making distinction between fascism and Turkish reformist thought clear. In an article written by Dr. Ettore Rossi, Turkish reform was figured as a westernization movement by exemplifying with the abolition of sultanate and caliphate, acceptance of Italian Criminal Code and Swiss Civil Code and etc. Belge gave a harsh response to this thesis. According to him, Turkish state would analyze the institutions and regulations of western countries carefully and then practice best one of each codes in an exactly same way, if the Turkish reform was really a westernization movement. In this case, the reform of Turkey could be nothing but an eclectic thought or an imitation (Belge, 1932c: 36). However, according to Belge: "Turkish reformists proclaimed in advance, as an actualized and occurred maxim of the termed national conscience, that the imitation period is ended;

that an economic, social and political regime which is endemic in Turkish land could be created only in the way that is suitable for the truth of these lands and in an originally creative way” (Belge, 1932c: 37). Therefore, Belge who thought that a principle, as a starting point of the movement, was ignored, considered this article of Rossi as a movement in order to decrease the value of Turkish reform, beyond a political determination (Belge, 1932c: 37).

The most potential criticism against this approach which rejects the claim that Turkish reform imitated the Western world, would be that the reform was imitating the European countries by importing the institutions and codes of them into the homeland. The response of Belge is the fact that such movements must be considered as quick actions done by a signal of the chief, in period of proceeding towards a huge goal. Turkish nation, who had decided to achieve a most meaningful and completed reform of the history, gained these values only in a “once-over-lightly” and “in passing” way (Belge, 1932c: 37). Belge mentioned that the importing of Western values and institutions into the homeland was not an aim in itself, but only some “useful” milestones on the way to that aim. Again, in his own words of “Turkish reformists have never considered the mission of building nation and the state as a simple work like embroidering canvas according to a pattern” (Belge, 1932c: 37), he means that the essential work was standing against the supposition of copying Western world as alike as peas in a pod. Another name, who objected to the claims that the Western world was imitated, was Şevket Süreyya Aydemir. According to Aydemir, this understanding could be nothing but the gloss of “characterlessness” of having a blind confidence in Europe in context of democracy matter to the reform matter. As to those claimants, they were like the dive cattlewho could be live in any caravans. Those people were so appearance-lovers that they could not recognize the essential points of relations between the Turkish reform and other reforms. They were lazy and abstained from making an effort of investigation (Aydemir, 1933: 5). As is seen, the common trait of both two authors’ writings is the fact that Turkish reform was never an imitation of Western world.

In the period of Kadro Journal’s broadcasting life, Europe had been living the severe effects of 1929 Depression and started to seek solution ways for some problems

in addition to the depression. The effects of this situation can be obviously seen in the vision of Kadro about Western world. Kadro staff thought that there was nothing to derive for their land from a declining system. In an introduction article for an issue of Kadro Journal in year of 1933, the declining process was being explained to the reader by referring to the articles of French Lu journal. There was such an approach in the chosen quotations from journal that the claimant of declining of Europe was not Kadro, but the European thinkers themselves: “Do you know that my civilization ruined? Do you know that I made a liar out of myself and I am a self-denial?” (Kadro, transmitting from Lu, 1933: 3). Kadro members who mentioned that there was nothing to derive from a ruined civilization and a self-denial political order, thus Turkish reform could not have an agenda of Westernization, said that the Western world must have not been accepted as an idol by the Eastern societies. The reason is the fact that the admiration-centred vision of Western world was a very big danger for Turkish reform and had a potential to change the reform into the imitation. As Tör mentioned, considering Turkish reform as only a Europeanization, that is to say as a type of state and society just like the one born by French Revolution, would degrade the reform to imitation. However the Turkish reform was unique and unparalleled (Tör, 1933: 13).

Another point worth to be emphasized for this matter is that the anti-Westernization of Kadro members did not involve the science and technology to be imported from Europe. Tör, who approved to get methods and technics from Europe, shaped his objection around the impression from Western world in context of politics, order and political visions. However, attempting to import these ideas, which could also be derived from the environment of Turkish society, from Europe, was in his own words: “a vain and absurd energy waste just like attempting to breed orange fruits in the regions of poles” (Tör, 1933: 13). Because the political visions born in Europe and struggling against very big crisis in that term could not be an example for the Turkish reform, but only a warning (Belge, 1933c: 22). As to Mahir, he considered the technology to be import from Europe as an “obtaining result” and likened to buying agrimotors and dynamos. He said that we would establish anything by ourselves if we could not find it in Europe. Because Turkey was the first and only representative of a new order and national independence. Just as Belge, Mahir interprets Europe not as an

order to imitate or take cue from, but as an order which shows its own problems as a warning for our society (Mahir, 1933: 61).

The essential consideration at the bottom of reaction against Western world was the thought that Turkey and Europe had different dynamics and historical backgrounds. The political movements in Europe were output of political, social and economic happenings in history of Europe and they were meaningful in only that context. However, as Aydemir mentioned, Turkish revolution was output of a genuine historical discourse which was caused by itself. Aydemir mentioned following words about the uniqueness of Turkish reform: “It is not a facsimile, sequel or copy of democracy, socialism, fascism or any other social type of a foreign society. Our reform is not a sequel, an imitation or a compilation; but a unique happening, an example and a morning” (Aydemir, 1933: 5). On the other hand, Mahir focused on the actors of introducing Turkish reform as an imitation of Europe, rather than the imitation itself. According to him, when the claimants looked at Europe by concentrating their homesickness in their eyes, they could import neither its threadbare contradictions nor its institutions into the homeland; thus they might not consider the Turkish reform, which was unique in the whole history of world, as a sequel of French Revolution (Mahir, 1933: 61). Against the men who continued their admiration of Western world although all these explanations made by Kadro, the response of Kadro was usually too harsh. Karaosmanoğlu described those men as the fellows who sold their soul to the devil, having heads like exploited lands, having their heads crushed under the combat boots of enemy and thus became mild like paste, the men equipped by all kinds of foreign signs and etc. (Karaosmanoğlu, 1933b: 30). As is understood by these expressions, among the Kadro staff, there was an uttermost dim view about the Western world and Westernism.

Kadro Movement, as mentioned above, had too harsh criticisms against the people who pretended to be Western or thought Western world as an example, as well as the Westernization. At this point, Karaosmanoğlu stated that there was an Eastern effect on the Turkish thinking system beforehand, however it was changed to a Western effect in later times; then he mentioned that it was surprising for himself that a Turkish youth said to be a Marxist “without being ridiculous” or a professor said to be a

liberalist man loyal to the traditions of French Revolution without any hesitation (Karaosmanoğlu, 1933b: 28). This admirer fellow of the Western world who he criticises, according to Karaosmanoğlu, was so loyal of the foreign thinking systems that this loyalty had been changed to a slavery relationship in time. While describing this fellow, he says: “His absolute slavery of mind has removed his faculty of making comparisons and excogitating by himself. And this prisoner mind seems to have been squeezed Turkish nationalist in a narrow thesis. He cannot recognize how his imported goods were crushed and remained in a tight mold” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1933b: 29). Karaosmanoğlu, by saying that there had been such Western admired fellows everywhere in his youth period and he had not believe the words of an intellectual who had not escape to Europe, mentioned that it was a tradition for the intellectuals of that period to wait everything from Europe, to think that nothing could be actualized out of the will of Europe and even to look for the liberty and justice in European countries (Karaosmanoğlu, 1933b: 30). However, according to the Kadro members, this understanding was broken by means of Mustafa Kemal. Because Mustafa Kemal was seeking the future of his nation not in Europe, but in Anatolia (Karaosmanoğlu, 1933b: 30).

To sum up, Kadro’s views about the westernization was in accordance with nationalist leftism. The individuality of the political and social structure of Turkey was possible by only its similarity with itself and the original conditions to be within. It can be obviously seen that there was a West-perception founded on the basis of rejecting the political understanding born in Europe and spread all around the world. We can say that the nationalist perspective of Kadro, imperialistic history of Ottoman Empire and personal backgrounds of the Kadro authors have been effective on rising of this thought.

1.2 Emphasis of Nationality and Domesticity

Within the considerations made by Kadro, it was usually mentioned that the world was on the way to a new political structure and this new structure was nation state. They majorly thought that Turkey would be one of these nation states. Aydemir, by asking the question if whole world was going to a total order or not, responded himself in a way that Kadro did not have this opinion, on the contrary, had an opinion

that the whole world was changing to the perspective of separated, politically and economically absolute, politic and economic “cüzütam” (which means *unity*) (Aydemir, 1932: 6-7). Aydemir, who said that “Turkey, in this new world order, had to be an absolute politic and economic unity by its all economic and social conditions suitable for this order”, mentions that the new regime which was being formed was in accordance with the future shape of the world (definitely the ‘world’ here mentioned is the Western world) (Aydemir, 1932: 6). The new regime, beyond this accordance, is representative of a politically absolute and economically self-sufficient nation in front of the global contradiction of exploitee and metropolis (Aydemir, 1932: 8). Although these explanations seem to be some considerations on the politics of world, it utters in subtext the codes and organization scheme of new regime against Western world, by the effects of having been a collocutor of the imperialism at one time. The thought of not being to live the unpleasant experiences of the history again had a big effect on the new regime and its consideration of Western world. As a matter of fact, Aydemir mentioned that the historical mission of Turkey in the time of its own was to create its own order by sourcing from its own structure and in accordance with the conditions of itself, without being impressed by any other sources (Aydemir, 1932: 9). As is understood, an important issue which shaped their perspective about Western world was the aim of being and remaining national in front of the West. Belge had given brutal responses to those who did not understand this situation. According to him, while Asian people, especially Turkey, were building totally new national structures for themselves, it was a crucial mistake to call “their avoidance of the declining and crippled equilibrates and tricky basis of Europe” as communism; the fellows who did this denotation are “ignorant” or “drifter-souled chatterer” (Belge, 1932: 16). As is understood from the expressions of Belge, according to Kadro the Asian people were improving a non-Western social and political model and they were absenting themselves from all kinds of negatively attributed values of West while doing this.

Kadro staff, as it was mentioned above, was of opinion that the world was changing to a new political structure. They considered that the French Revolution lied behind the existing and problematic order, especially in Europe, besides to mentioning

that the new order would be nation states. For instance, Tör said that the aim of French Revolution was, although it revealed many humanist values, salvation of a class and thus the state type born by it was a class state. In this type of state, there is a constant struggle between the classes and therefore some enmity classes and parties have been arisen in the nation. In a such scenery, the state and its nation could not be able to cohere (Tör, 1933: 14). As is seen the Kadro members, who uttered that the new Turkey was composed of a classless and cohered nation, more precisely it had to be like so, were considering aforesaid type of Turkey state with only a system purged of the effects of French Revolution. Karaosmanoğlu mentions that the nations which lived painful and bloody experiences from 1914 to 1918 –the period here uttered is First World War– did not believe some French Revolution sourced concepts like liberty, justice and brotherhood; but considered them as only a few metaphysical concepts. From the point of view that the French Revolution had lost its validity, he adds that each society was to form its structure in accordance with a new basis. He cited Fascist Italy, Germany and Russia as examples for the issue (Karaosmanoğlu, 1932b: 38-39). Belge, while evaluating the situation of Turkey among this scene, said: “Turkey has the claim of having made an original reform. In our times within which the world is governed according to the specific countries rather than the international criteria, such a claim does not go against the grain” (Belge, 1933: 27). In such a circumstance that the nations getting rid of the Western effects determined their own destinies, Turkey was determining an unexampled way. The response of Kadro against the fellows who did not understand this way has been too harsh. To illustrate, Tör stated that the “unmatched” described reform which occurred in Turkey was accused by the fellows who could not get over the effects of French Revolution as being “communist”; while by the fellows who drifted with the tide of Russian Revolution it was accused of “fascism”; because the “miserables” and “unwarries” did not believe in the character, individuality and creativity of the Turkish reform (Tör, 1933: 15). However this situation did not effect the reality according to the Kadro members. In their opinion, Turkish reform was unmatched and it was an example for all nations in order to get rid of the colonialism.

The fact of “being national”, which can also be expressed as “being original”, is another basic dynamics of Kadro in context of the vision about Western world. Because, according to Kadro members, while their social and ideal movement was being shaped, the context into which this movement was born had also be taken into consideration besides to the essence of it. Otherwise, the facts to be explained would be not understood exactly. As Aydemir mentioned, according to them, there necessarily had to be the yeast and stamp of the historical happenings and society on each idea movement born into it. Aydemir, as an example for this statement, said that the fascism –which he considered as a contemporary idea movement– and socialism or Marxism were bearing of different and separate social and historical happenings. He said that the Movement of National Independence, which was called by him as “Turkish nationalism”, was a bearing of most independent and distinctive historical and political happenings among all others (Aydemir, 1933b: 5). In order to reveal that the Turkish reform had a background free from the political and social happenings of the Western world, Tör emphasized that the state in Turkey was an expression of becoming a nation rather than a classification. He said that the expression of “becoming a nation” amounted to “creat an individual and advanced economy of nation which is not a bonanza or source of exploitation to the good of foreign investors or domestic bands.” As to Belge, he explained this issue by a specific example. According to him, who mentioned that the liberty visions of Western world and of Turkey had been shaped on basis of different historical happenings, a liberty vision of a nation which gained that from some other parties by bloody struggles would not be an individual liberty as in the Western world, but a national liberty. The liberty of individual would be count for nothing, unless the national liberty was ensured (Belge, 1933: 28). Different historical conditions, which shaped the two different liberty visions, were effective on the general character of political orders as well. Therefore, as is seen both by the expressions of Aydemir’s and Tör’s and by the example given by Belge, the strong emphasis that the newborn order was excluded from Western world still continued under the title of “being national”.

Kadro urged upon the fact that the system of Western world had been out of the date and lost its function, while grounding the thesis of being national in front of the

West. So, such a political system in those circumstances did not have anything to Turkey, which put up a struggle of independence and had been building its original state and society order. Mahir, while explaining this situation, says: “When they looked at Europe by concentrating their homesickness in their eyes, they could import neither its threadbare contradictions nor its institutions into the homeland; thus they might not consider the Turkish reform, which was unique in the whole history of world, as a sequel of French Revolution” (Mahir, 1933: 61). As is understood by the expressions of Mahir, first of all it was necessary “to concentrate the homesickness in one’s eyes” in order to comprehend that the system of Western world was outworn and demode. That is to say to have a strong national sensibility. Kadro members, while describing the Western world which had nothing to say to Turkey, did not mention only the democracy and liberalist order. Also the fascism and socialism were in the same position in their opinion. Aydemir, as the reason of this situation, considered the fact that also the fascist and communist fractions were some organizations of class conflict and class dictatorship. According to him, both two systems had committed the murder of a class and used class dictatorship in order to survive (Aydemir, 1933: 8). Indeed, it can be claimed that the virtual reason of Kadro members for their objection against these systems was the fact that they considered Western democracy as imperialism; while considered the socialism as a structure of class society type. It can be easily observed that their historical experiences had originated such a consideration in their opinion.

The emphasis of Kadro on the fact that Turkish reform was different from the idea movements of West, was being concentrated on particular concepts in articles of Aydemir. Aydemir, in order to tell Turkish reform from the Western world, used some themes like nation, state, anti-imperialism and etc. In this way, socialism was aiming at the abolition of the existence of nation; because proletariat was in the center of it. As to the fascism, although it seemed to be mention and embrace the notion of national unity, the concept of nation was ascended to the throne of abusement of exploitees in one hand and of the class conflicts on the other hand. However, the concept of nation had a central position in Turkish reform. Aydemir, in order to explain the issue, said: “In our nationality, the structure of the nation is considered as something politically preserved

(i.e. absolute) and economically freed of all kind of contradictions by means of establishing the high technology in sake of the nation. The notion of nation in our National Independence movement gained its most dignified perfection view which could be granted by human reason” (Aydemir, 1933b: 9). Thus the Turkish reform was separate from the Western world in context of the meaning it attributed to the concept of nation and the position it gave to it in the political order.

As is mentioned above, another concept used by Aydemir in order to tell the Turkish reform from Western world was the concept of state. While he was discussing the concept of state, he brought the cause of using force and its methodology into the forefront. According to him, all states were essentially using the authority and force; however the thing different in each of them was the aim of using both. The high point was this difference. Aydemir, evaluating the socialism and fascism within this scope, mentioned that the both systems used authority and force against at least one class, since they never lost their class-centered basis. This always caused a contradiction of classes or imperialism. As to the Turkish reform, the state used authority and force in order to nothing but save the political and economic independence against external powers and to prevent the internal class contradictions and conflicts (Aydemir, 1932b: 10). Besides to this, Aydemir, by collecting socialism and fascism under the same title, emphasized the anti-imperialist character of Turkish reform and told it from the Western regimes (Aydemir, 1933b: 11). This distinction was one of the most vital missions of Kadro, in opinion of Aydemir. By his own words: “It is a supreme mission which have been appropriated by Kadro and will be proclaimed forever in the same flush of passion, to defend and spread and preserve the supremacy, pithiness and uniqueness of the Turkish nationalism or National Independence movement among all international ideas and movements.” His these words revealed that this mission was one of the basic motivations of Kadro. He called the opponents of this idea as idle, superficial, parasite, trickster and chatty fellows (Aydemir, 1933b: 14).

Within the idea order of Kadro, there had been some manner similar to the attempt of telling Turkish reform from Western world, in context of the fact that Turkish reform had a leading potential for independence of some other nations. In such

circumstances which some alternative regimes of capitalism frequently arose, the partisans of this regime were defending the consideration that it was an example for whole world and a model for the exploited nations. The most particular two were Japan and Italy. Burhan Belge, who put particular emphasis on this issue, said that being a leader for a national independence movement could not be possible by only taking it as a duty. According to him, the features of national independence struggle were so open that the states who claimed to be embracing and leading it to improve had to appropriate the principles of this mission in the first place. The most particular one of these principles was: “To deprecate being a colonialist state or individual vehemently as much as being colonial” (Belge, 1933c: 42). However, Italy and Japan who were claiming to be some leaders of the national independence struggle were type of states which featured imperialist characteristics. Therefore, it was impossible for them to lead any national independence struggle or idea. Belge mentioned the Japan’s occupation of Manchuria and some attempts to divide China which strived to actualize its own national independence as an example. As to Italy, it had some imperialist intentions about especially Mediterranean countries (Belge, 1933c: 45). So, the only system which deserved to be a model for exploited nations was Turkish national independence movement. Finally, Belge mentioned that Turkish politics did not dwell on this issue sufficiently. However, Japan and Italy were using this issue as an active agent of foreign politics and established several congresses to which generally Asian students participated. According to Belge, Mussolini himself was participating to some congress in Italy; also in Japan the ministers of military, transoceanic affairs and education were participating those congresses; however, in Turkey, only Kadro Journal embraced this issue (Belge, 1933c: 44). Belge, by these expressions, was trying to send some messages to the statesmen of that period and implicated that this issue had to be embraced and used within the foreign policy as a subtext.

1.3 Anti-Euro-Centrism

One of the most important factors which shaped the vision of Kadro about Europe was the opposition of Euro-centrist consideration. Kadro members had serious objections to the manner which read policy, economy, society and civilization by

centering Europe. The intellectual cadre of new regime, which had the claim of being original, considered the Euro-centrist approach as an outbreak of imperialism, under the effects of being beaten by imperialism. On the other hand, the scope of those objection were usually crossing the line of own regime and Kadro members were speaking for all nations of Asia.

The first stage of the objection to Euro-centrist consideration was the one in the historical context. Kadro members were against the dissection which was made by Euro-centrist approach in order to divide the history into some terms. Aydemir, while criticizing the central position in historical dissection, said: “According to this viewpoint which is rooted in the first Greek intellects and have survived to date, the history of Europe, although being indeed a small and natural element of large world history, is considered as an axis and center of it. As if all investigations, all decisions and realities are onwards Europe and in sake of it” (Aydemir, 1932c: 5). Besides to these, he used a historical metaphor in order to explain the harms of Europe by centering itself and considering other nations as accidental factors. According to him, Euro-centrism had a regressive and negative effect on the history of human’s thought just as the harms of Ptolemy, who obliged the human cognition to a narrowness and error by considering the external objects as some parts of the Earth (Aydemir, 1932c: 5). Consequently, it is not an exaggeration to claim that the Kadro members said that the Euro-centrist consideration was a global reactionism in context of the civilization notion.

Euro-centrist dissection of history was also scientifically rejected by Kadro members. They had many objections to this dissection in context of its inclusive and descriptive features. According to Aydemir, any dissection in order of Antiquity, Mediaeval and Modern Age would be entirely unsuitable and inconvenient to explain both general framework of the global civilization and characteristic stages of Turkish history, nevertheless it was a tiny bit descriptive of European history (Aydemir, 1932c:7-8). In order to support his thesis, Aydemir reveals that the XVI. century of European history was the very characteristic era of the religious and global feudalism, scholastic thought and technical underdevelopment. However, according to him, the

same century of Turkish history, beyond being some period of an endless world domination, was an age of perfect civilization and development of science and arts (Aydemir, 1932c: 9). Therefore, it was not acceptable for the Kadro members to ignore the developments of Turkish history while intitling those ages. Because the role of Turkish people according to this “narrow-minded” and “erroneous” perception, was either to be drawn to the prehistorical era or to be left out of the civilization (Aydemir, 1932c: 9). According to Belge, the aim of Turkish History Congress was to give a new guidance to Turkey and to revise this erroneous history consideration of Europe in a scientific way. Belge mentioned that Turkish History Congress, by demonstrating that the Euro-centrist historical perspective was hypothetical, incidental and non-scientific, aimed at taking the Turkish period which was “prehistorical” according to dissection of Europe, into the real history discourse in sake of a Turkish humanism (Belge, 1933: 24). By this way, the struggle against Western world would be given in area of history science as well as the areas of politics and economy. Because the fact that this dissection which gained a global admission did not involve histories of some nations and especially Turkish history, could be considered as a reflection of economical and political imperialism of Europe in the areas of culture and civilization. So, according to the members of Kadro, it was necessary to struggle against this Western manner.

Besides to these criticisms of Euro-centrist consideration in context of history, the Kadro members objected to the Euro-centrist approaches also in context of the shape of both that period and future. Belge mentioned that the Europe had been in middle to that date and was the center of everything as like as it desired; then objected to this situation (Belge, 1932: 11). As to Aydemir, he mentioned that the world had lived under the economic and politic domination of Europe before First World War and the future of Europe had been considered as the future of the world. According to him, there was an erroneous perspective that the world would be drawn to the same point under the same effects of Europe (Aydemir, 1932: 7). However, he said loudly that this was not acceptable in opinion of themselves and the future of world was not only the future of Europe: “The destiny of society in Europe can be in a way which Europe desires, according to its own conditions. However, the position of Turkey is in the Front Line of

National Independence Movements” (Aydemir, 1932: 8-9). Indeed, there was an objection to the imperialism behind this opposition of him. Besides to this, the mass which was addressed by this objection was Turkish intellectual environment as well as Europe. By this analysis they did, they were aiming at directing the consideration of Western world in head of the all masses which Kadro addressed and the internal intellectuals, as well as those of Europe. Because, according to Kadro, an intellectual mass who admired to Western world was just as dangerous as the imperialism itself.

1.4 Imperialism

One of the most particular political features of Kadro Movement was the claim that the basic global contradiction was not the one between classes, but it was the one between the industrialized countries and non-industrial countries. In this way, just as the consideration of imperialism determined the political line which was pursued by Kadro, there had been the very imperialism notion behind their vision of European civilization. This situation had been shaped especially under the effects of Ottoman which had become an open market of Europe –particularly during its last terms–; the plans of sharing Ottoman lands in the course of First World War and the place of all these factors in intellects of the members of Kadro. On the other hand, it can be said that the political origins of Kadro members was effective on their imperialism-centred consideration of Western world.

Kadro members thought that the newborn Republic of Turkey was a symbol of victory which was won against imperialism. From the point of this view, they believed that the new Republic was a model for all nations under the domination of imperialist states. As Tör mentioned, the characteristics of Turkish reform was born by its unique role in the course of history and this unique role had opened the historical course of removing all contradictions between imperial states and exploitees (Tör, 1933: 13). Tör, by this expression, was indeed mentioning that the manner of Turkish reform was rooted in the basis of struggling against imperialism. The imperialist approach of Western world was a basic dynamics for Kadro members to build their own political consideration. Aydemir expressed similar thoughts while uttering the essential demand

of Kadro Movement. In his mention, the essential demand of Kadro was the removal of the economic dependency between high industrial countries and non-industrial countries or economic exploitees, rather than the change of ownership relations of the production means to the countries which monopolized them (Aydemir, 1932: 8-9). By this expression, he revealed both the dependency relation aforesaid which they considered as the essential contradiction and the meaning which was attributed to this relation by themselves. This meaning has been the basis of both political vision of Kadro and its approaching manner to the Western thought.

In vision of Kadro, the imperialism and exploitation order was considered as the basic dynamics of development and high point of Europe. According to the members of Kadro, the improvement of Europe in the areas of science, industry and etc. was under favour of their colonial manner on the other nations. As a matter of fact, according to Aydemir, the colonialism, i.e. plunder of all nations which were out of Europe and to import all national economic capitals into the Europe, was the first step of Europe to establish a global dominion (Aydemir, 1932c: 7). As is understood by the expressions of Aydemir, the development of Europe and imperialist order were processes supporting each other. As long as the exploitation order gained strength, Europe was going further; and as long as Europe went further, it needed more and more exploitees. Belge, while evaluating these relations, stated a connection between imperialism and short-while development of the Western world and urged upon the results of this connection. According to him, the idea of income motivated both individuals and nations to ask more and provided some part of human beings with a higher wealth at the cost of poverty of another part. In order to accomplish this order, so much blood was spilled and this caused the global war and depression (Belge, 1932b:28). Therefore, imperialism did not only improve Europe by its essence of exploitation order, but also caused many full-scale disasters of the world. When considered the high loss of lives and pecuniary injury brought by the First World War, the anger against imperialism which considered as a cause of this can be understood more easily.

Kadro authors used to explain the gained position of Europe on the world and its relation to the imperialism by metaphors and analogies. As we mentioned in the scope

of Westernization, while doing it they aim at both objecting to the global system and addressing to the domestic public opinion by simplifying the issue by means of metaphors. Belge, while explaining the course of dominion of Europe, described India as delicious as lamb shawarma; China as a strong fresh brewed tea and the Ottoman Empire as a half of which was Halep oiled pie and other half was peanut baklava; all these food were proffered to Europe (Belge, 1933c: 18). Then he mentioned that the structure of sumptuous civilization of Europe was established in this way. According to Belge, all these were understood by the truth documents which fell off the punctured heart of Europe by 1929 Depression (Belge, 1933c: 19). Belge, in another metaphorical expression, described Europe as a child in a secure hose which was protected by guard duty of many soldiers. In this fiction, he utters following words to describe Europe: “Europe is inside, while the wreath of victory is on his forehead, health of world-mother as a nipple in his mouth, he sucks, whitens, sucks and flourishes, sucks but cannot be full up. What a weird creature! What an unfathomable organism! What a scary food!” (Belge, 1933c: 18). As is easily seen, the basic emphasis of imperialism explanations is always the fact that Europe had been growing up by exploiting the other nations. As a matter of fact, we will discuss in the next sections that the decline of Europe was originated in the interruption of this “scary food”.

Just as the colonialism of imperial states was explained by means of metaphors, Kadro explained that the very itself of imperialism had grown up on the basis of symbols as well. The self expression of imperialism by means of these symbols is the primary cause to fail to notice the exploitation of it and focusing on the symbols rather than the colonialist order. According to Belge, the most particular one of these symbols in the scope of English imperialism “is either a little piece of paper, i.e. cheque; or Saint Georges who kills a dragon on a golden ground, i.e. Sterling” (Belge, 1934: 26). These symbols gained such a big importance in time that the entirely life purpose of human beings have become to earn these symbols. Since the possessing these symbols amounted to the status and wealth, everyone was in a competition for gaining them. Belge, just after attracting notice on this feature of imperialism, asked the most sensitive question: “The weapons of which empire were such strong? Which empire has done its

conquers in this way, that is to say in minds and souls?" (Belge, 1934: 26). As a matter of fact, Belge, by asking these questions, revealed the features of their consideration of Western world within the scope of imperialism. The Western world was exploiting the Eastern nations by some means which were more effective than the military victories. The most particular one of those means was conquering the minds of Eastern nations rather than their lands.

As mentioned above, Kadro members thought that the primary reason of First World War was imperialist policies pursued by some countries. The war which caused by imperialism, was won by again imperialists. As to Turkey, it actualized National Independence Struggle which had been the title of standing against that imperialist order. Just after the war, the order claimed to be established was also claiming to be able to get ahead of imperialism as an alternative order. However, the Kadro members did not agree with this idea and thought that the imperialism had only changed its shape in new order. Karaosmanoğlu explained the imperialist feature of new order through the League of Nations and war damage compensations. According to him, just after the war, the concepts of "Brotherhood, Equality and Humanity" were uttered by only a deranged man named Wilson. Apart from him, all states were uttering only their victories and booties they had derived from those. The most particular one of these booties was the "sword right". Karaosmanoğlu mentioned that they shared whole world by means of this sword as a huge cake (Karaosmanoğlu, 1932b: 40). As is understood by these expressions, Kadro did not think that the Western world had given up its imperialist ideals. It is meaningful that the expression of "deranged" was chosen to characterise Wilson who determined the principles of new order of the post-war era. As a matter of fact, this expression was also an abstract of their vision about America and symbolised some kind of insincerity. As to the concept of "sword right" arose in post-war era and mentioned that it had no importance for winner states not to get any land from the loser states, said that the importance was not of domination of lands by the winner states and in this scope, it was a signification that the exploitation was still on. The objection of Kadro was to verify this point: Sharing plans of West, made on whole world.

The League of Nations (which can be thought as United Nations of today), which was established within the post-war order and supposed to be a warranty for global peace, counted for nothing but being a shelter for the imperialism, in opinion of Kadro. Karaosmanoğlu, while criticising this situation, mentioned that the virtual function of the League of Nations was not contributing the global peace, but institutionalizing the colonialist order. In his own words: “By this institution which claims to be established on the basis of making all nations owner of their own destinies, those destinies were delivered to the passion and eagerness of a couple of imperialist state. It was a harder and less convenient deed to pillage the global wealth and to exploit the weak, small nations before the establishment of League of Nations. Nowadays, these deeds are virtually legalized and scientified on behalf of organized pillagers and invaders” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1932b: 40). This was not a new issue for Kadro members, who did not expect a West originated institution to remove imperialism and exploitation, on contrary thought that this institution made them more institutional. Many happenings and cases arose in Western world claiming to bring peace and justice to the whole world had already demonstrated this situation. Belge mentioned the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in order to reveal this issue. As widely known, the declaration has produced a concept of liberty, by building an understanding that each individual must be free as long as he or she did not harm the rights of other individuals. Belge, at this point, asked the question of “But for whom?” and he responded himself: “For the members of nations which joined to the movement of 1848. The individual rights and description of liberty in declaration of civil liberty was valid for only the people who live in Western Europe” (Belge, 1933b: 31). The primary reason of the fact that the remaining nations of the world were not included in this declaration, could be find in scope of an understanding to be formulated in a way that they could not be individuals since they were not supposed as human beings by Europe; thus, Belge mentioned that, the rest of the world could be considered only in a “head-account” for Europe (Belge, 1933b: 31). Consequently, in opinion of Kadro members, it was a sisyphian challenge to expect some attempts from Western world in order to remove the colonialist order. The only power able to do it was Turkish National Independence Movement.

Members of Kadro thought that the Western world reached to its high point by not only means of exploiting the external sources, but also monopolizing the technology of processing the raw materials. They believed that the Western states made a special effort to prevent the other nations to gain these technologies. Because it would not be sufficient only to monopolize the sources in order to establish a dominion. Besides to the sources, it was necessary to monopolize the technology of processing those materials and making goods from them. Vedat Nedim Tör revealed this situation in one of his articles written in 1932, by making references to Spengler. To his readers, he transmitted the following words of Spengler: “There is so much coal in other lands. However, it can be extracted from the ground by only ‘white’ engineer. Our dominion have been sourced by not only being sole owner of the raw materials, but being that of the methods to process it as well” (Tör, transmitting from Spengler, 1932: 26). Of course Tör was able to explain this issue by himself, as a matter of fact he had done in some articles; however it had been in pages of Kadro as the expression of truth that he transmitted the issue by the words of a Westerner. Also, the same issue was urged upon in introduction of a volume of 1933. In that article, it was stated that the Western world entertained the other nations by unnecessary discussions until it shaped its destiny in a way it desired; that when it gained the power to determine the way of world, it would be master while all others would be the slaves of it. In the same article, it was emphasized that the capitalism, fascism, socialism and etc. ideologies were nothing but some masks for West and the primary goal was maintain the West’s monopoly of technology and high knowledge (Kadro, 1933: 4). When it comes to Belge, within his criticism although he accepted that Europe had made a high progress in sake of humanity by aforesaid high knowledge and technology, he attracted notices to the colonial aspect of this situation. According to him, the Western world, which made nations enemy to each other by creating some artificial contradictions in order to gain the high knowledge and technology, is a “box of insanity” (Belge, 1932: 15).

Kadro authors mentioned that the Western world did not damage only the Eastern nations but itself as well while pursuing the imperialist policies to exploit them. In this way, the Western world had many problems and rivalries among its member

nations in context of imperialism. As a matter of fact, the First World War was risen by this imperialist rivalry. The metaphors used by Karaosmanoğlu in order to explain the East-West relations in context of imperialism, reveals both the exploiting method of West on the East and the conflicts among the Western imperialist actors. He says: “On the one hand all nations of Africa, Asia, Far and Near East –without excepting Ottoman State– were being cleaned out on behalf of cancerous lord of London, prodigal banker of Paris and arthritic fabricator of Germany; on the other hand there is existing a brutal conflict among that cancerous lord, prodigal banker and arthritic fabricator; each one is worn out and breathless of this struggle” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1932b: 39). By these words, he was revealing both the dissection of Western colonialists and the relations among them. These expressions were revealing the dimensions of imperialism as well. The problems born by imperialism into the Western world were analysed also in an article of Aydemir. With reference to a funeral which he had witnessed in his years lived in France; he inquired the problems born by imperialist policies in that country. As a result of some discussion arose between a unionized workman and a migrant labor from Morocco, the latter one was killed. The primary reason of the tensions occurred between unionized and migrant workmen was the fact that the workmen majority of whom were from South African region were easily accepting to work for less money. From this point of view, Aydemir mentioned that the Moroccan children who were husbandmen, shepherds or merchants in their own country just fifteen years ago, had become in such a mood that they could accept to work for free, since the imperialist policies of France. Beyond this, they had to fight against the French socialist workmen. The sole responsible of this disaster was imperialism (Aydemir, 1934e: 5). As is understood by these expressions, the imperialism damaged not only the Eastern societies, but it damaged the people of Western countries as well.

As a result of these discussions against imperialism, Kadro members claimed that the imperialist order was declining along with the Western world; or it would be so. According to Belge, Great Depression of 1929 was the very evidence of this idea. He claimed that the Great Depression was amounting to removal of a unfair and unjust world order which was aiming at developing the Western world at cost of

underdevelopment of the Eastern societies; so it was a decline of colonialism along with its all financial and emotional regulations (Belge, 1932b: 31). Aydemir, in the same way, claimed that the global spread of the knowledge of technology in Europe would be the finish of imperialism. According to him, “The global spread of the technology which has accumulated in Europe and various regions amounts to civilized Europe’s loss of its capital backlog and colonial dominion which provided itself with the technological and cultural advancement” (Aydemir, 1932e: 40). Consequently, the authors of Kadro mentioned the importance of gaining technological innovations in several times and they emphasized that Turkey necessarily had to be industrialized.

According to the members of Kadro, the imperialist Western states were not exploiting the Eastern nations only by taking the raw materials; but by using them as an open market in context of selling the processed raw materials by means of technical ways which they dominated. Having these open market countries to start to be industrialized and become sufficient would be an impact dealt to the Western countries. Belge mentioned that this situation was most effective on particularly some Central Europe countries under the capital dominion of England and France, who were living on export of the raw materials. According to him, these countries whose chief two were Germany and Austria, were sinking into an unprecedented social and economic depression since the countries, which were used as their open markets, started to be industrialized (Belge, 1934b: 21). Belge, who carried on his analysis in scope of Germany, uttered the problems of this situation born into Germany. Among those problems, the most significant was that Germany, who was deprived from the warranted markets, i.e. exploitees, was going into a narrower trading volume each day and finally it had to deduce the pay of its money to 2 percent (Belge, 1934b: 22). Besides to the loss of open markets, maybe more importantly, the problem of the raw material shortage was preparing the finish of imperialism. Belge said that this raw material shortage was attempted to be overcome by means of chemistry; particularly some raw materials of textile industry were tried to be produced in laboratory but could not be successful because of its high cost (Belge, 1934b: 23). Belge, who seemed to be analyzing something of Germany economy in this article, was explaining in subtext that the

Western colonialist states would decline in case of their colonies could industrialize. Thus the theme of industrialization, which was a sine qua non condition for Kadro's vision to overcome the imperialism, was being emphasized once more.

1.5 Democracy

The Kadro members' perspective of democracy which is a Western originated concept, was in a negative way just as that of whole Western world. When the analysis of democracy in the articles published within Kadro Journal is observed, it can be seen that there was some understanding which evaluated democracy as a shelter of capitalism. Besides to this, the damages of democracy on European order were explained and it was frequently claimed that the regime of Turkey was essentially democratic although to a lesser extent of European type.

Kadro members believed that democracy damaged Europe in several and various ways. What described as damage by Kadro authors were usually rooted in the fact that democracy prescribed a multi-vocal political environment. When considered the general framework of Kadro's political opinion, it can be understood that a multi-vocal political environment would cause a hodgepodge and chaos. As a matter of fact, Vedat Nedim Tör, in one of his considerations about Germany, he saw French democracy rather than the Treaty of Vesailles which was signed with France, as responsible of the harsh post-war conditions of Germany. According to Tör, people of Germany were being exploited in sake of democracy and over the thirty of German political parties were "running wild" in mind of German people. While he was saying the following words: "Each German mind is pulsating as a dome of noisy bathhouse of women! There is not a single Gemany or a single German people. There are thirty fractions. There is a land divided into thirty fractions" (Tör, 1932: 27) he was mentioning that the multi-party system caused a hodgepodge in Germany. The primary consideration behind this expression was the negative meaning attributed to the multi-vocality. As to Mahir, he signficated the class contradictions and democracy born by the capital order, as responsible of the deadlock situation in Europe (Mahir, 1933: 61). According to him, the meaning of European democracy was establishing dominion of dealers supported by banks instead

of the law of monarchy supported by church (Mahir, 1933: 62). As is seen at this point, Kadro members did not analyse democracy in itself and they read it in context of capitalism and imperialism. As to democracy, which was a derivative of capitalism and imperialism as the means of enslavement of their own land in their opinion, was not an acceptable regime. As a matter of fact, Aydemir considered the liberal democracy as a regime which was valid in only Europe of IXX. century and it was an output of that period anyway. On the other hand, he claimed that the democracy could not gain any universal meaning since it was a convenient regime for only the countries which had exploitees (Aydemir, 1934: 7).

As we mentioned above, the Kadro members read democracy in context of capitalism. Aydemir explained the relation of democracy to capitalism through the changes and conversions between France of Revolution and democracy periods. Before he started this analysis, he mentioned that the reforms were started by heroes, kept alive by idealists and consumed by tradespeople. According to him, the clearest example of this situation was two different France of two different periods aforesaid (Aydemir, 1934d: 5). In this way, France of Revolution period had a mystical aspect and some ideal goals. As to France of today, it has forgotten the ideal and supreme notions of the previous one and pushed aside. France of today is a traitor against those values and notions (Aydemir, 1934d: 6-7). The primary responsible of this situation was the trademan who tarnished the reputation of state in the eye of masses by manipulating the possibilities of state in a way of using the democratic environment (Aydemir, 1934d: 5). Aydemir, as a matter of fact, was referring to the capitalism by expression of “trademan”. He wrote the following words in order to explain the new situation of France shaped by capitalist order: “Nowadays, nobody talks about the supreme ideas of French Revolution, national sovereignty, parliamentarism, liberty of press or etc. in France. The authority of government is worth the only mock, parliament is worth only insult, press is worth only use for bad intentions. They are all wretched things now, of which values are observable in only this context” (Aydemir, 1934d: 9). Consequently, the thought that democracy was such a regime that caused big problems in itself in time, was getting a foothold in opinion of Kadro. One of the primary reasons to reject

democracy in Turkey was this opinion. Thusly, Aydemir, regarding democracy and capitalism as responsible of the problems in France, was recommending to learn a lesson from the situation of that country and to protect the all ideological components of Turkish reform against the interest speculations of the tradepeople (Aydemir, 1934d: 11).

The analysis which attracted notices among the democracy discussions of Kadro and perhaps being an abstract of Kadro's perspective of democracy was that of Burhan Belge. He revealed the relation of democracy to imperialism and capitalism within his analysis through the example of Cuba. Belge, mentioning that Machado, president of Cuba, escaped to America just after the revolution occurred in Cuba and looked out for interests of American capital by hiding behind the cloak of democracy, said that the Cuban people was far away from saving their own rights and liberty, as one of the most primary principles of democracy, and that the national sovereignty and parliament considerations in Cuba was counterfeit in fact (Belge, 1933b: 30). Belge, by his these expressions, was showing a concrete example of the consideration of Kadro which said that the "democracy is political and administrative shelter of imperialism". Another expression of Belge, which revealed this understanding that the Western world would export democracy to its external world in order to only exploit the other nations, can be seen within his reaction against America having sent war ships to the offshore waters of Cuba just after the Cuban Revolution: "In fact, the president who sent those war ships to there, is in a harsh struggle against industrialists and bankers to save the farmers and hodmen in America. He says that only the muppet of rights and liberties is at work a few miles further, in Cuba. The man who is on one hand striving for a new description of the occurred revolution, on the other hand does not accept to grant even the old description of it to some people" (Belge, 1933b: 30). This reaction can be seen as a summary for the vision of Kadro members about the democracy aspect of Western countries.

Burhan Belge, in his another article, specified the relation of democracy to capitalism and this specification is also very important for us to get refined descriptions of Kadro members' perspective of democracy. Here it is:

- “1- Democracy is not something essentially existing in itself or its own meaning.
- 2- Democracy is nothing but a political and administrative shelter of capitalism.
- 3- The illness is not of democracy, but of capitalism.
- 4- The primary reason of ill appearance of democracy is that the deeper illness in its structure carries its symptoms to it.
- 5- The primary effective of the course of society is the one which is economic, i. e. infrastructural” (Belge, 1932d:28- 29).

Belge, by this specification as a summary of their consideration, revealed that the democracy could be valid within only the political, economic and social environment of Europe, that the democracy was a mask for imperialist policies of the Western states, that the many problems supposed to be caused by democracy were in fact caused by capitalism and the economy determined to sociology. Consequently, this specification is a refined abstract of political opinion and perspective of Western world pursued by Kadro members.

Kadro members mentioned that the newborn regime in Turkey was also essentially a democracy, however it was formly different from the Western type. Aydemir, just before decribing this issue, said that there was an essence and a form for each fact; however the opponents of Kadro Movement were confusing these two elements. By mentioning that the First Constitution of Ottoman State and Manifest of People’s Party were depending on the basis of National Sovereignty, and that the National Sovereignty was nothing but the democracy in the way of European consideration, Aydemir said the following words: “It is a form and manifestation of the essence of National Sovereignty that the citizens can disclose their votes and elect their deputies freely in same service just as it is done in European countries; and governing of the state by this way, by means of a an organization of parliament and assembly composed of the deputies elected” (Aydemir, 1933:6- 7). This distinction made by them in order to separate from Western consideration, was mentioning that the essence of regime was democratic while that essence was different from the Western type in

context of occurring ways. Belge, while urging upon this issue, said that the societies have given the meaning of life in various ways in various periods; and just like this their perception way of the concepts like liberty could also vary from period to period. Within this scope, according to Belge, the perception of liberty and correspondingly the democracy of Western world had varied after French Revolution; and the liberty concept was deduced to the freedom of trademen, industrialists and capitalists (Belge, 1933b: 29). Thus, as is seen easily, there was a consideration in Kadro's opinion that the democracy and liberty type of Western world would not be profitable in Turkey. Belge did not evaluate this event in only the context of real politics, but he had some philosophical inferences as well. According to him, in fact there was not any relation between liberalism and freedom. Because while liberalism was a system, freedom was a value. Belge, emphasizing that the idea of freedom was as old as the humanity, mentioned that this value have been described in various ways within the various periods (Belge, 1933: 26). Such an interpretation was used by them in order to reveal that the new regime built in Turkey was different from the types occurred in Western world.

Democracy, for the Kadro members, was essentially some type of regime started to be eliminated in the Western world. This consideration can be clearly seen in the articles of Belge. According to him, the communisim in Russia and fascism in Italy actually eliminated the democracy (Belge, 1932d: 27). The import of this regime into Turkey, while it was being eliminated even in the Western world, would be to only the imperialists' benefit. Therefore, while there were more important problems of Turkey, it would be senseless to discuss on democracy. As to the problems which to be called as more important were also mentioned in the articles of Belge. According to him, the freedom and independence of nation were much more important than democracy in sense of the individual freedom. Belge put end to this issue by writing following words: If it was unwanted to be crushed under the foot of imperialism: "There is not any right but mission of the individuals, until the freedom and independence of nation is completed in every respect" (Belge, 1933b: 32).

1.6 Fascism-Communism

In order to give the sense of vision of Kadro Movement about Western world properly, finally we have to glance at their considerations about the regimes of Western world except democracy, during the period of broadcasting life of Kadro Journal. Those regimes were undoubtedly communism and fascism. As a matter of fact, Kadro authors were frequently accused of being fascist or communist. To all these accusations, the Kadro authors responded that they were only the representative men of Turkish reform and Turkish reform was unique in the world.

Within the considerations of Kadro about the fascist regime, usually Burhan Belge was heading. Although there were some assessments about fascism in his various articles, the article in which he explained the differences of Turkish reform and fascism is very much important in order to comprehend the vision of Kadro Movement. In this article, Belge specified the differences between two as following:

Fascism aims at saving semi-capitalist Italy from the class contradiction of capitalism and the anarchy and bureaucratic governance means which was born by this contradiction. However, the National Independence Movement in Turkey is establishment of absolute Turkish homeland in accordance with the historical conditions of day, instead of the semi-exploitee Ottoman Empire. Fascism has taken the imperialism as its primary goal in post-war era; however the National Independence Movement has been the title of rebellion against imperialism. Since the Fascism is a movement special to a semi-capitalist state, it is not suitable for both capitalist and precapitalist countries; that is to say it has not been universal yet. As to Kemalism, it will forever be the source of idealism and ideology for all nations who has not actualized their national independence movements yet (Belge, 1932c: 39). As is seen, the vision of Fascism of Kadro was essentially determined by the fact of imperialism. Just as the analysis of Western originated all political, economic and social facts and situations, the imperialism concept dominates their assessment of fascism as well. Upon the same issue, Aydemir mentions that the fascism was a historical sequel of capitalism and its only goal was exploitation of colonies and oppression of the class conflicts

(Aydemir, 1933b: 7). At this point, another particular issue to mention is the similarity of criticisms made by Kadro Movement and Fascism against democracy. Belge, against the considerations that these similarities would cause a common ground between Kadro and fascism, gave the following response: "If there is a similarity between our national reform and fascism in context of considering ways of capitalism and its political expression democracy, perhaps this is because a common historical necessity of all nations during the post-war period" (Belge, 1932c: 39). Upon the fascism, lastly, it is necessary to make some assessments in context of the relation between religion and fascism. Belge, again in his article about fascism, mentioned that the effect of religion was dramatical in determining the foreign policies of fascism. According to him, in that period Pope had the strongest political position he had ever. He explained the big role played by Catholicism in determining the foreign policies of Italy, by the example of fact that the Anglican Church was patronising the Jewish people in Germany (Belge, 1933c: 21). This was a meaningful situation for Republic of Turkey, which changed to a laicistic structure from that of society and state in which the religion had political power of sanction.

The Marxist-rooted background of Kadro authors made the Communism perspective of Journal more interesting. While they had been far away from their former visions by effects of some changes, from time to time they could still find a common ground with Communism in context of being anti-imperialism. However they were criticizing the communism harshly as well. Their most particular criticism about Communism was that it saw the essential contradiction wrong. As widely known, the class contradiction between bourgeois and proletariat has been accepted as essential contradiction by Communist perspective. However the Kadro members thought that the essential contradiction was not this but it was the one between industrialized and non-industrialized countries. As to Aydemir, he emphasized another point of this issue and said that this was result of class conflict society type (that is to say of capitalism) born by industrial revolution started in recent times of XVIII. century in Europe and the revolutionist socialism was the very manifestation and reaction of this class constructed society against it. From the point of these explanations, he stated that the socialism was

a product of capitalism and its historical conditions in environment of high technology countries. Those countries were some in Europe and a part of America (Aydemir, 1933b: 6-7). As is seen at this point, the vision of socialism just like many other Western value, was grounded on motivation that the values of Western world would not be suitable for Turkish reform.

Karaosmanoğlu, in one of his assessments about communism, from the point of common ground of anti-imperialism, mentioned that the alliance between Russian revolutionists and Turkey arose during the National Independence War of Turkey was not incidental. According to him, the both countries would be again shoulder to shoulder even if the enemies of both frontlines were not same and two countries were not bordering on. The reason is that: “While the chief of communism in Moscow was saying ‘All independence parties of earth surface are ally for us’, the nationalist chief in Ankara was using the word of ‘European imperialists’ instead of ‘enemies’; thus they were speaking in the mouth of each other and in sake of each other” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1932c: 35). By this way, in the scope of this understanding which uttered that the primary problem was imperialism, many other issues except this were accidental. It was possible to find a common ground for both two regimes under the title of anti-imperialism, by means of both systems which contained similar objections and criticisms in context of politics and ideology.

2. Vision of Western World in context of Economy

The Kadro members’ perspective of Western world in context of economy was grounded on the basis of their assessments about the capitalism. Besides to this, the way of industrialization appropriated by Western countries were themes used by Kadro as well, in order to evaluate the Western economy. Within the discussions of Kadro about capitalism and industrialization, these facts were spoken by linking to imperialism to a great extent. Thus in the Kadro’s opinion, we have to take into consideration that the concepts of capitalism, democracy, imperialism and etc. were interlocked while they were evaluating the Western perception. Besides to this, it will be useful to recognize the economy model which was prescribed by Kadro members. Just as it is in many other

areas, Kadro members mentioned that it was necessary to be national in economy as well; and they called the economy model they prescribed as “national economy model”. According to the determination of Aydemir, national economy was: “within the national borders freed from all kinds of interventions, a national government, an advanced technology, a planned growth and worthy effort” (Aydemir, 1932b: 12). Kadro members’ primary motivation in context of evaluating the Western economy was the one provided by this determination.

2.1 Capitalism

In the assessments of Kadro members on Capitalism, the first point we can see is the concept of “gain” lies behind the capitalist order. According to the Kadro members, who thought that the instinct of gaining had become a passion in Western world, was the primary reason of many wars and other problems on the world. Belge, while criticizing this situation, by referring to the injustice of distribution of income since the capitalism; said that the sinner capitalist regime was complaining about surplus although there are millions of hungry and naked people on the world (Belge, 1932b: 29). He added that this situation started to change in time; the order of gaining was understood in many regions of world properly and marked as “suspicious”. According to this consideration, in many regions of the world, the trademen and trade was being kept under control on behalf of public welfare. Thus the order of gaining was considered as reactionism from that day on (Belge, 1932b: 30).

According to Kadro members who thought capitalism in context of individualism and democracy, as it was mentioned in previous section, the virtual reason of the problem was not democracy but capitalism. Belge said that it was necessary to urge upon this newborn and most important illness by placing all democracy discussions on one side (Belge, 1932d: 28). He signified as an evidence for his idea, the fact that Fascist Italy has gone away from this vision in depression years and applied itself to the economic happenings of Italy and external world (Belge, 1932d: 29). Belge, as another example in order to explain that the virtual problem was capitalism, mentioned that the order of democracy, more precisely of the parliamentary

system was “still” alive in some countries which introduced the capitalist regime as durability. The actors of World War, more precisely of the “pillaging” of XIX. century like America, England and France, were still able to apply proper elections and built parliamentary governments. Belge was grounding his expression of “still” by mentioning some changes in aforesaid countries just after the depression. He specified those changes like following:

“1- England made a good thing of being the center of world trade. It has given up the hope of world trade to be established again like in year of 1929. The evidence for it was the fact that the Empire had withdrawn in its border in Ottawa.

2-America seems like it has lost the war indemnities. There will be the commercial claims following them in future.

3- The government was seized by leftists in France. This situation had amounted to nothing but pillage of public purse on behalf of the unemployed until the date of 1929” (Belge, 1929b: 31). Belge correlated these changes and economic problems of the aforesaid countries with the global depression. The Western world was starting to deal with economic crisis just after it started to live its own crisis. Thus the understanding was being grounded on the consideration that virtual reason of the problem was not democracy, but the capitalism.

There have been some points in which the nationalist vision of Kadro and individualist vision of democracy conflicted in context of the fact that Kadro members considered capitalism in relation with the democracy. As we mentioned in previous sections, in Kadro’s vision, the nation took precedence of the individual; while the capitalism and democracy believed that the interest of society would be maximum as much as the interest of individual was maximum. As an example for the conflict of these two ideas, Belge transmits an event occurred in budget discussions and tried to explain the vision of newborn regime about capitalism. Within the budget discussions in Assembly, a debate arose about the ferry operations of state and Hasan Fehmi Bey, the Chief of Budget Council and deputy of Gümüşhane, said: “When it comes to the public welfare, we do not legitimize any gaining rights of the individual” (Belge, 1932b: 30).

As is understood by this expression, Turkish reform and Kadro Movement were completely dissimilar of the capitalism and its vision of individual interests.

The primary contradiction for Kadro members was the one between developed and underdeveloped countries. As a matter of course, they evaluated capitalism in this way. The only way to remove this contradiction was removal of the capitalism, in their opinion. According to them, the capital movements in capitalist countries, that is to say changing hands of capital among the classes, was not any signification of change in underdeveloped countries although it seemed like passing to a new system from the capitalism (Aydemir, 1932e: 41). Since the primary goal for Kadro members was decline of the capitalism, the capital movements among the imperial actors counted for nothing in their opinion.

Mahir, analyzing the capitalism in context of imperialism, said that the free economy made countries poor, caused the classes to rise and changed whole land into a battlefield; and then he asked the question of which system we had to establish in order to prevent these disasters. He said that the answers given to him were like “famous Stuart Mill says that every nation drives profit from the international exchange” or “he says that the nations on the way to civilization have to pass some stations necessarily” (Mahir, 1933: 60). Saying that ‘every nation drives profit from the international exchange’ and recommending this to a nation which is striving to gain its economic independence was counterfeiting or blindness according to Mahir. The reason for this was that although having been integrated to this system a long while ago, the nation lost something every single year but it had not gained anything in return (Mahir, 1933: 60). In other words, the winning party in free economy and capitalism environment had been always the imperialists. According to Mahir, such a way of defence was nothing but scientification of the imperialism through the capitalism (Mahir, 1933: 61). As is seen by these expressions, according to the vision of Kadro, the capitalist order which depended on the free economy conditions had an instrumental position for the imperialist states to be used for entering in the lands which they wanted to exploit.

Another theme which used to evaluate the relation between capitalism and imperialism was the issue of capital stock. According to Kadro members, the first capital stocks which provided a rise to capitalism was gained by means of colonialism. Therefore, Tökin described capitalism as a system born having blood in its hands. According to him, the first capital stocks of Europe and America was not done by personal savings as “classical and close-minded economists supposed to be”; but by means of colonial and pillage operations on some continents like Asia, Africa and South America (Tökin, 1934: 21). Besides to these, Tökin, by drawing an analogy, said: “Just as Greek and Roman civilizations grew over the colonial cities, the Western civilization to which we admire today was established at cost of blood and labour of suffering nations of non Europe countries” (Tökin, 1934: 21). After this assessment, Tökin said that Western world had three different way to get capital block and specified these in order to explain the imperialist tone of capital stock in capitalist order:

The first type of capital stock was the price gaps of buying and selling in commercial relations between Europe and non Europe countries. According to this, the European trademen were buying some goods from various countries at cost of so little money and selling them for so much higher prices; in this way they exploited both buyers and sellers of those goods. According to the examples given by Tökin here, the price of pepper in England in that period was eight fold of its price in Aleppo while the price of clove seeds was three fold and of raw silk was again eight fold of it (Tökin, 1934: 17). When the producers of non Europe countries had to sell their goods for too low prices than their virtual value, the capital stock could not be actualized in non Europe countries and flew to and accumulated in Europe. This is one of the aspects of capitalism. Because the exploitation was not understood as only the usurpation of goods.

Although the exploitation was not composed of only the seizure, Tökin mentioned the pillage and plunder movements as a type of making capital stock in Europe as well. In Tökin’s own words: “In those days the pillage, thuggery and piracy were in great request and none of these were considered as immoral, they were almost some kind of art. For instance, the sailors and pirates of Spain and Portugal seized the

millenniums old resources of native population in new discovered South America by dodgery, pillage and thuggery” (Tökin, 1934: 18). As might be expected, when those seized resources were transferred to the Western world, this new blood capital stock gave many economic and political developments a ground.

The third and last imperialist themed method of capital stocking which gave capitalism a ground is slave trade. The Western vision which once paid for slaves and exploited their labour for life, could gain capital stock by this way as well. Tökin, after mentioning that innumerable amount of black groups were deported from islands and Africa to be sold as slaves, said that there were nearly 6.882.759 slaves in year of 1839 (Tökin, 1934: 20). The surplus gained by exploiting the labour of these slaves, undoubtedly played a big role in dawn of the capitalism.

Kadro members, who heatedly discussed and criticized the features and rising of capitalism, claimed that it could never be a universal system. There are some important codes of the vision of Kadro about Western world in their this claim as well. Aydemir, while grounding the fact that capitalism would never be a universal system, referred to its structural aspects. Accordingly, the capitalism essentially could not have a universal validity since it ensured the industrialization of some countries by means of deprivation of some others from it (Aydemir, 1932e: 42). In other words, high capital and high technology were possible only at cost of robbery of some non industrialized exploitees (Aydemir, 1934: 6). Since this aspect of capitalism, it was an obstacle of fair distribution of the high technology on the world; so it was far away from being a valid system universally.

Kadro members, who analysed the capitalism as mentioned above, in accordance with politically Western development vision, claimed that the capitalism was a system obliged to decline and as a matter of fact it had already started to decline. If paid a close attention, it can be seen that the Western perception of Kadro Movement was referring to its exhaustion in every aspect. Undoubtedly, the reason of it was the claim of the system of Turkish reform to be a model for whole world. In this context, Kadro members, by

showing some demonstrations that the capitalism came to the point of declining, claimed that the future could be saved by the economic system they prescribed.

The major signature under the analysis about the future of capitalism was that of Burhan Belge. He mentioned as both a fact and a request: “It is necessary for capital feudalism to break up as all types of feudalism” (Belge, 1932b: 29). As an evidence for it, he firstly signified the voices rising from Europe itself. According to Belge, Europe, which never had a break of criticizing itself in history, had never revealed its hatred against itself and its history in such a violent way, even in the periods of Renaissance and French Revolution (Belge, 1932d: 32). By these words, Belge was expressing both the damage of capitalism and the fact that Europe was starting to be criticized even by itself.

According to the vision of Kadro, capitalism was blown up by its own bomb. The reason for this was the contradictions created by itself. Belge mentioned that Europe had been struggling against the problems born by those contradictions created by capitalism since year of 1918, in which the First World War was finished. By emphasizing once more that those contradictions were between classes and developed-underdeveloped countries, said that the war enfeebled capitalism and the imperialism which was the political aspect of capitalism; as a result, the addressee of both contradictions who were profiting from them had to improve new world-views of their own. In this way, the removal mission of class contradiction was undertaken by Soviet Union; and the removal mission of the developed-underdeveloped countries was undertaken by Turkey (Belge, 1934-1935: 35). Thus the actors who would finish the capitalism which had to come to exhausting point because of the problems created by itself were determined. Belge tried to find the evidences which demonstrated the finish of capitalism in 1929 Depression. According to him, the depression “was not some classic and periodically temporal depression, but a strong precursor of a global structural renewal” (Belge, 1934-1935: 36). In Kadro’s opinion, the consideration that the depression was structural –when considered along with Europe which did not seek any solution for it– was signifying the finish of capitalism as well.

According to the members of Kadro, capitalism was declining while the Western world was seeking a way to obscure this declination. Belge was considering the development plans of America, the corporation systems in Europe, fascism, social fascism and social nationalism as some attempts of the Western world to obscure the fact that it was drifting away from capitalism. Besides to this, according to Belge, those precautions were aiming at staying connected to the capitalism as well (Belge, 1933c: 20). The fact that all these happenings Belge specified and described as some precautions against the decline of capitalism came across the depression years, was not only an incident according to him. While evaluating the precautions of capitalism of which crisis was revealed by depression, he said that “we could accept all these as reactions and reactionist movements in capitalism itself, against the numerous and successful movements of the two opposites” and by this way he mentioned that these precautions would not be a solution (Belge, 1934-1935: 36-37).

The crisis of capitalism which headed for a fall by means of own created contradictions, would cause long-term effects unless due precautions were taken. According to Kadro, Europe was unsuccessful to do it. Thus the declination of capitalism was quickening. According to Belge, the solution of the problem was to give depression what it wanted, that is to say to take precautions against the contradictions created by capitalism. Europe, by ignoring this fact and taking precautions for only saving the day, could not overcome this problem. Belge, by mentioning that it was not possible to remove the contradictions by prohibiting the politics on them, finally said: “An illness cannot be treated by means of prohibiting to be ill” (Belge, 1934-1935: 41).

2.2 Industrialization

The industry and industrialization were the criteria of wealth in those days, just as the landownership of the preindustrial term or knowledge having of nowadays. The extend of industry of a country was a direct determination of the economic power of that country. Thus the members of Kadro were urging upon the issue of industrialization as well, while evaluating the title of economy. It must be also pointed out that the members of Kadro were discussing the industrialization title in context of opposition

against the class conflicts and imperialism, as a basic political motivation of them, just as in all other themes in context of the Western world. As it can be clearly seen in expressions of Aydemir, the basic mentality was that the industrialization of Western world had been actualized at cost of non-industrialization and impoverishment of Eastern world and of course Turkey (Aydemir, 1932b: 10). By taking this basic motivation into consideration, it will be easier to comprehend the evaluations of Kadro members on the issue of Western industrialization.

The national unity and solidarity was one of the central concepts for Kadro members. They have objected to all ideas and movements which could corrode and damage the national unity and solidarity. In this manner, Tör mentioned that there were three types of industrializing way and evaluated them in context of national unity and solidarity. Accordingly, there are three different methods as Capitalist Industrialization, Communist Industrialization and Statist Industrialization. Tör, by mentioning that the most particular effect of Capitalist Industrialization would be class conflict and contradiction, said that these two situations were very shadows of the Capitalist Industrialization (Tör, 1933b: 17). He signficated the situation of Germany as an example of class division which caused by Capitalist Industrialization model. According to Tör, Germany could not rise against imperialism like Turkey in post-war era only because of that the society of Germany was divided into classes and they could not get together under the dominion of one chief (Tör, 1933b: 17). It would be meaningless to expect Kadro members, who had a political vision in the center of unity and solidarity, to accept such a way of industrialization.

Just after the specification of damages of Capitalist Industrialization, the industrialization goal of Turkey and Capitalist Industrialization were urged upon together and analysed. Tör mentioned that some country could be industrialized by this way as well, although the aforesaid damages of it, and as a matter of fact some countries could do it. His examples were Bulgaria, Romania and Greece. However, these countries were some warning lessons rather than being models, and our nation would be wasted if an industrialized Turkey would be alike them. In his own words: “We can never be excited and joyful of an industrialization which makes Turkey a country

divided into hundreds of fractions, lost its stability and solidarity by parliamentary tricks, a country of a patched and separated nation” by emphasizing that the main goal of themselves was the national unity and solidarity (Tör, 1933b: 18). Within the same context, he said that the Communist Industrialization type was also made the dominion of a particular class its principle and damaged national unity and solidarity just as the Capitalist one; so this type of industrialization had to be rejected as well (Tör, 1933b: 21).

In the last analysis, Kadro members revealed that the industrialization methods of Western world caused several damages on national structure and Turkey could not appropriate such methods to be industrialized. However, this situation was not an obstacle to get technical profits from the Western world. The contested point was not technology of West, but its appropriated method to be industrialized. This method was depending on the imperialism. Kadro Movement prescribed the Statist way of industrialization against the two other methods. Because the Statist Industrialization was neither depending on the colonialism, nor it would open the way of class contradictions. According to the vision of Kadro, the Western industrialization which was grounded on the basis of imperialism was obliged to change dramatically, just after the winning victory against the imperialism. In the words of Aydemir: “Once upon a time, the poverty line of exploiters and semi-exploiters was determined by the development level of technology in the high industrialized countries. But today, the distribution level and heaviness of industry in high industrialized countries will be determined by the technological development levels in exploiter, semi-exploiter and economic dependent countries” (Aydemir, 1932b: 11). Therefore, the determinant of the future is the movements of national independence. It is the Statist Industrialization way suitable for the structure and spirit of National Independence Movement. Thus Turkey had to keep away from the industrialization methods of Western world.

3. Vision of West by Cultural Aspects

The discussions made by Kadro members on culture and civilization were going around the imperialism which shaped their general thoughts about the Western world.

They considered the imperialist intentions of West in context of culture and civilization just as that of politics and economy. They prescribed the thought of being national in area of culture and civilization against those Westernist approaches. The Kadro members' vision of West, which can be summarized as cultural imperialism, contained also the discussions on the concept of "intellectual" and fact of being an Easterner or Westerner.

The anti-Euro-centrist vision, upon which we urged in the section of their political vision about West, can be observed in culture and civilization areas as well. They usually criticized Europe which centred the civilization perception of itself and considered the other civilizations lower. Belge, within his discussions about this issue, said that everything had been shaped in accordance with the Western world during last one and a half century and the culture and civilization areas were not exception of this. West had categorized the history in accordance with its own civilization perception and by absolutizing it, called the Asian and Aztec civilizations which lived before the "Primeval Days" as "Prehistoric". The "European" had been the title of civilised, while the "Asian" had been that of barbaric (Belge, 1932: 11). According to this consideration, West was monopolizing the culture and civilization. This situation was causing exclusion of non-Western civilizations out of the cultural area. Whereas, according to Belge, "the contemporary civilization was never a production of Western effort as widely supposed. This civilization was established by the efforts of all nations on the world since its first day; and that efforts were stolen from them" (Belge, 1932b: 29). In other words, actually the civilization of West which was attributed as a supreme civilization and always centred by itself was not the production of only its own effort. In the point attained, all nations had a share. There was a reference to imperialism in these expressions as well. As is seen by the words of "the stolen effort", the Western civilization was grounded on the basis of exploitation of the Eastern societies in opinion of Kadro members.

Aydemir, in order to explain the manner of Europe which was centering itself and excluding all others, specified a table. According to this table, there was a Greek civilization in ancient times and a Renaissance civilization in Mediaeval. Those

civilizations were the center of the world in their own period. In contemporary ages, the center of modern civilization is Europe. Europe has made a synthesis of Renaissance and ancient Greece while building its own civilization. Thus the civilization of Europe is today humane or universal civilization of today. Its economic, judicial, political, artistic and social visions are true and reasonable for all mankind. The truth for remainder nations is to accept those values introduced by Europe (Aydemir, 1932e: 39). As is seen in this table, Kadro members thought that the roles of other nations casted by Europe were only followership and mimicry. However, this mentality was exceedingly wrong in opinion of Kadro members. Because the particular obstacle for European culture to spread the world was Europe itself. Aydemir, in order to reveal that the European culture could not be universal, said: “European order revived such a type of society by accumulating the high industry, high capital and high cultural movements in only Europe or its peripheral regions, that the universalization of this type of society, that is to say the distribution of all high capitals and advanced cultural movements to all around the world is prevented by very the structure of this order itself” (Aydemir, 1932e: 40). By these words, a consideration is seen that Europe was confuting the thesis of itself. Consequently, we can infer a vision which can be summarized as that European civilization was not universal and there were some others except it.

Kadro members were criticizing the fellows who accepted this vision as well as the centering manner of West in civilization and presenting its own civilization as the one which had to be followed by all nations of the world. Mahir divided those fellows into the two titles: “Thinker of Babiâli” and “Snob of Beyoğlu”. The common ground of these two types was that both of them believed that West was supreme. Mahir, while describing the “Snob of Beyoğlu” fellow, used the expressions like the man who could not launch forth without saying “monchère” and who ever imitated the dressing styles, jollifications and flirtations of Western world one to one. As for the “Thinker of Babiâli”, he was the fellow who could not launch forth without saying “Montesquieu says...”, “Gustave le Bon pleased that...”; who imitated all ideas, governing and economy visions which declined in Europe and the fellow who underestimated the reformist movements (Mahir, 1933: 59). Through these fellows he described, he was

revealing the strongest evidences of fact that Europe exported its own civilization by imperialism. It was not a mutual effect situation between two separate civilizations, but domination of one on the other by means of some tricky methods and disregarding it.

Karaosmanoğlu, about the issue of changing Eastern societies by means of cultural imperialism applied by Western culture, made a discussion through women and fashion. Making observations during an activity in Ankara under the name of Fashion Festival of Women compared the participation of this activity with that of the Children's Day and said that this festival was much more crowded and enthusiastic than the Children's day. He complained that the place of festival, Ankara Palas, had not been such crowded with a passion and conscience on even the national days (Karaosmanoğlu, 1934: 40). The fact that he ascribed some negative meanings to the big interest shown to such an activity of fashion which symbolised Western world and that he compared the participation of this activity to that of the national days, can be considered as an expression of the reaction against some elements of Western culture getting in our homeland. Karaosmanoğlu called the participant women of Fashion Festival as "runaway of the people's house and domestic goods assembly" and mentioned that he did not object to the ornament fondness of women, but had mercy that those women were enslaved by the pleasure of Paris dressmakers and cloth factories, or more precisely of their account and benefit. According to this situation, it had same meaning that the women bought European originated goods in sake of fashion and Europe fooled African Negroes by sparkling and colorful glass beads (Karaosmanoğlu, 1934: 41). Although this method seems to be changed its form today, for instance a European trademan who desired to sell more amount of fabric were making the long skirts to be fashion of the day. Karaosmanoğlu gave a brutal response against the fact that this strategy of Westerners worked in Turkey. By making metaphor of West through Seine River and of Turkey through Sakarya river, he objected to the effect of fashion on Sakarya River while it had been born by the shore of Seine. By reminding that "Sakarya" was the name of a defense line formed against imperialist capitalism, he addressed to the "women who followed the fashion trends" by following words: "Do not you sense in your hearts something like disgust –I do not say something like regret!

– while playing this vulgar comedy?” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1934: 41). This analysis, which was also an objection to the cultural imperialism, shows that the Western world was never acceptable as a determinant of something in Turkey for Kadro members. These expressions, which also shows that the Kadro members read cultural issues in context of capitalism and imperialism as well, are very good examples to explain their vision of both culture and Western world.

Kadro Movement put the manner of being national in idea and culture against the cultural imperialism. Karaosmanoğlu explained a four staged process in order to blow down the cultural imperialism. Accordingly, rising of intellectuals who would prepare the revolution, success of revolution, start and grounding of construction and stability of new value criteria are necessary for a new cultural era to be born (Karaosmanoğlu, 1934b: 29). Within this direction, Soviet Russia was referred in context of socialist construction and Kemalist Turkey was referred in context of national independence movement, as the actors who would blow down the cultural domination of Europe (Karaosmanoğlu: 1934b: 31). There is an expression of Aydemir as well, in context of being national against cultural imperialism of Western world. He mentions that any element of Europe in newborn Turkey cannot be appropriated in the ways of neither social nor ideological (Aydemir, 1932d: 50). Thusly we can observe the emphasis of Kadro that Turkey had to be freed from West in cultural and civil areas as well as the political and economic areas.

We have mentioned in previous sections that Kadro had an opinion about the Western world that it was living within a declination process. For Kadro members who considered the Western world in perspective of culture and civilization, the same declination was processing in this two areas as well. They used to specificate this declination under the various titles. The first theme about the declining of West can be seen in the expressions of Belge. He, in order to explain this situation, said that the Western values fell behind the life and warned the Western societies about the danger of living same experiences with Islam civilization if the human being does not understand it properly and insists on the Western values (Belge, 1933: 27). From the point of this view, the primary reason of the backwardness of Islam civilization in front of the

Western one was its insistence on maintaining some values which “fell behind the life”. Therefore the human being had to learn lessons from the processes of Islam civilization and give up the insistence on wrong way.

As another theme to show the failure of Western civilization, it was signified that the values which arose along with French Revolution and shaped West to a great extent lost their validity. Karaosmanoğlu mentioned that the modern times were started by the French Revolution and that the principles of new law, new ethics and new policy were always introduced as some supreme and quasi-sacramental concepts. Those concepts had been tabooed by means of a literature and art movement during a century (Karaosmanoğlu, 1933b: 32). As for today, all of those taboos were being broken. It was evidence of a declination that some considerations of new world confronted these values of Western world which were supposed to be quasi-sacramental. As a matter of fact, the members of Kadro were proclaiming that this system was exhausted and eastern nations had already started to build their own national civilizations; while the criticism of these values had been supposed as reactionism in the period just before the National Independence Movement. Within the sequel of this consideration, it was mentioned that the Western world was living a crisis of culture and civilization in itself. According to Karaosmanoğlu, this crisis was so violent particularly in France, which considered being the inheritor of French revolution. Karaosmanoğlu uttered as an example of this crisis that a famous actress of that period glided to the pop culture. In his own words:

“That Cecil Soerl abandoned the house of Moliere over her 50 and went to be an ordinary artist of Music Hall is something like collapse of Pan temple in Pagan civilization. Having been carrying (spreading and even advancing) the influence of French language and stage triumphes of French literature with an unrivaled ability since thirty years, fully thirty years, now she has gone to have some place among the negro musicians and mixed race actors. The person of Paris, far from crying for this artistic disaster, was not even surprised of it” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1933: 25).

This statement of Karaosmanoğlu was an expression of cultural degeneration when looked from the point of his view. The result to be inferred from this point is that the Western culture which was supposed by Eastern societies to be “high culture” was starting to be dissolved in itself. According to Karaosmanoğlu, it was not possible to reject or ignore this dissolution, however in Turkey there were some fellows still insisting not to admit it. He said that admission of the declination of Western culture, “which had been dazzling us since term of Reorganizations” was weighing on souls of somebody (Karaosmanoğlu, 1932: 44). However the truth was clear for Kadro members, whether it was accepted or not.

Various criticisms were made on the assessments of Kadro members that the culture of Europe was in process of exhausting. Especially Hüseyin Cahit Bey discussed this issue with Şevket Süreyya Aydemir. Aydemir, against the criticisms about his considerations, claimed that the scene of Europe could be considered as a kind of death-agony even if it was still alive. According to him, saying that Europe would die was amounting to the loss of its global dominion of politics, economy and culture. When that dominion was broken, Europe would be toppled from its throne of a century (Aydemir, 1934c: 37). Aydemir mentioned that the only thing Europe could give to other nations was the stolen liberties of them, by emphasizing that it had nothing to give in culture and civilization areas and referring to its imperialist aspect (Aydemir, 1934c: 37). The imperialism emphasis of here was repeated also in another article. Aydemir was mentioning here that the primary reason of Europe to see itself in center of world in context of culture and civilization as well as the economy and politics, was imperialism and that this manner would be removed when the imperialism was broken (Aydemir, 1934: 6). It would be sufficient only to take off the glasses of constitutionalism in order to see that situation (Aydemir, 1934c: 36).

3.1 Between East and West

When analysed the culture and civilization discussions in Kadro Journal, it will be seen that the distinction between being an Easterner, a member of Eastern societies and being a Westerner; and how the relation between these two in context of civilization

must be, is one of the most important themes. Both structural features of two separate structure and the culture-civilization relations in context of political relations are entreated themes in the journal.

The discussions about the comparison of Asian and Western societies are majorly seen in the articles of Burhan Belge. While writing about the Asian societies, he emphasized the conservative aspects of them. In Belge's opinion, this conservatism amounts to the resistance against changing. According to Belge, Asia, which he described as cradle of religions and theocracies, did not accept the power of machine at cost of the thing created by wise and sensitive hand; thus it sought for salvation in resignation privacy of mysticism. Asia has paid this carelessness by being enslaved (Belge, 1932: 11-12). In response to this, Western world has embraced the machine. Its civilization was built on ground of machine. However, according to Belge, this civilization had many harmful aspects as well. The contemporary civilization which was built on machine had all features of an erroneous work just as a crookedly grown tree since it was planted erroneously. The primary reason of this situation was the fact that machine was monopolized firstly among the individuals and then among nations (Belge, 1932b: 28). Consequently, although both two civilizations had some aspects to be criticized, essentially the Western culture was symbolized with machine while the Eastern culture was symbolised by mysticism. These metaphors used by Belge are some expressions of East and West images in heads of Kadro members.

The discussions about the interaction of civilizations between East and West have been on the front burner since Reorganization period. The theme of the qualities of cultural relations between Western world and Turkish people as an Eastern society has been discussed since a long while. In the culture and civilization discussions of Kadro, the understanding to be symbolised as "getting technology of West but not its culture" had always been dominant. Aydemir, while explaining this vision, mentioned that Turkey was needer of method and ideal and scientific materials of Europe in context of technology and then said: "However, it is obvious that there is nothing of a Fr. Nitto or Comte Sforza to give a Turkey in process of reforms to clear its way or be capital for youth" (Aydemir, 1934b: 46). Therefore the point which was objected was not getting

technology from Western world, but getting impressed by ideas of the Western thinkers. According to Aydemir, the newborn Turkey and all of other national independence countries would be taking their technology and expertise from Europe for long years of future and they would import European scholars and technicians for their own science and technology institutes (Aydemir, 1934: 8). Kadro members did not have any objection to this fact. However this situation was impossible in context of social sciences. Because Turkey had its genuine conditions and they could be appropriated by only the intellectuals of homeland. In the words of Aydemir himself: “We do not have any right to take some regulations of other societies as if they are also expressions of our society, that is to say to take a social consideration system of which both ground and conditions are different from ours and give to our own society as if they are true descriptions for us as well” (Aydemir, 1932e: 38). Undoubtly, there is the consideration of “we are similar to only ourselves” lying behind these expressions.

According to the members of Kadro, science and culture are born and grown up in particular regimes. However they exceed those regimes in time. When the regime into which the science and culture were born, the newborn regime embraces them. Aydemir, from the point of this view, mentioned that the science and culture born in Europe would be transferred to Turkey when Europe started to decline. Aydemir, who said that “the method and technology have been inherited from civilizations to civilizations in every ages of the history and the civilization which inherited that method and technology has always been the opposite and enemy of its predecessor”, emphasized that Turkey was opposite and enemy of West and thus the future was in Turkey of National Independence (Aydemir, 1934b: 45). Thus Turkey was not a fan or follower of Europe, but inheritor of it (Aydemir, 1934: 7).

In the opinion of Kadro members, who considered Turkey as the inheritor of Europe, this inheritance had already started to be shared. Aydemir was saying that the pourparty of Turkey from this inheritance had already arrived as expertise in mind of youth, science in pages of books, boxes of tools and technology to our harbors. By completion of the process of portion of the inheritance, Turkey and alike countries would become unities which are politically and economically indepentend. Aydemir

also warned about this issue that the method and technology taken from Europe had never amounted to an importation of regime (Aydemir, 1934c: 36-37).

3.2 The Mission of Intellectuals

The issue of intellectuals had an important place in culture and civilization themed discussions of Kadro Journal in context of Western world. The situation of European intellectual, the relation of Turkish intellectual to the Western culture and civilization, errors of intellectuals and ideal intellectual kind were ground of these discussions.

In the opinion of Kadro members, the European intellectual was stucked in a declining regime. Just as the fact that European civilization had nothing to give to the world, there was not anything new of European intellectual to say to the world. According to Aydemir, the European intellectual was wretched, helpless and deprived of the ideals. He explained the reason of this situation like following: “First of all, the enlightened see that the human being makes new progresses against the nature and dominant powers of it as a result of perpetual process of technology and science. And he knows that his knowledge is ranging up expandingly in accordance with progress of science and technology, since he has some position in thought or production life of that society. However, while the progress of technology is expanding the knowledge of enlightened in one hand, it throws out the production of society and in this way all ideal and theoretical principles on which the enlightened depends, finally the enlightened in person dependently to a social leagality which exiles and rejects him on the other hand” (Aydemir, 1932d: 49). These sentences amounts to that the European intellectual is being victim of the world created by himself. Just as the policy and economy of Europe was declining because of the contradictions created by itself, according to Kadro members, the decline of European intellectual was because of the idea world created by himself. Their world of ideas was static from that point on. According to Aydemir, the idea world of European intellectual had already given what it could in context of idea and philosophy; and its anti-thesis were arising by class conflicts on one side and national independence movements on the other side (Aydemir, 1932d: 48). As is understood, the

idea world of European intellectual was considered by Kadro as the ideal and philosophical system of bourgeoisie. Consequently it can be claimed that the members of Kadro supposed European intellectual to be in position of legitimizing the European politic and economic system, both of which were illegal in their opinion.

The enlightened of Ottoman era was determined by Kadro authors in a quite negative way. The primary reason lying behind this was the consideration that Ottoman was semi-exploitee and the exploited countries could not grow up intellectuals and produce ideas. According to Aydemir, the idea was a noble product and the first condition for feeding it was correlating it with moral and material life of society into which it would be born (Aydemir, 1934: 6). From the point of this view, such an environment in Ottoman State was impossible since it was a semi-exploitee country. Because the dominating country would be sovereign power of not only the economic and politic areas, but of the thought area as well, in an exploited country. Therefore the political and economic dependency of Ottoman State prevented the independence of Ottoman intellectual in area of ideas.

The “admiration” of Turkish intellectual to the culture and values of Western world was a question of debate as well as the ideal independence of the intellectual. Aydemir mentioned that the former Turkish intellectual used the social statements of Europe one to one while building his considerations about the society and that he approved them as are (Aydemir, 1932e: 38). This kind of intellectual pursued nothing but a blind admiration of Europe and a slavishly concern of adaptation to the Western world (Aydemir, 1934b: 43-44). This intellectual did not have a character in context of comprehension about history, society, law, economy and arts (Aydemir, 1934: 6). According to Kadro, the primary reason of these disasters was the erroneous approach which was centring the West. Since Europe was dominating the political, social and cultural life of that period, it was supposed as reactionism to reject something valid in Europe among the Turkish intellectuals. Kadro members, who thought that this situation was broken up and the system was changing, thought that the new Turkish intellectual would have a character. Aydemir explained this thought by putting the concept of “gaining character in way of considering society” against the admiration of Europe

(Aydemir, 1934b: 44). As is seen, the Kadro members who prioritized the notion of independence in areas of politics and economy were defending the independence and nationalism in area of idea and culture as well.

The discussions of being national in area of idea and culture were on the front burner in context of Darülfünun issue as well. The members of Kadro frequently panned Darülfünun since they thought that the scholars of it could not understand the reform and maintained the former type of intellectuals. According to Belge, Darülfünun was an institution established in scientific vision of XIX. century and that was the reason of its incomprehension about reform (Belge, 1933: 25). He considered this school as a product of the liberalist mentality and linked its successions to that of liberalism. Then he said that the liberalism was declining all around the world and thus Darülfünun had lost its function (Belge, 1933: 26). Therefore the intellectuals of Darülfünun had to give up that manner and embrace the reform and take their place among the dawning process of national and independent Turkish intellectual. As is seen, Kadro members considered not only the impressions of Western political visions as dangerous, but also the scientific production by centering the Western considerations as well.

As is seen, the type of intellectual which was idealised by Kadro had to be national and independent first of all. Karaosmanoğlu was significating the new archetype of intellectuals by saying: “They speak about science and say that is impartial and has no homeland. Whereas the science according to Kemalist Turkish reformist is both national and has a homeland; that homeland has to be this one” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1933b: 32). Aydemir says that the national reform is the improvement of a perception system by national reformist intellectual in an original way which is suitable for himself. In this context, the reformist ideology of Turkey is the independence struggle of Turkish intellectual in area of ideas and his battle of gaining a character (Aydemir, 1934: 7). Just as many other debates, the Kadro’s argument of “we are similar to only ourselves” can be seen in the debates on the issue of independence of intellectual as well. Aydemir objected to the fact that our intellectuals grounded their considerations about society on the basis of Western originated mentalities. Because this situation was a serious obstacle for the intellectuals to understand Turkish society which has grown in

a totally different way from the European one. Thus, he says that: “In sake of the explaining our party about ways of building new Turkey, our first struggle will be against the philosophical culture of Turkish intellectual which depends on a consideration type of older world” (Aydemir, 1932b: 9). Karaosmanoğlu, by emphasizing that Turkish intellectual had not anything to derive from the ideas which were exhausted in even Europe, called the European considerations as scholastic and said that we had better to “let the old things to the waste collectors” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1932: 45). Consequently the intellectuals of new Turkey which could gain its political and economic independency against Europe, had to be national and independent in area of ideas as well. This was considered as a sine qua non condition by Kadro in order to settle reform on a solid foundation.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis study, the Western world vision of Kadro Movement was revealed, which was formed around the Kadro Journal from 1932 to 1935. Then we inquired the grounds on which Kadro was built and rised. Besides to this, we sought an answer for the question of how an anti-Westernization movement could arise in Kemalist system which was a radical Westernization movement.

Within such a radical Westernization movement like Kemalist system, rise of an anti-Westernization reflexion like Kadro movement can be read around the Great Depression of 1929 and events of Free Party. The constituent elites who won the National Independence War and formed Republic of Turkey, started a quick reform movement. The reforms were inspired by Western world to a great extent. Particularly in the economic area, many efforts can be observed which aim at building a system in accordance with the Western world. However the by the effects of turbulence of Western world caused by 1929 Economic Depression, the Westernization ideas were interrupted. The depression and political problems caused by it brought some changes in vision of Kemalist system about West. Along with those changes, an evolution towards the consideration which can be generally summarized as “we are similar to only ourselves” becomes obvious. The rising nationalist consideration after Depression and dawn of Kadro Movement are in same period. Kadro members could utter their anti-Westernist considerations freely under the cloak of circumstances of period in which the vision of Western world changed in some aspects. The thought of “being national” which was emphasized by Kadro in many times was in accordance with the nationalist consideration of Kemalist system as well.

Also the Great Depression of 1929 and Free Party event played big roles on the fact that Kadro members could utter their anti-Westernist considerations freely. By forming of Free Party and getting support of a large mass of people caused Kemalist regime to recognize that their reforms could not reach to the people. By closure of the

Free Party, Kemalist regime started some labors in order to take the conscience of reforms to the people. However, by those labors, regime recognized that it had not known the people properly as well. During the following years of closure of Free Party, it is not incidentally that the answers for the questions of Who is Turk? What is Turkish language? and etc. were sought. Within those years of “being national” centred investigations in the areas of music, folklore, culture and etc., Kemalist regime turned its back to the West. The rising nationalism in those years in which especially radio and established schools were used as means of indoctrination, ensured Kadro members to come in sight with an anti-Westernist discourse. The “nationalism” emphasis used by Kadro members in their criticisms of Western world was essentially originated in the new way of regime.

Although the events which gave Kadro members ground to come in sight along with a claim to produce ideology for the regime as an anti-Westernist reflexion in a radicalist Westernization movement were 1929 Depression and Free Party experience, the essence of this event was Marxist formations of Kadro members. Kadro members who could not find suitable environment to utter their considerations during the first years of regime since the philosophy appropriated by it, took the advantage of that Mustafa Kemal and his friends got away from the Western world and thus they started to utter their virtual thoughts. As widely known, different voices were not enabled during the first years of Republic of Turkey. All voices external to the way of regime were oppressed. The Marxist fellows were in this group as well. Their thoughts were banished and sometimes they were arrested. The event of 1927 Arrestments is a clear example for this fact. By the end of this process, Kadro authors made an implicit treatment with the regime and started to move within it. They did not use radical expressions in their articles and stayed in lines determined by the regime. When the regime started to think doubtly about West and the causes aforesaid occurred, the regime got away from West and Kadro members remembered their Marxist formation. Thus they started to criticize the Western world in the context of imperialism.

The sole factor shaped the West perspective of Kadro members was imperialism. It was observed that in almost all articles used in this study, the main emphasis is

imperialism. Although nevertheless the issue urged upon was capitalism, democracy or industrialization, all of them were read through the imperialism. Consequently, it is not an exaggeration to say that the basis of the vision of Kadro about Western world was the fact of imperialism. By Kadro members, democracy was considered as a political expression of imperialism, while the capitalism was considered as the economic one. The Western world designates all political instruments in accordance with its imperialist goals. It can be said that there were two main goals lying behind the evaluations of Western world. The first is the consideration of Kadro members about the main global contradiction. As we mentioned above, the Kadro members did not consider class conflict as the main contradiction, but the contradiction between developed and underdeveloped countries. Such a consideration would certainly reach to the debate of imperialism. Because the development and advance of Western world in this thought system was possible with only the exploiting the Eastern societies. The way of removing this contradiction is breaking the imperialist system down. Another reason for evaluating the Western world in context of imperialism was the personal backgrounds of Kadro members. Kadro authors were undergraduate students in recent times of Ottoman Empire. Within that period, the West was exploiting Ottoman land in various aspects. The Kadro members who finally saw that the Western powers attempted to share Ottoman lands according to a planned work, shaped their vision about West in this way. Then they started to utter their considerations as soon as they found a convenient environment. Besides to this, the evaluation of West in context of imperialism was in accordance with the withdrawal policy of Kemalist regime from Westernization as mentioned above. The emphasis on imperialist aspect of Western world within the indoctrination of society by Kemalist system can be supposed as an important instrument. This was some kind of a recollection of the imperialist aspect of West which was idealised at the beginning.

While the Kadro members came in sight with an anti-Westernist discourse, they were sensitive against preserving a balance about the West. The Westernist consideration idealised by Kemalist system at the beginning was still alive in context of technology and science. While Kadro was rejecting West in context of imperialism, they

did not reject the technology of it. At this point, a balance between intruder-enemy perception and role model West perception attracts the attention. They were accepting the technical supremacy of West and did not consider taking it as an example risky in this context. This consideration which can be summarized as “get the technology of west but not culture” brings to mind the culture-civilization distinction of Ziya Gökalp. Although the issue if Kadro members were impressed by Ziya Gökalp is equivocal in literature, an impression of Ziya Gökalp can be observed on Kadro members in respect of the fact that both during the period in which Kadro members were growing up Ziya Gökalp was effective and the consideration of Kadro about West was similar to that of Ziya Gökalp. The Kadro manner which accepts the technical import from West while rejecting the import of culture from it, brings to mind the distinction of Ziya Gökalp between culture and civilization to a great extent. As well known, Ziya Gökalp had urged upon the relation between “hars” –which means culture– and civilization and analysed it. In this perspective, culture has domestic meanings while the civilization has international meanings. Also while the civilization is grown up artificially, the culture is on contrary, not artificial. Within this scope, Kadro members did not object to getting the technological aspect of civilization from Western world, which is grown up artificially. However importing the culture, which arises by internal dynamics of society, from Western world is dramatically erroneous according to their vision. In this context, it is a high probability that Kadro members were impressed by the distinction built by Ziya Gökalp.

New Republic of Turkey was born just after very destructive wars. On a warworn geographic circumstance, a group of people who had psychological effects of being defeated by Europe formed Republic of Turkey. In the analysis of Kadro members who improved a discourse of nationality by emphasizing the imperialist aspect of West, a great self reliance can be observed against the Western world. At this point, it is a crucial question if this self reliance was a balanced emotion or a bloated and ill self reliance. It is obvious that they aimed at providing the addressed mass with a motivation while building this self reliance. Besides to this, the crisis which Western world was struggling against in that period has also been additively effective on this self reliance.

The thought that the National Independence Revolution of Turkey would be a model for whole world and break the Western imperialist order down seems like a claim which is impossible to be actualized in a short while when considered the Turkey and global circumstance of that period. This situation, which was probably recognized by Kadro members as well, was majorly used as a motivative instrument as mentioned above. When considered that Kadro was not a mass movement but a movement which essentially aimed at effecting the politically decisive mechanisms of the state, it is understood that they were concerning to provide the political leaders of that period with such a self reliance.

The debates between Şevket Süreyya and Hüseyin Cahit give us important donnee in order to state the Kadro's perspective about the Western world. Within these debates which were going around liberalism and Europe themes, Şevket Süreyya was making a very brief summary of their vision about West. Against the articles in the journal of Idea Movements published by Hüseyin Cahit in order to defend the liberal democracy, Şevket Süreyya was retorting. While accusing Hüseyin Cahit of being admirer of West, in his articles he mentioned that the underdeveloped countries could not develop by liberal policies and the liberalism itself was in a crisis, lost its function. According to Aydemir, Hüseyin Cahit was an example for the intellectuals of Constitutional Monarchy period. When it came to debate with Hüseyin Cahit, Kadro members signficated the journal of Idea Movements as an example of consideration they had criticized. As for the main object of criticisms, it was the imitation of Europe one to one. Thus, Aydemir called Hüseyin Cahit "transferrer and translator" in his articles. However according to Kadro members Turkey would never be an imitator of Europe, as we mentioned above. Consequently the journal of Idea Movements was in the focus of criticisms made by Kadro authors and has given many important clues which ease understanding the Kadro's vision in context of Western world.

It is obvious that the intellectual profundity of Kadro authors was high leveled. That they were aware of many discussions of their period and that they could give some lectures in various languages in many international congresses are some examples of this level. However we cannot observe a high theoretical profundity of Kadro authors

within the discussions of Kadro Journal about the Western world. The discussions were usually composed of daily arguments. There are only a few discussions about the thinkers who had established the ideal ground of Western thought. There are rather the discussions which were originated in the daily political conditions. One of the reasons of this situation might be that the criticism against Western world was done from the point of political concerns. Since the politics was an issue in daily life and affected it, the discussions of Kadro members about Western world occurred from the point of daily life struggles.

Within the analysis of Kadro members on Western world, there are many discussions about Russia in context of communism. It is a signification of the fact that Russia was a western state for Kadro members that they gave place to Russia in their Westernization discussions. It can be said that there were two primary reasons of it. The first one is that Russia acted in unison with the Western states during the sharing plans of Ottoman lands. This situation has become more apparent especially by the fact that Russia took sides with the Entente States during the First World War. It is probable that the image of Russia among the Western enemies caused it to be under the title of “Western states” in opinion of Kadro authors. The second and more important reason is that the Kadro members considered Marxist ideology which was current in Russia at that period as a Western originated ideology. As a matter of fact, they evaluated also Marxism under the title of Western originated ideas and did their analysis in this way.

Kadro Journal, which had published many evaluations about the Western world during its broadcasting life, says something about the Westernization adventure of Turkey by its closure process as well. The members of Kadro came in sight along with the claim of producing ideology for the regime. Their main goal was effecting the political decision mechanisms and impose their ideals to the regime. The consideration about the Western world is one of these ideals. There was an ideal in the heads of Kadro members in context of Western world, as well as the politics, economy, culture and etc. However the members of Kadro could not achieve to transfer it to the political area and the journal was gently closed by regime. This closure way of journal is an evidence of the big effect of state-centralism on the Westernization story of Turkey which has

started in recent times of Ottoman Empire. By starting of Ottoman to decline, many intellectual people improved suggestions in various perspectives. However in the last analysis, the actualized one was that which the governors wanted to be. This is an evidence which shows that the essential factor in Westernization movements was not intellectuals or civil society. It was the state who has always decided the level and instruments of actualizing the Westernization movement. This situation was proved once more by closure of Kadro Journal.

Kadro Movement was an intellectual movement which made its mark in the period which it was published by its revealed ideas. Besides to this, it has impressed many other movements rised afterwards and it has been a kind of beginning point for them. Particularly the journal of Yön published in the early 1960s was impressed by Kadro's vision to a great extent. The effects of Kadro Movement have survived until today and give ideas of some fractions ground in the recent periods during which the debates about Western world are very heated. When considered especially the views which called as "nationalist leftism", serious impressions of Kadro can be easily seen. Kadro Movement, which engraved in the Turkish political life still preserves its importance in our day.

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