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A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE IN TURKISH

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VILLAGE INSTITUTES

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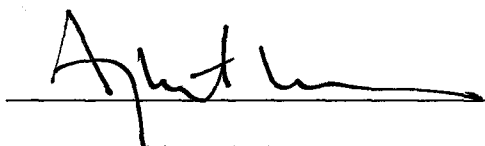
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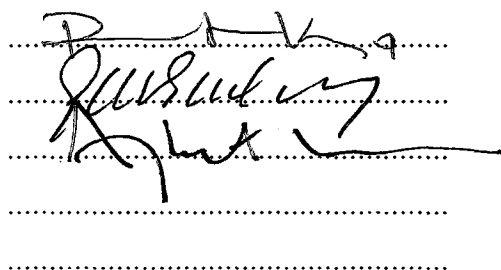
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ABSTRACT

A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE IN TURKISH POLITICS: VILLAGE INSTITUTES

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The aim of this study is to evaluate the situation of the Village Institute Movement as a social movement and the place of the Movement in relation to class within Turkey. The following questions are addressed: the aims of Political Authorities with regard to Village Institutes, the reasons behind the Village Institutes perhaps becoming one of the most important phenomena in the history of Turkey, the reactions of the different social classes to the establishment and destruction of the Village Institutes. Within this framework the developments, applications and the results of the Institutes are examined. The policies of the State towards both the village and agriculture are discussed in order to understand the real aims of the State in relation to the Institutes. It is concluded that political authority aimed at using the Village Institutes in three areas: firstly, to raise the level of literacy in order to increase agricultural production and develop industrialization on the food front; secondly, to instill the ideology of the new regime and thirdly, to raise cadres for the regime. The movement cannot be defined as an education for revolution. The beneficial results of the movement for the dominated classes were not the target of political authority; rather, they stemmed from the bourgeois and democratic character of the movement,

the peculiarity of the education, the class conflicts of the time and, basically, attendance by the children of the dominated classes.

Keywords: Turkish Politics, Village Institutes

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ÖZ

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, toplumsal bir hareket olarak Türkiye’de uygulanan Köy Enstitütüleri girişiminin irdelemesini yapmaktır. Bu çerçevede Köy Enstitülerinin kurulmasındaki Siyasal İktidarın amaçları ve bu amaçlarla hareketin sonuçları arasındaki önemli farklılığın gerekçeleri irdeleniyor. Yanısıra, toplumsal sınıfların Köy Enstitülerinin kuruluş ve kapanış aşamalarındaki tavır ve tutumları değerlendiriliyor. Siyasal iktidarın amaçlarını daha gerçekçi bir şekilde irdeleyebilmek üzere dönemde köye ve tarıma yönelik politika ve uygulamalar gözden geçiriliyor. Köy Enstitüleri ile Siyasal İktidarın; sanayileşme için gerekli kaynağın ve cephe için gerekli yiyeceğin sağlanabilmesi için tarımsal üretimin artırılabilmesi, yeni rejimin ideolojisinin halen eski rejim unsurlarının egemen olduğu kırsal bölgelere ulaştırılması ve rejimin gerek duyacağı kadroların yetiştirilmesi amacıyla kırsal kesimde eğitim düzeyinin yükseltilmesini amaçladığı bunun ötesindeki sınıf bilincine sahip bir köylü aydın kitlesinin yaratılması, tarımda sömürü ilişkilerinin sona erdirilmesi ve köyün içten canlandırılması gibi amaçlarının olmadığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Köy enstitüsü hareketinin bir devrim için eğitim hareketi olmadığı, buna karşın sonuçlarının bu ve

biraz önce belirttiğimiz siyasal iktidarın amaçlamadığı unsurlara dair önemli etkileri içerdiği kanısına ulaşılmıştır.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Need for a Study of this kind

What is the reason for a study of this kind? Answers to this question will be frequently given throughout this study. The Village Institutes can be described as one of the most effectual social phenomenon within the short history of Turkish Republic. With their social, economic, political and cultural influences, the Village Institutes were a unique movement. Its effects were seen not only in Turkey but all over the World it is also accepted as a unique education movement. The uniqueness of Village Institutes was not only in education but also in the relations of state and society, in the approach to solve economic, social and cultural problems.

The Village Institute Movement was a movement that causes one to think whether unilateral relations between society and state were being changed. From the establishment of Ottoman State to Turkish Republic, the masses of common people were always givers: as soldiers, as workers on the land, etc. In every sphere of life people devoted themselves to the benefit of the state.

At this point, some clarification on the notions of State and Society should be made. In this study State is defined as the agent that uses political power for production and reproduction of the regime of relations connected with social, economic, and political arenas. On the other hand, Society is used for that part of community that is continually devoted to the benefit of the regime; members of society work harder than others to make a living, they are martyrs and tax payers. As a result, society is the exploited, dominated part of the community.

There were many explanations related to the reasons for the establishment of Village Institutes. For me, the most challenging are the views of Fahri Ecevit. According to Ecevit, the head and body of the community were not a single unit but were held together by political wires. This negative situation was continuous from before the foundation of the Republic. The Village Institute movement was a movement intended to make a single, united people. For Ecevit (1940) the movement was to bring about harmony between the different social elements in existence.

An overview of evaluations related to the Village Institutes can be briefly stated.

According to Kirby (1962: 380), the Village Institutes became the most economic, the most efficient, the most original and the most productive solution to the problem of education which was perceived as one of the most

important problems in the big drive towards modernization. The Movement was more than an educational movement, it was a way of creating a nation.

Engin Tongu (1969: 264) thought that the Institutes were what was needed to provide education that would lead to revolution.

İnan (1981: 16) stated that the Institutes were established to change the destiny of peasants by their own hand. They were cheap, productive institutions for providing development.

Özturanlı (1979: 10) argued that through Village Institutes the peasants would be educated to understand their rights and the republic of workers would be established.

Gelencik (1976: 6) emphasized the related aims of Village Institutes to increasing agricultural production, to the integration of villages to narrow domestic markets, to the enlargement of the market, to raising staff who would support the leading bureaucratic staff, to the growth of qualified workers and to insert into the peasants a kind of ideological education.

Öz (1969: 19-20) observes that the establishment and the working of Institutes was based on political aims. The young who were educated in Village Institutes would teach the peasants their duties in relation to the State. In this way the peasants would rise above absolute illiteracy. There was no class consciousness in the Institute movement.

According to Köklügiller (1969: 17) the Village Institutes were a village reaction to the mentality of an urban right to luxury. Because of this, it had a class character.

For Burkay (1977: 9), the Village Institutes were thought as economic efforts at providing a greater number of teachers, health officers and agricultural specialists. The Village Institutes came out of the desire to raise staff for the needs of modernizing agriculture and to communicate the values of the regime. There was not any suspicion that the political authority wanted more than this.

Soysal (1964: 8-9) claimed that the Institutes were the result of a wish to change society through education and production. By these means, with the education of society the productive capacity would also be increased. In the long run, the Institutes would be the instrument of an industrialized and specialized society.

Besin (1970: 16) thought that the aims of the Village Institutes were not only the provision of a specialized labor force for the economic institutions, but also to raise people who would affect the social, economic, political and cultural life of the educated.

The evaluations of the Institutes by İlhan Başgöz (Tonguç, E. 1969: 499, 502-3) regarded the movement as looking for change in the social and economic structure through education. The political power did not dare to implement other ways for transforming society. For example production techniques, production and distribution mechanisms and the rights of workers in

the distribution of national income were not taken into account. Without making these radical transformations, this heavy duty was given to education. But the education could not be a sufficient instrument itself for social-structural transformations. The reason for placing such a heavy duty on education were the insufficiencies within the economic sphere. Besides education, the teacher was responsible for solving economic problems. Without radical structural transformation policies, the teachers can not achieve anything

The famous novelist, Kemal Tahir (Tonguç, E. 1969: 535) pointed out that the Village Institutes were established to keep villages tied to the state, to the one party regime. This was done by making village administration a one party regime through the village leader or teacher.

According to Szyliowicz (1973: 223-5), after graduating the new teacher was expected to undertake the following duties: to administer and teach in the village school; to develop the economic and cultural level of the village by organizing ceremonies on national holidays, to establish and operate fields, gardens, and lots as models for the villagers; to teach villagers the proper use of tools and machines; to help the establishment of co-operatives; to promote athletics among the young and be responsible for the management and protection of forests and antiquities. That these goals of the movement were highly unrealistic was unquestionable, but the total impact was undoubtedly great and the Institutes represented an innovative and significant attempt to resolve one of the country's basic problems, that of rural development.

As we see from these different views, there is a need for clarification about the meaning of Village Institutes. In this clarification I am basically concerned with the framework of Society and State relations. What did political authority want from Village Institutes? Were the results compatible with the expectations of political authority? What were the results of the establishment of Village Institutes that made them so very important in the social history of Turkey.

1.2 Scope and Objectives

What is the scope and the objectives of this study?

The scope of the study is basically to try to clarify the aims of political authority with regard to Village Institutes and to analyze whether the results obtained were aimed at them from the beginning. Why did the classes whose interests may have been damaged by the Village Institutes not oppose them? If they did oppose the Village Institutes, how was the opposition applied? In this way I will try to clarify the attitude of the state toward Village Institutes and attempt to make clear the attitude of society, especially at the village level.

The objective of the study is to evaluate the relationships between state and society relations in the case of Village Institutes. Lastly, I will try to explain the reason for the study with reference to Taner Timur. For Timur (1971: 248), the establishment of Village Institutes was an attempt made a great echo in the political life of Turkey. What was the reason for its effect on political and

economical life, particularly its basically educational character? To correctly answer this question, an evaluation of the attempt against an objective assessment of the conditions of Turkey's class structure and class conflict is necessary.

1.3 Outline of the Study

At this point it is apposite to present an outline of this study. Firstly, an introduction to the economic, political, social and cultural conditions of late of 1930's will be dwelt on. In the second chapter a general exposition of the Village Institutes, their developments, applications and results will be given. In this context, in first section, a general overview of applications before the establishment of Village Institutes will be set out. Then the basic features of Village Institutes and their differences will be illustrated. Then the results of research into the application of Village Institutes will be discussed.

In the third chapter an attempt is made to demonstrate the evaluations of the Village Institutes within the framework of the relationships between state and society. In the first section of the third chapter, the aims of Village Institutes will be described. Then, the evaluations of the aims of Village Institutes within the framework of results of the research will be made. Later, in the second section of the chapter, the expectations of the political authority, their limitations and the results that went beyond the expectations of political authority will be explained. In the third section of this chapter, an evaluation of the expectations of the political authority from Village Institutes within the framework of policies

towards villages and agriculture will be contemplated. Lastly, the actions of social classes and political authority in the opening and destruction of Village Institutes will be outlined.

In the last chapter, the conclusions from the study will be stated.

1.4 General Overview of the Economic, Political and Social Conditions of Turkey at the End of the 1930's

In the 1930's eighty percent of the population was peasant, the majority of which was illiterate. Ignorance spread beyond education to a knowledge of contemporary conditions, means of production, living conditions, health and belief. They were neglected. Twelve million of the country's population, of sixteen million, was living in villages. The number of villages was over forty thousand. Further, only twenty percent of the population was literate and eighty percent was illiterate. But the position in villages was even worse: only ten percent of the village population was literate and ninety percent was illiterate. In 1935, 35.227 out of 40 000 villages did not have a school or teacher; they were shrouded in darkness (Gedikoğlu 1971: 15-6).

With War of National Salvation, the country was cleansed of enemies, the regime that had been a barrier to the development of society was changed and the Kemalist revolutions were trying to introduce reforms. But these revolutions had not yet grasped the roots of society. That is to say, the Republican

administration had not penetrated to village level. It had not yet challenged the Ottoman conditions among the village peasantry.

The new regime in this period was quarreling with the old powers to prevent any returning back and was in the process of securing its authority. But the danger had not yet passed because sufficiently powerful supports was still being gathered. The struggle was also carried on in the ideological sphere. Schools using scientific methods were established in an attempt to replace the feudal education institutions. The attack against religious ideology was continued in order to secure the new regime.

After the establishment of the Republic, there were two views related to education. One view was that education should be aimed at capitalism through the education of people, especially villagers. The supporters of this view were the bourgeoisie, bureaucratic cadres and intellectuals. The second view was that of the feudal powers. They were against the education of villagers. But the bourgeoisie, bureaucratic cadres and intellectuals were strong in the government and because of their weight attempts were made in improving education besides those in reforming the superstructure of the state (Çakır 1976: 15).

There was a desire to establish industry which, from necessity, was based on the agriculture. In order to empower the bourgeoisie by policies of support from the state, the state needed means of entry into the villages. The bourgeoisie created opportunities for peasants producing for the market, the need for personnel to join the bureaucracy and for labor in the productive workshops. Education began to be seen as an instrument through which these opportunities

could be filled. At least, the provision of primary education for peasant citizens was needed in order to establish capitalism amongst the majority peasant population. This situation was consistent with the benefits that would accrue to the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, the view of bureaucrats and the expectations of the intellectuals. The feudal powers were against this enterprise but they were not strong enough to prevent its implementation (Çakır 1976: 16).

The economic policy of the new regime was aiming to create a bourgeoisie. The state allocated all resources to the creation of a capitalist class. In this way, capital accumulation by the bourgeoisie was encouraged in different ways, the exploitation of poor peasants and the small working class was becoming heavy. Some political and social rights, e.g. the right to establish syndicates, the right to strike and to constitute political parties, were denied and the press was censored. Political power established a front for the feudal element in order to reconcile it and did not make any negative policies towards big landowners.

But the development and modernization of society and the growing liveliness of the economy was dependent on the enlivenment of the rural sector of the nation in order to introduce modern production techniques into agriculture and to open up the villages to markets. In searching for solutions in agriculture two proposals were put forward. One was to bring an end to feudal relations in agriculture by means of land reform, the other was to increase productivity. These proposals would also have cultural effects such as freeing peasants from a religious view of the world (Burkay, 1977: 7-8).

Throughout this study the existing realities of the villages in Turkey will be discussed in order to determine if they themselves sought to shoulder the burden of education to change their own structure (Başgöz et. al. 1968: 199).

As stated by Yerasimos (1980: 661, 675-76) it is possible to picture the socio-political structure after the War of Salvation: the regime had been established on a triangle of bureaucracy, big bourgeoisie and notables. The bureaucrats held power by providing the ways of increasing the instruments of capital accumulations to big city bourgeoisie and lands to the big landholders. These two dominant classes also supported nationalist bureaucrats, who came from the petty bourgeoisie because the state that was under their control made it easy to accelerate capital accumulation and to concentrate the ownership of land in a small number of hands. Furthermore, there was also a direct economic interest in the relation between these two dominant classes. The basic factor in these relations was the export of agricultural products. Other classes were not provided with any freedom, where freedom means the capability of the bourgeoisie to take action. This restriction of freedom worked against the agriculture because it worked in favor of the big landowners in the realm. Naturally, the whole burden of this lay on the shoulders of the Turkish peasants who are, in formal literature, "Masters of the Nation". The state takes upon itself to give no opportunity to either the left or the right. Lastly, Yerasimos (1980: 677-79) emphasized that the reforms started in the beginning of the Republican period only provided new benefits to the bourgeoisie and other sovereign urban classes and to open the village to market economy and imperialist exploitation.

I want to state also the views of Behice Boran (Tonguç, E. 1969: 28-31) in relation to class structure after the 1930's: after the end of the War of National Salvation soldiers from village and city returned their land, workbench and shop. The masses became important elements in the determination of the destiny of country. Governing cadres came to hold control of Turkish State itself. These bureaucratic cadres were dependent upon the developing bourgeoisie, big merchants, big land owners and notables. This foundation of control, as it had been from 19th century, used as its model the capitalist way of the west for the development of the country. One of the reasons for this, as stated before, was an absence of the weight of people in the government; because of this the governing cadres were dependent on the classes listed above. Moreover these cadres came from the petty bourgeoisie.

In 1935 the petty bourgeoisie-intellectual wing of the RPP administration who wanted to make radical transformations and to eliminate the former structure of capitalism, made their strong case on two important points: "Land Reform" and the "Primary Education Problem" especially to be directed towards rural regions (Tanilli, 1989: 49-50).

Following the explanations related to the need for this study, the scope, objective and the outline of the study and a general overview of economic, political and social conditions of Turkey at the end of 1930's, evaluations related to the Village Institutes will be made.

CHAPTER II

THE VILLAGE INSTITUTES IN TURKEY AND THEIR DEVELOPMENTS, APPLICATIONS AND RESULTS

2.1 The General Overview of the Applications before Village Institutes

The first legal arrangements, before the establishment of the Village Institutes, go back to 1835. The earliest education report was prepared in 1835. This report said that economic and, particularly, educational reforms could not be realized unless they were based on primary educators (Kirby 1962: 15). That is to say, one hundred years before the application of the educator program the basic point for the national development had been specified.

In 1933, after much effort, a Village Affair Commission was convened under the leadership of Reşit Galip, the Minister of Education. This commission emphasized the need for a new type of school teacher for rural areas who was to be trained not only in traditional pedagogy, but also be prepared to serve as an agent of change in the community. The ideal person would, besides

educating the children, replace traditional ideas and practices with the new ideology and modern ways and act to raise the community's standard of living (Szyliowicz 1973: 221).

One study related to the problem of education was the report by Tonguç. Tonguç's report was both qualitatively and quantitatively different from earlier reports. First of all, it argued, the peasants themselves should be taken into account as the base for education. Their villages generally had populations numbering less than 400. This determination of Tonguç resulted in the implementation of the "Educator Program". For economic reasons, the village youths who were taught reading and writing during their period of military service were trained as educators who would go to these small villages (Kirby 1962: 110-1). The Village Educator Law was passed in 1937, and by 1942-43 almost 6,000 educators were teaching 172,800 students. This program was completed by the Village Institute Program into which it was later merged (Szyliowicz 1973: 222).

According to Başgöz and Wilson (1968:175-76), the level of achievements of educators in villages can be seriously criticized. But the achievements of the educators in giving knowledge to children and, moreover, in providing notions about the economic environment of life were not only dependent upon the educator's level of knowledge. The level of achievement attained by the educator program was intimately dependent upon the level of achievements in the general policies of the state towards the village. An educator cannot be successful in isolation; administrative and fiscal measures that will

accelerate and provide economic and social development have to be in place. At this point it is convenient to make the following clarifications: generally the mechanism of government in Turkey, and specifically of the ministries charged to support it, did not prepare the conditions necessary for the educators to achieve their goals.

There is also an economic side to this. Village communities have no money, they give only their meat and bone for their development. Also, the state does not have unlimited resources. But, without funds, getting the masses to a suitable level for the conditions of modern civilization, legal and social reforms will be no more than ornaments. Without developing the masses, neither the United Nations nor a national economy can be established. This point, according to Kirby, determined the features of the program proposed by Tonguç and identified the strategic point where the lever was to be inserted into the education system. The determination of this phenomenon by Tonguç gave rise to the educator experiment. Besides the importance of this point, the details related to the conditions of educator program became secondary. The first educator experiment came about as a result of education, gained by villagers during military service, being taught at leisure to village children. These observations opened a road to the idea that this application could possibly be transformed into a major program through cooperation with the National Education Ministry. This idea also circumvented some of the problems of organization and finance associated with conventional education and provided a clue towards finding a reasonable solution to the impossible problem of finance (Kirby 1962: 110-11).

By training experts in primary education peculiar to the village, the Village Institutes were to become the main factor in the building of the real village in new age Turkish society. The experience gained from the educator's attempts showed that if the methods for educating peasants for village were improved, results could be obtained that might change the general view of Turkey within one generation. Ecevit (1940:41) defined the school in Turkey as like: "the school of the free and happy citizen who is reading, teaching but at the same time applying the best production methods to his land, that is to say, when the training and inspiration wake up new necessities in his life, he will look for the income to meet these necessities and will not abandon his village but find this income in his village".

2.2 Basic Features and Differences of Village Institutes

Basic principles of Village Institutes were defined in the study of İsmail Hakkı Tonguç and Saffet Arıkan which was published in 1936 (Makal 1990: 52).

The knowledge which was to be given to teachers should be based on essentials that are universally applicable. Professional lessons should contain practical knowledge. The teachers of tomorrow should grow up in the conditions related to every aspect of village. They should have complete command, both in practice and theory, of all kinds of production in agriculture and industry.

According to İ.H. Tonguç (1933: 210-11), the essence of the training is to form the humans in accordance with the necessities of civilized life and national values and needs. If humans do not conform definite conceptions of living it will not be possible to accomplish anything. Because of this, the most important priority is the job of making the citizen a creator through equipping him with definite qualities. That is the main and essential duty of village education. The educator was a person who undertook this role come what way. Creative and able humans were to be the root and essence of the republic.

All of the Institutes were established outside of the cities and towns, and in easily accessible places. Other fundamental conditions were taken into account in the selection of suitable locations: firstly, the environments should be suitable for agriculture; secondly, the land should be owned by the state; thirdly, the chosen locations, as well as having sufficient land for agriculture, should be close to the borders of two or three provinces. Only village children who had undergone full primary education were accepted to the institutes (Gedikoğlu, 1971: 40-41).

Here, the basic points of Village Institute Law can be outlined. In the first item, the stated aim was to educate village teachers and professional experts who would be useful to the village. In the third item, the qualifications for acceptance into the Institutes as set out explained: healthy children fully educated in village primary schools. In the fifth item compulsory service was defined: teachers educated in village institutes should do compulsory service in villages for

twenty years. As to the duties of the teachers, the sixth item states that they are responsible for making education and teaching in a scientific way, to constitute model agricultural areas and to guide the peasants in carrying out agricultural activities scientifically (TBMM Dergisi 1940: 82-89).

The first two Institutes were opened in 1937, and in 1940 the Village Institute Law was passed. The philosophy behind these Institutes was similar to that of the Trainer Program, but instead of recruiting young veterans, primary school graduates underwent a five-year training program which stressed agricultural and mechanical subjects and their applications which were common to rural problems. Students and staff were responsible for building their own institute, which was normally located in a remote rural area in order to preserve the rural ethos of the program and to avoid the risk of exposing young villagers to urban life and thus arousing expectations and desires that could not be fulfilled in a rural community. Often they had to do so in the face of official apathy and inefficiency, but their courage and determination overcame many such obstacles.

After graduating, the new teacher was expected to undertake the following duties: administer and teach in the village school; develop the economic and cultural level of the village by organizing ceremonies on national holidays; establish and operate fields, gardens and lots as models for the villagers; teach villagers the proper use of tools and machines; help establish co-operatives; promote athletics among the young; and be responsible for the management and protection of forests and antiquities (Szyliowicz, 1973: 222-3).

Naturally, Village Institutes became effective and produced results in primary education. Primary education widespread in small villages through teachers educated in Village Institutes. Because their constitutional rules and their functional peculiarities, the village schools became centers of education and pioneering institutions in their environments. By providing various devices related to the village life to the teachers, they not only engaged in education but they also tried to give useful practical knowledge to the peasants. In this foresighted way they laid a foundation of work and professional education (Gedikoğlu 1971: 232).

Through the Village Institutes, the state was consciously going to the village. The Institutes opened roads for national unification. Scientific ways were taught for struggling against bad natural conditions. The every face of the national culture was re-examined, molded and developed. A new, national, contemporary and unified practice and theory of education was established. In this way, the philosophy of education as builder and creator was established. The basic aim was to create a humankind who is free, suitable for a democratic regime, which loves the country and people, that is virtuous and the defender of good, truth and beauty (Kolçak 1974: 23).

Village Institutes against the exhaustive education system, were basing the manpower more than the state, has productive character of education philosophy, seek the way for how the cultural and educational values can be increased, how the cost of education can be diminished. And it proved all of these with its application results. With the institutes the tight relations established between education and production (Gedikoğlu, 1971: 345-8).

Village Institutes were the real examples of exact independence in education and culture which was at the base of the War of National Independence. The institutes were nationalist and republican institutions. They were instruments of change in the destiny of peasants and were provided with suitable devices for the implementation of that change (İnan 1981: 15-16).

With Village Institutes the children were taken from villages without destroying their peasant characters, and they returned as teachers. Generally it was the children from the economically poorest part of the peasantry who were taken into the Institutes. They were to become the base of democratic education which untied the castes that had been dependent upon religious opinion, and brought them towards social understanding through secular and materialist education (Erdost 1989: 91-3).

2.3 Results of Research into Village Institutes

With the Village Institute Movement the great educator Tonguç not only developed a new education system, but also developed a model for the development of villages. By basing progress on education through the Institutes, the changes became continuous and a process fed itself. It can thus be stated that the movement was the most realist model directed towards the development of village and society development in the present century (Geray 1969: 10-11).

The Institutes provided mixed education for girls and boys, originally in boarding schools. The women of Anatolia, through girls trained in the Institutes, were given the first possibilities of developing values and capacities and gaining richness. At the same time, the folk songs took on new meaning. They were broadcast by radio and became a source of general pleasure (Apaydın 1967: 78, 98).

With the Institutes, the educational gap between village and city was considerably reduced. In a short period important results were obtained: in 1936 the number of village schools was 4,928, this had risen to 13.621 in 1946. Also there was important increase in the number of educators, from 6,916 to 19,978, and in students from 369,325 to 975,697 over the same period. Also during this period teachers transferred from villages to cities and towns (Gedikoğlu 1971: 256).

Besides scientific ways of the struggle against nature, there was also the relationships between human beings: the inequalities between them, differences in shouldering the burden and the results of social and economic life were taught to the students. The locations of the Institutes and their functional peculiarities became effective and provided the student with an understanding of the meaning of labor, social problems, productivity and humanity (Gedikoğlu 1971: 257).

The Institutes bridged the gap between peasants and intellectuals, capitalists and land owners. If this social mobility could be continued, economic inequalities and social contradictions would be removed easily and without

problem. With the close of Institutes social mobility was restrained (Gedikoğlu 1971: 261).

With the Village Institutes a new model for village development was put forward, and this model was taken up as a basic model for undeveloped countries by the United Nations. The essential creator of the model was İsmail Hakkı Tonguç. The basic points of the model established by the Institutes can be outlined as follows. The aim of village development was not material development. The village problem is a conscious and meaningful enlivening of the village from inside, rather than a problem of mechanical development. Village development should pull down the regime of exploitation. Education is a precondition for village development. Primary education should be widespread, effective and continuous. New schools should be sensitive to the problems of environment, based on work and taking technology to the village.

The school should be the center of social life and every citizen should be educated to participate in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country. Naturally, to achieve all of this the teachers in the new schools should be sufficiently knowledgeable and able. As well as schooling in economic, social and cultural life the schools should become a representative of the struggle for development, the revolution in understanding. The village can be changed only by leaders from inside villages themselves, not from outside.

Considerable opportunity for equality in education was attained as a result of implementing this model. The leaders of village development, knowing the village, bound to the village and having the necessary skills were grown. With

environmental and village research, important sources were provided for the recognition of Turkish villages and peasants. Important savings in the cost of education were obtained through the participation of the villagers, students and teachers. Village Institutes established the most effective conditions for the creation of national culture. With their economic activities, they also became leaders in the economic arena, not only in culture (Geray 1969: 11-3).

Village Institute organization was a democratic organization with the participation of teachers, students and workers all benefiting from the results of the working together (Burkay 1977: 10).

With the Village Institute movement, the necessity of totality for social change was understood. That's to say, in order to change society all faces of the change should be taken into account. In this way a total consciousness was reached by workers for social change (Soysal 1964: 11).

The Institutes engendered a fundamental shift in educational practices away from an elitist and towards a mass-oriented system. The movement also had important political consequences. It has been suggested that it played a major role in narrowing the urban-rural gap, in awakening the rural population, and in transforming a traditional rural mass into a more sophisticated citizenry, aware of its political power in a multi-party system. At best, however, only a minority of the peasantry had been so mobilized, an estimated one-third of all Turkish villages was affected in one way or another by the Institutes and in many of these, lives changed but little (Szyliowicz 1973: 223-4).

According to Kirby (1962: 7), one of the results obtained is that Village Institutes considerably affected Turkish society; any educational institution could have an effect at that level, as well as solving the education problem (Kirby 1962: 7). In a six year period, they created very important effects in education, in law, in administration and in the way of thought, but these were not understood by many people. Village Institutes also created an intellectual mass of “educated peasants” (Kirby 1962: 106).

According to Fişek (1968:10) besides these results just described, Village Institutes also created writers and poets who were educated in the Village Institutes and who played important roles in the creation of realist village literature. By means of these young teachers and educators, who have their own class consciousness; were sown the first seed of opposition against exploitation by the regime for a hundred years. This was achieved by their struggles against the conservative efforts of the merchant-landowners-bureaucrats and by making contributions to the passing of Turkish villages from days of darkness to days of light.

CHAPTER III

EVALUATION OF THE VILLAGE INSTITUTES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATE AND SOCIETY

3.1 What were the aims behind the Village Institutes?

Evaluation of the aims against the framework of results.

What were the aims behind the establishment of the Village Institutes?

Firstly, I will try to answer this question from the point of view of the political authority, both formally and informally. To this end, the education, culture and level of understanding within the governing cadres will be examined. For an understanding of the formal position, the views Mustafa Kemal, İsmet İnönü and Hasan Ali Yücel will be considered. These will be followed by an outline of the unofficial or informal views of İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, the creator of the Village Institutes. The reason for the differentiation is the difference between Tonguç's views and the formal views of the ruling cadres with regard to the Village Institutes.

We can begin by examining the Village Institute Law. The first item of this Law described the aim as the growth of village teachers and other

professional experts who would be useful for the village. The Institutes were to be opened in agriculturally productive areas by the Ministry of Education. Amongst the reasons given for the Law it is also stated that: the basic concern is to educate and make a good producer of the Turkish peasant through qualitatively and quantitatively educating enough guides who will be village teachers.

The other law related to Village Institutes was number 4274. According to this law, the aims were not only to teach writing and reading, to make the people illiterate or to instill populism or to give practical knowledge by enlightening the people. Rather, the aim was to bring development and change into the cultural and economic life of the village community. The basic point was technical progress. In the tenth item of the Law it is stated that: the village school will avoid giving only theoretical knowledge, it will provide them practical knowledge and skills suitable for application to work in the present and in the future and for military service. The schools should provide measures for social education and training which are suitable for village culture. With this law, Village Institutes were to become the centers of village development. The Institutes were charged with various duties and responsibilities related to the planning, application and the control of environmental development of villages. The Ministry of Education was not only concerned with education but also with the economic, cultural, health and agricultural developments of the villages and was the center of coordination between village schools, Village Institutes and other Ministries (Kirby 1962: 283-4).

No more would a civil administrator be responsible for education in villages, the Village Institutes were to be dominant in education. The village teacher was to be the base of governmental structure and the planning of government works for education and development would be given to Village INSTITUTES. Somehow the village teachers were to be responsible for everything from public health to education and other facets of social life. The directors of the Village Institutes were to be responsible for planning of all kinds works for village development. These plans were given automatic approval, even the provincial governors did not have the right to delay. In this way the directors of the Village Institutes could communicate rapidly with Ministry of Education (Kirby 1962: 295).

According to Hasan Ali Yücel, the Law did not aim at the creation of a class. In his view, the aim was to create well-informed, healthy and productive citizens who were bound to the land. By providing education in this way the Law aimed at stemming the flow of the rural population to the cities. By making them more productive and giving the villagers, power over their land and their environment, aim was to raise the economic and social level of the country. Because of this, the occurrence of class formation did not come to mind (TBMM Dergisi 1940: 79-80).

Hasan Ali Yücel also stated that the establishment of the Village Institutes was not intended to form a class. He commented: "Our regime did not accept class or privilege, as stated in our party program. Already, I do not find it true that the cause of class formation lies in the education of the children of

peasants who engage only agriculture and peasantry and, also, we do not want to deal with the other lives of these children. The twenty years compulsory service was also established with this aim. These children who come from the village, are brought to the Institutes and educated there, girls or boys, should know that they have are two duties: to defend the country and to educate children in the village. They do not have any other duty". For Yücel, the problem was to train village children without losing their peasant character. Yücel also argued that professional training should be considered part of the defense effort and that the necessary appropriations ought to be considered as the part of the military and not the educational budget. He pointed out that an expanded system of vocational training could help meet the shortages and difficulties caused by the war and that technical and vocational training represented an important part of the infrastructure necessary to maintain a strong military establishment (Szyliowicz 1973: 226).

I also want to state the views of a few deputies. The Bingöl representative said that with the Institutes one of the important businesses of the state will be solved, and a good future for village children will be settled. Because of the increase in the number capable of writing and reading, more will become then unemployed, and this will be bad. Village children going after education in the Institutes was a frightening prospect. The Manisa representative stated that the Village Institutes were an attempt at improving and training peasants and of explaining the world to the peasants. This was done for the working peasant who was bound to his land and to his village. The Istanbul representative described the

Institutes as institutions for inspiring the basic points of the political and social changes of the big revolution besides providing primary education in the villages (TBMM Dergisi 1940: 74-6).

Another important player was İsmet İnönü, who was the President of Republic throughout the establishment of the Village Institutions. What did he think about education and the Institutes? According to İnönü, because the teacher alone has ambition through his work the village depended upon him and he had great responsibilities (İnönü, 1942: 1513).

The President of Republic; İsmet İnönü, in a speech at the opening of the Grand National Assembly in 1937, said that our aim is to end the illiteracy of people, to train the technical persons who are necessary for the development efforts of the country and to create persons and institutions that will understand and send the ideology of the problems of the society (Baykurt 1986: 13).

For İnönü, if the aims of primary education are attained, the Turkish nation will be more powerful. In this way, production will be much increased, the country will reach a high technical level and all of the good qualifications of human beings will become limitless values in the abilities of the grand Turkish nations. The remedy of being a powerful and precious nation will have begun with the completion of primary education (Gedikoğlu 1971: 236).

İnönü saw primary education as the means of improving the big masses in material and in moral spheres. The exposition of all virtues of a free citizenry in private and public life, the power to stand up to storms arising from inside and outside with the belief of a conscious nation can first be provided by

the completion of primary education. If a country does not have primary education, a medieval administration will survive in all its forms. What can the formal laws say, what rights can be given to citizens, without primary education? The rights and duties do not come with life, settled in the minds and hearts. The illiterate live a life of slavery, as in the Middle Ages, at the hands of the political and economical owners of power. But, an innate bad side is their carefree and unfeeling attitude towards their hard and slavish life. One of the first care of the United Nations was primary education to free citizens. This issue is extremely wide and deep. The matter of primary education is one of humanity and nationhood (Gedikoğlu 1971: 236).

İnönü also pointed out that: the development of peasants is the problem of life for us. We firmly decided to educate the peasants educated, to provide technical education, to have the land by freedom from a life of slavery. To make one election by secret ballot and to select the administrator of the nation gives to the citizens heavy responsibilities. The use of this authority for the benefit of country is dependent upon the completion of primary education by all citizens, men and woman. Because of this, primary education and its various problems is the basic problem of national existence (Gedikoğlu 1971: 236).

The most important person with political authority was Mustafa Kemal. What were the ideas of Mustafa Kemal related to education? Atatürk clearly stated that, at this time, we had given our all power to the village teacher. Our power is sufficient for this. The village, where the majority of our people live,

is in a big vacuum. This vacuum should be filled with village teachers; not only filled, we want to fasten the destiny of village onto him (Bingöl 1993: 12).

According to Atatürk, on one side there was an attempt to remove illiteracy and, on the other side, there was the method of teaching preliminary knowledge about work which is necessary in order to become the children of the country and for being effective and efficient in social behavior should be the main target of education and training (Bingöl 1993: 12).

For Atatürk, the method applied in education should provide the way of making knowledge a device for useful and usable achievement, not an unnecessary ornament or a device for suppression. For him, knowledge becomes knowledge only if it is used (Bingöl 1993: 22).

According to Atatürk, the real masters of this country and the basic element of our society are villagers. Villagers have been deprived of the light of knowledge until today. Because of this, the base of our national education policy is to remove this illiteracy. Generally, the first aim of our national education policy is to teach reading, writing and simple arithmetic and to give background knowledge related to the geography, history, religion and morals of the world. The method of teaching through work should be the main goal in education and teaching so as to give to children of our country, by removing illiteracy, the knowledge necessary to make them effective and efficient in the area of social behavior (Bingöl 1993: 12).

Mustafa Kemal, at the opening session of TBMM in 1924, said that the most important and fertile duty of government is national education works. A program should be applied which will be suitable for and proportional to the existing conditions of our nation, its social and living needs, the conditions of the environment and the necessities of the time. In order to see and touch reality at first hand it is necessary to slip off complex propositions which are big and imaginative (Gedikoğlu 1971: 239).

Also in the opening session of TBMM, in 1937, Atatürk said that: our major concern is to raise the level of our existence to that of the most contemporary and prosperous nations. This is the continuing ideal of the Turkish nation. This can only be achieved through planned and rational work. Because of this, the aim should be to educate all citizens, to train the technical professionals who are required by the big war of development in the country, to create the individuals and institutions who understand and can teach the ideology of the concerns of the nation (İmece, 1969: 44).

What were the aims of political authority in establishing the Village Institute movement? To answer this we should examine the approach to education taken by the RPP which governed Turkey after 1950 as a one party administration. The opinions of the RPP related to education were determined in the general congress of 1927. The education part of the party program, which was written earlier by Mustafa Kemal, was discussed and accepted at this congress. The part containing the head of the Education Policy head is that: “the secular, national education is based on our fundamental principle of single school

education. The aim in education is to train the citizens who will raise the contemporary social values and increase the economic power of national community. The priority aim is to make free primary education compulsory. The talents of the children of our country should be improved in various areas through primary education. Our aim is to develop the institutions of vocational education. In order to provide the necessary knowledge, people who did not have primary schooling and open professional courses for increasing the power of production by citizens employed in various economic works should be included in our education program (Başgöz 1968: 189).

At the third General Congress of Peoples Party, which was held in 1931, as well as the views of the party on education described above, some issues were broadened. These were the adding of agriculture and art lessons to the program of Village schools, the spreading of secondary education into other districts and the arrangement of high schools to train more able students (Başgöz 1968: 190).

At the 1935 congress of the Party, the following were determined: village schools will be opened which should have three or four semesters in order to give the knowledge that is necessary for practical life in a short time. The foundation and growth of these schools, that are different to primary schools, to prepare children for higher levels of education levels, is planned. At this type of village school, the induction of older children to education and the introduction of education without intervals, controlled as tightly as military service, will be necessary (Başgöz 1968: 191).

In conclusion and related to the views of the political cadres it can be stated that: they did not aim to develop the class consciousness of villagers or to bring an end to exploitation or to enliven the village from inside. Their aims were to create more sufficient villagers so as to increase production and for the defense of the country. That is to say, the aim was to root the regime in the village and to create support for the regime in the rural areas.

To understand the aim of Village Institutes the ideas of another important character, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, should be examined. What were his views? What were differences between Tonguç's views and the views of the political authority? These differences, besides other effects, gave rise to unforeseen results in the attempts at establishing Village Institutes. According to Tonguç, some kind of people should not always be allowed to make use of others. The aim of village education should be to train the citizens who will be most powerful. That is to say, to participate in the improvement of the economic, political and cultural life of the country and not be dependent on the powers of the nature. The school that leads us to this aim is the school of work not the school of book (Gedikoğlu 1971: 22).

According to Tonguç, the village problem is not the improvement of the village mechanically, but the meaningful and conscious enlivenment of the village from the inside. With the village people so enlivened and made conscious, no power will be able to unjustly not exploit them only in its own account and will not be able to treat the inhabitants of villages as slaves. The peasants will not

became merely work animals, working unconsciously and for nothing. That, apart from education, is the village problem (Gedikoğlu 1971: 27).

Tonguç stated that: we are carrying the aim of making the Turkish community a jewel to be kneaded with the dough of peoples who believe in the freedom of thought, writing and speaking and in equality of rights, love, bravery, honesty and goodness which keep their values in every period of human history (Makal 1990: 11).

For Tonguç, without change in the society, the individual does not change. Without material civilization, which forms the educational situation affecting each individual, it is not possible to become modern. Neither society nor individual will be the representative of modern civilization (Kirby 1962: 85).

For Tonguç, if education is accepted as the lever of social change, these duties of education will be: 1) That education should fight unmodern material conditions in its surroundings. 2) It should remove this lack of modern material units. 3) Education is the representative of modern civilization absent in the environment. Because of this, education should provide the roots of opinion for modern civilization. 4) Education should give general, technical and vocational training which is necessary in modern areas of education. This education should provide the educated person with the means to establish and organize the proper functioning of the economic system (Kirby 1962: 92-3).

The point Tonguç stated is that the organizing, spreading level and essentials of secular knowledge are determined by the organization and type of economic system of society. Development in Europe and America showed this.

When the modern machine industry made the labor of less educated people uneconomic, the education of enormous numbers of qualified workers became necessary. Many, more children entered into schools and they stayed at school for a longer time. Here, a progressive trend developed that drove the aim of replacing society by providing to deprived children, through schooling, knowledge related to economic businesses (Kirby 1962: 97-8).

The word work began to play important role in Tonguç's system of thinking. The basically different element in Western civilization was the improvement of specialization and vocationalisation of economic work. The basic issue of modern education was to meet the demands of specialized elements of work in modern society. The difference in education from an economic view is the need to service not only to economic institutions, but also the political, social and cultural necessities. Especially, under the pressure of individualism, educators accept the that the aims of education are for the individual to find himself through creativity.

Turkey, from the angle of the relationship between work and education, is in an abnormal situation. Secular education was not suitable for the institutions of the society. The individuals who were given a modern school education were like parasites on the economy of society. Producing units, especially peasants, were deprived of this education. Because of this, they did not have the possibility of getting the economic system of society to the conditions of modern civilization. The difference between the educated and uneducated are not filling this gap by means of modern education (Kirby 1962: 98).

For Tonguç, the aim of Turkish education is to create a new division of labor between economic employees. These are productive farmers, especially small farmers. For Tonguç, being more than the focal point of the Kemalist regime, the basic point which determines the way and essentials of the education system should be the peasantry. The urban community lost the tie with the economic life of the country until the long awaited education reform was put into operation. The city proved its inability at improving and modernizing itself. The Turkish peasant carried the Ottoman and Turkish States in war and in peace (Kirby 1962: 99).

According to Tonguç, there are two sides to the education problem: one, to open the ways of differentiation in economic work to Turkish peasants; the other, the opening of the way through Turkish educators to free the peasantry from the conditions of a narrow life (Kirby 1962: 100). According to Kirby, the first idea was to some extent a new idea. But the second idea was a wholly new idea. This was based on the opposite idea of the basic points of the reform efforts that were continuing from 18th century. This was also opposite to the traditional views of Western education (Kirby 1962: 100).

After finding the essentials of modern civilization in the specialization and rationalization of work and the behavior of individuals, Tonguç made an observation which has had revolutionary effects: The individual should have the experience and knowledge concerning his work and profession which is chosen in order to rationally reach the aims of life. This requires the establishment of an education system which enables the young generations to choose rationally their

profession and opens the business world. Because of Tonguç's understanding of education as a wide professional guidance program he identified two important possibilities. The first view accepts the necessity of education as a lever in economic development. Furthermore, it provides the possibility of charging the obligation of national development democratically. When so many people do not undertake their work rationally, the direction of the efforts of an individual in obtaining work and a profession can be provided by the organization of an obligation to work. Especially, the peasants will obtain a notion of time, work behavior, theoretical and technical knowledge and habits which are required by the agricultural and industrial areas of modern civilization. Mobilization of work and business at national level will be necessary for establishing the knowledge and habits which are the essentials of modern citizenry (Kirby 1962: 103-4).

In his report Tonguç gives an important place to the reality of Turkish peasantry. Here Tonguç's work takes on a form that is both qualitatively and quantitatively different from that of others. According to his ideas, the base of the political, social, economic and cultural organizations of democracy is to justly pronounce the "Turkish Peasants" the "master of country". These peasants live in places that have populations of less than 400 hundred and form more than half of all Turkey's population. These are the most closed and the least changed village communities. That is to say, the basic aim of the Turkish revolution is to reach this unknown, and the reaching is difficult.

According to Tongu, full education in a profession so as to be fully in command and able to dominate it, requires more than just the knowledge of professional techniques. In the notion of national economy, all social and economic events are so intermixed and became so intricate that it is difficult to dominate any one of them. In any case, there is the necessity of economic education. Because of this, in time the essentials of the professional work are brought up by these factors: management skill, knowledge of the workshop, for the knowledge of arithmetic, for directing private institutions, goods and services, the matter of wages, the conditions of exchange, markets and the conditions of markets, commercial relations, acts and credit etc. Today, the modern farmer should know more than peasant of fifty years ago. The life of independent small artisans is not easy. The worker should also know the general forms of elementary economic life so that he does not become a slave by selling his life at too lower price. But, only by this way, can citizens belonging to various professions feel a real necessity for the settlement of the essentials of economic existence, the rule and instruction sheet at work, the professional unions. By making extraordinary conditions, for sickness, in case of accident, for old age, the individual and civilized relations are not interrupted. The conditions of modern economic life are commanding conditions for weakening the sleep of the Middle Ages. That is the sole way of preventing poverty among the poor in villages and cities (Tongu, İ.H. 1974: 116-7).

Today there is no possibility of suggesting positive and definite recommendations which define every profession separately and characterize these professionals. In Turkey, the peasant is under the influence of the natural environment. In eastern provinces, the failure to eliminate the feudal form of property and system of land distribution to villagers has prohibited the peasants from engaging in free economic activities in their own lands. The peasants, whose purchasing power has decreased, cannot become a labor market for national industry. The things that enliven industry are village markets. As a result, the aims of village education should be to educate a business man who is also a social man who will participate in the development of the political, economic and cultural life of the country and dominate all the forces of nature, rather than being a slave. The way to achieve this aim will be work schools, not book schools. After that, by losing its real character and influenced by teachers, doctors, agriculturists and factory workers the village becomes a small town with different qualities (Tonguç, İ.H. 1974: 145-6).

Also for Tonguç, the aim of education is to know the worker who creates value by working and who uses his value by whatever means are available, who knows how to make his rights accepted and who wants the conditions of freedom in which he can set up organizations which provide him with a pressure group (Tonguç, E. 1969: 154).

According to Tonguç, if the issues of education are left to the hands of those who are afraid of bringing up new matters, changed ideas according to daily political maneuvers, who hesitate on scientific principles, who detest

touching reality and do not accept reality as its, these people will not serve the revolution but remain outside. But in reality, by delaying the of solving of basic matters for various reasons, they will come to an impasse in the works of the education area. The damage caused by mistakes like these in education policies will only be understood when, years later, there is a desire for radical solutions to particularly social and economic matters (Tonguç, E. 1969: 113).

According to Tonguç, those who are trying to develop villages without a plan, unconsciously and mechanically, are spending their energies for empty ends. Thinking and knowing about their work, the peasants were crushing the enterprises of those who ran fancy ideas. Because of this, it is necessary to enliven the village so that it becomes conscious of its own elements, not impose development on the village. Villages matter because villagers make up eighty percent of the population and their life is matter for society. The enlivenment of the village entails an enlivening of the nation which would then rest on a strong base and changing structure. The enlivening of the village is possible through peasants and men living in these conditions becoming agents absorbing nature. Without the absorption of nature as a great and continuing policy of the state, the village matter can not be solved. The solution of this problem, settlement of work on strong base, is not possible. The first condition for absorbing nature is the create of a new and able human type. To enliven the village, man should be made an able creator and stand in his condition. The basic conditions needed to bring about this situation are: 1) To include the participation of peasants in all levels of the state, 2) Compulsory service for all persons over eighteen years old in the

villages, 3) Take measures to teach modern techniques to all citizens related to their profession, 4) To widen the measures that provide the peasants with natural and human rights, 5) To take measures to rapidly create the consciousness of Republican citizenry amongst peasants (Tonguç, E. 1969: 170-2).

The observations of Tonguç related to social structure are very interesting. To him, during Ottoman Empire, notables and statements, negative intellectuals and religious leaders, together were absorbing the blood of the peasants. By being the instruments of foreign capital through the servants of state, becoming rich by helping to rob completely the country, the peasants were continuously help those in power who were exploiting them during those bad times. The state machinery had became a blood absorbing instrument in the hands of the elite and foreign capital. Because of this, the people and the peasants separated themselves himself from governors of the state, from the class of masters. The gap between the dominant and the dominated was widened. The state opened the gates of work and bread to the people of the Ottoman regime by placing them under its cadres. All hopes of Turks were being extinguished (Tonguç, E. 1969: 179-180).

The regime and order of life that replaced the collapsing Ottoman Empire was to be the Republic. To accomplish this in a short time is depended on bringing out new values from the structure of society. The material which was to be the base for all works was buried in the village. It was no longer necessary for the peasants to absorb nature. The Revolution was forced to create new human types by finding the most convenient conditions. The biggest and simple truth,

which can never be forgotten when the eighty percent of population of the country live in villages and the country retains this character, is that the village should be base for all works (Tonguç, E. 1969: 181-2).

The nation should not became satiated with peasants. If the peasant becomes a slave, the nation also will became a slave. Populism and nationalism mean to realize these two principles which fulfill the role of a lever dependent upon the people and the peasants. Without land and devices the peasant is forced to live in misery. If there is not a legal institution, having values of national life and essential culture, the legal rules will be became the instruments of exploitation, suppression and domination of the peasantry. If the relations between land and people, between citizen and work, between citizen and wealth is not established harmoniously, all channels to provide the flowing of general life will be compulsorily closed. Without the education of peasants to consciousness, the revolution can not go out beyond city (Tonguç, E. 1969: 183-4).

The political aims of Tonguç can be understood from his views that have outlined above. To Tonguç, the aim is to create a state which provides social justice, a community that provides and the obtains rights and class consciousness of the exploited masses, and which participates in the administration and which organizes the instruments of production in ways that do not allow exploitation.

For Tonguç, the relations between peasants and land and water should be known in every detail. To explain the bad and grave lives of men and are land by theoretical sociological approaches does not in itself create any change in his way of life. The village reality should be accepted as a result of

destiny, and then its necessities should be met without dread and boredom. The village is a place which offers no result to those not supporting reality and not compatible with needs and order. We cannot understand the mystery of the village without causing the flow of our blood and marrow and building an intellectual graveyard on the borders of forty thousand villages. Turkish village will need a type of hero who is an expert at his job, not scholar for twenty-five years. The village should grow these heroes internally. These heroes will bring light to the village and organize their communities. We will hear new voices. It is necessary to listen to these new voices without fear. Those who will bring new colors and sounds to the village should be approved with respect. In this way we will come to understand the real village and country. Those who will give advice to will then be determined (Tonguç, E. 1969: 185-6).

According to Tonguç, the most important job of the Republic should be to solve the land problem. For him, peasants without enough land or with only unproductive land are deprived. The most important point for peasants is to suffer less from not having land. There is much land is much in proportion to the population but the majority of productive lands are in hands of those who do not use them or exploit for production. Without correcting this it is impossible to make the Turkish people happy. When possession of the existing water and the issue of using this water is added to these matters, the job becomes unsolvable by the state. The water problem is much such like the land problem, it is a national problem which has to be solved by state. Access to water is used as an instrument of suppression in hands of exploiters. What can be gained solely by an education

enterprise aimed is the acceptance of these problems which shape the general life of peasants, as well as the life of the country, as they actually are (Tonguç, E. 1969: 186-7).

According to Tonguç, the enlivening of the village may be not be enjoyed by those who cause isolation of the village. Some may not want the uneducated and illiterate peasants to become educated, able to think, speak and write. Thus, those who want to participate in this job should know this reality, and work accordingly without cheating. The Village issue is not a mechanical problem of village development, it is a conscious and meaningful way of enlivening the village from inside. Village people should be enlivened and become conscious by those means so that no power can unjustly exploit them only for its own benefit. Village inhabitants cannot be treated as slaves. The peasants cannot become work animals who work without fee and consciousness. They, like all citizens may always attain their rights. The village issue, besides the education problem in village is this (Tonguç, E. 1969: 195).

According to Burkey, Tonguç's point of observation on village problem and Village Institutes were utterly different from the point of view of the political authority. Tonguç did not see the problem as only requiring the enlivenment of agriculture or training of cadres who would transmit the values of Kemalism. He said that the salvation of the village was also salvation from exploitation (Burkey 1977: 9).

The opinions of Engin Tongu in relation to the views of İsmail Hakkı Tongu are as follows. E. Tongu, wanted to begin by enlivening village consciousness rather than village improvement. He noticed that villages were not being developed through education. What does he mean by enlivening the village? What is the meaning of this word enlivening? According to Engin Tongu, it means to awaken class consciousness. To try to enliven means to promote internal consciousness of the elements within the village itself. Tongu thinks that the village cannot develop without gaining class consciousness. He does not believe in reform from above. If only dominated classes can gain consciousness, be awoken and demand rights, then development can be started. He differs from his contemporaries in believing in evolution from the below, not from above. Another most important facet of İsmail Hakkı Tongu's views, according to Engin Tongu, is that no movement can become successful unless it is based on the village people who are the main economic and social structure of society. Otherwise, the economic and social structure should be changed, and then other solutions can be thought of (Tongu E. 1969: 170-2).

As stated earlier, the expectations of the political cadres (RPP, İnönü and Yücel) and those of H. İ. Tongu with regard to education and Village Institutes, contained differences, and these differences can be described as radical. While generally the expectations of political cadres can be defined as the cleaning of the old regime's negative effects and the growth of new cadres suitable for new regime, Tongu waited to provide class consciousness to the peasants and to end the exploitation of village agriculture. The political authority wanted to grow

persons who would solve the problem of literacy and thereby instill the ideology of the new regime solve the problem of production to provide necessary support for the front. Therefore, the results of the Village Institute movement should not be evaluated in terms of the aims of the political authority. There were important differences between the aims and the results because of the movement's governing cadres, the character of education and the class structure in Turkey. Other reasons were the extra-ordinary conditions of 1937-1946 period, the skillful, progressive and extra-ordinary personality of İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, the founder of the Village Institutes, the Second World War, the peculiarity of Turkey and the selectivity of education which depended on human factors in all its forms.

Further, at this point, this question should be asked: why did the political authority charge İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, who had different views from formal approach to the problem, with the task of setting up the Village Institutes. Related to this question it can be stated that, until 1935 many efforts were made to try and solve the education problem, but they were not successful. With the economic depression, industrialization had become way of salvation. The resources for industrialization could only be found in agriculture. Thus the agricultural surplus needed to be increased. The Village Institutes attempted to increase the agricultural productivity of the peasants through education. Another reason was the financial position of the Movement. The Minister of Education, Hasan Ali Yücel, during the discussion of the law, said that by this law we will

make this work in a short time and 27 million liras invested can be made into 70 million liras with in a century.

Related to the evaluations of the aims behind the Village Institutes within framework of results, I want to state the following views:

According to Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, contemporary primary education should effect both production and the daily life of the people and peasants. People do not accept education which does not affect their material life, production and income level. If primary education does not create these effects, it becomes a mere school. Through the Village Institutes, by means of the secular and affirmative structure of primary education, an economical and social element was added that directly attempted to shape the level of production and the daily life of the people. At this point the intellectuals, who up till now had said nothing concerning the theoretical meaning of the primary education, raised their voices and became enemies of the new notion of primary education which was to change the daily life of the peasants. According to the intellectuals, a widespread and deeply rooted primary education movement would demolish the comfort and happy life of the villagers and set them apart from the national order and traditions that had become established over centuries. In the contemporary meaning of the primary education there was a power which could change the relationship between society and production. People do not recognize that this power exists (Tonguç E. 1969: 173,174).

The Village Institutes were set up to become the centers of development and improvement, to change the order beyond the cities and to stand in the middle of an undeveloped social order. Because of this, they came to transform the social structure through both education and production. Society was to be educated and was also to become productive. In the beginning, the Village Institutes would become the instruments of growing industrialization, in the long run they would lead to a specialized society. The students of Institutes were needed to go out and teach a skill and, in order to do this they needed deep knowledge and skill in at least one subject. This was the original principle and starting point (Soysal 1964: 8-9).

One of the most frequently discussed subjects was the attitudes of the students after education, especially whether they would go to the cities. Measures to prevent this were included in the system. Because of this, and also special nature of the village problem, the education system of the Institutes was different from the education program of the classical school. Besides general knowledge, the vocational knowledge was also given. According to Tonguç, the aim was to create leaders who would be, effective, respectful, consultable and wise individuals within the village. Priority, naturally, was given to work, especially agriculture. In order to keep the teachers in the villages, where the Institutes were located, they were prepared for village life as well as for the education system. Compulsory service established for twenty years and the wage of the village teacher was only sufficient for the conditions of the village although a home, land and other necessary means of the working were also provided to the village

teacher (Tahir 1991: 22). As Tonguç said, the Institutes did not change the aims of the 1912 Primary Education Law Report “ The aim was to create village people who had a good practical education and who lived in their places” (Tahir 1991: 23).

According to Besin (1970: 16) the aim of the Village Institutes can be briefly defined as bringing about changes which provide unification of the nation and modernization in the economic and cultural life of rural society. The focal point of this movement is technological development, the target is the small village farmer and the basic instrument of education is real work. The aim is to start social change in rural society, which covers the whole country, and to provide a base from which to force change on the governing cadres. The aim of education in Village Institutes is not only to provide qualified man power for economic institutions, but also to grow people who affect the economic, political, social and cultural life of society. In this way, individuals can find a means of education without alienating himself to society (Besin 1970: 16).

The views of the Szyliowicz (1973: 225) represent an objective evaluation of the Village Institute Movement. According to him, that the goals of the movement were highly unrealistic is unquestionable, but the total impact was undoubtedly great and the Institutes represented an innovative and significant attempt to resolve one of the country's basic problems, that of rural development.

A realistic approach to the reasons for the Village Institutes came from Başgöz and Balkır. According to Başgöz and Wilson (1968: 199), existing conditions of the village made Turkey to look for and to shoulder the burden of

education that would change the structure of the village itself. For Balkır (1974: 45), the state would provide the necessary effort for the transformation of villages by taking the power to seize the villages through the Village Institutes, willingly or unwillingly.

But without the transformation of infrastructure, the fate of education reform as the agent of superstructure was not good. As Tanilli stated (1989: 63), progressive education reform is prevented unless it goes together with reforms in infrastructure. Education is a part of the whole of social development. If the other parts of society are underdeveloped, education alone is distorted. The Village Institutes were established in the knowledge of these realities, they progressed as well as possible and gave results without waiting for other changes. Maybe their real importance was laid down in the conditions of their closure.

According to Engin Tonguç (1969: 264), the truest and the most scientific evaluation of how the Village Institutes were applied is that the Village Institute Movement was able to implemented by resting on the base of the progressive wing of a government which protected the reactionary and exploiting order and who were powered by temporary internal and external conditions.

Through the Village Institutes education aimed to put into operation two functions: to make many more individuals literate by this thus to make contemporary life styles widespread, and to provide the qualified man power required by economic and social development (Kepenek 1983: 110). With the establishment of Village Institutes, the efforts in this direction were intended to be widespread in the rural regions. From another point of view, Village Institutes can

be deemed as an effort at applying the radical structural transformations of Republic government. But the Institutes were also directed towards production by diffusing rational, secular thinking to rural regions, and replacing primitive production methods by new ones (Kepenek 1983: 119).

Can Yücel put forward interesting views related to the Village Institutes. According to him, the opening of Village Institutes was based on two reasons: one the problem of the regime. After the War of Salvation the applications did not create substantial changes in the life of Turkish villagers. After the abolition of tithe, the taxation of animals, roads and important indirect taxes were established. Almost all of the economic structure of Turkey was seen as being an urban economy acting against the village. But at the eve of the Second World War there was the problem of devotion of villagers who would defend the frontiers and who would provide the food for both the army and the urban population. The state should at least solve the problem of security. But further to this, the social democratic wing of the political authority had a tendency to understand that the problem as one of education and production, and these should be looked to for unity and for the defense of the regime (Topuz 1983: 55).

According to Makal, Village Institutes were highly developed education institutions that existed for some time in Turkey and which were intended to change human character. No similar institutions can be found in the world at present. But the problem is that Village Institutes could be established to train a new type teacher for the villages, to educate villagers, to diffuse education about work, to provide a means of reaching the level contemporary civilization.

But the basic problem is that if the Village Institutes did not begin to educate people for rescuing the nation against the order, they would meet opposition and be closed. Only if the Village Institutions could show that they were successful in changing the order and in the training people could those who were against the Institutions and wanted them destroyed be opposed (Topuz 1984: 59).

In order to make clear the position of the Village Institutes, the role and character of education should be discussed. According to me, education is an institution of superstructure and the novelties of education alone cannot be sufficient for social transformation. To function effectively as an actor in transformation, changes in education should go together with changes in other areas, especially in infrastructure. Because of this, the position of education within educational services and non educational variables (social, economical and demographic) should be taken into account. As the basic presumption, the view that social structure determines the level of education level both directly and also indirectly by affecting education services, has been put forward (Balamir 1982: ix).

According to one view, the function of the education in every society is to socialize new generations in accordance with dominant social and cultural structure. Schools provide the unification of individuals within society as the means of institutionalization of dominant value judgments, traditions and belief systems. Because of this, educational systems have the function of protecting the existing equilibrium of the. According to this approach, culture is transmitted from older generations to younger ones through education (Balamir 1982: 5).

But, during the period of social transformation, there are important changes in the function of education. In this period, contrarily, the new values of the new structure will taught. Thus, the function of the education is to look for new values, not to transmit old ones (Balamir 1982: 7).

As a result of these, it can be suggested that education has function in creating culture during periods of social transformation, but the function of transmitting culture during periods of social stability.

According to Balamir (1982: 23), to exist at a national level by going beyond village, it not sufficient just to accept the ideal of citizenship. To fulfill the conditions of citizenship it is also necessary to be ordained and skilled. By taking western capitalist culture as a model, Tongu determined the aim and philosophy of Village Institutes as enlivenment of the village through realist village education, not only material improvement of the village. The nationalistic approach of Tongu, who tried to build a western type of system with democratic rights by the way of education, contained not only fulfillment of the people but also the duties of citizenship and the concept that each person would look towards his own rights, his environment and his profession.

Teachers who graduated from Village Institutes published the periodical İMECE. In this periodical, the following views on the Institutes were stated: Village Institutes were not intended to be the salvation of the lower classes. Because of the superstructure of education within the Institutions, real salvation can not be expected from the Movement. The establishment and activities of Village Institutes were based on political aims. The youth who were

taken from the village, after education in the Institutes, will teach the duty of citizenship to the new growing generations on return to the village. Come what may, they try to make western concepts acceptable to Turkish society. These western concepts were so-called because of the way they were intended to improve society without change in the economic order of society and modes of production. The Village Institutes were established in order bring the utterly ignorant to a state of half ignorance. In this way, it was thought, the government would be able to continue in office. Thus, the bureaucrats in parliament approved the Village Institute law in 1940. If the raising of class consciousness had a place in the aims of the Village Institutes, it was not stated in the Village Institutes law. Tongu know the realities. He especially started vocational education in the Institutes, because of the importance he placed on work. Work changes individuals, by changing individuals he also changed nature. Nature and human relations, by affecting each other, will create endless dynamism in people (İmece 1969(97): 19, 20).

According to Ragıp Gelencik, if rural people means the small and landless villagers, the Village Institutes did not have the aim of organizing the rural people to protect their economic rights. Only, populist bureaucrats may think and work for the organization of peasants beside educating them (Apaydın, 1976: 8).

According to Timur, İsmail Hakkı Tongu, as a village child and being, clearly grasped position of exploitation in Turkish Villages and introduced a system of education to raise the consciousness of Turkish peasants to this

mechanism of exploitation. But, it is known, that the architects of the mechanism of exploitation in agriculture were the big land owners who also formed the bulk of the government coalition. Of these conditions Timur ask this question: how was the Village Institutes law, that would incite a class struggle in agriculture and cause peasants to struggle for democratic rights, approved in the National Assembly where the big land owners were considerably represented? Pressure from the National Chief and Ministers is not sufficient explanation because the land owners, e.g. Emin Sazak, also praised the Village Institutes. Timur explains the problem like this: during the Second World War, the weight of the bureaucrats, rooted in the middle class, in control of the government of Turkey was increased. On the other hand, increasing agricultural production in order to provide the food as a weapon for a big army, the was also necessary. Thus, Village Institutes were based on these two phenomena which came out in the war years. Before everything, the things which were anticipated from the Village Institutes were the education of villagers and making them better producers. Certainly, as an aim, this was also convenient to the interests of the big land owners. Beyond, Village Institutes were thought of as a preventing class struggle by binding peasants to the land. This last point is one that the big land owners got wrong. As we stated before, the National Education Minister made a persuasive speech during the debate. According to him, it was not the aim of the Institutes to create a class. This understanding also fitted the ideology of the period. The political authority, who had used the principle of Populism for concealing the class struggle since the beginning of the Republic, was defending the Village

Institutes in this way. In short, the Village Institutes were also the instrument for the preventing the formation of class (Timur 1971: 249-50).

As Gedikoğlu stated (1971: 311-12), leftist writers and novelists criticized Village Institutes from these points: according to Kemal Tahir and Tahir Alangu, the Village Institute Movement in our existing social and political conditions could not lead to any other result than the exploitation of village boys who would be employed in worst jobs where they would suffer greatly and find little contentment. As a matter of fact, this attempt showed that Turkish intellectuals did not show pity towards the people. According to Asiye Eliçin and Adnan Cemgil, the Village Institute was a utopia. With Village Institutes, exploitation of village and villagers was being aimed at. Gedikoğlu opposed these leftist critiques because they were based on results and they did not take into account existing conditions. Because of this, they are theoretical views remote from practice.

According to Apaydın (1976: 6), besides the above, with the establishment of Village Institutes these further aims were also anticipated: to grow cadres who would support the bureaucrat cadres who were leaders in government and village youth ready to work as qualified manpower. Besides, it can not be ignored that populist bureaucrats aimed to educate villagers ideologically. Because of the dominance of craft and handicraft in towns and cities, it was very difficult to grasp men from these occupations. Whereas, there was the possibility of training people in the qualities required by organizing to become self-sufficient.

According to Baltacıoğlu, Village Institutes were born from the ideal of developing villages together with education. Village Institutes, like all Kemalist institutions, were revolutionary institutions. They were established for training the active human being who will see village reality and be of service to village development. Did they achieved this ambition? Baltacıoğlu (1970: 17) answers "no" because the Village Institutes, like the as old schools, did not completely remove the mystery of growing realism and were not yet the builders human being and new villagers.

Muzaffer İlhan Erdost (1989: 96) sees Village Institutes as the first and last effort of bourgeoisie democratic revolution in the rural area of the Republic. But they met with the passive defense of rural and religious feudal powers and their allies and were prevented from the accomplishment of their aims.

As we stated before, principle of education in work principle brought to the growing youth the duty to change the village radically. The graduates of Institutes would participate in the elimination of pre-capitalist classes and relations. According to Yılmaz (1980: 78) this obligation was also brought to bear against exploitation of the precapitalist classes. But, at the same time, this situation sowed the seeds of a reaction against capitalist exploitation. This was the natural result of applying the work education system and the struggle with nature.

According to Kısakürek (1940: 40), the spirit and ideology of the Village Institute system was to develop the villagers with their own resources and abilities, not with the limited instruments of urbanism. In this way with the mental,

spiritual, social and economical conditions would instill the will-power for development with their own resources and from within themselves, and encourage villagers to behave responsibly.

Village Institutes were suckling a new society which had brand-new values. This society was not closed in on itself, excluded from the outer world, growing in isolation. It was not like other school communities. The power of this community to grow and spread outwards was as powerful as that of the old society which it was to meet and come into conflict with and meeting at various points. It was taking into its areas of activity larger parts of the old community. While making these changes, it was not diluted by the power of the values of the old society, nor lost by reconciliation with them. Naturally, Kirby (1962: 249), asks this question: in creating Village Institutes is society creating the kind of society desired by the Kemalist revolution? She gives this answer: Village Institutes made concrete the moral, social and ethical principles of Kemalism.

Engin Tonguç (1969: 31-32) stated that to interpret later events which also involved Village Institutes correctly, and to locate them in their true place in the historical development, by examining the period between 1923 and 1946, it is important to take into account that there was a progressive wing amongst the ruling cadres who were worried about the decreasing speed of the revolution, were not contented with what was being done and who were longing for more progressive attempts to be made. The RPP government of the period was not a homogenous structure. There were also progressive generations who wanted transformations of the infrastructure, but they could not attempt

revolution of the infrastructure. The main reasons for the slow down of the revolution were the existence of bourgeois partners in government, the scarcity of knowledge in the progressive wing about how to transform the infrastructure and, most important, the lack of consciousness within the exploited classes concerning transformation of the infrastructure.

Engin Tonguç (1969: 34-35) explains the reasons for the establishment of Village Institutes as being the creation of a nation, the awakening of national consciousness, the protection of national independence, the change in culture and attainment of civilization, consciousness of self-government amongst and citizenship. The founding of new revolutionary methods and principles only could be made by an educated, trained citizen community, according to the Kemalists. Without this community the regime would be suspended. Thus, for the Kemalists, the education and training of the people was the problem of life and death. At the same time Engin Tonguç tried to explain the reasons in terms of economic necessities. According to him, because of the economic necessities, the education problem was seen as a the main solution open to the Kemalists. By training people in ways and methods related to contemporary production, it was positively aimed to contribute to the economy by increasing production

According to Engin Tonguç (1969: 46), the progressive intellectuals grew up with the belief that education was the most important instrument for affirmatively developing their ideals. The historical development and the peculiarities of class structure in Turkish society and the introduction of

progressive attempts from above, were the conditions for the beginning of the education attempt. There was no pressure or desire from the exploited and dominated classes for changes in infrastructure. At the same time, the resistance of other partners in the coalition to the education attempt would be more less against a transformation of the infrastructure.

Engin Tonguç (1969: 56) stated that one of the aims of the Village Institutes was to grow Village Intellectuals who would not have broken from their class and abandoned defense the interests of theirs class. Most of the principles of the Village Institutes were established to provide these intellectuals. Examples of this were the provision of land to teachers who were educated at Institutes, to provide the possibility of income from outside the salary and made binding them to the their village. The aim of these principles was not also understood by Village Institutes.

According to Engin Tonguç, the attempts at education were seen as the easiest way to attempt to enact the ideals of the progressive intellectuals of RPP given the conditions of these times. To persuade the reactionary and conservative coalition partners that the education attempts was easier than transforming the infrastructure. Besides this, they had more knowledge about education than about economy. But in addition, to Engin Tonguç (1969: 118-19), the most important reason was that the balance of social and political powers was opposed to the progressive attempts towards transformation of the infrastructures. With the Village Institutes what was done was to put in operation the education attempts in order to later accelerate and empower transformation of the

infrastructure on by benefiting well from the possibilities provided by progressive education on the political structure: that is to say, this was the overwhelming the aim of education (Tonguç, E. 1969: 120).

Village Institutes, on the conditions that infrastructural changes were impossible, by achieving to behave independently in its area, attempted applications to accelerate infrastructural transformations (Tonguç E., 1969: 218, 219). Because of this, according to Engin Tonguç, the Village Institutes endeavor can be deemed to have been an attempt at Education for Revolution. The aim was to accelerate the evolution by means of nurturing peasants who gained class consciousness. Only consciousness can provide the working classes with the way more progressive processes. In this, Tonguç tactically differs from the progressives and revolutionists, he attempts to gain consciousness the working classes by cooperating with the progressive wing of the generally middle class government and benefiting their political power. This was based on the correct evaluation the of social and political conditions in Turkey. Theoretically it was the right tactic because it is in such a manner that progressive attempts will be put in action by the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, in cooperation with them and the societies where the working classes did not have power. Tonguç knew that this cooperation would not be continuous but demolished in any condition of unequilibrium. But there was no other way or alternative.

The accumulation of land in the possession of certain hands and dependence on this rising power of big land owners on one hand and, on the other the density of commercial activities and class conflicts as a natural result of

the applied policy of industrialization and mechanization during 1932-1938 period of state capitalism, had obliged one party government. The government lost all support apart from bureaucratic elements which were, willingly or unwillingly, directed towards the village. According to Fişek, when it is looked from this point of view, the reason for the establishment of the Village was not to enliven village of Turkey by means of education, neither was it to realize primary education completely in villages, nor to grow people useful to the village as teachers or agriculturists; rather, through education it was to remove class antagonism of one party government that had become sharp recent years, to provide new bureaucratic elements for society and to find alliance of the bureaucratic elements of the RPP against gradually growing power of land owners and mediator (Fişek 1968: 10).

In the light of views of Balamir, the position of Village Institutes can be explained as: they were the institutions in the period of social change. During social change and with the existence of class elements who wanted social change, the Institutes became the instruments for the transformation of the rural areas where the characters of the new regime had not yet been taken. But, after the end of the Second World War, there was no necessity for change, the social order did not need to become unstable, there was the need of stability. Because of this, there was no need for the changing function of Village Institutes.

3.2 The Expectations of the Political Authority, their Limitations and the Results that went Beyond the Expectations of the Political Authority

As we stated in the above before section, the approach of the political authority to Village Institutes can be explained by the understanding of education in Kemalism as the basic theoretical approach and class structure of that time. Because of this, there were some limitations on the expectations of the political authority from Village Institutes.

In this part I will try to state the results of Village Institutes that went beyond the expectations of the political authority.

According to Necat Erder, the results of the Village Institutes came from education and understanding. To him, the Village Institutes were the sole application of revolutionary education in Turkey. This education was a type which united theory and practice, education and production, was directed towards changing the environment and growing a struggling human type. This type of education was applied in Village Institutes. Everything was the result of this. According to Erder, that the abilities of the Institutes conflicted with the education and development policies of the political authority, can be explained by the cadres who applied these approaches. This brings out the importance of Hasan Ali Yücel, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç and friends. This event was not ordinary but extraordinary and out of order. But to see it happening a by chance is not correct (İmece 1969: 5).

The roots of the graduates from the Village Institutes were rural people. These children were the first people in Turkey to organize against the pressure of political power and establish an organized bureaucratic group against the political power. Later, in the 1960's, they fulfilled very effective roles in the organization of teachers (Apaydın 1976: 13).

In 1933 Prime Minister İsmet İnönü said that he took charge of the problem of primary education and the village schools as his second enterprise. He wanted to find a solution for the experts and his party group by explaining openly the unsolved and tragic sides of problem. Long investigations were made, from the problems of getting in touch with much money, length of time, living and residence of teachers in villages, but satisfactory and persuasive precautions were not found (Bayır 1971: 102-103). In another speech in 1933, İnönü stated that the only condition for unification of the state with conscious people's administration was completion of at least primary education for men and women. Besides this, other important subjects could be mentioned but primary education lies at the base at these (Bayır 1971: 105).

The waves that came out in Turkey as a result of the Second World War created events that were to shake the Kemalism which lay at the base of the Village Institutes. The education which was applied in Village Institutes was giving results beyond those aimed at. In the application education the independent side of Kemalism was given more importance, social consciousness was also increasing as a result of collective working. Consequently, after 1946, the

education and training in Village Institutes gradually started to deviate from its essence (Çakır 1976: 18).

According to Burkay, these children of the working masses, who mostly come from poor peasant parts, were conceiving the backwards and primitive conditions of the peasantry through the things taught and seen from the new environment. They understood the exploitation and deception of local landowners and the religious leaders of the peasants. Those who were more awake and having the chance of gaining consciousness were comprehending the level of exploitation and were able to direct critiques towards the order. These critiques can be seen in the Village Institutes publications and the works of the graduates of Institutes. These radical critiques were naturally bothering the dominating classes. While accepting the Village Institutes, the dominant classes thought of their own class benefits. The Institutes, with their anti-feudal characters, brought about results on democratic lines for the working masses as well as production. They gave the results beyond the expectations of dominant classes (Burkay 1977: 11).

According to Turhan Tokgöz, the Village Institutes were a movement through education to create changes in the social and economic structure, but the political authority did not have the courage to move other powers towards radical change in society and lost the revolutionary and populist character. For example, the political authority did not think to change the primitive rules dominant in production techniques, production and distribution, the land and possession order remaining from the Empire, settle strong ties with the peoples and could not

mobilize the creative power of the people or keep the rights of workers in the distribution of national income. Education was seen as a sole instrument to change the social structure wrongly (Tonguç E. 1969: 498-9).

For Tokgöz, the elements which bring the village near to the institute community are social institutions outside education. It cannot be asserted that education does not effect the institutions which regulate the human relations, such as production, distribution, technology, administration and law. If they are on the same level as education, education will carry more than just the duty of helping their development. Then, education becomes powerless. It is true that educators think this and force these institutions to reform. According to Tokgöz, the achievement could not be provided. For him, to present the teachers who graduated from the Institutes as heroes with their magical sticks change the appearance of village is neither necessary nor true. With Village Institutes, opinion, art, literature life and the movement for struggle by the people attained lively powers. This cannot be insignificant. But separation should be made between reality and utopia in the development legend on Turkish villages through Institutes.

For Tokgöz, the special conditions of Turkey forced the builders of Institutes to go ahead. The unsuccessful position of Atatürk's reforms in the economic sphere forced the educator to struggle with the cleansing of ancient values and the economic development of the village. At this point, the negative situation begins. The builders of Institutes did not have enough power to make villages into modern villages. Educators cannot regulate ties between land and

people, citizen and work or work and wealth as they want. Because of this, the basis for achievement in the institute system was lost from the beginning. If radical reforms do not interfere to change the structure of the village rapidly, the educator will not be saved from unachievement in what he does. For gaining achievement in villages through the Village Institutes, reforms to change the structure should be made (Tonguç E. 1969: 501-3).

Engin Tonguç counters the approach of Turhan Tokgöz that the unachievement of Village Institutes depended on the absence of parallel reforms in other social institutions. According to him, this is a true observation. But in the period of the establishment of the Institutes, reforms in other social institutions were planned. On theoretical level, there were reforms in other structures. Engin Tonguç claimed that if these are not thought out while establishing the Institutes, social injustice in society will continue, land reform will not be made, the production devices will not be provided, the settlement cooperatives will not be developed, only the young will be taken to the village. Engin Tonguç said that the political authority before 1946 wanted to make reforms not only in the education sphere, but also in other social areas, but an absence of cadres and not being based on the conscious masses, most of these reforms could not be achieved. The system was thought of from the beginning as being in the service of economic development. Because it is well known that this new type teacher can not become successful alone, the aim of cooperating with other state organizations, to force them to make reforms was also wanted. Chances for tight cooperation were

sought, especially with the ministries of Health, Agriculture and Interior (Tonguç E. 1969: 503-4).

But I do not agree with Engin Tonguç here. The important question is: whether the political authority did want changes in the base structure. The answer to this question is sought in this study. To explain inability to change basic structure by an absence of cadres and conscious mass is to lighten the problem a little. If we look at the policies of the political authority in other areas, especially towards village, the leftist movement and working masses, it can be easily said that other radical structural changes could not have been wanted. The class structure and political preferences of the political authority were not convenient for these radical changes. This characteristic can also be seen in the applications related to the Village Institutes.

Asiye Eliçin brings out an important difference in considering this matter. To her, the aim of İnönü was to present the administration with a ready army by providing abundant tax sources for the state treasury. While National Chief appears dominant in the bureaucratic coalition, in reality he notices that the power of İnönü's and his partners was not less than that of the National Chief if it was needed. With the reforms introduced by the Republic the peasants could not be brought to the stage where they gave taxes easily. Because of this, the idea was to make the village storehouse full of richer products and with, the changing conditions, make a reserve of literate soldiers able to use technical weapons. Briefly, the National Chief, in solving the problem of providing income to treasury, made the decision to rapidly educate peasant as one solution. This

education should be effective in making the peasants productive, self-sufficient and able to pay taxes which increased continuously, not a traditional type of education (Tonguç E. 1969: 562).

Related to the subject of this section, Ceyhun Atuf Kansu made important and warning evaluations. We want to summarize his views. The unit of independence in undeveloped countries is peasants. Where an independence war was being fought, the base of an army of national salvation is the peasants. The fighting and warrior powers of these wars are peasants together with patriotic intellectuals. The peasants fight for social change, a real salvation together with independence. The needs of an independence war caused these people to move and mobilize, especially peasant masses. This was a historical necessity. After that, after this type national independence war, the social change which should have followed after was change in the land order. In one meaning, the peasants fought for their lands. That is to say, for a populist land regime. If the peasants fought a war of national salvation by forming the base of army of national salvation, their historical right is to be benefit from the results of war through a revolutionary regime. In the tissue of the wars that peasants participated in, there is a longing for changes and transformations by peasants. The peasant is the basic unit of a national salvation state and the class to which economic policy is to be directed towards. But, in the history of our national salvation war this contribution of Anatolian peasants was not properly recognized. As Mustafa Kemal said, as well as the contributions of the warriors, the contributions of the people who participated through the existence in villages, at home and on fields, the humanity

of the people could not be evaluated by historical method. That is the biggest deficiency of the National Salvation War and the History of Revolution. At the front or behind the front, the basic organization of national salvation wars is dependent on the peasants. Revolutionary powers organize the peasants as armies. Because the base is dependent on the productive powers, this organization obtains a revolutionary character, willingly or unwillingly. But this historical reality should not be out of care: most of the commanding cadres in national salvation wars consisted of bourgeoisie characters. In Turkish National Salvation War, these cadres were recruited through the patriotic and intellectual bourgeoisie and officers. National Powers was born as an officer movement in many areas, the peasants were organized around this seed. While at the beginning the concept national salvation was to start walking with peasants, after independence was established, forgetting of the peasant base may return the national salvation war to bourgeoisie dominance. To prevent this, the national salvation wars should be channeled to flow in a revolutionary direction. For this, the cleaning of feudal remainders, making a radical land reform, banning of usury and improving cooperatives are necessary. If the national salvation wars do not bring about these changes, intellectual patriots will become targets of the revolutionary, by breaking the peasants from the bourgeoisie, they will lose the power direction to the development of national salvation in a populist way. But worse, when the national salvation war, which started with intellectual, revolutionist, patriotic and peasants, got far away from its social ground, the harm comes from having formerly been of national bourgeoisie character with administrator cadres tied to imperialism.

National Independence is, in reality, a peasants folk song. The real creator of it is peasants and the real owner should be peasants (Tonguç E. 1969: 597-9).

According to Ali Faik Cihan, the reality that the education is a way of creating material civilization came from the structure of Kemalism. Education in production, through education and training for production, were the basic principles applied in Village Institutes. The existence of these principles was rooted in a materialist approach which showed reality in material and change, not in opinion and spirit. Civilization is a material change. It is made before being known (Tonguç E. 1969: 628).

Another interesting and correct approach to the Village Institutes comes from Dursun Bila. To him, the Village Institute movement should be explained within the social struggles of history. As we all know, the struggle in history is among the classes. Throughout history some classes became the motor of history, fulfilling the revolutionary role when the mode of production required. Some classes became reactionary. The men who established and destroyed the Village Institutes were the same persons. In these conditions, the matter is beyond the individuals, it should be taken as a product of class struggles. Village Institutes disturbed the dominant class after some point. According to Bila, the Village Institutes meant education for revolution, not revolution. Certainly, this enterprise would disturb the dominant classes. Even so, the political authority of time, which conducted politics so as to obtain American imperialist help with the force of interior and exterior conditions, and National Chief destroyed this big work. With the Village Institute movement it is known that the salutation of peasants is not a

problem of education, it is a matter of revolution. But the role of education in revolutionary struggle can not be denied. Revolution, education and obtaining class consciousness are mutually interacting. To Bila, the greatness of Tonguç is in here, in that he understood this reality and acted accordingly (Tonguç E. 1969: 634-5).

Why, after the national salvation war, were structural transformations not made? This question can be explained by the class conditions of these years and the class character of the governing cadres. Engin Tonguç said, in relation to this question, that the working classes, especially peasant class which was the firm supporter of the national salvation war and the most important reason for the achievement, continued to be powerless in the political area and did not feel their class power. After being crushed by the leftist movements, some of the governing cadres, which were generally middle class, were wanting to make changes in framework of Kemalist principles. They tended to make changes in the levels of superstructure, especially in the education sphere, and not in the interior structure because of their beliefs, class position and the conditions in which they grew. Progressive intellectual cadres were being forced to solve the problems through transformation of the superstructure because of the powerless of the working classes, pressure from the left, being bourgeois in the progressive wing of the political authority. Their partner, local landowners-merchants, were becoming powerful as a result of economic policy. The views of the dominant class related to education, which cannot become an attack on their benefits, caused enterprises in education. The Village Institute experiment was an education attempt which

was achieved through appraisal of the conditions needed to solve social problems by an agreement with the other parts of the political authority. The beliefs, world and educational views of the persons who gain power of execution caused to the borders of the classical education to be pass over. This possibility was used to provide consciousness to the working classes and to prepare the conditions for them to make felt their power in political arena. Because of this, as the most effective superstructural institution, it is the duty of education cross the known borders, a system which created total class conscious was being applied. In other words, the Village Institute attempt was developed as a movement for revolution. The interior and exterior conditions of the Second World War gave to the governor of the movement the chance to achieve this type education attempt even though the other partners of the political authority were unwilling and displeased.

The most important peculiarity of the Village Institute application, which prepared and accelerated the revolutionary development, was directed towards peasant class which was the most wide spread and living under the most severe conditions. It was different from the progressive and leftist movements, in view of the existing conditions of social structure the progressive attempts could not become successful without being based on the peasant class.

Related to the view of land-owners and politicians towards Village Institutes it is very interesting that, during the discussion of Village Institute Law in 1940, an old politician and land owner told Tonguç that we could not cope with the educated, you try to educate everyone through the Village Institute law. If these villagers are educated, know the world, neither you nor I will be preserved (Aytekin 1970: 19). Do you notice that they cut the branch you are sitting on?

The aims of the political authority in establishing Village Institutes can be considered in the framework of education in the understanding of Kemalism. At this point it should be asked whether the intellectual bureaucrat cadres had the intention of making changes in the basic structure through education, which is a super-structural institution. I do not think that they had the intention of making basic structural changes at that time. Understanding the place of education in Kemalism requires examination of the views of Mustafa Kemal, İsmet İnönü and Hasan Ali Yücel, and the party program of the RPP. No role was given to education beyond being an institution in the superstructure effective in the basic structure.

3.3 Evaluation of the Expectations of the Political Authority from the Village Institutes within the Framework of Policies Towards Villages and Agriculture

If the general conditions of the country, its agricultural and peasant character, are taken into account in examining the aims of the state related to the Village Institutes, its policies towards the village and agriculture gain importance. What were the basic points in the policies towards agriculture being applied during the first half of the 1940's?

The conditions of the 1940's were those of war. As Keyder stated in 1942, all agricultural surplus except for a small portion left to the grower, was to be purchased by the state. In 1943, a new tax law was drafted, designed to collect in kind and in money between 8 and 12 per cent of the agricultural produce. This definitely alienated the middle farmer from his alliance with the state. The war years had seriously diminished the strength of the middle farmer but did much less damage to the large farmer; the withdrawal of the labor force for the army had brought back the relative superiority of the means of production of the large farmer (Keyder 1974: 459).

One of the important policies of this period was the National Protection Law. For Timur, even though the activities were directed towards public opinion, the National Protection Law carried a qualification which was for the protection of only a specific part of the community. Item 41 of the law is that for every four hectares of land, two oxen are excepted from the National

Protection obligation. The interpretation of Taner Timur of this item is that, by this way, the small farmers who have less than four hectares of land were being forced to give theirs all oxen as a national protection obligation. If it is taken into account that small land possession was widespread, the importance of this item will be brought out. With this item, the small farmers lost their ability to farm by giving their most important production instruments to the state (Timur 1971: 192).

Taxes which were imposed during the Second World War were indirect. In other words, the burdens of these taxes was shouldered by the masses. But, with another tax, the Tax of Land Crops, the peasants directly paid the burden. With the Tax of Land Crops, the rate of tax on land produce was raised from 8 to 10%, and the tax was taken in cash or in kind, depending on the product (Yetkin 1983: 194-5).

National Protection Law had an extremely interventionist character. It penalized the proletariat and small farmers. But the law also contained rules which could be used against the bourgeoisie and could totally subject the economy to state capitalism. But these rules, which could be used against the bourgeoisie, were applied very sparingly (Yetkin 1983: 230).

The implementation of the National Protection Law enabled the landlords and commercial bourgeoisie to gain wealth by creating possibilities for import and export and inconsistency in price control. The parts of bureaucracy who were cooperated with them fall into the category of those who profited from war. The reason of this, according to Timur, was that during the period of the

depression and even at the beginning of the National Salvation War, an the process of independence by of the bureaucrat cadres from the dominant classes was significant. But this independence was not absolute, the state administrators returned to the dominant classes after a short time. Further, the price controls introduced in 1940 and the interventionist economic policy, which was against the benefit of dominant classes, survived for only two years and was then abandoned (Timur 1971: 237-8).

During the war years, the political authority took radical measures other than tax policies. After abolishing the tithe political authority did not make any enterprise against the benefits of the grand land owners. Contrarily, it wanted to provide for the development of capitalism by making the big land owners capitalist through various kinds of supports, not by land reform (Timur 1971: 246).

The big land owners sabotaged the defense policies of the cabinet by using them for their own benefit in order to become richer. In the 1942, while prime minister Saraçoğlu was complaining of the “profiteer farmers”, İnönü was personally exposing a fraudulently borrowing farm owner as the source of the pain of the people. From this point, the political face of the Law of Landholding Farmers was heavier than the economic situation warranted and it should be evaluated in the light of class struggle. Contrarily, the Village Institute enterprise was begun with the economic aim of increasing the production, least the eyes of the cabinet and the assembly who accepted the law (Timur 1971: 247-8).

To make changes in the land regime was became one of the principles of the state in 1937. The sponsor of this change was Minister of Interior Şükrü Kaya. As he said, fifteen out of eighteen million Turks were farmers. Most of them did not work on their own land. To enable the farmers to own their own land would be to make this majority of Turkish people good citizens for the country through ownership their own economic fate. If big benefits were anticipated by this big mass, this mass should be made dominant over their own lands, rescued from working on the lands of others. This cannot be overemphasized. If the farmers cannot become consumers, thus benefiting from their high productive capacity, the works which were being made in the economy, cannot find customers. If the fire of the peasants does not smoke, the chimney of the factory will be extinguished.

These views were shared by Bilsay Kuruç. To him, the republic administration wanted to take its views to the village through its economy and administration,. This was why the decision to go to village was taken. The masters of the regime in the village would become the landless and the small farmers. Because of this, land was to be distributed to them. In this way the purchasing power of the village would be increased, the village would keep in step with the tempo of the industrial economy. Also, in this way, political control of the village would be in the lap of the Republic administration (Kuruç 1987: 182).

The conditions of 1936-7 were different from the conditions of 1923-4. While in 1924 the big land possession was under the security of constitution, and development was anticipated, in 1937 this trend was not being followed by

the administrative cadres of the Republic. After 1924, the big farmers continued to become increasingly wealthy. But this wealth did not provide the republic regime with the means of development. While development of the Republic was being realized through industrialization, agriculture did not keep in step. Those who became rich in the villages could not conceive of the development logic of the Republic, were not interested in it and not excited by it. Thus , in 1937, the matter of the village and agriculture became the distribution of land. The village would conceive of the existence of the Republic by obtaining land.

Until the 1930's one movement which directly affected the big village mass was the abolition of the tithe. With the evaluation of Prime Minister İsmet Paşa, this decision, which utterly destroyed 40% of the budget income was a crude operation. To compensate for the revenue deficit, government was obliged to increase the price of gas, salt and tobacco. Because the officers of the state took shelter through their wage increases, all burden was again on the real buyers of these materials: the villagers. Furthermore, a short time later new taxes were imposed. For example, road tax was raised to 8 liras. The administrative councils of provinces used their authority to raise this to 14 liras. The remarkable side of the road tax was that it made no differentiation between rich and poor. Without taking into account their incomes, everyone was obliged to pay same amount of tax. The payment of the new tax as money caused an important social problem. The tithe was a tax paid as in kind from the crop. Because the tithe was paid in kind, villagers were not obliged to sell his crop for cash. But the road tax, because it was paid in cash, villagers were compelled to sell their crop at the worst time.

Because of underdevelopment of the internal market and the absence of support through a state purchasing policy, villagers were obliged to sell their crops for money to the land owner in the village, a mediator or big land owners. Because these buyers knew of the farmers necessity, they bought the crops much below their real market value. The road tax thus became twice as expensive (Başgöz 1968: 72-3).

As Şükrü Kaya stated, the problem of agriculturists was the problem of nation. If the land could not be distributed to landless farmers, they would be deprived of the favor of the Revolution and the Republic. If the nation could not provide his bread from its own land, there was no meaning in the things that were done.

According to İnönü, while industrial production and income increased, production in agriculture could not be increased. But increasing agricultural production was the main condition and most firm way for the development of industry and increasing of defense powers. The land gives its best crop only on condition that the owner of the land is the farmer who works on that land. It is in no way acceptable that villagers can be held in a narrow frame which condemns them to be landless forever. Obtaining the best results from attempted social and industrial policies depended on the results in the country; on villagers and in agriculture (Pamuk 1987: 175-9).

It can be said that the 25 % of 1942 took the surplus crops from small producers, and even forced the families who were working less than 50 acres of land and renting land from others to cut down on the consumption of grain.

Whereas in the applications made before, the margin for subsistence, seed for sowing and fodder for animals was left to all producers. In this condition, it was not possible for poor villagers to benefit from rising wheat prices. On one side falling production, on other side increasing suppression of the state pushed the poor villagers into the hands of the usurers.

On the other hand, the burden on the big farmers did not become heavier but, contrarily, was lightened. By increasing the amount of worked land, the level of produce which was left for sale to the consumer was increased. Big farmers, after giving 50% of their production, were benefiting from the high prices which were established in the free market. While other producers were giving 5 kilos of wheat to the state for 20 kuruş, the big farmers could sell a kilo for 100 kuruş in the free market. Especially after the beginning of the application of the 25% decision, big land owners started to increase their land and wealth.

The solution of Saraçoğlu's government to the food problem was not limited to taking forcefully written degrees. With the Land Crop Tax Law, accepted in 1943, a tax which was applied to specified crops and collection in kind was established. The ratio of that tax was 8% for those who were eligible for the 25% decision; for others the level was 12%. Later in 1944, in a new Land Crop Tax Law, the proportion of the tax was set at 10% for all products. With this application the tithe, which had been the basic tax of the Ottoman period and had been a heavy burden on small producers, was being re-introduced. Although these applications were abolished after 1945, what was done was done. The One Party Government which loaded the burden of war conditions onto the shoulders

of the small and middle farmers came up against the sections which formed 80% of the population and had a big potential vote. With the end of the war and through transition to a multi- party regime, the leaders of Peoples Republican Party noticed that it was particularly necessary to gain the support of the small farmers (Pamuk 1987: 138).

As we tried to show in this part, the policies of the political authority toward the village and agriculture lead us to think that the political authority did not really want to change the bad conditions in villagers through Village Institutes. Accordingly, it can be clearly stated that the expectations of the political authority from Village Institutes were as an instrumental goal not an aim in itself. That is to say, they waited to change the village so as to ensure their continuing authority or that of the regime. Because of this, the level of change aimed at, through Village Institutes, was not intended to disturb their status quo.

3.4 The Actions of Social Classes and Political Authority in the Opening and Destruction of Village Institutes

According to Eyüpoğlu, the intellectuals established the Village Institutes in the name of the people (Başaran 1990: 124). Besides this, he stated that they were closed because they not only found the quickest of warning the people, but they fundamentally shook the education and training system in cities and the capital (Başaran 1990: 125).

For discussion the actions of social classes in the establishment and closing of Village Institutes, important roles should not be given to İnönü. Generally, İnönü is criticized because he closed them or did not use his position to save them. It is a reality that İnönü put his all power in the establishment of Village Institutes. But they were closed during the Presidency of İnönü. This inconsistency between the two positions can be explained by the aims of İnönü in the establishment and the role of individuals in social life. Tonguç said, in relation to this, that they who criticize do not know either the Village Institutes nor İnönü (Başaran 1990: 127).

As Makal stated, the General Secretary of the Party, in a speech in Türkocağı, said we should not let the villagers be disturbed, they were comfortable with their plough and linseed oil. The villagers were bothered by talk of the tractor and electric light. Speaking in this way, he was applauded. Makal interpreted this as meaning that the villagers wanted to be opened to the new era, but Ankara was deaf (Makal 1990: 8).

The detailed approach of Timur to the actions by the social classes was that Village Institutes, in training the villagers in village problems, were giving them foresight. Thus, an education that provided a general level of culture and learning also prepared village children for the problems of an agricultural economy and elementary industrial forms. This education is certainly not an education that was required by the exploiters of agriculture (landlords, usurer merchants). In the application of education tax it can be seen how the notables systematically sabotaged the primary education. In these circumstances the likely

results of the Village Institutes were evident. Timur explains the absence of a big opposition toward the approval of Village Institutes law (beyond the absence of big landlords in voting) in this way: the first reason was the anti-democratic character of the political authority which became harder during the war years. But an important reason for Timur was the land lords: because of their low cultural level and comprehension they could not perceive the results of the law thoroughly (Timur 1971: 250).

Further, Kirby stated, after reading the discussions of the Assembly, that we can form an opinion about how far away from understanding Çifteler experiment the members were by looking what points of the draft of law they touched on. According to Timur, this is true in every respect. So the anti class struggle ideology of the state lead to simple mistakes. It was possible that the petty bourgeoisie governors of the regime also made mistakes. Later their lack of resistance to attacks coming from landlords make it impossible to be optimistic on this subject. As Timur stated, from beginning there was one person who knew what he was doing: the creator of Village Institutes, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç (Timur 1971: 251).

As Engin Tonguç stated, the main deficiency in the RPP which Tonguç did not see as reasonable was the ideology of a classless society. Tonguç worked throughout his life and in his writings to show that the main and continuous contradiction was that there are exploiting, dominating classes and dominated and exploited classes. The village class is the biggest exploited and dominated class as a result of social structure in Turkey (Tonguç, E. 1969: 119).

According to Timur, the conclusion to be grasped from all this is that the Village Institutes were an attempt to create class consciousness in the exploited classes and to incite the struggle against the existing order. Essentially, the first places where they were established were those regions most convenient for such a struggle. Briefly, Village Institutes were established in those regions that were targeted for opening up to capitalism. This reality caused the early yielding up of fruits. The reactions against came about with equal rapidity. The speakers for the dominant classes submitted their attacks in various sheaths. But the main cause of their fright was the gaining class consciousness by many village intellectuals as a result of the conditions prepared by their Village Institutes. Besides, some leftist thinkers came out the against villages either by not perceiving the objective meaning behind the aims of the Institutes because they were overcome by subjectivism, or because they thought that nothing could be done without changing the infrastructure. Each of these two views, in the last analysis, is parallel to the ideology of the dominant classes (Timur 1971: 252). This was because the ideology of the military and the civilian bureaucracy, in various ways (nationalism, positivism) refused the ideology of class struggle. In fact, the expectation of the bureaucrats from Village Institutes, as evidenced by the law of the Landed Farmer, was to prevent class struggle. This can be seen from the defenses of the cabinet in its discussions of the law.

According to Timur, in the years of crisis during the years of war, the middle class bureaucrats were powerful in the government coalition. The law of Village Institutes, extraordinary tax laws, the law of landed farmers, and like laws

were the work of a similar governmental structure. This government, in consistency with its traditional ideological tendencies (and also with the conditions of war) wanted to put into operation a policy which was above class. In this way, both the provision of a united national consciousness and also increasing the public incomes so as to meet increasing defense necessities were intended. But the problem was the same: without being based on the poor classes the struggle with the dominant classes was impossible (Timur 1971: 269). As a matter of fact, because of this, all of the radical reforms attempted in this period were given up after a short time. This was because the reachable goal of any social movement or revolution is determined by the class base more than by the subjective aims of pioneer cadres (Timur 1971: 279).

İnönü stated, in a speech in 1946, that “ without taking into account the duties in my political and military life I will have left two works to the Turkish nation when I die. One was the Village Institutes, the other was a multi-party system” (Avcioğlu 1982: 498).

The movement of Village Institutes, from the beginning, gained the enmity of the bureaucratic majority because it did not fit into the tight and conservative rules of the notables and bureaucracy. The approval of law, with 278 votes and 148 abstentions by deputies , was very remarkable. For Avcioğlu, like Land Reform, Village Institutes were an honorable revolutionary movement against the powerful dominant classes by the nationalist and revolutionist cadres of the National Salvation War without causing a reactionary feeling from beneath.

But İnönü and his surrounding nationalists and revolutionist cadres were defeated (Avcioğlu 1982: 499).

At a speech published in *Milliyet* in November 23, 1967, İnönü evaluated the defeat of the Village Institutes as like “I attempted this by most radical methods, but to continue it was not possible. They were difficult things to put into operation with democracy (Avcioğlu 1982: 500). As stated by Avcioğlu, the thing that degenerated the two revolutionary movements, land reform and Village Institutes, was certainly not democracy. Contrarily, prevention of the functioning of democracy was really by usurer merchants, landlords, notables and conservative bureaucrats; the powerful agents of the existing order left, without conclusion, the idealist fluttering of the nationalist revolutionary cadres (Avcioğlu 1982: 501). According to Avcioğlu, the RPP was basing on the notables and civil servants in its early years. The RPP survived the characterization which was based on the cooperation or agreement between notables and civil servants until the years of the Second World War. Notables used the advantages of being party members and, in return, provided social support to the regime by condescending to its revolutions. By benefiting from the extraordinary conditions of the war, notables became powerful. Their cooperation with big urban powers caused the nationalist revolutionist cadres in the RPP to loose power. The biggest misfortune of the revolutionary nationalist was not finding the a chance for the establishment to introduce radical land reform in the first years of the Republic (Tonguç. E. 1969: 318-9). As a matter of fact, life with multi-parties in a social structure where the dominant conservative classes were connected to their incurable masses

brought an end to the revolutionary movement more than to a progressive movement by way of democracy (Avcioğlu 1982: 502).

Village Institutes were the product of a definite social and class character and became the victim of a definite class conflict. They were born in a situation where stones were tied, dogs were released. The reactions to Village Institutes came not only from the owners of the existing order, usurers, notables and rural landlords; at one time the Turkish bourgeoisie came out in opposition to these institutions. On the other side, without these kind of institutions, which brought into the open the way of capitalism through the efforts of the petty bourgeoisie, progressiveness would have brought about consciousness against every kind of exploitation, not only feudal, as it did in other countries which did not have such aims. Even as it came about it frightened the powers who had created it. It was not by chance that the establishing and closing power was the same RPP government. Besides, it can be said that the petty bourgeoisie intellectual bureaucrat cadres, who moved in the name of the bourgeoisie, either united with the bourgeoisie or lost their mission. Consequently, the Village Institutes were condemned to be destroyed from the logic of the development of classes in Turkey (Tanilli 1989: 65-7).

As Soysal stated, those who took the decision to establish the Village Institutes closed the Institutes because they saw the people the gaining consciousness and understood the problems they had created by their own hands. Without changing the class structure relations to production in society, the dominant classes cannot allow the landless, poor villagers to gain consciousness.

Education for revolution or revolution in education should be obliged to pass beyond this handicap (Soysal 1964:13).

The factors that which caused the qualities to be lost and closed the Village Institutes were more than one. With the increasing the achievement of Nazi aggression thorough the Second World War in our country a racist, chauvinistic movement was increasing its voice. Beside the feudal reactionaries, these were enemies to the Village Institutes. With the transition to a multi-party system the concessions to feudal reactionaries were increased. The bourgeoisie had previously established allies with landlords and feudal religious groups. But with multi-party life they also gained power. The multi-party feudal reactionaries and the bourgeoisie, who wanted to exploit this reaction through the polls, made strong the attacks against Village Institutes. The critiques from Villages Institutes toward the regime certainly irritated the bourgeoisie. The efforts of feudal reactionaries, who were against Village Institutes from the beginning, with increased powers under the new conditions and by uniting the suspicions and new policies of the bourgeoisie, brought an end to the Village Institute movement (Burkay 1977: 12).

Without real structural transformations and in like an order to continue Village Institute in the existing forms was the impossibility that was against the social laws and passed over the will-power and good faith of individuals (Arman, 1970a: 21). Officials at their service regions were entering into the conflicts of general order prepared and fighting for the solution in benefit of workers by depending on their organizations. The applied order at Village

Institutes and the signs of reaching class struggle to villagers started to disturb the bureaucrats and exploiting all powers (Arman 1970: 6).

While big land owners, notables and rich villagers did not generally send their children to Village Institutes because they perceived the education as a bad job, those who were working their land as tenants or crop sharers did send their children. In this way important man power was lost on the land of big land owners. After some years the children of workers became the teachers of the children of big landowners, notables, etc. These became important signs of the damage to the social dominance of rich elements in rural regions (Erdost 1989: 93-4).

As a graduate from a Village Institutes, the memory of Mahmut Makal is very remarkable: While he worked on the land in his village, villagers were criticized him. According to them, after education an individual should became a gentleman, not a worker on the land. After education an individual should became a governor or head official of a district, it will not be good if an educated person works on the land and lives in bad conditions in a village (Makal 1991: 33).

The destruction of Village Institutes was not by chance. As Köklügiller stated, this subject should be evaluated in the context of new forms of imperialism after the Second World War. In this game there were big stakes and external factors, as well as internal ones (Köklügiller 1970: 17).

As Fişek stated (Fişek, 1968: 10), Village Institutes made important contributions in the determination of village problems, in taking rational and convenient measures to prevent class contradictions, in instilling an unmixed collective working consciousness to meet necessities of the gaining class consciousness of Turkey villagers, in preventing the attacks of reactionary powers. The establishment of a bureaucracy was the basic reason for a one party government.

According to Balamir (Balamir, 1982: 24), the closing of Village Institutes were based on social and economic reasons beside the political reasons. The political transformation of RPP in 1946 affected negatively the Village Institutes, especially the functioning of self government which became one of the critical issues. The most important reason of these made the closing down of Village Institutes, without taking the measures to remove the dominance of usurer, merchant and big land owners in the village and waiting for the teacher to create a miraculous transformation by sending him to the village, the villagers would remain isolated and would not build up a relation with the national market and therefore would not need the education and training which would make easy for them to establish relations with the external world or to provide openings to national culture. These conditions were the reasons for the Village Institutes not functioning in the planned manner and might be looked at in the light of the opposition created by local authorities towards the Village Institutes who felt that there was no necessity for people to open up to external culture in a closed system (Balamir, 1982: 26).

As a result the actions of social classes in the opening and destruction of Village Institutes can be stated: while political authority wanted the establishment of Institutes, they also destroyed the Village Institutes. Why? The reasons were that the conditions required by the Village Institutes after 1946 were absent. With the new conditions, the functions or contributions of Village Institutions for the transformation envisaged were not necessary. Because the dominant classes were against the establishment of Village Institutes, the reason for the creation and destruction of Village Institute cadres were the same. But the political authority, for the benefit of the regime and also for the dominant classes, accepted the Village Institutes as necessary, somehow in spite of themselves, in the beginning of the 1940's. During the extraordinary conditions of the Second World War, the existence of relative autonomy of the political authority from dominant classes may have existed, but after the War the conditions for autonomy were absent. In my opinion, the Village Institute movement was put in operation during the extraordinary conditions of the Second World War, with a relative autonomy of political authority from the dominant classes based on the definition of political authority that the Village Institutes were necessary, so as to set the regime beside in rural areas as well as in urban areas and to regulate the economy by opening the agriculture to the market. It also aimed at making the agriculture more productive to provide the food for the Front, to be a source for industrialization and to form the necessary cadres for the regime.

What were the positions of dominated classes, middle classes, small farmers or landless masses and workers? We can generally state that they were

against the Village Institutes. First of all, these masses did not need the education and their important role was to provide their foods. Education for them in the conditions of 1930-40's was luxurious. The intellectuals who were defending the benefits of these masses were generally against the Institutes. Their basic argument was that without changes in supra structure, education which is an institution of super structure, nothing can be achieved. But they did not take into account that without education nothing in supra or in super structure can be made.



CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

What was the reasoning behind the attempt to establish the Village Institutes, at that particular period in Turkey, within the framework of the relations between the State and Classes? How are the Village Institutes to be evaluated within the framework of the relationships between classes? Why was this kind of attempt made given the condition of class relations in Turkey? Were the principal questions that tried to be answered in this study.

From the establishment of Ottoman Empire onwards relations between the state and society (people) were basically unilateral. That is to say, while people were perpetual givers, the state and the dominant classes were always receivers. It should be clarified that, by society or people we mean that part of the community who shouldered the burden of weight of the social order. Within this framework, the middle class, small farmers and the landless masses are taken as making up the people. In other words, the dominated classes under the conditions pertaining in the 1940's.

During the Ottoman Empire, people were seen as a storehouse for the armed forces, or as a unit which provided the food and necessities for the community. The development movements which were put into operation during the last period of the Ottoman Empire were not intended to bring about very considerable changes to this characterization of the people. As a result, these attempts at development had no effects and failed to bring about change.

The working masses, who performed their duties for society with their lives or with their blood for many years, also made a huge contribution in the War of National Salvation. But, the established Republic did not view them in a very different way from the Ottomans. The Republic, which was declared in 1923, did not also fail to put into its agenda the basic measures designed to change relations between state and society even though various attempts at reform were made. The new government was only concerned with regulations in the super-structure of law, language, education etc., and did not aim reforms in regulations concerning the super- structure of relationships between production, possession and distribution.

Against this framework it can be seen that the Republican Regime did not create any considerable changes in the life of people beyond changes in the superstructure of Ottoman Empire. From Ottoman times until the 1930's the people of Turkey gave more than they took. The community education movement maybe the first or sole movement in the history of Turkey that can be thought as being an important thing for the people made by the State.

What was the Village Institute Movement within this framework? Why was such a kind of movement put into operation? Was the Village Institute movement an attempt by the state to take something to the people or a movement for the benefit of the state or for dominant classes? Throughout this study answers to these questions have been sought.

If the results of the Institutes are taken into account, it can be seen that: it was not a simple education movement; rather it was a movement which had social, economic, political and also cultural effects. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the Village Institutes were one of a few movements that profoundly affected our social, economic and political life. Examples of the effects of Village Institutes may be stated:

1. They showed the State that Turkey could not become a contemporary nation without the village.

2. Because villages made up the largest part the nation they should be opened to World.

3. The wealth of the village was brought out.

4. The solution of education and other problems became possible.

Village intellectuals were nurtured by the Village Institutes and then returned to the villages.

5. Villagers gained class consciousness and began to question the situation in agriculture or the nature of the regime.

On the other hand, if the state is defined as an institution for the production and reproduction of existing modes of relations, how can the Village Institute Movement, that created some results for the benefit of dominated classes, be evaluated?

Can it be said that, with the Village Institutes, the political power that was not powerful enough to directly transform the superstructure used education (i.e. the most effective institution in the superstructure) to provide changes in the superstructure? Otherwise, the Movement originated from not wanting transformation of the superstructure. The absence of important reactions from the dominant classes can be explained in this way: what have been here defined as the dominant classes had not yet grasped dominance; through the Institutes they were to extend their influence to the village, where feudal elements were dominant, open the village to national markets and instill the ideology of the new regime. It may be appropriate to evaluate the Village Institutes as the last revolutionary attempt by the bourgeoisie which aimed to preserve its level of existence, and that the destruction of the Institutes was because they were beginning to become reactionary against the bourgeoisie through losing their revolutionary character.

While the explaining of the aims of Village Institutes the following points were made: the aims of the Institutes have been explained in the light of their results with their results, but this is an objective mistake. While different reasons determined the aims, the results could also have been determined by different influences. In this framework, the political authority aimed, through the

Village Institutes, to cope with economic, social, political and cultural problems. With another voice, the political authority aimed to increase agricultural production as a resource for industrialization and to provide food for the military Front. It also aimed to take the ideals of the new regime into the rural areas where the dominant position of the old regime still existed, and to open the village to national markets. If we accept education as sufficient for the understanding of Kemalism then the aim of political authority, Mustafa Kemal, İsmet İnönü, Hasan Ali Yücel and the RPP, in founding the Village Institute Movement did not have higher aims than those just described. As someone stated, they did not attribute any effective roles to education within the nature of the superstructure. The political authority did not have the foresight to aim at many of results that came about as a result of the Village Institute Movement. The developments for the benefit of the village were not intended, they were unforeseen results. The most important of benefit was the growth of village intellectuals who gained class consciousness. In this way, examination of the exploitative character of the order by these intellectuals or by members of dominated classes came into existence. What were the reasons for those results that surpassed the aims? According to me, the reasons can be stated as:

1. The bourgeois democratic character of the movement.
2. The cadres who carried out the attempt, especially İsmail Hakkı Tonguç and his friends, had aims which went beyond those of the political authority.

3. The character of education is such that it is not possible to definitely determine its results.

4. The attendance of the common the children from the dominated classes at the Village Institutes gave rise to awareness of class conflicts and of prevailing conditions.

How were the Village Institutes destroyed? What were the reasons for their destruction? They were established by the political authority for the benefit of regime, and the dominant classes were not much in favor of their foundation. Under the conditions at the beginning of the 1940's, the Village Institute Movement did not pull important reactions from the dominant classes. This wasbecause of the problem of benefit and also the problem of power. But the views of the bureaucratic-intellectual cadres, who were the part of the political authority and relatively autonomous because of the extraordinary conditions of Second World War, was that the Village Institutes were necessary for the benefit of the regime. The benefits were in the form of increasing agricultural production for the source of industrialization and food for the Front, in taking the ideology of the new regime to rural areas and the creation of qualified manpower for new regime. But with the end of the Second World War the relatively autonomous position of bureaucratic-intellectual cadres and the extraordinary conditions of the war also ended. Further, the conceptions of dominant classes for the benefit of the regime became important, the opinions of the bureaucratic-intellectual cadres lost their power. After the Second World War important transformations were realized over the World and in Turkey. There was no longer any progressive

character in the dominant classes. For them, even the general aims of the bureaucratic-intellectual cadres could not be accepted. The results of the Village Institutes that went beyond the aims of political cadres were also very dangerous for the dominant classes.



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