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PARTY CONFERENCES 1935-1945:

ACADEMIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO IDEOLOGICAL

MOBILIZATION IN TURKEY

BY

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MOBILIZATION IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine the conferences held between 1935 and 1945 at Istanbul University and in various People's Houses by the professors of Istanbul University and Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty, in order to put forward the party-academia relationship, ideological orientation of the intellectuals in Turkey as well as the political elite and the intellectual sources of this orientation. Three series of conferences are taken into consideration because they clearly shed light on domestic political developments and the nature of the international influence on Turkey in these years. The first conference series was given at Istanbul University starting in 1935 and lasting until 1945, the second series took place in various People's Houses throughout the country during the year of 1938, and the third series was also given in the People's Houses, between 1939 and 1941.

In the thesis, firstly the political atmosphere of the 1930's and 1940's are put forward to be informative about the circumstances in which the conferences were given. The ideological inclinations of the political elite in those years which was based on the development models of certain countries like Soviet Union, Italy and Germany are presented and the role of the People's Houses in Turkey and the nature of the reform done in the University in 1933 are explained. After elaborating the purpose and function of the conferences, the ideas and the values which were suggested to the masses by the professors of the Academia through these conferences are analysed. Their intellectual sources, and the similarity between these ideas and the domestic politics in Turkey are demonstrated, while mentioning the developments in Europe.

The fact that the conferences were held by the professors of Academia as a result of party inducement, is an important indication of the close relationship between the Republican People's Party and Academia. But more important than this is the resemblance between the ideas suggested to the masses and the actual policies of the time pursued by Republican People's Party. Taking into consideration the nature of the university reform realised in 1933, the purpose and function of the conferences can be specified as political socialization which is the process through which individuals acquire the political values, beliefs and codes of behavior of a social group or community and get integrated into their political structure.

The conferences can be evaluated as the reflection of both the domestic and international political atmosphere of the time. A close examination exercised throughout the thesis shows that the conferences mainly support a political system in which society comes before individuals, repressing individualism and individual creativity. In such an authoritarian regime, functions and duties are valued more than the rights and freedoms and society is organised according to the division of labour principle. Liberalism and socialism are rejected, instead étatism is accepted as the most suitable policy concerning economy, politics and society. Nationalism is promoted as the proper ideology of society led by an extra-ordinary, charismatic leader. A healthy, sturdy generation should be raised by educated women and should be trained as strong sportsmen who are aware of the greatness of their history. Within the framework of this kind of a political regime, the professors intended to mobilize people to certain directions on certain subjects.

KISA ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı, 1935-1945 yılları arasında İstanbul Üniversitesi ve Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi öğretim üyeleri tarafından İstanbul Üniversitesi ve çeşitli Halk Evleri'nde düzenlenen konferansları incelemek, parti-üniversite ilişkisini, Türk entellektüellerinin ve siyasi elitinin ideolojik yönelimlerini ve bu yönelimlerin düşünsel kaynaklarını ortaya koymaktır. Üç seri konferans incelenmiştir, çünkü bu konferanslar bu yıllarda Türkiye'deki siyasi gelişmeleri ve Türkiye üzerindeki yabancı etkilerin niteliğini gün ışığına çıkarmaktadır. Birinci konferans serisi 1935-1945 yılları arasında İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde; ikinci konferans serisi çeşitli Halk Evleri'nde 1938 yılı içerisinde; ve üçüncü seri ise 1939-1941 yılları arasında yine çeşitli Halk Evleri'nde düzenlenmiştir.

Konferansların düzenlendiği zamanın şartları hakkında bilgilendirici olması amacıyla, tezde ilk önce 1930 ve 1940'ların siyasi atmosferi özetlenmiştir. Bazı ülkelerin, özellikle Sovyetler Birliği'nin, İtalya'nın ve Almanya'nın gelişme modellerinden etkilenen siyasi elitinin ideolojik yönelimleri belirlenmiş, Halk Evleri'nin rolü ve İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde yapılan 1933 reformunun niteliği açıklanmıştır. Konferansların amacı ve fonksiyonu ortaya konduktan sonra, bu konferanslar yoluyla öğretim üyelerinin kitlelere aktardığı düşünce ve değerler analiz edilmiştir. Bunların düşünsel boyutları ve gerçek politikalarla benzerlikleri, yeri geldiğinde Avrupa'daki gelişmelerle birlikte, gösterilmiştir.

Bu konferansların partinin isteği sonucu öğretim üyeleri tarafından düzenlenmesi, parti-üniversite ilişkisinin yakınlığına işaret etmektedir. Ama daha da önemlisi, halka aktarılan düşüncelerle Türkiye'de bu dönemde Cumhuriyet Halk

Partisi tarafından izlenen politikaların benzerliđidir. 1933'de gerekleřtirilen reformun niteliđi de gz nne alınırsa, bu konferansların amacı ve fonksiyonu siyasi sosyalizasyon olarak belirlenebilir. Siyasi sosyalizasyon, bireylerin belli bir sosyal grubun veya cemaatin politik deđerlerini, inanlarını ve davranıř biimlerini edinmesi ve bu yolla onların siyasi yapısına entegre olması anlamına gelir.

Konferansların hem i, hem de uluslararası siyasi atmosferi yansıttıđı sylenebilir. Tezde yapılan ayrıntılı inceleme sonucunda bu konferanslarda savunulan siyasi sistemin zellikleri ortaya konmuřtur. Bu siyasi sistemde toplum, bireyselliđi ve bireysel yaratıcılıđı kısıtlayacak řekilde, bireyden nce gelmektedir. Bu otoriter rejimde, fonksiyonlar ve grevler yceltilmekte, haklar ve zgrlklerden daha deđerli gsterilmektedir. Toplumun iř blm esasına gre organize edilmesi savunulmuřtur. Liberalizm ve sosyalizm reddedilmiř, devletilik ekonomik, siyasi ve toplumsal aıdan en uygun politika olarak belirlenmiřtir. Milliyetilik, sıradıřı karizmatik lider tarafından ynetilen topluma en uygun ideoloji olarak belirlenmiřtir. Sađlıklı ve grbz bir neslin, eđitilmiş kadınlar tarafından, gl sporcular olarak yetiřtirilmesi zorunluluđu vurgulanmıřtır. đretim yeleri, halkı belli konularda belli ynlere, byle bir siyasi rejim erevesi iinde mobilize etmeye alıřmıřlardır.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABSTRACT	ii
KISA ÖZET	iv
PART I	
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II: THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE 1930's AND 1940's	7
A) Domestic Politics in the Turkey of 1930's and 1940's	7
B) Elitist and Tutelary Models for Turkey	15
i) Soviet Union	16
ii) Italy	23
iii) Germany	28
CHAPTER III: INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE FUNCTION OF THE PARTY CONFERENCES	38
A) People's Houses as Organs of the Single-Party's Ideological Mobilization	38
B) The University's Role in Ideological Mobilization	41
C) The Function and Purpose of the Party Conferences	52
PART II: PARTY CONFERENCES-A THEMATICAL ANALYSIS	61
CHAPTER IV: VIEWS ON THE STATE AND SOCIETY	62
A) Views on Law	62
B) Views On Economics	90
C) The Professors' Perception of the State- The State Based on the "Leadership Principle"	114
D) The Professors' Perception of Society- Society Based on the "Division of Labour" Principle	126

CHAPTER V: NATIONALISM AND NATION-BUILDING	136
A)Promotion of Nationalism in the Conferences	136
B)Reconstructing a Nationalist History: The Turkish History Thesis and Sun Language Theory	151
C)Physical and Psychological Health as a Nation-Building Process	164
D)Women: The Mothers of the Nation	183
E)Molding the Human Being: Sports	194
CHAPTER VI: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	203
APPENDIX-LIST OF THE CONFERENCES	215
NOTES	242
BIBLIOGRAPHY	267

PART I

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The years after the First World War until 1945 represent an interesting phase in world history if the developments, especially in continental Europe are taken into consideration. As a result of the Great Depression in 1929, the political elite of the time came to the conclusion that market economy based on laissez-faire system was not operating perfectly in solving every economic problem without any state intervention. Moreover, parliamentary democracies lost their reliability in countries which came out of the First World War with great losses. In Germany and Italy, authoritarian regimes gained approval because of political and economic hardships which dragged the world into another total war.

The same period was also an interesting phase for Turkey. Having established the Turkish Republic in 1923, the political leaders tried to consolidate power in an unstable international atmosphere. Significant developments took place which are worthy of examination to fully grasp in what ways this consolidation of power was achieved in Turkey, in these years.

One of these significant developments was the elimination of opposition by a group gathered around Mustafa Kemal and which later evolved into a party under the name of Republican People's Party. Although the 1923 elections were successful in eliminating the opposition in the First Assembly (1920-1923) which was named the Second Group (İkinci Grup), yet the new Assembly transferred the political conflicts of the war years to the first years of the Republic in a more intensified way. As a result, two main opposition parties were set up, the Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası, 1924) and the Free Republican Party (Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası, 1930). In fact the latter was initiated by the leaders of the Republican People's Party, the only party of the period, therefore it did not represent a real opposition party at first. But later it turned out to be a threat for the ruling party by drawing great support from the people. Consequently, for similar reasons the two parties were both closed down, one year after

they were established. No room was left for opposition. The new 1924 constitution of the Republic, which enabled opposition parties to be set up, was not prepared for a single-party regime, but in practice opposition could not be tolerated. Thus, the 1923-1930 period was marked with cultural reforms concerning language, measurements, civil law, calendar etc., the abolishment of the Caliphate and also with the efforts of constituting an opposition and their failure.

After the leaders of the Free Republican Party dissolved their own party on November 17, 1930, a new era started in the history of the Turkish Republic. The main feature of the period was the presence of a single party, the Republican People's Party, that ruled the country until the end of the Second World War. During the period between 1923 and 1930 the same party was in power, but there were major differences between the two time periods. First of all, étatism started to be exercised in the second period as a remedy to economic strains which had also social implications. Besides, the single-party regime was legitimised and the "National Chief" concept was institutionalised. Party leaders were aware of the importance of ideological mobilization in attaining these ends which would result in the familiarity and the acceptance of the values and ideas that the party wanted to impose on the Turkish population. People's Houses, which were established in 1932, had an important role in serving this aim of the party because it can be inferred from the speeches of the political elite in those days that the People's Houses were not established only to teach people sciences and fine arts but they were mainly places to socialise people politically.

When the international circumstances are taken into consideration, the impact of the single-party regimes of Europe on Turkish politics can not be neglected¹. Thus, the 1930's was an important decade for the new political regime of Turkey. While trying to strengthen the institutions and cultural reforms of the newly formed Republic which replaced the Ottoman political structure that lasted for approximately six centuries,

at the same time, the Republican People's Party tried to affirm its power.

In such a political atmosphere, Academia also had a part in the process of power consolidation because of another important activity of the party, the attempt to "reform" the "Darü'l-Fünun of Istanbul", the university of the time, in 1933. The university needed a reform which would raise the scientific level of the institution but the 1933 reform preparations of the party in the university turned out to be an activity which aimed to transform the school into an instrument and tool of the regime like all the other educational mechanisms in the country². It was realised by leaving certain professors out and employing others that were close to party's ideology³. In this way, "Darü'l-Fünun of Istanbul" was transformed into "Istanbul University" in 1933.

After the reform, the professors of Istanbul University together with some others from Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty, held conferences both at Istanbul University, and at the People's Houses throughout Turkey between the years 1935 and 1945. These conferences came as a result of the party's request to enlighten the public on themes they were specialised upon as scholars.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the conferences in order to put forward the party-academia relationship, ideological orientation of the intellectuals in Turkey as well as the political elite and the intellectual sources of this orientation. Three series of conferences will be taken into consideration because they clearly shed light on the domestic political developments and the nature of the international influence on Turkey. The first conference series was given at the Istanbul University starting in 1935 and lasting until 1945, the second series took place in various People's Houses throughout the country during the year of 1938, and the third series was also given in the People's Houses, between 1939 and 1941. In the thesis the ideas and the values which were suggested to the masses by the professors of the Academia through these conferences will be analysed. Their intellectual sources, and

the similarity between these ideas and the domestic politics in Turkey will be demonstrated, while mentioning the developments in Europe.

The fact that the conferences were held by the professors of Academia as a result of party inducement, is an important indication of the close relationship between the Republican People's Party and Academia. But more important than this is the resemblance between the ideas suggested to the masses and the actual policies of the time pursued by Republican People's Party. Having put forward the nature of the university reform realised in 1933, the purpose and function of the conferences can be specified as political socialization which is the process through which individuals acquire the political values, beliefs and codes of behavior of a social group or community and get integrated into their political structure. The dominant ideology represents the established order as right, moral and legitimate and it benefits from the backing of the state, the media, the academic establishment⁴. Propaganda is a means to create political socialization by which others are induced to behave in a way in which they would not behave in its absence⁵. In other words, it is the relatively intentional manipulation, by means of symbols (words, gestures, flags, images, monuments, music, etc.), of other people's thoughts or actions with respect to a certain ideology⁶. The central element in propagandist inducements, as opposed to compulsion on the one side and payment, or bribery, on the other, is that they depend on "communication" rather than on concrete penalties or rewards. As it is intentional and manipulative, it differs from merely casual communication or the "free" exchange of ideas. Academic establishments and schools where education is carried out are important and suitable places to realise this kind of "communication"⁷. Thus, through the conferences given at Istanbul University and People's Houses, the Turkish public were made aware of the political values, beliefs and codes of behavior that the single party of the time, the Republican People's Party, promoted.

The conferences can be evaluated as the reflection of both the domestic and international political atmosphere of the time. A close examination exercised throughout the thesis will show that the conferences mainly support a political system in which society comes before individuals, repressing individualism and individual creativity. In such an authoritarian regime, functions and duties are valued more than the rights and freedoms and society is organised according to the division of labour principle. Liberalism and socialism are rejected, instead étatism is accepted as the most suitable policy concerning economy, politics and society. Nationalism is promoted as the proper ideology of society led by an extra-ordinary, charismatic leader. A healthy, sturdy generation should be raised by educated women and should be trained as strong sportsmen who are aware of the greatness of their history.

In order to present all the facts mentioned above in a coherent way the thesis is divided into two parts, each including three chapters. In the first part, after the introduction, the political context of the 1930's and 1940's is touched upon to constitute a background for the conferences and to give general information about the international and domestic political atmosphere of the time. In the second section of this chapter, the ideological inclinations of the political elite who were inspired by certain European development models, are presented while explaining Turkey's relations with those countries because those certain development models, which had common authoritarian and totalitarian features, were frequently touched upon in most of the conferences. In the third chapter, the mission of the People's Houses and the role of Istanbul University in the ideological mobilization in Turkey will be evaluated, as they are the locations of the conferences. They will be followed by the explanation of the function and purpose of the conferences.

In the second part, the conferences are analysed. Nine themes are chosen for analysis because they are emphasized throughout the conferences enabling to draw a framework of the political system that these professors promote. The themes are

law, economics, state, society, nationalism, history, physical and psychological health, woman, and sports. They are gathered under two titles which are "Views on State and Society" (fourth chapter) and "Nationalism and Nation-Building" (fifth chapter). The analysis of the conferences with respect to these themes will contain a brief summary of the main ideas belonging to the conferences selected for certain topics and their interpretation which points out to their intellectual sources. It means that they will be taken into consideration with respect to their connection to certain ideological trends. But before the analysis is carried out, actual policies of the single-party on that theme will be touched besides international developments which will also be mentioned when necessary. The thesis will end with concluding remarks and an appendix listing the conferences. Finally, I have to notice that the translation of the Turkish material into English is my own work.

CHAPTER II: THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE 1930'S AND 1940'S

A) Domestic Politics in the Turkey of 1930's and 1940's

The Republican People's Party was the dominant ruling political organisation in Turkey from 1923 to 1945. It may be regarded in some ways as the epitome, as well as the reflection, of the currents of thought, the conflicts, the aspirations and the resentments accompanying the movement of political change and reform in Turkey in that period. This is largely because change was proposed and imposed by the party, changing itself in the process¹.

The Republican People's Party's initial goal was to create political and civic institutions that would perpetually generate change within society. The party also tried to impose, via its control of the government and the educational system, a certain materialistic outlook on life, as well as a relativist view of society. Thus, on the one hand, the Republican People's Party maintained a certain loyalty to the old elites' historical concept of leadership while, on the other hand, it attempted to create a new political mechanism, a modern party organisation, keeping it confined within the framework of the old elitist philosophy. The party appears as a political organisation created at a turning-point in Turkish history in order to carry out a special mission: the creation of a territorial Turkish nation-state. It was established as a new political organisation largely through the decision of Mustafa Kemal, rather than coming into being as a reorganized version of the Society for Defence of Rights. A variety of conservative, religious, socialist and populist groups which were among the leading members of the original organization and were later forced to constitute the Second Group in the First Assembly, were left out of the one-chamber Assembly in the 1923 elections. The Republican People's Party came to represent the ideas of the modernist group closely supporting Mustafa Kemal. Thus, by 1922-1923 the Turkish revolution had contracted in size and scope from a broadly-based, popular movement with heterogeneous

ideologies to a small group representing a narrower set of ideas concerned primarily with domestic problems of internal organization². Therefore, the 1920's form one of the turning points in the emergence of modern Turkey. After 1923, the Turkish nationalist movement, which had fought to safeguard the integrity and independence of the newly forming nation-state evolved into a movement with the more far-reaching goal of radically transforming and "modernising" Turkish society and culture. At the same time, the political structure of the nationalist movement gave way gradually to a monolithic power structure dominated by the radical wing of the movement under Mustafa Kemal.

This change came about neither quickly nor smoothly. It involved the elimination of rival power centres within the nationalist movement and in several cases these offered stubborn resistance. One of the instances of serious resistance within the nationalist movement, which was potentially dangerous to Mustafa Kemal's leadership and position, was the formation of the Progressive Republican Party in November 1924. This party offered a serious challenge to the Kemalists until it was closed under the Law on the Maintenance of Order (Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu), which made impossible any kind of legal political opposition in Turkey in June 1925. The political purges following the Izmir conspiracy in 1926 were aimed at the final discrediting and elimination of all those whose status or influence might enable them to challenge Mustafa Kemal's authority, among them, the former leaders of the Progressive Republican Party³.

With the Congress of the Republican People's Party held in 1927, it can be argued that the centralist-authoritarian structure in Turkey was consolidated. Before the congress, in the autumn of 1927, new elections had to be held and the group of the Republican People's Party (in the parliament) made a regulation change which transferred the right to nominate parliamentarians and to execute the election process from the party assembly to the "general president" (umumi reis). The post was taken from a committee to be given to Mustafa Kemal, the

general president of the party. This change reflected the monopolization of the power. As all the ultimate candidates were the nominees of the Republican People's Party, their whole list was elected, or in fact was approved⁴.

After the elections, the Second Congress of the party was held in October 1927, which has a special place in the history of Turkey. Mustafa Kemal gave his "speech" in this Congress and the first steps for the institutionalization of the single-party regime were taken. An important new regulation of the time was about the administration of the political, social, cultural and economical organizations. According to the new regulation, party inspectors would have initiations in the administration of the organizations.

The set of regulations which was accepted in the Congress, went through some changes in the 1930's, but it stayed the same with respect to some basic rules about the party organization and its governing. First of all, the only organ which was responsible from the governing of the party and the nation was the party presidential board (riyaset meclisi). According to Tarık Zafer Tunaya, "The party had become a single, overwhelming political party, and a national heir".⁵ In the first article of the party programme, the ideology of the party was put forward by stating that the party was a republican, populist, secularist and a nationalist organization. In the sixth article, it was declared that Mustafa Kemal was the general president and the founder of the party and in the seventh article, it was decided that the articles from one to six could not be changed in any condition⁶.

In 1929, the party did not need the "Law on the Maintenance of Order" any more. But the external and the internal developments showed the inability of the regulations of the time to cope with the problems. One of the most important experiences for the Republican People's Party came with the establishment of the Free Republican Party. In a very short time the party gained tremendous support and did not evolve into a small party inside the parliament but instead became the spokesman of the discontented mass. Because of these reasons the Free Republican

Party fell victim to the same fate as the Progressive Republican Party⁷.

After the Great Depression of 1929, and the Free Republican Party experience, it was obvious that the party needed reforms. The first sign of change in the party was the appointment of Recep Peker as the general secretary of the party without waiting for the Third Congress, held in May 1931. Recep Peker would stay as the general secretary until June 1936 and he would try to strengthen the single-party regime in every respect.

After Mustafa Kemal returned from a long nation-wide vacation, he decided to make the elections earlier than planned. Before the elections, he published a declaration and this was a draft of the first official programme of the party which would be accepted in the Third Congress on May 10, 1931. In the declaration with the four already stated principles, republicanism, populism, nationalism, secularism, accepted in the congress of 1927, two more principles revolutionism, and étatism were added and they became the unchangeable features of the party. Also, it was declared that Turkey was composed of various occupational groups instead of social classes. These ideas which were voiced from time to time since the establishment of the Republican People's Party, became official by entering the programme of the party⁸. They were the essence of the populism principle and were used later to legitimise the single-party rule.

After the Third Congress of the party, one of the important deeds that signified the new era in Turkey was the restructuring of the "General Administration Committee" (Genel İdare Kurulu). One year after the Congress, 13 separate bureau in 4 main groups were formed within the Committee which can be listed as follows: in the first group, four bureau were responsible for organization, elections, party congresses, general wishes and applications, investigation and inspection of the organizations and parties other than the Republican People's Party, inspection of the Republican People's Party organization; in the second group, the next four bureau were responsible for national

culture, scientific movements and publishing on this issue, sport and youth, courses, works on literacy rate, organizing public orators, printing, printing of the party materials, display of the party programme, propaganda; in the third group, two bureau were responsible for inspection of labour, tradesmen organizations, and independent business, inspection and evaluation of the economic situation; and in the last group three bureau were responsible for social aid organization, arranging party activities according to the legal rules, budget of the center and the countryside, revenues, aid revenues and inspection of the party account, the inspection and registration of party real estates and belongings⁹.

In the circular in which these regulations were publicized, it was stated that "without being misled by the deceiving influences of the time, there should be a general will to vitalize a party life which works well, hears well, speaks well, loud and mobile". All these activities are expressing the importance that the party gave to specialization and the aim to watch, manipulate and inspect social and political life. The "People's Orators Organization" (Halk Hatipleri Teşkilatı) which was involved in propaganda activities carried out by trained party members, was the product of this aim. The Organization was set up in 1931 and had the aim of "explaining to people the principles of the Republican People's Party and its big ideals through one of the most effective means of propaganda which is 'words' ".¹⁰

From these years onwards (1931,1932), the opinions and evaluations on the Republican People's Party started to emphasize the single and overwhelming feature of the party like in all other single-party regimes. For example İsmet İnönü defined the Republican People's Party in one of his speech at the Turkish Grand National Assembly like this:

...I would like to mention the great and active role of the Republican People's Party in our whole political life. With the last improvement period, the party quit being a narrow one, and became a great, social and national institution which is open for all citizens.¹¹

Certainly the Republican People's Party had a new role in the political system. In this framework, there were other serious steps which were taken in 1935 in the Fourth Congress of the party. The "six principles" which were accepted in the Third Congress were developed and they were defined as "Kemalism". The post of the general secretary was combined with Domestic Affairs Ministry. With the same decision, governors would also be the presidents of the party in the provinces. Furthermore, the principles of the party were put into the constitution. The amendment of the constitution was made in 1937 and during the discussion over the draft law at the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Recep Peker explained the reason and the meaning of the amendment in this way:

The principles of the party have been fed and grew in the conscious of the party until now and have been its private, professional political understanding. We want to make them the official and legal regime of the whole nation. This issue is so important that it has to be counted as a big revolution. As soon as these principles become official, all the citizens, (professors, citizens who do not deal with politics, managers, railway workers, etc.) will believe in these principles, will like them and they will have to obey them. In this way, the harmony of the whole national action will be achieved...¹²

As Recep Peker expressed, with the ratification of the draft law, the six principles of the Republican People's Party bounded the whole society, while state-party-society equivalency gained legality by the guarantee of the constitution. The amendment also meant that Kemalism was accepted as the official ideology.

The party-state rule in Turkey had entered a new phase with the death of Atatürk. From 1938 until the multi-party system was established in 1946, İsmet İnönü, the general president of the Republican People's Party and the President of Turkey, was called the National Chief and this period was called the National Chief period.

The National Chief concept was defined and explained in *Ülkü*, the journal of the People's Houses at Ankara. According to the writers of this journal, the National Chief was the father of the nation; he was a trainer and his aim was to educate the nation. The words of the National Chief were lectures for everyone because the National Chief represented the will of the people and held their faith in his hands. The Turkish nation had delivered his future to him in confidence and everybody had to obey all the orders of the National Chief without any condition. There were many articles in the newspapers explaining the extra-ordinary features of the Chief. The National Chief was not elected but he was appointed to this status with a change in regulations in December 1938 during the Republican People's Party extra-ordinary Congress and it was stated in the regulation that this status of İnönü could not be changed under any condition¹³. Thus, the concept of National Chief was elaborated by the people close to the Republican People's Party in this way and through these years İnönü acted as the National Chief of Turkey.

At the beginning of the National Chief period some changes were made in the structure of the Republican People's Party. The Domestic Affairs Ministry was again separated from the general secretary of the party and in this way the decisions which were taken three years ago to combine the party and the state were drawn back to a some extent in the Fifth Congress of the party in May 1939. But governors of the provinces continued to be the members of the party and the government. In this Congress it was declared that the formation of an "Independent Group" was allowed¹⁴.

An important development of the Second World War years was the ratification of the "Tax of Wealth" law (*Varlık Vergisi*) in November 1942. The aim was to impose tax on people who had gained wealth by abusing the economic strains faced during the war and who did not pay income tax proportional to their wealth. The amount of the tax would be determined by a commission composed of officers from the municipality, tradesmen etc. There was not a possibility to object to the amount and it had to be

paid in 15 days. After 15 days, interest was added to the tax. If it was not paid, the tax payer would be punished by compulsory work punishment. The relatives of the tax payer were under this obligation too. Faik Ökte, Director of the Financial Administration of Istanbul, explained in his book *Tax of Wealth Disaster* (Varlık Vergisi Faciası) how irrational and unfair the process was, especially because of the undefined amounts of the taxes and the inequality between the people from different religions¹⁵. The tax payers were divided as Muslims, Non-Muslims, people converted to Islam (mostly ex-Jews), and foreigners. The taxes of Muslims and foreigners were low and equal (except the Jews who were the citizens of Germany and Italy) but the taxes of converted people were twice the amount of the taxes imposed on Muslims. 2057 people were gathered to be sent to work camps. 1869 of these people were from Istanbul. 21 people died in these camps. The racist feature of this tax was undeniable and it can be argued that Germany's victories at the beginning of the War had been influential on this unjust application of the tax. Faik Ökte had stated that "...the hysteric shivering of Hitler was passing over our nerve system."¹⁶ Nadir Nadi in his memoirs stated that the second aim of this tax was to open a space for the Turkish businessmen by abolishing the sovereignty of the non-Muslims¹⁷.

The last development in this period, to be mentioned here is the Press Law of 1940. As a result of this law people were imposed monetary penalties ranging from 50 TL. to 500 TL. for publishing writings damaging national emotions and manipulating the facts of national history. Also if public officials, members of the parliament, ministers etc. were degraded by aggressive writings or pictures and their dignity were attacked by actions not within the scope of the 156th article of Turkish Criminal Law, prison punishment and monetary penalties could be imposed on the responsible person. With this law criticism of national history was curtailed and the publishing of certain writings was prevented although they might not be counted as a crime according to the 156th article of Turkish Criminal Law¹⁸.

These were the main interesting events of the Turkish domestic politics in the 1930's and the first half of the 1940's. They are presented here as important events among other events of the two decades because they are good examples showing the authoritarian inclinations of the single-party regime. As a conclusion it can be stated that, the Great Depression of 1929, the Free Republican Party experience and international developments can be considered as factors affecting the political and ideological transformation of Turkey. In the 1920's and the 1930's which was a period of restructuring political institutions in Turkey, the single-party regimes in Europe were becoming a new and attractive political phenomena. These alternative systems sparked interest in Turkish intellectuals and the political elite after the Depression of 1929. As single-party systems became sovereign in Europe, they also provided legitimacy for this kind of inclinations in other countries¹⁹. The next section will try to present the foreign models that the Turkish political elite presented as ideal models for Turkey in the 1930's and Turkey's relations with these countries.

B) Elitist and Tutelary Models for Turkey: The Soviet Union, Italy, and Germany

The Soviet Union, Italy and Germany: these three countries were the rising powers of the 1930's. Germany and Italy had both gone through a national unification process and although they were on the opposite sides in the First World War, at the end they both could not achieve what they hoped for at the beginning. Germany faced drastic destruction and was repressed with war reparations. Unemployment and inflation reached high rates. Italy could not possess Fiume, Dalmatia, and the places in Albania and Anatolia that were committed to her during the War. The economic depression that followed the war and social tension gave rise to nationalist and imperialist powers. In Russia the social conditions were similar. The Russian population was repressed under the Tsarist regime for ages and this economic and political repression gave way to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin benefited from

these conditions and presented themselves as the ultimate solutions to the backwardness of their nations. Under their totalitarian regimes, these countries improved economically, the class clashes ended and stabilization was reached finally after so many years of turmoil. They were promising a golden age for their people.

In these circumstances, Turkish intellectuals and some party members got interested in these leaders' formulas of success. Before presenting the views of those people for each country, it will be beneficial to summarize firstly the relations of Turkey with these countries.

1)The Soviet Union

The Soviet Union was an important country, to which Turkey got closer after the independence war. Turkey had fought against the powerful states of Europe between 1919 and 1922 and the Soviet Union was struggling to be recognized with its new regime. They needed support in establishing their new regimes. The relations of Turkey with the Soviet Union improved as a result of the problems that were not solved in Lausanne with Britain and France. One of the biggest problems that was put aside in the Lausanne Treaty was the problem of Musul. The attitude of the League of Nations, pushed Turkey towards the Soviet Union and as the Treaty of Locarno was signed between France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia to prevent a German-Soviet alliance, the Soviet Union felt threatened too. As a result of these developments the Soviet Union and Turkey decided to sign a Treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression in December 1925. According to this treaty, both countries declared that one would stay neutral in the case of an attack to the other from a third country and would not get involved into any treaty or action that was against the other. In March 1927, a commercial treaty was also signed between Turkey and the Soviet Union. According to this treaty, the Soviet Union would put yearly quotas, Soviet commercial agencies would be opened in Istanbul, Izmir, Trabzon, Mersin, Erzurum, and Konya and they would have some diplomatic benefits. Turkey would use the port of Batum freely etc.⁴⁰

In 1928, Turkey was invited to the "Disarmament Conference" of the League of Nations as a result of Litvinov's speech, which emphasized the importance of Turkey's geopolitical situation in world politics. In this first international conference that Turkey participated in after the Independence War, Turkey supported the Soviet Union about the issue of total disarmament.

Another important event between Turkey and the Soviet Union in these years was the participation of Turkey in the "Litvinov Protocol" which aimed to extend the Kellogg-Briand Pact to Eastern Europe. The Kellogg-Briand Pact prohibited the use of war as a national policy and this Pact would serve to compensate the deficiency of the League of Nations in this issue. The "Litvinov Protocol" was signed in Moscow by Poland, Romania, Letonia, and Estonia and it was ratified by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in April 1929.

As a result of the friendly relations between the two countries, the Treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression which was signed in 1925, was extended until 1945. Tevfik Rüştü Aras, Turkish Foreign Minister, explained the nature of the relations which started in 1921 like this:

We are involved in a cooperation period with the Soviet Union for more than 15 years. In this period, we discussed and acted together on many international issues...We have a working cooperation and we would do nothing without consulting to each other on the issues which interest both of us.⁴¹

These lines show that, having realised the revolutions after the First World War, the two countries needed each other to consolidate power and had to cooperate against an antagonist West. Falih Rifkî Atay, one of the important writers of the newspaper *Ulus*, in his book *New Russia* (Yeni Rusya), described the situation in the Soviet Union and Turkey which, according to him, had similar fates:

Since the great war, basic revolutions were made only in Turkey and in Russia.

Turkey and Russia are neighbours; from one side they are next to Europe, from the other side to Asia. Both of their precious masses of people were left backward by the rulers of the palace. In both countries, the big crowds were not only under the rule of the palace but of the religion and the fairy tales of Asia. When an observation is made, it becomes clear that there was a similar situation in both countries: civilization was in the cities and the rest was senseless to new trends; the sources of capital were not activated in both of them; one was Muslim, the other was Christian but the religion had the same old rule; in one of them the sultan was the shadow of the god, in the other, people worshipped the picture of the Tsar, and men of religion in both countries deprived masses of people from awakenings...

The two revolutions heard the same words from Europe:

-you can not be successful, you can not do it.

The actual form of these words were these:

-You must not be successful, you must not do it...⁴²

Falih Rifki Atay was explaining in these words the situation in both countries which showed a great similarity according to him. He wrote two books on Russia, *New Russia* (Yeni Rusya), and *Moscow-Rome* (Moskova-Roma), and he presented the developments in the Soviet Union as a successful example to be examined carefully.

No regime can be successful with empty heads. For the Bolsheviks, the first thing to do was to place knowledge above anything on the one hand and on the other hand they aimed to train the workers for the future domination. In the mean time, they would control the experts and intellectuals in order to make them work for this purpose... In the "Education Commissariat" like in several other institutions, even in radio offices, I came across to doors on which "mass works" was written. The "mass", the "big mass", you have to make the mass digest the sense of revolution. There is a need for another kind of training system; it is not enough to teach the people an alphabet: you have to teach the revolution.

The best processed raw material in Russia is this mass: the propagation of the mass is a Russian artefact. Education of the mass is something different from what we know as education. If our experts have travelled through Russia to find models for high schools, then they have acted wrongly: better models of them can be

found in Germany. If these experts took two lessons from Russia it was enough: lesson one is the necessity to raise a certain person for a certain cadre, not an ordinary high school student, the other lesson is the need to propagate the mass.⁴³

It can be argued that these ideas may have been inspirational in the establishment of the People's Houses and also for holding conferences to teach people in a way that was necessary for the ideals of the time.

Today in Russia, the dominating power is the party...The chiefs of the party are clever and idealist men. But they feel the necessity to create a new young population...⁴⁴

Criticism stays within the boundaries of the revolution principles and inside the revolutionaries. Chiefs are kept untouched from street and newspaper attacks...In all factories and departments, Lenin's picture replaced the picture of the Christ...⁴⁵

In these lines different aspects of the Soviet model are shown as exemplary: the propagation of the mass, ways of ideological mobilization, the dominating status of the party, elevation of chiefs to sacred status, censure etc. These are the main features of an "authoritarian" regime.

The book was divided into parts in which he touched upon planning of the economy, its advantages, good results and rapid mechanization, criticism, fine arts, cinema, radio etc. But the main idea can be summarized in his words like this:

I bring a lesson from Russia: this lesson is about the ways of organizing the Turkish revolution, to raise the new young population and to train the Turkish community in a couple of attempts...If the Turkish community does not get this century's training, the roots of the revolution will stay in the air...We have to:

- plan the economy and the construction of Turkey,
- organize the revolutionary party by taking as models the communist and fascist parties of the countries who pass from an old order to a new one,
- keep revolutionary methods instead of bureaucracy,
- train the mass.

None of our duties are harder and heavier than the duties of the Russian and Italian young population.⁴⁶

This book which praises the Soviet Union can be a good example of showing how people who had the ability to influence the policy-making process in Turkey were evaluating the authoritarian regimes of their time.

Just like Falih Rifkî Atay, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu too was appreciating the Soviet model. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu wrote in the journal of *Kadro* in 1933 these words:

Russia...shows us a type of revolution which is constructive, which means it is building and creative...Fascism has built up a new Italy above the skeleton of the old one which is now young and alive...⁴⁷

Falih Rifkî Atay touched upon Italy too along with the Soviet Union in his other book *Moscow-Rome* (*Moskova-Roma*). He again praised the fascist corporatism and the mass training methods of the Soviet model while emphasizing that Turkish leaders should learn lessons from them:

The name of the Turkish Revolution is Kemalism. The precious thing about Kemalism is the experience which took place from 1919 until 1932. All the revolutions through time will learn lessons from these experiences. And we can benefit from the experiences of Leninism in Russia and Mussolinism in Italy. For the training of the Turkish masses, Moscow's mass training methods, for the Turkish étatism fascism's corporation methods, for raising up a Republican young person with a new head and spirit the methods of the two revolutions to raise child should be examined.⁴⁸

Yunus Nadi, owner of the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, described the Turkish-Russian friendship in his column on April 24, 1932, like this:

To be able to understand the great importance of the Turkish Prime Minister's visit to Russia there is a need to comprehend well the content of the very sincere friendship that has been established between the two nations...While the Russian nation was living through the primary exciting moments of the great revolution that brought down the Tsarist regime, Turkish nation

was in an anxiety to defend its existence and independence against the cruelties and transgressions that were against its existence at the end of the great war. This enmity that menaced Turkish existence was the same enmity that wanted to drown the Russian revolution. The Russian-Turkish friendship is established along this natural symmetry as the two nations unified their hands and hearths.⁴⁹

İsmet İnönü, in his speech given during his visit to Russia which was published on April 30, 1932, in *Cumhuriyet*, defined the inspectory nature of the Turkish visit to the Soviet Union. Turkish leaders were there to learn from the Soviet experience:

...We have been very pleased to achieve another chance to examine closely and appreciate the great works that have been set up in various fields by the common will of the Soviet Union and its leaders with whom we have a mutual and sincere friendship...⁵⁰

The Soviet Foreign Minister, Molotof, in his reply to Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, explained the importance of this visit from the Turkish side:

The other reason why I define this day you visited Moscow as important and historical is that you arrived the Soviet lands with the highest representatives of the Turkish politics, press, economy, and cultural world. Their residence on Soviet lands, their acknowledgement and recognition of all the branches of the Soviet social organization, their establishment of contact between the Soviet and Turkish institutions of economics, culture, and science make this visit very important. Both in respect of the general peace issue and interests of our nation it shows the conclusive and unlimited nature of the Turkish-Soviet friendship.⁵¹

On May 5, 1932, Alaettin Cemil emphasized, in the first column of *Cumhuriyet*, an interesting point:

In the Soviet nation, it is completely understood that the press is a great strength and they are getting the maximum benefit out of it. The basis of the press is factory newspapers which are wall-papers used for propaganda. Each factory without exception has a wall-newspaper...⁵²

In another article, Yunus Nadi again showed the Soviet model as a good example of success that Turkey had to adapt itself:

Thus, the regime of the friendly neighbour interests us not as an issue of imitation but as an issue from which we can acquire benefits if we examine it. The most important point that draws our attention in this issue is the beneficial and essential features of their working system in general, national and domestic deeds. Our neighbours who are our friends at the same time apply good working techniques based on science and achieve good results in short periods. They continue to work with ambition to achieve better results...It is beneficial to accept this reality and try to walk on the same way as long as we can do...⁵³

In another article he reflected his admiration for the army, by putting this institution to the core of everything :

...If the mind is inclined to accept that in a revolutionary nation, the army must be treated as the most essential thing, perhaps we will say that it is not wrong because of simple reasons:

- I) Because the revolution can only be protected by the army.
- II) Because protecting the existence and the independence of the nation together with the revolution against the dangers is only possible by the army.⁵⁴

In conclusion, it can be stated that the Soviet Union was an important issue of consideration for the Turkish political elite and intellectuals because of the developments that it faced after the Bolshevik revolution which were similar to those that happened in Turkey after the First World War. Both countries struggled against foreign pressures to be recognized, both countries established the new regime upon an underdeveloped economy and infrastructure, etc. What impressed the Turkish political elite was the quickness of the Soviet Union to achieve unity in the nation and progress in economy. The Soviet Union was almost constructed from the beginning and it was done in a very short period. The centralisation of politics and the

economy which was an essential part of this development project drew the attention of Turkey and was a subject of many suggestions designed with the aim of achieving Turkish development.

ii) Italy

After the First World War, among the countries which tried to invade Anatolia, Italy was the first one to have good relations with Turkey. However, in 1922 when the fascist regime was established in Italy Mussolini again started to pursue an expansionist policy. Along with the Musul problem of Turkey with Britain, Italy seemed ready to take advantage and make plans over Anatolia and Mediterranean.

With the settlement of the Musul problem in 1926, Turkish relations with Britain, France and Italy became stabilized. After 1927, Italy decided to move closer to Turkey as a result of its expansionist plans in Albania and its tensed relations with Yugoslavia. Italy wanted to see Turkey and Greece as her allies in the Eastern Mediterranean. Like wise Italy, Turkey needed to normalize her relations with the Western countries. Being close to Italy would be the first step of this plan. To have good relations with Italy, would be important to keep the integrity of the country and in this way Turkey could avoid the political influence of the Soviet Union whenever it was necessary. In 1927, when Mussolini and Turkish Foreign Minister Tefvik Rüştü Aras met in Milan, Mussolini proposed to sign a neutrality and non-aggression treaty between Italy, Greece and Turkey. Later Bulgaria would also be a part to the treaty. The treaty was signed between Turkey and Italy in May 1928, in Rome. It was a treaty of neutrality, and compromise. Greece would also be a part of it but the disagreement between Turkey and Greece prevented this. According to this treaty, parties agreed not to be involved in any agreement which was prepared against the other and to stay neutral at the time of a clash of one party with a third country. This treaty was strongly supported by the Press of the two countries. İsmet İnönü and Mussolini praised the close relations between the two countries in their various speeches.

In his speech in 1928, in Malatya, Prime Minister İsmet İnönü reflected his respect for the fascist leader Mussolini in this way:

The strength and truth in the words of the great statesman Mr. Mussolini gave way to a secure atmosphere in the relations of the two countries as it was deserved. I can say with pleasure that through time, the security and the friendship atmosphere will keep increasing.⁵⁵

In 1932 Turkish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister visited Rome. This visit was made as a result of the resolution of the dispute in January 1932 over some islands in the Aegean sea. During this trip, it is known that Recep Peker visited the Fascist Party in Italy and was informed about its structure, works and suborganizations.

The land demand of Italy in Asia and its expansionist policies were creating tension especially for Turkey. In 1936, with the rearmament of Italy in the Dodecanese, relations worsened. When Italy invaded Ethiopia, Turkey supported other countries in the League of Nations against Italy and this response resulted in the deterioration of commercial relations. Until 1934, Italy had been an important commercial partner of Turkey but after these developments there was a tremendous decrease in the volume of commerce.

Afterwards, relations continued with ups and downs in respect to the Montreaux Conference of 1936 about the straits. In February 1937, the Turkish Foreign Minister visited the Foreign Minister of Italy, Count Ciano, in Milan. After the meeting, it was declared that the meeting was realised in accordance with the 1928 Treaty, and that there was no disagreement between the countries. They would act in cooperation. In those days the Turkish Press welcomed the declaration but they criticized Italy for not signing the Montreaux Treaty⁵⁶.

To be able to evaluate how fascist Italy was perceived by some influential circles in Turkey, it is necessary to present their ideas on fascism and Italy.

Yunus Nadi, in his article in the *Cumhuriyet*, on May 22, 1932, praised Mussolini, as the sole holder of all the power in Italy, and fascism showing both as the symbols of success:

To understand well new Italy, fascist Italy, it is enough to see M. Mussolini who keeps all the power in his hands today. Duce, is also the expression of realising a valuable idea which was put forward by the Italian nation. Fascism is an idea in the form of an arrow shot by an unbendable arm in the personality of M. Mussolini⁵⁷.

Hamdullah Suphi gave a speech in November 1930, in the Turkish Hearth Center reflecting similar thoughts about Italy, fascism and Mussolini which shows the degree of Italian influence:

...There is a nationalist movement which saved Italy from a local Bolshevik movement. But you know the symbol of Italy, Duce Mussolini. It is impossible to imagine writing any word, and saying anything against him. That kind of a daring movement would pull the anger of the fascist youth.⁵⁸

Selim Sırrı Tarcan in his article entitled "The Organization of People and Youth in Italy" (*İtalya'da Halk ve Gençlik Teşkilatı*), praised the fascist youth organizations and showed them as a model for Turkey:

...the deeds of fascists and the works that they have created deserve to be appreciated. The reason of this great work's perfection must be searched in the love for the motherland and in the unity of national sentiments...Fascist regime wants to give militaristic education to all children in early ages. At the head of the children's organizations all through Italy, there are devoted, pensioner officers. Starting from the age of eight, children learn how to shoot with rifles, at the age of sixteen they use machine gun. Youngsters at the age of seventeen, eighteen, use cannons...⁵⁹.

Behind these words, there lies an appreciation of militarism and dictatorship, which implies the faith of these writers in the "leadership principle". A good example of this

attitude can be observed in Falih Rifki Atay's words. Falih Rifki Atay, in his book, *Moscow-Rome* (Moskova-Roma), interpreted and praised the dictators like this:

We think that the word dictator is the translation of the word "despotic", and whenever we hear that word we remember the personal despotism of Sultan Hamid or the oligarchy of Committee of Union and Progress. So, we are scared. Despots can exist in the Orient; not in Europe.

Dictatorship in Europe means a man who creates a new society and administration according to the principles to which he obeys as well as the others. Dictator is not a person but a symbol which represents the principles of a new case that came out of a need.

Nations sometimes need dictators. In the great war, Lloyd George was not a normal prime minister in Britain, Clemenceau in France was a real dictator. Because in the war people want victory not legal perspectives. Victory is such a material and spiritual interest that it is easy to give up any right that puts it in danger...⁶⁰

After the revolution, the mosquitoes of Ostinya, the swamp of Rome's countryside, the degeneration of the Italian people as well as the rubbish of the street abolished and the bent head of the Italian nationalism raised up.⁶¹

Yunus Nadi on February 24, 1932, stated in *Cumhuriyet* that similar organizations in other countries should be examined to be able to understand the nature of the service that the People's Houses would perform in Turkey:

For example there is a national culture organization of fascists in Italy called the "Dopolovoro" and this organization has 1586 cultural associations and 1000 amateur performance groups who are composed of youngsters performing dramas on national matters...The examples can be increased surprisingly, when Britain, Germany and France are considered. That means although establishing the People's Houses is a brand new movement for Turkey, when other nations are considered we are late in engaging in such a movement.⁶²

Yunus Nadi also emphasized the friendship of Turkey and Italy while discussing the nature of the fascist regime in

Italy. These words show how much these authoritarian countries of Europe at that time gained approval among Turkish writers:

In fact, the friendship of fascist Italy and Kemalist Turkey is very important and it can be counted as a history in itself among the post-World War events...In Turkey we constructed a brand new, modern, revolutionist and nationalist Turkish nation out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the general war; at the same time we gained strength from the friendship of Italy where fascism elevated the Italian society to a level of perfection...

The fascist regime is manifesting the real identity of the Italian nation...The friendly attitude of the Italian nation towards Turkey is reflected in real and active fields especially after fascism got hold of the power in Italy and in this issue the part of M.Mussolini, the commander of Italy, is great.⁶³

In fact today's Italy is not the Italy of the pre-1922 period. We saw the old Italy, and we know the new Italy...Although fascists were gaining an obvious strength contrary to extremist socialists, it was not known which prophet's miracle would set up the order in Italy. But this prophet was expected. The workers expected him, the bourgeoisie expected him.

The expected great event happened when the Black Shirts marched to Rome. After that, order and peace were established in Italy...If a revolution means a movement that elevates a nation to a higher level from a lower one, than it is a must to accept that the Italy of Mussolini has realised a great revolution in history and M. Mussolini would be absolutely right if he calls that:

-Do you want a witness and proof to our revolution? Here is the new Italy!

This revolution, by denying parliamentarism in politics, gave the sovereignty directly to society. There is no doubt that, by giving sovereignty to various professions which meant ordinary social life, there will arise a real control going beyond the one that would prevail in parliamentarism...

In ten years, Italy became a training school from one side to the other. The professor of this school is M. Mussolini who in fact started to earn his life as a teacher...M. Mussolini is an inspiring poet in his ideas that he pursues as policies, so sensitive, so sincere. A modern, new Italy could not be created in another way in such an anarchical world.

With the visit of Turkish Prime Minister to Rome, they are getting prepared for a gorgeous celebration of the Turkish-Italian friendship.⁶⁴

iii)Germany

Germany has a special place in the history of Turkey because Turkey's relations with Germany became intensified from the beginning of the 19th century onwards on economic and militarist grounds. The first commercial treaties were signed in 1839 with Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg and Hansa and in 1840 with Prussia. In the eyes of the Ottoman elite, Germany was a country which was developing very fast with a strong modern army that overcame France in 1870 and that had also no demands of land from the Ottoman state. She was evaluated as a balance of power against Russia, Britain and France that were continuously trying to grab land from the Ottoman state. As a first step, the Ottoman army was re-arranged and started to be trained by Prussian officers. Later, there followed the arms commerce, railroad benefits and flourishing commercial relations between the Ottoman state and Germany. Step by step, Germany became the primary commercial partner of the Ottoman state. As the railroads improved in the 19th century, the former commercial roads were revitalized. It was first the idea of Britain to construct railroads through the Ottoman Empire but the opening of the Suez Canal prevented its realisation. Germany became interested in this project and this opened the way for treaties between Germany, France, Britain and Russia to divide Turkey into spheres of influences. The construction of the railroad called the Baghdad Railroad by Deutsche Bank, became an important link between the Ottoman state and Germany. Besides economic relations, there were military relations too. Goltz Pasha, a Prussian General, who was sent to the Ottoman Empire in 1883 to train the army, stayed in the Empire until 1895. He became the vice commander of the army. Goltz Pasha played an important role in re-arranging the Ottoman army along the lines of the Prussian system, in training officers according to the Prussian mentality, and in supplying the German arms industry a monopoly in the Empire²⁰. He would later come to the Empire

again and would be the commander of the First and the Sixth Army in the First World War. Goltz Pasha would explain the aim of his work in the Empire like this:

By using our influence, we will take control of the Ottoman Empire more than before, in a way that it will never be taken away from us again.²¹

With the beginning of the Second Constitutional Period in 1908, it was thought that German influence would decrease, because British liberalism and Britain were admired among the non-militarist sections of the Committee of Union and Progress. But for the militarist sections, the situation was completely different. According to German documents, Wilhelm II evaluated the 1908 movement like this:

The movement was not activated by the Young Turks living in Paris or London, it was realised by the army and in fact solely by the officers who were educated and trained in Germany. This is only a militarist movement and these officers think in a way just like Germans do.²²

After the militarist section of the Committee of Union and Progress took power in the Empire, Germans absolutely controlled the army. In 1913, General Liman von Sanders, and a committee under his presidency arrived in Istanbul, to re-arrange the army. Sanders was immediately appointed as the commander of the First Army which was located in Bosphorus, Istanbul.

One of those officers who "was thinking like real Germans" was Enver Pasha who had been admired by Wilhelm II during his post in Berlin as the military-consulate. This militarist section of the Committee of Union and Progress signed an alliance treaty with Germany and dragged the Empire into the First World War. According to the treaty, the Ottoman Army would be liasoned up to the German President of the General Staff. Enver Pasha willingly left the Presidency of the General Staff post to Bronzar von Schellendorf. Bronfeld would be the President of the General Staff Operation Department. German ex-President of the General Staff, Falkenheim, would be the

commander of the armies in Syria. General von Kress would be in charge in Gazze and Liman von Sanders would be in Gallipoli²³. In short, the committee which came in 1913 to make reforms in the Ottoman Army, took control of the army in the First World War.

The main aim of the peace treaties that followed the First World War was to end the relationship of Germany with the Balkans and the Near East. But just before the Second World War, with the help of the monopolist bourgeoisie, Junkers, and the army that still practiced the Prussian tradition, Hitler's fascism came to power and pursued the policy of expansionism in mid-Europe and the Balkans. Hitler would be successful in making the Balkans depend upon Germany politically and economically. In pre-war years, Turkey's economy was dependent on Germany too. While in 1933 the share of Germany in the exports of Turkey was 20 percent, it reached to the level of 44 percent in 1938, and her share in the imports of Turkey was 27 percent in 1933, it became 48 percent in 1938²⁴.

The close economic relationship between Turkey and Germany was mainly militaristic and was based on the arms commerce. The famous German firm Krupp was in the forefront, with treaties signed in 1936 and 1937 for the exportation of cannons, submarines and other arms. The other firms were Otto Wolf, Ferrostahl, Henschel und Sohn, Siemens and AEG. Turkey signed a commercial treaty with Germany which would be valid between August 1938 and August 1939 and 30 percent of the products which were exported to Germany from Turkey in 1938 were the raw materials that were essential for the arms industry. These products were mainly chromium, timber, leather, victuals, wool, and cotton. In the first eight months of 1939, the export rate increased to 35 percent²⁵.

Besides these economic and militarist relations, before and during the Second World War there was another dimension of German-Turkish relations which was the intense propagation of German policy in Turkey. In Germany, within the fascist state organization, various offices were dealing with propaganda in foreign countries. The main commanding offices were the Foreign

Ministry and the Propaganda Ministry of Goebels. The News and Press Department as well as the Information Department were also dealing with propaganda. With the beginning of the war, Hitler gave Ribbentrop the responsibility of propaganda in foreign countries.

One of the targets of German propaganda in Turkey was the Press. In this way, they could affect the commercial and financial bourgeoisie, intellectuals and officers, in a broader scope. As Germany was the most important commercial partner of Turkey until August 1939 and between 1941 and 1944, some German firms could cause trouble for Turkish journals by taking back their advertisements. Turkey was dependent upon Germany also for paper supply. German commercial representatives were delivering imported papers to the radical nationalist and chauvinist journalists who criticized the nations of the Alliance. They reached their purposes mainly by bribing newspaper owners, some editors and journalists, sometimes even without the knowledge of the newspaper owner²⁶.

In those days, orders were given to the press, prohibiting them to write about the neighbourhood countries which were under the threat of being attacked by fascists. In the summer of 1942, the German Foreign Ministry made an evaluation to see the successes and failures of the German propaganda in the Turkish Press. According to the Foreign Ministry, in *Ulus*, the official newspaper of the Republican People's Party, there was a division of labour. One of the heads of editorial works, Ahmet Şükrü Esmer, was writing in favor of the Alliance countries and the other head, Falih Rıfkı Atay was writing articles on fascist friendship. The newspaper *Cumhuriyet* together with its French translation *La Republique*, and *Tasvir-i Efkar*, were defined as "friends of Germany". Others like *Akşam*, *Vakit*, and *İkdam*, was in the middle but the newspapers namely *Yeni Sabah*, *Haber*, *Tan*, *Son Telgraf* and *Vatan* were all on the sides of the Alliance powers²⁷.

Turkish newspapers received information from the "Anatolian Agency" (Anadolu Ajansı), which was tied directly to the Prime Ministry Press Department in 1942. On May 4, 1942, Prime

Minister Refik Saydam ordered the Jewish employees of the "Anatolian Agency" to leave work. There were 26 Jewish employees and this decision was given after long debates in the government.

Another important thing to be mentioned here is the report of Dr. Löffler, General Director from the Württemberg Culture Ministry given on July 23, 1935, which had a conclusion as the following: "There are many professors at Istanbul and Ankara University who can read in German, there are increases in the number of German language teachers, German experts in the fields of economy, technology, and art...These factors make a very positive impact. In this way Germany's mental and economic impact on Turkey flourishes."²⁸ In 1941 as a result of the Turkish Education Minister's order, in big cities the People's Houses established free courses to teach German language.

Presentation of the views of some Turkish journalists and intellectuals on Germany, would be informative about how Germany was perceived by some influential people in Turkey and how much these propaganda activities reached their aims. These thoughts would not represent the whole intellectual society of the time but it is interesting as long as it shows in what ways fascist countries were presented as successful models for Turkey in those years.

In 1933, Burhan Asaf wrote these words in the journal *Kadro*:

We hope that the enmity towards Jews in Germany will be a lesson for ours. In order to be hospitable like a Turk, you have to be a gentle nation through history as much as Turks were. However, isn't it true that, the end of being a guest, is either to be assimilated among the owners of the house or not to extend the duration of the visit too much?²⁹

It clearly reflected the idea that Turkey was not either pleased with the existence of non-Turkish, non-Muslim people in the country and it implicitly legitimized the way Germany treated Jews. Other *Kadro* writers' and Burhan Asaf's attitude towards democracy is reflected in these lines:

- I) In fact democracy is not an existing thing in its own meaning
- II) Democracy is just a political and administrative cover of capitalism.³⁰

It can be stated that the writers of the journal *Kadro* were affected by fascism rather than by socialism and saw democracy not as a valuable system but just a cover of an economic system that had to be abandoned. Denying the existence of social classes is an indicator of this attitude. As a result they were against liberal regimes and democracy. Their attitude towards liberalism can be understood from these lines of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu:

In revolutionary Turkey, the foreign threat can show itself in various forms and cloths. It can make itself seen as a sheikh with a green flag but it can also be seen as a liberal with a white flag. Unfortunately, most of these liberals exist among us and also they have credentials, good reputations, and duties in the Ghazi Turkey who is the love child of the nation and independence³¹.

Liberalism which was distinguished, according to these writers, with its feature of being based on absolute human rights and freedoms, was defined as equally evil as a religious reactionary movement. This is an important clue of how they evaluated rights and freedoms and what kind of a society they were longing for.

It can be argued that the reason leading to the closure of the journal *Kadro* was their criticism of the economic policies pursued by the ruling class. It is an undeniable truth that the writers of *Kadro* were affected by Italy and Germany. They were affected by the Soviet Union because of its authoritarian regime and its way of "planning" the future. Their thoughts were totally contradictory to Marxism as long as they denied a "class struggle"³².

The writers of the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* had also been influenced by the German experience. Articles that criticized the harsh treatment of Germany by the international community in

the aftermath of World War I were observed very frequently. For example, Yunus Nadi, on February 11, 1932 wrote in *Cumhuriyet* these words:

After the nations which were the winners of the war gave the form and the shape to the world map as they wished, they acquired the right of being armed in every way and deprived other nations from this right forcing them to live under burden...These nations which are forced to live under burden are persistent to demand at least the equality right. There is no need to state that as long as some nations continue to exercise some kind of hegemony over other nations, there will not be a possibility to maintain the peace. The insistence on imposing hegemony over others is one of the primary signs of a war that will burst out with all its strength...

The League of Nations is a society set up not to serve the peace and welfare of the human beings but may be to give an international timing to the Versailles agreement. In the origin of the League of Nation, there lies the fact that it is set up to serve the interests of some nations. That means there is not strength and sincerity in the origin of the deed.³³

On the 14th and 28th of February, 1932, Yunus Nadi repeated his thoughts about the peace agreements of World War I:

Until these peace treaties which oppress some nations ruthlessly are amended, there is no possibility to prevent a war and to talk about the limitation and diminution of arms."³⁴ "...For example the war reparations that were imposed on Germany broke the spine of this proud and strong nation and led to a disharmony in Europe but nobody can touch this issue. Why? They say because of the agreement. Germany can only have one-hundred thousand soldiers but Britain would not have a limit. Why? They say that it is written like that in the agreement."³⁵

According to Yunus Nadi the reasons of Germany's restlessness were right and in this way he was giving credit to the national socialist discourse which reached its peak in those days in Germany. He regarded the national socialist Germany as constituting a strong trend that became stronger every day to

protect the national existence with national pride and honour...He defined this trend like this:

...When the word comes to the national socialists which do not come out but burst out from the bosom of the nation, it can be stated that they are constituted from the young elements that commit the bright heaven of a honoured, prosperous tomorrow to Germany.³⁶

On May 8, 1932 M. Nermi defined Hitler in the primary article of *Cumhuriyet* like this:

Twelve years later the hero of Germany is Hitler. A personality that grasped his strength and historical role deeply; he is surrounded by tough and unshakeable lines...The period that trusts became very strong was the period that the socialists had the power. The results of the projects that seem bright on paper have always been painful in reality. Hitler commits a Germany which is free, job offering, which has equality with respect to other nations and free from the money sovereignty of Jews...Hitler, no doubt, is a great idealist and a strong orator.³⁷

He touched on the same subject on March 26, 1933:

From one side liberal and democratic economy policies, from another side socialist nationalisation tactics that give the same fruits: fourteen years of administration that Hitler accuses have come to an end. This fourteen years are full of depressions caused by the interior and exterior events. Hitler now, by the liquidation of this, deals with the big cleaning according to his words. The German state will no longer leave the money power uncontrolled.³⁸

While Hitler was praised and saw approval in *Cumhuriyet* like this, in the March 1933 issue of the journal *Ülkü* (journal of the People's Houses), there was an article written by a Russian named A.B. Aldanoftan under the title "Hitler and His Party" (Hitler ve Fırkası). He defined Hitler like this:

He is a man who is rather clever, revolutionist, loving himself and high positions. But it will be right to guess that he is a sincere and not an interest-seeking man...Hitler does not love many Germans for sure but he

loves Germany fanatically...It is not a right thing to have a doubt about his capability to organize. Possibly there can be no suspicion that Hitler is one of the leading men of our time. He is the only one to succeed in creating a great movement in Germany and no matter what is said about him, nobody can deny that he is creating history.³⁹

Consequently it can be argued that from the end of the 19th century onwards, Turkey was in close relationship with Germany. The army was trained by Prussian generals, the railroad benefits were granted to Deutsche Bank in 1890's and Germans constructed the majority of the railroads in Turkey. Turkey sold raw materials to Germany in the Second World War, especially chrome which was essential in making arms and bought from Germany products of its arms industry. One can say that all these close relations left a trace on Turkish politics.

To conclude, it can be argued that in the 1930's the political elite were in search of a new political order. At the beginning of this period, which resulted in the equivalency of the party and state, writers from the Republican People's Party circles, presented systems that they were supporting and wanted to shape this period according to their perspectives. These perspectives and suggestions are important to comprehend the atmosphere of the period and the later developments. The writers all agreed on the need of a new attempt which had to be realised in the structure of the Republican People's Party. They pointed to the regimes which were authoritarian and even totalitarian as successful development models. Interestingly, these regimes were in clash with each other. On the one hand, they praised the Soviet Union, but on the other hand they were pleased with the persecutions of the Communist parliamentarians in France. When these facts are taken into account, it can be argued that communism and fascism were taken as examples in regard of their party understanding and their ways of consolidating the power in the country by mass training, economic planning etc. In the 1930's, these writers were seeking a system with which the discipline in the country would be established, the principles of the revolution would be rooted in society, people would be

trained to admire the values of the party members. This could only be achieved by a strong and sound party organization which was equal with the state in those years. The disciplined party organization was the common feature of communists and fascists. The Republican People's Party wanted to achieve this kind of a party organization to reach its aims in society⁶⁵. In the 1930's strong political powers could be observed in countries which were authoritarian and it can be stated that this was the reason of the attention that the political elite paid to them.

CHAPTER III: INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE FUNCTION OF THE PARTY CONFERENCES

A) The People's Houses as Organs of the Single- Party's Ideological Mobilization

As Taner Timur underlined in his book *Turkish Revolution* (Türk Devrimi), when sovereign classes and the cadres can not solve economic and social problems on a material basis, they try to solve them on the ideological level. In other words, they try to persuade people that the non-existing social order exists in the ideal plan. In these circumstances, nationalism is an ideology that people often rely on. In Turkey, Turkish nationalism started to be emphasized after the liberal economy policies failed as a result of the 1929 World Depression. Language and history were the subjects to focus on. The economic depression reached its peak for Turkey in 1932 and the People's Houses were established in that year, replacing Turkish Hearths. It can be argued that in the establishment of the People's Houses international examples were taken as models. This was explicitly expressed by Reşit Galip in the opening of the People's House in Ankara: "While the regulations of these Houses were prepared, the similar organizations of countries which are near or far away to Turkey are examined."¹

These international examples were mainly from the Soviet Union, Germany, and Italy. In the Soviet Union, in every locality, there was a "prosvet", political education section, or an "agitprop", agitational propaganda section of the Central Committee of the Party. There were also professional schools and institutes of political education like Political Grammar Schools to educate students for party membership. The Party-Soviet Schools were established to train agitators and propagandists whom the party would hire to convey its ideology to people. There were also universities and reading rooms for the same purpose. In Germany, in the 1930's there were many Citizens' Houses or Compatriots' Houses. The new polity began to dominate all social spheres from economy to politics and culture. In Italy, the "Dopolavoro" cultural organization established in

1926, aimed to unite people around the Fascist Party. The fact that there was a reference to these organizations in the by-laws of the People's Houses (CHP Halkevleri Öğreneği, 1935) stating that similar organizations in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Britain, and Italy were examined before establishing the Houses, proves that the Republican People's Party leaders were influenced from the international practices of ideological mobilization².

The institutions of political education prior to the establishment of the People's Houses in Turkey were the People's Schools (Millet Mektepleri, 1928), Turkish History Research Society (Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti-organized under Turkish Hearths in 1929), Turkish History Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu), the Republican People's Party's Institution for Public Orators and Turkish Hearths (from 1912 to 1931)³.

The People's Houses were opened on February 19, 1932, in 14 city centers. It was an organization set up for the whole nation to indoctrinate the ideology of the Republican People's Party⁴. The aim of the establishment of the People's Houses was explained in the instruction book as follows:

The basic principles of our Party programme are republicanism, nationalism, populism, étatism, secularism and revolutionism. To make these principles sovereign and eternal, our programme envisages to educate citizens with these principles to make them give importance to fine arts, for elevating the national characteristics to the levels that Turkish history had inspired, to strengthen the national culture with scientific research. The aim of the People's Houses is to gather idealist citizens under one roof to achieve these ends.⁵

In March 1931 the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* evaluated this development, emphasizing the importance of the ideological training of the youth and the centralisation of the power like this:

There are two reasons for the Republican People's Party to take control of the Turkish Hearths: the first reason is the Republican People's Party's interest in

preventing reactionary movements and its decision to educate young people politically and ideologically. The second reason is the aim of the organization ... Hopefully, this aim will be achieved which is to control the young population from one center. All the sacrifices will be made to give national, political, bodily education to the youth of the nation.⁶

The People's Houses were divided into nine main sections:

- *language, literature, history
- *fine arts
- *performance
- *sports
- *social aid
- *courses
- *library and printing
- *villagism
- *museums and exhibition sections

Any Turkish citizen could attend the Houses but to be able to join the administration committee one had to be a member of the Republican People's Party. The Houses were controlled and administered by the party. These Houses and People's Rooms (which were opened in 1940 in small towns where the People's Houses could not be opened) were closed in 1952. At the time of closure there were 478 People's Houses, 4322 People's Rooms⁷.

The necessity of achieving unity in the thoughts of people was repeated in most of the speeches given by the leaders of the Republican People's Party on the anniversaries of the Houses' establishment day. For example, Recep Peker explained this aim in his speech, which was given on the fourth anniversary (February 23, 1936) like this:

The aim of the People's Houses is to make the nation a classless, solid mass...The work of the People's Houses will create a mass in which people will understand each other and will lean on each other on big ideas, and it will have one belief, one silence, one activation, one excitement, one mass...A mass that acts in a unity with the sense of facing together the threats and dangers that will harm the nation...⁸

The ideals, beliefs and thoughts which would be imposed on the unified mass, would be the ideals of the Republican People's Party. These are expressed in the words of İsmet İnönü in the speech which he made on the first anniversary of the establishment:

...The People's Houses are important centers to make people love the essence and existence of the party which has a responsibility as an idea and institution...⁹

In conclusion it can be stated that the People's Houses were not set up only to teach people sciences and fine arts but also to socialize them politically. Ideals of the party would be taught, a national conscious would be given by educating people to think in one way, to move as a unity, and to believe in the same things which the party showed as legitimate. One of the most important ways of achieving this end was to hold conferences, telling people directly how to think. In 1936, Recep Peker emphasized this point by stating that:

With the effort of the party, to spread the ideal of the new period throughout the nation, we hold conferences one after another.¹⁰

Thus, these conferences are the keystones to understand the ideals of the party according to which they wanted to educate people.

B)The University's Role in Ideological Mobilization

"I must emphasize the fact that, in the new faculty's professorships, like in all of the professorships of the university, all the issues of science are discussed freely. However, none of us must forget that, the high interests of the Turkish nation and the Turkish Republic rule all over the professorships of the University."

Cemil Bilsel, Rector of the University

*(From the Opening speech of the Faculty of Economics,
University conferences 1936-37)¹¹*

The "university reform" which was realised in 1933, was generally a technical and a scientific reform, conducted by the Republican People's Party. However, its particular aim was to establish a university that would support the principles of the Turkish Revolution and the political power¹².

In the 1920's there were attempts to re-arrange the school which was named Dar'ül-Fünun of Istanbul. In 1922, the scientific and intellectual autonomy of the university was recognized. In 1924, this academic autonomy was accepted as untouchable and the university became a corporate body. In spite of these new regulations, the education in the Dar'ül-Fünun in 1920's was not satisfying the Turkish politicians. The school was not responding to the radical changes of the time, and the disappointment of the political power was reflected in the words of Reşit Galip, the Education Minister (between 1932 and 1933 for eleven months), in his speech he gave on August 1, 1933, during the opening ceremony of the new University, Istanbul University:

Great political and social movements were taking place in the nation; Dar'ül-Fünun continued to watch as a neutral spectator. There were important changes in economy; Dar'ül-Fünun seemed to be uninterested. Radical legal alterations were made; Dar'ül-Fünun found it enough to include the new laws in the course schedule. Language reform was made, the movement to purify the language started; Dar'ül-Fünun did not get interested. A new interpretation of the history became a national movement throughout the nation; to be able to draw the attention of Dar'ül-Fünun we had to wait for three years. At last, Dar'ül-Fünun of Istanbul became silent, got back to its shell, in a medieval-age isolation, lost all its connections with the world¹³.

Through 1932 and 1933, there were many articles in the newspapers and journals that criticized Dar'ül-Fünun. To examine them would be beneficial to see in what ways the school did not satisfy the needs of the new regime. In his article titled "Dar'ül-Fünun Which Is Left Behind" (Arkada Kalan Dar'ül-Fünun), Burhan Asaf Belge explained the reasons of this dissatisfaction:

Our revolution will be ten years old very soon. It is a very sad situation that the one and only science and youth house has been unable to reflect the revolution which is a social, economic and political movement that has caused drastic changes in each fields. The professors of Dar'ül-Fünun have stayed motionless failing to follow the movements of Ankara even by words. In every occasion, the thing that can not catch up is not the spiritual part of it but it is its professors who are satisfied with the situation and the science they are making¹⁴.

It is evident from these words that what is requested from Dar'ül-Fünun was not objectivity but support for the revolution which is contrary to the nature of science. Burhan Asaf Belge, accuses the teachers also because of their unwillingness to defend the Turkish History Thesis. He continued like this:

The high meaning of the Ankara History Congress was this: after political independence is achieved and while the struggle continues to gain economic independence, to reach independence in the national history perspective. If the Istanbul professors had understood this meaning, they would have interpreted the new History Thesis in another way, and they would have agreed that the same independence of perspective was needed in law, economics, philosophy and other social science departments. But they refused this independence with a couple of ideas which they found by forcing themselves. They defended the idea that there could not be an independence in scientific perspective and there must be one scientific perspective for all sides...

The situation is this:

The revolution walks ahead and Dar'ül-Fünun is left behind¹⁵.

Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, in the 14th volume of the journal *Kadro* explained the situation by giving examples from Russia and Italy which is rather significant:

In Russia and Italy, houses of sciences have been connected to the restructuring of these countries with all their effort, doesn't it have a reason? I heard that a scientist was imprisoned because of his suspicion about the talent of the Russian soil on which the Russian construction plan would be applied. This is

violence. We all know the story of the musician who was kicked out of the concert hall because he did not start his concert with the march of Balillas. This is violence too. But this violence is the expression of the revolution sensitivity...If there was not this sensitivity, if science, art, etc. were not tied up to the daily cases of the revolution, the swamp which was called *Campani di Roma* would not turn to green...and the biggest industrial complex of the world could not be created¹⁶.

From these words, it can be understood that the university was expected to have a mission which was to explain the ideals of the revolution to the university youth and to make them their own ideals as well. In the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, on August 28th, 1932, these ideas became clear in the article of Kazım Nami Duru:

As populism and revolutionism are used in their overwhelming meaning, we have to understand étatism in the same way as well. In this respect, étatism must also dominate the scientific field.

An étatist state can not leave Dar'ül-Fünun alone; they can publish ideas under the name of scientific speculations which can destroy the principles of the government¹⁷.

During these criticisms about Dar'ül-Fünun, Reşit Galip who was educated in the Turkish Hearts and was deeply devoted to the revolutions became the Minister of Education in September 1932. Samet Ağaoğlu explains this quick appointment in his memoirs named as *My Father's Friends* (Babamın Arkadaşları) like this:

...The idea to make a reform in the Dar'ül-Fünun of Istanbul was put forward. Atatürk was not sure that the Education Minister of the time could succeed in this important job. He asked him if he was tired or not and without waiting for his answer he asked again who he would recommend for his place. He himself replied, "probably Mr. ..."18

The name which is not stated in the book is known to be Reşit Galip.

University reform was realised after the appointment of Reşit Galip as the Education Minister. Galip remained in the office for 11 months and in the first part of this period, he made preparations for the selection and the elimination of the professors according to the Albert Malche's report who was a Swiss professor of pedagogy from the University of Geneva¹⁹. Albert Malche was invited to Turkey to re-arrange Dar'ül-Fünun and transform it into a new university. He arrived in Turkey in 1932 and started to prepare a report. In his report, which was submitted to the Turkish Government on May 29, 1932, he put forward various criticisms and suggestions that can be summarized as follows:

- *small number of publications
- *professors' employment in supplementary jobs because of being paid low
- *deficiencies in the methods of lecturing
- *the insufficiency of the students' knowledge of a foreign language
- *the need to educate the future members of the academy abroad
- *the similarities of the courses in different faculties
- *the need to move the medical school from Haydarpaşa to Beyazıt²⁰
- *the necessity of increasing the activities of the university in society such as the developmental courses for the high school teachers, archaeological vacations and congresses, the establishment of a national academy for natural sciences, literature, and fine arts. For a wider dimension, there should to be conferences open to all people which would be prepared by the university. In this way, the university would serve society, educating the adults of the population²¹.

Malche's report was found suitable and was accepted with appreciation. It can be argued that the last suggestion might be the inspiration source for the university conferences and the conferences in the People's Houses which took place between 1935 and 1945.

As a result, approximately one year after the report's submission, the law 2252 about the university was ratified on

May 31, 1933. The decisions which were taken with this law were explained in two paragraphs:

I: Dar'ül-Fünun of Istanbul, will be abolished from the 31th of July 1933 onwards with all the establishments, professors and the main structure.

II: The Ministry of Education has a duty to establish a new institution under the name of "Istanbul University" from the 1st of August 1933 onwards²².

A desire for a new beginning was felt. As a result of the reform, 92 out of 151 professors were left out. The new rector of the university became Neşet Ömer İrdelp but after a while he was replaced by Cemil Bilsel. The deans of the Medical School, Law, Natural Sciences and Literature Faculties were Dr. Tevfik Sağlam, Prof. Tahir Taner, Prof. Kerim Erim and Fuad Köprülü respectively. There was an opinion that some of the professors who were left out deserved to be out and some did not. It can be argued that political opinions played an important role in the selection. Cemil Bilsel, who was the first rector after the short office term of Neşet Ömer İrdelp, commented on this issue as:

Most of the professors who were left out were the valuable and hardworking children of our nation. In this way, their chance to be more useful and to work has been completely taken from them²³.

According to Reşit Galip the professors of the new university should be constituted of three groups:

- 1) Professors who remained after the abolition of Dar'ül-Fünun
- 2) Turks who came back after finishing their education successfully in the European universities
- 3) Foreign professors

It was possible to make a wide elimination among the professors of the Dar'ül-Fünun, because many German qualified professors were expected to come to Turkey in July²⁴. In his memoirs, Fritz Neumark who was one of the refugees that had to leave Germany in the 1930's and had to come to Turkey to be employed in Istanbul University as an economics professor,

defined the arrival of German professors to Turkey as the German-Turkish miracle and stated that it was the result of three revolutions. The first revolution was the 1905 Russian Revolution; the second the 1922/23 Turkish Revolution and the third was the 1933 German National Socialist Revolution whose revolutionary character was denied. He explained the role of these revolutions like this:

As a result of the 1905 Russian Revolution, a natural sciences professor who would play a very important role in the arrival of German professors to Turkey took refuge in Switzerland with many others. He was Professor Tschulok who became Philipp Schwartz's (a pathologist from Frankfurt) father-in-law, 20 years after his arrival. Professor Tschulok had a friend named Albert Malche who was a professor of pedagogy in the University of Geneva and a member of the city council of Geneva.

The second revolution was started by Kemal Atatürk and this revolution had a very important role in calling professors and artists who spoke German, to Turkey. After the Republic was established, Atatürk was consciously pursuing a policy to correct the sins of the past which were caused by negligence. This policy devoted itself to neutral science by separating the state and religion on a constitutional base.

The leaders of the third revolution, the German National Socialist Revolution, were trying to reach their aims by ratifying a law named as "The Return to the Exercise of State Employment as a Profession", a couple of weeks after coming to power. Relying on this law, many German professors' or artists' status of state employee were abolished temporarily or permanently and they were prevented from working in their own profession.

A couple of months before Hitler came to power, Albert Malche was given the responsibility by Atatürk to specify the reform needs and possibilities of the Turkish universities and make suitable suggestions. Malche had practically done an extensive observation about the staff, regulation of the faculties, courses and exams, establishment of institutes and clinics. During those days firing of the professors from the universities in Germany had started. Albert Malche saw the opportunities that these extra-ordinary situations created: Now they could realise the reforms in the personnel of the Turkish Universities. His meetings with Professor Tschulok gave him the opportunity to

contact with Philipp Schwartz who was accused of being communist and lost his job in the pathology department of Frankfurt before he came to Zurich near his father-in-law Professor Tschulok. In this way, ways to bring hardworking German scientists were searched²⁵.

It was not the first time that the German scientists came to Turkey. During the First World War many German professors such as Anton Fleck, Friedrich Hoffman, and Fritz Arndt (who came in 1933 again) had worked in Turkey. In the Agriculture School of Ankara, many German scientists had the status of administrators.

As a result of a discussion with the Minister of Education, Malche was authorized to make employment deals with the German professors. The organization named as "The Association for Assisting the German Scientists in Foreign Countries" which was set up by the efforts of Philipp Schwartz acted as a clearing agency. This Association played a very important role in recommending numerous professors for different departments, in their employment in Turkey²⁶. These professors were forced to leave their works in Germany for one or more of three reasons: if they were not from the "Aryan" race, if they were married to someone who were not from the "Aryan" race or because of ideological reasons like if they were socialist, communist, or liberal.

As a result, in the new university, 27 Turkish, 38 German ordinarius professors, 18 Turkish, 4 German professors and 93 Turkish assistant professors were employed from 1933 onwards. This number increased to 323 professors and assistants, in a very short time and the number of the German professors rose to 85. The most important of these German Professors were as follows: Prof.Dr.Fritz Arndt, Prof.Dr.Erich Frank, Prof.Dr.Ernst Hirsch, Prof.Dr.Alfred Kantorowicz, Prof.Dr.Gerhard Kessler, Prof.Dr.Fritz Neumark, Prof.Dr.Rudolf Nissen, Prof.Dr.Ernst Reuter etc.²⁷. Most of the university conferences which took place between 1935 and 1945 were given by these German professors. Some of them wrote books on Turkey such as "The Observations on the Turkish Commercial Law" written by Prof.Dr.

Ernst Hirsch. Prof.Clemens Bosch made archaeological explorations in Turkey and Prof.Hans Gustav Güterbock worked on Turkish History while Prof.Benno Landsberger worked on Sumeriology.

Prof.Dr.Fritz Neumark, in his memoirs, described the country he grew up in. It was a time of frustration, economic depression caused by hyper-inflation. The amount of war reparations were interpreted as unfair inciting a nationalism that was already high before the war. A sense of revenge was growing and enemies were obvious. Neumark's memoirs can be significant to have an idea about the situation in Germany where these professors have been educated, in evaluating the perspectives of these professors in conferences to a certain extent:

When we turn back in time and look, how did the country look like to us?

When we were young, at least during the time we went to school (the things I will say depends only on my personal experiences and emotions) we had lived the brilliance and magnificence of the Wilhelm period. As it was supported in school we had been stuck in nationalism with our eyes closed up...It was heard that some circles were against the war (First World War); We were hearing the efforts of the parties which were named as leftist and which had been successful in being elected to the parliament in great numbers, to establish parliamentary democracy. But as I said before especially by the effect of the school, generally our hearts were burning with patriotism. Although from time to time I could deal with the "lower classes" (if I may say so), I was not aware of the relationship between the poverty and misery of the workers, state employees and the sovereign political system as well as the "advanced capitalist" economic order which this political system keeps existing...The poem which was written by young German-Jewish poet Ernst Lissauer and which had a refrain as "We all have one enemy: that is Britain" pointed to our hatred mixed with love towards this country²⁸.

These words taken from the memoirs of Prof.Dr.Fritz Neumark does not bind all the professors who came from Germany to Turkey but they give an idea about the atmosphere of the time from

which these professors came. Having experienced a national unification process, Germany desired to be a great power besides Britain and France. Imperialist policies which would lead Germany to her greatest achievement, being one of the most powerful nations, resulted in the First World War which ended with real humiliation. An increasing nationalism, a sense of revenge, was overwhelming all the citizens of Germany regardless of racial differences. The promotion of nationalist and imperialist policies before and aftermath of the war, which was later transformed into national socialism by the radical wing, was the product of this generation whose members later became the victims of the new rising ideology. It might be beneficial to keep in mind the social background of these German professors in exile while examining their works.

Before explaining the purpose and function of the party conferences, it is worthwhile to touch upon the Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty from where a high number of professors came to give conferences at Istanbul University and in the People's Houses. The project of the Language and History-Geography Faculty was planned by Mustafa Kemal personally and the primary fruits of this project came as Turkish History Research Society which was set up in 1931 and as Turkish Language Institution (1932). Although the works of these institutions were appreciated, the need for trained staff in these fields was felt. Their aim was to get rid of the foreign influence on Turkish history, geography and language and to reach this aim, the order to set up Language and History-Geography Faculty was given by Atatürk on March 11, 1935²⁹. The Education Minister of the following years, Hasan Ali Yücel explained the reasons of establishing the faculty in this way:

Atatürk did not give it a name that we were used to. He did not choose a name that was used in other countries for similar institutions. This had a great meaning. The reason of finding the "Language and History-Geography Faculty" as the appropriate name was connected to the nature of performance that was expected from it by the Turkish Revolution. We can summarize this expected performance as follows: to enlighten our history by

going to our pure sources, to evaluate the history of nations that had relations with us from our eyes and understanding, to find ways of progress by rescuing the Turkish language from the slavery of foreign rules..., to observe the geographic nature of Turkey with scientific methods, to raise intellectuals who have an universal perspective based on the conscious of our national life³⁰.

In the law proposal related to the establishment of the Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty and in the official reports, it was stated that the need for an institution to investigate Turkish culture with scientific methods and to raise teachers for secondary schools according to the new understanding of national history and language and to complement the knowledge of today's teachers in this direction made it necessary to establish a Language and History-Geography Faculty in Ankara³¹.

The official opening date was 9th of January, 1936. In the opening speech, the Education Minister of the time, Saffet Arıkan stated that:

...Today we celebrate the opening of an institution which will be a base for the Turkish cultural world in Ankara that carries the traces of the oldest Turkish existence. After the motherland was saved and a new social order was established, it became necessary to deal with the cultural issues. The belief that the source of culture is history gave the precedence to history...Your success will be for the whole Turkish nation and the world. This is what is requested from you and the person who requests this is Atatürk, father of us all. Let us bow and swear in front of that high savior and genius commander with all our respect: we will work without giving break and do what he commands³².

In the following years, the faculty became a den of intrigues where political struggles took place. A political dualism came into being in which professors were divided as right wing and left wing. What is important here to mention is a declaration signed by the professors in 1944 after the persecution of some leftist professors. This declaration must be

taken into account for it is a good evidence to reflect the degree of freedom of thought in the university, although it came after a strong anti-communist pressure on the professors. In the declaration it was stated that:

To our respectful Minister,
We, the Turkish professors of our faculty which was set up by the happy hand of our Eternal Chief Atatürk, are gathered today on April 11, 1944. We, all together, confirmed and reiterated once again the faith and excitement that we always feel for the principles of our party. We declare with all our deep respect that we are the servants of the nationalist, populist, étatist, secularist, revolutionist, and republicanist points of Kemalism; and we have and will raise the university youth which is handed to us with respect to these points; we will not give place, like we did not in the past, to any idea or opinion contrary to the meaning and value of these points; and we are devoted to the unchangeable General President of our party, İnönü³³.

The stated reasons of establishing the faculty and the attitude of its professors towards the ruling power give a clue about the atmosphere of the school where "scientific research" was made. It can be argued that this atmosphere had an impact on the conferences given by these professors at Istanbul University and in the People's Houses. Therefore, these conferences must be evaluated by taking these facts into consideration. It can be inferred that the distance between professors and the state was very short, thus, while explaining the purpose and the function of the conferences this fact should be taken as the starting point.

C)The Purpose and Function of the Party Conferences at the University and in the People's Houses

The rector of Istanbul University, Prof.Cemil Bilsel, in his foreword to the published "University Conferences", explained the reasons of holding these conferences which started in 1935 and lasted until 1945. He stated that these conferences were seen necessary and beneficial to improve the general knowledge of the students and to develop their intellectual ability and also to spread the university knowledge among

people because these conferences would be open to all people who had even no connection to Istanbul University³⁴. In the fourth anniversary of the university's establishment, in his opening speech, he explained the function of the university:

The university is responsible to educate well the next generation who carry a responsibility for tomorrow, for state and national services, to prepare well the future scientists who will raise the other generations, to make science and to add something to science, to establish the science of the nation, to spread and strengthen the national culture, patriotism and the virtue to put this love of nation above anything. In short, the university is responsible for strengthening the existence of the nation. A being without a base breaks down³⁵.

These words can be interpreted as : The university was not there only to give scientific education for students studying in different branches but also to impose certain principles under the name of national culture and patriotism. This intention can be traced in Cemil Bilsel's words when he stated in his fourth opening speech that the Language and History-Geography Faculty would be enlightened about Turkish history and language by the works of the Turkish History Society and the Turkish Language Society³⁶. It can not be argued that the faculties were all left free to make neutral scientific research.

When the University Conferences which amount to 248, are examined it can be stated that there are 13 main subjects besides the speeches of the Rector, National Education Minister and other professors. The subjects that were mostly touched are as follows: physical and psychological health (67 conferences), physics-chemistry-astronomy-biology (40 conferences), economics and the Second World War (20 conferences each), law and literature (14 conferences each), and history (9 conferences). The other subjects were: state theories (3), views on society (4), international relations (2), views on the status of women in society (1), philosophy (15), and communication (1). Speeches of the professors and ministers amount to 31 and they are mostly

the opening speeches of the university, institutes, medical school celebration etc.

An important point to be mentioned is the high number of conferences concerning physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, astronomy. This emphasis on these subjects can be explained by the location of the conferences. As they were held at the university, the audience, although people from outside were accepted, were mostly students and professors. This may have given an opportunity to put more emphasis on technical subjects (in comparison to conferences given in the People's Houses) which were seen essential for the technological progress of the nation. In short, it can be stated that most of these conferences about health and natural sciences were prepared for an academic audience rather than uneducated people.

When each theme is examined separately, it can be observed that there exist certain ideas in each subject which were emphasized over and over. For example in the physical and psychological health section, the ideas that were repeated in most of the conferences were related to eugenics which means creating a healthy and sturdy generation through regulations in the marriage laws relying on the laws of genetics. As coming out of the war with a population of 13 million, most of whom were affected badly by the consequences of the war, physical and psychological health became one of the most important subjects to consider. Another example can be shown from the economics section. The idea that was mostly emphasized besides others was the need for state regulations in economics for without these regulations the newly industrializing countries would not be able to achieve progress with the free trade principles. Planning and state control on imports-exports should be established giving priority to the state in all economic deeds. Law is another subject that the professors touched upon in many conferences and the idea mostly defended was the superiority of society over the individual. Individual rights and freedoms could be limited when ever the general interest required so. Society came before the individual. It can be argued that mostly a Hegelian understanding of society-individual relation was

accepted by the professors. These subjects will be evaluated in the next part.

Two series of conferences which were given in the People's Houses were taken under examination in this thesis. The first series was given throughout the year 1938 and amounted to 44 and the second series was held between the years 1939 and 1941 and amounted to 119. There are 12 subjects in the 1938 series which can be listed as: law, economics, international relations, history-geography-anthropology, physical and psychological health, state theories, nationalism, physics-chemistry-biology-mathematics, philosophy, literature, sport, agriculture. In the 1939-1941 series besides these same subjects there are two more which are "views on society" and "communication".

The subject which was mostly elaborated more than any other was physical and psychological health. There are 12 conferences in the 1938 series and 30 in the second series. Literature (8), was the second mostly elaborated subject in the 1938 series. Then comes the natural sciences like physics, chemistry etc. (6), and history (6), law (2), economics (2), state theories (2), agriculture (2), international relations (1), nationalism (1), philosophy (1), sport (1). In the 1939-1941 series the second mostly elaborated subject was history (19). Then comes law (16), economics (10), physics-chemistry-astronomy-biology-mathematics (9), literature (9), nationalism (6), views on society (4), international relations (4), philosophy (3), agriculture (3), views on the status of women in society (2), sport (2), state theories (1), communication (1). The ideas mostly emphasized in each subject overlap with the ones in the university conferences because the same professors from Istanbul and Ankara held conferences at the university and in the People's Houses. That is why the conferences of the three series will be analysed together in the next section.

The purpose of the conferences given in the People's Houses were explained in a foreword to the 1938 series accompanied by a quotation from Şükrü Kaya (Interior Minister of the time). In the foreword it was stated that:

The Republican People's Party had requested from the professors of Istanbul University and Ankara faculties, institutions of higher education, to hold conferences on the specified times on subjects they would choose from their specialization to teach and spread positive knowledge that is always effective in our daily life, at the People's Houses which have the duty of raising people's level of knowledge and culture, to permeate people the faith and revolution of Kemalism.

We have decided to publish these talks as pamphlets to let the whole Turkish population and youth benefit from them...

We have the pleasure and duty to remind the enlightened and brilliant Turkish youth in this way that the People's Houses are open and ready to educate them and to raise their knowledge to the level they want; by benefiting from these Houses they will serve both their knowledge and their motherland³⁷.

In the quotation taken from one of Şükrü Kaya's speech it was stated that:

No matter how many intellectuals exist among people if they do not keep their knowledge on the level of recent developments by reading or listening. In this way they will lose their intellectual ability; and they will become semi-ignorant because their knowledge will be limited with what they had learned in the school and they will become more harmful than the full-ignorant people in the cultural world.

To illuminate the ideas of people who constitute the most important capital and strength of a nation with the recent knowledge, to increase their information and experience, to strengthen their national conscious with intellectual knowledge, to make them understand, and know what to desire and how to want and make them active, intelligent people who have high emotions of humanity are not only a humane and moral duty for us. It is a base of existence which is essential in the defence and progress of a nation³⁸.

When all the conferences are examined, it would not be wrong to argue that most of the ideas that were presented to the audience were overlapping with the ideas that were promoted by the political elite of the time. It can be stated that this may be a result of the university reform of 1933 which left out high number of professors and kept the ones which were close to the political elite of the time. While realising this reform efforts

to turn the university into an instrument of the regime became effective³⁹. Also, as the party suggested to the professors to give these conferences and as a high number of these conferences were given in the People's Houses, this similarity between the ideas of the professors and the political elite is not a surprising result. Thus, one can come to the conclusion that the function and purpose of these conferences can be explained by the concept of political socialization.

Socialization can be defined as the process by which individuals are made aware of the expectations that others have of their behavior. By this process, they acquire the norms, morals, values and beliefs of a social group or society. Socialization is an interactive process between the individual being socialized and the polity and societal agent that socialize him. Individuals are inculcated with values, beliefs and codes of behavior of a social group or society. Family, friendship groups, school, political parties, government, the army, workplace, trade unions, business associations, church, mosque, synagogue, etc., the mass-media, cinema, publishing houses, clubs, coffee houses are included in what are called the agents of socialization.

The vision or world outlook according to which the socializing agents try to mold individuals is called ideology⁴⁰. Ideologies are patterns of political beliefs that introduce normative visions into political life. These visions of ideal order usually include highly articulated attitudes about human nature, about the relationship of the individual to the state and society, about the relationship of the economy and the polity and about the goals and purposes of politics in general. Modern ideological movements have been ultimately popular movements, claiming popular approval as the legitimate basis of authority⁴¹.

The inculcation of an ideology can be conceptualized as a political socialization and it is a part of the general phenomenon of socialization. It is the process through which individuals acquire their political orientations, attitudes and behavior. Through this process, individuals acquire the

political values, beliefs and codes of behavior of a social group or community and get integrated into the political structure of that social group or community.

With respect to the relationship between socialization and ideology, it can be said that, the dominant ideology depicts the established order as right, moral and legitimate and even declares it to be eternal. The ruling ideology benefits from the backing of the state, the media, the academic establishment⁴².

It can be argued that propaganda is a means to create political socialization, relying on the fact that propaganda is defined generally as the activity, or the art of inducing others to behave in a way in which they would not behave in its absence⁴³. In other words, it is the relatively deliberate manipulation, by means of symbols (words, gestures, flags, images, monuments, music, etc.), of other people's thoughts or actions with respect to beliefs, values, and behaviors which these people regard as controversial⁴⁴. Within the political field propaganda is carried out by parties and pressure groups of all kinds. Outside politics, there is religious propaganda, as exercised above all by missionaries, and economic propaganda in the form of advertising. To which should be added moral propaganda, a kind of halfway house between political and religious propaganda, since its object is to induce standards of behavior in conformity with both the religion of the propagandist and the political and social society in which he resides⁴⁵.

Propaganda induces the desired behavior; that is to say, the meaning of the word does not include attempts to influence by means of force, compulsion or reward. Thus, the central element in propagandist inducements, as opposed to compulsion on the one side and payment, or bribery, on the other, is that they depend on "communication" rather than on concrete penalties or rewards⁴⁶. The elements of deliberateness and manipulateness distinguish propaganda from merely casual communication or the "free" exchange of ideas. Academic establishments and schools where education is carried out are important and suitable places to realise this kind of "communication".

Non-competitive or single-party regimes, have a great interest in political propaganda. Part of this interest comes from their claim to extensive appeal. On the other hand, monopolization of political power in the hands of a single body politic does not decrease the importance of propaganda. Harold Lasswell states his formulation about the issue as follows:

Even where fascists and communists hold a legal monopoly there is no end to propaganda; indeed new regimes are particularly dependent on this instrument for the consolidation of power⁴⁷.

A third reason is that propaganda is cheaper than force or violence in providing mass control or mobilization. Finally, every political body should gain the voluntary support of its people rather than their sheer acquiescence based on fear, otherwise, knowing that there is no or very little support for the political body makes the political body paranoiac.

In the March issue of *Ülkü*, the journal of the People's Houses, the functions of political socialization and propaganda were explained under the title "The Means of People's Training" (Halk Terbiyesi Vasıtaları):

Training of people is the process of organizing the nation, bringing out our national values and undertaking them. Training of people has a meaning of kneading various groups of the nation which are divided on the basis of accent, religious sects, and civilization into a social body and nation, and of educating their souls in a way that the thoughts, senses and wishes of the individuals would be according to the national ideal. It is to develop the Turkish nation by handing out a portion from the national culture to high numbers of people, and in this way making them partners of the social and the political life. This process freshens the life powers and sources of the Turkish nation. The school can not perform these functions by itself...⁴⁸

After explaining the insufficiency of schools, the means of political training were introduced first of which was the "word":

Word, has a mystical power in waking up, kneading and guiding the soul. You must have seen great orators who excite groups, listened to mighty conference givers and found pleasure in listening to the discussions of certain orators...As most of our people do not know how to read and write and most of them who know how to read do not know how to observe, "word" will stay as a primary means of training for a very long time in Turkey...While trying to train people it is not enough to give information only. More than giving information, you must address the soul, make a spiritual impact and guide them. Because the real meaning and value of the mass training is to affect and inculcate the soul of a high number of people according to a programme to make them work for you and to bind them to your way⁴⁹.

The conferences in Istanbul University and the People's Houses must be evaluated from the same perspective which specifies the purpose and function of these conferences as means of political socialization. This conclusion can be inferred also from the fact that these conferences were held as a result of the Republican People's Party's request from the professors. It can be stated that, these conferences were not held just to serve people because of their desire to achieve personal intellectual progress but they were held because of "national interests", to educate people for the "benefit of the nation". Looking from the perspective of national or general interest, the information that would be given to people would not be random but it would be selected and organized to reach these interests. As these interests would be determined by the political elite of the time, it can be argued that these conferences were held to mobilize people in certain directions on certain subjects. In this way the political socialization of people would be achieved. Thus, involvement of professors in this activity was the result of the close relationship between the academia and the party.

PART II

PARTY CONFERENCES:

A THEMATIC ANALYSIS

CHAPTER IV: VIEWS ON STATE AND SOCIETY

A) Views on Law

The conferences which consist of the views on law amount to 32. 14 of these conferences were held at Istanbul University and 18 of them were held in the People's Houses. Their themes cover different areas of law, such as the civil law, public law, international law, labour law etc. When all the conferences are examined, it can be stated that the ideas on law which were put forward in these conferences emphasized certain points. These certain points were: the idea of natural law was rejected; according to most of the professors, objective laws existed instead of subjective laws and they could easily be limited if the general or national interests were in danger; individualism under the title of liberalism and also socialism were rejected; collectivism which would be achieved as a result of an organized society composed of corporations were defended; these organizations which were based on professions would arrange society on the basis of solidarity and would emphasize the importance of duties and functions more than rights and freedoms. These themes were mostly elaborated in the conferences of Yavuz Abadan (2 conferences), Bülent Nuri Esen, Ernst Hirsch, August Egger, Hüseyin Nail Kubalı, and Charles Crozat. After giving a brief summary of the actual policies in Turkey, while mentioning the developments in Europe, these themes will be interpreted within the context of corporatism, German idealism (particularly Hegelian idealism), and the French influence (influence of Rousseau, Durkheim and the French Jurists) on Turkish intellectuals, because of the similarities that these ideas have with these intellectual trends.

The first conference to be considered was titled "The Principles That Determine the Acquisition and Employment of Rights" (Hakların İktisap ve İstimalini Tayin Eden Prensipler, 1939) and was given by Assoc.Prof.Yavuz Abadan¹. In this conference the concept of 'right' (hak) was defined first of all. 'Materialistic' views were rejected which define it as the 'guarantee of the interests'. Instead Abadan confirmed that 'right' was the result of being a person. However a rightful

acquisition could only happen when this 'right' did not constitute an obstacle for the rights of other people. At this point the Machiavellist way of thinking was affirmed which defends the idea that a human being is ambitious and egoist. According to Abadan there existed a correspondence between this thought and the unstable atmosphere of the world in the threshold of the Second World War. He explained it in this way:

The reason of today's instability is the reaction of the party who faced the unlimited ambitions of the winners in the name of rights at the end of the First World War².

In this way the reaction of the starters of the Second World War was legitimized implicitly.

The national laws were regarded by Abadan as the means that would prevent individualistic ambitions and being equal before the laws could only be possible by state authority. However state authority could put limitations upon these acquired rights on the principle of 'good faith' (bona fide) to prevent the violation of others' rights. According to Yavuz Abadan as morality and law were from the same origin: "The immoral movement has to be prohibited although it does not harm anybody."³

The concept of immorality which is open to interpretation was not defined. Morality here was related to the performance of social duties:

The right holder should not be satisfied by preventing the violation of others' rights, he also has to use them for the welfare and the goodness of the public⁴.

At this point, it was reminded by Abadan that this understanding, which put the property-owner in a position of being involved in social duties, was observed in the constitution of the Weimar Republic accepted in 1919.

Abadan criticized socialism relying on the reason that property rights were among the basic rights of human being like rights of life, honour and freedom. According to Abadan property

rights opened the way for human progress by leading man to use his imagination. Abadan defined the transition from an individualistic property system to a communal one as "a historical and intellectual reaction"⁵. In his opinion, this was so obvious that no counter argument could be posed on this issue. He argued that, by controlling ambitions concerning the moral principles, human beings had to respect others' rights without sacrificing their own rights.

As a result of all these chains of ideas and after degrading liberalism and socialism, Abadan came to the conclusion that étatism was an advantageous system:

Establishing firmly the democratic property system which allows holding private property, which gives equal opportunity of earning to everyone and prevents the sacrifice of the whole for the economically strong ones contrary to the liberal property understanding, abolishes the dangers of the private property and creates a harmonic legal situation with our principle of étatism⁶.

Thus, according to Abadan property rights were absolute but benefiting from this property was limited with personal and societal limitations and this system was possible through étatism. Interest of society came before the interest of the individual. These ideas were expressed in these lines:

As all individuals are organs of society, these limitations, imposed for the achievement of public interest, are the expressions which are immanent in the nature of the property⁷.

That was why the possibility to limit the rights of individuals over their property had to exist. The second article of the constitution stated that without touching the absolute feature of the property rights, there was a need to nationalize property because of its functional feature.

So, the enterprises are only economically the property of the entrepreneurs but socio-politically they have the responsibility to service society⁸.

In this conference, Yavuz Abadan had the intention of explaining the proprietorship understanding of the regime. All people were entitled to rights but social and moral responsibilities could limit the use of these rights.

The cultural function of law, commands the protection of the individual and right-holder's acquisition of his rights, but on the other hand it also commands to place a conscious of responsibility in every citizen to respect the rights of other citizens and the public⁹.

According to him, this was the cultural part of the legal system which required the rooting of the conscious of limitation in people without the force of law. "The secret of success which will raise the individual-self and national existence can be achieved by the faith in the "right" and "duty".¹⁰

While Abadan was explaining the importance of placing the social interests and moral principles before the individual rights and freedoms, he did not give a definition of these interests and principles. The concept of "general interest" was left unexplained. Thus, by not explaining the scope of these moral and social elements that could limit the use of rights, he left their definition open which could lead to a wide limitation of basic rights for social and national interests that can change for any society at any time. This change is due to the values and principles that are accepted as relevant in that time period, for that society, and it can be argued that this can be very dangerous concerning the European history of especially 1930's.

Dr.Bülent Nuri Esen's conference which was titled "The Limitations Put on Property Rights of Citizens" (Vatandaşın Mülkiyet Hakkına Konan Takyitler, 1940) was on the same subject¹¹. At the beginning of the conference, Esen put forward his reasons to touch on this subject: first one was to explain one of the main issues that had a place in the Republican People's Party programme; the second one was to determine the content of the discussions on property in new legal movements. In the fourth article of the Republican People's Party programme it was stated that protecting property rights of the citizens

was one of the main aims of the party. According to Esen, the reason of giving such an importance to property rights should be sought in the concern for the defence of the nation. Materialistic richness was a means to be strong against dangers.

Property is a necessity that came into being by national history and tradition. We know that the welfare degree of the nation depends on the increase of the national wealth. Thus, we have put the article in the party programme stating that the protection of property is one of the main bases of the nation¹².

Esen argued that, according to classical legal thinking and classical economists there were three rights embodied in property rights: to use the property and to collect its outputs, to benefit from them and consequently to destroy it. Because of these factors they defined property rights as absolute. According to Esen, these assumptions were not acceptable and property rights were not absolute. He stated that:

In the 70th article of our constitution, it is stated that: "...to get possession and disposal are the rights stated in the natural law of Turks". It has to be inferred from this article that no Turkish citizen can be deprived of property rights. But does this mean that these property rights are absolute? We think that we can not claim this¹³.

He related the concept of freedom with property rights. As freedom did not mean being without any restriction, the same was true for property rights. He tried to prove the correctness of these ideas by party sayings, showing the close connection between the party ideals and the thoughts of scholars on important subjects:

There are party sayings such as "always one, always together" and "one for all, all for one" to express these ideas... That means there is no issue in which society stays uninvolved. Thus, the limitations and the interventions on property rights are always exercised for the general interest and for the goodness of the citizens¹⁴.

This new legal perspective which was appropriate for the Turkish regime made the state and the individual work together. According to Esen, individuals could not function apart from the national community and society's interests were above the interests of the individual. Thus these considerations made an effect on property rights¹⁵. Esen explained the sources of limitations:

There are two sources of limitations:

a) Limitations originating from the public law

b) Limitations originating from the neighbourhood law

In public law, there are four main themes that necessitate limitations: national defence, health, national economy, and common interest¹⁶.

The last one was about legal expropriations and Esen justified these expropriations in this way:

It is very natural that there can be some occasions in which our property can be expropriated for the general interests of our nation to which we owe our life and we have the obligation and duty to sacrifice our life¹⁷.

As it is understood from these words, for the state, individuals might have to give up their rights when it was necessary. Individuals did not have a choice when the subject came to the perpetuating of the nation and the state, because they had duties and functions more than rights.

As a result of these limitations it became obvious that the "absolute" quality of property rights that classical liberal thinkers had stressed did not exist in this legal system. According to Esen, there was one truth that had to be repeated:

The truth is that: national interests, societal interests are above individual interests and come before them. Nobody has a doubt about this¹⁸.

"General interest" was the rule in the commands of the laws. These laws were easily practiced because "Turkish people are not mean and reactionary people and they carry a desire of individual welfare in their conscience and soul. That is why

they can discover by themselves that the national interests are above individual interests."¹⁹

In his second conference Yavuz Abadan raised another subject under the title "Freedom and the Ability to Elect" (Hürriyet ve İntihap Ehliyeti, 1939)²⁰. He related the two concepts like this: "In reality, the ability to elect is nothing but the realisation of the "freedom" concept in the political arena."²¹ According to Abadan, freedom in its broadest meaning could define the state of being without bonds, being free of responsibilities and acting without obeying any rules but this would lead to a state of chaos and anarchy. Thus, Abadan defined "freedom" as being contrary to constraint. Constraint was to make somebody do something contrary to his wishes by mechanic or psychological enforcement. The ways to prevent this constraint were either to beat it or to accept it. Abadan drew a conclusion from his definition of freedom: "A person who sees laws of the state as the result of his own will, is completely free."²² But this had to be the result of his personality and moral identity. Political freedom concerned the relationship between the individual and society which was in fact the relation between the citizen and the state in political terms²³.

According to Abadan, liberalism was a very dangerous regime that could lead to anarchy if taken from the perspective of basic individual rights and freedoms:

Liberalism as a political doctrine is dissolving, separating, spreading, and destroying. It entails a freedom concept that gives the possibility to economically stronger ones to oppress the weak ones. It also includes an absolute expression of rights that makes state unable to interfere with the blackmailer, slanderer²⁴.

If individuals interests were interpreted above general interests, that would be the reason of the chaos. Individual rights should not be absolute to avoid this chaos. This time Abadan put forward populism as an ideal counter-regime to liberalism (in his previous conference, étatism was the ideal

counter-regime of socialism) and explained the reasons of this evaluation:

There is a need to establish the populist regime which does not give any extra-rights to anybody within the principle of equality which is additive, unitary, and completing. While respecting everyone's rights it gives the same opportunities of progress and promotion to everybody according to their talents.

Populism which is one of the main elements of our regime, provides everybody the chance to fix the borders of their rights, to keep away from anarchy and to control their ambitions. At this point again common sense commands human beings to keep secure the interests of the national sovereignty he belongs to, and to search his freedom in the realisation of the good within the national unity²⁵.

Thus, Abadan's conclusion was degrading liberalism while praising the populist policies of the Republican People's Party. According to him, democracy which was the expression of populism was against absolute individual rights by calling everybody to organize common works on an equal level, and it was on behalf of national unity. The existence of the individual was only possible within the national unity which bounded everybody more stronger than the laws could do. So nationalism besides populism was a factor in making people respect others' rights.

He went on arguing that the political ideal of every epoch was the rule of people by people and this could be realised by elections. Elected people could use their credentials freely as long as they were trusted by the people. Abadan reminded at this point that:

Our National Chief requests in the University conference this trust from people for the coming elections in which the outstanding people who will keep the fate of the nation in their hands will be elected in a couple of days²⁶. The populist Turkish regime which gives measured freedom and the sovereignty of the nation to Turkish citizens tries to establish the superiority of the majority's wishes. While it is being established, an atmosphere has to be created in which individuals seem to have a part in the activities of the state²⁷.

These words are significant because they define the elections which were done in the single party regime to get the approval of the people for the already decided government. According to Abadan, the Republican People's Party was the only dynamic political organization of the Turkish nation.

The party nearly overwhelms all the interests and children of the nation as the single national organization. For this reason, the People's Houses, which are the organizations of the party, serve the citizens for political training and political progress²⁸.

Abadan called people to combine their rights and national interests together in obedience to political authority. He confirmed that:

Citizens have to be elevated to a common understanding of the state with their own conscious and will, and the feeling of being an organ must be placed in everybody. Only in this way the state becomes an unity composed of citizens who are free and believe in the fact that their rights will not be abused and they will be paid back for their efforts... In this situation everybody is satiated with the conviction that their existence belongs to the state²⁹.

The "blood issue" was also significantly raised in this conference by Abadan.

From past to future eternity, the Turkish race who flowed in seven climates as the branches of a fertile river of culture and civilization has been the bearer of a revolution that gives grace to the 20th century³⁰.

The last part of the conference was composed of the praises for the "national unity", the "race" and the political elite that had realised the revolution. The People's Houses were defined as the houses of political training to pass the ideals of this elite to the next generations. "National wish and national ideal is inspired from the national soul."³¹

In Prof.Ernst Hirsch's conference which was titled "Life and Jurisprudence" (Hayat ve Hukuk, 1936-1937), it was

emphasized that each community had its own legal system which was different from the others depending on the ideas and aims which were dominant in that community³². "Thus, the general interest principle of the legal order, does not give us a certain measure. That means it can not be argued that there is one absolutely correct legal system."³³ And also, according to him, it could not be argued that the legal systems stayed the same forever because they were going through changes as time passed. In this respect, the Russian, German, Italian and Turkish revolutions were shown as the examples of the effects of ruling groups on legal systems. At this point Hirsch touched upon one of the most important developments of the single-party regime, the addition of the Republican People's Party's six principles to the constitution. In his speech Hirsch declared that he found this as a relevant act contrary to the ideas defending that laws were changing through time, and these principles might become irrelevant some time later. According to Hirsch:

This consideration is true, but if laws are always considered in this way, there wouldn't be any laws³⁴. We think that the reply of the Interior Minister, Şükrü Kaya, to the deputies' criticisms is correct and we find it beneficial to repeat it here:

"...the best laws are not the ones that have the best articles, but the ones that are most suitable for the nation. The most important duty of the National Assemblies is to formulate the laws that would lead the nation to success and our National Assembly has done this."³⁵

From these words, Hirsch was deriving a conclusion that a small minority who had the power of execution and force decided on the conditions of the community. Thus, there was no objective truth for the legal systems but there were subjective opinions about how it should be. Hirsch was showing the Turkish Revolution as an example of these ideas. As a result he confirmed that: "A community without laws is possible but a community without an order can not exist."³⁶ Hirsch was basing his arguments upon the pre-supposition that each ruling group

always considered the principle of "general interest" as the domain of their decisions and knew what was the "general interest" which was in fact a very vague term. From this point of view he found the policies of the Republican People's Party relevant and demonstrated his approval through these chains of ideas that were presented above.

Prof.Dr.August Egger, in his article entitled "The Changes in Modern Civil Law" (Modern Medeni Hukukta İstihaleler, 1937-1938), put forward his ideas on the Turkish Civil Law but prior to them, he gave a brief history of the different perspectives on civil law ³⁷. According to him, since the 16th century, with the Renaissance and Reformation, human beings rid themselves of their chains like family, neighbourhood, village, guilds, societies of tradesmen, nobility, and degree of ranks, religious communities... Modern constitutions guaranteed the religious freedom, freedom of speech, press and organizational activities etc... People became the free citizens of the state that they belonged to and they participated in state affairs like the legislature through their representatives. In his opinion, the police state was withering away and legitimate, legal states were taking its place. As a result of this order, the economy was freed from state intervention. He further argued that commercial and individual freedom emerged in this way. The French Revolution declared the principle that everybody was free to perform any commerce, profession or art he wanted to. This meant that everybody was free to own property. The 19th century awakened the whole intellectual and voluntary forces but according to him:

...this economic progress created cracks in society. It resulted in the formation of a new class; contradictions between the employers and the employee, producer and the merchant, producer and the importer, city and village, land and capital were deepened...Employers, labourers, producers, importers, merchants, artisans, farmers were all organized in interest groups, profession societies, syndicates and cartels. Then the economic struggle changed shape and the individual lost his freedom again... This change was not only economical but also spiritual because

individual was tired of being free. Freedom was bounded with danger. That was why the individual looked for unity and community³⁸.

Prof. Egger found it beneficial here to give a brief history of the trends of ideas in the 19th century to show that the conclusion that was reached about the rights and freedoms of individuals which supposed that these rights were not absolute and the state should interfere when ever necessary for the well-being of society, was logical. According to him, in this environment presented above, the historical school was fighting against rationalism. This school defended the idea that "jurisprudence existed in the deep conscious of people"³⁹. They were created through history and they always went through changes. Positivism and sociology came into being in this atmosphere. In his opinion, socialism and the critical perspective on law were the other trends of ideas that started to gain popularity during the 19th century. The critical perspective was on behalf of the welfare state that would destroy the individualist order. In this way, the views about the duties of the state started to change too.

The state was not only supposed to make good laws and execute them while guaranteeing the freedom of people but at the same time it was supposed to be a welfare state⁴⁰.

With World War I, nationalism became the determining factor of laws in politics and states again got involved in economics. The individual's place in society had changed once again.

A hundred years ago he had been released from his chains, his rights were absolute and he had the complete control over his property. But in the last fifty years, the situation changed. This change was proposed especially by the bourgeois, socialists, and Catholics. Duguit, Josserand, Saleille, Renard etc. were from this group. They defended the idea that the whole legal system was the legal system of the community. All the subjective rights were given by the objective legal system. That was why the subjective

rights were bounded by the well-being of the community. None of the subjective rights were absolute. This had a meaning that the rights were relative and could only exist within the limits protecting state and society interests⁴¹.

As a result the scope of expropriation was broadened. The state intervened in economics without any restraint.

In conclusion, the legal systems of different countries were evaluated by Egger, with respect to these different perspectives summarized above. The comments on the civil law of Switzerland were significant because Turkish civil law was based on Swiss civil law. Egger stated that:

Swiss civil law has the quality of being permanent. There are two reasons for this: firstly it is because of its technicality and this separates it from the German civil law. Swiss civil law is in fact the realisation of the proposals which are put forward in these days by Germany. It is impossible not to appreciate the technicality of this law. The cautious actions of legislators, their prevention of details, the simplicity of the language are giving the judiciary the freedom of movement and helping it to give fair decisions⁴².

The other reason for its being potentially permanent was the fact that it avoided being loyal to individualism.

These laws recognize the personal rights and protect private property but they also situate the individual into family and...into national community. That is why the relativity of the jurisprudence is stated in the second article of the civil code. Rights' absolute character is foreign to it⁴³.

These were the main characteristics of the civil law of Switzerland. Dependency and faithfulness were the important qualities. Consequently, he confirmed that because of these features this civil law was very suitable for Turkish people. Thus, it can be stated that Prof. Egger, in this conference, supported the idea that society had a supremacy over the individual and general interest had to be pursued instead of

individual ones. In this process basic individual rights and freedoms lost their absolute feature.

Assoc.Prof.Hüseyin Nail Kubalı, in his conference titled "Some Sociological Investigations on Law and State" (Hukuk ve Devlet Üzerine Bazı Sosyolojik Tetkikler, 1940), explained the thoughts of three 19th century writers who tried to explain law and the state from a sociological perspective⁴⁴. After he presented the thoughts of Maistre, Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte, he interpreted their main ideas. The mentality of the early 19th century philosophy had three main features, which occurred in the specified order: "This mentality is first of all anti-rationalist, then anti-individualist, and finally it is monist."⁴⁵ According to Kubalı, this monist mentality confirmed that freedom should be under the control of authority. This was an étatist perspective on behalf of society not the individual. Instead of rights there were functions and duties.

In the 19th century there was an attempt to avoid the contradiction of the 18th century by accepting the principle of function-duty instead of rights and by bringing the state into the natural and spontaneous cadre of society⁴⁶.

Saint-Simon valued the economic order more than the political order and professional corporations were the main units of his system. Kubalı opposed this formulation:

However in our opinion, the most correct and realist legal system and understanding of state can be put forward if the accommodation between the individual and society, authority and freedom, right and duty, political and economic perspective can be achieved at the same time. Only in this way the maladies of liberalism and excesses of authoritarianism can be avoided⁴⁷.

It can be deduced from these words that Kubalı's perspective was on behalf of limitations on the individual rights and freedoms to achieve a harmony between the individual and society and duties had importance as much as the rights of

the individual which would be imposed on the members of society by an authoritative state. He defined the correct system after examining the anti-individualist, anti-rationalist, and monist theories.

Ord.Prof.Charles Crozat pointed out his aim, in his conference titled "Public Law and Corporation" (Amme Hukuku Ve Korporasyon, 1942-1943)⁴⁸ like this:

I will try to present the strong effect of corporatism...on the public law of various nations in the last few years⁴⁹. It is obvious that Western nations have faced a state depression because of the disfunctioning of the parliamentary regimes as well as the presidential regime in the U.S.A... Besides these, without losing time economic problems should be solved. This is the reason for establishing a new system called *economie dirigé* or planned economy which is defined by Pirou as composed of some elements from the capitalist system and of some elements from the collectivist doctrine⁵⁰.

In his opinion, European constitutions could not adapt themselves to this understanding very properly. But there were two exceptions: the first one was the Soviet Union who blended the economy radically with the necessities of the Marxist understanding and the second one was Weimar Germany who put forward the creation of economic assemblies but could not be successful in realising it. Syndicalism in France was not successful either because it caused a contradiction between the labourer and the employer syndicates which prevented the collective work agreement from being a common one.

In this atmosphere, it was agreed that there was a need for a formulation in which employers and employees would be partners and would unite for work⁵¹.

As a result, corporatist formulation came into being which was regarded as the 'system of the 20th century' and only this system would overcome all the social and economic asperities.

In this way many nations, gave place to corporations in their constitutions or other laws. In this regard it is

possible to count the U.S.A., Italy, Austria, Portugal, France, Turkey, Brazil, Spain, Romania, Greece, Belgium among these countries⁵².

He argued that the aim of mentioning the corporations in the public law of the state was to make economics and politics get closer to each other, to abolish or to prevent class conflicts, and to keep the work contract apart from the civil law.

The corporatist system required the participation of people who performed the same profession in a constructive organization. It would be "economy of the communities, not of the individuals"⁵³.

According to Crozat, the 19th century individualism had put a space between the individual and the nation.

However the state has to recognize the existence of natural groups such as family and corporations... The corporations' duty is to pursue the common interests of a certain profession within the perspective of the general interest and under the control of the state⁵⁴.

In this kind of corporatism, the corporation would not be an organ of the state or a component of a dictatorship.

Thus, the state which is the representative of the sovereignty, has to allow the establishment and progress of the corporations fearlessly which are the results of production and negotiations⁵⁵.

Crozat indicated the 1934 constitution of Austria as a positive example of the optional corporatism. Another example was the constitution in Salazar's Portugal which was the least dictatorial of the dictatorships.

Besides this kind of optional corporatism, there was also the type which was monopolist and totalitarian. Under this system there was not a distinction between the state and society. Rights were given in return of the duties that people had the obligation to perform. The Italian corporatist system was an example of this kind of corporatism.

The common feature of all the types of corporatism and syndicalism is their criticism of the voting system which represents only individuals and leads to struggles between parties. Instead, they desire the establishment of an organic representation system that evoke the professional unity and solidarity spirit which would motivate social forces to perform common works⁵⁶.

Duguit and Paul Boncour had voiced these desires in their writings. Besides them, Saint-Simon, Hegel, Proudhon and Durkheim as well as Georges Valois presented the different versions of this system.

After presenting these ideas, as a conclusion, Crozat made an evaluation on the subject:

The relations between the corporations and the state are still continuing under the title "economie dirigé"... and this is because of the vague nature of the corporation concept... Corporatism is not necessarily a result of dictatorial regimes. In the Turkish case, étatisme is an important step in corresponding the needs of society. However corporatism is not reflected in the constitution because there is one party in Turkey that embrace the whole interests of the nation... For example the business law also takes into account the interests of workers and the law, ratified on January 18, 1943, which is about commerce and industrial chambers, trade chambers, commerce stock-exchange involve all the advantages of a cautious legislation and democratic corporatism⁵⁷.

Thus, it can be stated that Prof. Crozat interpreted corporatism as a beneficial system which could achieve professional unity and solidarity spirit, and the state should allow the establishment and the progress of the corporations.

Seven conferences are taken into account in this section to present the views of the scholars on law, legal systems in general and in Turkey. Relying on the emphasis points throughout the conferences, it can be argued that there are three trends of thought that have influences on these scholars. The first one is the corporatist society model that gained popularity in the

inter-war years, the second one is the German idealism of the 19th century, particularly Hegel's philosophy, and the third one are the thoughts of Durkheim, Rousseau, and the 19th century French jurists like Duguit, Salleile, Josserand etc. Before explaining in what ways these different trends of thought influenced these scholars, it will be beneficial to make an evaluation on the 1924 Turkish Constitution in regard of the rights and freedoms issue, and the changes it went through in the following years in order to grasp the structure of the state which was shaped by the constitution.

The 1924 Constitution, approached the issue of rights and freedoms from the perspective of natural law, in an individualist and liberal manner. There was no indication of limitation to protect the interest of the state, public or society. The constitution guaranteed nearly all of the classical-individualist rights and freedoms. The principle and right of equality before the law, and the prevention of all the privileges were mainly emphasized. In another article, it was indicated that personal immunity, freedom of conscious, thought, speech, publication, journey, contract, working, having property, using the property, meeting, establishing charity and involving in a partnership were among the natural rights of the Turkish people (article 70). The concept of being "Turk" was used with respect to a geography and being the citizen of the Turkish nation. Ethnicity was not the determining factor. The state of the 1924 Constitution was not interventionist and regulative. It instead protected private property, and enterprises. The issue of social rights was not touched upon, the social duties of the state were not mentioned ⁵⁸.

However the single party regime, did not reflect the 1924 Constitution with respect to the rights and freedoms of people. Instead, it created a repressive atmosphere. Practices of martial law, Martial Law Courts and Independence Tribunals, arrests and convictions that were pursued by these courts were the main reasons of this repressive atmosphere. Laws of compulsory settlement (dated July 14, 1934 and December 25, 1935), repression and enforcement of corvee on the peasantry

limited the individual rights and freedoms. The introduction of the thought crimes by the Turkish Criminal Code, and High Treason Law were significant. Collective rights and freedoms were limited too. Labourers were deprived of the right to defend themselves collectively. Establishment of syndicates was limited, controlled and depended on permission and strikes were prohibited. With the 1925 "Law of Maintenance of Order" (Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu), publications that would cause reactionary revolts, disturb the social order and security of the nation could be prevented by the approval of the President. The Press Law of 1931 made it possible to close down the newspapers and journals for a certain time that made publications contrary to the "general politics of the nation". That created auto-censure among the Press. In 1931 the newspapers were gathered under the Press Association and they were put under the supervision of the party elite. Until 1938 the establishment of a party or an association was legally free but it required permission. With the Association Law of 1938, it was made possible to end the activities of certain associations. The Turkish Criminal Law and Law of Association prevented the formation of organizations which were ethnic and provincial and that were against secularism, the Republic as well as the six principles of the party which were added to the Constitution. The freedom of meeting and demonstration was also on paper during the single party regime⁵⁹. Thus, the liberal atmosphere of the 1924 Constitution was not reflected by the policies of the single-party regime. Instead, the laws that were ratified through time limited the basic rights and freedoms of individuals.

Having explained the evaluations of Prof. Egger about Swiss Civil Law, another point that is worthwhile to mention here is the origin of Turkish Civil Law and Criminal Law. Turkish Civil Law which regulated the personal conditions, family relations, credentials over property, debt relations with other people and the heritage issues was prepared by taking the French text of the Swiss Civil Code as the basis and was ratified by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on the 17th of February, 1926⁶⁰. Like the Civil Law, Turkish Criminal Law also had a foreign

origin. Besides some criminal laws which had been ratified by the Ottoman state, Turkish Criminal Law was prepared mainly by replicating the articles of the 1889 and 1930 Italian Criminal Law with some minor changes done according to the 1930 Italian Criminal Law. The changes were needed because the 1889 Italian Law was prepared according to a monarchic regime and the existence of capital punishment together with punishments against reactionary movements were desired. Turkish Criminal Law was put into action in July, 1926⁶¹. These developments were significant. Their significance included the stated attitude of the Swiss Civil Law towards individual rights and freedoms along with the 1930 Italian Criminal Law's being the product of the fascist regime.

To understand this inclination in the Turkish law, the sources that effected the party elite and the intellectuals of the time must be sought. It can be argued that corporatism was one of these sources that made a serious impact on them.

Between World War I and World War II, corporatism was at the peak in Europe. Four reasons can be counted leading to this result. First of all, World War I proved that parliamentary regimes were weak and could easily be destroyed and thus strengthened the appeal of corporatism in countries where parliaments had been ineffective or threatened. Second the 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia irritated people in Europe with its anti-capitalist and anti-religious attitude. Third, the Great Depression of 1929 and the global depression that persisted throughout the 1930's made it appear that liberalism and capitalism might collapse at any time. Because of the distrust towards liberalism and capitalism which was caused by these economic developments, and the unacceptability of socialism, it seemed that in the 1930's corporatism was a viable option. The fourth factor was the rise of central state planning, increased government regulation of the economy, and new programs such as Social Security, which can be evaluated as the result of the Great Depression. These developments towards greater state intervention in the economy caused by the fears growing out of the depression, required further rationalization

of society, a stable and disciplined work force kept from strikes, and stable employer-employee relations. Corporatism seemed to correspond to these needs because it emphasized close cooperation between capital and labour, state managed and directed both the economic and social relations for the "common interest". A high degree of state intervention indicated the traces of corporatism in the social and political spheres⁶². Italy, Portugal, Spain were the main examples of the corporatist regimes in this period.

The central idea of corporatist thought was to recognize the organic nature of society in the political and economic arrangements of industrial society. Corporatists were arguing that the political and economic arrangements to sustain an harmonic society would have to be based upon a moral order that the advent of liberalism had largely destroyed. A majority of the corporatists were effected by the Catholic philosophy and saw their corporatist society as serving the greater glory of 'God'. Other secular writers saw nationalism as serving the greater glory of the nation, and as the basis of appeal that would bind society together. Although corporatism was a response to the advent of industrial capitalism, they remained strongly in favor of the maintenance of private property, thus corporatism was not anti-capitalist, but anti-liberal. It was the ideas of liberalism that had removed the old moral order, broken down the social bonds that held society in harmony, and instead turned society into a mass of atomistic, self-seeking individuals devoid of any higher moral purpose⁶³.

In corporatist thought, it was argued that society had to be hierarchically ordered, a person's rights and duties reflecting his or her status. Thus, towards the end of the 19th century, corporatism was in a battle with two ideological currents: by being collectivist and on behalf of a status-based hierarchical society, it tried to replace the inequities of liberal capitalism, and prevent the injustices produced by such a society, also it tried to prevent the establishment of socialism which many corporatists feared it would inevitably do if left unchecked⁶⁴. In the corporatist society the state played

a central role in first establishing and then in maintaining the corporatist model. The state had a moral base upon which it could intervene in economic and social affairs in the name of 'justice' or the 'national interest'. This moral authority not only had the right to intervene, but the right to judge what was just or in the national interest. The market had to be regulated by a higher moral authority other wise it could not give just decisions. The state would establish special agencies-or corporations-composed of producers to act as regulators. This idea was also based on moral grounds. It would re-establish the corporate principle of 'the supremacy of unity over plurality', by bringing together representatives of both capital and labour so that class loyalties would be displaced and replaced by a new loyalty to the function or profession. The corporation would engender feelings of solidarity⁶⁵. Corporatist ideology was not a brand of workers' control; indeed, by placing controls over the activities of their organizations, and by affording the syndicates a virtual monopoly, corporatists quite explicitly sought ultimately to limit the extension of workers' rights. On the grounds that the corporation was an instrument for justice and applied the national interest, any challenge to its decisions would by definition be unjust and contrary to the national interest⁶⁶.

With the strong refusal of liberalism because of its atomization of the individual and socialism because of its recognition of class conflict, the conferences summarized above, proposed a system in which society was based on moral values and in which rights along with freedoms could be limited when the subject came to 'general' or 'national interest'. Functions and duties were emphasized more than the basic rights and individuals gained rights in return of their utilities for the nation. In the conference, held by Prof. Egger, corporatism was explicitly proposed as a beneficial system. Relying on these facts, it can be argued that, corporatist theory had an impact on the professors of Istanbul University and Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty as well as the political elite⁶⁷.

It can be argued that the other trend of thought that influenced these scholars was the German idealism which found its best expression in Hegel's idealism. His approach to different but related subjects will be presented here to show the resemblance between his thoughts and the thoughts presented above.

Hegel interpreted the results of the French Revolution different from the French or English individualist perspective. From a liberal perspective, the Revolution was a triumph of human rights against the dictatorial power of the French monarch. Individual freedoms, constitutional limitations guaranteeing these freedoms, responsibility of officials to electors, rule of the people through their consent were among the successes of the Revolution. However according to Hegel, the success of the Revolution came from its realization of the nation-state. The nation-state was the continuation of the period in which the monarch had established its control over the nobility, urban places, and the feudal institutions of the Middle Age.

On the other hand, Hegel condemned the Revolution because, as it pursued its ideals of liberty and equality, it perpetuated the old fallacy of feudalism. It failed to recognize that the citizen's personality required a part to be played in the life of civil society as a condition of its moral significance and it failed to recognize that the institutions of civil society were the organs of the nation, embodied in a public authority consonant in dignity with the nation's moral significance⁶⁸. According to Hegel the basic fallacy of the revolutionary philosophy, was its abstract individualism. The fallacy in its politics was its attempt to erect paper constitutions and political procedure on the assumptions of individualism.

Hegel's criticism of individualism was a result of two factors: firstly, he equated individualism with the regionalism and localism that prevented Germany from becoming a modern nation-state; secondly he identified individualism with the Jacobinism of the French Revolution, violence, fanaticism, terrorism and atheism. He believed that both factors detached

mankind from his position in and dependence upon an organized society in which he had a part to play, duties to perform, and the status belonging to such a position. The individual was capricious, an animal governed by brute instinct, as Rousseau had said, with no rule of action higher than his own impulses, appetites, and inclinations and with no rule of thought higher than his subjective fancies. However the individual had to be regarded as a member of society and the state. Individualism falsified the nature of social institutions, because it regarded them as accidental and utilitarian aids invented to satisfy men's irrational desires⁶⁹. In this way he criticized both natural rights and liberalism.

According to him, freedom had to be understood as a social phenomenon, a property of the social system which raised through the moral development of the community. Freedom consisted rather in the adjustment of inclination and individual capacity for performance of socially significant work. Liberty and happiness could not be morally defended if the desire did not coincide with some phase of the general good and was supported by the general will. The individual's rights and liberties were those which corresponded to the duties imposed by his station in society. Even private happiness required the dignity that was attached to social status and the consciousness of having a share in socially valuable work.

Hegel's theory of free citizenship, like that of Plato and Aristotle ran not in terms of private rights but of social functions. In the modern state all were free, and by servicing the state, they achieved the self-realization in its highest degree. All the moral ends were under the monopoly of the state. His idealization of the state and the low moral estimate of society were combined to make political authoritarianism inevitable. According to Hegel, the state was not composed of citizens. Individualism took place in corporations and associations before the embodiment of becoming a citizen. Three main phases of history, according to Hegel, were the Asiatic, characterized by absolute monarchy, followed by the classical Graeco-Roman, marked by individual freedom, and finally by the

Germanic-European which fused the two earlier civilizations in a synthesis of freedom in the context of the strong state ⁷⁰.

Hegel confirmed that every civilization constituted an entirety closed to the outside, and none of the civilizations had been effected from another seriously. There was no serious inheritance from paganism to Christianity, and from Eastern to Western. According to him, the German race would be the last choice of the world with the power that the Christian soul had given⁷¹. Hegel attributed to the German race the mission to spread civilization throughout the world in this last stage. Thus, Hegel presented diverse inclinations in his writings: from one side, he was a historian, revolutionist, libertarian, defender of enlightenment and constitution, and from the other side, he was religious, racist, almost counter historian, and defender of an autarchic rule⁷².

It can be argued that the conferences resembled the Hegelian thought in some ways as has been summarized above. Their rejection of individualism, the desire to establish a strong state, their use of the Turkish History Thesis which defended the idea that the Turkish civilization was the first civilization of the world and the deliverer of civilization throughout the world, as a means to create a sense of strong nation-state reminds the reader the aspects of Hegel's thought which were stated above. According to Hegel, duties and functions came before rights and freedoms and the state was not composed of individuals but corporations. This way of thinking can be traced throughout the statements in the conferences on law.

Finally, the third source of influence came from France. Rousseau, Durkheim, and French jurists like Duguit seemed to have a significant effect on the ideas of the professors.

To comprehend the aspects of Rousseau's thought and its effects on the conferences, it will be appropriate to touch upon the "two schools of democratic thought which are liberal and totalitarian"⁷³. The essential difference between the two schools is not only, as is often alleged, in the affirmation of

the value of liberty by one, and its denial by the other. It is in their different attitudes to politics.

The liberal approach assumes politics to be a matter of trial and error, and regards political systems as pragmatic contrivances of human ingenuity and spontaneity. It also recognizes a variety levels of personal and collective endeavour, which are altogether outside the sphere of politics. The totalitarian democratic school, on the other hand, is based upon the assumption of a sole and exclusive truth in politics. It may be called political Messianism in the sense that it postulates a preordained, harmonious and perfect scheme of things, to which men are irresistibly driven, and at which they are bound to arrive. It recognizes ultimately one plane of existence, the political. It widens the scope of politics to embrace the whole of human existence. It treats all human thought and action as having social significance, and therefore as falling within the orbit of political action. Both schools affirm the supreme value of liberty. But whereas one finds the essence of freedom in spontaneity and the absence of coercion, the other believes it to be realized only in the pursuit and attainment of an absolute collective purpose. Liberal democrats believe that in the absence of coercion men and society may one day reach through a process of trial and error a state of ideal harmony. In the case of totalitarian democracy, this state is precisely defined, and is treated as a matter of immediate urgency, a challenge of direct action, an imminent event. The problem that arises for totalitarian democracy may be called the paradox of freedom. Is human freedom compatible with an exclusive pattern of social existence, even if this pattern aims at the maximum of social justice and security? The paradox of totalitarian democracy is its insistence that they are compatible. In so far as people are at variance with the absolute ideal they can be ignored, coerced or intimidated into conforming, without any real violation of the democratic principle being involved. As in Rousseau's thinking, on the one hand the individual is said to obey nothing but his own will; on the other, he is urged to conform to some objective criterion.

The contradiction is resolved by the claim that this external criterion is his better, higher, or real self, man's inner voice, as Rousseau calls it. Therefore he must be forced to be free to obey his own true self⁷⁴. According to him, the community had a corporate personality, and the general will of the corporate self set the moral standards valid for its members and with government reduced to a mere agent of the general will⁷⁵.

The body politic, therefore, is also a moral being possessed of a will; and this general will, which tends always to the preservation and welfare of the whole and of every part, and is the source of the laws, constitutes for all the members of the state, in their relations to one other and to it, the rule of what is just or unjust⁷⁶.

In his eyes, coercion was not really coercion because when a man individually, wanted something different from what the social order gave him, he was merely capricious and did not rightly know his own good or his own desires⁷⁷. From these aspects his ideas reminded the collectivist thoughts of the Turkish scholars. The general will of Rousseau seemed to become the general interest of the Turkish nation which was above anything and should shape the behaviour of the selfish atomistic individuals of the individualist liberal thought.

Durkheim, was also very effective on Turkish intellectuals, especially on Ziya Gökalp. He emphasized like all the other thinkers stated above and the Turkish professors, the duties of the individual in society. That was why all the selfish interest-seeking behaviors did not fit moral standards. The acts which did not concern others were selfish acts and these kinds of acts should be condemned. The moral act would direct the welfare of society. Social life created the base for moral life, thus an act could be labelled moral by making an evaluation on its social aspect⁷⁸.

Durkheim's thoughts about his ideal society were presented in Charles Crozat's conference titled "Public Law and Corporation" (Amme Hukuku ve Korporasyon). Durkheim in his work

Division of Labor, was defending the idea that modern society was composed of unorganized individuals which was strange sociologically. Between the state and the individual, there had to be some secondary groups. The producers which were from the same group had to be organized in corporations. There was a need to make the corporation the basis of the political organization or one of the main units of it. The society would not stay as pieces of lands next to each other as it was in those days, but it would become a system of national corporations⁷⁹.

Durkheim's corporatist understanding of society was observable throughout the conferences (Durkheim's perspective will be discussed again in the section titled "The Professors' Understanding of Society") and it is a result of the fact that Durkheim was one of the main thinkers paid attention to by Turkish intellectuals.

French jurists, particularly Duguit, was also mentioned several times in the conferences. For example Prof. August Egger summarized the thoughts of Duguit, Josserand, Saleille, and Renard in this way:

They say that law as a whole is community law. All the subjective laws are determined by objective law. Thus, subjective law is limited by the welfare of the community. Each law can be used in this scope. This is the relativity of the subjective rights. None of the subjective rights are absolute. They exist only within the limits of general interests. These limits are not only the state's limits but they are also the limits that arise from the needs of social life. So others' rights are protected in this way⁸¹.

Duguit was also a defender of the corporatist regime. According to him, there had to be professional organizations which would become the essential units of the state to arrange the national life. He desired a system composed of federations of syndicates.

To conclude, it can be argued that the ideas on law which were put forward in these conferences emphasized certain points. The idea of natural law was rejected. According to most of the professors, objective laws existed instead of subjective

laws and they could easily be limited if the general or national interests were in danger. Individualism under the title of liberalism and also socialism were rejected. Collectivism which would be achieved as a result of an organized society composed of corporations were defended. These organizations which were based on professions would arrange society on the basis of solidarity and would emphasize the importance of duties and functions more than rights and freedoms.

B)Views on Economics

The conferences about economics numbered a total of 32. 12 of them were given in the People's Houses and 20 of them were held at Istanbul University. Three main subjects are noticeable when all the conferences are examined, "World Economy and Free Trade", "Etatism and its Benefits (especially for Turkey)", and "Financial Policies" (which will not be taken into consideration here). These conferences show that all of the Turkish professors who participated in these conference meetings were on the side of étatism in Turkey and favored high custom tariffs as well as quotas. One of the German professors, Prof.Dobretsberger, clearly defended étatism and Prof.Fritz Neumark expressed in his conferences his admission of state interventions to establish the welfare state. Contrary to these ideas, Prof.Röpke and Prof.Rustow showed the advantages of free trade and the world economy, first one being more devoted to the subject. The conferences of Prof.Fritz Neumark (three conferences), Prof.Şevket Bilgişin, İsmet Alkan, Prof.Süheyl Derbil, Prof.Fazıl Pelin, Prof.Ömer Celal Sarç, Assoc.Prof.Refi Şükrü Suvla, Assoc.Prof.Recai Okandan, Prof.Dobretsberger, Prof.Rustow and Prof.Röpke will be taken into consideration in this section because the conferences show that most of the professors defended étatism while presenting their reasons of defending it. It will be beneficial to explain these points of views and then touch upon the origins of these thoughts while giving the factual details of the Turkish economic policy in the first three decades of the Republic.

The common view of all Turkish professors about the developments in the Turkish economic system involving the late

Ottoman period, were summarized in Prof. Neumark's conference entitled "New Development Tendencies of Economics and Economic Policies" (İktisadiyatın ve İktisat Siyasetinin Yeni İnkişaf Temayülleri, 1938-1939):

The Turkish government decided to replace the old bad administration after the Republic had been set up, with a determinate policy of state intervention because the national conscious was awakened by the liberating hand of the new Turkish State's great leader. The experiences of financial and political dependencies of the Ottoman state and comprehending the reason of the national industry's destruction at the beginning of the 19th century which was caused by the dependent customs and ineffective budgetary policies helped to achieve this end. The political power which was acquired again, evolved immediately into an economic energy and after a short transition period, an independent commercial policy, as well as a national industry and banking were set up and the policy of incurring debt from the foreign countries for unproductive reasons was abandoned. The balance of commerce and the state budget was achieved. Turkey became strong in international relations as it restructured her economic organisations and nationalised her economic life⁸².

Prof. Şevket Bilgişin (from Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty) in his conference entitled "Etatism and the Freedom of Commerce in the Turkish Revolution" (Türk İnkılabın'da Devletçilik ve Ticaret Serbestisi, 1939) also emphasized this transformation of Turkish economy and explained the futures of the previous economic system to prove that the point that had been reached was in fact a victory⁸³. According to him:

Capitulations turned Turkey into a semi-colony. Turkey was called an agricultural country, but even bread and wheat which are the primary needs of people had to be imported... External commerce was in the hands of the non-Turks... The revenues of the transportation firms, railways, ships, and mines were all received by the foreigners⁸⁴.

In such a situation the Turkish Revolution started and after acquiring political independence, it was time to achieve economic independence. Bilgişin quoted Atatürk's words to explain this situation: "Political and military successes can be very great but as long as economic success is not gained, the duration of the victories will be very short."⁸⁵

According to Bilgişin:

The Turkish Revolution tried to establish a compromise between the individualistic and nationalist interests and evaluated Turkey as a one whole "economic being" with its agriculture, industry, and commerce. In this economic entirety individualistic and national interests would be connected in an harmonic order and personal energies and the 'national energy' would be diverted to a common aim. To achieve this aim, the state had to be in the commanding position. Thus, in this way, the étatism of the Turkish Revolution came into being, corresponding a need⁸⁶.

Prof. Bilgişin explained Turkish étatism in this way and he distinguished it from "state socialism" and "state capitalism". In his opinion, the difference between Turkish étatism and the latter economic systems was caused by the lack of class conflicts in Turkey and étatism in Turkey was not a result of class conflicts. Etatism of Turkey was not a reaction to capitalism and it was also not a precaution against communism and socialism. Thus, according to Bilgişin, it had a distance to communism and liberalism as well as fascism and national socialism which came into being as a reaction to capitalism and communism.

He argued that, the best definition of the Turkish étatism was given by Atatürk. He explained this definition in this way:

Our great and creative leader, through the Economy Minister of the time, addressed the people in Izmir and stated that: "The meaning of étatism in Turkey is this: The private enterprises and personal actions are the basis of the economy but the state is in charge of the nation's economy, taking into account the needs of the nation and the fact that necessary things have not been established yet. The Turkish Republic wants to construct things that the private enterprises have not

done yet and it can be observed that it is successful in realising them"⁸⁷.

The private enterprises did not have programmes, the national economy was not organized, the capital could not be brought together, and the state's duty was to realise them. Bilgişin presented the article of the Republican People's Party programme concerning the principle of étatism and interpreted it like this:

Here is a system that respects the freedom of work and property rights of the individual, encourage the enterprises and initiative talents, and also mobilizes all the resources besides the strength of the state to reach a welfare state by making it rich, prosperous and cultivated⁸⁸.

The effect and intervention of the Turkish state on the economic deeds manifested itself in three ways:

- "a) programming
- b) protection and control
- c) establishing enterprises"⁸⁹

Private enterprises took place in all of the programmes but they were controlled and protected if needed. Foreign trade would take place between Turkey and the countries who imported Turkish goods.

While Prof. Bilgişin concluded, he emphasized that the nation walked on this way with solidarity, leaning on each other behind the National Chief who led them.

İsmet Alkan, in his conference entitled "The Administrations and Their Economic Duties in the Economic Development of Turkey" (İşletmeler ve Türkiye'nin İktisadi Kalkınmasında İşletme-lerimizin İktisadi Vazifeleri, 1939), touched upon the same subject from the perspective of administrations⁹⁰. In his opinion:

There was no national administration in Turkey. As a result, the organs of the economic structure were missing or incomplete. That was why the activities that the private enterprise could perform were few. The leadership of the state was needed in important

economic fields. Eventually, as it had to be, we see state acting as an "entrepreneur" and "administrator"⁹¹.

Thus, the state would make laws encouraging and protecting the industry and the enterprises, would find capital, train labourer and experts, and control the foundations to prevent misuses. According to Alkan, an administration was a foundation set up to correspond various needs and to make profit. Furthermore, administrations were the spine of the Turkish economy. They had to have various features like paying attention to health and moral rules but the most important feature that they had to have was to adapt to the national economy and act according to the national interests. Prof. Alkan concluded in these words:

The Turkish nation reached the national independence with the Turkish strength, effort, patience, and Turkish blood and it will reach the economic independence in the same way⁹².

In Prof. Süheyl Derbil's (from Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty) conference titled "Etatism" (Devletçilik, 1939), the subject was elaborated from many aspects⁹³. At first étatism was defined and the kinds of state interventions were explained, then the evolution of the étatism through history was put forward. According to Derbil:

The victory of étatism over liberalism is natural; a necessary result of democracy. Liberalism is on the side of prosperous people. Public services as well as state interventions are at minimum in a liberal system. Few public services mean low taxes and the upper classes benefit from this system... Liberalism, étatism, and socialism together with communism were the doctrine of rich people, middle class people, and poor people, respectively...

In étatism, individuals are interpreted not as people who are equipped with rights but as people who are tied up to each other in a society with duties. Individual rights can not pose limitations on state interventions... An individual, on his own, is very weak and he can only be strong in a community with the rules put forward by that community... The strongest

community is the nation, that is to say, it is the state. The progress in civilization is not achieved by individuals but by communities⁹⁴.

In his opinion, individual activities should be organized to strengthen the community, or the state which was the most perfect community. In Turkey, if people had waited for private enterprise to construct the textile, metal, glass and paper industry, and had believed in liberalism, they would have been still waiting. He further argued that étatism in Turkey was not only a means of defence but also of progress to reach the development level of the industrialized nations. In the party programme it was stated that private enterprise was given precedence but whenever it was unsuccessful the state would step in. According to Derbil: "In this system, there is a bond between the private and public life, and mutual solidarism and assistance create a harmony in society."⁹⁵

This conference, like the ones presented above and most of the ones which will be presented below, aimed to support the étatist system and the étatist policies of the government. While doing this, Derbil reflected the social implications of étatism too: duties of individuals were emphasized and the community, and in the broader sense the nation and its defence was placed above everything. The individual alone was not important until he found his place in a community. State intervention was essential to achieve solidarity among the community and the nation. The state and the nation were elevated to a status higher than the individual, while Derbil stayed in conformity with the policies of the government.

Prof.Fazıl Pelin, in the conference titled "Turkey with respect to International Commercial and Financial Relations" (Beynelmilel Ticaret ve Finans Münasebetleri Bakımından Türkiye, 1935-1936) presented the ideas of Werner Sombart from his book *Capitalism Modène* and *L'époque du Capitalisme* to explain the situation of Turkey before the Republic was established⁹⁶. Sombart labelled the period after 1880 as the "Age of Imperialism". Countries were not only conquering others to be

empires but they also wanted to be strong in the markets of other nations. England was the atelier of the world in the first half of the 19th century. In the second half of the century the whole Europe became the center of capitalism and in the last century the U.S.A. joined them. These were the countries that directed the movements of capitalism while others were doomed to be directed. They became colonies one by one. Ottoman empire was one of them.

According to Pelin, at first the capitalist world did not treat the Ottoman state as a colony. They tried to interfere in the Ottoman markets by peaceful and friendly relations. But in the mid-19th century the situation changed. The Western countries became more industrialized, the transportation prices fell, and they exported machines to the Ottoman State and imported raw materials from it. He further argued that the artisans were harmed from this situation and small industry was destroyed. The tariffs for imports were lower than the tariffs for exports. The Ottoman State was incurring debts too with the Crimean War of 1856. As the debts reached unpayable degrees, due to interest rates, the Public Debts organization (Düyun-u Umumiye) was set up in 1881. Deutsche Bank (1888) and Ottoman Bank (1863) were the agencies of the imperialist states. The railroads were also owned by these states.

After Prof. Pelin presented all these inefficiencies of the Ottoman economy, he continued by explaining how the Republic solved these problems. First of all with the Lausanne Treaty the debts were reduced and the condition to pay them in gold was changed. A re-adaptation was made for the payments. The Ottoman Bank would no longer be a bank of issue but it would be responsible for the payments of the foreign debts. The foreign companies which were the tools of the imperialist aims, like the tobacco directory, were nationalized. Railroads were also nationalized by paying their prices. A balance had to be reached in Turkey's commerce with other countries so custom tariffs were also increased from 1916 onwards. The first real custom tariff which satisfied the protection needs of Turkey was set up in 1929. Prof. Pelin evaluates these developments like this:

It is evident since Frederick List, that a country which wants to pass from agricultural period to industrial period needs a strong protection... If the tariffs were not set up in 1929, Turkey would be hit by the Great Depression badly...What has to be done is not to be isolated from the world economy but to keep the budget balanced. To be industrialized and to be able to compete with industrialized countries with a balanced budget Turkey has to have custom tariffs along with quotas⁹⁷.

Concerning past experiences, Prof.Pelin came to the conclusion that what the government was exercising at the moment was the most appropriate way of dealing with the economic problems. Protectionist policies, state interventions on economy were needed and government was applying this recipe successfully.

Prof.Ömer Celal Sarç speculated on the same subject in his conference titled "Agricultural and Industrial Countries" (Ziraat ve Sanayi Memleketleri, 1935-1936)⁹⁸. According to Prof. Sarç, after technology improved and the ways of production and conservation of the goods developed, countries started to produce more than they needed and as transportation became cheaper, the commerce between the countries increased. He further argued that, this improvement in various fields did not happen in all the countries at the same time. Because of this reason there became a dualism which made some countries industrially developed and left the others behind as experts only in agriculture. This dualism gave way to an unstabilized and insecure atmosphere among the countries. It could not be warranted that the products of one country would find a customer and that country would have another country ready to sell its products that were needed. In his opinion, another result of this dualism was the fact that the industrial countries' welfare level rose extra-ordinarily while the agricultural countries were not affected in the same way. A question needed to be answered:

Is the industrialization of agricultural countries right or wrong? Some orthodox liberals like the group of state representatives in the 1932 World Economic Congress, are against this idea...because they think that each country is suitable either to agriculture or industry. The others like Romanian economist Manolesco who drew attention in Europe and in the U.S.A. are defending the idea that industry is always superior to agriculture...and every industrial country will be as rich as the first comers and agricultural countries will always be poor⁹⁹.

However, according to Sarç, industrialisation was a necessity and national defence was one of the most important reasons of this necessity besides economic reasons:

Like all the economic issues, the industrialisation issue can not be considered only from the economic perspective based on the will to increase the welfare level of a country. On the contrary, militarist, social, national anxieties must be given priority and the issue of national defence must be given importance before all the other issues¹⁰⁰.

He argued that if a country had the preconditions to be industrialized like the necessary population or raw materials, it should have industrialized first of all for the defence of the nation. Turkey had to industrialize. Although the products would be expensive because of state protection, most of the conditions necessary for industry did exist in Turkey.

Assoc.Prof.Refi Şükrü Suvla chose the transformation of the Turkish economy in the late 1920's and 1930's as the subject of his conference titled "The Reflections of Today's European War on the Turkish Economy" (Bugünkü Avrupa Harbi'nin Türkiye Ekonomisindeki Akisleri, 1940)¹⁰¹. At first he summarized the developments before and after 1929:

Until the Great Depression of 1929, Turkey was selling agricultural goods and raw materials to certain industrial countries. The debts were paid by foreign exchange. In 1930, like most of the other states, the Turkish state took control over imports-exports and the exchange rates. There were two reasons for this development. Firstly, too much importation was made

before the 1929 protectionist measures were implemented. And the second reason was the low prices of our export products... As a result Turkey decided to implement the "clearing" system which was to trade by exchanging products without making a payment by foreign exchange¹⁰².

Thus, the transformation that the Turkish economy had gone through and the point that was reached was the logical outcome of the events that Turkey faced. The optimum decisions were taken by the political power.

Assoc.Prof.Recai Okandan evaluated the National Protection Law of 1939 in his conference titled "The Value and Necessity of the National Protection Law" (Milli Korunma Kanunumuzun Kıymet Ve Ehemmiyeti, 1940)¹⁰³. According to Okandan:

It is accepted everywhere that there is a need to re-organize the national economy and defence in times of conflict and war, to satisfy the national needs, to give authority to the state and the administrative organs so that they can act according to the national needs and interests. The Turkish nation which preserve its distinguished place in the international society under the rule of its great chiefs, would not be late to take preparative actions to satisfy the general needs... Thus, our National Chief İsmet İnönü, created a work under the name of "The National Protection Law" as an expression of the national prudence... The law commands the maximum production from the people, factories, mines and economic sources of Turkey for the welfare of the Turkish nation; the reorganization of the economic activities to release them from defects; to reorganize the exports and imports according to considerations of national defence... According to this law, government will control the factories and mines to increase the production and it will make programmes for them; it will provide labourer and the officials etc. and they will not be able to quit work without notification; the government will be able to buy the production of mines and industries for a price which will include a certain profit; it can reactivate the work places in which production has ended; it can buy the work places which do not obey the programme of the government and administer them etc.. In exports and imports, government can put limitations on certain products and it can reject the exportation or importation of certain goods...¹⁰⁴

Assoc.Prof.Okandan made a list of all the powers of the government that were given by this protection law and he quoted the speech of İsmet İnönü in which he explained the aim of this law: "The aim of this law is to avoid the troubles that the Turkish nation can have in economy and to organize and control successfully the Turkish defence forces in extra-ordinary situations."¹⁰⁵

According to Okandan:

This law, which is very important with respect to our economic, commercial, and national progress and the maturity of our state and administration mechanism, do not pose any contradiction to the constitution of Turkey. It brings the individual and general interests together. The duration of the law is limited to the extra-ordinary periods and it will be decided by the cabinet. The law contains articles that will prevent the abuses of individual rights. This law will make Turkey economically strong in war times¹⁰⁶.

Thus, Okandan, in this way, reflected his appreciation of the current economic policies, and he found the intervention of the state with broad credentials essential to bring the individual interests and the general interests together.

Ord.Prof.Dobretsberger, confirmed in his conference "Etatism" (Devletçilik, 1939-1940)¹⁰⁷ that the world was going through a change:

The liberal economic system that depends upon private ownership, effort of liberal earning, and free competition is taking a new shape which can be called "bounded economy". In this kind of economy the right of absolute ownership is limited... In every country, the public economy started to gain importance and economic life is put into order by governments while competition is limited. The common feature in every country is the lack of the liberal atmosphere which existed in the past. The three defects of the economy were: the high rate of unemployment, the involvement of enterprises in politics along with their arbitrary attitude in production, and the high prices as the result of the fierce competition¹⁰⁸.

He further argued that, countries like Germany, Russia, Italy, Portugal, the U.S.A. (New Deal), Turkey, France, and Switzerland accepted measures that limited the liberal economy. "Economie dirigé" which was exercised in many countries had four types: planned economy (the Soviet Union), corporatist system (Austria, Italy, Portugal), interventionist system (the U.S.A., France, Switzerland, Belgium, Turkey with its National Protection Law), étatist system (Turkey). According to Dobretsberger:

In the étatist system, all the main industries, banks, insurance companies, railroads and other transportation ways, electricity etc. are administered by the state and the remaining is left to private ownership... The industrialist countries mostly exercise interventionist policies and the newly industrializing countries are mainly étatist¹⁰⁹.

Liberals were criticizing these systems in many ways stating that: they would harm the decision making mechanism of the industries, they would lead to inefficient and expensive production, and the product would not correspond to the needs of the people. However Prof. Dobretsberger opposed all these criticisms and stated that the freedom of the individual would not be limited by putting the economy into order. "This kind of a system can abolish class conflicts and prevent the abuse of the weak by the strong which happens in the liberal economy."¹¹⁰ Etatism should be established to have a fair economic system.

Ord. Prof. Dobretsberger raised up the same issue in his other conference titled "The Inclinations of Progress in Industry" (Endüstrideki İnkişaf Temayülleri, 1938-1939)¹¹¹. The competition which was useful before, could later become a destructive means between production agencies and this kind of a situation would bring into being the interventions of the state. According to Dobretsberger:

The newly industrializing countries have an inclination towards étatism and this is a necessity for these countries in that economic stage...because only the

state can continue the struggle, supply work for the unemployed and encourage production. The social concern brings one to étatism inevitably¹¹².

Prof. Fritz Neumark aimed to specify the phases that a country's economy passed through and the point that it reached, in his conference titled "The New Progress Inclinations of the Economy and Economic Policy" (İktisadiyatın Ve İktisat Siyasetinin Yeni İnkişaf Temayülleri, 1938-1939)¹¹³. Through time economy and economic policies were facing changes. In the Middle Ages and afterwards, religious and moral conceptions were dominant on European economic life. Then economic-rationalist thinking gained importance and took control over politics and religion in the second half of the 19th century. Soon thereafter political and national considerations became the number one determinant factor of economic life and policies. Before explaining this last phase, Prof. Neumark found it beneficial to begin with an explanation of economic order of the liberal and capitalist pre-war period. The major features were as follows: There was an increase in the population and the amount of production, improvement in agriculture, growth in national and international division of labour; it had the quality of being dynamic and flexible; and lastly there were unlimited private property rights which constituted the basis of the system. He further argued that, the most distinguishable difference between the last period and the period after the war was the degree, the type and the severity of state interventions. In the inter-war years, limitations were put on private property, wage minimum were accepted, interests were decided by the government, even consumption was regulated by the government. The aim of all these measures was to establish a planned economy. According to him, the reason for this stemmed from incompetence that the old economic order caused, and the will to rationalize the labour. The measures were mainly taken in the fields of social policy, monopolies, and foreign trade policy. In this way politics became dominant over the economy. National movements gained importance and this gave power to the state to control the economy considering the political aims. Social and moral values

again came on the scene. He added that, political considerations led to the application of the "war economy" policies because of the uncertain atmosphere of the world economy, thus self-sufficiency was desired and achieved by protectionist customs tariffs which were proposed by Friedrich List a hundred years ago.

In his concluding remarks Prof. Neumark commented on the Turkish economy. He stated that:

The economic policy of the Turkish Republic faced a vague and hard duty. It had to compensate for the negligence which lasted more than one hundred years and had to join the foreign national economies which had progressed before. The Turkish Republic had to get into action either in person or with control measures intervening economic life. Besides this, as an example for others, there was a necessity to fill the gaps that the liberal economy has opened and mostly to encourage insufficient private enterprise. The étatist economic policies of Turkey are not against private enterprise and activities...The Turkish state that works for the performance of this important national duty, will try to achieve the great aims in the fields of industry, banks, metals, commerce, agriculture, by being at the head of economic, social and financial departments. One of the most important and honoured duties of Istanbul University is to raise people to perform these national duties appropriately. In this way we can help the application of state plans which aim to reform the economy¹¹⁴.

With these words, Prof. Neumark declared in this conference that Istanbul University would raise people to carry out the state plans on economy which would be étatist in nature. Thus, the university was reduced to a school educating the students to be in conformity with the policies of the government and to help the political power to carry out its plans rather than teaching to have an objective and critical attitude towards scientific issues.

In another conference titled "Morality and Economy" (Ahlak ve İktisat, 1939-1940)¹¹⁵. Prof. Neumark was defending the idea that moral values (like fair wage or fair price) had to be considered in economics. The philosophy of economy and economic

theories should be studied because according to him, the first one would put forward the moral ideals and the other would state the objective facts.

There is a need to have a collaboration between economic theories and economic morality. No doubt, the state can take the responsibility of performing an educational duty on the subject of moral economics. But it should not be forgotten that success depends on the fact that these measures should not be only inculcated to people but they should be binding¹¹⁶.

All of the above views on the economy can be interpreted as being in defence of state interventions or étatism in one way or the other. The two German professors, Prof. Wilhelm Röpke and Prof. Alexander Rustow constitute a diversion from this main stream. It can be stated that they believe in the value of free trade more than protectionist measures. One conference from each professors will be considered here.

Prof. Alexander Rustow commented on the subject of world economy in his conference titled "The Intellectual Bases of the World Economy" (Cihan Ekonomisinin Zihni Temelleri, 1935-1936)¹¹⁷. The world economy referred to the commercial relations which took place between various countries requiring the negligence of borders. The volume of the world economy had increased in the last century and it had reached its maximum point in 1929. In the depression period, international commerce along with the production of industrial goods decreased. In Rustow's opinion, this was a normal situation and the conservative defenders of autarchy were wrong in believing that the world economy was destroyed. He argued that:

The desire and effort for independence does not lead to autarchy and the people who try to achieve this aim are not under the obligation of practicing autarchy. The people who defend autarchy are incapable of comprehending the situation in a scientific way¹¹⁸.

According to Rustow the world economy could neither reach its previous position nor could countries exercise autarchy. The regression of the world economy after the 1929 Great Depression

was caused by the interventionist policies of the states. World War I could be a legitimate reason of these interventions because the war and the unfair peace treaties destroyed the balance of the economies. After the powerful states started to follow an interventionist path other nations followed them too.

But according to Rustow, it should not be forgotten that the will to achieve independence did not require the establishment of autarchy. To achieve economic isolation was possible and Japan had proved this between the years 1603 and 1867 under the rule of the Tokugawa dynasty. But this kind of an economic policy needed many sacrifices, that was why countries were only using quotas or the clearing system as protectionist measures. Before World War I, international security and the moral values that were accepted by the majority of the countries gave way to the development of the world economy but the war destroyed this atmosphere. As concluding remarks, Rustow emphasized that nationalism also implied the respect for other countries and if international politics were not based upon force, the world economy would reach its optimum level like it should be.

Prof. Wilhelm Röpke evaluated the same subject in his conference titled "The Structure of the World Economy" (Cihan Ekonomisinin Bünyesi, 1935-1936)¹¹⁹. He defended the idea that progress in transportation and conservation of goods decreased the costs and minimized the losses with respect to international commerce. Besides goods and services, the exchange of credits and capitals gained importance too. The world economy was an important factor for the welfare of various countries but it was damaged in the last years and it required considerable support. He argued that:

If world trade which is damaged in the last years will not be repaired, then all the countries are responsible for the poverty and the regression which is a result of this damage¹²⁰.

He added that it was important because as a result of the division of labour in the world, countries could produce the

most qualified goods and imported the others from outside. This reduced the cost of products produced in the country and the prices of the imported products. But this low price of imported goods could harm national production, thus some limitations might be necessary for countries like Turkey. These state interventions could be beneficial if implemented logically.

According to him, the world economy was based on multi-lateral commercial relations and on the gold system. It operated in a very proficient way.

But today this system is damaged with bilateral relations, quotas, customs tariffs, and the clearing system. The anarchy which is the result of these practices and planned economies is related to political and monetary anarchy¹²¹.

As there was not a legal regulation concerning the world economy there was also no world monetary system. The gold system was used instead of money. If the payment system was regulated again and the countries acted responsibly according to the agreements which would be multilateral then the world economy could be re-established.

These are the main ideas of the selected conferences which are about economics: world economy and the economy in Turkey. When all the conferences are examined, it can be stated that, as it was mentioned above, most of the conferences, including all the conferences of the Turkish professors, are supporting state interventions and étatist policies. In the 1930's the economy in the world inclined to interventionism and state planning as a result of the Great Depression. However, the ideas about national economy in Turkey had started to be discussed at the beginning of the 20th century just as in the last century in Germany national economy was taken into consideration with Friedrich List's theories. It will be beneficial to touch upon the origins of these thoughts in Turkey emphasizing the effect of List and afterwards to give some factual details about economic policies in Turkey in the 1930's.

The Ottoman society's way of thinking on economics had gone through major transformations in the aftermath of the 1908 Revolution. The dilemma of freedom vs. despotism of Ottoman political life had been reflected on the views about economics and the concept of liberty was used very often in literature after 1908. "Free trade" was accepted under the principles of "free contract" and "free exchange". Also "free competition" became the basic concept of economic life. Individuals came before society and if each individual sought his own interests society would reach ultimately the welfare state. The Financial Minister of the Committee of Union and Progress during that period was Cavit Bey who believed in the classical school of economy.

However, during World War I, under the extra-ordinary conditions, plans on nation-building were made and the Turkish nation started to be seen as an organic entirety. From then on the Ottoman state would isolate itself from the rest of the world and would be self-sufficient industrially and agriculturally under the principles of "national economy".

According to Ziya Gökalp, in Ottoman society economics was considered to be cosmopolitan. In the schools, "Manchester Economics" was taught and it was inculcated that "economic conscious" was cosmopolitan. However, it was later understood that "Manchester Economics" was not cosmopolitan but it was the "national economic policy" of Britain who was industrialised and was eager to implement free trade¹²². Gökalp rejected the idea that Turkey should stay as an agricultural nation and he strongly defended the realisation of the industrial revolution in Turkey which he considered as the most important revolution of Europe. He defined the industrial revolution as the replacement of administrative economics with national economics, and small handicrafts with industry. Gökalp used "national economy" in a couple of meanings: firstly instead of local economies of divided societies, he meant the modern and developed market economy which was organized according to the principle of division of labour and organic/professional solidarity in the Durkheimian perspective; secondly he meant a

nationalist and solidarist economy in which there was no clash of classes and individual interests; thirdly he meant a nationalist state capitalism and its neo-mercantilist policies¹²³.

With the start of World War I, theories of "national economy" gained popularity in Ottoman society. Because of the war and the obstacles which made importation impossible, autarchic solutions were seen as inevitable. The journals like, the *Journal of Economics* (İktisadiyat Mecmuası), and *Turkish Homeland* (Türk Yurdu) supported the "national economy" policies as well as the thoughts of Friedrich List who was one of the most important scholars to theorize on "national economy". In the *Journal of Economics*, it was being stated that Turkey had to take Germany as an example because of the fact that Germany had built its industry in nearly half a century. Also, List was being praised because the German nation had followed his thoughts and in this way those improvements were achieved in such a short time. Everything including economics was conceived from the perspective of nationality and Turkey had many things to learn from the German experience of the last fifty years. Tekin Alp, who was the ideologist of the Committee of Union and Progress on economics, informed in the *Journal of Islam* that Friedrich List was the "national hero, national economist" of Germany just like Bismarck and Turkey had to establish its national economy and educate national economists¹²⁴. Every nation had its own economic realities and to be able to establish national economics, the history as well as the realities of the nation had to be taken into consideration. Then "what is to be done" could be found because "what exists" did not mean much for a nation who wanted to develop economically. Between the individual and the human being there was the nation. The individual should be sacrificing everything for national interests. This emphasis on the concept of "nation" was the basis of List's thought. The economy could not be considered separately from the politics.

List, or economic nationalists in general, comprised a group of politico-economic writers of the early years of the

19th century, who attacked the individualistic-cosmopolitan, free-trade doctrines of the classicists, and advocated policies designed to build up the productive powers of nations, without direct regard of individual wealth. The classicists looked at the nation through the eyes of the individual, and regarded its wealth as the sum of individuals' wealth. The nationalists saw individuals as dependent parts of the nation, and their wealth as both dependent upon and subordinate to the power and well-being of the whole. This trend was a reaction to the extreme individualism and *laissez faire* policy of the early 19th century because of increasing unemployment, poverty, monetary manipulation, and war. In this atmosphere there arose liberal social reformers who defended moderate individualism, socialists and nationalists. Nationalists had subordinated individuals to the state, which they regarded as the primary reality, for the purpose of organizing permanent inequalities among individuals, and increasing or coordinating the aggregate productive capacities of the whole.

Nationalism was fostered by inequality among nations, and thrived in industrially backward countries which sought to build up their strength, both military and economic. It rested upon an idealistic and purposive conception of the state as an organized whole. As being one of the industrially backward countries, in the early 19th century Germany there were J. Fichte, A. Müller, and F. List as the leading figures of the nationalist trend and in the early 20th century Germany there was Othmar Spann.

While there is an inner unity of thought among all the nationalists, one can distinguish two main groups: 1) The romanticists, and philosophic nationalists, of whom Müller is the most important; and 2) the protectionist among whom List is outstanding. The former are more given to the organismic concept of society, and to the ideals of stability and permanence. The latter are more apt to stress tariff policies and industrial development. The general logic of Friedrich List from this group, whose impact on Turkish intellectuals is obvious, can be summarized in the following terms: the Smithian principle of 'natural liberty' and commercial freedom was a 'cosmopolitan

doctrine' which erroneously generalized the situation of Britain to the rest of the world. Commercial freedom was a freedom for Britain to dominate the world economy. Free trade and economic liberty were only appropriate to a world of economic equals. According to List, the true path for the economy of mankind laid through national economy, the considerations of measures and conditions appropriate to actually existing nations. He stood for protection at least in the then-existing stage of relative development. He can be defined as one of the precursors of the German Historical School with his discussion of economic stages in the evolution of nations. According to him there were five stages: hunting stage, pastoral stage, agricultural stage, manufacturing stage and in the final stage, to the last two, commerce was added. Protection was needed in the manufacturing stage to become strong enough to compete with any other country. Thus, government activity was given a large part in List's teaching.¹²⁵

Under the influence of List and other nationalist writers, the Turkish writers put emphasis on the creation of a "Turkish bourgeoisie". Yusuf Akçura defended the idea that if a "capitalist bourgeois class" could not be created in Turkey, the Ottoman-Turkish society would not be able to transform itself into a modern nation¹²⁶. Besides these, it was argued that national and general interests came before personal interests and without a strong moral understanding, problems could not be overcome. The general morality was tied to professional morality. In Ottoman society, professional groups, or in other words corporations and artisan organizations, did not develop and that was why professional morality did not emerge. To have a high morality, these corporations had to be established. In short, "national economy", "étatisme" and a "corporatism" were evaluated as the prerequisites of industrial development. To see how far these thoughts were reflected in actual policies, it will be appropriate to give a brief summary of the economic policies applied in Turkey in the first half of the 20th century.

Starting from the 1910's, various measures were taken to industrialize rapidly with the help of the state. One of the first examples was the "Law for the Stimulation of Industry" and another one was the protectionist customs tariff of 1916 which were the parts of the economic policies exercised by the Committee of Union and Progress under the name of "national economy".

After the Independence War, one of the most important occasions of the 1920's was the "Izmir Economy Congress" which was held in 1923. The participants were the political leaders, members of the Assembly, large land-owners, Turkish businessmen of Istanbul, notables of the Anatolian artisans, and workers. The tradesmen of Istanbul were the most influential group in the Congress¹²⁷. The most important decisions which represented the new étatist policies of the new regime can be listed like this:

- *industry would be protected with the protectionist customs tariffs and the importation of certain goods (like industrial machines) necessary for industrial development would be encouraged. These goods would have immunity from taxes;
- *industry would be stimulated and encouraged;
- *transportation costs would be reduced;
- *credits would be supplied to industrialists;
- *technical schools to train workers for industry would be opened¹²⁸.

Decisions concerning the farmers were:

- *railways and ports would be constructed for exports;
- *monopoly of tobacco was removed;
- *the importation of machines for agriculture would be immune from the protectionist taxes;
- *"aşar" (a tax which amounted to the 1/10 of the product) would be abolished¹²⁹.

Another important development in the 1920's was the establishment of "İş Bankası" in 1924. This semi-private bank would supply credits for national foundations, would encourage disposals, and would create and improve the national banking in Turkey. Also another bank under the name of "Industry and Credit Bank of Turkey" (Türkiye Sanayi ve Kredi Bankası) was

established in 1932 to encourage industry and commerce by giving credits. The monopoly of alcohol and spirited drinks was established in 1926 and the Directory of National Railways and Ports were set up in 1927. The Ministry of Economics was formed by the fusion of the Ministries of Commerce and Agriculture. "The Law for the Protection of the Value of the Turkish Currency" (Türk Parası'nın Değerini Koruma Kanunu) was ratified in 1930 and importation was made possible only through licences. A new law for the stimulation of the industry (Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu) was accepted in 1927 and with this law, free land was given, tax immunities for raw materials as well as for machines were supplied. The Turkish political leadership believed in the necessity of a national central bank to control credit and monetary operations in order to stabilize the monetary system. In June 1930, the government established the Central Bank (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Bankası), which was to fix discount rates, regulate the money market and direct the movement of currency¹³⁰.

In 1931, in the Third Congress of the Republican People's Party, étatism became one of the principles of the Republican People's Party by being part of the party programme and it became the official economic policy of the party. Etatism was defined as state involvement in affairs where the general interests of the people were concerned. What followed this important development was the preparation of a "five-year plan" in 1934. The Soviet Union was an influential factor in the preparation and implementation of this plan. Unlike capitalist countries, the Soviet Union, where the state was the determinant factor in the economy, was not affected by the crisis. Moreover, the Soviet government had already successfully applied its first five-year economic plan and begun the second one.

In foreign trade, from 1929 on, Turkey initiated new policies concerning the customs tariffs because the related articles of the Lausanne treaty which prohibited the increase in tariffs were not valid anymore. In June 1929, the Turkish government adopted new customs tariffs which provided an average nominal protection rate of 46 percent. This rate was

significantly higher compared to the 13 percent of the previous tariffs. In 1931, the Turkish government began to apply a quota system in foreign commerce. Through this restriction of imports by the quota system the deficit in foreign payments was met by 1932.

However an increase in exports was yet to be guaranteed. In order to achieve this goal, a barter arrangement began to be used in foreign commerce in 1932. Turkey began to engage in bilateral trade relations in which clearing arrangements became substantial. Turkey would purchase the goods of countries which purchased the goods of Turkey. These clearing arrangements were made with countries like France, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, but especially with Germany¹³¹.

In the war years, under the pressure of the necessity of being armed, étatism in Turkey continued to be exercised. One of the most important concerns of the time was still the payments balance. Besides Germany, Britain and France became Turkey's partners in bilateral trade agreements. The most important measure of the war years was the "Law of National Protection" of 1939 which was explained in the conference of Prof. Recai Okandan. This law proved that Turkey entered the phase of war economy and the state was the absolute administrator of the inner and outer trade. Before the war, it can also be argued that the state's control over the economy was very high. Administrative and political étatism which meant the state totally supervised the economy. The central political authority had a major impact on economic developments.

As a result of the war economy some industries increased production, and contrary to convenient export conditions, imports decreased tremendously. Resources were diverted to industries related to defence and as the revenue of the state decreased, inflation increased and new taxes were collected¹³². The 1942 "Tax of Wealth" was another important development of the war years which aimed to weaken the non-Muslim tradesmen by collecting unfairly high amount of taxes from them compared to the amount imposed on the Muslim ones. Consequently, the Turkish

Muslim tradesmen would replace the non-Muslims and would be more influential in the foreign trade of Turkey¹³³.

These were the major étatist economic policies exercised in Turkey in the first half of the 20th century. Etatism which can be defined as an interventionist economic policy that included state administration, initiated the emergence and settlement of capitalism in Turkey in 1930's, during the years of Great Depression. Liberal policies were abandoned and étatist policies were adopted in order to create a Turkish bourgeois class, to accumulate capital and to achieve a capitalist development. It was thought that étatist policies would lead Turkey to these ends in an easy and convenient way¹³⁴. The state became the primary regulator which aimed to achieve industrialisation by commanding the different agencies of Turkish economy. All the resources available would be utilized, industry would be stimulated and encouraged, Turkish enterprises and capital would be protected, the main branches of the economy would be nationalized, railroads would be constructed and a certain economic perspective would be inculcated in people through education¹³⁵. It can be stated that this was the mission of the scholars who had given conferences on economics. Most of the professors had thoughts parallel to the actual policies of the Turkish state in those years as presented above. All of the Turkish professors and most of the foreign scholars were on the side of étatist policies and defended the idea that industrial development for a backward economy could only be possible if the state intervened and organized the most utilitarian allocation of the resources. The infant industry should be protected otherwise competition with the products of the developed countries would destroy the newly developing industries. This economic perspective of the Turkish government was supported by most of the scholars and it was presented to the public.

C) The Professors' Perception of the State-

The State Based on the "Leadership Principle"

Among the three series of conferences, six were directly about the "state". It can be argued that, three of these conferences which were given by Assoc.Prof.Orhan Aarsal,

Prof.Dr.Ali Fuat Başgil and Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak had a common perspective in their perception of the state with respect to the role given to the leader in the state organization: The leader was elevated to a holy status from where he directed all the nation. The nation had to gather around him who was the most distinguished, extra-ordinary guide. This leadership understanding in these conferences will be interpreted in this section referring to the ideas of Thomas Carlyle, Friedrich Nietzsche and Max Weber on this subject and taking into consideration the "leadership principle" of fascism and national socialism. Also the attitude in Turkey towards the leaders of the Republican People's Party and the "National Chief" concept will be elaborated. The other conferences which were given by Prof. Crozat and Kessler will not be touched upon because they were highly descriptive in explaining recent state theories and the types of state, while Yavuz Abadan explained and praised the revolutionism principle of the Republican People's Party which is not related to the subject of this section.

The conference given by Assoc.Prof.Orhan Aarsal was titled "The Definition of State" (Devletin Tarifi, 1938)¹³⁶. In Aarsal's opinion, the Turkish state accepted the principle that sovereignty belonged to people and it was a debt for every jurist of the Revolution to examine this important principle, to trace its historical pattern, to make deductions suitable for the Revolution, and to define the concept of "state" with the help of these deductions. In the first part of the conference, the meaning and the historical pattern of the sovereignty were explained. It had three meanings: independence, authority of the state, and leadership. Through history many phases were lived through until the state was recognized as the "sovereign" unit in international relations. According to Aarsal, the concept of sovereignty had emerged as a result of the clash of different powers and found its realisation in the victory of nations over empires, feudal lords and the Church. The Vienna school and its followers defined "sovereignty" as the independence with respect to other powers. He further argued that, according to another perspective, which was put forward by Jean Bodin, there were

five signals of "sovereignty". They were: the right to make law, to make war and make peace, the power to appoint the influential officials, the right to make judgements as the final judge, and to be able to exempt a prisoner in spite of all the severity of the laws. After this introduction, the state theories of Thomas D'Aquin, Rousseau, Hegel, Grotius, Kant, Duguit etc. were presented with respect to the duties and the sovereignty of the state. The concept of sovereignty was firstly defined as "being independent" but in the end it reached to the meaning of "absolutism". In the last part, Arsal put forward his definition of state which is worthwhile to be presented here to understand the nature of political system that he interpreted as "ideal".

The most distinguished feature of the state is its "power"... This power has to be considered with respect to international relations and interior relations of the state... The state has to be independent in obeying or disobeying international law. International law should not have an effect on the policies of the state... There is another important aspect of the subject that we have to explain before we conclude our speech: does one person possess all the power or does the community possess it? Although the principle, "sovereignty belongs to people", seems to solve the problem, a closer examination will prove that this principle is not suitable for the conditions of the time. Time has passed and the state has progressed. The nation can not be imprisoned into blocks of formulations... There are no unrational sultans or bloody Caesars anymore. That means it is very wrong to consider the people as a contradictory element to the state especially for us, Turks. A genius Turkish child who was raised up in Turkish prodigy, is at the head of the nation today. There is no party in Turkey and party means fractions, diversity. In this way, there is no possibility of abusing state power. The "Republican People's Party" which can be called "The Republican People's Forming Organ" is composed of people whom the nation chose as the guides of the country. These guides have one guide and he is the greatest Turk, Atatürk. The nation is organized from below to top by uniting the anti-thesis of people with the thesis of the state in the synthesis of Turkishness. Consequently, the state can be defined according to the Turkish Revolution like this: "The state, is the nation that is gathered around its Leader (Ata)".¹³⁷

Prof.Dr.Ali Fuat Başgil, put forward his definition of an ideal form of government and organization of the state in his conference titled "The Division of Labour and Power in the Modern State and the Old "Separation of Powers" Theory" (Modern Devlette İş ve Salahiyet Bölümü Prensibi ve Eski "Tefrik-i Kuva" Nazariyesi, 1937-1938)¹³⁸. According to him:

The government is composed of two elements: one is the "organization of the public services" and the other is "delegation"... In every field of the social life there are organizations composed of delegations who manage the deeds of these organizations¹³⁹.

He further argued that, to avoid the abuse of power, the government should be part of the people and should have responsibility for the nation. Another important condition was the rationalization of the organization and functions of the government.

To rationalize a work means that it will be divided into simple units and each element will be responsible for these units of works. A committee should be formed from the chosen delegates and it should be tied up to a superior steering-wheel... The division of labour and establishment of a hierarchy are important factors in rationalisation¹⁴⁰.

Prof.Dr.Başgil presented John Lock, Montesquieu and Rousseau as the pioneers of this rationalisation theory. This rationalisation of the government would occur if the executive, the legislative and the judicial were separated. In this way abuses of power would be prevented. According to him:

Before separation of powers is realised, the unity of work and aim should be achieved...There is one thing as important as the division of labour: all the powers should be united around the same aim and a steering-wheel above all these units of work should command and put them into order... The kings in monarchies, the dictators in dictatorships, and a committee of representatives with its leaders chosen by the people in democracies are becoming the captains of the state-ships¹⁴¹.

Rationalisation in the organization of the government can also be achieved by the unification of powers and aims which is already realised in Turkey at the moment. In this system, the state matures and becomes an organ which means that power, the units of work and their responsibilities would be established¹⁴².

He added that one of the organs would legislate, another would execute and the other would perform the judicial works. They would all be limited and be responsible to each other under the supervision of the constitution. One of the organs would be at the head and this was the assembly in most of the cases. In this way, the government would be in the format of a machine composed of units performing different works. He explained this system in this way:

When the Constitution is read carefully, it will be understood that in the government there is an unity of powers and division of labour which is established by this Constitution. The idea of unity of powers relies on the concept of national sovereignty and national will and the idea of division of labour is the result of the wish to form a mechanism among the units of the government¹⁴³. The assembly possesses the legislative power, the president and the ministers are the executors and the judicial unit is composed of the courts of the Republic. The old theory of "separation of powers" has left its place to the understanding of the division of labour and unity of powers which is the case in Turkey at the moment.

In the two conferences presented above, a centralist and monist state understanding is observable. The leader or the steering-wheel was the proper agent to rule the nation and without this hierarchy, established by the division of labour and led by one person or one group, the nation and the state did not move ahead. This reflects the fact that the trust in the value of the "separation of powers" principle which is the basis of parliamentary democracy was shaken.

Another conference worthy to be mentioned in this section, was titled "On Nietzsche And The Overman" (Nietzsche ve Fevkalbeşere Dair, 1939) and was given by Assoc.Prof.Sadi

Irmak¹⁴⁵. In this conference Irmak presented some of Nietzsche's ideas and evaluated them. One of the interesting points Dr. Irmak emphasized was about morality:

There are two kinds of morality: one of them is the morality of the sovereign, powerful human's morality; morality of courage, action, heroism, domination and reputation; at the opposite, there is the morality of the weak, of the one that needs protection, of the herd which is called the "slave morality". As the strong man achieves progress, the "overman" (übermensch) type will come into being and the function of the mass is to give birth to the "overman" and obey him¹⁴⁶.

After presenting these ideas, Irmak interpreted them like this: "Many things can be said on behalf and against these words. But nobody can deny the truth they contain."¹⁴⁷

According to Irmak, Nietzsche had been influential mostly in his time. He argued that:

The need of all nations today to have a leader is a proof of this. If real democracy does not mean the sovereignty of the mass but the rule of the nation by the real distinguished, outstanding people and by an individual who has the power will of the nation as the head of these people, then we can consider Nietzsche as the most democratic philosopher. But there exists the opposite idea that democracy is the unconscious sovereignty of the mass and it is understood as the drowning of great personalities among the crowd...When the subject comes to religion, there is only one religion: to believe in the "overman". (According to Nietzsche) Christianity is the work of a sick Jew whose will of life had faded away. It was the weakness of his will of life that he created the idea of "God". The man, whose body is strengthened and whose will of life becomes strong as steel, no longer believes in the heavenly Gods but he believes rather in the Gods of this world which is the "overman" that will be raised among humanity...

To understand this philosopher well is a cultural issue and to be able to comprehend him more accurately, his works have to be immediately translated into our language¹⁴⁸.

These are the conferences which reflect mainly the ideas on state organization. When all three are examined, the most

striking point to be mentioned here is the emphasis that is put on the "leadership principle". Orhan Aarsal defined the state as the nation gathered around its leader. This kind of a "leader" understanding draws attention both in the conferences presented above and in other conferences on different subjects. For example Prof.Şevket Bilgişin, in his conference titled "Etatism and Free Trade in the Turkish Revolution", stated that:

In this observation my references will be to the unforgettable words of Atatürk, to the "National Chiefs" who are gathered around the Revolution flag of Atatürk, and the programme of the Republican People's Party which defends the Revolution principles that are created by a genius¹⁵¹.

For our motherland to be more beautiful, richer and more fertile;
For our generation to be stronger, more joyful and sturdy;
For the Turkish race to achieve a more cultural life;
For our national existence to survive with one word...
The only path that we follow is the path of Atatürk¹⁵².

Assoc.Prof.Caferoğlu stated that:

The people who learn lessons from our great guide Eternal Chief Atatürk and İnönü, will realise the great Turkish world very soon and let themselves and the elders of this road live forever¹⁵³.

Agop Dilaçar (chief expert of the Turkish Language Institution) stated that:

What we have to do is to remind every individual of the cultural and linguistic elements which are the bases of this ethnicity (Turkish ethnicity, B.B.), through the inspiration of Turkish blood and cultural unity under the high will of our National Chief¹⁵⁴.

This kind of a leader is referred to in a couple of important works written on leadership and it will be beneficial to touch upon them to comprehend these scholars' perspective on state organization.

In his well-known book *Heroes, Hero-Worship And The Heroic In History*, Thomas Carlyle defined a leader like this:

...all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realisation and embodiment, of thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world: the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these...He is the living light-fountain, which is good and pleasant to be near. The light which enlightens, which has enlightened the darkness of the world...as a natural luminary shining by the gift of Heaven; a flowing light fountain...of native original insight, of manhood and heroic nobleness; in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them¹⁴⁹.

Undoubtedly Carlyle developed in his lectures the idea of "leadership" into its most radical consequences. He identified the whole of historical life with the life of great men. Without them there would be no history; there would be stagnation and stagnation means death. A mere sequence of events does not constitute history. It consists of deeds and actions, and there are no deeds without a doer, without a great, immediate, personal impulse. 'Hero Worship' exclaimed Carlyle, "heartfelt prostrate admiration, submission, burning boundless, for a noblest god like the form of man..."¹⁵⁰

Nietzsche's ideas about the "overman" which were presented by Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak in his conference are also significant because both Carlyle and Nietzsche are known to be inspiration sources for fascism and national socialism. Just like Carlyle, Nietzsche believed in the power and value of great men in creating history. To Nietzsche, these "übermenschen" appeared as symbols of the repudiation of any conformity to a single norm: antithesis to mediocrity and stagnation. However Nietzsche's conception differed on some aspects from Carlyle's hero worship. For Carlyle as a historian, great men made history, society depended on hero worship, and without heroes there would be anarchy. For Nietzsche the "overman" was not only an instrument for the maintenance of society: he was valuable in himself because he embodied the state of being that had the only

ultimate value there was; and society was censured insofar as it insisted on conformity and impeded his development ¹⁵⁵.

This kind of a leader conceptualization also existed in Max Weber's explanation of pure types of legitimate authority, one of which was the charismatic leadership. According to Weber, legitimacy might be based on:

- I) Rational grounds which rested on a belief in the "legality" of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority).
- II) Traditional grounds which rested on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them (traditional authority); or finally,
- III) Charismatic grounds which rested on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him (charismatic authority)¹⁵⁶.

It can be argued that this charismatic authority has common features with the hero of Carlyle and the "overman" of Nietzsche because of the fact that "the term 'charisma' was applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he was set apart from ordinary man and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These powers and qualities were not accessible to the ordinary person, but were regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them, the individual concerned was treated as a leader. In primitive circumstances this peculiar kind of deference was paid to prophets, to people with a reputation for therapeutic or legal wisdom, to leaders in the hunt and heroes in war."¹⁵⁷

The leader under different names like charismatic leader, hero, or "overman", was defined more or less in the same way: having a distinguished personality with super-natural features or powers. It can be argued that a moderate version of the attitude of "hero worshipping" can be traced in these

conferences. Even in his speeches, Atatürk implicitly declared himself as the "charismatic leader". In his Speech, he stated that:

The most secure way to reach success was to implement each step at the right time. This was the safe way for progress and the exaltation of the nation. And I acted accordingly...I had to make society apply this progressive talent which I sensed in the conscience and future of the nation and carried like a secret in my own conscience¹⁵⁸.

He further went on:

In civilised countries which are based on national sovereignty, the fundamental principle, which is accepted and exercised, is the administration of the country by an assembly which represents the generality of the nation and pursues the general interest by maximum power and credentials under the responsibility of a Leader¹⁵⁹.

Prof.Taha Parla interpreted these ideas in his book *Official Sources of the Political Culture in Turkey* (Türkiye'de Siyasi Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları, 1991) as the "charismatic leader psychosis". Atatürk had a project and an ultimate aim. Only he was aware of its correctness and he himself implemented this project. He felt the conscience of the nation in himself as an extra-ordinary person and represented it. As he was a charismatic leader he would not miss the right way but others could. The work was the work of one man not of a group¹⁶⁰.

From the second paragraph it can be deduced that the model that was in Atatürk's mind was the elevation of the leader to the top with both symbolic and actual powers. A charismatic leader was identical with the national will. The committees were technical mechanisms under the responsibility of the leader¹⁶¹.

After Atatürk died, in the extra-ordinary Congress of the Republican People's Party which was gathered in December 1938, İsmet İnönü was declared the "National Chief" of Turkey and the "unchangeable" general president of the party. This action was reasoned like this: The Republican People's Party was not a

narrow political party because it had gathered all the citizens under its roof. That was why it was the party of the whole nation. Naturally the chief of the party would be the chief the nation. One of the functions of the National Chief was to gather various groups under one roof which were composed of people having different opinions. Only the chief could do this. His other function was to work on different opinions, connect them and turn them into principles. He would present these opinions to society, inculcate them and train new politicians. In this way, the chief would prevent the divisions in society and educate the citizens according to those principles. The chief was unchangeable because if the chief was changed very often then the authority of the party would be weakened¹⁶². In the journal *Ülkü*, Ahmet Kutsi Tecer defined the concept of "National Chief": "National Chief is the awake head of our national life. He does not only represent national life, he also leads and assists it."¹⁶³

The "leadership principle" (Führerprinzip) is originally a common feature of fascism and national socialism. The supreme person presiding over and guiding the state and the party, was the leader: "Der Führer" in the case of Hitler; "Il Duce" of Mussolini. Hitler and Mussolini were in fact depicted as the very personifications of their respective nations. They were seen as having superhuman qualities of will, drive, ambition, vision, wisdom, and moral judgement. They supposedly possessed mystical gifts that enabled them to lead their countries toward ever higher goals. Their heroic deeds and actions, in turn, called for total quiescence on the part of their peoples.

The fascist doctrine of leadership was heavily influenced by the work of Vilfredo Pareto, (1848-1923) and Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941). Known as the "elitists", these writers argued, in general terms, that human society at all times has been characterized by a minority that rules and a majority that is ruled-that is, elite and mass. In this formulation, ordinary human beings are simply materials to be manipulated, duped, and used for elite goals and objectives. The Nazi concept of leadership (Führerprinzip) drew on the ideas of Nietzsche and

Richard Wagner (1813-1883), who glorified the great deeds of superhuman and all-conquering heroes as has been stated above. Only a few possess these qualities, and they alone are in a position to compete for the top leadership roles. In the process, some are destroyed, the best prevail¹⁶⁴.

Ernst Huber was one of the foremost philosophers of the Third German Reich. He defined leader (Führer) as such:

The Führer Reich of the (German) people is founded on the recognition that the true will of the people can not be disclosed through parliamentary votes and plebiscites but that the will of the people in its pure and uncorrupted form can only be expressed through the Führer...In his will the will of the people is realized. He transforms the mere feelings of the people into a conscious will...He sets up the great ends which are to be attained and draws up the plans for the utilization of all national powers in the achievement of the common goals. Through his planning and directing he gives the national life its true purpose and value¹⁶⁵.

The leadership principle was also defined by Augusto Turati (leader of Brescio Fascio) in his speech given in 1927:

...But in the battles between peoples for victory, will alone is not always enough, the Idea does not suffice to unite them. What is still missing? A man...The one which combined three forces: a people, an idea, a man. In other words when the figure of the Leader expressed in its most complete form the essence of the two other elements: that of the Race and that of the Idea...Only when pain turned us into brothers were we able to hear in the will of the Man now acknowledged as the Leader the sacred, eternal voice of the Race¹⁶⁶.

The fascist writer Palmieri evaluated the hero as a god-like creature in his book *The Philosophy of Fascism* (1929):

"A hero is such a person that with a mystic light of inner vision he can penetrate to the hearth of everything; he can find and bring out to light the most deep and great truth¹⁶⁷.

Fascism and national socialism are extreme ideologies in which the attitude of worshipping the hero or the leader, emphasizing race as well as the leader reaches its maximum degree. Differences in regimes and practices make it impossible for one to equalize attitudes towards the leader in Turkey and Germany-Italy. Although the emphasis on the leader in these conferences are not as radical and explicit as the ones presented above, it can be clearly stated that the leader was elevated to a status from where he controls and must control everything. His existence is necessary for the salvation of the nation. Orhan Arsal declared that "Turkey has one guide and he is the greatest Turk, Atatürk. The nation is organized from bottom up by uniting the anti-thesis of people with the thesis of state in the synthesis of Turkishness"¹⁶⁸. This glorification of the leader is a common feature of most of the conferences from different subjects. Thus, it becomes obvious that the leader is treated as a sanctified entity that carries the faith of the nation in his hands.

D)The Professors' Perception of Society-
Society Based on the "Division of Labour"
Principle

There are six conferences on sociological issues among the three sets of conferences and when they are examined it can be argued that there are two main points of emphasis: the first one is the issue of "family" and the other is the importance of the 'division of labour' principle. In the conferences family was evaluated as an important instrument to build a new society. Its importance came from the fact that family was the primary surrounding in which a child was educated and if children were educated according to the principles of a newly established political power, then consolidation of power could easily be achieved in that society. Also, the issue of "division of labour" was considered to be very important because occupational specialization of individuals would create an unseen bond and an atmosphere of solidarity among members of the community. Thus, social unrest and dissolution would not be a threat for political power. Three conferences, that of Prof.Vasfi Raşit

Seviğ, Assoc.Prof.Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil and Prof.Hüseyin Avni Göktürk based on the issue of family's status in society and its functions and one conference about the 'division of labour' principle given by Prof.Dr.Ali Fuat Başgil (which is in fact placed under the title of "state theories") will be summarized and interpreted in this section, which are good examples explaining the social model that these scholars envisioned.

Prof.Vasfi Raşit Seviğ (from Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty), in his conference titled "The Republican People's Party and Family" (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi ve Aile, 1939), stated that their party, the Republican People's Party, considered the family as the base of the Turkish Republic and this fact was also stated in the 35th article of the Party programme¹⁶⁹. The honourable establisher of the Party, the Eternal Chief Atatürk had stated that: "The origin, progress and strength of civilization is based on family life. A malady in this life will cause social, economic and political deficiencies."¹⁷⁰

Family existed in our tradition, and it was a part of man's nature. According to Seviğ:

The concept of family consists of marriage, heritage, and the education of the children. Marriage is more important than other issues...The state can not be kept away from organizing the marriage¹⁷¹.

There were phases in marriage. For example in antiquity, marriage was a family issue which meant that a woman was leaving her family totally and was joining her husband's family. Women no longer had a share in the heritage of her own family. Being an individual gave the opportunity of belonging to both families and in this traditional way of thinking, woman were treated as pieces of property. Seviğ at this point explained the perspective of the Kemalist Regime on this issue:

Only the Kemalist regime and our party gives equal rights both to woman and man. In the Kemalist regime, marriage is the unification of two individual, two personality...In the old ages, the aim of marriage was to justify a sinful and immoral act, sex, and to

perpetuate the progeny. The Kemalist regime, does not pursue this aim of perpetuating the progeny. Barrenness is not one of the possible reasons of divorce. The Kemalist regime pursues the aim of 'creating' a child in marriage. 'Creating' a child does not mean to give birth to a child. Because it is not enough to bring children to the world. It is necessary to care about the bodies and the mentalities of these children, to feed them and to educate them...¹⁷².

In this explanation Vasfi Raşit Seviğ emphasized the importance of raising the child rather than giving birth to it. The child had to be educated and trained.

Assoc.Prof.Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil touched upon a related subject in his conference "Surrounding and Education" (Muhit ve Terbiye, 1941)¹⁷³. He confirmed that, a surrounding was defined to be one of the strongest factors for education in books written on this issue. Some were defending the idea that the surrounding was the culture of the nation and some were arguing that it was the school that the child was forced to live in until a certain age. But people who believed only in the strength of the school felt the necessity of using society in education, realising the temporary impact of school. Thus, according to Siyavuşgil the surrounding was:

the society and with the help of school which is a part of this society, the young generation is shaped according to its individualistic and social features. Each cell of the social entity, the family, street, quarter, city and finally the nation constitutes a source of strength that we should also consider besides school¹⁷⁴.

Thus, according to Siyavuşgil, the two components of surrounding, society and school, that involved family, street, quarter etc., had an important effect on the education and training of the child. If it was accepted that the way of raising a child was an important issue for the political system, as political socialization was firstly achieved in family and school, this emphasis on proper child education could be interpreted accurately.

Prof.Hüseyin Avni Göktürk (from Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty) also raised the subject of marriage in his conference titled "The Status of Partners in the Unity of Marriage" (Evlenme Birliğinde Eşlerin Durumu, 1939)¹⁷⁵. He defined marriage like this:

Marriage is a social necessity which is strengthened by the instincts of human being. Thus, when nations want to survive they feel the necessity of encouraging and organizing marriage, that means they are in the need of increasing. Thus, it is possible to interpret marriage as a national duty. Therefore, Turks who love their country and nation should not stay single. Furthermore, we have to mention the necessity of state intervention in this issue. In Germany and Italy today, the state has taken various measures to protect marriage, to encourage singles to marry and to increase the numbers of children. Our state could not find the opportunity to intervene in this issue yet. Of course the turn will come to this issue, in a country like Turkey where everything is constructed from the beginning. We certainly need these interventions in cities and towns¹⁷⁶.

Göktürk explained the reason of getting married like this:

While married couples are uniting their lives, they want to reach happiness with each other and to give birth to children, raising them as beneficial people for both themselves and for society¹⁷⁷.

Göktürk, here, like in the previous conferences did not interpret marriage as a personal, private matter but as a matter that had political importance and social impact.

Another point to be mentioned in this section is the importance that is given to the principle of 'division of labour' especially expressed in the conference titled "The Division of Labour and Power in the Modern State and the Old 'Separation of Powers' Theory (Modern Devlette İş ve Salahiyet Bölümü Prensibi Ve Eski "Tefrik-i Kuva" Nazariyesi) which was given by Prof.Dr.Ali Fuat Başgil¹⁷⁸. According to Başgil:

To rationalize a work means that it should be divided into simple units and each element should be

responsible for these units of work...The division of labour and establishment of a hierarchy are important factors in rationalisation...The old theory of "separation of powers" which is a metaphysical interpretation of state organization that leads to the independence of powers, has left its place to the understanding of the division of labour and unity of powers which is the case in Turkey at the time¹⁷⁹.

The 'division of labour' principle was supported in various conferences, by mostly emphasizing the duties of people in society. Each person should perform a function which was beneficial for the nation. Society was composed of people each corresponding to a part of the work. This emphasis on family and the "division of labour" principle will be interpreted in the following pages.

There are various definitions of family and these definitions change with respect to the different scientific approaches. In some definitions, the family's function of socialization is emphasized and in some others, sexuality and reproduction are given importance. For example, according to Hegel, the modern family is (or should be) an "ethical root of the state". The family is a partial sector of the political world. Within the family, the individual first learns to orient their activity toward the whole. He confirms that the full or authentic individual is at once a family member, a bourgeois or member of civil society, and a citizen. The generation of a higher form of communal life culminates in the ethical state. The ethical state is not an isolated institution. It is grounded in the family as well as in certain social institutions of civil society ¹⁸⁰. According to the report of the "Special Expert Commission on the Turkish Family Structure" (1989) (Türk Aile Yapısı Özel İhtisas Komisyonu), family can be defined like this:

Family is a basic social unit which is composed of individuals having blood connections, marriage and legal ties of relativity, mostly living in the same house and which meets the sexual, psychological, social, cultural and economic needs of its members, and helps them to adjust and adapt to society¹⁸¹.

In this report the socialization of the child by the family is explained in this way:

Family is a surrounding in which the individual who is asocial at the moment of birth is made similar to the parents and it has the duty to represent the family. Through this process which is called socialization, the individual becomes the member of society and joins the solidarity and collaboration relation with social groups¹⁸².

The functions of family education are listed as: "the teaching of social norms, religion, love, concept of discipline, and language, the inculcation of the conscious of democracy and beneficial hobbies."¹⁸³

These are the definitions of family emphasizing its functions. One of these functions is the socialization of the individual which is realised through the transfer of the values and norms of the family to the child. When the family is evaluated from a historical perspective, the relation between the family and the social structure can not be denied. The family as a part of the society affects this structure; through time social structures also cause changes in family structures. In societies in which major social transformations like the French Revolution take place, family is no longer treated as a private matter and it has a place in the "public realm". In other words, it becomes one of the issues that the state deals with. The political and social structure together give a shape to the family. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, many sociologists interpreted the state with an organic understanding as the sum of families. The solidarist French thought, which inspired Ottoman-Turkish intellectuals, emphasized the family and gave a special place in structuring society. That is why family has always been one of the major issues of sociological thought. In crisis years, family is emphasized by the political power centers in a rather different way. This attitude was especially observed in the inter-war years. In continental Europe, for authoritarian regimes, family was a very important issue to prevent social

dissolution. In this atmosphere family lost its privacy and became closely related to the state¹⁸⁴.

In the post-1908 Turkey where radical changes took place in the social and political structure, the family-state relation gained importance because of the reasons stated above. Both Unionists (1908-1918), and single-party rulers (1923-1946) always emphasized the issue of "family" and were in an effort to reconstruct it. In both periods, sociology gained importance because in the process of nation-building, politics was mostly under the directive of sociology and in the first half of the 20th century, Turkey lived through a sociologism. The political vision of Young Turks was formed with the help of sociology. The drastic social changes which were realised by these people necessitated to pay attention to the issues of women, family and motherhood. In the first years of the Unionist period, a new nationalist family structure was supported. Instead of a patriarchal structure, the concept of "nucleus family" was put forward. According to the Unionists, this "new family" or "national family" was the main axis of the "new life". Unionists were after a society model built upon compromise. That was why Durkheim's concept of solidarity gained importance. Family as a group based on solidarity was promoted by solidarists. Turkish family history became a subject of Ziya Gökalp's articles¹⁸⁵.

Ziya Gökalp gave importance to the educational function of the family which was a social unit. According to him, family had a heavy burden because it had to inculcate the democracy to the child. In his sociological analysis, he defined social reality as a whole entity composed of familial, political, and occupational groups and he labelled the political group as the main group and familial-occupational groups as the secondary groups. Families were the cells of the political group and occupational groups were its organs. Gökalp divided families into two groups:

- a) modern family (asri aile)
- b) national family (milli aile)

The modern family was the type of family seen in Europe. However, the family that would be structured in Turkey would be

the "national family" based on culture, and it would be an ideal type for the education of individuals. Like him, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu emphasized the educational function of families. According to him, more than anything else, the family was an educational surrounding. He stated in one of his articles that everybody carried both the hereditary and intellectual features of their family¹⁸⁶.

Thus, it can be argued that family is an important issue in societies facing social transformations for the inculcation of certain values to the child. Another important point that has to be mentioned is the principle of "division of labour" which was defended in Başıgil's conference and which is observable in most of the conferences that emphasized the importance of people's duties towards society. Organic solidarity was seen as the basis of society model that they envisioned. Durkheim's emphasis points, the "division of labour" in society and the "organic solidarity" is worthwhile elaborating in this section because he was an important sociologist who worked on these issues and whose impact on the Turkish political elite and intellectuals can not be denied.

Durkheim's central thesis was that the "division of labour" which was occupational specialization filled the role that was once filled by the "conscience commune"; it was this that mainly held together social aggregates of the more advanced type; the division of labour was the only process which enabled the necessities of social cohesion which should be reconciled with the principle of individuation¹⁸⁷.

In his book *The Division of Labour* (1893), Durkheim identified and contrasted two types of society, the "mechanical" and the "organic". The former corresponded to small-scale, unified communities associated with a low level of social and occupational differentiation. The latter referred mainly to the large-scale, industrialized form of society characteristic of modern times. In circumstances of mechanical solidarity, individuals were dominated by the "conscious collective"- a set of collective beliefs and values upon which the continuity of social life depended. But this situation became altered during

the course of social development. In mechanical societies there existed no state. States came into being with the progressive displacement of the mechanical type of social system by the organic one. The state was seen as expanding in tandem with the advance of organic solidarity. The development of society towards increasing internal differentiation produced the progressive emancipation of individual thought and action from subordination to the "conscious collective". The role of the state increased. The paradoxical aspect of this thought came into being at this point. The growth in the division of labour was associated with expanding individual freedoms; yet on the other hand it was held to involve the widening power of the state to subject individuals to its authority. According to Durkheim, the state was a prime institution concerned with the implementation and furtherance of individual rights¹⁸⁸. It can be argued that these thoughts were inspirational for the mentioned scholars who saw the state as the steering-wheel in a hierarchical society organized by the division of labour. Rationalization of the administration could only be achieved by organic solidarism which was based on the division of society into occupational groups under the guidance of the state. The state would have an expanded authority over the subject individuals.

To conclude, it can be stated that the issues of family and the reconstruction of society on the principles of organic solidarity and the "division of labour" principle were two centers of emphasis in these conferences. Family was evaluated as an important means on the way to create a new society because the child was taking his/her primary education in the family. If the necessary values could be taught to the child in the early ages in the family environment, then the preservation of the social reforms in the Turkey of the 1930's and 1940's could be more easily achieved. Also, the ideal order of society could be achieved by the occupational specialization of individuals that would create an unseen bond between individuals, and an atmosphere of solidarity. In this way, social unrest and dissolution would be prevented. These were the main ideas in the

conferences which were reflecting the scholars' perception of society.

CHAPTER V: NATIONALISM AND NATION-BUILDING

A) Promotion of Nationalism in the Conferences

When all the conferences are examined, a strong emphasis on national consciousness, and national identity along with a devotion to the motherland can be observed. The nation was a holy thing that had to be worshipped and nationalism was a way of expressing this attachment to the motherland. There are seven conferences among the three sets which can be gathered under the title of "promotion of nationalism". Before explaining the concept of nation and the emergence of nationalism in Europe and Turkey, it will be appropriate, to present first the conferences which were given by Assoc.Prof.Yavuz Abadan, Prof.Dr.Süheyl Ünver, Assoc.Prof.Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu and Agop Dilaçar to understand the perspective of the professors on this subject. These conferences are presented in this section because the issues of nation and national identity besides nationalism are their main themes .

Assoc.Prof.Yavuz Abadan in his conference titled "Nationalism and Populism through the eyes of a Jurist" (Hukukçu Gözü ile Milliyetçilik ve Halkçılık, 1938), explained the reasons of choosing this subject in this way:

I think that, in such a scientific and sensitive atmosphere, the subject of discussion must be, for sure, something that is related to our fate and national life. Therefore, our revolution must be the center of our attention both in legal and political perspective...The selection of the "nationalism" and "populism" principles as the subject of this conference does not mean that there is a value difference between these principles and the others. However nationalism, was the main factor in the realisation of the revolution and it gathered all the other principles around itself. Thus, it is more important than the others. It also has a close relationship with the principle of populism¹.

Nationalism and populism were leading people to "national democracy". "National democracy" according to Abadan,

is the state and administration system that depends upon the masses of people who become homogeneous, by

the crystallization of the national conscious. The basis of this homogeneity is the connection with the land, language, historical fate, political aims, culture, blood, etc... Democracy is the state of equality between the political unity and the people which means "the state equals the people and nation"².

The source of power was the people and the limitation that was imposed on this power emerged from the confidence of the people. This understanding pointed out the necessary and responsible status of the Chief (Leader):

It is a natural thing that the great Chief who has enormous responsibilities, has extra powers. This kind of a situation does not violate the equality principle of democracy, on the contrary it supports it. Because democratic equality is not absolute, but it is relative. Being equal in every subject would destroy the division of labour and the differences of characters...³

So this kind of a system was not acceptable.

The differences between liberalism and democracy were emphasized too:

Democracy is based on equality where as liberalism is based on freedom; the rights and freedoms are equal in the first, they are absolute in the second; the value of the individual is well-proportioned in the first, but it is exaggerated in the second; the moral values reside in society and that is why the will of the majority is sovereign in the first, but in the second they reside in the individual and the will of the individual is basic; thus democracy rejects monarchy, but liberalism can be compatible with a monarchical system; in democracy society comes before the individual, in liberalism the individual is superior to society; for democracy discipline is necessary, where as in liberalism anarchy is ruling; rights and freedoms are the results of being a citizen in the first but they are the results of being a human in the second; national interest is the basis of society in democracy, individual interests are the basis in the second; unity of powers and its superiority is a principle of democracy, where as in liberalism there is a separation of powers...Turkish people were victorious in the National Independence War because the unity of powers

principle was taken as the basic principle...However the separation of powers in liberalism leads to an equality between the powers in different organs of the state and the activity of the state is controlled and limited by various rules on behalf of the individual and in this way an obstacle is put in front of the state... Turkish democracy does not accept that there is a contradiction between the rights of individuals and the activities of the state and it established a harmonic organization between the three organs: people, the party and the state. The party is a means of contact between the people and the state⁴.

Democracy was interpreted from a different aspect here and it emphasized society side in the society/individual dilemma where as liberalism valued individual more than society. For this reason, liberalism had to be rejected. According to Abadan, Turkish nationalism considered the nation as the citizens who shared the common language, culture and the Ideal (Ülkü). Kemalism was idealist because it necessitated faith in the national Ideal, and it was positivist because it required to be aware of the national-self. He further argued that to be aware of the national-self, one had to know the national history and the language. In his opinion: "Turkish nationalism is also affected from humanism but Turkish humanism should be called a "national humanism" because the trust in human rationality which existed in the old understanding of humanism is replaced with the trust in the national conscious in the Turkish version."⁵

Another conference which was given by Prof.Dr.Süheyl Ünver and was titled "What do We Owe to This Motherland" (Biz Bu Vatana Neler Borçluyuz?, 1940) is informative about the approaches to the concept of "motherland" and "nationality" in those days⁶. These ideas are significant because they demonstrate the ideological inclinations of the intellectuals and the political elite of the 1930's.

According to Ünver:

Turkish people are the oldest and the happiest people in the world who raised great men. It is the oldest nation because traces of Turkish civilization can be found in ancient civilizations...The latest examples of the Turkish great men are Atatürk, İnönü and their

friends who created a new Turkey...Motherland raised us. We have to raise the motherland⁷.

In his opinion, there should be inter-dependence between the people and the motherland. The motherland could be honoured if the people, living on it, could be tied up to each other with sincere feelings. There were three attitudes in the development of a human being: preservation of the existence, perpetuation and the progress of the human kind. With respect to the first attitude, people should protect each other as they protected themselves and an atmosphere of solidarity should be created. A true patriot would be helpful to his neighbours. With respect to the second attitude which was the perpetuation of the human kind, Dr. Ünver warned that physically or mentally sick people should not have offspring: "Child of a sturdy father and healthy mother will live long and have a strong body. Their intellectual quality will pass to their offspring. Children of an alcoholic, for example, usually have epilepsy or are mentally ill."⁸ If people having mental or physical defects insisted on surviving their descendants, many defective people would emerge at the end, and this would be the worst evil that could be done to the motherland. About the third attitude, Dr. Ünver stated that people who improved themselves would improve their motherland too. A matured citizen would affect 10 other people in a positive way.

To love the motherland necessitates making sacrifices for it. The most important aim of the Turkish citizen should be to unite and to be one person. The Turkish nation is one person. There is no diversity...Every body must be a patriot and see the interest of the nation above his own interests. Interests of the motherland are above anything. Turkish citizens owe everything to their nation⁹.

Assoc.Prof.Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, took the subject of race in his conference titled "Race and Nation" (Irk ve Millet, 1940)¹⁰. First of all, he defined the concept of race which had a couple of meanings:

- I) Race can mean a family with all its relatives.
- II) Race, by enlarging its meaning, can mean a community with all its ancestors and future generations.
- III) Race can define, in a metaphorical way, an occupational group and it is mostly used in French...
- IV) As Spengler, a German sociologist, defined, it can mean a population gathered around the same Ideal¹¹.

He argued that the root of the nation came from the Latin word "natus", and had the meaning of "being born into" which had nearly the same meaning with race. The London Anthropology Community had emphasized the pureness of races and according to the members of the Community a race should not be mixed with others to be a real race. Findıkoğlu refused this kind of an understanding because according to him, there was not a possibility to have a pure race. Every race was mixed with another to some extent so there were nations not races. The word "race" had a symbolic meaning and mainly meant people who were united around the same ideal.

Through history many cases showed that nations, after they become nations, pursue racial policies. In the 19th century, nations became the actors of international politics and racism entered philosophy and social theories along with eugenics. Although nations are not constituted of one race, they are giving importance and value to the matters of race (race here means, people having common feelings and aims). When a nation labels itself as having a "noble blood",...it does not refer to the meaning that the London Anthropology Community had put forward. It means that the nation wants to see itself strong¹².

Findıkoğlu confirmed that this racist attitude was popular in Germany, Romania and Italy and to a some extent in Turkey: "There are easily visible racist trends in Germany, Romania, Italy and sometimes in Turkey."¹³ According to him anti-semitism had social and economic reasons. Racism gave strength to nations. The most important factor was the process of becoming a nation.

If this process is not completed somewhere...and a feeling of unity can not be achieved, this issue of race comes into being and it should come into being¹⁴.

He emphasized that he was not rejecting racism but he was taking the subject from another perspective.

If there is a nation and a national representation, it means there is also a racial unity. If not, racial contradictions come into being. Individuals should forget their own characteristics in the process of national representation. If not, this gives way to maladies. The racist exaggerations in modern nations (for example the conditions in our military academies), are a result of this...In weak times, it is legitimate to make use of every means, to prevent the cheating and anti-national movements even though these means are inhumane¹⁵.

In his opinion, the racist movements in Turkey had the aim of becoming a real nation. Revolutionary Turkey should give importance to national training with the weapons of language, literature, philosophy and other cultural education to reach a racial unity which would strengthen Turkey.

Agop Dilaçar, chief expert of the Turkish Language Institution (Türk Dil Kurumu), examined the racial, cultural history of Hatay and tried to find the anthropologic and ethnographic features of the Hatay people in his conference titled "The Alpine Race, Turkish Ethnicity, and the People Of Hatay" (Alpin Irk, Türk Etnisi ve Hatay Halkı, 1940)¹⁶. The main issue in the conference was the relation of these people to the Turkish community.

According to Dilaçar, languages and religious affiliations of people could change, but the racial features could never change. It was the most important tie that connected people to each other. He further argued that, Ziya Gökalp's formulation of "Turkishness" was correct but it was scientifically incomplete because Gökalp was defending the idea that anyone who called himself Turk was a Turk. In Dilaçar's opinion:

This scientifically incomplete perspective is completed by Kemalist Turkism. Kemalism does not refuse Ziya

Gökalp's Turkism but it completes it. For Ziya Gökalp unity of origin was not a matter of discussion; everything, coming from a foreign source and mixed with Turkish culture, was Turk. Kemalist Turkism is an understanding that labels someone Turk if that person is really originally a Turk; if he is about to become foreign he has to be turned back to Turkish culture because he is a possession of Turks¹⁷.

He further explained his point of view in this way:

Social groups are accomplished on three bases: political, natural and somatic (anthropologic body structure). Political groups constitute a nation. A natural group is gathered because of somatic, linguistic, and cultural factors and is called an "ethnicity". A somatic group bases its existence on the race factor...As The Turkish Republic is not only a political group, we must examine the existence of other types of groups in the body of the Republic. In Gökalp's Turkism the concept of ethnicity does not exist because he gives importance to cultural features like Islam and it is accepted as a necessary part of being a Turk. However Kemalist Turkism depends both on the somatic and natural groups and does not leave a major space for religion...This ecotele is put forward by our Eternal Chief Atatürk¹⁸.

Race and ethnicity were important parts of being a Turk and according to Dilaçar, "racism of Kemalism" should be examined at this point. Dilaçar divided the world into three racial groups and counted Turkey in the "Homo Alpinus" type which lived in mountainous places or on high plateau. Alpine here had the meaning of being "high, great, and shiny". After describing the bodily features of this race, he confirmed that this race was located in the Turkish motherlands. Sumerians and Hitites were from this race too and they were the founders of the oldest laws in history. People who established writing were from this race too. He further argued that people from this Alpine race were the ancestors of the Turkish people. The Alpine race was living in Europe and in the Mediterranean basin and migrated to many other places. As a result of these and many other factors there was no difference between the people of Hatay and Anatolia with

respect to anthropology. He explained his ideas on this issue in this way:

Today, the people of Hatay who speak Arabic have no relationship with the Sami ethnicity. As their skull measure is 85, they are the grand-children of Alpine race. They are Turks originally...and Kemalist Turkism today has relieved them their original ethnicity and showed them that they are Turkish in fact. Our duty, is to bring alive the cultural and linguistic elements of this ethnicity in every individual by being inspired by the Alpine "blood and cultural unity" under the high will of our National Chief. The Turkish Republic is not only a political unity but there is also blood, culture and language unity. The complete meaning of our national conscious and national unity is this¹⁹.

Assoc.Prof.Caferoğlu in his conference titled "The Turkishness in History, and People Who Worked for It" (Tarihte Türklük ve Onun İçin Çalışanlar, 1940), touched upon the same subject²⁰. The greatness of Turks, the contribution of Turks to civilization along with the great Turks in history were presented in the conference.

In the second conference of Assoc.Prof.Ziyaeddin Fındıkoğlu titled "Social Classes" (İçtimai Sınıflar, 1944-1945), social classes, their definition, history, different perspectives on them and the situation in Turkey, were taken into consideration²¹. The most significant part of the conference was composed of the ideas about the non-Muslim bourgeoisie in Turkey. While Fındıkoğlu was giving a brief summary about the history of the social classes in Turkey, he described the stratification of society after Tanzimat Reform in this way:

Anatolian and Roumelian notables, artisans who were weakened by the cheap products of the European industry, a new class of state officials, and obstinate non-Muslim bourgeoisie who was in fact the enemy of Turks and who helped Western capitalism to abuse the East. A hundred years ago this non-Muslim bourgeoisie had not existed and non-Muslims had also been called "reaya", just like the Muslim population...They were mainly located in Galata and Pera and these places resembled Manchester, Hamburg, and Marseilles with all their architecture and other features²².

resembled Manchester, Hamburg, and Marseilles with all their architecture and other features²².

Fındıkoğlu described the non-Muslim population most of whom dealt with trade and commerce, in this way. He also speculated on the "Tax of Wealth":

Could this "Tax of Wealth" which was taken from the Turkish population who possessed movable and non-movable property as well as from the non-Muslim bourgeoisie, cause some changes in the social class structure? Isn't there the same mechanism behind the work places that had Turkified their names? Didn't these people take the money that they gave to the state, from the people in excessive amounts? In this way they became something pathological, that have to be pruned²³.

According to him, in the East and in Turkey, there was not a social class structure resembling that in Europe. There were groups of rich and poor people in Turkey, but these groups did not resemble the ones in Europe. The national and religious differences were the basis of the social classes more than economic differences. As Turkey was becoming industrialized, a Turkish bourgeoisie composed of state officials was emerging along with the non-Muslim bourgeoisie which harmed the national structure.

Prof. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar in his conference titled "Towards a National Literature" (Milli Bir Edebiyata Doğru, 1940), defended the idea that Turkish literature should acquire its national character and get rid of European influences²⁴. He argued that:

From ancient times onwards, we have an art and literature which became broader and richer all through our great and honourable history...Old and legendary Asia, with its history, beliefs, ethnic particularities, traditions, sights, fairy tales...was feeding Turkish language like an inspiring treasure. And this treasure came into being as a result of thousands of events which faced the talent of our race...What we have to do now is to turn back to ourselves, our life, history, richness and search for the perfection in ourselves...The most important secret

of our social life is the continuation of the national-self²⁵.

He concluded by saying that: "Once we start to know, and love ourselves, then the puzzle of national literature will be solved on its own."²⁶

These were the main ideas of the conferences on nationalism, patriotism, national identity etc. It will be useful to give a definition of the main concepts to avoid confusion, first of all and then present the origins and nature of nationalism in Turkey in the first decades of the Republican period including the last years of the Ottoman Empire, before analysing the ideas presented above.

According to Ernest Gellner in his book *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), "nations can be defined only in terms of the 'age of nationalism', rather than, the other way around."²⁷ It means that the 'age of nationalism' did not come into being because nations faced awakenings and went through political self-assertion. Rather general social conditions made for "standardized, homogeneous, centrally sustained high cultures", and an environment emerged in which well-defined and unified cultures constituted very nearly the only kind of unit with which men willingly and often ardently identified. Cultures then seemed to be the natural repositories of political legitimacy. Under these conditions only nations could be defined in terms of both will and culture, and indeed in terms of their convergence with political units²⁸. This definition can be summarized as:

- I) Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating.
- II) Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. Nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities²⁹.

Thus, there existed a recognition of mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership to a

nation. This recognition was essential in turning them into a nation.

Gellner and Hobsbawm (E.J.Hobsbawn, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 1990) evaluated the emergence of nation-states as a product of modernity at a particular stage of technological and economic development. Therefore, nations and their associated phenomena had to be analysed in terms of political, technical, administrative, economic, and other conditions and requirements³⁰. The term "nationalism" could be defined as political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist arguments.

Nationalism can be based on three assertions:

- I) There exists a nation with an explicit and peculiar character.
- II) The interests and values of this nation take priority over all other interests and values.
- III) The nation must be as independent as possible. This usually requires at least the attainment of political sovereignty³¹.

Even if nationalist movements do not have active popular support they claim to speak for the whole nation and nationalist politics is always mass politics. Mobilisation is an important component of nationalism for it makes possible for politicians to establish contact with large numbers of people and can create the expectation and capacity on the part of large numbers of people to insist on some sort of political representation³².

If Turkey is examined in regard to this information, the rise of nationalism in the late 19th century becomes more understandable. The nationalist upsurge in Turkey was the result of the search for pragmatic solutions to decrease the drastic effects of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Nationalist sentiments were created among the population artificially through mobilization by mass communication to cope with the developments in the world where nation-states had become the main units. Nationalist secessionist movements in the Empire which started at the beginning of the 19th century gave way to the establishment of another nation-state, the Turkish Republic.

The first step of the process of transition from the imperial Ottoman state to the Republican Turkish national state was accompanied by the discovery of "Turkishness". The growth of national consciousness among the elites played a significant role in the emergence of Turkish nationalism. Political and social cohesion which are fundamental in the establishment of national states necessitate the creation and adoption of a viable, common identity among the whole population of the state³³.

The intellectual and cultural sources of Turkish nationalism can be found in European nationalist thought, which was significant throughout the 19th century as a whole and the 20th century up to World War I. Nationalist movements were concentrated in central and eastern Europe including the Balkans³⁴. They were either directed against the empires (Habsburg and Ottoman) or aimed at unification of separate principalities ruled by different and mostly foreign dynasties (Italy and Germany).

The nationalist upsurge of the subject peoples of the multinational monarchies were initially triggered by the French Revolution. It provided them with a national ideal and example of patriotic loyalty, which was transmitted throughout the continent during the Napoleonic conquests. On the one hand, the subject of political loyalty was radically altered from the dynasty to the motherland (*la patrie*) and collectivity of compatriots. On the other hand, a political doctrine of nationalism based on national self-determination was also introduced. The "nation" had a natural right to rule within its own "state" ³⁵. Nation was defined in terms of citizenship based on a voluntaristic understanding of nationality. In other words, nationality was defined in terms of citizenship of a particular state. The French Revolution led to a political definition of nation with a right to sovereign authority over the state and set the model of the modern political entity, the nation-state. However, for the Germans, Italians, Magyars, and various Slavic groups such as the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Czechs, Bulgarians, who did not exist under one unified state or were dispersed

under different states, "nation" had to be defined through a concept of nationality that did not solely rest on political existence or subjection to a state. In other words they had to prove their nationhood, that they constituted a distinct nation, in order to claim a right to a state sovereign. The theory and ideology of nationhood in turn was supplied by the conceptualization of romantic/cultural nationalism ³⁶.

The foundations of romantic/cultural nationalism are attributed to the German writer, Herder, whose ideas were used by Slavic as well as German nationalists. He introduced the concept of "volk" as a natural division of mankind, endowed with its own historical language and culture giving it an organic unity. His contribution to 19th century nationalism was the introduction of a concept of nationality as a grouping of persons who live within natural boundaries, possess a common soul, speak a common language, cherish common historical traditions and constitute a distinct cultural society³⁷ .

It was ethnicity rather than subjection to a particular state that was being offered as a source of identity. Herder's conception of "volk" also entailed a sense of historicism emphasizing myths, legends and national heroes as expressions of national character. This conception of "volk" was later politicized by another German, Fichte in his book *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, 1808³⁸.

Ethnicity derives either from common descent (race, genealogy, blood) or from distinct cultural characteristics such as language, history, religion etc. For the romantics, the ethnic concept of nation was initially based on common origin, common history, and linguistic unity at large. On the other hand, they availed themselves of certain racial explanations to argue for differences (and commonness) of origin ³⁹.

The second half of the 19th century abounded in various anthropological racial theories trying to offer a systemization of evolution of races and their characteristics. What Darwin had done in the *Origin of Species* (1859) was in a similar way an attempt for the human race. Studies based on craneology (discovery of a cephalic index to differ between brachycephalic

and dolicocephalic skulls) and other physical attributes (color, hair, etc.) were paralleled by others trying to deduce psychological generalizations based on physiology of the skull. Arthur de Gobineau and Gustave Le Bon were two important social thinkers who theorized these racial and psychological perspectives on humanity. The works of Le Bon were translated into Turkish by Abdullah Cevdet, an eminent Young Turk of the time.

Fundamentally based on an ethnic definition of nationhood which had further been influenced by racial and racist theories of the century, romantic nationalism had a decisive impact on the Ottoman Empire. Initially it was of an indirect nature for the Ottoman Turks, whose cultural identity was of a religious one and their political identity had been supplied by the reason of the Ottoman state. The nationalism of the other ethnic peoples posed a grave political problem in terms of shrinking territory bringing with it increasing humiliation before the Western powers. The search for new political formulations to keep the state intact and sustain political allegiance of the remaining "millet" led the Ottoman elite to reconsider their conceptualization of state, motherland, nation, ethnicity, race, and religious identity in an overall perspective which also went beyond the accepted historical explanations⁴⁰.

Since the last decades of the Ottoman state, the subject of "nationhood" had been elaborated among the elite and continued to be an important theme after the Republic was established. Kemalist nationalism tried to forge an identity based on a particular synthesis inspired by both of the two models: citizenship and ethnic model. "Turkishness" was defined through a rather eclectic combination of certain features of the two. Both historical and geographical roots were emphasized at the same time. As there were several other ethnic groups within the borders of Turkey and as foreign relations would be deterred with the defence of any expansionist ideology, the solution offered in order to circumvent the dilemma was based on a "rediscovered history of Anatolia" and "redefined ethnic ties" originating from Central Asia. In other words, Anatolian and

Central Asian roots were seemingly reconciled in a new historic vision which could not be regarded any more scientific than the initial theories of race that had influenced the ethnic concept of "Turkishness" in the previous decades. With a pragmatic approach historiography became an instrument to be used in the creation and inculcation of a new identity. The official historical studies of the early 1930's, under the patronage of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself, produced a particular history thesis which can be regarded as an outcome of the specific dilemma in question. The same history thesis constituted the basis of the history textbooks written for high schools⁴¹. The history thesis will be elaborated in another section in detail.

It can be argued that one of the most interesting political developments of the single-party period in Turkey was the emergence of a Turkist current noticed by the public mainly for its Pan-Turkist and racist rhetoric. Based on the political and literary activities of a group of intelligentsia it found advocates mostly among university and high school students, a large group of teachers, some professors and lecturers, veteran high-commanders and officers, and certain politically eminent figures and Turkic émigrés. While referring back to the historical and cultural thesis of the Turkist movement which arose at the turn of the 20th century, it also propagated specific political views based on racial identity. A racial distinction was made in favor of a lineage of pure Turkish blood among the population of the Turkish republic. Moreover, the purity of the Turkic racial origin was considered as a criterion of successful leadership. The pan-Turkist platform that became more explicit during the course of World War II was likewise based on a racist approach⁴².

Consequently, it can be stated that, great emphasis was put on certain themes in the conferences presented above. These themes can be listed as: Love for the motherland, greatness of the Turkish leaders in the past, the contributions of the Turks to world civilization, racial differences among nations and the necessity to achieve unity in a nation, the humiliation of non-Muslim merchants in Turkey, the importance of the creation of a

voluntary and romantic/cultural nationalism. This means that, the nationalist trend that came into being in the late 19th century as a remedy to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, continued during the Republican period with increasing amounts and these conferences are good examples which express the nationalist sentiments of the 1930's and 1940's.

B)Reconstructing a Nationalist History:

The Turkish History Thesis and The Sun Language Theory

Turkish history and language is another subject that the professors touched upon. Among the conferences in the history and literature/linguistics sections of the three sets, there are three conferences (given by Prof.Şemsettin Günaltay, Assoc.Prof.Şükrü Akkaya, and Prof.Bossart) about Turkish history and the Turkish History Thesis and two conferences about the Sun Language Theory (given by Prof.İbrahim Necmi Dilmen and Assoc.Prof.Ahmet Caferoğlu). These efforts of reconstructing a nationalist history can be evaluated as the results of the desire to establish a base for the newly forming nation-state. The leaders of the Republican People's Party planned to create a new society out of the old one, replacing the religious identity of the people with a national consciousness. Actually, this process had started in the second half of the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire and Europe, particularly in France and Germany. These nations were great sources of inspiration for historians and politicians working for this aim. Thus, the Turkification process which was interpreted as a necessary component of creating national unity started and gave way to the creation of the Turkish History Thesis and Sun Language Theory of the 1930's. These developments in the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey will be explained in this section by emphasizing the European intellectual sources. But before that, the perspective of professors on Turkish history and language which is nearly a repetition of the ideas that were put forward by the political elite of the time will be presented.

The most significant conference on this subject was titled "The Issue of the Motherland and Race of Turks" (Türklerin

The most significant conference on this subject was titled "The Issue of the Motherland and Race of Turks" (Türklerin Anayurdu ve Irkı Mes'elesi, 1936-1937) and was given by Prof.Şemsettin Günaltay⁴³. Mainly two points were emphasized:

- I) The motherland of the Turks was not Mongolia but Turkistan and Turks did not have any relationship with Mongols and other tribes belonging to the yellow race. Turks who belonged to the Alpine type of the white race had entered the East side of Altays and Mongolia only to conquer these places.
- II) The motherland of the Turks which lay between Altays and the Caspian sea was the cradle of civilization in the Neolithic age. The members of this civilization had to move out of this area because of climatic and economic conditions and had spread their civilization throughout the world.

Prof.Günaltay put forward the first point as a reaction to some historians whose writings had created a general opinion that the motherland of the Turks was the East-side of Altays that was called Mongolia at the time.

For a very long time, it was widely accepted that the Turks' motherland was the East of Altays and especially the place which is called Mongolia today. As a result of this perspective, Turks were regarded as belonging to the yellow race like other autocton tribes such as Tonguzs, Manchurians and Mongols... Joseph de Gignes has been influential in the settling and spreading of this view throughout the world with his work titled "The History of Huns, Turks, and Mongols"⁴⁴.

According to Prof.Günaltay, in the Mongolian period, the work titled *Cami-ü-Tevarih*, ordered by the ruler of Mongolia, İlhan Mahmut Gazan, and written by Ebül Fadl Reşidüddini, based the same idea on some manipulations with the purpose of glorifying the history of Mongolia. However Mongols did not have a racial relationship with Turks. These were only manipulations of history for certain purposes. He argued that:

Reşidüddin prepared a history book for the Mongols which connected the ancestors of Cengiz to the Oğuz Legend. In this way a wrong understanding was rooted

which regarded Turks as coming from the same race with Mongols. In this way, Turkish national traditions and legends were shown as a property of Mongols⁴⁵.

While Prof.Günaltay tried to falsify these statements, he also mentioned that Mongols were a valueless society that had a name expressing their low social level. Later in the conference Prof. Günaltay went further to prove that Sumerians were Turks originally and Sumerians, not the ancient Greeks, were the creators of world civilization.

It is certain that Sumerians were not the native people of the Mesopotamian area. So, from where did this people come to the Sinear area and to which race do they belong?⁴⁶

According to Prof.Günaltay their bodily features were evidences showing that they were belonging to the brachycephal type of the white race.

...Sumerians were belonging to the brachycephal type of the white race, and had wide foreheads, plump faces, big noses, big and slanting eyes, swift and fat bodies...Also their astrological measurements were done according to a sky between the 36 and 46 degrees of meridians which lied above the Turkistan area, the East of the Caspian Sea⁴⁷.

Thus, these facts showed that Sumerians were in fact the natives of the Turkistan area. Other natives had migrated to India and China and carried this civilization to those areas. Thus, all these people were originally living in Turkistan and they constituted the Alpine type of the white race.

Therefore, the first initiators of civilization in China and India and the ancestors of Mesopotamian, Syrian and Anatolian civilizations were living in Turkistan as the members of the same tribe⁴⁸.

As this reality had been discovered, Turkey, having been the source of civilization for the whole world, had to reach her previous position with new successes.

We started to work under the guidance of Atatürk and the Turkish History Society to discover our own history through scientific methods and techniques. The high Turkish culture can only be created by the Turkish brains who do not imitate but use scientific methods...The aim of the great Turkish revolution and University reform is to raise such a generation⁴⁹.

Assoc.Prof.Şükrü Akkaya (from Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty), repeated the same ideas at the beginning of his conference titled "Bird's-Eye View of History's History" (Tarihin Tarihine Kuşbakışı, 1938)⁵⁰. According to him, the Sumerians had come from Central Asia to the Mesopotamian area and had been a precious source for the world civilization. In the same way Etrüsks had gone to the Italian peninsula from Anatolia and had contributed to the European civilization.

At the beginning of history, just like Sumerians who had come from Central Asia carrying their high culture to Mesopotamia and had been a magical source for the world civilization, Etrüsks had also migrated from Anatolia to Italy, and had been influential on the European civilization⁵¹.

According to Akkaya, Atatürk also supported this perspective of Turkish history and created a scientific, philosophic work that the Turkish nation would always be proud of.

Prof.Bossart in the conference "The Kingdom of Hitites" (Eti Krallığı, 1935-1936), mentioned that the Hitites civilization was a heritage to the new Turkey. Turkish people who combined past with the present for future, were consciously appreciating this tradition⁵². Prof.Güterbock also touched upon the subject of Hitites in his conference titled "A Look on the Hitites Culture" (Eti Kültürüne Bir Bakış, 1939)⁵³.

Two conferences were held about the Sun Language Theory and one of them was given by Prof.İbrahim Necmi Dilmen (from Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty) under the title "Theories on the Origin of Language and Languages" (Dilin ve Dillerin Kaynağı Üzerine Teoriler, 1939)⁵⁴. He tried to find an answer to two questions:

"I) What is the origin of language?

II) what is the origin of the languages?"⁵⁵

According to him, language was to voice the emotions and ideas consciously. The curiosity about the origin of language led people to search for an original language or languages from which the other languages were derived. Comparisons between languages proved that there were similarities between some of them. Thus, languages were gathered into three families: Hami-Sami languages, Indo-European languages and Ural-Altay languages. He further argued that, the research on the origin of the Indo-European languages led scientists to Central Asia because of the various similarities between the languages of the two areas:

Walde who was working on word-roots of Indo-European languages has put forward in his "Kamus" that many word-roots of Indo-European languages are still used by the Turks. The research on the origin of the Sami languages pointed to the Sumerian source and it was understood that the Sumerian language was originally an Altaic language spoken in Central Asia⁵⁶.

Dilmen concluded his conference in these words:

Thus, as a result of the observations it is understood that the Turkish language was the main cultural language of the Neolithic period and this language which was created by the brachycephal Turks of Central Asia was spread to the world along with their civilization. This new understanding which is as bright as a sun is put forward by a Turkish prodigy...This Turkish prodigy, Atatürk, has specified the first totem of the human being as the "sun" and has given this name to the theory (Sun Language Theory). This theory aims to show the sovereignty of Turkish language over other cultural languages in both historic and pre-historic times⁵⁷.

Assoc.Prof.Caferoğlu touched upon the same subject in his conference titled "National Life in Our Folklore and Language Remainings" (Folklorumuzda Milli Hayat ve Dil Bakiyeleri, 1940)⁵⁸. According to Caferoğlu, "During the migration to the West, the Turkish language and folklore left an enormous impact

1940)⁵⁸. According to Caferoğlu, "During the migration to the West, the Turkish language and folklore left an enormous impact upon the European languages and folklore."⁵⁹ There was not enough research on this subject but if the folklore of the Central Asian Turkish nomads and Anatolian nomads were examined, the lost Turkish life could be retained again and their impacts on the European folklore could be traced.

To be able to interpret this perspective on Turkish history and linguistics, the attitudes of communities that go through transformations have to be examined. One of the paradoxes of contemporary society is its appetite for innovation coupled with a deep nostalgia for the past. Great numbers of people committed to social change and new ideas, cling to traditions and values that embody personal and collective memories of a former way of life. There have been two criteria by which modern ethnies and nations have sought to "rediscover" and "reconstruct" their communal pasts: the didactic and the dramatic. In the modern world, history has become both a moral teacher and a drama of national salvation. Romance and mystery are important components of this national salvation drama. It is important because it helps to teach them "who they are", to impart the sense of being a link in a chain which stretches back over the generations to bind them to their ancestors and their descendants to supply an identity for the community. It is also important because it teaches them "where they are" and "who they should be", if they were to "recover themselves". It serves as a means for mobilization to reach the golden age explained in history.

To achieve this reconstruction, modern scientific disciplines like philology, anthropology, history, sociology, archaeology and folklore studies can help. They are able to translate the idealized images of the ethnic past into tactile realities, according to modern canons of knowledge. Archaeology has been perhaps, the most useful of these disciplines in recovering communal pasts. Also philology and lexicography were used for this aim. The art of tracing verbal roots and explicating the meanings and synonyms of words and phrases made sense within a larger evolutionary framework in which language

was seen as having an intimate and revelatory position within the collective memory and experience. A historical drama that gives them their identities must do two things: it must "define" the entity or unit of which it narrates the drama; and it must "direct" the entity or unit towards a visionary goal by supplying a blueprint for the future. Since every community experiences moments of decline and even subjugation the drama-mythology must explain the trajectory of growth, decline and rebirth; and the first task is to situate and describe the community "as it was" in its "pure" or "unmixed" state. It is to this state that they had to return, if they are to partake of the collective rebirth. Identification with an idealized past helps them to transcend a disfigured and unworthy present. These reconstructed histories are sometimes invented and fabricated and sometimes based on recombinations of traditional perhaps unanalysed motifs and myths taken from epics, chronicles, documents of the period and material artefacts. As inventions are very often such novel recombinations of existing elements, and motifs can be called the nationalist mythologies "inventions". Such novel recombinations are pre-eminently the work of the intellectuals in search of their "roots"⁶⁰.

While studying historiography the nature of political power should also be taken into consideration. During powerful currents and ideals combined forces and thus enhanced the nature of political power, historiography too acquired new dimensions. Whenever a ruling elite modified or redefined the political identity of a society a new motive force for history emerged; thus the rise of Ottoman historiography towards the end of the 15th century is related to the "consciousness of having established a great empire".

Historiography acquired its proper meaning as a discipline when nations of Europe were treated as the units of analysis by famous historians like Herder, Ranke, Michelet, Treitschke, Croce etc. A similar awareness of history in the Ottoman Empire was observed, started with the nationalist movement towards the end of the 19th century. For modern Turkey it was the same: the historicity of the nation was seen as the only evidence of and

the indispensable objective force for national self-assertion. Therefore, it was necessary to record the history of the Turkish nation as it went through a nationalist movement and becoming a nation-state.

In the era preceding nationalism, Ottoman history was only political in subject, descriptive in method and exclusive of other disciplines. History was necessary for diplomatic recognition and military reasons. In the West however national history subsumed other social sciences as well as politics and acquired educational and moralistic aspects. Through various methods it created a critical outlook. In the second half of the 19th century, the teaching of history in schools and universities increased in direct correlation to the growth of nationalism. The teaching of history became a tool for creating or strengthening national identity. The historians of the 19th century made use of all the components of a cultural tradition such as language, folklore, race etc.⁶¹

Historiography as a discipline was created in France and Germany and the most direct correlation between historiography and nationalism was formulated in their historical thought. They also influenced the emergence of new historiographic trends in Turkey. For example the 18th century belief in progress was already reflected in 19th century reforms. Many of the historians frequently cited by the Turkish nationalists belonged to the French "Ecole Methodique" i.e. French positivist-nationalist historians of the late 19th century: G. Monod, C.V. Langlois, C. Seignobor etc. The positivist trend inspired by Auguste Comte or the preceding historians, found its expression mostly in the political writings of Ziya Gökalp.

On the other hand, the German interest in pushing back the limits of history in order to establish it on a mythical basis was also very influential on Turkish historiography. Thus, it can be observed that, the French positivistic and moralistic influence was followed by that of the German idealist and statist historicism during the late 1930's in Turkey. The main trend stemmed from a historicist interest in archaeology and anthropology, in other words in ancient history in order to

affirm a heroic national past. Romanticism was used for creating a moral ethical impetus to promote national aspirations; positivism for pragmatic secular goals in politics and lastly German historicism for "ideal-state-power"⁶².

For the Ottoman and Turkish intellectuals of the new century, nationalism and Turkism were two ideologies that had to be defined, introduced to the public and incorporated into historiography. Turkism at the turn of the century was a cultural movement designed to specify the nature of the enduring Ottoman community after disintegration. It was initially conceived as the Turkification of the Ottoman language which was made of Turkish, Arabic and Persian vocabulary. The movement gained momentum as nationalistic sentiments were inspired from neighbouring countries as well as from the various separatist nationalist movements of non-Turkish subjects such as Greeks, Bulgarians etc. At the turn of the century, Turkification became an object for historical writing too⁶³.

The second aspect of Turkism, which appeared later was the bridge built between a larger imaginary territory, Turan, in Central Asia and the core of Ottoman geography mainly Anatolia. Nineteenth century European interest in the role of the Turks in Eastern civilization and in world civilization in general was related to and motivated by their interest in a primordial "Turanian People" of ancient history⁶⁴. Many historians started to write Turkic history and transformed Turkism into a national myth⁶⁵. The discovery of the Turkish past by various European orientalist constituted the major inspiration for the spread of Turkic studies among the Young Turks. A. Vambery (1832-1913), the Hungarian anthropologist and Turcologist, wrote about the Turks taking their place among Turanian people. Leon Cahun (1841-1900), the French orientalist was also interested in the history of the Turks and their role in civilization in general. Mustafa Celaledin Pasha, a Polish convert wrote his famous book called *Les Turcs Anciens et Modernes* in 1867, emphasizing the unique racial qualities of the Turks⁶⁶. There were others like Joseph de Guignes who defined Turks as coming from the Mongolian race in his book *Histoire Generale des Huns, des Turcs, des*

Mongoles, et autres Tartares Occidentaux and caused reaction among Turkish historians. All these works attempted to investigate Turkic origins and their significance paved the way for more sophisticated analytical discourses in later decades as expressed in the political thought of Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Açıura, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Fuad Köprülü, Veled Çelebi, Necip Asım, Mehmet Emin, Ahmet Hikmet and others.

Interest in science, nationalism and Turkism were combined in such associations as The Turkish Society (Türk Derneği, 1908), Ottoman History Society (Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni, 1909), Society for the Research on Islamic and National Heritage- "National Studies Review" (Asar-ı Islamiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni- "Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası", 1915), and finally the Turkish Hearths (Türk Ocakları, 1912). All these associations and their periodicals strove for a stronger nationalism which was connected to a Turkish identity whether it be outside or inside of Ottoman historicity both as a state and as a society⁶⁷. Most of the historians of the period 1908-1923 and later during the Republican years were political figures who struggled for the advance of nationalism in the form of Turkism. Their grasp of "scientific history" was superficial. For them science implied "laicism" and Durkheimian sociology⁶⁸.

The maturation of the Turkish History Thesis required the foundation of the Republic and the adoption of Turkish nationalism as opposed to Ottomanism, Islamism, Turanism as the official ideology of the state. The Turkish History Committee which would later bring "The Turkish History Thesis" into being was established in the Sixth Congress of the Turkish Hearths (1930). Afet Inan made a speech in this Congress, explaining the aims of the Turkish Hearths and the reasons for the need to specify the place of Turks among world civilizations. She submitted a proposal to set up a private and everlasting committee which would do scientific research on Turkish history and civilization. The proposal was accepted and the Turkish History Committee (Türk Tarih Encümeni) was established. The president of the administrative committee would be Tevfik Bıyıklıoğlu who would be assisted by Yusuf Akçıura and Samih

Rıfat. The general secretary would be Dr. Reşit Galip. The other members that the central committee chose in June 1938 were: Afet İnan, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, Hamit Zübeyir Koşay, Halil Edhem Eldem, Ragıp Hulusi Özdem, Reşit Safvet Atabinen, Zakir Kadiri, Sadri Maksudi Arsal, Mesaroş, Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, Vasıf Çınar, Yusuf Ziya Özer. (Later Zakir Kadiri and Mesaroş quit their posts in the Committee leaving their places to Hasan Cemil Çambel and Şemsettin Günaltay.)⁶⁹

Tevfik Bıyıklıoğlu gave a speech after the elections explaining the aims of the Committee:

We will be occupied with the issue of national Turkish history... Turkish national history is not only great and glorious but it is the originator and founder of the means necessary for the welfare and happiness of human beings today...

Until recent times, it was thought that the only source of our civilization was Greece and Rome but today we certainly know that Greek civilization was not original. The Ionic civilization that we call the Greek civilization was only an adapter of the Turkish civilization... Since its establishment, the Turkish Hearths worked to wake the national conscious, to improve the national culture, and with the decision to establish this History Committee, it also took charge of national history which is essential for the survival of civilized nations."⁷⁰

In 1931, the Committee took the name of the Turkish History Research Society (Türk Tarihini Tetkik Cemiyeti) and in 1935, it was called the Turkish History Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu). The most important work of this Society was the book titled *The Main Lines of Turkish History* (Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları, 1931) which was 606 pages and included the Turkish History Thesis under the influence of Atatürk⁷¹. In the preface of this book the aim was explained like this: "The aim of this work is, to remind the Turkish nation her glorious history by relying upon historical facts, because the contributions of Turkish people to other civilizations were denied by other nations."⁷²

The Turkish History Thesis which was a product of this society was summarized by Afet İnan in this way:

The Turkish brachycephal race was the first nation to establish a state in Anatolia. The cultural homeland of this race was at first Central Asia where climate was suitable to reside at. Then, the climate changed as a result of natural conditions. This mass of people who learned to polish stone, passed to the agricultural stage and benefited from metals felt the necessity to migrate. They migrated to the West from the North and South of the Caspian Sea and also to the East and North. They settled in the places they arrived and established their culture there. They became autocton at some places, or they were assimilated by the autocton races of certain places. The race in Europe was dolicocephal. The first creators of the civilizations in Iraq, Anatolia, Egypt, Agean area were the representatives of the brachycephal race coming from Central Asia. We, Turks, are their children. The History Thesis of Atatürk can be summarized like this⁷³.

In this passage it was implied that the Chinese, Sumerian, Akad, Elam, Egyptian, Asurian, Hitite, and Cretian civilizations were set up by Turks or affected by them. This perspective was clearly defended in all the other pragmatic texts of the time which were prepared under the supervision of Atatürk⁷⁴.

The Sun-Language Theory which was put forward in 1935 was another component of these efforts. Ömer Asım Aksoy explained why it was called the Sun-Language Theory, in his conference, given in 1936 in Gaziantep entitled "The Sun-Language Theory and the Third Congress on Turkish Language " (Güneş Dil Teorisi ve Üçüncü Türk Dili Kurultayı)⁷⁵. According to this theory, the first conscious human being saw the sun as the most beneficial object for himself. By the help of its light he could see his food, way, home and it supplied heat for his survival which was very important for himself and the world. Thus, the first object that he needed to voice was the sun. The language improved from this word and that was why the theory was called the Sun-Language Theory. With this theory, it was defended that the Turkish language constituted the origin of all languages. Classical linguists could not have found a main original language from which Indo-European and Hami-Sami languages

evolved because they had not examined the Turkish language. Thus, after an examination it became obvious that the main original language of all languages was Turkish⁷⁶.

Prof.Şemsettin Günaltay stated in his book titled *Language and History* (Dil ve Tarih) that Atatürk had enlightened the Sun-Language Theory⁷⁷. He was the savior of Turkish pride and independence, and he was also the creator of the Turkish science. Thus, he supported the establishment of the Turkish Language Ecole. With this attempt, the Turkish language got rid of its Islamic character and it became a dominating language among others⁷⁸.

Consequently, it can be argued that the nationalist ideology in Turkey needed a new base for the nation-state which was created out of the old society. The religion was pushed aside and secularism principle was practiced. The new base would be created by the nationalisation of history and language⁷⁹. The European influence on this process can not be denied. Especially France and Germany which were the cradles of nationalism inspired the historians and politicians of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century and the Turkification process, which was seen as a necessary component of creating a national unity, started at this time. As a result, the Turkish History Thesis and the Sun-Language Theory were created in the 1930's which can also be evaluated as a reaction to the Western perspective of Turkey. Historians and politicians tried to prove that Turkey had an important role in the creation of civilizations through history and its language was the originator of others, to get rid of the barbarian image of the Turkish people. As it was mentioned before, these kind of attempts, of reconstructing history and using philology besides other social sciences to create a nation, result usually in inventions of traditions as well as events that did not happen. They are used to revitalize the community as it happened in Turkey just after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

There are 108 conferences among the three sets of conferences which are about physical and psychological health. Physical and psychological health were evaluated in most of these conferences as a national matter, and one main theme was emphasized more than the others: creation of a physically and psychologically healthy generation for the well-being of the nation. These conferences aimed to "enlighten" the population on the issues of health, to propose health policies and to explain the existing ones to prevent child mortality and the formation of a "degenerated" society. In this section, the conferences of Ord.Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman, Assoc.Prof.Zeki Ragıp Yalım, Prof.Dr.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak, Assoc.Prof.Mümtaz Turhan, and Prof.Liepmann will be examined, because these conferences are the most significant conferences that present the general attitude of the professors towards the issue of health. This attitude will be interpreted, taking into consideration the developments in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, particularly in Britain, the U.S.A., and Germany and some parallel policies that were pursued in Turkey.

According to Ord.Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman, in his conference titled "Eugenics" (Öjenik, 1939), eugenics could be defined as "giving birth and raising a good generation" and this was an essential subject for society, for its economy and politics⁸⁰. He argued that:

We see how the whole world give importance to demographic policies because crowded and strong nations swallow and beat the weaker ones...The nations whose populations do not increase are worried. But those nations whose populations are increasing rapidly, are also careful to have useful and healthy people. Healthy hands and proper heads are the capitals of a society. However sick arms, crooked heads are constituting an unuseful and unnecessary crowd which depends upon the help of individuals and society, abusing their goodwill. Families are spending too much money to feed these people and the state is sacrificing a high amount of money from its budget for these disabled and unuseful people⁸¹.

He further argued that:

He further argued that:

After World War, the difficulties of life and the necessity to feed millions of young people who are the future of the nations have led scientists to work on this subject. Relying on the statistics, it can be stated that, there are more than one-million idiots and epileptics in North America. They can not serve their family or state, and further more people have to avoid their harms and carry them as a burden...If financial assistance is abandoned, these people become beggars, deceivers, robbers, perverts, prostitutes and murderers in society. If these people are married, this is the worst sin that they can ever commit. Each of them will raise a couple of crippled children like themselves and will cause the deterioration of the generation. The duty of eugenics is to prevent the reproduction of these disabled people and to encourage the other healthy people to have offspring. The mentally healthy people are refusing to marry because of selfish reasons and idiots are reproducing like mice do. These people who are harmful for the race should be prevented from giving birth to children⁸².

Turkey had taken some of the necessary measures like giving licences of marriage to people who were suitable for it. In his opinion, the nation should not be filled with people who had unhealthy family members and who were potential criminals: "Healthy ones should be encouraged and even be put under obligation to have children and we must say to cripples that 'you are enough, you are not useful and there is no need for you in society'."⁸³ Clinics should be opened to teach how to take care of children (this was positive eugenics) and the cripples should understand that they were enough for society and should be prevented from marrying (this was negative eugenics). He argued that: "Marriage from the perspective of eugenics is an issue of race and state. It is a duty of the generation, race and the nation."⁸⁴ Posing tax on healthy singles was discussed in the parliament and it should be put into action. Every family should have at least four children to protect the generation. The marriage of disabled ones was under the control of the government. He explained this control in this way:

get married, have to be put under medical observation. The articles of 123 and 124 prohibit marriage to people who have syphilis, gonorrhoea, leprosy, mental diseases etc.⁸⁵. Since 1933, the sterilization method have been implemented in Germany on the mentally ill people...and they are very satisfied with the results⁸⁶.

According to Prof.Uzman, Turkish laws about eugenics were enough but diseases that could be passed to the offspring should be specified very carefully and these ideas should be taught to the population to strengthen the families that composed the nation.

In Assoc.Prof.Zeki Ragıp Yalım's conference which was titled "Health in respect of National Existence" (Milli Varlık Bakımından Sağlık, 1940), a relationship was put forward between the health of nations and their existence⁸⁷.

Although historians are arguing that the classical civilizations of the ancient age collapsed because of religious, political, economic and social reasons, it is clear that the real reason of their collapse was the terrible diseases like plague or malaria, the most terrible contagious ones...Although the health of individuals one by one is important for the race and the nation...if there is not a general health organization in a nation, this will cause troubles for the national health⁸⁸.

The Turkish "General Health Law" was an attempt in this respect. According to Yalım, "the aim of these laws and organizations is not to perform a humane service but to protect the national existence... People should also be educated in this direction and they should be imposed to keep national interests above their own individualistic interests."⁸⁹ For example, individuals should not hide their diseases during the medical examination necessary to get these marriage licenses.

He further argued that, poor health could be caused both by heredity and surrounding: "The ones who are not trained to work for the "Ideal" can destroy the order of society. Thus, these people should be educated according to the national structure."⁹⁰ They should be taught to control their instincts

people should be educated according to the national structure."⁹⁰ They should be taught to control their instincts because if they did not they would lead society to disasters. "Good health is an aim both for the individual and for the race...To achieve this aim, people should be capable of sacrificing themselves for society."⁹¹ Everybody should choose his/her partner according to this aim, the good health of the nation and the race.

In his other conference titled "The Ideal of Felicity in Modern Societies: Health" (Modern Cemiyetlerde Saadet Ülküsü: SAĞLIK, 1939), Yalım speculated on the same subject⁹²:

Each country has two important capitals that determine its strength and prestige: one is the living capital made up of the population, and the other is the material capital. In World War, it was understood that the value of the population in the combatant nations was very low. People who could not be soldiers were 30-36% of the population. They were raised by society and at the time when they were needed they remained useless and this is the result of the negligence of the national health in civilized societies⁹³.

He argued that, after the war, every nation started to work for the betterment of the health organizations because it was a national and social aim. In Turkey, the organization which was set up by the Ministry of Health and Social Aid after the establishment of the Republic had the same aim.

Prof.Dr.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay gave a conference on a related subject titled "The Role of Heredity in the Health of the Race and the Solutions to Protect the Generation from Retreating" (İrk Hıfzısıhhasında İrsiyetin Rolü ve Nesli Tereddiden Koruma Çareleri, 1940)⁹⁴. According to Gökay:

Every creature on earth is responsible for performing two duties: one is personal survival, and the other is the survival of his kind. For every thinking individual, to bring a felicitous generation to world and to supply society he is belonging to with physically and mentally healthy elements is the most noble and natural Ideal (Ülkü)⁹⁵.

conditions: one was the prevention of the seed from hereditary loading and the other was its protection from elements that would cause retreat. Hereditary loading meant that the offspring carried the features (chromosomes) of the parents. This was an important fact with respect to the health of new generations. Thus, the world was concerned with eugenics and solutions preserving the health of the race:

As a result of these observations it was understood that idiotness by birth, schizophrenia, madness, hereditary epilepsy, cataract, diabetes, etc. are passed by genes. Thus, it is a national duty to give energetic, alert and healthy children to Turkish society as a gift by marrying physically and mentally healthy people, keeping in mind the laws of genetics. Some nations like Germany used sterilization method while democratic nations tried to reach this aim by establishing marriage consultation offices⁹⁶.

Another way to keep the seed healthy was to reduce alcoholism, syphilis, tuberculosis, X-rays, psychological and physical shocks. He reasoned it in this way:

The offspring of alcoholics tend to be immoral, they are inclined to commit crimes, and carry psychological diseases and epilepsy...It is a duty of humanity to protect the seed from retreating and to give importance to race in the issues of marriage. It is a duty of the People's Houses which are the sources of Turkish culture to enlighten all the citizens on these issues⁹⁷.

Assoc.Prof.Sara Akdik defended the same idea in her conference titled "The Protection of the Generation" (Neslin Korunması, 1940)⁹⁸. According to Akdik, the primary factor in evolution was natural selection, and the strongest survived. Thus, the greatest duty of every citizen was to create a strong generation that could win victory in every field.

According to Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak, in his conference titled "On the Factors of Committing Crime" (Suç İşlemenin Amillerine Dair, 1940):

Crime is a bio-social phenomenon. The criminal is under the effect of both his biology and the social environment he is living in. What we mean by biology are the hereditary and physical features of the criminal. It also includes psychology⁹⁹.

Environmental factors were the press (arousing the desire to imitate), the consideration of "honour", prisons, and the wide gap between rich and poor people. To support these ideas, Dr. Irmak presented statistics taken from the book of Lambroso titled *The Factors of Committing Crime*. Dr. Irmak also defended the idea that the crimes committed for political purposes or for "honour" should not be punished.

A murder committed as a result of a political ideal or honour can not be considered as being on the same level with a murder done for robbery. In the first one there is no need for a punishment, because the murder itself has an impact of punishment¹⁰⁰.

In his opinion, also there should not be short term prison punishment, instead there should be home confinement, judicial warnings, work punishment, monetary penalties, changing of city, physical penalties like dieting, cold showers, heavy work.

In his other conference, "The Retreat and Evolution of Nations" (Milletlerin Tereddi ve Istifası, 1940), Assoc.Prof.Irmak touched upon a related subject¹⁰¹. According to him:

The biological progress for a nation is related to reproduction. The average human type of the nation shows the type that wins the reproduction victory among others. In our time, the type that won this victory is genetically lacks the ability to create culture¹⁰².

He argued that, three methods could biologically affect the racial evolution of a nation: "a) Parachinetic b)Idiochinetic and c) Selection methods. Parachinesis means to create qualities by education and training which do not exist genetically."¹⁰³ If this training was exercised on every new generation in the same

He argued that, three methods could biologically affect the racial evolution of a nation: "a) Parachinetic b)Idiochinetic and c) Selection methods. Parachinesis means to create qualities by education and training which do not exist genetically."¹⁰³ If this training was exercised on every new generation in the same way then the effect would be ever-lasting like the hereditary features. "Individuals are trained in these years, in every nation within the scope of national sport programmes."¹⁰⁴ In his opinion, X-rays and radium rays had idiochinetic effects but they could not yet be used to achieve progress. Selection was the third method. It had two forms: passive and active. He explained them in this way:

- I) Passive selection is the avoidance of untalented people or criminals as well as prostitutes from reproduction.
- II)Active selection is the encouragement of certain people who have valuable hereditary features to reproduce¹⁰⁵.

Three solutions were thought for passive selection:

- a)prevention of marriage of untalented people and criminals...
- b)gathering of all asocial elements in an institution. It maybe wrong legally to limit the freedoms of certain people in society but if the high interests of society require this, it should be exercised in this way...
- c)to sterilize these people so that they will not be able to reproduce... The third proposal will change all the inheritance laws in the world...It is already proposed that the families who have few children should transfer some of their property (which would pass to the child as inheritance) to the state¹⁰⁶.

According to Irmak, that would lead to an increase in the number of children in each family. These were the possible solutions that Dr. Irmak put forward to achieve an evolution in a nation's race.

Ord.Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman in his second conference titled "Mental Diseases" (Akıl Hastalıkları, 1941), argued that:

In this conference, he defended nearly the same ideas presented in previous conferences. His aim was to find a solution to the problem of degeneration and achievement of a healthy race.

Assoc.Prof.Mümtaz Turhan in the conference titled "The Relationship between Physique, Character and Temperament" (Beden Yapısı, Seciye, ve Mizaç Arasında Münasebet, 1940), explained the typologies that Kretschmer, a German psychiatrist, had put forward¹⁰⁸. He had based his typologies on the relationship between the character and the physique. In this method, he measured various organs of the body like height, weight, head perimeter, shoulder width, the length of the arms and the legs, the diameter of the hips etc. He divided people into three types as the astenic, athletic, and picnic. The displastic type included people who did not belong to any of these groups. The first two types were inclined to schizophrenia, where as picnics were usually becoming manic-depressive. Ziklothum (ziklotum) and shizothum (şizotum) were two main types of temperament that these people had. Thus, by presenting these ideas in his conference, Turhan accepted and defended the idea that the biological qualities determined one's psychology and people could be classified by measuring their various organs.

Prof.Dr.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay touched upon the same subject in his conference "The Place of Characterology in Education" (Karakterolojinin Terbiye Sahasındaki Yeri, 1939)¹⁰⁹. He defended the idea that:

If the social structure and the racial qualities of a nation are considered while legislating laws, the works that are created will be effective and long-lasting. If the national guides know the characterology of the nation they can lead society from success to success¹¹⁰.

According to Gökay, the concept of character included in itself elements like senses, psychology, perception, reaction, the natural instincts and temperament. A national leader should

nation they can lead society from success to success¹¹⁰.

According to Gökay, the concept of character included in itself elements like senses, psychology, perception, reaction, the natural instincts and temperament. A national leader should elaborate these qualities of the nation very carefully and pursue policies accordingly.

Prof.Liepmann carried the subject of birth to a national level in his conference titled "The Content and Importance of Social Gynaecology" (İçtimai Jinekolojinin Mahiyeti ve Ehemmiyeti, 1937-1938)¹¹¹. According to him:

The interferences which are made during the birth process have an effect on the present time and on the future of the nation. In the nations which are at the time of nation-building and restructuring, the national importance of birth and gynaecology is grasped...Because if a nation wants to have a big army, as well as agricultural and industrial development it needs children¹¹².

But these children had to be physically and mentally healthy. To achieve this end, first of all the health of women had to be preserved especially through the birth process. He defended the idea that:

A strong future can be achieved by strong women... The most important capital of a nation is the health of the women and every child's life is a gain for the nation¹¹³.

Prof.Mazhar Uzman evaluated syphilis and neurological diseases as dangerous illnesses for individuals, families, race and the nation in his conference titled "Syphilis and Nerval Diseases" (Frengi ve Sinir Hastalıkları, 1943-1944)¹¹⁴. These illnesses had to be prevented to have a healthy future for the nation.

The same subject, the physical and psychological betterment of the human race, was elaborated again by Prof.Uzman in his other conference titled "The Importance of Psychiatry in

Society" (Ruh Tıbbının İctimaiyattaki Rolü, 1937-1938)¹¹⁵. German sterilization methods and marriage controls were shown as alternative solutions to achieve this aim:

As we have stated in our conference two years ago, in eugenics, which means to raise a good generation, Denmark, Switzerland, America, and especially Germany have gone too far and have applied the method of controlled sterilization. In other countries where these methods are not exercised, marriage is put under medical control¹¹⁶.

He argued that, marriage controls were exercised also in Turkey and this was a big step on the way of eugenics. This method was more useful than the sterilization method because in this way the possibility of a relationship between a healthy person and an ill one by marriage was prevented and healthy people married to give birth to healthy children. However in the sterilization method diseased people were not having children but they were also preventing other healthy people from being married. The healthy children were needed for the development of the nation and for the army. Thus, this subject was a very important subject that should not be neglected.

In another interesting conference titled "The Intellectual Development-in respect of Social Development" (Zihni Tekamül-İctimai Tekamül Olarak, 1937-1938) Prof.Dr.Peters attributed the low IQ degrees of the proletariat children to both bad living conditions and hereditary¹¹⁷.

In the conference, titled "Politics and Morality" (Siyaset ve Ahlak, 1942-1943) which was given by Prof.Gerhard Kessler, the moral principles that the statesmen had to act accordingly and their actual attitudes were touched upon¹¹⁸. Some moral principles were taken into the legal system as laws but no country could have included all the moral rules in its legal system. The state, which was at the center of this discussion, was composed of natural elements like territory, power and people and moral elements like the legal system. He argued that, the territory and power could not be good or evil because both could be used for good or bad reasons.

Thus, we have to discuss the issue of politics taking into consideration people and law, not territory or nature. Some coward people argue that "politics demolish the character" to reason their own political indifference. The truth is the reverse: "Only characteristic qualities demolish politics". The natural dispositions, and the characteristic features of people, politicians and the legal system are playing important roles in the quality of politics¹¹⁹.

According to him, the war which was made for creating a more perfect and just legal system, was legitimate. However, weak and evil people could create bad legal systems or could use good ones in wrong ways. This result was totally caused by people who were immoral and weak in character. He further argued that:

Everywhere one can come across these evil people and these people are called "natural born criminals". They are inclined to commit crimes and this is a natural part of their characters. Society can easily solve this problem. The state, the people, laws, courts, and the police have the strength to punish and deter these people in order to prevent future crimes. Furthermore, we can prevent their reproduction so that their immoral offspring will not join society¹²⁰.

In this way the contradiction between politics and morality could be solved because these immoral people would not take control of politics. He defended the idea that they had to struggle to achieve this end.

In his other conference, titled "Folk Character" (Halk Karakteri, 1938-1939), Prof. Kessler differentiated folks relying on their social divisions and occupational features, while taking nature, climate, blood, religion, and other cultural differences as secondary features¹²¹. According to him, the characteristic features of folks were caused by their being nomadic tribes, a peasant society, city people, big city people, or masses of workers in a capitalist system. According to him:

Statesmen and educators are convinced that they can have an effect on the character of people by training

can foresee the future would work on the character of its people¹²².

Traditions and good experiences should be taken as examples in this process of training people.

There are a couple of other university conferences which are not mentioned like "Healthy School Child" (Sağlam Okul Çocuğu, İhsan Hilmi Alantar 1943-1944), "The Role of Biological Cases in the Structure of Nation" (Biyoloji Vakıalarının Millet Bünyesindeki Rolü, Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak 1941-1942), "Social Health" (İçtimai Hıfzısıhha, Prof.Julius Hirsch, 1939-1940) , "School Health" (Mektep Hıfzısıhhati, Prof.Neşet Ömer İrdelp, 1939-1940), "New Treatment Ways of Psychological Illnesses" (Ruh Hastalıklarında Yeni Tedavi Usulleri, Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman, 1939-1940), "High Degenerates" (Yüksek Dejenereler, Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman, 1941-1942)¹²³. It can be argued that all these conferences have one common theme: The importance of the betterment of race in Turkey (by avoiding the physical and mental diseases in the future generations) and determination of the methods to achieve this end.

The word "eugenics" was first used in 1883 by the English scientist Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin. Galton who pioneered the mathematical treatment of heredity, took the word from a Greek root meaning "good in birth" or "noble in heredity". He intended it to denote the "science" of improving human stock by giving "the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable". Sir Francis Galton, Sir Charles Scott Sherington, Herman Joseph Muller, Charles Darwin, Charles Davenport, Karl Pearson, Gregor Mendel were among the most famous scientists who were influential in this subject. Especially Charles Darwin the author of *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man*, was one of the pioneers of this trend.

In the first half of the 20th century, eugenic aims merged with misinterpretations of the new science of genetics to help produce cruelly oppressive and, in the era of the Nazis, barbarous social results¹²⁴. The enthusiasts of eugenics were

In the first half of the 20th century, eugenic aims merged with misinterpretations of the new science of genetics to help produce cruelly oppressive and, in the era of the Nazis, barbarous social results¹²⁴. The enthusiasts of eugenics were unquestionably stimulated by the advent of Mendelian genetics in 1900 and its application to human heredity. A climate of receptivity to eugenic ideas had already been forming, in both the United States and Britain. Social-Darwinism, with its evocation of natural selection to explain diverse social phenomena, had brought about a flow of proto-eugenic writings that foreshadowed the important concerns of the post-1900 movement, particularly the notion that "artificial selection"-state or philanthropic intervention in the battle for social survival-was replacing natural selection in human evolution. Some regarded the possibilities of artificial selection as an opportunity, others worried that it was leading to the degradation of the race.

Important to the eugenics movement was the increasingly widespread notion that heredity determined not simply physical characteristics but also temperament and behavior. In the late 19th century a growing body of social-Darwinist writings had commonly held that paupers, and criminals were 'natural born criminals'. The research of the Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso convinced a generation of social analysts that there existed a criminal "type", defined not only by behavior but by physical characteristics. The biology of criminality had it that, since the crime-producing features of the physical organism must be hereditary, so must be criminality, especially since criminals tended to mate with each other. It can be argued that this "cult" of eugenics emerged partly because of Mendel's laws, increasing research done on hereditary and also because of the growing demands on the tax-payer. Statistics had shown a rapid and steady increase in the ratio of pauperism, insanity, and crime for the whole population. The support of these "defectives" had become a burden on the tax paying community especially during the Great Depression. But eugenics expressed social anxieties too. Especially in the United States,

assumptions of genetic differences between the white Protestants of Northern European stock and the country's substantial numbers of blacks and Jewish and Catholic immigrants figured significantly in the eugenics movement¹²⁵.

In Britain the Eugenics Education Society had been founded in 1907 and eugenicists sent their opinions to the *Times* and deputation to Westminster on matters of the poor laws, divorce, education, venereal disease, and feeble-minded people. Immigration from Eastern Europe, consisting largely of Jews, had been heavy since 1880's, but it had already been stemmed by the passage of the Aliens Act in 1905, which empowered the government to bar the entrance of passengers who were diseased, or were criminals or potential paupers. In May 1912, the government introduced a mental-deficiency bill and it was passed in July 1913. It reasoned such deficiencies not as heredity but as social incapacity. It also provided the possibility for many victims of mental deficiency to live in the outside community rather than institutions. The law did not impose mandatory segregation of all mentally handicapped people to prevent their reproducing themselves, and there was no mention of sterilization¹²⁶.

Britain passed no extensive law preventing the marriage of the mentally deficient, but in America by 1914, some thirty states had enacted new marriage laws or amended old ones. Three-quarters of the statutes declared voidable the marriages of idiots and of the insane, and the rest restricted marriage among the unfit of various types, including the feeble-minded and persons afflicted with venereal disease. The first state sterilization law was passed in 1907, in Indiana. Between 1907 and 1917, sterilization laws were enacted by fifteen more states, representing every region of the country except the South (by the end of 1920's the South was included too). Epileptics, the insane and idiots as well as criminals were in the scope of the laws¹²⁷. Since early in the century, California had led the nation in sterilizations and by 1929 had 6255 operations to its credit-almost twice as many as those of all other states combined ¹²⁸.

Sterilization was only the beginning of the Nazi eugenic programme. In the interest of improving the German race, the government provided loans to biologically sound couples whose fecundity would likely be a credit to the Volk; the birth of a baby would reduce the loan indebtedness by 25%. To foster the breeding of an Aryan elite, Heinrich Himmler urged members of the SS to father numerous children with racially preferred women, and in 1936 he instituted the *Lebensborn*-homes where SS mothers, married and unmarried, might receive the best medical care during their confinements. Later Nazi racial and eugenic policies merged. The regime promulgated eugenic marriage laws prohibiting the espousal of persons with mental disorders, certain infectious diseases, or different "racial" backgrounds. No exceptions were to be made in the case of unions between Jews and Germans. Later euthanasia was implemented¹²⁹.

The barbarousness of Nazi policies eventually provoked a powerful anti-eugenic reaction. Many thoughtful members of the British and American public had already recognized that a good deal was wrong with mainline eugenics. The opposition came from diverse sources both secular and religious. The Church stressed the role of love and religious ethics, rather than parental perfection of physique and intelligence, in producing offspring with eugenic qualities¹³⁰. In 1935, the American geneticist Hermann J. Muller was moved to write that eugenics had become hopelessly perverted into a pseudo-scientific façade for advocates of race and class prejudice, defenders of vested interests of church and state, fascists and Hitlerites, and reactionaries generally. By the mid-thirties, mainline eugenics had generally been recognized as an incoherent science. Jacob Landman summarized the failings of the creed:

It is not true that boiler washers, engine hostlers, miners, janitors and garbage men who have large families are necessarily idiots and morons. It is not true that college graduates, people in "Who's Who" and some "successful" people, such as racketeers and bootleggers, are necessarily physically, mentally, and morally superior parents...It is not true that celebrated individuals necessarily beget celebrated

offspring...(or) that idiotic individuals necessarily beget idiotic children...It is not true that, because the color of guinea pigs is transmissible in accordance with the Mendelian theory, therefore human mental traits must also be...It is not true that by any known scientific test, there is a Nordic race or that the so-called Nordic race is superior to any other race¹³¹.

Scientific research proved that there was no marked hierarchy of occupational groups with respect to IQ tests. And it was understood that sterilization would not help to achieve eugenics (for it had to be exercised for every generation and yet there was no guarantee) and people with mental diseases were not necessarily having diseased children.

Dr.Perihan Çambel in her book *Thoughts about Eugenics* (Ögenik Hakkında Düşünceler, 1946), praised the benefits of eugenic movements and evaluated the measures that were taken on behalf of this movement as essential measures¹³². She supported her thoughts by quoting İsmet İnönü's words and some articles from the Republican People's Party programme¹³³. İnönü was saying that:

It is an aim of the Republic to preserve the health of the nation by laws and foundations that were set up for this aim. Our target is to achieve great progress in our health policies in the following years¹³⁴.

In the programme of the Republican People's Party, it was stated that:

Our aim is to improve our health and social aid organizations to increase the population, to strengthen and make the generation beautiful, to support the family institution, to divert the children, who do not have families, to beneficial works for society¹³⁵.

Dr.Çambel summarized the eugenic movements and laws in Turkey in her book and it is beneficial to present this summary here to see to what extend these eugenic measures were implemented in Turkey in the 1930's and 1940's. These movements in Turkey were divided into two: indirect and direct movements.

A) Indirect Movements:

The indirect movements and thoughts were on behalf of eugenic measures to prevent epidemics harming generation. They could be examined in three sections:

- 1) The institutions and laws which aimed to prevent bad social conditions and epidemics that could affect the biological element of hereditary. These institutions and laws could be listed in this way:
 - a) Having no eugenic aims, The Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay) and "The Association for the Protection of the Turkish Women" (Türk Kadınlarını Esirgeme Derneği), protected women and children and assisted in their employment especially during the Balkan War.
 - b) Under the presidency of Tefrik Sağlam, "The Association to Struggle against Tuberculosis" (İstanbul Veremle Savaş Derneği) was set up along with "Skin and Sexual Diseases Community" (Deri ve Zührevi Hastalıklar Cemiyeti) for social and hygienic purposes but they should also be evaluated as eugenic measures because tuberculosis and syphilis were epidemics which could harm the next generation.
 - c) During the "University Conference Weeks" propaganda conferences were given propagating the struggle against those epidemics stated above.
 - d) The "General Health Law" (Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu) (which was amended in different years like 1930, 1932, 1934, 1941) was an important measure for the struggle against tuberculosis and syphilis. The "Marriage Regulations" prohibited the marriage of the diseased.
- 2) The health of women and children and their protection were important eugenic problems according to the American scientist Muller who worked on genetics. In Turkey, efforts on this subject could be summarized as follows:
 - a) Dr. Besim Ömer Akalın published many pamphlets enlightening the Turkish women about hygiene and child care to spread the eugenics ideal.
 - b) "The Institution to Protect Children" (Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu) which was set up in 1921 was engaged in activities to protect

children and mothers and these activities could be counted among indirect eugenic movements knowing that Dr.Fuad Umay who was the head of the institution had a strong eugenic ideal as a doctor.

3)Census and population statistics which were done since 1928 were worth mentioning on this subject¹³⁶.

B)Direct Movements:

Direct eugenic movements were composed of associations which were based on eugenic aims, medical congresses on the subject of eugenics, articles on birth control and sexual hygiene, a novel about eugenic aims, two official attempts to achieve eugenics. These movements could be listed like this:

1)Alcohol was opposed as a result of the observations which proved that it had bad effect on the reproductive cells. It could cause mutations in the genetics of a person. Two developments in Turkey could be mentioned on this subject:

a)In 1919, "Green Crescent" (Yeşilay) was set up by Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman and Prof.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay and it organized conferences as well as published pamphlets to prevent alcohol consumption.

b)In the Independence War the consumption of alcohol was banned but later the prohibition was abolished for economic considerations.

2)In the First World War "Association of Mental Diseases and Neurology" (Emrazı Akliye ve Asabiye Cemiyeti, later it was called "Association of Neuro-psychiatry" Türk Nöro-Psikiyatri Cemiyeti) was set up again by Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman and it initiated a struggle against syphilis, alcohol and drugs.(He had publications like "Sterilization and its Laws"). Three developments in Turkey were interesting to mention:

a)In 1930, to protect the next generation from mental diseases and to prevent their spread in society, an "Association of Mental Health" (Akıl Hıfzısıhhası Cemiyeti) was set up by Prof.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay. (He had publications titled "The Role of Heredity and Alcohol in Mental Diseases" Akıl Hastalıklarında İrsiyet ve Alkolün Tesiri and "The Issue of Eugenics and the Strength of the Race" Öjenik Meselesi ve

Irk Sağlamlığı.)

- b) In the Press Law the news about suicides were banned.
- c) The Civil Law gave the right of divorce to the person who married a mentally ill person (Article 133). Article 112 stated that the marriages of mentally ill people were voidable. (The article did not define the mental illnesses that were in the scope of this article)
- 3) The primary theme of the 7th Turkish Medical Congress was eugenics. Conferences which had titles like "The Application of Eugenics", "A General Look to the Issue of Eugenics", "The Principles of Genetics Based on Eugenics" were given. Many publications appeared on the subject¹³⁷.
- 4) Reşat Nuri Güntekin in his novel *Idles' Lodge* (Miskinler Tekkesi), based his story on the importance of hereditary and environment in the characteristics of a child.
- 5) Before the Second World War an attempt was made by a group of doctors to set up an Eugenics Association. It was set up but did not last very long¹³⁸.

To conclude, it can be argued that the political and social implications of social-Darwinism had been effective in various countries including Turkey, especially in the first half of the 20th century. According to people who believed in the value of eugenics, a "natural selection" was prevented by the interventions of the state and society, and the naturally weak people could survive in society, certain measures had to be taken to preserve the human race from degeneration. These thoughts were the results of research done on heredity and genetics especially in Britain and America. Furthermore, it was realized through this research that mental diseases could also be passed to offspring by human genes. The measures that were proposed found chances of realization especially in America and Germany. Although Britain had been the center of research, her laws were least affected from these developments. In Turkey, scholars tried to spread these eugenic ideas in society through conferences summarized above. Also, related marriage laws were passed, certain institutions were set up but these inhumane ideas were reflected to actual policy in a very limited way. But

it can be argued that these ideas were highly approved by the scholars and the political elite of the time.

D) Women: The Mothers of the Nation

Among the three series, three conferences were directly related to women's role in society and to the marriage-divorce issue. These conferences were given by Salih Şendil, Prof.Dr.Tevfik Kazancıgil and Prof.Sabri Şakir Ansay and they reflected their image of Turkish women. They emphasized the need for learned and knowledged mothers to rear beneficial sons for the nation. First of all, women were mothers. They had their parts in the division of labour as the supporters of men, their sons and husbands. When actual policies pursued in the 1930's and 1940's are examined, it can be argued that the political elite had other concerns related to women beyond the motherhood issue. The Kemalist reforms undeniably improved the status of women, opening the doors to the public realm but these rights were man-made privileges which were designed to achieve the outlook of a "modern", Western nation based on Turkish identity which got rid of its Islamic features. Under the influence of Ottoman nationalist and reformist intellectuals like Ziya Gökalp, women were treated as instruments in breaking away from the heritage of the Ottoman Empire. The state continued to evaluate female roles in a traditional fashion emphasizing reproduction and child care as important functions of women but it also aimed to pull women into the public realm for the establishment of a secular, "modern" nation-state. These conferences are important in reflecting the professors' perspective on women which constituted only one dimension of the policies implemented in those years.

The first conference which will be presented here was given by Salih Şendil (from Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty) and it was titled "The Impact of Women on the Progress of Nations" (Milletlerin Terakkisi Üzerinde Kadınların Tesiri, 1939)¹³⁹. According to Şendil, progress in the Western civilization was achieved with the help of educated and knowledged women:

If we examine the progress made by the Western civilization, we will see that the knowledged and learned women were considered as necessary elements of national development¹⁴⁰.

He presented the conversation which took place, according to him, between Napoleon and the director of an orphan school to demonstrate the correctness of his statement: Napoleon Bonaparte had asked the director what had to be done to raise the children properly, and she had told him that good mothers were needed. According to Şendil, that was what many important people were thinking, like: French King Saint Louis, Louis II, Henri Bianche IV, Kant, Barnau etc. There were many people like Lamartine who were good examples proving the good impact of mothers over their children. Thus, he came to the conclusion that: "Good teachers raise good students, however good mothers raise great and good men."¹⁴¹ But how these good mothers would be raised was still a problem. In his opinion, the problem could be solved by educating women:

Some people defend the idea that as women are not involved in politics or in wars, it is needless to educate them. But many forget that the men who will perform these activities will be raised by these women...Thus, these women should be encouraged to get educated¹⁴².

He further argued that Jean Jacques Rousseau had sensed the importance of women for society more than the others. He encouraged women to be wives and mothers for the children of the motherland. As time passed, these ideas were accepted to be true and it was understood that as women improved themselves, the strength and welfare level of the nation would increase. That was because "as women have education they learn how to raise children for the nation."¹⁴³ Şendil concluded by stating that:

The Eternal Chief Atatürk, who is a prodigy, admired by the whole world, knew the importance of these realities that I pointed out. In order to construct the future of the nation on strong grounds and to place it among the most developed nations, he abolished the

unequal status of women in society and promoted their revolution... Today all the educational institutions are accessible to women... These educated women who are the mothers of the future will have a better impact upon the children of the nation and will serve with their education and virtues on the way to national progress¹⁴⁴.

The second conference to be concerned here is of Prof. Dr. Tefvik Remzi Kazancıgil. He elaborated the psychological differences between men and women in his conference titled "The Psychology of Woman" (Kadın Psikolojisi, 1939-1940)¹⁴⁵. Under the subtitle "Psychology of Motherhood", he argued that:

Motherhood is the aim, the meaning and the ultimate expression of being a woman. It is possible to think that being a woman is basic and motherhood is the derivative of it. But it is an incorrect assumption because every phase of being a woman is a preparation for motherhood¹⁴⁶... What is important for a woman is to preserve her character, while surrendering to the man in the family. She has to persuade man to accept and approve her characteristic features and has to keep him in her spiritual and physical world. That is why family is a place of residence for men but it is a work place for women¹⁴⁷. Thus, the psychology of women is connected to the psychology of motherhood¹⁴⁸.

He further argued that:

Society wants service, order and productivity, from the individual. Full production is required in the division of labour. Women provide the physical survival of society by giving birth to children. Individualistic progress can be achieved by creating healthy and sturdy children. Children are educated and learn to be virtuous for the first time in the laps of their mother. Women can serve society in this way. A generation who evaluates "serving society" as an honourable work, is needed. Social spirit is an important part of the Turkish people and they owe their welfare to the Turkish mothers who whisper in the ear of their children their wish to see them die for the motherland¹⁴⁹.

These words reflected very well the nationalist and sexist attitude of Kazancıgil and other professors.

Prof. Sabri Şakir Ansay (from Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty), in his conference titled "Woman in our Recent Legal System and Society" (Bugünkü Hukukumuzda ve Cemiyetimizde Kadın, 1939), confirmed that the state was established upon the family¹⁵⁰. In the 53rd article of the Republican People's Party programme, it was stated that "the family is the basis of the Turkish society...and it constitutes the nucleus of social unity which is not only physical but also moral and spiritual."¹⁵¹

According to the 153rd and 278th articles of the Civil Code a woman had to be educated and had to possess a profession to be able to stand by her husband and help him intellectually and physically, to educate the children, take care of her family and husband, administer the property of her children and the firm of her husband, and to earn money for the welfare of her family.

He mentioned the ideas presented in the Republican People's Party programme:

We will always pursue the aim of increasing the population and creating a strong and sturdy generation. The great Germany wanted from every family at least four children. Neither the beauty concerns nor professional anxieties should prevent women from marrying and having children. This nation wants children from especially educated women¹⁵².

He also found beneficial to present what Atatürk had stated on this subject:

Besides their other duties in society, our women's most essential and virtuous duty is to be good mothers¹⁵³.

These were the main ideas presented in the conferences which were about the status of women in society. At this point, it will be appropriate to examine the single-party period with respect to actual policies, after mentioning the developments in

the last century of the Ottoman Empire, to understand the background of these ideas.

It can be stated that the patriarchal structure of Turkish society was the reason behind this perspective about women. Society is organized around the patriarchal principle based on male supremacy whereby women are subordinate to men. The family, society, the economy, and the polity are interrelated patriarchal units in which "the relationship between the sexes is one of dominance and subordination"¹⁵⁴. Following the social conduct women, being dependent upon men, give birth to children and raise them, while men have access to the public realm to earn the family's living. Consequently, the patriarchal relationship has the result that men holding economic power in society wield authoritative power within the polity¹⁵⁵.

Although the 19th and 20th centuries were marked with rapid social change in the Ottoman society, the legal status of women was shaped according to the Sharia Law of the Hanefi School together with the law of the Sultan until the 20th century. According to these laws, women were not equal to men, therefore, they needed protection. Polygamy was legal allowing men to marry four wives whom they could support. Men could dissolve the marriage on themselves and until the Tanzimat Land Reform the inheritance laws let the male's relatives have a larger share of inherited property, usually twice the portion of the female. But the Reform equalized the males and females on this issue. In public, women had to cover themselves and they usually lived in a private, separate realm¹⁵⁶. Their lack of education forced them to be dependent upon men and perform domestic roles. It was as late as 1858 that the first junior high school for girls was established. In 1911 the first senior high school and in 1914 the University for Girls, affiliated with the Girls Teachers College, were opened where only female teachers and at times old male teachers taught in accordance with the norms of seclusion¹⁵⁷.

Women started to quit their domestic roles when economic problems became severe along with the demands of war conscription for especially the Balkan War (1912-13). Also with

the impact of the West, women began to be employed in textile industry, in Istanbul Match Factory and in post offices and the civil service during the First World War. They also started to work for the Women's Center of the Red Crescent, Women's Branch of the Navy Association, Art House, and the Society of Guardianship which were formed around 1912. In these years, with the influx of women into the public realm, women's rights were started to be discussed especially by men. But in the discussions the education of women was seen necessary to create good mothers and wives. Namık Kemal's argument in "A Draft on Education of Women" stated:

In our land, women are totally ignorant and unaware of their rights and responsibilities...Hence the ignorance and illiteracy of our women of course leads their children in similar directions while their natural proclivities for love and affection which have not been restrained by right or wrong usually leads them to spoil their children in every way¹⁵⁸.

The Independence War (1919-23) initiated role changes for women because of men's recruitment to the army. But more important than this women fought alongside men in battle. Although these developments led to certain changes, the customs and roles could not be altered radically¹⁵⁹. Compared with their counterparts in other developing countries, especially those in the Muslim world, Turkish women enjoyed considerable civil and political rights. As early as the 1920's, they gained legal rights, including the right to choose their own spouse, initiate divorce, and demand child custody. In 1923, free elementary education was made mandatory for both sexes. Women were granted the right to vote and run in municipal elections in 1930, and in national elections in 1934. Consequently, although these rights were not equally enjoyed by the entire female population, many Turkish women gained access to education, public office, and employment opportunities¹⁶⁰. As a result of these specific reforms and the abolishment of the caliphate in 1924 which undermined the religious establishment, the patriarchal society

changed its form and became milder, losing its most important source, religion¹⁶¹.

In the conferences, presented above, the emphasis was put only on motherhood while evaluating the status and function of women in society. However, beyond the motherhood issue, the ruling elite had three major concerns for granting rights to women which were nationalism, Westernization and secularism¹⁶².

The cause of nationalism was connected to feminism. Reformist Ottoman intellectuals like Ziya Gökalp and Abdullah Cevdet, who influenced Turkish political leaders of the time believed in improving the status of women. Especially Ziya Gökalp, a Durkheimian sociologist, had a great impact on the Republican leaders with his theories on Turkish civilization and nationalism which were the starting points for Kemalist ideology. His ideas concerning civilization, religion, and family were used in building a unified and secular "Turkish nation-state" based on an identity as distinct as possible from the Islamic character of the multiethnic, multinational Ottoman Empire. Gökalp rejected Western modernity as a model for the Turkish nation and proposed the revival of the nation's ancient past, both "real" and constructed. The emancipation of women, as well as the progress of the nation, required a return to this original Turkish civilization, in which women were equal to men. These processes should not depend upon the imitation of the West. Gökalp attributed the deterioration of the culture, as well as the decline in women's status, to the Persian and Greek influence. By depicting women as the guarantors of the lost "Turkish past", Gökalp treated the emancipation of women and a "restoration" of gender equality as essential to re-establish the authentic Turkish civilization and to develop the "Turk" as opposed to the "Ottoman"¹⁶³. In accordance with the thoughts of Ziya Gökalp, Atatürk had stated that:

In our nation, in historic times, women possessed the highest status. Studying Turkish history, one sees that in Turkish social life women have never been lower in status, knowledge, culture or in other respects than men¹⁶⁴.

In loyalty to the Turkish heritage, the subjugated Ottoman woman should be replaced by the Turkish woman with equal rights and responsibilities to the man. Recognizing women's rights was a means of asserting the national character of republican Turkey¹⁶⁵.

Westernization, defined by Atatürk as the process of belonging to the ranks of civilized countries, was another important factor leading to the elaboration of the women's rights by the ruling elite. While Gökalp's influence can be observed in Republican government policies and in the official discourse that connected women's mobilization to national development, the feminist aspirations of his teachings were not completely fulfilled. Despite Gökalp's efforts to separate "modern civilization" from "Western civilization", treating the two as one was common among Kemalists. The West was defined as the "civilized", and the transformation of Turkish society according to the Western model was targeted as a national goal, one articulated as "ascending Turkey to the level of civilized societies". Women were assigned an important part in this modernization project, and their progress was interpreted as an important measure of success in achieving modernity ¹⁶⁶.

Finally, within the scope of the secularism principle, granting women's rights was seen essential to get rid of the Islamic heritage, and the traditional, religious outlook of the nation. The physical segregation of the sexes was seen as a distorted Islamic practice and rejected as being backward. The question of women's rights was one of secularization. From the late 19th century on, even before the question of the franchise for women was raised, Islamists strongly objected to changes of women's status in aspects of marriage, divorce and polygamy. Thus, the improvement of women's status meant undermining the legitimacy of the Islamists as well as deflecting Western criticism¹⁶⁷. Increasing women's presence and visibility in the public sphere was sought both as a way of overcoming backward practices and also to show how "modern" the new Turkey had become¹⁶⁸.

There are other approaches to the subject. For example, Şirin Tekeli argues that the reform bills on women rights were not the ultimate aim but they were used to reach other aims like to utilize the symbolic value of women's entry to the parliament to prove that Turkey was different from Nazi Germany where a nationalist one-party regime existed too. These reforms would prove to the Western world the democratic nature of the Turkish Republic. Unless women had equal status not only in the social, but also in the political realm, the state could not be fully democratic, secular, or even truly national. These reforms were dictated by the desire to Westernize. Tekeli further claims that legislation of women's political rights passed in two stages (1930 and 1934) because the leadership wanted to draw attention to the country's commitment to democracy one more time¹⁶⁹. Şirin Tekeli also showed that the model followed was one based on capitalist ideology. She wrote:

The objective of the revolutionaries was to create a modern Turkey and "modernity" was defined as the social organization prevalent in the West, i.e. capitalist social formation. The forces of production that the new state inherited from the Ottoman Empire were not developed enough to be historically determining: therefore one had to start with modernizing the superstructures. The new "Civil Code" adopted in 1926 recognized civil and property relations on the basis of the model relationships dominant in capitalist states¹⁷⁰.

Nermin Abadan-Unat emphasized the same point from another aspect. She claimed that though Mustafa Kemal focused his attention mainly on the elimination of polygamy, sex-differentiated legislation and traditional ethical norms, an assessment of these changes indicated that the revolutionary efforts through law had only resulted in partial changes both in the status and role of women in Turkish society. She added that the principle progressive changes were not fought for but were given by the government in order to prove that, in granting equal rights to women, the new Turkey was reaching a level of contemporary civilization and was a symbol of the world. Abadan

Unat concluded that "the major rights conferred on Turkish women were much more the result of unrelenting efforts of a small revolutionary elite, rather than the product of large-scale demands by the Turkish female population".¹⁷¹

In accordance with the ideas in the conferences, Zehra Arat argues in her article "Educating the Daughters of the Republic" in which she based her analysis on the secondary school curricula and government documents that, despite the emphasis on women's education, the system maintained a gender bias assigning primacy to the education of males, reinforcing traditional gender roles in the curricula and in vocational specialization, and attempting to restrict female students mobility and femininity. Arguing that the regime saw "motherhood" as the primary task of women, she found the gendered curricula and the emphasis on vocational training in home economics, fashion, midwifery and nursing as consistent with its ideology ¹⁷².

All these arguments approaching the subject from different aspects converge at one common point which is the instrumentalist treatment of the subject by the ruling elite. It can be argued that to improve the status of women in society was not the ultimate aim in itself but it was used to achieve other results. The reforms done in the 1920's and 1930's seemed to abolish the unequal status of women in society with respect to men, however the obstacles still continued to exist implicitly to prevent women from taking an active role in social and political life. Examples of this attitude can be summarized as follows:

In 1926, the Turkish Civil Code, modelled after the Swiss Civil Code, was adopted. This code improved the social status of women by abolishing polygamy, endorsing compulsory civil marriage, recognizing the right of divorce for both partners, and accepting egalitarian inheritance laws. But still it had articles that established male dominance in marriage:

*The man is the head of the union of marriage (Article 152/I).

*The union of marriage is represented by the husband (Article 154).

*The wife is responsible for taking care of the house...The wife

serves as the assistant and consultant of her husband to pursue the happiness of the family (Article 153/II).

*The wife can take a job or engage in a craft only upon the "explicit or implicit permission" of the husband (Article 159/I).

*Although the father and the mother share guardianship responsibilities, if there is a disagreement, the guardianship right is given to the father (Article 263)¹⁷³.

Article 68 of the Criminal Law restricts employment for women by banning them from jobs that involve physically demanding, dangerous and poisonous activities, on the grounds that these would threaten the reproductive function of women. Public administration comprised another area of employment denied for women. Although the law has no explicit gender restrictions for the appointments of *Vali* in provinces and of *Kaymakam* in towns, by excluding women from the post-bachelor training programs required for these posts, the government denied women the right to hold such offices¹⁷⁴.

Many women who were involved in the Kemalist movement and were once allies of the Republican leadership -such as Nezihe Muhittin, who founded the Association for Protection of Ottoman Turkish Women in 1913, the Women's People's Party in 1923, and the Women's League of Turkey after the party was abolished within the same year- and their political demands were continuously ignored. They were manipulated into sacrificing their interests for the sake of national unity. Atatürk himself talked them out of their attempt to establish a political party in 1923. Later he discouraged the League's attempt to nominate its own parliamentary candidates for the 1927 elections¹⁷⁵.

Thus, Turkish women's social and political rights were man-made privileges that served the grand design of Westernization based on nationalism and secularism. The Kemalist reforms undeniably loosened the bonds of the private realm, opening the doors to the public realm. However, these rights were not ends in themselves but means to reach certain aims. With the secularization of marriage, education of women, and the inclusion of women into the electoral process, the Republican

rather than as the equal and full partners of men, the Kemalist reforms intended to achieve little in changing women's lot¹⁷⁶.

E)Molding the Human Being: Sports

In this section three conferences which related directly to the subjects of sports and physical training (given by Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak and Assoc.Prof.Zeki Ragıp Yalım) and one from the physical health section (given by Ord.Prof.Akif Şakir Şakar) which emphasized the importance of physical training will be examined. Sports was an important issue in the 1930's and 1940's, and the Republican People's Party, included this issue into its programme, declared in the Third Congress in 1931. In the fifth section of the programme, concerning the subject of National Education and Training (Milli Talim ve Terbiye), it was stated that:

Our greatest aim is to achieve bodily as well as intellectual progress and to raise national character to the levels that our national history inspired...Our party considers all the national sports organizations that are established and will be established as very important for keeping the nation strong and strong-willed. The party has the duty to administer and protect these organizations¹⁷⁷.

Thus, sports was interpreted as an important issue in respect of national defence. When conferences are examined, it becomes clear that there were two inspiration sources on this subject: the first one was the Greek athletic ideal and the other was the attitude of Nazi Germany towards sports. In both examples, sports was seen instrumental in achieving strong and healthy people who were potential soldiers of the future. In the following pages, these sources and the state's perspective on this subject will be touched upon after summarizing the conferences which reflected professors' militarist and nationalist understanding of sports.

Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak in his conference titled "Sports and Science" (Spor ve İlim, 1939)¹⁷⁸ argued that: "Sports, is the disciplinization of the movement which is a physiological function."¹⁷⁹

In his opinion, sports was a field of science as long as it was systematized and had two branches of education: a) sports techniques b) sports medicine. According to Irmak, sports was no longer an activity done for breaking records or a private hobby of some people. He argued that:

Sports has transcended the borders of age, sex, and classes and it became a crucial element in the lives of nations. It is a great cultural activity that revitalizes the interaction of people with their bodies, harmonizes the relation of the body with the spirit and increases the productivity of people in every field and creates nations...In sports, there is a need for trained physicians and there are 3000 physicians today in Germany who are experts on sports. Sports medicine became an important branch of medical treatment because the issue of sports gained a new meaning and importance¹⁸⁰.

The reason of this development was the disastrous effect of World War both on the victorious nations and the losers. To replace the lost 16 million people, and to reconstruct the nations, new measures were needed while the competition over raw materials heated the atmosphere. He further argued that, most important of all, there was a moral degeneration and people were dragged to cities where they lost their interaction with nature. Bodily pleasures prevented the desire to reproduce and epidemics were spread all around the world. The population of the villages was decreasing and nations were getting older. According to Irmak: "Under such circumstances, nations discovered sports as a new instrument to realise the morality renaissance. Thus, sports is not a bodily but a moral need."¹⁸¹

Irmak explained that, the Ancient Greece had also given importance to this issue and people like Bier, Klapp, Tschammie, who evaluated sports as an effective means of progress in their writings, had taken Ancient Greece as an example for themselves. Sports was not a tool of excitement any longer but it was an activity of discipline that lasted from birth to death. In his opinion, education of sports physicians was a very important issue and the universities in the Western countries had offered

separate courses for these physicians. The Berlin Olympiad had been a good example on which scientific research had to be done. According to Irmak, Turkish youth would be successful on this issue too.

In his second conference titled "An Investigation on German Sports Organization" (Alman Spor Teşkilatı Üzerine Bir Tetkik 1939), Assoc.Prof.Irmak again speculated on the same subject¹⁸². He stated that 22 million German people were actively involved in sports and there were 49.000 sport organizations in Germany. According to Irmak:

The only aim of these organizations is not to raise healthy and sturdy people. Sports is a moral issue and it is the reflection of a new world vision which provides the strongest support for the regime...For the Greeks, sports is a means in creating 'the ideal man' whose spirit and body are in harmony¹⁸³.

Sadi Irmak further explained that, after Germany's defeat in the First World War, August Bier, for the first time, had defended the idea that the only way to save the nation was to process the only raw material that was left behind, the "human being". His book was titled *Sports, the Only Means for the Salvation of the German Nation*. The National Socialist Workers Party in Germany took this project under its control and added it to the state programme. As a result, 22 million people became actively interested in sports. Dr.Irmak listed major points of the sports policy in Germany:

- *The ideology of sports is based upon the idea that the body and the spirit is a union. The origins of this understanding is found in Hellenic times.
- *National sports are kept away from the idea of profit-seeking. Sports is the expression of a new world vision and a new way of worshipping.
- *The state is propagating sports and the sportsmen, not the state, pay the expenses of these activities.
- *Sports is propagated through many channels like schools, universities, occasions, Press, competitions, army.
- *In every university there are investigation institutions and there is State Sports Academy

vision and a new way of worshipping.

- *The state is propagating sports and the sportsmen, not the state, pay the expenses of these activities.
- *Sports is propagated through many channels like schools, universities, occasions, Press, competitions, army.
- *In every university there are investigation institutions and there is State Sports Academy that do research on physiology, psychology and pedagogy of sportsmen.
- *Success in sports can be achieved through science, propaganda and organization.¹⁸⁴

He stated that, the Sports Union (DRL) (in Germany) which was responsible for 49.000 private sports organizations constituted the nucleus. Its director was appointed directly by the head of the state and was responsible only to him. All the organs of the organization were under his control. He was the under-secretary of the Interior Minister, advisor of the Party Sports Organizations, and the head of the Sports Academy. Dr. Irmak counted the organs of the government and the party related to sports in this way:

- *The Interior Ministry: The under-secretary of the Minister is the authoritative chief of the sports activities.
- *The Ministry of National Defence: It organizes the sports activities of the soldiers.
- *The Ministry of Culture: It arranges the sports activities among schools.

Party Organs:

- *SA (sports organization of the Attack Team)
- *SS (sports organization of the Protection Team)
- *SY (sports organization of the Hitler Youth)
- *AD (sports organization of the Compulsory Work Service)
- *KDF ("Strength from Joy" organization): Each German is involved in this organization and does sports continuously¹⁸⁵.

He further explained that, the DRL federation was supplying opportunities for the ones who were not involved in any of the organizations stated above. The center of this federation was in Berlin. One of the conditions to become a trainer was to be a

pure German belonging to the Aryan race. Dr. Irmak concluded by advising to take the German sports organization as a model:

These are lessons from the successful organization of sports in Germany:

German sports activities are in a period of continuous progress. The three components that support this progress are, science, propaganda and organization. These three factors were combined together in an harmonic and systemic way and today 22 million people can be sent to stadiums as active sportsmen. This number is more than one fourth of the whole population. This is a very important development for the improvement of the race, formation of the character and for the defence of the nation¹⁸⁶.

In his opinion, Turkey should organize its sports institutions in the same way. First of all, sports departments in Istanbul and Ankara Universities should be opened. Every university student should take compulsory sports courses for two semesters just like in Germany. Each factory should become a center of sports. Propaganda should be made to encourage people to participate in sports. In ceremonies, on the anniversaries of the Republic, competitions should be organized. According to Dr. Irmak, these efforts would affect the progress of the nation very positively, if the German example were studied very carefully to establish a proper system also in Turkey too.

Ord.Prof.Akif Şakir Şakar, emphasized the importance of body training concerning disabled children in his conference titled "Physical Training of Disabled Children" (Malul Çocuklarda Beden Terbiyesi, 1939-1940) ¹⁸⁷. He pointed out to examples from history to prove that all the strong states were composed of people who participated in and enjoyed sports. Before Christ, the Egyptian and Greek civilizations had given importance to sports and their attitude towards sports could be traced from their sculptures of sturdy and strong men. Turkey also needed to train Turkish children bodily to protect them from physical degeneration:

importance of sports in national life, Prof. Şakar gave technical information to cure disabled children. Assoc.Prof.Zeki Galip Yalım touched upon the same subject, in his conference titled "Sports-Health-Culture" (Spor-Sağlık Kültür, 1938)¹⁸⁹ in which sports was again evaluated from a nationalist point of view and different national systems of sports were presented.

In these conferences, professors put forward similar ideas emphasizing the importance of sports. They shared the common view that sports was a national issue and it had to be evaluated in respect of national defence. A sturdy, healthy, and strong youth was the guarantee of a nation so the state should organize sports activities. In this way the generational characteristics would improve creating a healthy race. Strong nations needed strong populations.

As Sadi Irmak mentioned in his conference that there were two important inspiring sources for the scholars and the political elite on the issue of sports: Ancient Greece and Nazi Germany. Having presented in details the importance Germans gave to sports in Irmak's conference, it will be appropriate to touch upon the role of sports in Ancient Greece to grasp well their point of view.

The athletic ideal of Greece is largely due to the practical character of Greek athletics. Every Greek had to be ready to take the field at a moment's notice in defence of hearth and home, and under the conditions of ancient warfare his life and liberty depended on his physical fitness. Greece was never free from war -wars of faction, wars of state against state, wars against foreign invaders- and ancient warfare made no distinction between combatants and non-combatants. Every citizen was a soldier, physical fitness was a necessity to him, and his athletic exercises were admirably calculated to produce this fitness. Running and jumping made him active and sound of wind; throwing the discus and the spear trained hand and eye for the use of weapons; wrestling and boxing taught him to defend himself in hand-to-hand warfare¹⁹⁰.

Turkish political elite of the 1930's and 1940's was also interested in sports. Their attitude to this issue can be traced

no distinction between combatants and non-combatants. Every citizen was a soldier, physical fitness was a necessity to him, and his athletic exercises were admirably calculated to produce this fitness. Running and jumping made him active and sound of wind; throwing the discus and the spear trained hand and eye for the use of weapons; wrestling and boxing taught him to defend himself in hand-to-hand warfare¹⁹⁰.

Turkish political elite of the 1930's and 1940's was also interested in sports. Their attitude to this issue can be traced from their speeches. On the 17th anniversary of the Republic, the General Director of Physical Training (Beden Terbiyesi Genel Direktörü) General Cemil Taner gave a speech on the radio explaining the importance of sports for the nation:

Hundreds of thousands of Turkish youngsters in the army, schools, the People's Houses, youth clubs, continue to work intensively for the protection of the Turkish Republic, Turkish independence, and Turkish reforms within the scope of the rules and principles of the physical training...The Turkish youth who is raised to protect these holy things prepares itself to succeed in performing the duties that our Republic expects. The youth is expected to constitute a mass that is well-equipped, healthy, strong, faithful, strong-willed and that has mental and physical balance...The Turkish youth is raised in youth clubs as well as in schools and army in this spirit and atmosphere to have a working head, a swift body, a steel soul, to get what is needed, to be successful in anything wished, and young people consequently turn into a disciplined strength...who will make today's honoured and credible Turkey a more happy nation...It is our duty to train tomorrow's young people properly so that they can have strong and powerful bodies as well as strong spirits, faith, intellectual capacity and aims...Our aim is to improve the spiritual, intellectual, and bodily capacity of the Turkish citizen and youth according to the main principles and laws of physical training. This improvement will be useful in realising the national aims. The youth clubs and groups are centers of the organized Turkish youth where national training, reformist training, and physical training are given¹⁹¹.

Atatürk also evaluated the issue of sports in his speech given on the 30th of September, 1926, to the Union of Turkish

Physical Training Leagues (Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı). He stated in this speech that:

Throughout the world, the sports life and sports world are very important. There is no need to explain its reasons to experts like you. Sports is more important for us than for other nations. Because it is an issue of race...It is the army that defends the holy motherland and the high interests and pride of the Turkish nation. Can we think of any other much more important base? And I address you, standing before this precious and great strength:

The efforts to turn every child and the whole nation into sportsmen are also very precious and important. These people (sportsmen) constitute a precious source for our honoured army and they also prove that they are worthy of being protected...To be successful, we, as the whole nation, have to understand the importance of sports and regard doing sports as a national duty...I want sturdy and brave children. You have the responsibility to raise them. If I see this result I will not complain any more¹⁹².

Dr.İhsan Şükrü Aksel's article which was published in the monthly *Medicine Journal* in March, 1941 under the title "The Relation of Sports with the Body Structure and Character"¹⁹³ is another example of these speeches on the issue of sports. He explained the reason of all these efforts in sports:

As a result of these efforts, we aim to achieve: High biological features, the betterment and training of the race, to abolish hereditary defects and to make everybody understand that sports is a need for every citizen at any age and sex¹⁹⁴.

Consequently, it can be stated that the political elite and professors emphasized the issue of sports, considering its utility for national defence and saw it instrumental in achieving strong, healthy people who were potential soldiers of the future. This attitude which was clearly expressed by Dr. Irmak in his conferences also existed in Nazi Germany and Ancient Greece. They had also similar purposes in promoting sports. In short, in Turkey, in the 1930's and 1940's, sports

became an important means for the political elite to reach certain militarist aims.

CHAPTER VI: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, significant ideas which were put forward in the conferences given throughout the years between 1935 and 1945, by the professors of Istanbul University and Ankara Language and History-Geography Faculty are classified according to their themes and analysed. Three series of conferences are analysed with respect to certain themes. The first series took place between 1935 and 1945 at Istanbul University, the second one lasted throughout the year of 1938 and was held in various People's Houses just like the third series which took place between 1939 and 1941. Nine major themes including law, economics, state, society, nationalism, history, physical and psychological health, woman, and sports were selected for analysis because they are significant themes from which can be drawn a framework of the ideological orientation of these professors. The purpose of this analysis is not only to put forward the ideological orientation of the professors but also to describe the political-social model presented in the conferences according to which people were to be mobilized. These conferences can be evaluated as a means of political mobilization, because they were organized as a result of the Republican People's Party's request and furthermore the majority of the ideas which were made public had great similarities with the policies pursued by the government in those years. Thus, this analysis pointing to the intellectual sources of these ideas shed light on the nature of the political model supported both by the scholars and the political elite in Turkey who turned these ideas into actual policies.

The Republican People's Party, being the only party which entered the elections from 1923 till 1946, had a major role in shaping the political regime of Turkey in those years. The Republican People's Party's primary aim was to achieve a civic and political transformation in society. According to the leaders of the party, the achievement of this transformation would be possible with a materialistic perspective on life combined with a relativist view of society through controlling the government and the education system. This mentality

restricted the Republican People's Party within the framework of the old elitist leadership philosophy.

By discarding the opposition several times through the 1920's, the Republican People's Party came to represent the ideas of the "modernist" group closely supporting Mustafa Kemal. The Progressive Republican Party and the Free Republican Party incidents were important examples to this "elimination of the opposition" process besides others. Towards the end of the 1920's, the centralist-authoritarian structure in Turkey started to be consolidated. An example of this centralization process in politics was observed in the Second Congress of the Republican People's Party (1927). The right to nominate parliamentarians was transferred from the party assembly to the general president of the party who was Mustafa Kemal at the time. Besides this, party inspectors would have initiatives in the management of political, social, cultural, and economic organizations. "The Law on the Maintenance of Order" (Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu) put into action in 1925 and lasting until 1929, gave free hand to the party to censure the press. In the Third Congress (1931) six principles, republicanism, populism, nationalism, secularism, revolutionism and étatism entered the party programme and later in 1937 they entered the constitution. In 1935 the post of general secretary was combined with the Domestic Affairs Ministry and local governors would be the presidents of the party in the provinces. The "Eternal Chief" and "National Chief" concepts were adopted in referring to Atatürk and İsmet İnönü, respectively. The misuse of the "Tax of Wealth" which laid all the burden of the tax on non-Muslims was one of the significant events of the 1940's.

While interpreting the political developments in Turkey in this period, it is beneficial to take into account the developments in Europe which had a great impact on Turkey. While political institutions were reconstructed in Turkey through the 1920's and 1930's, single-party regimes were established in Europe which constituted new and attractive alternatives to other regimes. Turkish intellectuals and the political elite turned their attention to these new alternatives after the 1929

Depression. Single-party systems established as a result of the crisis of the parliamentary democracies, provided legitimacy for these kind of systems in other countries. In newspapers like *Cumhuriyet* and *Ulus*, in journals like *Ülkü* and *Kadro*, writers got interested in these new developments in Europe. Articles were written on countries like Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union which had authoritarian and even totalitarian regimes. They were presented as successful models of development. Taking into account the ideological differences between the stated countries, especially between the Soviet Union and others, it can be argued that they admired and proposed a system with which discipline in the country would be established, the principles of the revolution would be rooted in society and people would be trained to admire the values of the party members.

The People's Houses were established under this international influence. Having observed their existence in Italy, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the Republican People's Party leaders found it necessary to establish such an institution in Turkey in 1932. It can be stated that the only aim of these houses was not to teach people arts and sciences but also to socialize them politically and to achieve the familiarity of the masses with the values of the revolution and the party. This result can be deduced from the various speeches of the party leaders related to the People's Houses. For example Recep Peker in his speech given in 1936, argued that the aim of the Houses was to make the nation a classless, solid mass in which people would understand each other and would lean on each other¹. The importance of the People's Houses for this thesis comes from the fact that many conferences interpreted here, were held in the People's Houses.

The other location where professors presented their conferences was Istanbul University. Istanbul University which was previously named "Dar'ül-Fünun of Istanbul" had gone through rearrangements in the 1920's but the education could never reach a satisfying level according to the political elite of the Republican period. The school was not responding to the radical changes of the time. For example according to Reşit Galip, who

was the Education Minister between 1932 and 1933, great political and social movements were taking place in the nation concerning economics, law, language, history but Dar'ül-Fünun preferred to remain silent and did not join the revolutionary excitement of the nation². Through 1932 and 1933, many articles written in newspapers and journals complained of the isolationist attitude of the University. Burhan Asaf stated in Kadro that the revolution was ten years old but it was a very sad situation that the one and only science and youth house was unable to reflect the revolution which was an economical, social and political movement³. In this atmosphere, Albert Malche, a Swiss professor of pedagogy in the University of Geneva, was invited to Turkey to prepare a report for the rearrangement of the university in order to achieve a higher quality of education. One year after the submission of the report, the law 2252 about the university, which was prepared according to the suggestions of Malche, was ratified on the 31th of May 1933 . As a result of the 1933 reform in the Dar'ül-Fünun of Istanbul, 92 out of 151 professors were left out of the university. According to Cemil Bilsel, who was the first rector of the university after the short office term of Neşet Ömer İrdelp, most of the professors who were left out were the valuable and hardworking children of the nation and in this way their chance to be useful had been completely taken from them⁴. This elimination process among the professors of the Dar'ül-Fünun could be realised easily, because many foreign, mostly German, qualified professors were expected to come to Turkey in July 1933. As a result, in the new university, 27 Turkish, 38 German ordinarius professors, 18 Turkish, 4 German professors and 93 Turkish assistant professors were employed from 1933 onwards. After the reform was completed, Cemil Bilsel emphasized that the high interests of the Turkish nation and the Turkish republic ruled all over the professorships of the university. Thus, the university reform which seemed to be a technical and scientific reform turned out to be a reform aiming to establish a close relationship between the political elite and the university and

a university that would support the principles of the Turkish Revolution and the political elite⁵.

In this thesis, the specific three series of conferences which were held in the People's Houses and at Istanbul University are divided into nine major themes as stated above. For each theme, the ideas which were mostly emphasized are determined, the way that they were expressed are given in quotations. Then, their analysis and interpretation are put forward by going into their intellectual sources, besides presenting the actual policies in Turkey and when necessary in Europe.

The first four themes are gathered under the title of "Views on the State and Society". Law is the first of these four themes and the conferences which consist of the views on law amount to 32. When all the conferences related to law are examined, it can be stated that the rights and freedoms of individuals were the most elaborated significant subject. The significance of this subject comes from the fact that it gives a clue about the nature of the political system and the legal system that these professors defended. Relying on the major points emphasized throughout the conferences, it can be stated that three currents of thought were influential on the professors. The first one was corporatism that gained popularity in the inter-war years, the second one was the German idealism of the 19th century, particularly Hegel's philosophy, and the third one was the ideas of the 19th century French jurists like Duguit, Salleile, Josserand etc... The major components of their ideas can be listed as follows: the idea of natural law was rejected; according to most of the professors objective laws existed instead of subjective laws and they could easily be limited if the general or national interests were in danger; individualism under the title of liberalism and also socialism were rejected; collectivism which would be achieved as a result of an organized society composed of corporations were defended; these organizations which were based on professions would arrange society on the basis of solidarity and would emphasize

the importance of duties and functions more than the rights and freedoms.

The second theme analysed is economics. The conferences on economics amount to 32. Three main subjects are observable in these conferences and they are "World Economy and Free Trade", "Etatism and its Benefits" (especially for Turkey), and "Financial Policies" (which is not taken into consideration). When the conferences are examined it is noticeable that all of the Turkish professors were on the side of étatist policies and high custom tariffs as well as quotas. Among the German professors, Dobretsberger, clearly defended étatism and Fritz Neumark expressed his support of state intervention in order to establish the welfare state. Contrary to these ideas, Röpke and Rustow showed the advantages of free trade and the world economy. The conferences are significant in making visible that most of the professors defended étatism. Their ideas were in line with the actual policies of the Turkish state in those years. They defended the idea that backward economies could only achieve industrial development if the state intervened and organised the most utilitarian allocation of resources. Infant industries should be protected otherwise competition with the products of the developed countries would destroy the newly developing industries. In short, the economic perspective of the Turkish government was supported by most scholars and explained to public.

The third theme is about the professors' perception of the state. Among the 6 conferences which are about state theories, three of them are taken into consideration because of their significant common emphasis on the leadership principle. The role that was given to the leader in state organization in all these conferences gathers them into the same group. The leader was treated as a sacred entity that held the faith of the nation in his hands. His existence was necessary if the nation wanted to reach salvation. This leader concept which was also touched upon by Thomas Carlyle, Max Weber, and Friedrich Nietzsche found its radical expression in fascism and national socialism that necessitated worshipping the hero or the leader. Although

the emphasis on the leader in these conferences was not as radical as the one in fascist and national socialist ideologies, it is clear that the leader was elevated to a status from where he controlled and had to control everything.

The professors' perception of society constitutes the fourth theme and there are 6 conferences related to this subject. It can be argued that there are two main points of emphasis in these conferences: the first one is the issue of "family" and the other is the importance of the "division of labour" principle and organic solidarity for social progress. The family was seen as an important instrument in order to create a new society. It was important because the child was primarily educated in the family. If the necessary values could be taught to the child at an early age in the family environment then the social reforms in the Turkey of the 1930's and 1940's could be rooted more easily. The ideal order of society could be achieved through the occupational specialization of individuals creating an unseen bond between them, and an atmosphere of solidarity. In this way, social unrest and dissolution would be prevented. These were the main ideas in the conferences which reflected the "society" understanding of the scholars.

The last five conferences are gathered under the title "Nationalism and Nation-Building" because of their common emphasis put on the attachment to nation and on the blueprints for restructuring it. The first theme of this chapter is on the "promotion of nationalism in the conferences" and seven conferences are taken into consideration in which the importance of national consciousness, and national identity together with the devotion to the motherland were the mostly elaborated subjects. The nation was the holy thing that had to be worshipped and nationalism was a way of expressing this attachment to the motherland. The other emphasis points were: greatness of the Turkish leaders in the past and the contributions of Turks to world civilization, racial differences among nations and the necessity to achieve unity in a nation, the degrading of non-Muslim merchants in Turkey, and lastly the importance of the creation of a national literature which

represented national characteristics. All these themes point to a common understanding of nationalism among these conferences. They correspond to an ideological structure in which both voluntary and romantic/cultural nationalism prevail. This nationalist trend that came into being in the late 19th century as a remedy to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, continued during the Republican period with increasing amounts and these conferences are good examples expressing the nationalist sentiments of the 1930's and 1940's.

Turkish history and language is the second theme under this title. There are three conferences which are about Turkish history, defending the Turkish History Thesis and two conferences about the Sun Language Theory. It is worthwhile to mention that in these conferences the professors repeated the ideas that the political elite had put forward in those years. The nationalist government in Turkey needed to find a new base for the nation-state which would be created out of the old society and that new base was found in the nationalisation of the history and the language. In this process, it can be argued that especially France and Germany, which were the cradles of nationalism, inspired the historians and politicians of the late 19th century Ottoman Empire and the Turkification process, which was evaluated as a necessary component of creating a national unity, started. Consequently, the Turkish History Thesis and Sun-Language Theory were created in the 1930's which were also a reaction to the Western perspective on Turkey. The role of Turks for the world civilization and the importance of their language were emphasized to prove that Turkish people were not barbarian, but the creators of civilization. These attempts aimed to revitalize the community in Turkey just after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

The third theme is physical and psychological health on which there are 108 conferences. Physical and psychological health were elaborated in most of these conferences as a national matter. The aim put forward in them was the creation of a physically and psychologically healthy generation for the well-being of the nation. The purpose of giving several

conferences on this subject was to "enlighten" the population on this issue and to propose health policies while explaining the existing ones to prevent child mortality and the formation of a "degenerated" society. Low number of the population which was composed of unhealthy people was interpreted both by the political elite and professors as a very serious problem for Turkey.

The fourth theme is about women, their role in society and the issue of marriage-divorce. Three conferences directly reflected the image of women, emphasizing the need for learned and knowledged mothers to rear beneficial sons for the nation. First of all, women were mothers. They had their parts in the division of labour as the supporters of men, their sons and husbands. When actual policies pursued in the 1930's and 1940's are examined, it can be argued that the political elite had other concerns related to women beyond the motherhood issue. The Kemalist reforms undeniably improved the status of women, opening the doors to the public realm but these rights were man-made privileges which were designed to achieve the outlook of a "modern", Western nation based on Turkish identity which got rid of its Islamic features. Under the influence of Ottoman nationalist and reformist intellectuals like Ziya Gökalp, women were treated as instruments in breaking away from the heritage of the Ottoman Empire. The state continued to evaluate female roles in a traditional fashion emphasizing reproduction and child care as important functions of women but it also aimed to pull women into the public realm for the stated reasons. In this way, the Kemalist regime reconstructed and legitimized patriarchal structures⁶. These conferences are important in reflecting the professors' perspective on women which constituted only one dimension of the regime's perspective.

The fifth and the last theme of this chapter is sports and four conferences, directly on the subject of sports emphasizing the importance of physical training, are examined. In these conferences sports was given importance in considering the defence of the nation and was seen instrumental in achieving strong, healthy people who were potential soldiers of the

future. The two inspiring models, Nazi Germany and Ancient Greece had also similar purposes in promoting sports. Therefore, it can be argued that sports was perceived as one of the important instruments for achieving militarist aims in the Turkey of the 1930's and 1940's, and the importance that the single-party of the time, the Republican People's Party, gave to sports can be traced from its programme which was declared in the Third Congress of the party, in 1931. In this programme, it was stated that the aim was to make bodily as well as intellectual progress and to raise national character to the levels that the Turkish national history inspired...Party had considered all the national sports organizations that were established and would be established as very important to keep the nation strong and strong-willed. The party had the duty to administer and protect these organizations⁷. Thus, sports was interpreted both by the professors and the political elite of the time as a means to achieve a strong and sturdy army defending the nation against enemies.

Consequently, it can be stated that most of the ideas that were presented to public were overlapping with the ideas that were promoted by the political elite of the time. It is certain that the university reform of 1933 leaving out a number of professors and keeping those who were close to the government was a factor in achieving this result. Another factor can be the party's suggestion to professors to give these conferences and as high number of these were given in the People's Houses, where political and cultural training of people were realised, there emerged a similarity between the ideas of the professors and the political elite. Thus, one can come to the conclusion that the function and purpose of these conferences were political socialization.

Socialization can be defined as the process by which individuals are made aware of the expectations that others have of their behaviour. This process results in the acquisition of the norms, morals, values and beliefs of a social group or society by the people. The aim of the socialization process can be specified as to inculcate individuals values, beliefs and

codes of behaviour of a social group or society. The family, friendship groups, schools, political parties, the government, the army, the workplace, trade unions, business associations, the church, mosques, synagogues, the mass-media, cinema, publishing houses, clubs, coffee houses are all included in what are called the agents of socialization.

Propaganda is a means to create political socialization. It is generally defined as the activity, or the art of inducing others to behave in a way in which they would not behave in its absence⁸. In other words, it is the relatively deliberate manipulation, by means of symbols (words, gestures, flags, images, monuments, music, etc.), of other people's thoughts or actions with respect to beliefs, values, and behaviours which these people regard as controversial⁹. There can be political, moral, religious, economic propaganda¹⁰.

Propaganda induces the desired behaviour without influencing by means of force, compulsion or reward. Thus, the central element in propagandist inducements, is communication as opposed to compulsion on the one side and payment, or bribery, on the other¹¹. The elements of deliberation and manipulation distinguish propaganda from merely casual communication or the 'free' exchange of ideas. Academic establishments and schools where education is carried out are important and suitable places to realise this kind of 'communication'¹².

To conclude, in respect to the themes that are examined here, most of the professors propagated an authoritarian political regime which had the following features: individuals should have no absolute rights and freedoms, and the state had to intervene in economics for the well being of the nation. Nationalism was inculcated to the people who should be physically and psychologically healthy and the state should take measures to get rid of the degenerated sick people. Women had to be educated to raise children well. Leaders should be evaluated as heroes to be worshipped, and society should be divided into occupational groups based on the division of labour principle emphasizing the duties and functions of people. Sports had to be given importance in regard to the defence of the nation, and

history and language had to be considered from a nationalist perspective. Within the framework of this kind of a political regime, these conferences intended to mobilize people in certain directions on certain subjects. In this way "one classless mass, one belief, one silence, one excitement" could be achieved¹³. Thus, involvement of professors in this activity can be specified as the result of the efforts, which became effective in reform preparations, to make the university an instrument of the regime like all the other educational mechanisms in Turkey¹⁴.

APPENDIX

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE CONFERENCES ACCORDING TO THEIR THEMES

CONFERENCES GIVEN IN THE PEOPLE'S HOUSES

a) 1938 SERIES

*LAW

- 1) Marriage And Divorce (Evlenme Ve Boşanma)-Assoc.Prof.Hıfzı Veldet
- 2) The Dialectic Movement In Law (Hukukta Diyalektik Hareket)-Assoc.Prof.Orhan Arsal

*ECONOMICS

- 1) Our Money System After The Establishment Of The Republic (Cumhuriyetten Sonraki Para Sistemimiz)-Assoc.Prof.Muhlis Ete
- 2) Turkey's Foreign Debt Issues (Türkiye'nin Harici Tediye Meseleleri)-Assoc.Prof.Refii Şükrü Suvla

*INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- 1) The Formation Of European States' Recent Composition And Turkey's Involvement To This Composition (Bugünkü Avrupa Devletler Manzumesinin Doğuşu Ve Türkiye'nin Bu Manzumeye Duhulü)-Assoc.Prof.Cemal Tukin

*HISTORY-GEOGRAPHY-ANTHROPOLOGY

- 1) Bird's-Eye View Of History's History (Tarihin Tarihine Kuşbakışı)-Assoc.Prof.Şükrü Akkaya
- 2) The Bases In The Classification Of Human Races (Beşer Irklarının Tasnifinde Esaslar)-Assist.Muine Atasay
- 3) The Importance Of Earten Pot Art In Archaeological Investigations (Arkeolojik Tetkiklerde Çömlek Sanatının Ehemmiyeti)-Assoc.Prof.Feridun Fevzi Andolsun
- 4) Commercial And Artistic Life In The Middle-Ages and Artisan Organizations (Orta Çağ'da Tecim ve Sanat Hayatı-Esnaf Teşkilatı)-Assoc.Prof.Galip Gültekin
- 5) Dardanelles In The Great War (Büyük Harpte Çanakale)-Assoc.Prof.Enver Ziya Karal
- 6) The Sovereignty Question On Mediterranean Until The Nineteenth Century (Ondokuzuncu Asra Kadar Akdenizde

Hakimiyet Davası)-Assoc.Prof.Bekir Sıtkı Baykal

***PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL HEALTH**

Physical Health

- 1) The Biology Of Heredity (Verasetin Biyolojisi)-
Assoc.Prof.Dr.Sadi Irmak
- 2) The Biological, Economic And National Importance Of Genetics
Knowledge (Genetik Bilgisinin Biyolojik, Ekonomik, ve Ulusal
Bakımdan Ehemmiyeti)-Assoc.Prof.Sara Akdik
- 3) Street Accidents (Sokak Kazaları)-Assoc.Prof.Fahri Arel
- 4) Functions And Diseases Of Our Bones (Kemiklerimizin Vazifele-
ri Ve Hastalıkları)-Assoc.Prof.Zeki Zeren
- 5) The Recent Condition Of Medicine Fronting The Disaster Of
Tuberculosis (Verem Afeti Karşısında Hali Hazır Tababetin
Durumu)-Assoc.Prof.Nabi Kastarlakoğlu
- 6) Palpitation (Çarpıntı)-Assoc.Prof.Nurettin Kamil İrdelp
- 7) The Lives Of Microbes (Mikropların Hayatı)-Assoc.Prof.Ziya
Öktem
- 8) The Social Utilities Of Modern Dentism (Modern Diş Taba-
betinin İctimai Bakımdan Faydaları)-Assoc.Prof.Feyzullah
Doğruel
- 9) Climate-Health-Culture (İklim-Sağlık-Kültür)-Assoc.Prof.Zeki
Ragıp Yalın
- 10)The Importance Of Child Teeth (Çocuk Dişlerinin Ehemmiyeti)-
Assoc.Prof.Suat İsmail Gürkan

Psychological Health

- 11)The Pedagogic Representations (Pedagojik Temsiller)-
Assoc.Prof.Nureddin Sevin
- 12)Psychological Progress In Social Perspective (Sosyal
Bakımdan Ruhi İnkişaf)-Ord.Prof.Wilhelm Peters

***STATE THEORIES**

- 1) The Description Of State (Devletin Tarifi)-Assoc.Prof.Orhan
Arsal
- 2) Revolution And Revolutionism (İnkılap ve İnkılapçılık)-
Assoc.Prof.Yavuz Abadan

***NATIONALISM**

- 1) Nationalism And Populism Through The Eyes Of A Jurist
(Hukukçu Gözü İle Milliyetçilik Ve Halkçılık)-

Assoc.Prof.Yavuz Abadan

***PHYSICS-CHEMISTRY-ASTRONOMY-BIOLOGY-MATHEMATICS**

- 1) Hydrodynamics (Hidrodinamik)-Assoc.Prof.Ragıp Berker
- 2) The Issue Of Law Of Nature (Tabiat Kanunu Meselesi)-
Prof.Hans Reichennbach
- 3) Coal And Its Formation (Kömür Ve Teşekkülü Hakkında)-
Assoc.Prof.Ahmet Canakay
- 4) From Daily Issues: National Fuel And Synthetic Oil (Günün
Meselelerinden: Ulusal Yakacak Ve Sentetik Petrol)-
Assoc.Prof.Haldun Terem
- 5) Photography With Infrared X-Rays And Its Application
(Enfraruj Şuallarla Fotoğrafya Ve Tatbikatı)-
Assoc.Prof.Nusret Kürkçüoğlu
- 6) The Place Of Mathematics In National Industrialization
(Ulusal Endüstrileşmede Matematiğin Yeri)-
Assoc.Prof.Orhan Alisbah

***PHILISOPHY**

- 1) A Turkish Thinker In The 11th Century And His Ideas
On Morality (XI. Asırda Bir Türk Mütefekkeri Ve Ahlaki
Düşünceleri)-Assoc.Prof.Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu

***LITERATURE**

- 1) Virgil, His Life And Works (Virjil, Hayatı Ve Eserleri)-
Assoc.Prof.Hamit Dereli
- 2) Byron And Turks (Byron Ve Türkler)-Assoc.Prof.Orhan Burian
- 3) The Personality Of Goethe In The World Literature (Goethe'nin
Cihan Edebiyatındaki Şahsiyeti)-Assoc.Prof.Melahat Özgü
- 4) Who Is Sheakespeare? (Sheakespeare Kimdir?)-
Assoc.Prof.Saffet Dengi
- 5) Ahmet Haşım And Symbolism (Ahmet Haşım Ve Sembolizm)-
Suut Kemal Yetkin
- 6) Modern Iranian Poetry (Modern İran Şiiri)-
Assoc.Prof.Ali Nihat Tarlan
- 7) The First Turkish Linguist: Kashgarlı Mahmut (İlk Türk
Dilcisi Kaşgarlı Mahmut)-Assoc.Prof.A. Caferoğlu
- 8) Karagöz In Istanbul And Istanbul In Karagöz (İstanbul'da
Karagöz ve Karagöz'de İstanbul)-Assoc.Prof.Sabri
Esat Siyavuşgil

***SPORTS**

- 1) Sports-Health-Culture (Spor-Sağlık-Kültür)-Assoc.Prof.Zeki Galip Yalım

***AGRICULTURE**

- 1) People Of Nature Dealing With Simple Plantation And The Rise Of Catapult Culture (Basit Ekincilik Yapan Tabiat İnsanları Ve Sapan Kültürünün Doğuşu)-Assoc.Prof.Niyazi Çıtakoğlu
- 2) The Migration To Plateau In Anatolia (Anadolu'da Yaylacılık)-Assoc.Prof.Cemal Arif Alagöz

b) 1939-1941 SERIES

***LAW**

- 1) The Issue Of Child Adoption Among Turks According To The Turkish Evolutionary Law (Türk Tekamül-i Hukukuna Göre Türkler'de Evlatlık Edinme Meselesi) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Ahmet Caferoğlu
- 2) The Importance Of Genealogy In Civil Law (Medeni Hukukta Nesebin Ehemmiyeti) (1939)-Prof.Dr.Hüseyin Cahit Oğuzoğlu
- 3) Freedom And The Ability To Elect (Hürriyet Ve İntihab Ehliyeti) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Yavuz Abadan
- 4) Some General Considerations On Intellectual Rights (Fikri Haklara Ait Bazı Umumi Mülahazalar) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Yavuz Abadan
- 5) The Principles That Determine The Acquisition And Employment Of Rights (Hakların İktisap Ve İstimalini Tayin Eden Prensipler) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Yavuz Abadan
- 6) Responsibility (Mesuliyet) (1939)-Ord.Prof.Mustafa Reşit Belgesay
- 7) A Legal View On The Issue Of Faciliating The Death Of Unhealable Patients (Şifasız Hastaların Ölümünü Kolaylaştırma Meselesine Hukuki Bir Bakış) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Hıfzı Veldet
- 8) Penalty Results of Causing Harm (Zarara Muvafakatin Cezai Neticeleri) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Hıfzı Veldet
- 9) A Glance On the History Of The Turkish Land Law (Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihine Bir Bakış) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Ömer Lütfi Barkan

- 10) Some Sociological Investigations On Law And State (Hukuk Ve Devlet Üzerine Bazı Sosyolojik Tetkikler) (1940)-
Assoc.Prof.Hüseyin Nail Kubalı
- 11) The Characteristic Features Of The Tanzimat Period In Our Public Law History (Amme Hukuku Tarihimizde Tanzimat Devrinin Karakteristik Vasıfları) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Recai Okandan
- 12) Relatives And Their Portions Of Inheritance According To Our Civil Law (Medeni Kanunumuza Göre Hısımlar Ve Mirastaki Hisseleri) (1940)-Prof.Kemaleddin Birsen
- 13) The Legal Status Of Straits (Boğazların Hukuki Vaziyetleri) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Necmi Osten
- 14) The Limitations Put On Property Rights Of Citizens (Vatandaşın Mülkiyet Hakkına Konulan Takyitler) (1940)-
Dr.Bülent Nuri Esen
- 15) Child Adoption (Evlat Edinme) (1941)-Ord.Prof.Esat Arsebük
- 16) Vain Marriages (Batıl Evlenmeler) (1941)-Prof.Dr.Cahit Oğuzoğlu

***ECONOMICS**

- 1) World Currency Issues And Turkish Currency (Dünya Para Meseleleri ve Türk Parası) (1939)-Prof.Hazım Atıf Kuyucak
- 2) The Development Ways Of Communes (Komünlerin Kalkınma Usulleri) (1939)-Prof.E. Reuter
- 3) Etatism And The Freedom Of Commerce In The Turkish Revolution (Türk İnkılabında Devletçilik Ve Ticaret Serbestisi) (1939)-
Prof.Şevket Bilgişin
- 4) Etatism (Devletçilik) (1939)-Prof.Süheyl Derbil
- 5) State Debts Of The Ottoman Empire And The Turkish Republic (Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde Devlet Borçları) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Refii Şükrü Suvla
- 6) The Administrations And Their Economic Duties In The Economic Development Of Turkey (İşletmeler Ve Türkiyenin İktisadi kalkınmasında İşletmelerimizin İktisadi Vazifeleri) (1939)-İsmet Alkan
- 7) Types Of Enterprises The State Economy Offers In Turkey (Türkiye'de Devlet İktisadının Arzettiği Teşebbüs Şekilleri) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Muhlis Ete
- 8) The Value And Necessity Of The National Protection Law

(Milli Korunma Kanunumuzun Kıymet Ve Ehemmiyeti) (1940)-

Assoc.Prof.Recai Okandan

9) The Reflections Of Today's European War On The Turkish Economy (Bugünkü Avrupa Harbi'nin Türkiye Ekonomisindeki Akisleri) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Refii Şükrü Suvla

10) State Economy In War (Harpte Devlet Ekonomisi) (1940)-
Assoc.Prof.Refii Şükrü Suvla

*VIEWS ON SOCIETY

1) The Republican People's Party And Family (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Ve Aile) (1939)-Prof.Vasfi Raşit Seviğ

2) The History Of Social Policy In Turkey, Its Importance And Main Issues (Türkiye'de İctimai Siyasetin Tarihçesi, Ehemmiyeti, Başlıca Meseleleri) (1939)-
Assoc.Prof.Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu

3) The Status Of Partners In The Unity Of Marriage (Evlenme Birliğinde Eşlerin Durumu) (1939)-Prof.Hüseyin Avni Göktürk

4) Surrounding And Education (Muhit Ve Terbiye) (1941)-
Assoc.Prof.Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil

*INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1) The Allied States And Izmir (İtilaf Devletleri Ve İzmir) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Enver Ziya Karal

2) The Straits Contract Of 1841 (1841 Boğazlar Mukavelesi) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Şinasi Altundağ

3) The Formation Of The Balkan War And Its Commencement (Balkan Harbi'nin Teşekkülü Ve Bu Harbin Zuhuru) (1939)-
Assoc.Prof.Cemal Tukin

4) Turkey's Role In The Prolongation Of Peace Throughout The World (Dünya Sulhunun Idamesinde Türkiye'nin Rolü) (1940)-
Assoc.Prof.Nihat Erim

*VIEWS ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

1) The Impact Of Women On The Progress Of Nations (Milletlerin Terakkisi Üzerinde Kadınların Tesiri) (1939)-Salih Şendil

2) Woman In Our Recent Legal System And Society (Bugünkü Hukukumuzda Ve Cemiyetimizde Kadın) (1939)-
Prof.Sabri Şakir Ansay

***HISTORY-GEOGRAPHY-ANTHROPOLOGY**

- 1) Great Ragıp Pasha-Great Friedrich: A Brief Glance On The Eighteenth Century East and West (Koca Ragıp Paşa-Büyük Friedrich: Onsekizinci Asırda Şark Ve Garp Alemine Kısa Bir Bakış) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Bekir Sıdkı Baykal
- 2) A Look On The Hitites Culture (Eti Kültürüne Bir Bakış) (1939)-Prof.H.G. Güterbock
- 3) Folklore And Psychology (Folklor Ve Psikoloji) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil
- 4) A Look On The Aegean Economic Geography (Ege'nin İktisadi Coğrafyasına Bir Bakış) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Danyal Bediz
- 5) German Folk Knowledge (Alman Halk Bilgisi) (1939)-Prof.Clemens Möller
- 6) Budhism and Shamanism (Budhistlik Ve Şamanlık) (1939)-Prof.Walter Ruben
- 7) The English Village (İngiliz Köyü) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Saffet Dengi
- 8) Theories On The Origin Of The Language And Languages (Dilin Ve Dillerin Kaynağı Üzerine Teoriler) (1939)-Prof.İbrahim Necmi Dilmen
- 9) The Documents Which I Have Found Out As Belonging To The First Primitive People Of Anatolia And Their Results (Anadolu'nun İlk İptidai Beşeriyetine Ait Olarak Meydana Çıkardığım Vesikalar Ve Neticeleri) (1940)-Prof.Dr.Şevket Aziz Kansu
- 10)Some Characteristic Features Of The Ottoman Empire (Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Karakteristik Bazı Vasıfları) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Şinasi Altundağ
- 11)In The Ottoman History The Issue Of Exiles Made For The Dwelling Of Roumelia (Osmanlı Tarihinde Rumeli'nin İskanı İçin Yapılan Sürgünler Meselesi) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Ömer Lütfü Barkan
- 12)Renaissance In The Cultural History Of Europe (Avrupa Kültür Tarihinde Rönesans) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Şevket İpşir
- 13)The Success Period Of Science In The Islamic Civilization (İslam Medeniyetinde İlmin İkbal Devri) (1940)-Prof.Hilmi Ziya Ülken

- 14)A Look On The Ancient History Of Hatay (Hatay'ın Eski Tarihine Bir Bakış) (1940)-Dr.Şükrü Akkaya
- 15)Earth Quakes And The Possible Measures That Can Be Implemented Against Them (Yer Sarsıntıları Ve Buna Karşı Alınabilecek Tedbirler) (1940)-Assist.Reşat İzburak
- 16)The Formation Of The Istanbul Strait (İstanbul Boğazının Teşekkülü) (1940)-Prof.Hamit Pamir
- 17)The Progress Of Human Being (İnsanın Tekamülü) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Muzaffer Süleyman Şenyürek
- 18)The Richness Of The Northern Anatolia (Şimali Anadolu'nun Zenginlikleri) (1940)-Hamit Sadi Selen
- 19)National Life In Our Folklore And Language Remainings (Folklorumuzda Milli Hayat Ve Dil Bakiyeleri) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Ahmet Caferoğlu

*PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL HEALTH-MEDICAL HISTORY

Medical History

- 1) The Medical History Of Seljukies (Selçuklarda Tababet Tarihi) (1939)-Prof.Dr.Süheyl Ünver
- 2) On The History Of Anatolian Hot Springs In The Seljukian Period And Afterwards (Selçuklular Zamanında Ve Sonra Anadolu Kaplıcaları Tarihi Üzerine) (1939)-Prof.Dr.Süheyl Ünver

Physical Health

- 3) Ways Of Protection Against Malaria (Sıtmadan Korunma Çareleri) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Zeki Ragıp Yalım
- 4) The Ideal Of Felicity In Modern Societies: Health (Modern Cemiyetlerde Saadet Ülküsü: Sağlık) (1939)-Zeki Ragıp Yalım
- 5) Eugenics (Öjenik) (1939)-Prof.Dr.Mazhar Osman Uzman
- 6) The Demographic Issues Of Europe And Turkey (Avrupa'nın Ve Türkiye'nin Nüfus Meseleleri) (1939)-Prof.Ömer Celal Sarç
- 7) The Retreat And Evolution Of Nations (Milletlerin "Tereddi" Ve "İstıfası") (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak
- 8) The Destruction That Syphilis, Gonorrhoea, and Alcoholism Cause On Generations (Frengi, Belsoğukluğu, Alkolizmin Nesiller Üzerine Yaptığı Tahribat) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Zeki Ragıp Yalım
- 9) Morphine, Heroin and Cocaine Addictions (Morfin, Heroin Ve Kokain İptilaları) (1940)-Prof.Muzaffer Esat Güçhan

- 10) Will It Be Possible To Rejuvenate Old People ?
(İhtiyarları Gençleştirme Kabil Olacak mı?) (1940)-
Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak
- 11) On The Factors Of Committing Crime (Suş İşlemenin Amillerine Dair) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak
- 12) An Objective Look On The Vital Manifestations Of Human Being
(İnsan Hayati Tezahürlerine Objektif Bir Bakış) (1940)-
Assoc.Prof.Hayri Kaleli
- 13) The Social Importance Of Early Treatment Of Child Infirmary
(Cocuk Maluliyetlerinde Erken Tedavinin Sosyal Önemi) (1940)-
Ord.Prof.Akif Şakir Şakar
- 14) The Physiological Impact Of Sea Sides On Human Body (Deniz Kıyılarının İnsan Vucuduna Fizyolojik Tesirleri) (1940)-
Ord.Prof.Akif Şakir Şakar
- 15) Tuberculosis Of Bones Through A Social Perspective
(Sosyal Gözle Kemik Veremi) (1940)-Prof.Dr.Kazım İsmail Gürkan
- 16) The Essential Harms That The Cracks In the Backbone Would Cause On The Body (Belkemiği Çatlaklarının Vucuda Yapmış Oldukları Ehemmiyetli Arızalar) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Mümtaz Ahmet Sarpyener
- 17) The Social Importance Of Broken And Cracked Bones (Kırık Çıkıkların Sosyal Bakımdan Ehemmiyeti) (1940)-
Assoc.Prof.Ziya Konuralp
- 18) False Teeth Defects and Their Treatment (Diş Sürme Arızaları Ve Onun Hıfzısıhhası) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Feyzullah Doğruer
- 19) False Teeth And Its Role In Life (Takma Diş Ve Hayattaki Rolü) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Feyzullah Doğruer
- 20) Health In Respect Of National Existence (Milli Varlık Bakımından Sağlık) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Zeki Ragıp Yalım
- 21) Badly Closing Jaws And The Removal Of Their Causals
(Çenelerin Fena Kapanması Ve Bunları Vucuda Getiren Sebeplerin Men'i) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Suat İsmail Gürkan
- 22) The Role Of Various Animals In The Biology Of Parasites And The Importance Of The Diseases That They Pass to Human Beings
(Parazitlerin Biyolojisinde Muhtelif Hayvanların Rolü Ve

İnsanlara Naklettikleri Hastalıkların Ehemmiyeti) (1940)-

Assoc.Prof.Şükrü Oytun

23)The Protection Of The Generation (Neslin Korunması) (1940)-

Assoc.Prof.Sara Akdik

24)The Role Of Heredity In The Health Of The Race And The

Solutions To Protect The Generation From Retreating (İrk
Hıfzısıhhasında İrsiyetin Rolü Ve Nesli Tereddiden Korumak
Çareleri) (1940)-Prof.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay

Psychological Health

25)The Place Of Characterology In Education (Karakterolojinin

Terbiyede Yeri) (1939)-Prof.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay

26)Will And Nerve Strongness (İrade Ve Sinir Sağlamlığı) (1940)-

Prof.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay

27)The Relationship Between Physique, Character And Temperament

(Beden Yapısı, Seciye Ve Mizaç Arasındaki Münasebet) (1940)-

Assoc.Prof.Mümtaz Turhan

28)The Rage Phase And Its Treatment (Hiddetlenme Safahati Ve

Tedavisi) (1940)-Prof.Dr.Süheyl Ünver

29)Mental Diseases (Akıl Hastalıkları) (1941)-Mazhar Osman Uzman

30)Child And Logic (Çocuk Ve Mantık) (1941)-Assoc.Prof.Sabri

Esat Siyavuşgil

*STATE THEORIES

1) On Nietzsche And The Overman (Nietzsche Ve Fevkalbeşere Dair)

(1939)-Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak

*NATIONALISM

1) The Recent State Of Our Language Revolution (Dil İnkılabı-

mızın Bugünkü Durumu) (1939)-Prof.Ragıp Özden

2) What Do We Owe To This Motherland? (Biz Bu Vatana Neler

Borçluyuz?) (1940)-Prof.Dr.Süheyl Ünver

3) Race And Nation (İrk Ve Millet) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Ziyaeddin

Fahri Fındıkoğlu

4) The Alpine Race, Turkish Ethnicity And People Of Hatay

(Alpin İrk, Türk Etnisi Ve Hatay Halkı) (1940)-Agop Dilaçar

5) Towards a National Literature (Milli Bir Edebiyata Doğru)

(1940)-Prof.Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar

6) The Turkishness In History And People Working For It (Tarihte

Türklük Ve Onun İçin Çalışanlar) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Ahmet

Caferoğlu

*PHYSICS-CHEMISTRY-ASTRONOMY-BIOLOGY-MATHEMATICS

- 1) The Structure Of The World (Dünya'nın Yapısı) (1940)-
Assoc.Prof.N.Gökdoğan
- 2) The Recent State Of The Relativity Theory (İzafiyet Teorisinin Bugünkü Hali) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Nusret Kürkçüoğlu
- 3) Sense And Movement In The Plants (Nebatlarda His Ve Hareket) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Sara Akdik
- 4) The Theories On Mass And Space (Madde Ve Kainat Telakkileri) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Münif Çelebi
- 5) Electricity And Its Application (Elektrik Ve Tatbikatı) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Nusret Kürkçüoğlu
- 6) Theory Of Mass In Modern Physics And Laws Of Nature (Modern Fizikte Madde Telakkisi Ve Tabiat Kanunları) (1940)-
Assoc.Prof.Cahit Arf
- 7) Chemistry And Its Role In Our Daily Life (Kimya Ve Kimyanın Günlük Hayatımızdaki Rolü) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Ali Rıza Berkem
- 8) On The Progress Of Physical Science Education In Turkey (Türkiye'de Fiziki İlimler Tedrisatının İnkişafı Hakkında) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Tarık Artel
- 9) The Issue of Outer World From The Perspective Of Mathematics (Dış Alem Meselesi-Matematik Bakımından) (1940)-
Prof.Kerim Erim

*PHILOSOPHY

- 1) Philosophy Of Life (Hayat Felsefesi) (1939)-
Assoc.Prof.Mazhar Şevki İpşir
- 2) The Idea Of Law Of Nature (Tabiat Kanunu Fikri) (1939)-
Prof.Hilmi Ziya Ülken
- 3) What Can Be The Status Of A World View Before Science? (Bir Dünya Görüşünün İlim Karşısındaki Mevkii Ne Olabilir?) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Nusret Akder

*LITERATURE

- 1) The Life of Sheikh Galip And His Poems (Şeyh Galip, Hayatı Ve Şiirleri) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Ali Nihat Tarlan
- 2) Artistic Evolution Of Our Literature (Sanat Bakımından Edebiyatımızın Dahili Tekamülü) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Ali Nihat

Tarlan

- 3) The Current State Of Investigations On The Turkish Legends And Their Results (Türk Destanları Tetkikinin Bugünkü Vaziyeti Ve Vardığı Neticeler) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Pertev Naili Boratav
- 4) "Faust": The Tragedy of Humanity ("Faust": İnsanlığın Trajedisi) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Melahat Özgü
- 5) French Language And Literature: Chateau Briand (Fransız Dil ve Edebiyatı: Chateau Briand) (1939)-Prof.Houille
- 6) The Tragedy Of Shakespeare (Shakespeare Trajedisi) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Saffet Dengi
- 7) About Yahya Kemal (Yahya Kemal Hakkında) (1940)-Prof.A.H. Tanpınar
- 8) Mevlana (Mevlana) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı
- 9) French Realism (Fransız Realizmi) (1940)-Assoc.Prof.Sabahattin Eyüboğlu

*SPORTS

- 1) An Investigation On German Sports Organization (Alman Spor Teşkilatı Üzerine Bir Tetkik) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak
- 2) Sports And Science (Spor Ve İlim) (1939)-Assoc.Prof.Sadi Irmak

*AGRICULTURE

- 1) In The Field Of Viniculture (Bağcılık Sahasında) (1940)-Dr.Nail Oraman
- 2) A Biological Look On The Kastamonu Fruit Culture (Kastamonu Meyveciliğine Biyolojik Bir Bakış) (1940)-Dr.Lütfü Ülkümen
- 3) A Couple of Words On The Products of Medical Plants In Our Country (Memleketimizin Tıbbi Nebati Mahsulleri Hakkında Birkaç Söz) (1940)- Assoc.Prof.Naşit Baylav

*COMMUNICATION

- 1) Newspaper (Gazete) (1939)-Ercüment Ekrem Talu

UNIVERSITY CONFERENCES (1935-1945)

*LAW

- 1) Papyrus Investigations And The Science Of Law (Papirus Arařtırmaları Ve Hukuk İlmi) (1935-1936)-Prof.Andreas Schwarz
- 2) The Importance Of The Jurisprudence Idea For Positive Law (Hukuk İdesinin Müspet Hukuk İçin Ehemmiyeti) (1936-1937) Prof.Richard Honig
- 3) Life And Law (Hayat Ve Hukuk) (1936-1937)-Prof.Julius Hirsch
- 4) The Changes In Modern Civil Law (Modern Medeni Hukukta İstihaleler) (1937-1938)-Prof.August Egger
- 5) Fault And Punishment (Taksir Ve Ceza) (1937-1938)- Prof.Richard Honig
- 6) The Importance And Functions Of Comparative Civil Law Especially In Turkey (Mukayeseli Medeni Hukukun Bilhassa Türkiye'deki Ehemmiyeti Ve Vazifeleri) (1937-1938)- Prof.Andreas Schwarz
- 7) The Burden Of Proving (İspat Külfeti) (1937-1938)- Prof.Mustafa Reşit Belgesay
- 8) The Progress Of Translation Right In Turkey (Türkiye'de Tercüme Hakkının Vechi Tekamülü-Açılış Dersi) (1939-1940)- Prof.Ernst Hirsch
- 9) Law Conflicts Related To Marriage (Evlenmeye Müteallik Kanun İhtilafları) (1939-1940)-Ord.Prof.Muammer Raşit Seviğ
- 10) Insurance As A Science (İlim Halinde Sigorta) (1941-1942)- Ord.Prof.Ernst Hirsch
- 11) Ideas On The Issue Of Divorce (Boşanma Meselesi Etrafında Düşünceler) (1941-1942)-Prof.Andreas Schwarz
- 12) Profit-Seeking From The Perspective Of Economics And Law (İktisat Ve Hukuk Bakımından İhtikar) (1941-1942)-Prof.Z. Fahri Fındıkoğlu
- 13) Public Law And Corporation (Amme Hukuku Ve Korporasyon) (1942-1943)-Ord.Prof.Charles Crozat
- 14) Issue of Illegitimate Child (Evlilik Dışı Çocuk Meselesi) (1943-1944)-Prof. Andreas Schwarz
- 15) Roman Law And British Law (Roma Hukuku Ve İngiliz Hukuku) (1944-1945)-Prof.Andreas Schwarz

*ECONOMICS

- 1) The Past And Future Of The World Economy (Cihan Ekonomisinin Geçmişi Ve Geleceği) (1935-1936)-Prof.Fritz Neumark
- 2) The Structure Of The World Economy (Cihan Ekonomisinin Bünyesi) (1935-1936)-Prof.Wilhelm Röpke
- 3) World Currency Issues (Dünya Para Meseleleri) (1935-1936)-Prof.Şükrü Baban
- 4) Turkey With Respect To International Commercial And Financial Relations (Beynelmilel Ticaret Ve Finans Münasebetleri Bakımından Türkiye) (1935-1936)-Prof.Fazıl Pelin
- 5) The Intellectual Bases Of The World Economy (Cihan Ekonomisinin Zihni Temelleri) (1935-1936)-Prof.Alexander Rustow
- 6) Agricultural And Industrial Nations (Ziraat Ve Sanayi Memleketleri) (1935-1936)-Prof.Ömer Celal Sarç
- 7) Tax Burden And The Economic Life (Vergi Yüğü Ve İktisadi Hayat) (1936-1937)-Prof.Fritz Neumark
- 8) The Opening Lecture Of The Economics Faculty (İktisat Fakültesi Açış Dersi) (1936-1937)-Prof.G.Kessler
- 9) International Payment Policy (Beynelmilel Tediye Siyaseti) (1937-1938)-Prof.Viktor Kienboch
- 10) National Features Of The Financial Policy (Maliye Siyasetinin Milli Hususiyetleri) (1937-1938)-Prof.Fritz Neumark
- 11) The Educational Importance Of The Administration Economics (İşletme İktisadiyatının Terbiyevi Ehemmiyeti) (1937-1938)-Prof.A. İsaac
- 12) New Development Tendencies Of Economics And Economic Policies (İktisadiyatın Ve İktisat Siyasetinin Yeni İnkişaf Temayülleri) (1938-1939)-Prof.Fritz Neumark
- 13) Development Tendencies Of Industrialisation (Endüstrileşmedeki İnkişaf Temayülleri) (1938-1939)-Prof.Dobretsberger
- 14) Etatism (Devletçilik) (1939-1940)-Ord.Prof.Dobretsberger
- 15) Morality And Economics (Ahlak Ve İktisat) (1939-1940)-Prof.Fritz Neumark
- 16) The Social Perspective On Modern Economics And Financial Policy (Modern İktisat Ve Maliye Siyasetinde Sosyal Nokta-i

Nazar) (1941-1942)-Prof.Fritz Neumark

17)The Duty, Morality, Past and Future Of The Businessmen

Of Our Age (Devrimizin Vazife ve İşadamının Ahlakı, Mazisi Ve İstikbali) (1942-1943)-Prof.Alexander Rustow

18)Future Of International Commerce (Milletler Arası

Ticaretin Geleceği) (1943-1944)-Prof.Umberto Ricci

19)The Use Of Froth In Industry (Sanayide Köpüğün Kullanılması)

(1944-1945)-Ord.Prof.F.H. Constable

20)The Ways To Avoid Economic Depressions (İktisadi Buhranlardan

Kaçınma Çareleri) (1944-1945)-Prof.Fritz Neumark

*VIEWS ON SOCIETY

1) Social Depressions Of Our Time (Zamanımızın İçtimai

Buhranları) (1944-1945)-Prof.G. Kessler

*INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1) Straits And The Turkish Initiative (Boğazlar Ve Türk

Teşebbüsü) (1935-1936)-Prof.Cemil Bilsel

2) The Future Of The International Permanent Justice Court

(Milletlerarası Daimi Adalet Divanı'nın İstikbali)

(1944-1945)-Prof.C. Crozat

*VIEWS ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

1) The Psychology Of Woman (Kadın Psikolojisi) (1939-1940)-

Prof.Tevfik Remzi Kazancıgil

*HISTORY-GEOGRAPHY-ANTHROPOLOGY-ARCHEOLOGY

1) The Kingdom Of Hitites (Eti Kırallığı) (1935-1936)-

Prof.T. Bossert

2) The Issue Of The Motherland And Race Of Turks (Türkler'in

Anayurdu Ve Irkı Meselesi) (1936-1937-Açış Dersi)-

Prof.Şemsettin Günaltay

3) The University Excavation In The Istanbul Acropolis (İstanbul

Akropolünde Üniversite Hafriyatı) (1939-1940)-Prof.T. Bossert

4) The Idea Of European University Through History (Zamanın

Seyri İçinde Avrupa Üniversite İdesi) (1942-1943)-

Prof.W. Peters

5) Istanbul University In The Byzantine Period (Bizanslılar

Zamanında İstanbul Üniversitesi) (1942-1943)-Prof.Runciman

6) What Is Culture? (Kültür Nedir?) (1942-1943)-Prof.Sadrettin

Celal Antel

- 7) The Issue of Etrüsk (Etrüsk Meselesi)(1942-1943)-
Prof.T. Bossert
- 8) Geography Of Ankara (Ankara'nın Coğrafyası)(1942-1943)-
Prof.Besim Darkot
- 9) The History Of Turkey's Fauna (Türkiye Faunası Tarihi) (1942-
1943)-Prof.Kurt Kosswig

***PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL HEALTH-PEDAGOGY-
MEDICAL HISTORY**

Physical Health-Medical History

- 1) Microbes In The Service Of Human Beings (İnsanlık Hizmetinde
Mikroplar) (1935-1936)-Prof.Karl Neuberg
- 2) A Vacation In Anatolia (Anadolu'da Bir Seyehat) (1935-1936)-
Prof.Julius Hirsch
- 3) The Chemical Effect of Nerval Stimulus (Asabi Tenbihin
Kimyevi İntikali) (1935-1936)-Prof.Frank
- 4) The History Of Syphilis And Its Periods (Frengi Tarihi Ve
Geçirdiği Evreler) (1935-1936)-Prof.Hulusi Behçet
- 5) Opening Lesson (Açış Dersi) (1935-1936)-Prof.Akil Muhtar
Özden
- 6) Opium, Morphin, Heroin (Afyon, Morfin, Eroin) (1935-1936)-
Prof.Akil Muhtar Özden
- 7) The Cancer Abscesses And Cancer Research (Kanser Çıbanları
Ve Kanser Araştırmaları) (1936-1937)-Prof.Obendorfer
- 8) Pain And Relieving Of Pain (Ağrı Ve Ağrının Teskini)
(1936-1937)-Prof.Nissen
- 9) Blind And The World Of Blindness (Kör ve Körlük Dünyası)
(1936-1937)-Prof.Igersheimer
- 10)The Harms Of Drugs (Uyuşturucu Maddelerin Zararları)
(1936-1937)-Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman
- 11)Heroin And Hashish (Heroin Ve Esrar) (1936-1937)-Prof.Hay-
rullah Diker
- 12)The Content And Importance Of Social Gynaecology (İçtimai
Jinekolojinin Mahiyeti Ve Ehemmiyeti) (1937-1938)-
Prof. Liepman
- 13)On Dizziness (Baş Dönmesine Dair) (1937-1938)-Prof.Karl
Helmann

- 14) Medicines At Various Times (Muhtelif Zamanlarda İlaçlar)
(1937-1938)-Prof.Bodendorf
- 15) Transparent Human Being (Şeffaf İnsan) (1938-1939)-
Prof.M. Sgatzner
- 16) About Water (Su hakkında) (1938-1939)-Prof.Julius Hirsch
- 17) Birth Of Human Being (İnsan Doğumu) (1938-1939)-Prof.P.
Schwartz
- 18) How Do Insects Cause Infections? (Haşereler Enfeksiyöz
Hastalıkları Nasıl Yaparlar?) (1938-1939)-Prof.H. Braun
- 19) Modern Ways Of Treating Diphtheria? (Difteri Tedavisinde
Modern Usuller) (1938-1939)-Prof.İhsan Hilmi Alantar
- 20) Hypophyse: The First Gland Of Organism (Hypophyse:
Uzviyetin Baş Guddesi) (1938-1939)-Prof.Oberndorfer
- 21) On Old Age And To Grow Old (İhtiyarlık Ve İhtiyarlamaya Dair)
(1938-1939)-Prof.Muzaffer Esat Güçhan
- 22) School Health (Mektep Hıfzısıhhati) (1939-1940)-Prof.Neşet
Ömer İrdelp
- 23) The Issue of Inheriting Earned Features (Müktesep Vasıfların
Tevarüsü Meselesi) (1939-1940)-Prof.Heilbronn
- 24) Physical Training Of Disabled Children (Malul Çocuklarda
Beden Terbiyesi) (1939-1940)-Prof.Akif Şakir Şakar
- 25) The Physiology Of Death (Ölümün Fizyolojisi) (1939-1940)-
Prof.Hans Winterstein
- 26) The Transportation of Blood From Human To Human (İnsandan
İnsana Kan Nakli) (1939-1940)-Prof.Kazım İsmail Gürkan
- 27) Social Health (İçtimai Hıfzısıhha) (1939-1940)-Prof.Julius
Hirsch
- 28) Clinician And His Function (Klinisyen Ve Faaliyeti)
(1939-1940)-Ord.Prof.E. Frank
- 29) Does The Science Of Medicine Progress? (Tababet
İlerliyor mu?) (1939-1940)-Prof.Sedad Tavat
- 30) The Issue Of Revitalizing The People Who Don't Breathe
Anymore And Whose Hearth Stopped (Nefes Ve Kalbi Durmuş
İnsanları yeniden Canlandırma Meseleleri) (1940-1941)-
Prof.Akil Muhtar Özden
- 31) The Responsibility Of The Doctor (Hekimin Mes'uliyeti)

- (1941-1942)-Prof.Kazım İsmail Gürkan
- 32)The Status Of Human Being Among Living Things, Sick People And Doctor (Yaşayanlar Arasında İnsanın Mevkii, Hasta İnsan Ve Hekim) (1941-1942)-Prof.Ekrem Şerif Egeli
- 33)Is It Possible To Plant An Organ In The Place Of An Unfunctioning One? (Vazife Görmeyen Bir Uzvun Yerine Bir Diğeri Aşılamak Kabil midir?) (1941-1942)-Prof.Fahri Arel
- 34)The Issue Of Sleep (Uyku Meselesi) (1941-1942)-Ord.Prof.Hans Winterstein
- 35)The Role Of Function Disorders In Pathology (Patolojide Vazifevi Bozuklukların Rolü) (1941-1942)-Prof.Muzaffer Şevki Yener
- 36)The Movement And Life In The Tissues Of The Body (Vucudun Nesiçleri İçinde Hareket Ve Hayat) (1941-1942)-Ord.Prof.Oberndorfer
- 37)University Youth And Tobacco (Üniversite Gençliği ve Tütün) (1941-1942)-Ord.Prof.Julius Hirsch
- 38)One Hundred Anniversary Of The Modern Science Of Medicine (Modern Tababetin Yüzüncü Yıl Dönümü) (1941-1942)-Ord.Prof.E. Frank
- 39)Nutrition, Diet And Illness (Gıda, Rejim Ve Hastalık) (1942-1943)-Prof.Nihat Reşat Berger
- 40)The Issue of Prostate In Young And Old People (Genç Ve İhtiyarlarda Prostat Mevzuu Ve Telakkileri) (1942-1943)-Prof.Behçet Sabit Erduran
- 41)Life And Hearing (Hayat Ve İşitme) (1942-1943)-Prof.Ekrem Behçet Tezel
- 42)How Did The Treatment Of Skin Diseases Reached Today's Advanced Status? (Deri Hastalıkları Tababeti Bugünkü Tekamüle Nasıl Ulaşmıştır?) (1942-1943)-Prof.Cevat Kerim İncedayı
- 43)The Methods Of Treatment (Tedavi Metodları) (1943-1944)-Prof.Neşet Ömer İrdelp
- 44)Today's Physiotherapy (Bugünkü Fizikoterapi) (1943-1944)-Prof.Osman Cevdet Çubukçu
- 45)Healthy School Child (Sağlam Okul Çocuğu) (1943-1944)-Prof.İhsan Hilmi Alantar

- 46)Paralysis And The Ways Of Protection (Felçler ve Korunma Çareleri) (1943-1944)-Ord.Prof.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay
47)The Seaside Sanatoriums (Sahil Sanatoryumları) (1943-1944)-Prof.Kazım İsmail Gürkan
48)Revolution In The Kitchen (Mutfakta İnkılap) (1944-1945)-Prof.Sedat Tavat
49)Fatness And Slimness From The Eyes Of A Doctor (Doktor Gözü İle Şişmanlık Ve Zayıflık) (1944-1945)-Prof.Nabi Kastarлак

Psychology-Psychiatry-Pedagogy

- 50)The Yields Of Today's Psychology (Bugünkü Psikolojinin Verimleri) (1935-1936)-Prof.Şekip Tunç
51)International Demographic Issues (Beynelmilel Nüfus Meselesi) (1935-1936)-Prof.G.Kessler
52)The History And Development Of Psychiatry (Psikiyatrinin Tarih Ve Tekamülü) (1936-1937)-Prof.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay
53)Psychology Of Yesterday, Today, And Tomorrow (Dün, Bugün ve Yarının Psikolojisi) (1936-1937)-Prof.W.Peters
54)The First Lecture In The Pedagogy Institute (Pedagoji Enstitüsünde İlk Ders) (1936-1937)-Prof.Sadrettin Celal Antel
55)Social Role Of Psychiatry (Ruh Tıbbının İctimaiyattaki Rolü) (1937-1938)-Ord.Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman
56)Intellectual Development-In Respect Of Social Development (Zihni Tekamül-İctimai Tekamül Olarak) (1937-1938)-Prof.Peters
57)Folk Character (Halk Karakteri) (1938-1939)-Prof.G.Kessler
58)New Treatment Ways Of Psychological Illnesses (Ruh Hastalıklarında Yeni Tedavi Usulleri) (1939-1940)-Ord.Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman
59)Opening Lecture (Açılış Dersi) (1940-1941)-Prof.Neşet Ömer İrdelp
60)High Degenerates (Yüksek Dejenereleler) (1941-1942)-Ord.Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman
61)Tobacco And Especially Its Impact On The Psychology (Tütün Ve Bilhassa Ruha Tesiri) (1941-1942)-Ord.Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman

- 62)The University Mind And Criticism (Üniversite Kafası Ve Tenkit) (1941-1942)-Prof.Halide Edip Adıvar
- 63)Politics And Morality (Siyaset Ve Ahlak) (1942-1943)-Prof.G.Kessler
- 64)The Moral Reality And The System Of Teaching (Ahlak Realitesi Ve Öğretme Sistemi) (1942-1943)-Prof.Akil Muhtar Özden
- 65)Structure Of Our Psychology And Morality According To Its Types (Ruh Yapımız Ve Onun Tipleri Bakımından Ahlak) (1942-1943)-Prof.Şekip Tunç
- 66)Opening Lecture (Açış Dersi) (1942-1943)-Ord.Prof.Fahrettin Kerim Gökay
- 67)The Origin Of Sex And Its Inner Meaning (Cinsiyetin Menşei Ve Hikmeti) (1943-1944)-Ord.Prof.A. Heilbronn
- 68)Sigmund Freud And Psycho-analysis (Sigmund Freud Ve Psikoanaliz) (1943-1944)-Prof.P.Schwartz
- 69)Syphilis and Nerval Diseases (Frengi ve Sinir Hastalıkları) (1943-1944)-Ord.Prof.Mazhar Osman Uzman

*STATE THEORIES

- 1) The Century's Understanding Of State (Asrı Hazır Doktrininde Devlet Telakkisi) (1936-1937)-Prof.C.Crozat
- 2) The Division Of Labour And Power In The Modern State And The Old "Separation of Powers" Theory (Modern Devlette İş ve Salahiyet Bölümü Prensipleri Ve Eski "Tefrik'i Kuva" Nazariyesi) (1937-1938)-Prof.Ali Fuat Başgil
- 3) Recent Types Of States (Devletlerin Bugünkü Tipleri) (1939-1940)-Prof.G.Kessler

*NATIONALISM

- 1) Social Classes (İçtimai Sınıflar) (1944-1945)-Prof.Z. F.Fındıkoğlu

*CONFERENCES ABOUT THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1-15:1940-1941)

- 1) Turkey And The War (Türkiye Ve Harp)-Prof.Yusuf Hikmet Bayur
- 2) War And Morality (Harp Ve Ahlak)-Prof.G. Kessler
- 3) Political And Social Impact Of The War Technique (Harp Tekniğinin Siyasi Ve İçtimai Tesirleri)-Prof.J. Dobretsberger
- 4) The Psychological And Pedagogic Issues Of The War (Harbin Psikolojik Ve Pedagojik Meseleleri)-Prof.Peters

- 5) The War And The Struggle Of Nations For New Nutrition Materials (Harp Ve Yeni Gıda Maddeleri İçin Milletlerin Mücadelesi)-Prof.F. Haurowitz
- 6) War Poisons And Chemical Attack Materials (Harp Zehirleri Ve Taaruzi Kimya Maddeleri)-Prof.Pierre Duquenois
- 7) Physics And War (Fizik ve Harp)-Prof.Marcel Fouche
- 8) Physics And Politics (Fizik Ve Politika)-Prof.Dember
- 9) Pharmacy In War (Harpte Eczacılık)-Prof.Rosenthaler
- 10) Role Of Chemistry In War (Harpte Kimyanın Rolü)-Prof.F. Arndt
- 11) The Scientific Problems In The Production Of Airplanes In War (Harpte Tayyarelerin İmalinde İlmi Problemler)-Prof.Prager
- 12) Public Law And War (Amme Hukuku Ve Harp)-Prof.C. Crozat
- 13) War And Civil Law (Harp Ve Hususi Hukuk)-Prof.A. Schwarz
- 14) Literature And War (Edebiyat Ve Harp)-Prof.Auerbach
- 15) English Literature And War (İngiliz Edebiyatı Ve Harp)-Prof.Halide Edip Adıvar
- 16) The Content And Future Of The War (Harbin Mahiyeti Ve İstikbali) (1938-1939)-Prof.A. Rustow
- 17) The Importance Of Foot In War (Harpte Ayağın Önemi) (1941-1942)-Ord.Prof.Akif Şakir Şakar
- 18) The Impact Of War On Child Nutrition And Development (Harbin Çocuk Beslenme Ve Gelişimesi Üzerinde Olan Tesirleri) (1942-1943)-Prof.Şevket Salih Soysal
- 19) The Importance Of Orthopedics In War (Ortopedinin Harpte Önemi) (1942-1943)-Prof.Münir Ahmet Sarpyener
- 20) Enough Nutrition With Low Income At Crisis Times (Kriz Zamanlarında Dar Gelir İle Kafi Besi) (1942-1943)-Prof.Muzaffer Esat Güçhan

***PHYSICS-CHEMISTRY-ASTRONOMY-BIOLOGY-MATHEMATICS-GEOLOGY**

- 1) The Way That Today's Physics And Biology Show Us (Şimdiki Fizik Ve Biyolojinin Bize gösterdikleri Yol) (1935-1936)-Prof.Akil Muhtar Özden
- 2) The Cytological Bases Of Heredity (Verasetin Sitolojik Esasları) (1935-1936)-Prof.A. Naville
- 3) The Issue Of Artificial Indian Rubber (Sun'i Kauçuk Meselesi) (1935-1936)-Prof.Kraepelin
- 4) The Birth Process Of Ichtyosaurus 150 Million Years Ago

- (150 Milyon Sene Önce Ichtyosaurus'larda Doğum Vetiresi)
(1935-1936)-Prof.W. Liepmann
- 5) The Bases of Mathematics (Riyaziye'nin Temelleri) (1936-1937)-Prof.Kerim
- 6) The Physiological Bases Of Freedom Of Will And Responsibility (İrade Hürriyetinin Ve Mesuliyetinin Fizyolojik Esasları) (1936-1937)-Prof.Winterstein
- 7) The Structure Of The Space (Kainatın Yapısı) (1936-1937)-Prof.Freundlich
- 8) The Old And New Considerations About The Content And Structure Of The Mass (Maddenin Mahiyeti Ve Yapısı Hakkında Eski Ve Yeni Tasavvurlar) (1936-1937)-Prof.Arndt
- 9) The Sliding Of Continents And Geology (Kıt'aların Kayması Ve Jeoloji) (1936-1937)-Prof.Parejas
- 10)The Electrons Are Reality (Elektronlar Bir Hakikattir)(1936-1937)-Prof.Savard
- 11)As The Radiology Institute Is Opening...(Radyoloji Enstitüsü Açılırken) (1936-1937)-İlhan Sungu
- 12)As The Radiology Institute Is Opening...(Radyoloji Enstitüsü Açılırken) (1936-1937)-Prof.Dessauer
- 13)As The Biology Institute Is Opening...(Biyoloji Enstitüsü Açılırken) (1936-1937)-Prof.Alfred Heilbronn
- 14)The Investigator And His Time (Araştırmacı Ve Zamanı) (1936-1937)-Prof.Schwartz
- 15)Opening Lecture (Açılış Dersi) (1937-1938)-Prof.Von Mises
- 16)Death And Survival With Respect To Biology (Biyoloji Bakımından Ölüm ve Baka) (1937-1938)-Prof.Alfred Heilbronn
- 17)The Issue Of Law Of Nature (Tabiat Kanunu Meselesi) (1937-1938)-Prof.Reichenbach
- 18)Hand Of Human Being (İnsan Eli) (1937-1938)-Prof. Nissen
- 19)Physionomy (Fizyonomi) (1937-1938)-Prof.A. Kantorowicz
- 20)The Physical Bases Of Aviation (Tayyareciliğin Fiziki Esasları) (1937-1938)-Ord.Prof.W. Prager
- 21)The Organic Independence Of Human Nature (Beşer Tabiatında Organik İstiklal) (1937-1938)-Prof.Kemal Cenap Berksoy
- 22)Optical Happenings In The Atmosphere (Atmosferde Optik Hadiseler) (1937-1938)-Prof.Dember

- 23) Periodic Manifestations In The Life Of Plants (Nebatların Hayatında Devri Tezahürler) (1937-1938)-Prof.L. Brauner
- 24) Comets, Sliding Stars, And Meteorites (Kuyruklu Yıldızlar, Kayan Yıldızlar Ve Meteoritler) (1938-1939)-
Ord.Prof.Rozenberger
- 25) Human And Atmosphere Happenings (İnsan ve Hava Hadiseleri) (1938-1939)-Prof.Karl Hellmann
- 26) Classical And Modern Physics (Klasik Ve Modern Fizik) (1938-1939)-Ord.Prof.Marcel Fauche
- 27) Mass And Space (Madde Ve Kainat) (1938-1939)-Prof. F.Arndt
- 28) Catalysis And Its Application (Kataliz Ve Tatbikatı) (1938-1939)-Prof.Gross
- 29) State Organization In The World Of Animals (Hayvanlar Aleminde Devlet Teşkilatı) (1939-1940)-Prof.Kosswig
- 30) About The Forms In Nature And The Forces That Bring Them Into Being (Tabiattaki Şekiller Ve Onları Hasıl Eden Kuvvetler Hakkında) (1939-1940)-Prof.Dember
- 31) What Is An Earth Quake? (Zelzele Nedir?) (1939-1940)-
Ord.Prof.Hamit Nafiz Pamir
- 32) Earth Quake In Anatolia (Anadolu'da Zelzele) (1939-1940)-
Ord.Prof.Hamit Nafiz Pamir
- 33) The Geological History Of Turkey (Türkiye'nin Jeolojik Tarihi) (1941-1942)-Ord.Prof.Parejas
- 34) How Does A Scientific Discovery Come Into Being? (İlmi Bir Keşif Nasıl Meydana Gelir?) (1941-1942)-Prof.Muhiddin Erel
- 35) Mathematics And Reality (Matematik Ve Realite) (1941-1942)-
Ord.Prof.Erim
- 36) The Role Of Elements In Our Life (Hayatımızda Elementlerin Rolü) (1941-1942)-Ord.Prof.Arndt
- 37) The Role Of Biological Cases In The Structure Of Nations (Biyoloji Vakıalarının Millet Bünyesindeki Rolü) (1941-1942)-
Assist.Prof.Dr.Sadi Irmak
- 38) Opening Lecture (Açılış Dersi) (1942-1943)-Ord.Prof.Kerim Erim
- 39) Flowers And Insects (Çiçekler Ve Böcekler) (1942-1943)-
Ord.Prof.L. Brauner
- 40) Explosives (Patlayıcı Maddeler) (1942-1943)-Prof.Vernon Legg

41)Some Appearances of Sun (Güneşin Bazı Görünüşleri) (1943-1944)-Prof.Royds

42)New Researches In The Field Of Biochemistry (Biyo-kimya Sahasında Yeni Araştırmalar) (1943-1944)-Ord.Prof.F. Haurowitz

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CHAPTER VI:

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