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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PRINCIPLES OF KEMALISM

ABSTRACT

The most important point in the French Revolution that affected the Kemalist regime can be claimed to nationalism which prepare the ground for the formation of nation-states. The Kemalist elite are affected from the Ottomans who seeking new remedies to get rid of the Ottoman Empire and Union and Progress that share the same political climate with them. It can be claimed that positivism is the most important resource of Kemalist ideology. The purpose of the study has bring to light Kemalism the Kemalist principles influenced from which ideologies. The importance of this study that gives samples from historical facts and events is clarified structures of thought that are sources of Kemalism. In this study subject, records and documents that characterize as a secondary source were examined using structural and analytical manner. In this study, Kemalism were subjected to analysis on the point of historical background and ideologies which influenced it. So it is think that this study considered to contribute relevant literature.

Keywords: Kemalist Principles, French Revolution, Positivism, New Ottomans, Union and Progress.

KEMALİZM'İN TARİHSEL ARKA PLANI VE İLKELERİ

ÖZET

Kemalist rejimin Fransız Devriminden etkilendiği en önemli noktanın ulus devletlerin oluşumuna zemin hazırlaması açısından milliyetçilik olduğu iddia edilebilir. Kemalist elitin, Osmanlı Devletinin kurtulması için çareler arayan Yeni Osmanlılardan ve aynı siyasi iklimi paylaştıkları İttihat ve Terakki'den de etkilendikleri söylenebilir. Pozitivizmin ise Kemalist ideoloji etkileyen en önemli kaynak olduğu ileri sürülebilir. Çalışmanın amacı, Kemalizmin ve Kemalist ilkelerin hangi düşünce akımlarından etkilendiğini ortaya koymaktır. Tarihsel olgu ve olaylardan çeşitli örneklerin verildiği çalışmanın önemi, Kemalizme kaynaklık etmiş düşünce yapılarını açıklığa kavuşturmadır. Bu çalışmada konu, ikincil kaynak olarak nitelendirilen belge ve dökümanlardan yararlanılarak yapısal ve analitik bir tarzda ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışmada, Kemalizmin tarihsel arka planı ve etkilendiği ideoloji incelenmiştir. Bundan dolayı bu çalışmanın ilgili literatüre katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kemalist İlkeler, Fransız Devrimi, Pozitivizm, Yeni Osmanlılar, İttihat ve Terakki

1. INTRODUCTION (GİRİŞ)

The importance of this study is come from it that gives samples from historical facts and events that is clarified structures of Kemalist thoughts. So it is think that this study considered to contribute relavant literature.

It is presumed that the ruler elites who came into power after the independence struggle did not have too many questions, regarding the quality of the regime. Because political system had been in a great transformation since Reforms and it was inevitable for this transformation to be concluded with a system that was based on the domination of the public. Here the important point was related with how and by whom this transformation would be completed.

Following the victorious conclusion of the independence struggle, some divergences occurred among the ruler elites, in terms of sharing the political power. The root cause of this divergence was that Mustafa Kemal intended to use the political power alone and perform the great change and transformation, which was being planned, in a jacobean style.

Actually, it would not have complied with the logic of revolution, if Mustafa Kemal, who was planning a brand new Western-style social order in an attempt to reach the level of contemporary civilizations, had applied to the decision of the public regarding the reforms he would perform. Additionally, the fact that the reforms, which were performed with Kemalist principles that were inspired by the French Revolution and positivist philosophy, were performed in a very short time and in an authoritarian style prevented the society from internalizing these arrangements and caused the constitution of an opposition against what had been done.

This study will discuss the effect of French Revolution, positivism and other thought systems upon the Kemalist principles.

In the first chapter, it analysed to keep Kemalist single-party government in power what a policy and thoughts pursued after the struggle for independence. In this chapter, Kemalist principles that leading to changes in society in a Jacobin manner emphasized.

In the second chapter focused on the origins of Kemalist ideology. Kemalists characterize their movements and ideologies as a revolutionary and they influenced from the French Revolution, New Ottomans, Union and Progress, and positivism generally.

In the third and final section, in particular it can be said that principles of nationalism, republicanism and secularism affected from French Revolution, and statism, populism and revolutionary principles inspired by the socialism.

2. RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE (ÇALIŞMANIN ÖNEMİ)

This study, focused on the origins of Kemalist ideology. In this study, Kemalism is subjected to analysis on the point of historical background and ideologies which influenced it. In this context, aim of this study, has bring to light which ideologies effect Kemalism and Kemalist principles. Also, this study gives samples from historical facts and events that clarified structures of thought that are sources of Kemalism.

It can be said that Kemalists characterize their movements and ideologies as a revolutionary and they influenced from the French Revolution, New Ottomans, Union and Progress, and positivism generally.

This study, traced the roots of Kemalism and Kemalist principles. So it is considered that this study to contribute to the relavant literature.



3. ESTABLISHMENT PROCESS OF THE KEMALIST SINGLE PARTY GOVERNMENT (KEMALİST TEK PARTİ YÖNETİMİNİN KURULUŞ SÜRECİ)

In this chapter, it is analysed to keep Kemalist single-party government in power what policy and thoughts pursued after the struggle for independence. Also it is claimed that Kemalist principles that leading to changes in society in a Jacobin manner emphasized.

Following the success of the independence struggle and re-establishment of peace, it was inevitable for problems and conflicts regarding the structure of the political power and political actors to become the current issue (Koçak, 2005:86). Since the group, which would come into power during this period, would also dominate the development line of the society that was struggling with independence, the solution of the administrative problem had a vital importance.

There were divergences regarding the political arrangements that were being planned to be performed at the Grand National Assembly, which was constituted after the independence struggle. Although there were many opposition groups at the Assembly, it could be claimed that two groups were predominantly effective. Even though the Countrywide Resistance Group (Müdafaa-i Hukuk Grubu), which was led by Mustafa Kemal, remained in the minority during the votings at the Assembly from time to time, they generally held the political superiority and directed the developments. The opposition, on the other hand, intuited the political thoughts of Mustafa Kemal, which would be put into practice whenever possible, and tried to prevent this (Karatepe, 2001:25). As a consequence, with the help of Mustafa Kemal's political manoeuvre, the "Second Group" that dissented him at the first Assembly stayed out of the Assembly after the votings in 1923.

After the opening of the second assembly, especially the proclamation style of the Republic offended the generals such as Kazım Karabekir, Rauf Orbay, Refet Bele and Ali Fuat Cebesoy, who had played an important role during the Independence War. These generals established the Progressive Republican Party (PRP) in 1924, since they opposed Mustafa Kemal for not asking about their opinions while shaping the new regime and for using the power alone. Aiming to establish a new social and political order, Mustafa Kemal got the opportunity to quell the continuance of the rebellion with the help of Sheikh Said Riot. Even though the connections between the PRP and rebels had never been proved in reality, PRP was closed just like all other opposition elements after the Law on the Maintenance of Order. During the Single Party period, the modernizing perception, which tried to reach every stratum and the smallest units of the society, aimed to actualize this objective by removing the opposition with the help of revolution laws. On the other hand, these arrangements which were not included in the public conscience could not be internalized by majority of the society and the new regime could provide no integration. Thus, the regime usually enabled military and judicial precautions in order to provide this integration and the country was planned to be taken under "discipline" with these precautions.

Legitimacy is materialized when the political power is based on the society and enables the consent of the society. Thus, a power that is not based on the public conscience and does not draw its strength from the society can not be claimed to be a legitimate power (Çetin, 2001:205). In spite of this, since the administrative elites which performed the reforms specifically in Turkey planned shaping the society from top to bottom with an elitist viewpoint, they acted in line with the conception of "for public in spite of the public". Due to this conception, the legitimacy of the political power began to be

questioned among large social segments. The reason of this is the fact that the Kemalist principles, which led the change during the Single Party period, were inspired by the French Revolution, which was dominated by the unexpected jacobean style.

In that context, it is necessary to examine the roots of Kemalism, which is the integration of thoughts and principles that are very important for the establishment of the modern Turkey and pursuance of its general policy for a certain period (Timur, 2008:108).

4. IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS OF KEMALISM (KEMALİZMİN İDEOLOJİK KÖKENLERİ)

In this chapter it is focused on the origins of Kemalist ideology. Kemalists characterize their movements and ideologies as a revolutionary and they influenced from the French Revolution, New Ottomans, Union and Progress, and positivism generally.

Just like the Young Turks, the Kemalists described their actions and ideologies as a revolutionists, as well. Since they were actually positivist, they defended the social and political change and progress to be "in order and union" (Ünüvar, 2011:142).

It is claimed that the Kemalist ideology, which was constituted during the Single Party period in Turkey and is intensely used today, was generally inspired by three different sources such as the French Revolution, New Ottoman ideology and positivism.

4.1. French Revolution (Fransız Devrimi)

French Revolution removed established orders such as feudalism and aristocracy in the historical sense and performed the social transformation radically. Universal values such as "human rights, equality, freedom, fellowship and nationalism", which were revealed together with the revolution, deeply influenced the societies in the worldwide. The revolution brought along not only the establishment of a new political order, but also the new actors and institutional structure of the order to be established, as well as a sense of governance that was based on humanist values. The emphasis that was laid by nation states that emerged as a new government system during the revolution on the superiority of law, basic human rights, constitutional assurance of thought and expression freedom and secular values still sustains its effect (Duman, 2008:56). Since the French Revolution removed the political structure and feudal law system that caused conventional dependence relations, the individual became a free with natural rights (Ağaoğulları, 1989:98).

Individual-oriented Revolution thinking, which is consisted of values such as equality, freedom, human rights and nationalism, influenced both the Ottoman intellectuals such as Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi and Ziya Pasha who considered themselves to be in charge of saving the Ottoman Empire and were called New Ottomans, and the mentality of Union and Progress and founders of the Republic, who were the follow-up of this mentality.

The similarity of "National Pact" (Misak-ı Milli), which was accepted by the Last Ottoman Parliament on 28 January 1920 and declared on 17 February 1920, with the "Human and Citizen Rights" Proclamation of the French Revolution (Bolat, 2005:157) indicates the interaction between the Ottoman reform thought and French Revolution.

As a matter of fact, at the anniversary of the French Revolution on 14 July 1922, Mustafa Kemal explicitly expressed that the sense of independence was influenced by the French Revolution with the following statements;



"The action which was initially considered a rebellion and revolution was replaced by a Reform. French Revolution had also been through these periods, settled in the conscience of the nation and society, and consequently became universal". "Gentlemen, today we are celebrating the 14th day of 1789 July and as well as the national holiday of the French, this is also a day when nations who are not free yet will be happy... . When the enemy forces are driven into the sea in İzmir in the Turkish history, it will be a new period for both our national history and the world history. This is associated with the fact that no country will have the opportunity to destroy their freedom and independence for invasion. If the abused Asian and African nations have drawn a lesson from our independence struggle, they will choose this way even if it costs a lot. Life means nothing for a nation that lacks freedom and independence." "Gentlemen, the fact that we drove Asia into rebellion and warfare is not less powerful and logical than reasons that urged the French nation to act valiantly" (Bolat, 2005:156).

In that context, it is claimed that the structure of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) is similar with the "Convention" (Assembly Government) of the French Revolution and that "Independence Courts" that were established during the Single Party period were inspired by the French Revolution courts (Bolat, 2005:157).

4.2. New Ottomans and Union and Progress (Yeni Osmanlılar ve İttihat ve Terakki)

The thoughts originated from the French Revolution were not only effective upon the whole world, but also on the Ottoman Empire that entered in the process of disintegration. Since they opposed the state during this period, the Ottoman intellectuals who fled abroad were influenced by the thoughts of the French Revolution as well and tried to save the empire by using these thoughts.

It could be claimed that the New Ottomans that were consisted of Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi and Ziya Pasha and defined as the pioneer of modern intelligentsia (Karpas, 2010:42-45) formed the beginning of the Western freedom thought of the Ottoman Empire. The elements that paved the way for this movement were the social change, which started at the end of the 18th century and increasingly continued in the beginning of the 19th century, and new western institutions that led this (Demirtaş, 2007:391). New Ottomans were principally included in the modernization project that started long before (Koçak, 2011:73).

The New Ottomans who intended to establish a "Consultancy Assembly" (Meclis-i Meşveret) in the Ottoman Empire planned to institutionalise the sharing of the political power by separation of powers. On the other hand, the New Ottomans could be claimed to be the first Muslims (Mardin, 2008:6), who tried to provide a comprehensive and theoretical legitimacy and ideology for the newly-constituted modern central institutions, in terms of Islamic political tradition and Ottoman governance principles.

After dismantlement by II. Abdülhamit in 1877, the New Ottomans sustained their activities in Europe and in Ottoman Empire as a secret, and formed the basis of the Union and Progress Association (Aydın, 2011:117). The first organizational opposition group of the Ottomans that emerged recently was established by İbrahim Temo, Mehmet Reşit, Abdullah Cevdet and İshak Sükuti under the name of the "Committee of the Ottoman Union" at the medical school (Karpas, 2010:105). This organization, which was called the Union and Progress Association afterwards, sustained their struggle in alliance with different organizations that commonly aimed to reestablish the



constitutionalism instead of the autocracy regime until 1908 (Tekin ve Okutan, 2011:35).

The effect of the 19th century's biological materialism is observed on the intellectual roots of the Union and Progress Association. Western education that was received by the military medical school students helped them to understand the life in a more materialistic way. This materialistic idea also influenced the founders of the Association. Thus, it is not a coincidence that Ahmet Rıza, who was one of the first leaders of the Union and Progress, believed in positivism to be a magical key of progress (Mardin, 2008:98-99). The most distinctive feature of the Union and Progress is that its frame of mind was substantially originated from the French Revolution (Aydin, 2011:118).

When the idea of Union and Progress, which was influenced by the French Revolution, was overthrown during the World War I, most of its members joined the National Struggle. It is observed that these Young Turks became effective upon shaping the state, which was established after the victory of the National Struggle, ideologically.

4.3. Positivism (Pozitivizm)

Positivism, which is a philosophical thinking that emerged as a result of the intellectual idleness created by both the dazzling progress of positive sciences and weakening of religious beliefs of the bourgeoisie in France during the 19th century, was suggested by Auguste Comte (1798-1857). Aiming to establish a "positive" science of sociology that would be based on valid and stable rules for all kinds of societies, Comte approaches sociology as physics, mathematics, and astronomy in his book "Positive Philosophy". Being based on the analytical method, positivism includes a mechanical determinism. In his "law of three states", A. Comte asserts that all of the societies progress by being exposed to three stages as theological, metaphysical and positive. On the other hand, Comte approaches the science of sociology in two ways, which is as follows: "static social" and "dynamic social". While the static social examines the "order" of societies, the dynamic social examines the "progress" of societies (Timur, 2008:453).

The doctrine of positivism asserts that the only positive and constructive element for human is to observe and describe the phenomenon. According to Comte, all philosophies except for his own system deal with metaphysics which means "beyond experience", they are destructive and negative (Hançerlioğlu, 1978:99). Positivism envisages that the incidents and phenomenon in social sciences could be explained through experiment and observation, just like in physical sciences.

Westernization in our country moderately dates back to the pre-Reform period simultaneously with positivist ideology (Özlem: 2007:458). However, the positivist philosophy influenced the Ottoman intellectuals as from the Young Turks with different reasons from the West (Timur, 2008:111).

As a matter of fact, the intellectuals, who faced the West and yet tried to remain loyal to their origins during the modernization of the Ottoman Empire, were impressed by the European progress and got into the philosophical movements in Europe with the belief that what lied behind the progress was the intellectual effort. Progress undoubtedly played a very important role in this practical concern. During the same period, people believed in the magical power of this notion that was contributed by the positivist statement in Europe and studies were performed under the influence of this perception by

either the most traditionalists or modernist intellectuals within the scope of the recent Ottoman thought system (Kahraman, 2011:351).

In fact, positivism did not enter Turkey directly through a philosophical way. It was performed by means of literary movements, positive science lessons that were included in schools during that period, schools providing a direct French education, some students who were sent to Europe, specialists who came to educational institutions, some associations, etc. (Korlaelçi, 2011:214).

During this process, which started with the New Ottomans and followed the line of Union and Progress, positivism gained significance as a Western ideology. Since positivism and its scientific perception explained the superiority of the West and were never involved in Christianity, they were considered attractive by the Ottoman bureaucrats and intellectuals who were seeking a "magic wand" that would explain and convey the "superiority" of the West. Besides, positivism corresponded both to the idea of social harmony and the aspiration for petit bourgeois, which was convenient for all kinds of denominational agreement. Therefore, the impact area of the positivist thought extended as from the Young Turks and Auguste Comte's program was adopted as the name of the Union and Progress Party (Timur, 2008:113). Thus, it is very meaningful that the thoughts of Ziya Gökalp, who was considered the originator of Union and Progress and inspired the founders of the Republic, were substantially influenced by the sociologist Durkheim, who was a follower of Comte.

The fact that positivism accepted the existence of an area of "objective truths" that exist outside of humans and would be known through scientific knowledge and experience, and that it envisaged this area (social dynamics and social management) to direct the society as the dominant class of leaders and intelligentsia who "knows the best" constituted the elements that enabled Atatürk to consider positivism positively. Atatürk adopted the positivist perception related with the belief that social organizations and personal behaviours could ideally be ordered and controlled through science, and in that sense, he intended to make the science be a guide for shaping the society and ordering social, political, economic relations, as well as the life of individuals (posing behavioral rules), and become dominant (Çetin, 2007:146). As a matter of fact, some statements of Atatürk indicate how positivism is effective upon its own thought and reforms that were put into practice. These statements are as follows: "The most proper guide for anything in the world; for civilization, life and prosperity is science" and "Those who seek guides other than science are in blindness, perversion and even betrayal".

In this sense, the mentality of education during the first period of the Republic was used as a propaganda means of the regime, in an attempt to internalize and spread the reforms (Tunçay, 2009:95).

It was natural for positivist transformation project of Kemalism, which aimed to create a brand new society, to place a great emphasis on education. During the reform process, the education focused on progressing the backward public and making them the means of the designed strong state. Thus, the principle of the positivist knowledge philosophy which suggested that "knowledge is power" dominated the educational projects (Çetin, 2007:156).

As a matter of fact, the book named Civilized Information Book for Citizens, in which Atatürk was included as a writer and which was published in the name of Afet İnan, indicates the importance attached by Atatürk to the education of citizens. This school book is an important text, in terms of determining the basic arguments in the

foundation of the Republic (Gürses, 2010:234). Education has definitely an important role in the process of reconstructing the society. Having a positivist background, the Kemalist regime soon realized this role of education and started to try giving a new conscious of history and citizenship to the segments of the society.

5. PRINCIPLES OF THE KEMALIST IDEOLOGY (KEMALİST İDEOLOJİNİN İLKELERİ)

In this section, all events and ideologies that the Kemalist principles affected from it analysed. In additon it can be said that principles of nationalism, republicanism and secularism affected from French Revolution, and statism, populism and revolutionary principles inspired by the socialism.

According to Kışlalı, who asserts that Kemalism has a two-stage goal as independence and modernization, the nationalism, republicanism and secularism principles of this ideology, which was constituted in an attempt to achieve these goals, were inspired by the French Revolution and indirectly from liberalism; statism, populism and revolutionism principles were inspired by socialism (Kışlalı, 2006:145-146).

Basic Principles of Kemalism were accepted at the Great Congress of Republican's People Party dated 10 May 1931 and after being exposed to some insignificant changes on the 1935 Program, it was included in the 2nd article of the Constitution on 5 February 1937, which stated "the Turkish Republic is democratic, statist, secular, revolutionary and nationalist" (Gözübüyük, 2003:127). "Six arrows" symbolized by Kemalism were concreted as the principles of the strong nation, strong state ideology. Especially the statism, nationalism and populism principles represent the organism-supporter and corporatist tendency of the state. Problems caused by class differences were tried to be solved through the organism-supporter social viewpoint; union and integrity of nation and state were emphasized in every area (Çetin, 2007:155).

5.1. Republicanism (Cumhuriyetçilik)

Principle of republicanism, which was included in the 2nd article of the Constitution in 1937, is expressed as follows: "Party is a form of state that definitely represents and executes the national sovereignty ideal of the Republic in the most suitable and reliable way. According to this steady opinion, party defends the Republic against dangers by any means" (Köker, 2007:133).

Republic is a regime that governors come to power by election and sovereignty is based on the public and public's will. In this sense, French Revolution had a great impact upon the establishment of regimes that featured the sovereignty of the public (republic) instead of monarchic and aristocratic structures.

As a matter of fact, the idea that sovereignty is based on the nation became one of the main themes of the Turkish nationalization with the effect of the French Revolution. Consequently, following the victory of National Struggle, the ruler elite adopted the republican regime instead of monarchic governance. In this sense, republicanism was put into practice as a principle that destroyed the old order and made a change on the source of sovereignty (Tekin ve Okutan, 2011:117).

On the other hand, while Kemalism considers the nation an intangible and homogenous integrity, it looks at the political participation of the public negatively, since it represents a destruction. The emphasis on the nation's sovereignty does not include

public participation. On the contrary, nation's sovereignty is considered a necessity of the unitary government. Indivisibility, Assignment, fragmented and even the power unity of the state form a basis for the modernizing state regime. Even though the emphasis of intense independence and sovereignty in Kemalism has a content against sovereignty, the unity of powers is concluded with the sense of modernizing state, single party and one leader with an approach that excludes the freedom of public and individual (Çetin, 2007:142).

5.2. Populism (Halkçılık)

Populism movement in Turkey was influenced by both Germany and especially Bulgaria-based Eastern Europe village romanticism, and the Russian narodnik movement. Different relations were established with the narodnik movement on both the Thessaloniki-Macedonia line and the European side during the first years of Union and Progress (Öztan, 2006:80).

Being one of the first thought systems of the Turkish intellectuals, populism is the founder element of social projects that were based on the thought of positivist scientific progress aside from the Young Turks. It could be claimed that the sources of reforms that were made for modernization and Westernization were populist modernization theories and that populism was the basic statement of policies supporting the Turks and West. Being a principle that ensouls the Republic, populism forms the core of the Kemalist regime. Therefore populism is the only principle that enables a better understanding of the operation logic of the Kemalist statement (Çelik, 2009:76).

As a matter of fact, according to Timur, (2008:118) populism caused Atatürk to approach positivism with its both denominational meaning and political aspect. The idea of populism, which handles the society in harmony as the wheels of an hour just like A. Comte's "theory of social fabrics" and Durkheim's organic and mechanic work-sharing and collective conscience thought, could only be assessed within a positivist humour. Other two concepts that includes Kemalism in positivism are the concepts of science and secularism.

Even though the principle of unconditional authority of the nation, in other words Republicanism was at the forefront especially during the Single Party period, Kemalist elites took on the task of materializing the republicanist ideals with public's will, although it sometimes contradicted with public's will, in other words, the "public had to be managed for the public and in spite of the public" (Çelik, 2009:275).

As a matter of fact, in his book named *Revolution Lessons*, Recep Peker developed the famous concept of "populism in spite of public" by stating "revolutions could only be performed under pressure and challenge and the amount of pressure-to-be-used depends on the number and type of the revolution". Populism in spite of public allowed the power elites to make the innovations for the benefit of the public be accepted by the public with force, if necessary (Karatepe, 2001:49).

The elitist theme that dominated the Single Party period also became a determinant for the principle of populism. Determination of the public as a whole, in other words, the idea of a classless society could be considered a continuation of the suspicion about trust. Because people always had a concern about the fact that the Turkish public would have been excluded from the designed society type, in case of the existence of individual rights and freedoms or political freedoms. This condition caused a little group of people, who would



make beneficiary decisions about the public, to have a right to speak in the management (Tekin ve Okutan, 2011:118).

The logic of Kemalist populist principle could be explained as follows: both in his opening speech at İzmir Economic Congress and speeches made for the establishment of RPP, Atatürk stated that unlike West, Turkey did not have classes with conflicts of interest and that progress had to be in such a way to prosper all classes together. This is the mental basis of gathering the whole society as an "unprivileged, classless, coherent public" within a single party. As is seen, the concept of populism is a means that is used against class struggle in Kemalism. However, populism is also a secular dominance theory that objects to the Islamic dominance theory and finally replaces it. From that aspect, populism envisages that the source of political power belongs to public as a whole in the meaning of "nation" and it forms the basis of a bourgeois revolution and the republican principle (Timur, 2008:81).

In the Kemalist ideology, the idea of the absence of social classes that was expressed with the principle of populism tried to be integrated with the idea of political judicial equality in the principle of nationalism. Revealing the absence of social differentiation from economic, social and political aspects, only one political organization (RPP) that includes the whole society to participate in the political life and management and the dominance of TGNA as the concrete expression of the nation's moral existence become sufficient. By this way, the regime of single party, which is based on the superiority of the assembly, is legitimized (Köker, 2010:158).

Principle of populism, which was included in the 2nd article of the Constitution in 1937, is expressed as follows: "The source of will and dominance is the nation. It is essential of this will and dominance to celebrate the adequate pursuance of mutual duties of state and citizens on the way of reform for the Party. We consider the individuals, who accept an absolute equality before the law and grant no privilege for any individual, family, class or community, as populists" (Köker, 2007:133-135).

The idea of "state based on the dominance of public", which was included in populism, actually meant a dominance that remained a theory, because the public almost had no means that could be used for conducting this dominance effectively and changing the state. Populism was the "conscience of the nation" (Karpaz, 2010:137-138).

5.3. Secularism (Laiklik)

Principle of secularism, which was included in the 2nd article of the Constitution in 1937, is expressed as follows: "Since the concept of religion is conscientious, the Party considers separating religious ideas from state, world affairs and politics the primary reason of success for our nation in modern progress" (Köker, 2007:133-135).

Being one of the most important principles of Kemalism, secularism includes secularizing the state apparatus and organizing the society according to scientific principles and rules on which the modern civilizations are based, in the meaning of excluding the religious from the political area as a result of the concept of nation's dominance. In secularism, the source of power is no more religious; the source of dominance right is indicated to be national will or public's will. The principle of secularism is not limited with that; it also includes changing the religious and traditional moral values of the society with secular, rational and scientific values (Çelik, 2009:85).



Kemalist positivism assumed a bilateral attitude towards religion as secularization by putting the Islam through a positivist interpretation on an official level on one hand and removing the religious order on the other hand (Timur, 2008:127).

The concept of Kemalist secularism had always emphasized the necessity of secularism and that religion should not be made an instrument for politics, as from the date it started to be expressed (Köker, 2010:161). It is well known by everyone that secularism practice in the Republican Turkey has a distinctive aspect. This distinctiveness is observed on the fact that fulfillment of the Muslim public's religious needs is considered a public service and religion has been put under the governance of state to some extent by establishing a religious organization (Erdoğan, 2000:270).

The basic reason for Kemalism to put religion under governance is that religion was perceived as an obstacle to the ideological westernization. The main objective of New Turkey's ideological program was expressed as increasing the society up to the "level of contemporary civilization". Atatürk and his fellows considered this a new symbolic system transformation in the society, which was based on western values (Erdoğan, 2000:271; Çelik, 2009:86). Consideration of religion as an obstacle in front of social progress was the reflection of a positivist viewpoint. Thus, secularism which became widespread after the French Revolution was replaced by religion by means of the Kemalist regime.

Atatürk's secularism includes the abolition of the caliphate, adoption of the Swiss Civil Code, adoption of the Latin Alphabet, exclusion of Islam from the state religion and including the principle of secularism in the Constitution. On the day of the abolition of the caliphate in 1924, Shaykh al-Islam and Pious Foundations were also abolished and the Law on Unification of Education, which completely secularized the educational system, was accepted. In April of the same year, Ecclesiastical courts were also abolished and by this way, the classic religious order was removed. Together with the effective abolition of Ulema, the way of secularism was opened and it became easier to remove the provision of the Constitution, which asserted that Islam was the religion of the state, in 1928. The principle of secularism, which was defined as "the separation of religious and state affairs" in 1928 for the first time at the Parliament, became the supreme principle of Kemalism and was included in the Constitution in 1937 (Mardin, 2008:120-121).

Kemalism was in tendency of basing the new social organization on the "nation" and approaching the nation as a concept that would be determined by secular elements. By this way, while it was accepted that state was constituted by the nation, it became possible for Kemalists to separate state from religion as a result of the new content of nation. Formulization of the principle of Kemalist nationalism with secularism in such a way to reinforce one another actually had a great importance primarily for Mustafa Kemal and the Kemalist staff in order to materialize the social changes they desired, in terms of the political power as well (Köker, 2007:162). The most important goal of reforms that were performed in accordance with the principle of secularism was to create the "Turkish" identity instead of the "Ottoman" identity, which was distinctive. In that context, the state which grounded on scientific methods tried to found the task of transforming the social, cultural and moral structure with the principle of secularism (Kahraman, 2008:70-71).

On the other hand, it is clear that the change project of Single Party regime was not limited with religion. Integrated project of the



Kemalist ideology envisaged a radical transformation in areas such as religion, culture, language, art and history (Erdoğan, 2000:272).

At this point, it is claimed that the principle of secularism which is performed with a jacobean style is the implementation of Western positivism that is fairly described as the impiety dogma by force of the state. Besides, this principle is asserted to be associated with intellectual despotism and that it was tried to be adopted as a belief system especially during the Single Party period (Erdoğan, 2000:272).

As a matter of fact, considering the background of the principle of Kemalist secularism and the thought system that inspired it, the implementation of an authoritarian secularism was inevitable. Additionally, it shall also be remembered that the principle of Kemalist secularism under the influence of the positivist perception was used for a practical political purpose, in an attempt to prevent reaction during the single party period (Erdoğan, 2000). During this period, the implementation of the principle of secularism with an authoritarian method caused various segments of the society to react (Karatepe, 2001:51-52).

5.4. Nationalism (Milliyetçilik)

It is very clear that the right of every nation, which emerged after the French Revolution, to determine their own destiny considerably accelerated the thought of nationalism. As well as causing the separation of other empires in the world, nationalism also caused the separation of the Ottoman Empire. It could be claimed that nationalism, which had a destructive effect in the context of the Ottoman Empire, played an integrating role during the foundation of the Republic.

Principle of nationalism, which was included in the 2nd article of the Constitution in 1937, is expressed as follows: "The party predicates on being in harmony and parallel with all modern nations in the way of progress, development, as well as international contacts and intercourses and protecting the special characters and independent identity of the Turkish social life" (Köker, 2007:133-135).

The principle of Kemalist nationalism could be defined as the major axis of the official ideology in Turkey. This axis is the ideologic reproduction basis of the corporatist and patrimonial-custody state structure, which had a certain continuity during the process of transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, and the Reason of State (*raison d'état*) (Bora, 2008:16).

According to the principle of Kemalist nationalism, the integrity of the motherland, dominance and indivisibility of the nation are essential. The motto of "Those who are committed to the Turkish state with citizenship bond are Turk" is one of the statements defining the nationalism. Nationalist emphasises in the new republic, which was founded after the fall of the Ottoman Empire under the influence of nationalistic thoughts following the French Revolution, were perceived as the best way of providing the national unity and solidarity.

Although the Kemalist nationalism was articulated with different nationalisms from time to time, instead of emphasizing ethnicity in general, it considered those who felt like a Turk is Turk, since it essentially had the objective of forming a nation for the newly founded state. On the other hand, initiatives such as the Sun Language Theory and Turkish History Thesis have some aspects that contravene with this concept of nationalism (Arslan, 2008:411-412).

In fact, although the excessive nationalism, of which the history thesis was a part, seemed to contradict with the admiration and imitation of western styles that comprised another quality of Kemalist policies, it actually enabled the adoption of Western styles. The universality claim in this sense was trying to separate the Turks from their Ottoman background and also infuse a strong national identity and national pride, which made the new generations feel superior (Zürcher, 2010:283).

As a matter of fact, it is seen that racist policies of the Kemalist nationalism became widespread under the influence of these dissertations during the 1930s. During this period, the provision of "being Turkish" was explicitly mentioned for the proclamation of admission conditions for state institutions, such as Mineral Research and Exploration Institute, Military High Schools and Military Academies. Besides, Non-Muslims working in state departments started to be discharged and pressures were tried to be put on the Non-Turks with campaigns of "Speak Turkish citizens!" (Arslan, 2008:412).

5.5. Statism (Devletçilik)

Even though the principle of Kemalist statism was inspired by socialism, it does not coincide with the strict statism of socialism.

Principle of statism is an integrated political world, where all kinds of dynamics in society are implemented under the state supervision, each social development is assessed in terms of superior interest of the state and autonomous legitimacy of no social phenomenon is legitimized (Çetin, 2007:175).

Principle of statism, which was included in the 2nd article of the Constitution in 1937, is expressed as follows: "Grounding on individual labour and activity, it is among our important principals to efficaciously engage the state in affairs that require the common and high benefits of the nation, especially in the economic area in order to make the nation and motherland prosper as soon as possible" (Köker, 2007:135).

Economic, historical and political conditions, which caused the newly-founded Republic to adopt the policy of statism, are explained by Karpas (2010:73-74) as follows: Although the new regime intended to start a quick process of economic development, the country had no private capital to perform this. On the other hand, since the foreign capital did not approve the conditions, they did not want to do business in the country. The managers of the country did not require the foreigners to take economic initiative, since they could not forget the capitulations. As a consequence, the nationalism which was considered the basis of the regime required an economic politics that would be convenient for their views.

The most important reason for the principle of statism to come into prominence was that the efforts of progress and industrialization, which were based on supporting the private sector that was implemented some time ago, did not produce results. Reasons causing the failure of the period of 1923-1932 are also the reasons of the transition to statism practices (Yeşilay, 2005:122).

In the beginning of 1930, the Single Party government took some precautions against the economic crisis, in an attempt to enable the foreign trade to have surplus instead of deficit by balancing the public expenditures in accordance with public incomes and limiting the importation (Kepenek, 2007:70).

During the period when the world economy was in crisis, Turkey turned in to itself with the principle of statism and attempted to establish a national industry and a planned model. The economic

politics, which was generated in line with this effort as from 1933, changed in such a way to increase the state intervention in economy (Yeşilay, 2005:121).

Indeed, being the most debated Kemalist principle as from the 1930s (Köker, 2007:177) statism could never be clarified institutionally throughout the period when it was implemented. Thus the quality of statist implementations (in other words, special interventions on economy and industry), basis and interpretation of the statism principle changed from period to period, from person to person and this principle could never attain a systematic structure (Koçak, 2005:109).

As a matter of fact, the existence of two conflicting movements in RPP, which were led by Celal Bayar and İsmet İnönü, indicates that the principle of statism was not settled on a solid foundation. In contradiction to Bayar's attitude towards liberal capitalism, İnönü intended to make a statist approach sovereign (Zürcher, 2010:292).

During this period, Kadro Journal, which was founded by the Manisa Parliamentarian Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu), Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir), Burhan Asaf (Belge), İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin) and Vedat Nedim (Tör) and started to be published on January 1932 (Tekin&Okutan, 2011), emerged as a brand new socio-political movement. The publication of the journal was responded positively by the Turkish administrators, since they expected the regime to develop a socio-political thought system that would be convenient for the new economic politics. It was asserted that the actual philosophy of Kadro was that Marxism was a superficially compiled mixture of nationalism and corporatism (Karpas, 2010:156-157).

The Kadro movement elitism grounded on economic statism and preferred using Marxist concepts to achieve this goal. They thought that they could harmonize the historical materialism idea of Marxism with positivism, which gave meaning to the world view of Kemalism (Tekin ve Okutan, 2011: 91). As a matter of fact, according to Karpas (2010: 157), the theory that was tried to be formed by the supporters of Kadro was a made-up and artificial theory that was consisted of the combination of some Marxist ideas with the concept of totalitarian state, in an attempt to explain the statism of Turkey.

Considering the language and method used by the supporters of Kadro, which was consisted of old-hand leftists, it could be claimed that their primary objective was to approach the Kemalist regime to the Marxist ideology as much as possible.

5.6. Revolutionism (İnkılâpçılık)

The principle of revolutionism, which was included in the 2nd article of the Constitution in 1937 as "The party requires loyalty to and protection of principles, which are originated from revolutions that were made by our nation with a great devotion and which enable development", was surely originated from the French Revolution (Köker, 2007:135). Thus the fact that Mustafa Kemal drew attention to the importance of revolution for the independence and prosperity of nations during his speech, which was performed on 14 July 1922 (anniversary of the French Revolution) and consisted of examples from the French Revolution is important in terms of indicating the source of this principle.

During the formulization of six principles of Kemalism in the 1930s, the definition of revolutionism included the emphasis firstly on the "protection" of progresses that had been performed so far and then the necessity of making an effort to fulfil the requirements of revolutions. While the first one expresses that the available

foundations were changed, the second one expresses that the requirements of contemporary civilizations level would be fulfilled within the "new order" that was enabled by this change. Thus, the revolutionism of Kemalism supports "sudden change" in terms of capturing and rearranging the political mechanism that is required to direct the society and it is "progressive within the order" after this change (Köker, 2007:171). At this point, it shall be specified that the principle of revolutionism was inspired by Union and Progress and is in harmony with the idea of union and progress, which are among the basic principles of positivism.

The changes that were performed in a jacobean style in an attempt to reach the level of contemporary civilizations in line with the principle of revolutionism radically transformed the social area. As a matter of fact, Ahmad's (2009:100) criticism about the alphabet change and Tunçay's (2009:93-94) consideration of the writing revolution as the most radical attempt of changing culture reveal this radical transformation. Together with this transformation, public memory was destroyed and a convenient ground was established for raising new generations who were detached from their past, in line with the official ideology.

On the other hand, it is expressed that the principle of revolutionism was defined by Mustafa Kemal in different ways and periods. Different meanings attributed to this principle could be explained as follows: Firstly, the principle of Kemalist revolutionism is associated with the progress of revolutionism and is tried to be defined in contradiction to evolutionary development. Since the abundance of works-to-be-done and lack of time require the rapid implementation of innovations that are desired to be brought in the Turkish society, the progress has to be revolutionary rather than evolutionary. Secondly, there are some remarkable points about whether the political power, which is an important dimension of the Kemalist revolutionism, will be acquired or not and whether it will be necessary to apply to public or in other words the pursuit of "consensus" for the implementation of revolutions. Thirdly, having this second aspect, the revolutionism has formed the basis of the formula of "for public in spite of the public" in Kemalism, which is the product of the 1930s. In other words, it is indicated that the innovations that are made for the purpose of reaching the "level of contemporary civilizations" shall be "from top to bottom" and the principle of "revolutionism" shall be applied in order to overcome the oppositions that might come from the bottom (Köker, 2007:177; Çelik, 2009:88).

6. CONCLUSIONS (SONUÇLAR)

The spread of biological materialism among medical students during the period of II. Abdülhamit under the influence of the Western education, the fact that the founders of Union and Progress Association considered positivism a recipe for salvation and the effect of the French Revolution are observed on the Kemalist principles, especially such as republicanism, nationalism, secularism and revolutionism. Principles of populism and statism were influenced by socialism.

Being the basic ideology of the Turkish Republic that was found in 1923, Kemalism constantly shaped the educational system, sense of history, judicial structurings, constitution and ideal citizens in line with this ideology. Almost all of the institutions that were established after the Republic were grounded on the protection and development of the Kemalist ideology.

Kemalist ideology is an ideology that faces west, tries to materialize the modernization through using sudden methods and while doing this, emphasizes stylistic elements. Besides, according to the Kemalist ideology, society is unreliable and is consisted of masses to be directed.

Kemalist principles were considerably influenced by the French Revolution. The New Ottomans who struggled for constitution against II. Abdülhamid also affected the Kemalist ideology. The positivist philosophy of Union and Progress, which captured the political power afterwards, inspired the Kemalist principles as well. Taking all these into consideration, the Kemalist principles could be claimed to have authoritarian and sometimes totalitarian qualities that impose the Single Party regime, since they are sudden, elitist, have the motto of "for public in spite of public" and they consider the society as an unprivileged and classless mass.

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