

**DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE**  
**AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE PROGRAM**  
**DOCTORAL THESIS**  
**Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)**

**AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON TURKISH MODERNIZATION:**  
**BLESSING IGNORANCE**

**Ash DAVAZ**

**Supervisor**  
**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilsen GÖKÇEN**

**İZMİR– 2017**

**DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE**  
**AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE PROGRAM**  
**DOCTORAL THESIS**  
**Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)**

**AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON TURKISH MODERNIZATION:**  
**BLESSING IGNORANCE**

**Ash DAVAZ**

**Supervisor**  
**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilsen GÖKÇEN**

**İZMİR - 2017**

**DOKTORA**  
**TEZ ONAY SAYFASI**



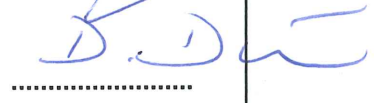


2007800669

**Üniversite** : Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi  
**Enstitü** : Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü  
**Adı ve Soyadı** : Aslı DAVAZ  
**Tez Başlığı** : American Influence on Turkish Modernization: Blessing Ignorance  
**Savunma Tarihi** : 10.02.2017  
**Danışmanı** : Assoc.Prof.Dr.Nilsen GÖKÇEN

**JÜRİ ÜYELERİ**

<b><u>Ünvanı, Adı, Soyadı</u></b>	<b><u>Üniversitesi</u></b>
Assoc.Prof.Dr.Nilsen GÖKÇEN	DOKUZ EYLUL UNIVERSITY
Assist.Prof.Dr.Bülent UĞRASIZ	DOKUZ EYLUL UNIVERSITY
Prof.Dr.Dilek DİRENÇ	EGE UNIVERSITY
Prof.Dr.Atilla SİLKÜ	EGE UNIVERSITY
Prof.Dr.Nevin KOYUNCU	EGE UNIVERSITY

**İmza**

Oybirliği (X)

Oy Çokluğu ( )

Aslı DAVAZ tarafından hazırlanmış ve sunulmuş "**American Influence on Turkish Modernization: Blessing Ignorance**" başlıklı tezi kabul edilmiştir.

**Prof. Dr. M. Banu DURUKAN SALI**  
**Müdür**

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this doctoral thesis titled as “American Influence on Turkish Modernization: Blessing Ignorance” has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

Date

...../...../.....

Aslı DAVAZ

Signature

**ABSTRACT**  
**Doctoral Thesis**  
**Doctor of Philosophy(PhD)**  
**American Influence on Turkish Modernization: Blessing Ignorance**  
**Ashı Davaz**

**Dokuz Eylül University**  
**Graduate School of Social Sciences**  
**Department of American Culture and Literature**  
**American Culture and Literature Program**

Turkish modernization, which starts with Ottoman Period Reforms, has the goal of being above “the level of modern civilizations”. While it had not been possible to develop a progressive approach due to the impact of religious authority over politics during the Ottoman reign, in Turkish Revolution, led by Atatürk, a more comprehensive reform movement was being carried, which has led to a Turkish Enlightenment. The primary goal of this movement was to annihilate ignorance and religious authority.

After World War Two, Turkey has become a member of the new world order that has been established by The United States, and during the Democrat Party rule, it has adopted the capitalist economic system. Anti-communist propaganda has become a part of political life, due to the economic and political interactions with the US during this period.

In this period, the Turkish administration has adopted a political rhetoric, which Richard Hofstadter called “The Paranoid Style”, and started to make concessions from the modernization initiative. This approach has led the religious authority to take over politics and ignorance was once again blessed in Turkish life.

**Keywords: Modernization, Turkish Enlightenment, Political Rhetoric, Turkish Revolution, Turkish-American Relations**



## **ÖZET**

### **Doktora Tezi**

#### **Türk Modernleşmesinde Amerikan Etkisi: Cahilliğin Kutsanması**

**Aslı Davaz**

**Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi**

**Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü**

**Amerikan Kültürü ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı**

**Amerikan Kültürü ve Edebiyatı Programı**

Osmanlı Dönemi ıslahat hareketleri ile başlayan Türk modernleşmesinin amacı “muasır medeniyet seviyesi” nin üstüne çıkmak olarak belirlenmiştir. Osmanlı döneminde dini otoritenin siyaset üzerindeki etkileri nedeni ile ilerici bir yaklaşım sergilenemezken, Atatürk’ün liderliğini yaptığı Türk Devrimi’nde hayatın her alanını etkileyen kapsamlı bir reform çalışmasına girişilmiş ve Batı tarzı bir aydınlanma hareketi başlatılmıştır. Bu hareketin öncelikli hedefi cahilliğin ve dini otoritenin ortadan kaldırılması olmuştur.

İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nin kurgulmuş olduğu yeni dünya düzeninin bir parçası haline gelen Türkiye, Demokrat Parti iktidarında kapitalist ekonomik sisteme geçiş yapmıştır. Modernleşme Kuramı kapsamında örnek alınan ABD ile bu dönemde gerçekleştirilen ekonomik ve politik ortaklık sonucunda, komünizm karşıtlığı siyasi literatürün bir parçası haline gelmiştir.

Bu dönemde, Richard Hofstadter’ın “paranoyak tarzda siyasi söylem” olarak adlandırdığı politik söylemi benimseyen yöneticilerin ABD ile kurulan ilişkilerin devamlılığı adına modernleşme girişiminden ödünler vermeleri, Türk Devrimi ile başlatılan aydınlanma hareketinin sonlanmasına, siyasetin dinin etki alanına girmesine ve cahilliğin ülkede yeniden yükselişe geçmesine neden olmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler: Modernleşme, Aydınlanma, Siyasi Söylem, Türk Devrimi,  
Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri**





**AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON TURKISH MODERNIZATION:  
BLESSING IGNORANCE**

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE	ii
DECLARATION	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZET	vi
CONTENTS	viii
ABBREVIATIONS	x

INTRODUCTION	1
--------------	---

**CHAPTER ONE**

**AMERICAN MODERNIZATION AND ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM**

1.1. THE BRIGHT SIDE OF THE ANGLO-PROTESTANT TRADITION	13
1.2. FUNDAMENTALISM AND ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN MODERNIZATION	22

**CHAPTER TWO**

**PERCEPTION OF RELIGION AND SCIENCE IN TURKISH REVOLUTION**

2.1. THE APPROACH TOWARDS RELIGION PRIOR TO IMPROVEMENT PERIOD	39
2.2. III. SELİM AND II. MAHMUT PERIODS	44
2.3. TANZİMAT REFORMS AND II. ABDULHAMİT PERIOD	48
2.4. ENLIGHTENMENT MOVEMENT IN THE TURKISH REVOLUTION	55

**CHAPTER THREE**

**MODERNIZATION THEORY AND AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM**

3.1. MODERNIZATION THEORY	73
---------------------------	----

3.2	AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER	84
-----	---	----

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON TURKISH MODERNIZATION**

4.1	AMERICAN AIDS AND THE OBJECTIVE OF BECOMING LITTLE AMERICA	106
4.2	THE RE-BIRTH OF POLITICAL ISLAM	122
4.3	THE ENDING OF THE TURKISH ENLIGHTENMENT	131
	CONCLUSION	138
	REFERENCES	145

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>USA</b>	The United States of America
<b>RPP</b>	Republican People's Party
<b>DP</b>	Democratic Party
<b>FRP</b>	Free Republican Party
<b>PRP</b>	Progressive Republican Party



## INTRODUCTION

*We shall raise our country to the level of the most prosperous and civilized nations of the world. We shall endow our nation with the broadest means and sources of welfare. We shall raise our national culture above the contemporary level of civilization... We shall perform greater tasks in a shorter time. I have no doubt that we shall succeed in this. Because, the Turkish nation is of excellent character. The Turkish nation is hardworking. The Turkish nation is intelligent. The Turkish nation is capable of overcoming difficulties with national unity. And because, the Turkish nation holds the torch of positive sciences to light the way on the path to progress and civilization.<sup>1</sup>*

On October 29, 1933, while addressing the nation during the ceremony of the tenth year anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk stated that the *raison d'être* of the Turkish Revolution was to “raise the national culture above the contemporary level of civilization” and identified the “positive sciences” as the guiding principle. Even though the goal<sup>2</sup> and the primary principle to achieve this goal were defined clearly from the start, an examination of the current data about the Turkish Republic reveals that, although aligned with the global system economically<sup>3</sup> the Turkish nation has fallen behind its contemporaries in means of civilization.

When human development and quality living indices prepared by scientific institutions are studied, one can observe that Turkey is way behind modern countries in many fields like prosperity, health, education, social connections, life and work balance, codetermination, environment, personal happiness and security.<sup>4</sup> The reports of EU<sup>5</sup> indicate that there is no progress in basic rights, freedom of press is restricted, there are violations of freedom of thought, and that these issues are recur-

---

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. “Onuncu Yıl Konuşması”, **Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri**, Volume: 2, 2nd Edition, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 1997, pp.275-276 cited by Turan Feyzioğlu, “Atatürk Yolu: Akılcı, Bilimci, Gerçekçi Yol”, **Atatürk Yolu**, 3rd Edition, Türk Tarih Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 1995, pp.42-43.

<sup>2</sup> A close look at Atatürk’s speeches on civilization reveals that his goal was to take science and civilization from any country that was best at it, regardless of its place. An objective of imitating a Western or Eastern country was out of the question.

<sup>3</sup> UNDP’s 2014 Human Development Report statistics reveal that Turkey has the 17th greatest economy in the World. For more information, see UNDP, “UNDP 2014 Human Development Report”, <http://www.tr.undp.org/content/turkey/en/home/countryinfo/>, (22.04.2014).

<sup>4</sup> OECD renews its Better Life Index each year and Turkey received the last spot in 2013 in this index. For more information, see OECD, “OECD Better Life Index, 2013”, <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/turkey/>, (18.12.2013).

<sup>5</sup> For all EU progress reports you may visit Ministry for EU Affairs, “AB Bakanlığı Türkiye İlerleme Raporu 2014”, <http://www.ab.gov.tr/index.php?p=46224&l=1>, (15.03.2014).

ring. Turkey is on the top of the global gender inequality list.<sup>6</sup> It is also the third amongst OECD countries in terms of income inequality.<sup>7</sup> In fields like health, prosperity and education that define human development, there are striking differences amongst the regions of Turkey.<sup>8</sup> Turkey may have a high rate of literacy, yet education enjoys a very little ratio in the government budget.<sup>9</sup> Book reading habit data suggests that Turkish people spare little time for reading, and there is a very big gap when compared with civilized countries.<sup>10</sup> When education demographics are studied, it can be seen that Turkey is also lagging behind other OECD countries.<sup>11</sup> The findings of a survey on values performed in collaboration by PEW Research Center and Michigan University with a sample size of 3000 indicate that 69% of Turkish people regard Islam to be beyond reproach, that 43% of Turkish people do not want their children to know about other religions, that 39% define themselves with their religious identities, that 34% demand “an Islamic government,” that 20% define a good government as one ruling according to the sharia law, and that 21% think that a strong leader is more important than having elections or a parliament. In addition,

---

<sup>6</sup> World Economic Forum issues a Global Gender Inequality Report each year. According to the 2014 statistics, Turkey was on the 125th place out of 142 countries and ever since has been preserving its place in the last spots. To examine the studies of the Forum and the reports, see World Economic Forum, “Global Gender Inequality 2014 Report”, <http://www.weforum.org/reports>, (06.03.2015).

<sup>7</sup> OECD’s 2015 Inequality Report states that Turkey became the 3rd country in which inequality occurred the most with its 28.5 poverty ratio that left 34 countries behind. In Turkey, the wealthiest people take up the 10% of the population, receiving a 31.7% share of the welfare, while the income difference between the poorest 10% and the richest 10% is 15.2 times more. To view the statistics of the report, “Türkiye Yoksullukta En kötü Üçüncü Ülke!”, **T24**, <http://t24.com.tr/haber/turkiye-yoksullukta-en-kotu-ucun-ucuncu-ulke.297434>, (22.05, 2015).

<sup>8</sup> Human Development Index points at the critical differences in welfare, health and education between the western and eastern areas of Turkey. For detailed information, see Çiğdem Ünal, “İnsani Gelişmişlik Endeksine Göre Türkiye’nin Bölgesel Farklılıkları”, **Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi**, Volume:6, Number:2, 2008, pp.89-113.

<sup>9</sup> According to the “UNPD 2014 Human Development Index” the state invests in education in a ratio of 2.9%. The literacy rate of the adults (age 15 and above) is 94.1%, and the ratio of the people that have completed at least the secondary education (age 25 and above, between 2005-2012) is 49.4%.

<sup>10</sup> According to April 2014 report of the Turkish Statistical Institute regarding the statistics of reading habits in Turkey, Turkish people spend an average of 6 hours a year to read. The rate of reading in Europe is 21% while this ratio is 0.01% in Turkey. As for the types of the books read, romances come as the favourite genre of Turks with a 65% rate on the top of the list. See “TÜİK’ten Utandıran Kitap Okuma Raporu”, **Bugün Gazetesi**, 22 .04. 2014, <http://www.bugun.com.tr/yasam/avrupada-son-siradayiz-haberi/1071994>, (23.04.2014).

<sup>11</sup> 2011 OECD statistics show that 68% of the adult population in Turkey were educated below secondary education, while this rate is 25% for OECD members. These numbers reflect the critical situation of the Turkish education prior to the 4+4 education system. Yaşar Özay. “İşte Türkiye’nin Eğitim Atlası”, **Sabah Gazetesi**, 12.02.2014, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/egitim/2014/02/12/iste-turkiyenin-egitim-atlasi>, (12.02.2014).

one out of seven Turkish people believe that there are global conspiracies against Muslim people.<sup>12</sup>

Despite all these data, in these recent years, politicians in Turkey often refer to the discourse on “contemporary level of civilization.” Some of the politicians in their public speeches claim that contemporary level of civilization has been achieved,<sup>13</sup> some set the date for achieving that level,<sup>14</sup> and yet, some claim that it is obligatory to leave aside the present parliamentary system to achieve that contemporary level of civilization.<sup>15</sup> However, it must be underlined that the “contemporary level of civilization”, the object of Atatürk’s discourse and to which end Turkish revolution is realized, is not something to be achieved on a certain date, and it is not even something to be achieved and finalized at all. This movement made concrete in Atatürk’s principle of Revolutionism constantly targets achieving something better, and enables the people to work harder for that promised environment of peace and prosperity. Many other governments of different countries and of different periods work towards the similar goal of increasing production potential and prosperity with different names and systems. An example can be found in the Protestant moral and work discipline of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century USA, which created a national consciousness and welfare for the people. Atatürk, after setting the goal in above quoted speech, praises the character, intelligence and industriousness of Turkish nation, and this can also be read in parallel with Protestant work ethics. A summary of nationalism of

---

<sup>12</sup> Uğur Koçbaş. “Şeriat İsteyen Türkler’in Oranı”, **Vatan Gazetesi**, 9.01.2014, <http://www.gazetevatan.com/ugur-kocbas-599333-yazar-yazisi-seriat-isteyen-turkler-in-orani/>, (9.01.2014).

<sup>13</sup> Justice and Development Party Manisa Deputy Dr. Muzaffer Yurttaş shares the following statements in his article dated 2013 in his personal website: “Didn’t Atatürk order us to raise our country to the level of the civilized nations? Didn’t the Justice and Development party accomplish this goal? Our party has turned our country into one that is envied by other countries and made our economy the second fastest growing economy in the world.” To view the rest of this article, see. Muzaffer Yurttaş, “35. Madde Derhal Kaldırılmalıdır”, <http://www.muzafteryurttas.com.tr/makaledetay.php?id=10>, (06.02.2013).

<sup>14</sup> In a speech given on 22 February 2012, the EU Minister and chief negotiator of the period Egemen Bağış claimed that Atatürk’s objective of reaching the level of contemporary civilizations could be achieved by the year 2023: “Turkey will be able to realize Atatürk’s dreams and reach a place above the level of the contemporary civilizations of the world with a conscious youth, a good education system and accurate administration, becoming one of the 10 most powerful countries of the world by 2023.” For the rest of the speech, see “Kabinayı Meyhanelerde Toplarlar”, **Haber Türk Gazetesi**, 22.02.2012, <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/718492-kabinayi-meyhanelerde-toplarlar>, (25.11.2012).

<sup>15</sup> President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, has emphasized that the current parliamentary system was an obstacle for the growth of Turkey and that Turkey should be ruled by a Turkish style presidency in numerous speeches given between April and May 2015. To view one of the examples for these speeches, which include the statement “Turkey must be ruled with presidency, in order to achieve its goal of reaching above the level of contemporary civilizations.” see “Türkiye’yi Muasır Medeniyetler Seviyesine Çıkarmak İçin Başkanlık Sistemi Şart”, **Milliyet Gazetesi**, 18.04.2015, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-turkiye-yi-muasir-kocaeli-yerelhaber-736746/>, (18.04.2015).

Atatürk can be found in his quote, often sloganized in elementary schools as “Türk, be proud, work hard, and trust”<sup>16</sup> - one of the many examples of his ideas that aim to fire up the production force by unifying the masses in order to achieve a single goal.

This goal, to rise above the contemporary level of civilization reflects the struggle of a new-born state to find a place amongst the world civilizations. This new-born state, poor and facing many obstacles, had fought a war against imperial forces, and the aim then was to incept the idea of independence into the minds of masses – whose memories of war were still fresh– in order not to live through similar struggles again. The way to protect the independence lay in the direction of progress: becoming as advanced as the imperialist forces. And in order to achieve this strength, a total transformation of every aspect of society was necessary: by changing clothing styles, by changing the alphabet, by illegitimizing former religious and official titles of Ottoman Empire, and by forming a new legal system. And to this end, the guiding principle was science, not religion. At the time, both the people of the nation and the leaders of the country were aware that the country was not in a strong position. Ignorance and belief in superstition were then presented as the enemies that were to be immediately overcome. With a reconciliatory approach that stems from the period of war, they were trying to keep alive the belief that if these already hard working masses closed the ranks and worked even harder, the country would be strengthened and the following period of prosperity would let each part of society live in peace and happiness. If religious terms were to replace the previous statement, they were offering a paradise. And the way to reach this paradise was not through prayer, but working hard and employing science.

Returning back to the contemporary Turkey, we see that the discourse on “contemporary level of civilization” is still being used to move the masses, but with dramatic differences: This time the government is employing a “paranoid style”<sup>17</sup> in its discourse in an attempt to imitate the dynamism of the Atatürk period (in actuality, the period that the current government is frequently and harshly criticizing), by replacing the actual enemies of the Turkish War of Independence with artificial ene-

---

<sup>16</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine.A. Afet İnan, **Atatürk Hakkında Hatıralar ve Belgeler**, 2nd Edition, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayını, Ankara, 1968, p.318 cited by Eroğlu, Hamza. “Atatürk’e Göre Millet ve Milliyetçilik”, **Atatürk Yolu**, 3rd Edition, Türk Tarih Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 1995, p.159.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Hofstadter’s “paranoid style political discourse” concept that has been introduced in his article *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, will be examined in detail in the following chapters of this study. The word “paranoid” was used as a political political medium, not as a medical term in this sentence.

mies of a peace period. In current government's claims, the country is frequently under the threat of imaginary enemies, and the government is fighting with enemies that are often not openly named, but still of considerable strength. This time the struggle employs not science, but religion; the discourse of the current government frequently employs religious references to define these imaginary enemies; and within this discourse, the masses of believers should close the ranks with the government to save the country from various disasters. However, there seems to be no end to the ranks upon ranks of enemies, and the continuous struggle against them creates the dynamism desired by the government. Yet, in this struggle, the enemies and the conspiracies are not directly observable by each layer of society. In their discourse, adherents of laicism/seculars are either unaware of these enemies or they are collaborators. Therefore, the task of saving the country is "bestowed upon" not the intellectuals/adherents of laicism, but the believers/religious. In this construct, the country is depicted as stronger than it actually is, income inequality is covered up with religious obligation of austerity, enrichment of a certain part of society is represented as a development thrust impacting the collective, and the economic development is depicted as the sole indicator of modernity. Being a go-getter is held in higher esteem than intellect and intellectual knowledge, and consequently, the exploitation of the people, regarded only as voting potential, is facilitated. The government's discourse that praises the ignorant masses makes them believe that they are in superior position than that they actually are and that they are indispensable. In short, under the name of modernity, religion is exploited and ignorance is blessed.

At this point, it is necessary to talk about the paranoid style political discourse, summarized and adopted to Turkey as above. In 1963, at a conference in Oxford University, American historian Richard Hofstadter, announced his article that in return, in 1964, gave its name to his book, *The Paranoid Style in American tics*.<sup>18</sup> His speech was on fundamentalist religiosity that re-emerged and reached its pinnacle during the communist witch hunts of 1950s' America, and how in a paranoid style, animosity towards the intellectuals turned into a political weapon by the liberal-conservative parties. This article that will be further discussed in detail claims that paranoid style is not a term unique to America. As a result of Post-WW II bilateral relations of USA and Turkey, the observation of similar paranoid style ap-

---

<sup>18</sup>Richard, Hofstadter. **The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays**, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1996.



proach in Turkish political discourse is postulated here to be a verification of this non-uniqueness. The findings represent that this act of domestication, as it is so in many agreements signed in that period, is not adopted through sanctions of USA.

The hereby mentioned agreements signed between the USA and Turkey during the Cold War period is the subject of many studies today as it was in the past. The USA party to these agreements has been criticized of diverting the Turkish staff educated in the States to “American-style” thinking, of cultural imperialism in Turkey, and of being the architect of economic concessions within the framework of Marshall Plan. All of the criticism on the USA and Turkey relations might be true. However, this situation does not change the fact that all Turkish politicians who signed these agreements did so out of their free-will, and that while imposing those sanctions, USA did not step beyond the limits of the abovementioned agreements. For this very reason, this discursive transformation is not through American-led coups, but American influence.

The actual problem rising up in Turkey through the bilateral relations with USA during the first years of the Cold War Period, is bigger and more extensive than the sanctions that USA wanted to impose on Turkey following these agreements: to close its plane factory, to give up its industrial thrust and to change its education system. The actual problem is the steps taken by the Turkish politicians of early multi-party period, from both right and left wing, to influence both their voters and the USA –the economic benefactor– without calculating the consequences. In those years when Statism, one of Atatürk’s Principles, was cast aside rapidly and without control, the country took its place within the Western Block in order to become part of the new world order. The alliance with the USA was based on Turkey’s participation to Korean War that would lead to membership in NATO. This participation was frequently portrayed as a victory in government discourse and press of the period, and burned into the collective memory as such, which in turn, formed the basis of an admiration towards Americans in Turkey. In time, this admiration went beyond imitation of USA’s democratic government and capitalist economic system, and deviated the goal of Turkish Revolution to rise above “contemporary level of civilization” into “becoming a little America.” Within the society, this new goal was internalized as dressing up as Americans do, acting like they do, adopting their language and culture; and within the Turkish domestic policy, the same goal was realized as sharing USA’s definition of the communist ideology as the new enemy. During 1950s, in both countries right-wing parties were in power. In the USA, the government of Ei-

senhower, and in Turkey, the government of Menderes actively used paranoid political discourse to instil the idea that religion is the antidote of communism into the minds of the masses. And again, in both countries, this formula devised to sustain the capitalist system, helped fundamentalism to regain strength and left-wing intellectuals to be framed as communists/atheists and be cast out of social life.

A product of Cold War period, this conception known as “Containment Policy”<sup>19</sup> was employed not just in Turkey, but in all Muslim countries surrounding Soviet Union. In the new world order, the leader of capitalism, USA was seeking an ideological victory against the Soviet Union, the leader of communist ideology. This goal was to be realized by supporting various governments and policies in various different countries, and in line with this goal, strengthening of the conservatives and fundamentalists surrounding the Soviets was desired. Communism was represented as being anti-religious or atheist to facilitate hindering the spread of communist ideas. America sought three benefits with this plan: The countries within the containment policy opened their markets to American companies, since they were siding with the USA. Promoting communist ideology as an enemy served the purpose of capitalism, and therefore of the USA. The USA could promote all these activities in those regions without deploying its own army, since strengthened fundamentalists were voluntarily fighting against the communists that they deemed to be heretical.

Within this construct, conservative liberal parties supported by the USA in those previously mentioned countries received two benefits: First, foreign debts from the USA could be used within the country as hot money, and thus, without investing to production, a short-route to rapid development could be achieved. And this in turn meant re-election at least for another period for the present government. Second, these parties in power could label the opposition as “communist” whenever they deemed necessary by enacting a law (and from time to time, receiving an American support).

In the first period when Turkey became an active training ground for containment policy, it began to receive support from the USA within the framework of Marshall Plan. In between 1945-1960, the focus of this study, with concessions from the Statism principle, Turkey moved into the capitalist system, and framed structural

---

<sup>19</sup> This policy, which was first introduced by George F. Kennan, was in use throughout the Cold War period, starting with the Truman administration. The containment policy was not only limited with the strengthening of the Islamist countries around the Soviet Union, and was taken to international arena through the establishment of institutions such as NATO. For more information on Containment Policy, see John Lewis, Gaddis. **Strategies of Containment**, Oxford University Press, New York, 2005.

changes with the following consequences: First the Laicism principle was threatened; second, communists faced anti-intellectual movements within Turkey; and thirdly, with the structural changes in education system, practical intelligence instead of knowledge was deemed favorable. With all these changes and with the goal of “becoming a little America”, the humanist approach of Atatürk to modernization was cast aside, and a new road to progress in the American style was taken. And this in turn, as it has been tried to be summarized as above, gave way to a different sort of modernization perception, with its influences reaching up to the present.

In order to correctly evaluate this evolutionary progress of Turkish modernization and the American influence on this process, in this study titled *American Influence on Turkish Modernization: Blessing Ignorance*, along with Turkish modernization and the following period of counter-revolution, theory of modernization that shaped the relationships between these two countries and that forms the theoretical basis of this study, America's style of modernization that is imitated by Turkey, and the rise of American fundamentalism having influence on paranoid style political discourse in Turkey will be under focus.

Within this context, this study is divided in to four main chapters. In the first chapter titled “American Modernization and Anti-Intellectualism”, Anglo-Protestant culture that can be defined as the bright side of American modernization will be studied. The influence of this culture (along with democracy) on American individualism will be evaluated, and the characteristic qualities of national consciousness developed after the American Revolution along with the bourgeoisie class that was formed during the industrial revolution will be defined. Also in this chapter, the history and structural features of American anti-intellectual movement will be studied and how dichotomies of intellectual-common people, intellect-resourcefulness are defined will be considered. In the second chapter titled “Perceptions of Religion and Science in Turkish Revolution”, the effect of religion on social life during the Ottoman Reformation will be observed, and the state of the pre-WW II Turkish modernization will be evaluated with the detailed analysis of the enlightenment movement of the Turkish modernization. In the third chapter, the historical process that led to the principle of American exceptionalism will be studied along with its influence on and criticisms towards the theory of modernization that left its mark on American foreign policy in 1950s. In the final fourth chapter, how the consequences of bilateral relations with the USA in the Cold War era until 1960's changed the structure of Turkish modernization will be underlined. In this chapter, the examples of how the pheno-

mena that Richard Hofstadter defines as “paranoid style” was used in Turkish political discourse will be brought forward to explain its influence on the spread of the movements of American admiration, anti-communism and anti-intellectualism in Turkey in order to evaluate its effects on Turkish education and religiosity in Turkish society.



## CHAPTER ONE

### AMERICAN MODERNIZATION AND ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM

An examination of surveys regarding interest in science and faith in the United States proves that a large percentage of the American people today live under the influence of pseudoscience and fundamentalism. To give a few examples, according to the surveys conducted by National Science Foundation in the last two decades, more than two thirds of Americans do not have an idea what DNA means. One in every five adults in America believes that the sun rotates around the world.<sup>20</sup> Four in every ten Americans think that God has created humans in their present appearance ten thousand years ago.<sup>21</sup> According to public opinion polls conducted in the last four years, more than one third of Americans believe that every word written in the Bible reflects the truth.<sup>22</sup> A PEW statistical study made on 30 August 2005 reveals that approximately one third of Americans want Creation Myth to be taught in state schools and only 26% of Americans believe in Darwin's theory of evolution. One third of Americans, on the other hand, think that there is an on-going controversy among scientists regarding the evolution theory.<sup>23</sup>

Taking this statistical information into consideration one might conclude that Americans' lack of intellectuality likens that of the Turkish people in their choice of religious instruction over scientific information. Both countries have relatively high literacy rates, however in issues such as the Evolution Theory where one has to choose between religious tenets and scientific information, a large percentage of the population in each country prefer religious doctrines over scientific data. Americans tend to have a higher percentage of reading habits, yet people of this country still face the same threat: the spread of pseudoscientific information, like a deadly disease, due to the lack of critical thinking skills among citizens.

As for the fight between pseudoscience and real science, one may call it an unfair challenge. We live in a world where big companies or political bodies are able to use/establish research institutions to preserve their own profits, distort data, share

---

<sup>20</sup> Susan, Jackoby. **The Age of American Unreason**, Pantheon Books, New York, 2008, p. xvii.

<sup>21</sup> Gallup. "Four in Ten America Believe in Strict Creationism", 17.12.2010, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/145286/Four-Americans-Believe-Strict-Creationism.aspx>, (18.02.2015)

<sup>22</sup> Nancy Gibbs. "Apocalypse Now", **Time**, 1.07. 2003 cited by Jackoby, p.49.

<sup>23</sup> Jackoby, pp. 22-24.

misinformation, favour or financially support scientists/academicians that support certain causes. Even in cases where scientists are independent, discussions of different views in an unethical manner often result in discreditation of science among masses. Another point that should be taken into consideration is the fact that pseudoscience, as opposed to scientific information, is more liable to be perceived by a larger percentage of people through mainstream media, since it does not require a higher intellectual capacity.

A closer look at American history reveals that this has not been the case all along. In the era before the Industrial Revolution, when America was not yet a capitalist power and education was not considered as a vital part of mass production, intellectual intelligence was more favoured. Scientific culture that has flourished in the country during the revolution years underwent a change with modernization and practical knowledge has replaced intellectual intelligence ever since. Changes that took place in the education system during the modernization period caused a decrease in the number of critical thinkers within the society and this outcome has led to inefficacy in the distinction of scientific information from pseudoscience for the following generations. In the end, propagation of pseudoscience through mass media has generated “the mediocre culture” of modern times. Susan Jackoby summarizes this outcome with the following words:

*The health of democracy, as so many of the founders had proclaimed, depended on an educated citizenry, but many Americans also believed that too much learning might set one citizen above another and violate the very democratic ideals that education was supposed to foster. The sort of education most valued by ordinary Americans was meant to train a man for whatever practical tasks lay at hand, not to turn him into Man Thinking.<sup>24</sup>*

An understanding of equality in this manner is a distorted version of the principle of equality rooted in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. The original principle points out to the inherent rights of every individual and emphasizes the protection of these rights through justice, precluding unfair competition with a democratic sensibility. In the common approach pointed out by Jackoby, however, the idea of having equal rights is being reinterpreted as having access to an average level of education that would be sufficient for an individual to make a living. In this way, an individual that is more educated than a common man is seen as an intellectual and being an intellectual is defined as an unfavourable status. Hence, a great many people in society content

---

<sup>24</sup> Jackoby, pp. 37-38.

themselves with practical information and take pride in being a go-getter rather than commit themselves to life-long self-improvement through reading and learning.

At this point, in order to avoid confusion, it would be appropriate to clarify the difference between the terms “intellectual intelligence” and “practical intelligence”. In his Pulitzer Prize winner work “Anti-Intellectualism in American Life” (1963) Richard Hofstadter refers to two different kinds of intelligence:

1. Intellect : Having a high sense of perception;
2. Intelligence : Smartness, resourcefulness<sup>25</sup>

According to Hofstadter, an intellectual who has a high sense of perception prefers to handle a problem/issue by evaluating it from every angle, and afterwards, comes to a decision. Intellect reflects an objective perspective. An intellectual has great reasoning and understanding skills, especially in abstract subjects, and prefers a humanist point of view and questioning. A person of the second type is a smart, go-getter individual who comes up with instantaneous decisions using instantaneous evaluations. An intelligent person performs quite high in receiving information and skills, but often these qualities are not foregrounded. A quality that divides an intellectual and an intelligent person is that while an intellectual/ a perceptive person often faces doubt and prejudice, the values an intelligent/smart person may hold are not questioned by society. According Hofstadter in current education systems, screening smart people to find a suitable vocation for them is important, but developing intellect is controversial.<sup>26</sup> The reason behind these arguments is that in capital economic systems smartness/resourcefulness is regarded more valuable. In today’s brutal sense of capitalism, decisions are made according to production capacity, delivery speed and whether the outcomes of these decisions increase the overall economic growth or not, while less attention is paid to the probable negative consequences of these resolutions on nature, human life or society. In this regard, a society with a majority of humanists that have a certain level of intellect and are able to think critically is a threat to the capitalist system. In other words, degradation of modernization into economic growth mentioned in the introduction of this study and reduction of the quality of education due to administrative decisions that will be examined in this section are connected to each other and these two problems pose a

---

<sup>25</sup>In this study, the word “intellectual” will be used to define “intelligentsia” and the term “anti-intellectualism” will also refer to “anti-intelligentsia” at times. The word “intelligence” will be used in its common Turkish meaning of “go-getter” or “practical intelligence.”

<sup>26</sup>Richard Hofstadter. **Anti-Intellectualism in American Life**, Knopf Inc., New York, 1963, (Anti-Intellectualism), pp. 24-25.

serious threat to perception of modernization in contemporary societies. Neoconservative liberal parties often address these issues as different approaches towards modernization, however in reality, these two problems are the very reason why most societies may not thrive today.

Before we look at the Turkish approach on the issue of ignorance and how America has come to influence Turkey in this matter, it would be wise to understand how anti-intellectualism and religious fundamentalism have evolved in the United States. In this context, we will first identify the important principles of the Anglo-Protestant tradition, such as freedom of expression, checks and balances, pluralistic democracy, individualism, right of property, human rights and equality, since it is these principles that make up the bright side of the American modernization. Then, in the second part of this section, we are going to examine the other side of the coin, how anti-intellectualism and religious fundamentalism could flourish in and corrupt the modernization. Using this information, it will be possible to interpret America's influence on Turkey during its modernization period and understand how being a go-getter has become important, why equalitarianism is understood different than it should, how Turkish administrations have changed the education system through the years, and why the communists and leftists have come to be titled as villains in Turkish politics.

## **1.1 THE BRIGHT SIDE OF THE ANGLO-PROTESTANT TRADITION**

In American history, the term "Anglo-Protestant" had first been used to distinguish the British, Dutch and German Protestant settlers from the Irish and Italian Catholic immigrants that came to the country with the first migration flow. Back in the days, the word "Anglo" referred to the English roots and emphasised a superiority of these settlers to the first immigrants on account of their life style, level of education and perception of democracy. During the periods of First and Second World Wars the term was used frequently in foreign policy to accentuate the historical and traditional bonds between the United States and their allies in Europe.<sup>27</sup> And finally after the settling of the Catholic and Jewish immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe between the years 1880-1920, this term underwent a change as well, and

---

<sup>27</sup> This tradition started during the presidency of Woodrow Wilson. In order to remind the consensus between his country and its ally America in WWI, Wilson often spoke of American people's loyalty to their Anglo-Saxon traditions.



has come to be used to stress the differences in status between the earlier settlers from Northern and Western Europe and the new settlers from Eastern and Southern Europe.

Anglo-Protestant tradition constitutes the “core of the American way of life” and consists of certain primary values from its Anglo-roots such as the English language, English laws and legal institutions that operate with a sense of equality, a pluralistic democratic culture that depends on checks and balances, a humanist viewpoint, freedom of expression, right of property and emphasis on individualism as well as hardwork, perseverance and a sense of responsibility that comes from the Protestant doctrine. Combined with the American sense of independence, all of these principles have eventually become an inalienable part of Americans’ lives and have come to be identified as the American Dream.<sup>28</sup>

A closer look at America’s history reveals that these very principles that have marked America as a country far advanced than her contemporaries were adopted by the society during the revolution years. American Revolution starts with the rebellion of the thirteen American colonies against the British Empire as a revolt for the severe tax regulations of England after the Seven Years Wars (1755-1763). “The taxes are collected mainly for goods and increases in product taxes directly influence all the manufacturers great and small.”<sup>29</sup> Although, in the process of rebellion that starts in 1765, public figures like John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton and their contemporaries criticize the pressure of the British Crown over the colonies through their political essays, it is the impact of Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* (1776) on the masses that actually plants the idea of separation from England. The colonies that cooperate for the first time in their history during the Independence War (1775-1783) decide to unite after the war and found The United States of America.

The Declaration of Independence does not contain the words “American nation.” The members of the parliament that constructed the first version of the constitution preferred to use the words “United States” rather than “nation” to emphasize the independence of the states.<sup>30</sup> As a matter of fact, until the Civil War (1861-1865) that brought the northern and southern states against each other and put an end to

---

<sup>28</sup> The concept “American Dream” is at times defined as “American Creed.”

<sup>29</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Ünal, Gündoğan. **Amerikan Yüzyılı: Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nin Yükselişi ve 11 Eylül 2001**, Adres Yayınları, Ankara, 2008, pp. 24-25.

<sup>30</sup> Samuel P. Huntington. **Who Are We? The Challenges to America’s National Identity** Simon&Schuster, Sydney, 2004, (Who Are We), p. 114.

the radical differences between the states, in a rather bloody way, there were only three phenomenons that united the people of the United States: the Protestant sect, English language and the American Constitution.<sup>31</sup>

1790 census data reveals that British, German and Dutch settlers constituted the majority of the population in the newly founded union and the percentage of the Protestants was as high as 98%.<sup>32</sup> The contribution of Protestantism to America has been shaped by the attribution paid to individualism and work ethics by members of this sect. Protestantism favoured hard work and emphasized the responsibility of each individual for the success or failures in life.<sup>33</sup>

In the era between the Independence War and the Civil War, during the presidency of Andrew Jackson, a new concept inspired by the Protestant ethics and American way of democracy was brought to public's attention: the "self-made man." The idea advocated that individual success directly depended on one's own skills and character and the term soon paved way to a new social system in which hard-work and work ethics were praised, and thriving in life depended on personal skills and capacity. The state, in return, took upon the responsibility of providing each citizen with equal opportunities and encouraged entrepreneurship through laws. The outcome was the rise of the middle class. It was in this period in American history that the official economic model of the United States was defined as free market economy and free enterprise was encouraged by law through state efforts to decrease the input costs, regulating laws regarding the banking system and making provisions in foreign trade in order to protect entrepreneurs and domestic manufacturers.<sup>34</sup>

As for the Anglo-Saxon influence in administration, it can be said that the government institutions and applications in America in the same era were heavily inspired by the 17th Century Tudor England. The fundamental law concept that restricts the authority of the government, the distribution of administrative power among the legislative, executive and jurisdiction branches through checks and balances, the formation of the government through bicameral legislature representing the masses without a dominance, having congressional committees<sup>35</sup> can account for the basic similar practices. In other words, most of the democratic values that

---

<sup>31</sup> American Constitution was approved in 1788.

<sup>32</sup> Huntington, *Who Are We*, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> Huntington, *Who Are We*, p. 68.

<sup>34</sup> Gündoğan, p. 25.

<sup>35</sup> Huntington, *Who Are We*, pp. 60-61.

have been identified with the United States in the following decades were actually derived from an Anglo-Saxon inheritance.

Another aspect that has served the United States to develop as a country is the property right, and it can be said that geographical advantages are closely related with this right to come into existence and be used extensively. Although early settlers established colonies in a narrow region on the eastern part of the continent, after the Independence War the United States government acquired land from Britain, France and Spain through purchase or war and citizens of the newly founded country began to live in these new territories. A few decades later, the American government began offering one hundred and sixty acres of land to public with the Homestead Act (1862) with little or no cost. The idea behind this free soil policy was to have more citizens to produce in the western states individually, rather than be servants in big plantations in the east. With additional laws that came into force in 1866 and 1873, new offers were made to public in order to share revenues in the fields of mining and lumbering. Special reports and maps were prepared by the United States Geological Surveys and areas that were marked rich in timber, petrol, coal, iron ore and other minerals were subjected to custom development.<sup>36</sup>

The policy of expansion to the west devised by American government brought important benefits for the development of private entrepreneurship. The lands that were once primarily distributed to families with the Homestead Law, in time changed hands from private entrepreneurs to big companies of private sector, and these businesses that purchased vast lands used advanced technologies that helped mining sector to develop and its rapid progress. The period (1820-1890) when raw materials received were processed is defined as American Industrial Revolution according to many sources.

Another big breakthrough in entrepreneurship was realized through inventions. A great number of new inventions like power looms, sewing machines, machines that produced tools, shafts, steel cables, locomotives, multiple telegraphs and telephone were presented to the public at Centennial Exposition held in Philadelphia in 1876 and at World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. These expositions created a positive public image towards technology and modernization, and the wealth and fame that inventors of the time like Christopher Scholze, Thomas A. Edison and Alexander Graham Bell received sparked an interest towards science. The

---

<sup>36</sup> Alan, Trachtenberg. **The Incorporation of America. Culture and Society in the Gilded Age**, Hill and Wang, New York, 1988, p. 22.

government support to intellectual property rights that secured inventor's rights within a short span of time had great importance in achieving these technological advancements. State protection of intellectual rights at such an early period opened the door for other new inventions and removed obstacles that would prevent the introduction of such new technologies. In addition, these great expositions where the USA's technological breakthroughs and its burgeoning industry were praised turned into a display of country's power and had a great influence on its image abroad.

The period of American Industrial Revolution was also a period when the rate of incorporation increased and so, the structure of the state was revised according to the new working conditions. Beginning with the construction of railroads, the rate of incorporation increased so much in 1850's that until 1904, more than three hundred companies came into existence and they were responsible of two fifths of total production.<sup>37</sup> In order to restructure the relationship of these companies with one another and the state, the following state administrations were founded: Department of Agriculture (1862), Department of Justice (1870), Department of Commerce and Labor (1903). In 1890, Interstate Commerce Commission was founded to integrate transportation within the continent. Country's volume of trade massively benefited from this transportation integration and founding of these departments and achieved a great increase rate.

"By 1885, the United States had surpassed Great Britain, then considered the world's major industrial power, in manufacturing output. By the turn of the century, it was consuming more energy than Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Japan, and Italy combined."<sup>38</sup> USA produced 13 tons of raw steel in 1860, in 1890 raw steel production had increased to 5 thousand tons. Agricultural production tripled between 1870-1900. A farmer in 1896 could produce on his own what could only be produced with the help of dozens sixty years ago. Along with rapid mechanization, with the land added in the period between 1850-1900, agricultural area increased from 15% to 37%<sup>39</sup> and this displays the rapid production rate. When this production power was publicized to the world with the Expositions, it had constructive influence on the American public, as well.

---

<sup>37</sup> Trachtenberg, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Henry Kissinger. **Diplomacy**, Touchstone, New York, 1995, p. 37.

<sup>39</sup> Trachtenberg, pp. 52-53.

In late 19<sup>th</sup> century, many universities were established, and most of them offered technical education and had strong ties with the private sector of USA. Many colleges and universities like Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Carnegie, Stevens and Worcester Polytechnical Institute were giving education in branches like prospecting, mechanical engineering, naval engineering and electrical engineering, academic journals and communities of engineers that held meetings shared information with masses. Trachtenberg summarizes the mindset of the period as “disciplined, systematic and administrative”. In these schools that offered engineering education, the purpose was to train qualified personnel for the new areas of specialization, to produce the information according to the needs of the industry sector, to produce R&D work and to spread the newly acquired information to the masses by scientific journals. Now, good education, a talent for foresight and planned work was replacing success with luck or by taking risks.<sup>40</sup>

Innovations in economy and education influenced the daily life in USA throughout the 1880's and 1890's with a similar rate. Daily newspapers like *New York Tribune* and *New York Herald* replaced the review journals, and at the same time, magazines specialized for the masses like *Cosmopolitan*, *Ladies' Journal* and *McClure's* were on the rise, with their increasing publications. Big store chains were founded, and advertising developed, forming a new consumer culture. In this period when brands were developing and brand-names like *Kodak* and *Chicklet* were becoming popular, stores like *Montgomery Ward*, *Sears* and *Pacific Tea-Company* acted like educational institutions to develop consumer culture, since many customers were acquiring information on how to decorate their homes, which clothes were more popular or what kinds of hobbies they should have by visiting these stores.<sup>41</sup>

As the work conditions were re-ordered, spare time activities gained importance. At the beginning of the century, the modern citizens of the USA gained new skills and qualities by attending sports competitions, theatre, concerts, movies and by visiting museums and art galleries. Institutions like *Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York* (1870), *Boston Museum of Fine Arts* (1870), *Philadelphia Museum of Art* (1876) and *The Art Institute of Chicago* (1879) were the training ground for millions

---

<sup>40</sup> Trachtenberg, pp. 64-65.

<sup>41</sup> Trachtenberg, pp. 130-131.

of people in knowledge and taste by the private efforts of the elite and the wealthy art collectors.<sup>42</sup>

United States was expanding to the West with great speed, and issues like poverty, pollution and criminal tendencies brought by the heavy working conditions and intense immigration as results of the capitalist system of USA indirectly influenced modernization, as well. When data from 1880's are studied, one can see that 45% of industrial workers lived slightly above the poverty line, 40% lived below the starvation line, and that one fourth of those who lived below the poverty line were in life-and-death struggle. In between 1890-1917, 72 thousand railroad workers died while laying railroad and 2 million were injured. 158 thousand workers died while working at roundhouses. Until new acts were issued in 1930's, none of these workers received any sort of compensation, and even, until 1947, there were no invalidity insurance for these workers.<sup>43</sup>

This dark portrait has barely changed through rights to strike, a well developed legal system, democracy and the presence of individuals that knew how to take responsibility –results of Anglo-Protestant tradition. These struggles were the source of the present labor rights widely accepted in the world. The starting point of the progress in labor rights in American History is the Haymarket Affair. In 1886, Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions announced May 1 as the day for strike for 8 hour working days and for better organized working conditions. The demonstration attended by more than half a million people from every race ended with the death of four workers, but the strikes were not limited with Haymarket. Between the years 1881-1905, in approximately 37000 strikes, 7 million workers claimed for their rights.<sup>44</sup> As a result of these strikes, at the start of the century, laws that protected the rights of the workers and re-organized working conditions were passed which increased the living conditions in city centers.

These strikes and new waves of immigration had influences on the environment and social structure, as well. Rich people who formerly lived in the city centers moved to suburbs and formed new churches and private schools. Therefore, the ideological difference between the workers and the rich received a physical identity. The rich were now defined as White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant and Republican, ac-

---

<sup>42</sup> For further information on American bourgeoisie, see Sven Becket ve Julia B. Rosenbaum. **The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2010.

<sup>43</sup> Trachtenberg, pp. 90-91.

<sup>44</sup> Trachtenberg, p. 80.

quiring a new layer in society, whereas the majority of the working class were formed of Eastern European Catholics who came to the country at the end of the century. As the differences between social classes grew, the values that held the American nation together changed, as well. Previously only Protestant religion, English language and predisposition towards democracy held the society together, however, the new immigration waves caused changes in these phenomena. English, Dutch and Irish immigrants of the past were replaced by Eastern European and Asian immigrants. As a result of this, it became necessary to form a new identity, which would act as an adhesive and hold the society together. American Dream happens to be the outcome of this process.

The admiration that developed on the Turkish side during the Cold War period could in fact be read as a manifestation of the Turkish dream that the liberal-conservative government of the era was trying to implement through an imitation of the American dream. Therefore, an evaluation of the American dream, and the social structure that it indicates would also help us understand Turkey's current liberal-economy and equal opportunity policies, and show how these policies differ from their counterparts. While in the USA this dream was supported with a solid constitution, a working system of checks and balances and basic individual freedoms, the lack of these phenomena in Turkey only leads the way to unrestricted capitalist activities that are being carried out under the government supervision.

James Truslow Adams, who first came up with the concept of "American Dream" in his book, *The Epic of America* in 1931, defines it as that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement. For him, this dream that is hard for the European upper-class to understand accurately has nothing to do with automobiles, industry or high wages. American Dream is the creation of a social order in which each man and woman can reach their full potential and highest peak by working and constantly aiming for the better, despite the conditions they were born in or that they live in.<sup>45</sup> The concept of American Dream, which is often believed to define the American identity better than the terms "democracy," "constitution," or even, "United States of America"<sup>46</sup> is a product of a notion, which proposes that masses that have no common history can achieve self-determination. This phenomenon is not an out-

---

<sup>45</sup> James Truslow Adams. **The Epic of America**, Simon Publications, Florida, 2001, pp. 214-215.

<sup>46</sup> Jim Cullen. **The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea That Shaped a Nation**, Oxford University Press, New York, 2003, p. 5.

come of the Independence War that was made against the English or does not depend on the American Constitution. It represents the mutual dream and consciousness of all immigrants that set foot on the American continent for a new and better life. These immigrants did not and do not know whether they will achieve success to any degree or at all, but since they trust the current system, they adapt its necessities, push their conditions to the highest limits and work harder, since they believe in their chances of achieving success.

The American Dream is based on the principles of “equality” and “the right to pursuit of happiness” –the principles which Americans give great importance. These two concepts are imprinted into the collective memory of Americans, and they are expressed in the Declaration of Independence as such: “We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.”<sup>47</sup> However, the individual who seeks these freedoms should live in an ideal environment, as well. According to this notion, common wealth can be reached only when the American state can provide its citizens with an egalitarian, pluralistic, democratic environment, in which the individuals can fulfill their own purposes in life.

American Dream was defined differently in different periods. Gunnar Myrdal proposes in *American Dilemma* (1944) that the system of social, cultural and political values that hold the Americans together can be defined as the “American Creed” which acts as “the cement in the structure of this great and disparate nation.”<sup>48</sup> Whereas, Stanley Hoffman claims there are two powers that hold Americans together: the diversity created in the country through immigrations, and the liberal democratic spirit.<sup>49</sup> Daniel Bell describes the basic values of American Creed or doctrine as “individualism and equal opportunities”, claiming that in European philosophical circles, there was a controversial debate surrounding these two terms, whereas in the USA they could be amalgamated in the melting pot of *individualism*.<sup>50</sup> According to Martin

---

<sup>47</sup> Cullen, p. 38.

<sup>48</sup> Gunnar Myrdal. **An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy**, Volume 1, Harper, New York, 1962, p.3.

<sup>49</sup> Stanley Hoffman. “More Perfect Union: Nation and Nationalism in America”, **Harvard International Review**, Winter: 1997/1998, p.72.

<sup>50</sup> Daniel Bell. “The End of American Exceptionalism”, **The American Commonwealth 1976**, (Ed. Nathan Glazer ve Irving Kristol), Basic Books, New York, 1976, p. 209.



Lipset, there are five pillars of American Creed: “liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez-faire”.<sup>51</sup>

As it can be seen, there is a set of values, often defined as the American Dream, American Spirit, American Doctrine and American Creed that are believed to set United States of America apart from other modern countries, and these principles are based on the protection of private property, the rule of law, the idea that administrators have to fulfill each and every responsibility fully and checks and balances in the political sphere, and equality, freedoms and basic rights on the individual level.

Anglo-Protestant principles have contributed greatly in modernization of the United States. However, there is a darker side to this story where the religious values are being exploited, intellectuals are being punished and ignorance is being praised. Protestantism, as Huntington underlines, is the basis of the bourgeoisie and liberal structure in these centuries. Though, defining the founding spirit of America only with the enlightenment values would be a misinterpretation of the great force of religion in American life.<sup>52</sup>

## **1.2. FUNDAMENTALISM AND ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN MODERNIZATION**

Since its foundation, the United States of America has been a secular country. However, in the United States Constitution, secularism is not conceptually defined as “the separation of church and state.” In the first amendment that highlights the freedoms in an Anglo-Protestant understanding, secularism is defined with these words: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”<sup>53</sup> Truly, when religion and state affairs throughout the history of the USA is analyzed, we see that the USA followed the conditions of this article and that it is a country where religious freedoms can be enjoyed.

However, especially in the final half of the last century, the USA could not resist the global rise of fundamentalism. Despite their history, religions and understanding

---

<sup>51</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset. **American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword**, Norton, New York, 1996, pp. 63-64.

<sup>52</sup>Huntington, Who Are We, p. 63.

<sup>53</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. For the full text of the United States Constitution, see <http://turkish.turkey.usembassy.gov/media/pdf/abd-anayasasi.pdf> (10.06.2015).

on how a state should approach religion may differ, as is the case in Turkey, in the USA fundamentalist circles found out that they could use democracy as a tool to institutionalize their own moral values in an attempt to force their so-called religious rights on the non-religious. Despite the USA is being ruled by a president who keeps his distance with the holy values since 2008, it should be noted that this president rules a populace whose 60% demands Bible should weigh in the laws of the USA more than people's own demands.<sup>54</sup> Another fact that cannot be denied is that fundamentalism clashes with the set of values conceptualized as the American Creed. At this point, it is necessary to explain fundamentalism. Since, the notion of "blessing ignorance" is a reference both to the deliberate attempt by the state to politicize religion in order to keep the society at a certain level of ignorance, and to the support of fundamentalism by a certain clique that has a say in economy.

In the USA, fundamentalism, evangelic approach and anti-intellectualism are interwoven, yet these terms have different meanings. Evangelic approach that found increasing support especially after the Second Great Awakening<sup>55</sup> argues that direct communication between man and God is possible. This approach underlines the importance of reading the holy book and subsequent interpretations instead of following the church or the conventions and ceremonies enforced by the religious authorities. On the other hand, fundamentalism argues that every sentence in the holy book is literally the truth.<sup>56</sup> This belief that everything inside the holy book represents the absolute truth, naturally, was against the logic of Enlightenment, modernization and scientific theories that contradicted the Bible. In this approach, pseudoscience and any views not based on science are embraced as long as they follow the stories of the Bible. Today, both in the United States and Turkey, fundamentalist are of considerable numbers, and, they can be easily manipulated by political circles that see them as potential voters, leading to the rule of politicians and parties that openly exploit religion by employing the title "conservative".

---

<sup>54</sup> "PEW Forum's 2006 poll included the following question ' Which one of the following should have more impact on the laws of the United States: The Bible or the requests of the American people even if they clashes with the tenets of the Bible?' They chose the Bible with a shocking percentage of sixty out of one hundred." Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. For more information on the Forum, see Jackoby, pp. 190-191.

<sup>55</sup> Four religious awakenings took place in American history. The first one took place between the years 1730-1740, the second one was between 1790-1840 prior to Civil War, the third one was related with women's suffrage and alcohol ban and happened in the 1890's and the fourth one was against Jim Crow laws and the Vietnam war, and took place in 1950's and 1960's.

<sup>56</sup> Therefore, all fundamentalists could be considered as evangelic, however not all evangelics should be identified as fundamentalist.

Richard Hofstadter, tries to frame this political approach in his article *Paranoid Style in American Politics*.<sup>57</sup> The title of the article might refer to American politics, yet, in this article, Hofstadter criticizes the right-wing party politics in the anti-communist atmosphere of the 1950's McCarthyism, and claims that this policy has been employed in many countries of the world, in different periods and conditions. Hofstadter borrows the animosity and conspiracy from the clinical psychological term "paranoid" behavior for the definition of "paranoid style" political discourse. From the medical perspective, a paranoid patient believes that he or she is the target of enemies and conspiracies; for the politicians who embrace paranoid style in politics, the enemies in the world and conspiracies target a nation, a culture or a life style, and consequently, impact millions of people. This danger, does not have a direct impact on the life of the politician. Since he or she is a self-sacrificing person to the extreme and a patriotic individual, he/she is protecting his or her country/culture/lifestyle against this imminent danger.<sup>58</sup> The politician asks from his/her supporters to heroically stand by their leaders in this struggle against the enemy. This style of politics feeds itself from the motifs of religious stories like the battle of "the absolute evil" versus "the absolute good", and in these stories, God is placed on the side of the good, and Satan, on the side of the absolute evil. Thus, those who support the side of the good gain divine favor and evade any criticism, whereas the enemies, the warriors of the evil, are identified with various identities in corresponding various periods, in effect, turning the opposition into scapegoat for the masses.

Hofstadter analyzes the paranoid style political discourse employed by the right wing parties under seven headings:<sup>59</sup>

1. A great conspiracy, like machine that crashes down everything on its path, is rushing directly towards the life-style that needs protection. This conspiracy is in fact a regulation that would be the cause of many different evils. In depictions of this conspiracy, in general, there are allusions to a doomsday; since this evil is in possession of a great power that could topple down great systems like republic and democracy.
2. This evil should be understood as a part of a life-and-death-struggle. Since time is pressing, one should immediately say no to this conspiracy.

---

<sup>57</sup> Hofstadter, *Paranoid*, pp.3-41.

<sup>58</sup> Hofstadter, *Paranoid*, p. 4.

<sup>59</sup> All of these points were taken from Hofstadter's aforementioned work and were re-stated.

3. In order to fuel the fire of the religious of passions and militancy, the words used in the depiction of this conspiracy are harsh words, frequently reminding one of the coming doomsday.

4. Not everyone is aware of this great disaster that is about to fall on the country/culture/life-style. Therefore, the individuals who believe in this paranoid political discourse may see themselves as the militant leaders.

5. Since there is an on-going battle between the absolute good and evil, no one should expect a truce between the leader and his/her supporters and the enemy (no one expects a truce in the battle between God and Satan.) In the end, victory is absolute; however, one cannot hope to reach this end. A leader who embraces the paranoid style, purposefully sets goals that cannot be reached, therefore, a person unable to reach that ideal goal sees himself or herself as inadequate; now that he or she is frustrated, he or she will embrace this rightful cause with greater fervor, and will be whetted against the enemy further.

6. The enemy is not clearly defined. It can exist anywhere, anytime. It can draw upon limitless material resources. It is powerful. It hungers for luxuries (here is an allusion to the just case of the impoverished). It is lustful, merciless and menacing. In Hofstadter's words, "He starts crises, bankrupts banks, causes depressions, plans disasters, and then enjoys the outcomes of his malacies, and makes profits from the misery he has produced."<sup>60</sup> This enemy is also secretly ruling the educational system to brainwash the youth and pull them to his or her side. This point also justifies the changes made in education by the good side.

7. This plot is based on facts. This is to make the audience believe in the existence of a great conspiracy by unraveling all the details of the excellent plan woven by the enemy.<sup>61</sup> In this mechanism, to further withhold people from attaining the necessary power of perception or intellectual ability to think critically, those who use this discourse create their own "experts", spreading the discourse by actively using the media through the views of experts and academic journals. This is important, since the process hinders one to make a distinction between the scientific fact and fake knowledge.

The paranoid style political discourse, feeds on emotions rather than scientific information based on cause-effect. In this setting, the conspiracies, originally de-

---

<sup>60</sup>Hofstadter, *Paranoid*, p. 32.

<sup>61</sup>Hofstadter, *Paranoid*, pp. 35-36.

rived from true information are turned into fiction. Exaggeration and suspicion are important elements of this new fiction. The simpler and more absurd a conspiracy becomes, the more believable it gets.<sup>62</sup> The logic behind this system of forming conspiracies lies in the insubstantial world views of the believers. The fundamentalist approach and conspiracy theories are compatible with each other, because fundamentalism requires the followers to believe in imaginary stories in religious texts and excludes critical thinking. Two other points that are being excluded in this world view are reconciliation and empathy. This is why intellectualism and scientific information are complete opposites of fundamental world view. And this is why, ignorance is an indispensable actor for paranoid style political discourse. Ignorant masses who do not question or care about the authenticity of any given information tend to support politicians that play upon feelings rather than logic, who blame imaginary enemies for the outcomes of their own irresponsible steps. Governments that can not risk losing the vote potential of these ignorant masses often see intellectuals and thinkers as a threat to the system, hence, openly criticize, punish or in some cases even imprison them to defame intellectualism. Meanwhile, the masses who are encouraged not to question are praised as the true saviors of the country/religion.

A close look at American history reveals that fundamentalism and anti-intellectualism were not common practices during the years of revolution. Just like their European counterparts, American leaders of the founding years were intellectual individuals. While Anglo-Saxon values were dominant in the American parliament, in daily life, it was expected of the religious/spiritual leaders to be well-educated and licensed to be able to practice their professions. It was believed that receiving a proper education was necessary to be able to evaluate the principles of religious texts and to pass these views on to people. To give an example, 95% of the scholars in New England Congregation Churches had a bachelor's degree.<sup>63</sup> Until the American Revolution, most of the graduates of the 17th century education institutions, such as Harvard University, became priests after graduation.<sup>64</sup> All in all, although there were no articles regarding religion in the American Constitution, there was distance and a mutual respect between the political and religious domains,

---

<sup>62</sup> Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism*, p. 136.

<sup>63</sup> Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism*, p. 60.

<sup>64</sup> It is stated in Jackoby's work that 70% of the Harvard University 1650 graduates chose the profession of priesthood, and within a century, several different occupations were chosen by the graduates in the fields of law, medicine and education with a percentage of 45%. For more of these statistics, see Jackoby, p. 42.

both the political and spiritual leaders of the era were well-educated and both sides respected each other's spheres of influence.

The circumstances have changed during the Second Great Awakening (1790-1840). With the rise of the evangelical approach that proposed a personal communication between man and God without the need for any mediators such as priesthood, for the first time, there was no need for educated religious leaders. In this period, the belief that personal spiritual training was more important than theoretical education became popular. At the beginning of the 19th century, Protestants were divided into many sects and the licenses to become a clergyman were abrogated. With this step, educated clergymen lost control over their congregations. It was the beginning of a new era, a rather exceedingly free one, where individuals were able to interpret Christianity the way they liked to and communities could form their own churches according to their needs. While the fundamentalists focused on Biblical tenets strictly and avoided any form of education that contrasted with the teachings of the Bible, the number of religious schools increased all around the country.

It was also during these years that anti-intellectualist statements began to appear in printed press. During the 1800 elections, news spread in print media that Thomas Jefferson was an atheist and that if he were to be elected, he would use his presidential powers to ban Biblical studies in schools. In 1825 elections, an intellectual John Quincy Adams and a leader promoting practical intelligence, Andrew Jackson were rivals. Adams won the elections in 1825 and Jackson succeeded him in the following term. In the elections propaganda, Jackson's publicists called Adams "big-headed, aristocratic and pleasure-seeking"<sup>65</sup> and these characterizations inspired the anti-intellectual movement that would become popular in the years to come.

Between the years 1860-1910, the number of immigrants in the USA tripped. These immigrants that were mostly from Eastern and Southern Europe caused several important changes to take place in the social structure. The new immigrants were great in number and they were from mostly uneducated Catholic families. The American Government and private sector leaders took immediate steps cooperatively to educate and assimilate the new comers, in order to integrate them into the economic system. One of these steps was to establish new schools, and through a well-planned mobilization the number of high schools rose from eight hundred (in

---

<sup>65</sup>Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism, pp. 157-160.

1878) to more than eleven thousand at the wake of World War I.<sup>66</sup> The new immigrants were taught American history and culture and they were able to become citizens by fulfilling the requirement of learning English. Aside from state schools that were established by the American government to properly educate the immigrants, big industrial companies like *Ford Motor Company*, *U.S. Steel* and *International Harvester* taught English and American values in special centers within their factories. Although these figures and examples may seem like a humanist effort at first glance, this mobilization period actually served two important purposes: One was to integrate the immigrants into American system and two was to be able to control these immigrants through education to prevent them from following the “unionist and socialist” trends, in order to protect the capitalist system.<sup>67</sup>

During the era of the Industrial Revolution, there was an increase in the number of new schools and literacy rate in America, however, interpreting these facts as an overall betterment of intellectual life would be a mistake. American constitution does not contain any articles regarding education, and in no period in American history has the country had a national education system as the one in Turkey. Although regional school systems in this country have facilitated the integration of people from a variety of cultures and backgrounds to the American system, the fact that these schools had different teaching styles and approaches to education lacking a national unity has caused the United States not to be able to ensure a certain intellectual capacity for its citizens. To further explain the subject with an example:

In New England, the proportion of children enrolled in school in 1840 was twice that of the mid-Atlantic states and six times greater than that in the South. Although the mid-Atlantic States, the Middle West, and Pacific regions caught up with New England by the end of the nineteenth century, the severe disparity between the South and the rest of the nation persisted until after the Second World War- and the gap has not been fully closed even today.<sup>68</sup>

An ideal setting for the glorification of ignorance surfaced right before World War I, when inequality in education in different parts of the USA met with the shortcomings of the basic education given to the great numbers of Catholic immigrants. At this point, of course, one must not forget the impact of modernization in this country. Most of the Catholic families living in bad conditions and fighting daily with poverty preferred to stay safe within the borders of their own neighborhoods, afraid to blend in and refusing to send their kids to public schools that were “Americanizing” their

---

<sup>66</sup> Merle, Curti. **The Growth of American Thought**, New York, 1923, p. 419 cited by Jackoby, p. 64.

<sup>67</sup> Huntington, *Who Are We*, p. 132.

<sup>68</sup> Jackoby, p. 52.

children. Instead, they sent them to school where they would receive a religious education. The difficulties of daily life, struggles they had to face due to modernization, led both former-slaves and new-citizens to lead a spiritual life. These groups, that were already hopeless about making it big in the capitalist system knew that they were cast out of society because of their cultural/racial backgrounds. They found solace through religious tenets like sin, repentance, blessing, redemption, internalizing religious stories, staying faithful for an after-life while struggling to survive in harsh living conditions. These people were able to feel equal to the higher social order of white Protestants only through fundamentalism.

The years that are known in American history as the Gilded Age could be defined as the utmost satisfactory times of the country by means of the emphasis given to arts and culture. It was in this period that a variety of newspapers sold thousands of copies daily, the wealthy businessmen established museums, art galleries, opera buildings, libraries<sup>69</sup> across the country to support the arts and the artists, and interestingly, conferences featuring scientific debates were held in many cities with high levels of participation. To give examples, within the twenty years between 1880-1900 the number of books published in America tripled. The number of periodicals exceeded ten thousand copies.<sup>70</sup> It was in these years in which access to information through publications, newspapers and books was made easier, that pseudo-science overspread like a disease and a perfect setting for the rise of the go-getter was formed.

During the Gilded Age, the life stories of wealthy businessmen like Stanford, Carnegie, Rockefeller and Morgan often made it to the news in print media and reached general readers. As a consequence, it became common knowledge that the key to “rags to riches” was having a work discipline and that it was possible to reach personal success if an individual had ideals, set his mind and sought ways to improve himself. “Self-made man”, not the intellectual and earning wealth not the information became popular. Values inherited from the Puritan past such as hard-work, persistence, self-improvement were now out of the religious sphere and became valid qualities in business life.

---

<sup>69</sup> Throughout his life Andrew Carnegie established 1679 libraries in the United States. For more information on Carnegie and his humanitarian efforts, see **Carnegie Corporation**. “Libraries”, <http://carnegie.org/about-us/foundation-history/about-andrew-carnegie/carnegie-for-kids/libraries/>, (10.04.2014).

<sup>70</sup> Jackoby, pp. 65-66.



The primary reason for the semantic displacement of all these values is the adaptation of Darwin's evolutionary theory - which the fundamentalist still object to - into social structure and the marketing of it to the masses under the name of "Social Darwinism." Social Darwinism, which could be seen as the first important pseudo-scientific movement of the modern age, is the distorted version of Darwin's idea of natural selection originated in *On the Origin of Species* adapted into capitalism with the motto "whoever you are, if you could make your way to the top overcoming obstacles, then you are valuable." This social philosophy, which is almost always linked to Darwin's work and actually lacks any scientific basis, was conceptualized into a theory in British philosopher Herbert Spencer's work *System of Synthetic Philosophy* as "the survival of the fittest" and the publication (in large quantities) and circulation of this work was financially supported by the leading businessmen of the era, Carnegie and Rockefeller.<sup>71</sup> The integration of "the survival of the fittest" philosophy into the social pattern created a new order which prevented the poor to rebel and seek their rights in the capitalist system that favored income inequality. This new order advocating drop economy<sup>72</sup> was supported by the religious circles, who had approached the subject as a matter of frugality. This new social philosophy also backed up with gendered discourse served an unforeseen purpose as well: the perception of "the intellectual" as "the feminine" and the "the go-getter that learned life in the streets" as "the masculine/tough" man. To clarify the point with an example, in an article published in *The New York Times* newspaper in 1877, the Brooklyn Congregation Church parson Henry Ward Beecher - who was one of the leading preachers of the period - exemplified the approach of the clergy towards the drop economy and frugality with the following statement: "God has intended the great to be great and the little to be little... I do not say that a dollar a day is enough to support a working man. But it is enough to support a man!"<sup>73</sup>

The circulation of pseudo-scientific information all across the continent continued throughout the First World War period, when hatred towards communism, the internal reactions towards immigrants from Eastern Europe, and dislike of the left-wing intellectuals intertwined. The hostility towards communism, also called as "the Red Scare", would reach the highest point after World War Two and influence the

---

<sup>71</sup> Jackoby, p. 69.

<sup>72</sup> Drop economy's main objective is to collect less amount of taxes from the wealthy, in the hope that they would invest more in the country and help increase the production and decrease the unemployment in return.

<sup>73</sup> Jackoby, p. 73.

bilateral relations of Turkey and the USA in the same period. There was one main reason behind the impact of the Communist Revolution of Russia that had caused deportations and exclusions of intellectuals to take place in the United States: communism foresaw a system without social classes, money or state. In other words, this system was the ideological opposite of capitalism. Therefore, the circles that had gained wealth in the capitalist system felt the right to protect their conditions by taking harsh precautions against the circulation of communism within the country. The way they took these precautions was to misinterpret concepts like communism and socialism using pseudo-scientific explanations, in order to form hysteria within the society with the help of already-present fundamentalism and ignorance. This way, the communist ideology became the most important enemy of the nation. The paranoid style political discourse was used commonly in this period, labeling leftism as treason and this trend later became popular in Turkey, inspiring an anti-intellectual campaign during the Cold War period.

In the Red Scare movement that started after World War I, the American government used the help of propaganda posters and leaflets in the public sphere, emphasising the notion that a probable defeat to communism would end the presence of the state, causing great panic and kept this hysterical environment afresh by regulating laws to re-define treason. In the year 1918, the mayor of New York banned the use of red flags in the public sphere, because they symbolized the Bolshevik Revolution, meanwhile, the government “had prosecuted more than two thousand cases under a sedition law prohibiting ‘any disloyal,...scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of the government of the United States.’”<sup>74</sup> The Ministry of Justice had started to use name-lists prepared by J. Edgar Hoover, who would later become the director of FBI, as early as 1919 to target non-native intellectuals. On 21 January 1919, 248 people who were mostly Russian intellectuals were deported from the country for adopting leftist politics.<sup>75</sup> By the end of 1920, more than 6 thousand communists and communism sympathizers were arrested. It was in these years that the immigration law was changed and a new quota was set for the number of the immigrants that would be admitted in the country.

The Red Scare movement had grown even stronger with the effects of the post-war traumas after World War II, and this time, all parts of the society were full of

---

<sup>74</sup> Jackoby, pp. 86.

<sup>75</sup> To read more on the stories of these immigrants, see **Jewish Women's Archive** <http://jwa.org/thisweek/dec/21/1919/emma-goldman->, (10.01.2014).

vengeance. The New Deal plan of President Franklin D. Roosevelt that introduced a central welfare state and the new regulations in the income tax angered the wealthy. Meanwhile, the common folks that were even more poverty struck after the Great Depression due to the taxes they had to pay to compensate for the war expenses demanded for the punishment of the ones in charge. Under these conditions, Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy took the stage and reduced a variety of different historical developments to “20 years of treason”<sup>76</sup> and created a simple paranoid style formula that claimed: all atheists are communists, communism is treason, therefore the leftist intellectuals are traitors. According to this formula, the religious people were patriots. At the same time, in order to be able to believe in this formula and the conspiracy theories made up in McCarthy investigations that heavily borrowed from pseudoscientific information, one either had to be scared or ignorant.

The fact that often intellectuals were seen as the suspects in loyalty investigations that were aired live to the nation, though most of them were not even communists, caused a dislike towards intellectuals within the society. Throughout this period, numerous loyalty vows were written and many intellectuals from different professions were asked to take pledge in front of crowds. All of these dramatic scenes that took place in front of the public caused a common view, that being an intellectual and thinking critically could be dangerous.<sup>77</sup>

In 1950's America<sup>78</sup>, during the presidency of Eisenhower, during which the McCarthy investigations were carried out, the following words were often used in the verbal assaults that were made to the intellectuals: pretentious, arrogant, effeminate, snob, corrupt, dangerous, disturbing.<sup>79</sup> These words that came into light with the detailed research of Hofstadter were used commonly in the press of the 50's and they eloquently summarize the outlook of the majority to intellectuals in the first years of the Cold War. It was in these years that “the common man” was compared with “the intellectual” and idealized publicly. To explain more specifically by using binary oppositions, the intellectual was pretentious and arrogant, while the common man was humble, as his religion had ordered him to be so. The intellectual was ef-

---

<sup>76</sup> Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism, p. 42.

<sup>77</sup> Jackoby, p. 96.

<sup>78</sup> According to an anecdote that shows president Dwight Eisenhower's approach towards the intellectuals, in a Republican meeting that took place in 1954, Eisenhower shared the following definition of the word 'intellectual' with his colleagues: “the man that uses more words than he should to describe more than he knows.” Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism, p.10.

<sup>79</sup> Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism, s. 19.

feminate, while the common man struggled to make a living like a real man. The intellectual was snob, while the common man was contented, even if he was poor. The intellectual was corrupt, while the religious common man was moral, since he already was not an atheist. The intellectual was dangerous, while the common man was not a traitor, or would not become one, since he always stood away from the ideologies that could turn him into a traitor. Finally, the intellectual was disturbing, in other words, he was against any system or order. Common man, on the other hand, protected the order, because he was a patriot. In fact, he naturally deserved praises because of being religious and patriotic.

In the transfiguration of the common man, one can clearly see how religion could be exploited for profit in the political sphere. However, what is actually more striking about this effort is how it can indirectly affect the public opinion on democracy. Through this transfiguration, not only “ignorance” wins over “intellect”, but also the egalitarian feature of democracy is being damaged. The fact that intellectuals in this setting are represented as people who try to break the barriers of equality (since, they are believed to claim that they are superior than the common man), once the ignorant is assured that he is more valuable than the intellectual -which also should be read as another attack made to egalitarianism- conservative approach wins over critical thinking, and in societies where critical thinking is not practiced, democracy is doomed to fail.

A careful examination of the other perspective, that is, the approach of the intellectuals towards the non-intellectuals would clarify certain missing points and reveal the big picture. Considering the fact that the United States went through a fast modernization period, an average citizen that lived through those years was exposed to several major developments and difficulties in a life time, such as, a new and cosmopolitan life style, a boom of new cultures that made its way with the arrival of new immigration waves, depression periods in economy, new scientific theories that would alter one’s life view, such as the Theory of Evolution, new inventions to get accustomed to, and finally pseudoscientific explanations that link survival in all this whirlpool to religious tenets and link success with wealth.<sup>80</sup> All of these changes were seen as natural consequences of modernization by intellectuals that could think critically and see the causation, whereas for the common man that did not have the intellect and defined the daily problems as an “ordeal” in a religious pers-

---

<sup>80</sup> This reform period took place in Turkey in only 15 years, which could be considered as very fast.

pective, the very same changes became reasons to take refuge in spirituality and resist the change itself. This is the main reason why in this setting, the common man could blame the intellectual, whom he thinks does not go through the same ordeals as he does, with snobbery and arrogance. In the same way, when ignorant masses believe (or make believe) that they are despised by the intellectuals, they tend to vote for the politicians that promote spirituality and offer them the chance to be equals (and morally, even superior) to the intellectuals.<sup>81</sup>

Taking all of these points into consideration, the major problems that the American modernization faced at the wake of the Cold War could be summarized as; lacking a national education system, the change in the essence of the egalitarian principle, the use of the paranoid style discourse that plays upon the emotions of the public, the circulation of pseudoscience like a contagious disease, and the increase in the number fundamentalists within the society. While any one of these obstacles could bring the end of a regime in a different country, in the United States they are not seen as big threats, because this country is still able to maintain the Anglo-Saxon tradition and protects its principles such as pluralistic democracy, checks and balances, individual rights and freedoms within the concept of the American Dream.

---

<sup>81</sup> This approach that is being examined under the scope of “paranoid style discourse” in America, is commonly used by conservative parties in Turkey.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **PERCEPTIONS OF RELIGION AND SCIENCE IN TURKISH REVOLUTION**

Principles of Enlightenment have diffused into the socio-cultural life since the 17th century in America. The middle class has contributed to the common wealth since the foundation and principles of having a pluralistic democracy, and checks and balances have been inalienable components of the administration ever since. The Ottoman-Turkish modernization however, has a completely different historical process and structure. In Europe, after the reformation of the state-church relations, concepts like basic human rights, humanism, egalitarianism and secularism were well-accepted notions by the 15th-16th centuries. In the Ottoman Empire, these principles were still in question in the decadence period in 19th century. Considering the fact that the Golden Age of Islam had inspired the Renaissance in Europe, one could see the gravity of the retrogression. After the medieval period, the Europeans borrowed ideas from the Ancient Greek, Roman and Islamic texts to put forward new doctrines, made new inventions, went through an age of scientific revolution and established a new form of society with the help of secularism. In the same period, the Ottomans left the philosophy of Islam and banned the practice of some positive sciences, seeing rationalism as an overall threat to the *raison d'être*. The reason behind this change in perspective is directly related with a shift in power, as

in this period, the religious authority ruled over the political authority in the Ottomans. In other words, in the Enlightenment period, the religion and politics were separated in Europe, while they were interwoven in the Ottoman Empire as they had never been before.

The Ottomans took notice of the backwardness of their country at the beginning of the 17th century. However, they could not diagnose the problem properly, since they believed that a return to the glorious days would be possible, if they abided by Islam and the Islamic religious laws- the sharia. The reforms made in III. Selim and II. Mahmut periods concentrated on regaining economic power, reforming the military and the state, rather than bestowing citizens with freedoms or internalizing new ideologies of the Enlightenment philosophy. Although the new reforms were far simpler than their counterparts made in Europe, the fundamentalist circles reacted to them as “inventions imported from the West” and started riots using the political power of the ulama and the military power of the Janissaries. The liquidation of the institutions related with these formations and the suppressing of the riots were steps related with the protection of the central authority. While the opposition for the reform movements was shut down, the representatives of Islam within the state (the caliphate) and the society (the sharia) were left untouched.

The Imperial Edict of Gülhane and Edict of Reform were official documents that formalized the equality between the Muslims and non-Muslims in matters of management, military, taxation and education. When riots erupted in Balkan centers like Serbia, Thessaloniki, Skopje and Bosnia as an outcome of the nationalism movement that spread after the French Revolution, the Ottoman state changed its centuries old nations system, introducing the “Ottoman citizenship”. Through this step, they aimed to ensure the loyalty of the non-Muslim subjects. The declaration of the 1st Constitutional Monarchy (1876), paved the way for the representation of all subjects in the parliament, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. Although the Edicts and the 1st Constitutional Monarchy were pleasing developments, and the Enlightenment principles finally arrived at the Ottoman Empire -though two hundred years late-, the Muslim majority who were the arbiters of the rule for centuries as the main subjects of the community ummah were not pleased about the new rights bestowed upon the non-Muslims. While the abolishment of jizyah, the head tax collected from non-Muslims, conducted non-Muslim businesses to flourish, the Muslim subjects who were mainly doing agriculture work got poorer. As a consequence of poverty, most of the Muslim subjects took refuge in the Islam religion. In the long run, conflict

began to arise between the conventionalists that objected to Western life styles to enter the social sphere and the intellectuals that stressed the necessity of modernization.

The most important reason behind the conflict between the progressivist intellectuals and the reactionary conservatives was the lack of a unifying national education system. In the Ottoman Empire, there were two types of school systems that brought up two different types of generations. In minority schools, military schools and vocational schools, a modern education was given, similar to that of the European schools. The Muslims that wished their children to be brought up with a progressivist/modern perspective sent their kids to these schools. The sibyan schools<sup>82</sup> and the medreses that promised a theological education for the traditionalists, graduated more students each year and were an important part of the social life from the foundation to the collapse of the empire. In the year 1839, under the rule of the Imperial Edict of Gülhane, the Ottoman administration undertook the improvement of sibyan schools and starting from 1862 the new sibyan schools began to appear, called iptidai primary schools. However, the structure of these schools did not change and they continued to give a strict religious education, overpassing modern perspective. As for the medreses, the teaching of positive sciences were already banned in these schools after the Fatih period, and in time, the lessons related with the Islamic philosophy were removed from the curriculum. The students that graduated from modern schools, having had an education based on the Enlightenment principles of the era and being in touch with the Western way of thinking, constituted the intellectual sphere of the society. The graduates of the conventional schools kept their distance from this frame of mind and joined the fundamentalist sphere of influence.

The second reason of the conflict between the progressivists and the conservatives was the efforts of the Ottoman rule to keep its Muslim subjects together in a Pan-Islamist framework by hindering the Western doctrines that emerged among the intellectuals. This attitude that was evident in the II. Abdülhamit period borrowed heavily from the idea that drifting towards the Islam would bring salvation. In the II.

---

<sup>82</sup> Sibyan schools were the Ottoman's traditional primary schools, that were commonly known as neighborhood schools. They were usually founded near a mosque and their main requirement for graduation was the student to read Quran from beginning to end. While there was no starting age for Sibyan schools, the parents could interrupt their child's education whenever they pleased. These characteristics of Sibyan schools; the religious education and the discontinuity of education are the reasons why they could not be considered as modern education institutions.



Abdülhamit period, although numerous reforms were made, the Sultan preferred an absolutist approach to prevent separatists movements and abused this power to support the Muslim fundamentalist against the intellectuals for the sake of political gain. It was in his reign that the volume of trade expanded, the Hejaz Railway<sup>83</sup> was constructed, the printing press was used extensively, people were able to enjoy a variety of publications, examples of planned urbanization were seen and the Muslim subjects were canalized to new vocational schools to learn professions other than farming, yet, it was II. Abdülhamit again that ordered for censoring in all publications to sweep away any records of ideas that could be threatening for the old order. In other words, by the end of 19th century, the binary opposition between the progressivist-reactionary, Westernist-Islamist, intellectuals-fundamentalists became more clear, once the ideas that could form a basis for progression were banned by the Ottoman rule, leaving few examples of change as mere improvements made in the old rule.

When the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic modernization movements are compared, the first difference one notices is that the changes made in the late Ottoman Empire are “improvements” and “regulations” rather than major reforms. These changes aim at restoring the current order called Nizam-i Alem, and the idea behind making improvements is to reestablish the state power that had been threatened by war defeats, rather than making revolutionary changes in social life. During the reform period, the Ottomans interfered in matters relating with the sharia law and religious entities only to the extent that these entities gained political strength over the state. For instance, during the III. Selim and II. Mahmut reigns, the Janissary guild and Bektashi lodges were closed down, because they had evidently gained political power as centers that rallied the traditionalists who were against the reform movement. Meanwhile, the caliphate and the allegiance culture created by this institution that advocated the idea the sultan was the representative of God on earth was left untouched during the period the Enlightenment ideas entered the Ottoman Empire, in order to protect the absolute authority of the state. Another example to this approach would be the restrictions of the basic human rights by the state

---

<sup>83</sup> The railways were constructed between the years 1900-1908 with the support of the Germans and the primary objective was to connect Istanbul and the holy land to provide safety for those who wanted to make pilgrimage. Due to the wars that took place in this period, the road could not reach Istanbul, and soon it became a target for looters. Still, the construction of this railway would count as a modernization move, since in great area it served as a modern means of transportation for people, increasing trade activities and urbanization.

during the II. Abdülhamid period, in spite of the reforms made concerning these rights in the Edict of Gülhane.

The most striking changes that took place in the Republic reform period was the limitation of the religious authority over the social order in a determined and rapid way, and the introduction of modern science as a new guideline. A national education system was formed to achieve scientific progress and to reach high levels of education standards. Another aspect of the unified education system was to have all citizens, regardless of their social statuses or backgrounds to internalize national values. The idea behind these steps was to end the centuries old servitude to the sultan and to form a new social order where all citizens of the Turkish Republic enjoyed equal rights. Efforts were given to form a middle class, once the contributions of the bourgeois to education and culture was observed in the Western world. In order to take this step, within the borders of the statism principle, private enterprise was encouraged and the contents of the private property rights were extended. The riots that were started by the fundamentalists were suppressed, the political parties that were formed by the traditionalists were closed and any endeavours to use religion and convention as a political weapon were hindered.

## **2.1 THE APPROACH TOWARDS RELIGION PRIOR TO IMPROVEMENT PERIOD**

While in Europe throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, the scholastic ideas were removed by reason, science, experiments and observations, humanism took root, new ideas were circulating with the help of printing press, the middle class was established and helped the arts to prosper, innumerable developments took place in medicine, sciences and natural sciences and a great reformation was made in religion, as Bernard Lewis pointed out the movements like Renaissance and Reformation did not have any influence anywhere among the Muslim nations.<sup>84</sup>

Before studying the history and outcomes of the modernization period in the Ottoman Empire, one should examine why the Renaissance and Reform movements of Europe did not take place in the Ottomans simultaneously. The reasons of the Ottomans' backwardness could be studied under four titles within the framework of

---

<sup>84</sup> Bernard Lewis. **The Emergence of Modern Turkey**, 2nd Edition, Oxford University Press, London, 1967, (Modern), p.40.

the perception of Islam. These are: the preference of the philosophy of fatalism over rationality, the banning of the education of philosophy and positive sciences in medreses, the hindering of the reforms from entering the daily lives of the Muslims - as in the example of the printing press- and the non-presence of individual rights, which were given to people in the capitalist system of the West.

One should know of the reasons that brought the end of the Golden Age of Islam and the reasons behind the banishment of the Mu'tazilites that advocated rationality in Islam to be able to understand why the positive sciences and the Renaissance philosophy was not in effect in the Ottomans. For the history of the fundamentalist movement that had fought against the free thought and rationalism dates back to the 9th century, specifically to the era when the leaders of the Sunnis tried to annihilate the Mu'tazili theology that adopted a more visionary perspective of the Islamic philosophy.

"There were three main intellectual classes in the Islamic Civilization that paid attention to scientific methods of thought among other things: the members of the Islamic jurisprudence (the law specialists), the mutakallims (philosophers of theology, and the Mu'tazilites fell under this category) and philosophers (the naturalists)."<sup>85</sup> Between the 8th-12th centuries, in the era that is now called the Golden Age of Islam, the Islamic philosophy had developed with the studies of these three intellectual classes, under the guidance of Ancient Greek and Byzantine traditions of education and the teachings of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia and India, in an environment where free thought was not pressured by religion. Bagdad was then the center of all the scientific activities in the world, and its famous library, House of Wisdom (Beytül Hikme) contained thousands of translated copies that belonged to a variety of cultures: Greek, Latin and Persian, to name a few. The first big strike towards science and philosophical thought in the Middle East was the burning of this precious library during a Mongolian invasion. Many of the renowned intellectuals of the period left Bagdad. In the following years, fundamentalism appeared and as extremists gained power, people lost touch of science.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Melek Dosay Gökdoğan. "İslam Dünyası'nda Bilim-Din İlişkisi", **Neden Geri Kaldık? Bitmeyen Kavga: Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013, p.392.

<sup>86</sup> Timur Karaçay. "Çağdaşlaşmanın Önüne Konulan İki Engel: Eğitim ve İnanç Kurumları", **Neden Geri Kaldık? Bitmeyen Kavga: Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013, pp. 387-388.

Free thought and fatalism have been in clash since the early periods of Islamic history and it is still possible to see traces of this ideological battle in modern society. The Kaderriye sect of Islam that believed in the free will and possibility of reaching true information through the use of intellect, had overcome the oppression that they had faced during the Omayyads dynasty and continued producing philosophical works under the Mu'tazili sect until they were exterminated under the rule of the Sunni caliph el- Muevekkil in the 9th century.<sup>87</sup> The followers of the Mu'tazili doctrine interpreted the holy book of Quran according to the needs of the era they lived in, and while doing so, they often made use of intellect and reason rather than divine revelations. The Mu'talizites, that advocated people could reach true information by using human intellect and reason were suppressed under the rule of Sunni doctrine defenders both in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods.

One other reason that brought about the end of the Golden Age of Islam was the change in the structure of the medreses. Although the medreses were autonomous establishments, in the decades following the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmet, their form of education drew away from philosophy and positive sciences. It would be unwise to liken the Ottoman medreses with the universities established under the influence of the church in Europe at this period, since the European universities became secular institutions after a short period following their establishments. While the European universities freed themselves from the religious perspective, turned towards positive sciences and were able to produce scientific information throughout the Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment periods, the medreses of the Ottoman Empire were not able to pull away from the influence of religion and fundamentalism. The following quote of Katip Çelebi (1609-1659) could serve as an example in this matter:

From the beginning of the Ottoman Empire until the times of the Sultan Suleyman (1556) the scholars that accumulated the knowledge of philosophy and religious law gained reputation. Their followers replaced the courses on philosophy with courses including religious studies. Because it was not possible to be contented with only these subjects, from then on, there was neither any sharia, nor any philosophy.<sup>88</sup>

As it can be seen, while Europe was going through Renaissance and Reformation periods, the environment in the Ottoman Empire was far from being rational or

---

<sup>87</sup> Karaçay, p. 388.

<sup>88</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Halis Ayhan, **Türkiye'de Din Eğitimi**, 2nd Edition, Dem Yayınları, İstanbul, 2004, pp.211-212 cited by Şevket Çizmeli. "Din Eğitimi ve Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuk Hakları Sözleşmesi", **Neden Geri Kaldık? Bitmeyen Kavgâ: Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013, p.151.

scientific. Even so, the Ottomans were not aware of their own backwardness until the 17th century in which large pieces of land were lost during the wars. As a matter of fact, the Ottomans even looked down on Europe, seeing them as a heretic civilization.<sup>89</sup> After the II. Vienna Siege that took place in 1683, the idea that Europeans were superior than the Ottomans in know-how began to gain acceptance. It may be observed that in the period following the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), a variety of technologies were borrowed from Europe, first in military and then in cultural practices. "In the relatively peaceful period titled as the Tulip Age following the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), the Ottomans imported a series of civil technologies to Turkey. Printing press, paper making, glass and modern production ways of soap, a vibrant palace life. The first ambassadors were encountered in this period."<sup>90</sup> The Ottoman administration noticed the need for more radical changes in the era following the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) and modernization efforts such as military engineering schools, a new and more powerful army, a modern navy, telegraph, and new railways came as a breakthrough.

The third reason that pointed out the backwardness of the Ottomans was the fact that the civil improvements of this period that were put into use under the pressure of the religious authority were not appealing for all parts of the society, hence, they were practices far from starting an intellectual revolution. The first example that comes to mind regarding this topic would be the printing press that was free to use for the non-Muslims and banned to the Muslims for a long time. Since its invention in 1450's in Europe, the printing press paved the way for the publishing and distribution of many important texts and had an impact on ideas to travel among countries, leading to revolutions. This press had actually reached the Ottoman cities approximately fifty years after its invention. However, the rulers of the Empire allowed the Muslims to use the printing press about three hundred years later. The press was first started to be used by the Jews in Istanbul between the years 1493-1494, and later on was operated by non-Muslims in big cities like Thessaloniki, Edirne and Izmir. Since the publishing of Turkish and Arabic texts were prohibited for many years, the meeting of the Muslim subjects with the press was delayed until an order issued on 5th of July 1727. This delay of three hundred years and restrictions

---

<sup>89</sup> Halil İnalcık. "Türklerin Rönesans'a Etkisi ve Günümüzde Avrasya", **Neden Geri Kaldık? Bitmeyen Kavga: Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013. p. 32.

<sup>90</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Pak, Namık Kemal. "Bilimde Çağdaşlaşma Mücadelemiz: Tübitak ve Tüba Vakaları", **Neden Geri Kaldık? Bitmeyen Kavga: Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013, p. 240.

placed on the content of the texts that could be published, prevented the circulation of the Enlightenment doctrines in the Ottomans until the late 19th century.<sup>91</sup>

The fourth effect of the Islam religion on the Ottoman improvements was the fact that individualism, the indispensable actor of liberal capitalism, did not leave its mark among the Muslims, because while this approach proposed the freedom of the individual and required the individual to take up responsibilities, Islam favored frugality and called for a community of the faithful called ummah, in which the individual would take less responsibility for his own actions. The movements of Utilitarianism that emerged after the French Revolution and proposed a developed society providing its members sought their own self-interests, Pragmatism that advocated the building up of one's own reality in the most useful way, Scientism that based its doctrines on what was observable and rejected the supernatural world, Humanism that recognized human intellect and will as an authority<sup>92</sup> were in conflict with the Islamic doctrine in a philosophical sense, since Islam disregarded personal wealth, praised frugality, legitimized the supernatural world and designated fate as a primary principle. The circulation of the Enlightenment principles within the Ottoman borders, that advocated human intellect and free will and saw the individual as an authority would bring about the end of the Ottoman's administrative system, since this system recognized God as the only authority over the people, indicated that the caliph was the only representative of God on earth and that the ummah mentality was necessary for the survival of the Empire. The sultans noticed this fact and took precautions with censorship.

As it can be seen, the improvements made as early as the 17th century could not cure the backwardness of the Ottoman Empire, because the Islam religion did not go through a reform similar to the one that happened in Europe with Christianity. Once the Islamic Golden Age- in which the religious tenets were in peace with the scientific information- came to an end, the rationalist approach was left by the religious authorities, the medreses precluded the positive sciences from their curriculums, the philosophical approach that could help the Muslims keep up with the

---

<sup>91</sup> According to Prof. Dr. Turhan Feyzioğlu this delay occurred because of the "religious fanatics' and calligraphers' joint benefits." For more, Feyzioğlu, p.14. Meanwhile, Hilmi Ziya Ülken claims that the hand-printing of Turkish and Arabic texts did not make a change for a long while, because the ancient works that were used in the scholastic education system were printed first. See, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, **Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi**, 4th Edition, Ülken Yayınları, İstanbul, 1994, p. 20.

<sup>92</sup> Yamakoğlu, Cihan. **Derin Düşünce Düşüşte, Anarşi ve Terör Yükselişte**, İstanbul, 2001, pp.110-144 cited by Bayram Kodaman. "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Çağdaşlaşma Sorunları", **Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi**, No:18, Year:2005, p.153.

changes in the world was deserted, and as a consequence, fundamentalism became widespread in the Ottoman society. As a consequence of the ulama being a political authority that could influence the Ottoman sultans, the improvements of this period were evaluated by their suitability to Islam, and as in the example of the printing press, the ones that could affect the power of the fundamentalists in a negative way were banned for the Muslims. In the Ottoman Empire, where the authority of the administration was based on religious roots, humanism and individualism could not flourish due to the religious community.

While studying the Ottoman period improvements one should not miss an important point. Islam is not a religion that forbids access to scientific information. Neither is it a religion that is against reforms.<sup>93</sup> In the Enlightenment period, under the guidance of the new pieces of information that came to daylight thanks to positive sciences, not only Quran but all of the holy books and their teachings were debated upon. The Western world has solved the contradiction between religion and science by secularizing its universities and government structures, forming equal but separate areas of power for both entities. It was due to the secular education models that a progress could be made in sciences. Through the separate spheres of politics and religion, the abuse of religion for political benefits could be restrained. In the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, it was believed that the religious authority could be protected if the education and practice of positive sciences were prohibited, and as a consequence of this step, the country fell behind the novelties of the Western world for centuries. The political and religious authorities were intertwined, the caliphate and ummah notions were emphasized and through these steps the rulers tried to protect their sovereignty over the society. In a word, the Ottomans were not able to keep up with the pace of the modern world, not because of the religion of Islam, but because of their inability to make reforms in Islam, for a step like secularism would bring about the end of the empire as the structure of the Ottoman rule was bound to religious authority.

## **2.2 III. SELIM AND II. MAHMUT PERIODS**

III. Selim is known as the sultan that started the modernization period in the Ottoman Empire. III. Selim believed that the great losses of land in the Russian War

---

<sup>93</sup> For further claims on Islam being an egalitarian religion that is prone to democracy, see Ali Buluç. **İslam ve Demokrasi: Teokrasi, Totaliterizm**, İz Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1995.

were caused by the disorder in the Janissary army and in 1793, he formed new modern troops called Nizam-i Jedid. The Sultan, who was known for his admiration of the French civilization, aimed at improving the authority of the centralized administration with this step. These troops were educated by the French military officers in special barracks, and their uniforms, books and weapons were mostly of French origin.<sup>94</sup>

The distinguishing feature of the III. Selim period was that a series of improvements were carried out for the needs of Nizam-i Jedid, production of weaponry being one, in addition to importing materials from Europe. In the scope of these improvements that were also called Nizam-i Jedid (meaning New Order) a modern health organization, a medical school and several engineering schools were founded for the use of the navy and army forces. As a consequence of the bilateral relations with the French experts, for the first time in Ottoman history, permanent embassies were established in big European capitals such as London, Vienna, Berlin and Paris.<sup>95</sup> Thanks to these embassies, the Ottomans were able to keep close track of the current developments in Europe. However, some of these improvements had negative effects on the palace and the society. The ulama, that were known for their affinity with the Janissaries, perceived the newly formed bilateral relations with the French as “affectation of infidels.” The subjects were upset as well, since they were required to pay new taxes on goods such as coffee and tobacco, in order to cover for the expenses of these improvements. Looking at the topic from this perspective, the mistakes of the III. Selim period could be summarized as the following:

1. Forming of a new army before the abolishment of the Janissaries caused reactions and disorder in the Janissary corps.
2. The power of the ulema was being miscalculated and after the improvements were made, members of this entity and the Janissaries united their forces to start riots against the progressives - in one of which, in fact, Sultan Selim was being killed.
3. Aside from the establishment of the embassies, the improvements at hand were limited with the military. The importance of progressivism was not shared with the subjects. No changes were made in the taxation system, so the expenses for the improvements were directly collected from the subjects, who

---

<sup>94</sup> Kemal Karpat. **Osmanlı Modernleşmesi: Toplum, Kurumsal Değişim ve Nüfus**, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014, pp. 84-85.

<sup>95</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher. **Turkey: A Modern History**, I.B. Tauris, New York, 2004, pp.22-24.



were not making use of the improvements directly. These reasons caused an overall revulsion in the society towards the Sultan.

A close study of the improvements made in II. Mahmut period reveals that the purpose behind them was similar to that of the III. Selim period, that is, to extend the authority of the central state through the reinforcement of the military. With a different approach however, Sultan Mahmut decided to end any oppositions that could take place right from the start and took the first step in this manner by annihilating the Janissary corps (1826). In order to ensure the continuity of this improvement, the Bektashi lodge and some dervish convents were shut down, Ottoman cavalries and timars were discharged. The reason behind these steps was to eliminate the effects of the ulama on the military coups. The first military medical school (1827), military music school (1831) and military academy (1834) were founded in this period and these institutions served as references for the modern institutions that would be established in the future.

During II. Mahmut reign, the centralization was not only limited with the military. The waqfs which were autonomous institutions were united and turned into a single public institution in this period. In order to understand the significance of this change, let us first take a look at the waqf system. In the Ottoman Empire, the state would not provide its subjects with education, health or similar services. All of these services that a government would be expected to give to its citizens were carried out by the waqfs. The state would not cover the expenses of these services, instead, a large percentage of the land acquired through wars would be assigned to the waqfs and they would be exempt from taxes. The premises of the waqfs were considered as private property and the government could not appropriate them, and the central administration would only inspect the waqfs in certain periods.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, the waqfs that were autonomous in structure were vital institutions for the Ottoman administration to be able to serve its subjects in an indirect way. Although the unification of the waqfs' incomes and administrations under a single roof could sound as a good step in the name of institutionalisation, after this improvement the quality of the waqfs' services dropped dramatically. The Ottoman administration tried to give services in areas such as education, health and agriculture, yet failed to match up to the quality of the waqfs. When one recalls the advancement created by the bourgeoisie in the United States within the same era, and keeps in mind that the Otto-

---

<sup>96</sup> Karpat, p.30.

mans did not have a middle class, the damage caused by this step becomes more clear.

Another improvement that was made in II. Mahmut period was assigning sheikh ul-Islam to the head of ulama and turning ulama into a hierarchical structure. The goal here was to increase the control of the central administration on the religious institution.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, the government officers of high rank were granted with a monthly allowance, some of the duties of the grand vizier was distributed among his subordinates and consultative assemblies were established.<sup>98</sup> While the distribution of the authority among the palace bureaucracy could be evaluated as a step taken to increase the power of the absolute authority, the change made in the structure of the ulama could be read as an effort to decrease the density of the reactions that could be formed against the improvements.

As for the improvements made regarding the social life, a Translation Office was established in order to improve the bilateral relations that were formed in the III. Selim period and a small group of students were sent to Europe to be trained in 1827. The Translation Office that carried out the diplomatic correspondence of the Sublime Porte at the beginning, was the institution where great minds of the era like Ali Pasha, Fuat Pasha and Namık Kemal worked and it took an important role in the understanding and internalizing of the doctrines abroad in the following reform period. The first official Ottoman newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi*, that announced the improvements to the public, was published in these years. The last example to the social improvements of the period was the first population census, which was carried out for a more advanced tax system. Although the new tax system could not bring an end to the reactions that occurred within the society towards the improvements, with the help of this census that was carried out in a scientific manner, the state was able to reach detailed information about its subjects for the very first time and the reforms that were made following the census were planned according to this demographic data.

As a whole, during II. Mahmut reign the military reforms that started in III. Selim period were carried on in a bolder manner and new steps were taken in centralization as a follow-through. While Sultan Selim tried to fight against the abuse of the current system, Sultan Mahmut succeeded in making new administrative and legal

---

<sup>97</sup> Zürcher, pp. 40-41.

<sup>98</sup> Zürcher, pp. 41-42.

improvements<sup>99</sup> that carried the modernization movement a step further. Without a doubt, the bilateral relations with Europe flourished and was diversified during II. Mahmut period. However, just like his predecessor, he was unable to find new ways to create funds for the improvements. Radical changes made in the military and bureaucracy could not have an influence on the tax system and budget deficits became a big problem when the costs for the improvements made in the military added up to the government officers' monthly salaries. There was a rise in Inflation due to these extra charges on the budget, the Ottoman currency decreased in value, the monthly payments of the officers were started to be paid irregularly or not paid at all and all of these deficits became a burden for the ordinary people through taxes, causing severe reactions on behalf of the people and the officers.

### 2.3 TANZIMAT REFORMS AND II. ABDULHAMIT PERIOD

Tanzimat period, which started with the Imperial Edict of Gülhane in 1839, witnessed a series of important advancements such as recognition of subjects as citizens and the legitimization of basic individual rights and the right of property. Edict of Gülhane, which is also known as Imperial Edict of Tanzimat (meaning "reorganization") guaranteed life, property and honorary rights of the people that resided in the Ottoman Empire and acknowledged the property and inheritance rights of all citizens regardless of religion or ethnic groups. As the name manifests, the edict, which was not a constitution, aimed at preserving the current order rather than making radical changes.

The search for a re-order that summarized the character of the Ottoman improvements and emphasis on the longing for the old order rather than embracing innovations were present in the structure of the new general assemblies that were established during the Tanzimat period and the explanations that were made relating backwardness with being estranged to the sharia law. With the Tanzimat Edict, for the first time, an Ottoman sultan acknowledged the basic individual and private property rights of his subjects and the topic of opening permanent assemblies was also in the edict.<sup>100</sup> The country was divided into new regions as provinces, counties, districts and villages and it was decided to establish general assemblies in

---

<sup>99</sup> Zürcher, p. 40.

<sup>100</sup> For further information see Şerif Mardin. **Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey**, Syracuse University, New York, 2006.

provinces and counties with the 1840 Regulatory Decision, however, these assemblies could not serve as entities that represent the popular sovereignty, since they were made up of the leaders of ulama and the army. In this manner, Tanzimat Edict may be seen as an arrangement that speaks of democratic rights and fails at realizing these rights. Another flaw that may be seen clearly in this document would be the emphasis given to sharia. The first paragraph of Tanzimat Edict is as follows:

*All the world knows that in the first days of the Ottoman monarchy, the glorious precepts of the Quran and the laws of the empire were always honored. The empire in consequence increased in strength and greatness, and all its subjects, without exception, had risen in the highest degree to ease and prosperity. In the last one hundred and fifty years a succession of accidents and diverse causes have arisen which have brought about a disregard for the sacred code of laws and the regulations flowing therefrom, and the former strength and prosperity have changed into weakness and poverty; an empire in fact loses all its stability so soon as it ceases to observe its laws.<sup>101</sup>*

With this explanation, the power of the Ottoman Empire was reduced to its loyalty to the religion of Islam and the sharia law. In the same manner, though the text mentioned the “happiness of all the subjects” it was the Muslims’ religion that was praised throughout the document, hence the happiness of the subjects that were from different ethnical and religious backgrounds was linked to Islam. Although the Empire was ruled by the sharia law during the years between the 1683 Vienna Siege and the Edict of 1839, this fact was denied, the real reason for the backwardness of the country was glossed over with the explanation of “commotion and several reasons”, and the subjects that were distressed by the taxes were tried to be appeased with the message abiding the laws of sharia would bring prosperity. In other words, the Ottoman rule declared the edict and bestowed rights to its subjects rather reluctantly<sup>102</sup> hoping that Islam and its effects on the Muslim subjects would still help preserve the old order and revolutionary events similar to that of Europe would not take place in the empire. However, this approach would also empower fundamentalism and suggest traditionalism to the society.

The Reform Edict of 1856 included several improvements in the field of economics, such as the foundation of banks, preparation of a new state budget and the invi-

---

<sup>101</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Doğan Kuban. “Çağdaşlaşmayı Maddi Yaşamınızla Tanımlıyorsunuz”, **Neden Geri Kaldık: Bitmeyen Kavga Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, p. 104.

<sup>102</sup> Bernard Lewis summarizes the perfunctoriness of the reforms that were made in the 1860’s with the words: “...they were reforms that were made from above, in the hope to achieve financial ratings and political support from foreign countries...” Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Bernard Lewis. **Demokrasinin Türkiye Serüveni**, Tran. Hamdi Aydoğan and Esra Ermert, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, (Demokrasinin), p.12.

tation of experts from Europe to ensure economic growth. The advantages of this edict were the removal of jizya (the head tax collected from non-Muslims) and the overall egalitarian approach towards all citizens of the society through the order of military service for the citizens of all religious backgrounds. It was with this edict that a moderate number of representatives of the people, be it Muslim or non-Muslim, could take chairs in the newly founded assemblies. These representatives held the rights to join discussions and give suggestions. In other words, these institutions could now serve like the city councils of Europe that were established a hundred years ago. Another positive change that the edict brought was that the converts would no longer be punished for their decisions and no one would be forced to change their religions. These statements regarding religion were not as extensive as laicism or secularism, but they may still be considered as an important step taken in the name of limiting the religious pressure.

When we consider the improvements of the Tanzimat period under the light of both the edicts, the most important flaw of the period would be the dichotomy of the system where the institutions of the old order were preserved along the new improvements. The old institutions of justice and the education system following the religious approach were kept and this decision led to the continuation of the intellect-ignorant, progressivist-reactionary oppositions. A new penal code (1834) was put into use, the penalty of death was abolished (1844), a new commerce law was imported from France (1850), regulations were made to the maritime law (1863) and Guardhouses that entitled right of representation to non-Muslims in courts (1869) were established. However, all of these changes which took the Western way of thinking as a model had no effects on the Muslim subjects that were subject to the sharia law. In a similar way, following the recommendation of the French Ministry of Education, a Regulation of Education was issued (1869) and it was decided to found secondary schools, senior high schools and imperial colleges. Though, only two imperial colleges named Galatasaray and Darüşşafaka were founded, and both of them were in Istanbul. Therefore, even if radical decisions were taken, once again, the improvements made could not reach the Muslim majority that had been advised to head lean to Islam and sharia. Falih Rıfkı Atay, a famous author that witnessed this period would explain the present dichotomy with the following words:

*Medrese along the modern school, Sharia along new laws, Sharia courts along civil courts, qadi along the judge, mufti along the governor, Sheikh ul-Islam along the grand vizier were present together until as late as 1920. The Sultan himself was also the caliph. Towards the 100th anniversary of Tanzimat, at the viziership in Sublime Porte we were in twentieth century, while in Sülaymaniye*

*where the Sharia courts resided, we were in seventh century. Not only families with all their rights, but also the thoughts at the university were under the control of sharia. We would study philosophy at the Faculty of Literature with a bigoted teacher who graduated from medrese.*<sup>103</sup>

This dichotomy that surfaced in Tanzimat period, continued on to II. Abdulhamit period, but different than his predecessors, the sultan attached even more importance to Islam<sup>104</sup> and sought different ways to empower his authority by clinching the idea of ummah.<sup>105</sup> The period of 1st Constitutional Monarchy that started with the issuing of The Ottoman Constitution in 1876 came to an end when II. Abdulhamit dissolved the Ottoman Parliament as early as 1878 with the reasons that the constitution was not compatible with sharia and that the society was not ready for a life with a parliament. Throughout the following 30 years, Sultan II. Abdulhamit had absolute power and he used this period, which would end with the enunciation of the 2nd Constitutional Period, to wipe off any form of opposition by controlling the press. In this period, often called as the Despotism Period, all publications were inspected by the Directorship of Press, certain words that the Sultan forbid were removed from the printed materials, the licences of the newspapers and comics that did not follow the laws were cancelled or their premises were sealed. With a new regulation that was issued in 1888, people that painted, illustrated, sold badges or medals would have to sign a written contract to ensure that they would meet the requirements of the state.<sup>106</sup> With the help of a newly founded intelligence agency, adversaries of Abdulhamit were arrested and punished, while the people were encouraged to report those who did not follow the rules to the state. This way, the freedom of thought and the freedom of speech were being suppressed. The period of despotism came to an end in 1908, when the rebellion of the reactionaries was subsided by Hareket Ordusu (meaning, “the Army of Action”) and II. Abdulhamit was forced to acknowledge the 2nd Constitutional Era. This event in Turkish history would be later called as the 31 March Incident.

---

<sup>103</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Faliş Rıfki Atay. **Çankaya**, İstanbul, 1980, p. 445 cited by Feyzioğlu, p. 27.

<sup>104</sup> Zürcher, p. 78-80.

<sup>105</sup> Mustafa Gencer summarizes this great change that took place in domestic politics during Abdülhamit period with the words: “Just as the reassurance of the non-Muslim groups in Tanzimat Period, from now on the Muslim groups would step up. In this policy, Islam was seen as a cement of the collective identity of the Muslims, and also was used as a bridge between the state and the subjects.” Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Mustafa Gencer. “Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşme Sürecinde Kültür, Din ve Siyaset İlişkileri”, **Turkish Studies**. Volume: 3/2, Spring, 2008, p. 357.

<sup>106</sup> Ayşe Hür. “Muzir Kelimeler ve 2. Abdülhamid”, **Taraf Gazetesi**, 19.02.2012, <http://arsiv.taraf.com.tr/yazilar/ayse-hur/muzir-kelimeler-ve-ii-abdulhamid/20030/>, (20.02.2014).

The 2nd Constitutional Era that started with the Revolution of 1908<sup>107</sup> and continued until the liquidation of the Ottoman Parliament in 1918 provided the society with a free atmosphere after many years of oppression. Throughout this period along with the writers that favored the ummah mentality, those that emphasized a unity of religion-language-ideal, the writers that supported Pan-Turkism and the ones that supported the Western culture and ideals could reach their readers. The thinkers of these three separate movements have all tried to find solutions in their own ways, to the backwardness of the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning of the 20th century, a free discussion environment where different ideologies could be evaluated was finally created, and solutions other than violation of sharia could be proposed regarding the problem at hand.

In order to be able to evaluate the modernization movement of the Republic Period, one has to know the different approaches of the authors that supported these three movements, because several of these Pan-Islamist, Pro-Western and Pan-Turkish intellectuals served in active duties during the War of Independence, while others were available as experts of culture and literature supporting the Turkish Revolution.<sup>108</sup> Mustafa Kemal and his allies made use of the ideas of these intellectuals in the construction of the revolution, regardless of their differences.

In Niyazi Berkes's work *Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma) all three of these movements are examined extensively. The first of these ideologies Pan-Islamism advocates that the backwardness in the Ottomans occurred, because sharia was not applied to all areas of the society sufficiently. According to Pan-Islamist thinkers, the salvation would come not with secularism, but through the infusion of religion to society. However, first the religious mentality had to go through a reform and people had to understand that Islam was actually a reli-

---

<sup>107</sup> Although the change of rule that took place in 1908 is sometimes identified as a coup, the parliament of 1908 contained 147 Turkish, 60 Arabic, 27 Albanian, 26 Greek, 14 Armenian, 10 Slav, 4 Jewish deputies. The fact that different minorities of the Ottoman Empire had a chance to be represented in the parliament could be considered as a revolutionary qualification.

<sup>108</sup> For example, one of the most famous pro-Westerner writers of the period Abdullah Cevdet translated French philosopher Jean Meslier's work of criticism, upon the request of Atatürk in 1928 and this translation was published with the title "Akı-ı Selim." Ziya Gökalp, who was a supporter of pan-Turkish ideology, was the first professor of sociology of Istanbul University and as well as being the first scientist that ensured sociology to be studied as a discipline in Turkish universities, he served as Diyarbakır deputy for two terms in Grand National Assembly. Celal Nuri, another pro-Western author, published *İleri* newspaper and supported the Independence War, and served as a deputy for four terms, and was the president of the committee that prepared the 1924 Constitution. Islamist philosopher İsmail Hakkı İzmirli taught history of religions and philosophy courses in Istanbul University and took active role in religion reforms that were made in Atatürk period. There are many other examples of writers and thinkers that supported different ideologies during II. Constitutional Period, yet came together to serve in Turkish modernization during the early republic period.

gion that favoured progressivism. For instance, Sait Halim Pasha, one of the Pan-Islamist thinkers of the era, compared Christianity and Buddhism in the western and eastern societies in the scope of development to conclude that the same could be the case for Islam and the Ottoman Empire. According to him and many other Pan-Islamist thinkers, the question at hand could not be reduced to the type of religion only. Islam could prove its adequacy as a religion during the Golden Age and had already showed the world that it was no different than other religions in production of scientific knowledge. The problem at hand here was the issue of clearing the Islam religion of superstitions and misinformation, since non-Islamist beliefs were often attributed to Islam and this approach had great effects on the backwardness.<sup>109</sup> Once cleared out of these misbeliefs, Islam could serve as a religion even more progressive than Christianity, since the basis of Islam was actually the intellect.

Although it was a rational approach on Sait Halim Pasha and his contemporaries' part to discuss the cleaning of Islam from misbeliefs and superstitions, these discussions were being held at an age where the world was discussing the theory of evolution and reaching conclusions. Looking at the matter from this perspective makes it all the more ironic, since at an age where religion itself was a topic of discussion, the Pan-Islamist thinkers were trying to prove that their religion had supported intellect and science. Without a doubt, making peace with rational information and philosophy would have positive effects on the society, and this fact should be read as a radical change on behalf of Islam, yet one should also keep in mind that while Islam was opening doors to positive sciences that were forbidden to be practiced at medreses for over a hundred years, the western world was able to internalize secularism, restrict the extent of religious authority over the society and start discussions on the reality of the religious tenets or their necessity under the light of Darwin's evolution theory. In this manner, one may conclude that the Pan-Islamist thinkers had good intentions, yet their suggestions were out of date. Another missing point that could be seen in the Islamist approach would be their attitude towards the reformation of the Ottoman structure. The notion linking the presence of the state with sharia that can clearly be seen in Tanzimat Edict was supported by the Pan-Islamist thinkers, who believed that practices such as forming a constitution state or having a parliament were western implementations that could damage Is-

---

<sup>109</sup> Niyazi Berkes. **Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma**, 20. Edition, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014, p. 413.



lam<sup>110</sup> and this way, they were also favoring the rule of the absolutist sultans and the ummah mentality, opposing individualism.

The Pro-Western thinkers would often have a dispute with the Pan-Islamist thinkers on this matter. According to Pro-Western writers led by Abdullah Cevdet, the reason for the great gap between the Ottoman Empire and the Western civilization was the intervention of sharia on every aspect of life in the Ottomans. According to them, the qualities that made the West superior were the the basic individual rights, secularism and individualism. The Ottomans could only be as modern as the Western civilization if they were to adopt the humanist values. Any other efforts would be mere tries like the import of new technologies or institutions and these tries could not help with the progression of the society.<sup>111</sup>

In reply to these ideas, the Islamist writers emphasized the primitive side of the modern Western societies: colonialism. According to them, the Western civilization was developed in many areas, because they prospered by exploiting other countries. It was not possible to speak of humanist values in their approach towards their colonies. The Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, treated the foreign subjects of the places conquered fair, and this approach was directly related with the values of the sublime Islam religion. This point of view skillfully presented the improper actions of the West, yet failed to clarify the scientific supremacy of the Western civilization over the Ottomans.

At this point, the Pan-Turkish ideology would step in. According to Pan-Turkish thinkers led by Ziya Gökalp, the “contemporary civilization” phenomenon was simply the combination of a variety of nations’ values. Every nation had a unique culture and every state was responsible for protecting their own cultural values. Nations could make progress by taking the efficient values of other nations and adapting these values into their own culture. However, they must not imitate another culture or its values. If they did so, they would be driven away from their own identity and become valueless.<sup>112</sup>

The Pan-Turkish ideology proposed that the way to reach contemporary civilization would be through the development of the Turkish national culture, it reached an agreement with the Pro-Western ideology on terms of borrowing the concept of nationalism from the West and coincided with the Pan-Islamist ideology on the protec-

---

<sup>110</sup> Berkes, p. 416.

<sup>111</sup> Berkes, p. 415.

<sup>112</sup> Berkes, pp. 423-424.

tion of the Turkish culture within the framework of nationalism. It parted from the Islamists in terms of leaving the ummah in the name of forming a nation, and disagreed with the Pro-Western idea in the borrowing of several improvements from the West and imposition of these improvements to the society.

In the modernization movement of the Turkish Republic, all three of the forementioned movements were put into use. The designers of the republic struggled to defend science against ignorance, tried to glorify the rights of the individual and humanism as the Pro-Western thinkers would advocate so. They fought the imperialist side of the West like the Pan-Islamists and tried to reconstruct the national culture and protect it just as the Pan-Turkish advocates would do so. As it is clear, these movements were supported by different segments of the society, being inspired by these movements and forming a new type of modernization that is special to the Muslim-Turkish subjects, including a new conscious of a nation and a culture adequate to this nation bound to the principles of Enlightenment could be read as a significant achievement when compared to the emphasis given to the Islamist movement by the Ottoman Empire administration.

The designers of the Republic of Turkey were left with three phenomenons once the Ottoman Empire collapsed: a perception that stressed the importance of sharia, people that took refuge in fundamentalism and a binary system. The impact of Islam over the social life of the Ottomans was indisputable. The reactionaries held the political power. The Muslim subjects were many in number, yet were also poor and ignorant. The intellectuals who favored the Enlightenment principles were at enmity with the folk and they did not know of a way to realize these principles in a society where sharia was already internalized. The land was barren due to the wars and a great percentage of the male population that could cultivate the land were killed. It was not possible to speak of a middle class made up of the Muslim citizens, since business and industry were areas of the non-Muslim expertise since the foundation of the empire. Throughout the War of Independence, the Ottoman rule defined the Turkish movement as a rebel and accused Mustafa Kemal and his allies as being sharia contraries and traitors. In short, by the end of the War of Independence, things were not looking up for the Turkish Revolutionists.

## **2.4 ENLIGHTENMENT MOVEMENT IN THE TURKISH REVOLUTION**

The modernization period that started after the Independence War given against the Western powers is known as the Turkish Revolution<sup>113</sup> in Turkish history. The soldier-bureaucrat staff that realized the Turkish Revolution, tried to solve the problems seen in the Ottoman improvements and worked on a faster and more efficient modernization. Different than the Ottoman period, at first, all of the institutions that belonged to the older order, which caused the binary structure were closed. Another difference of the Atatürk period was the administration's will to renounce the traditionalist approach and form a western style of reform movement with new laws and modern institutions suitable for the Turkish nation, while avoiding any form of imitation. In this setting, science was defined as a guiding light and was glorified, while a new republican culture heavily influenced by the Enlightenment principles of the West was introduced for the embracement of the public. In Mustafa Kemal's words, the Turkish Revolution meant "the demolishment of the old institutions that left the Turkish nation underdeveloped for the last centuries, and establishment of new ones in accordance with the requirements of a contemporary civilization, in the name of progression."<sup>114</sup> The Turkish revolution that defined ignorance as the greatest enemy and clearly set the goal of liquidating religious superstitions, was more than a series of reforms that were carried out in order to catch up with the developed countries. Essentially, it was a struggle against the circles that exploited religion and degraded it into a political implement.

The first step taken in the Turkish Revolution was the altering of the false religious perceptions that had an impact on social life. The religious approach of the Ottoman administration that suggested progression was closely linked with following sharia was left altogether in the first years of the republic. The first step towards secularism was the foundation of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1920 with the enunciation that sovereignty belonged to the nation without any condition and reservation. After this step, which affirmed that the Ottoman sultanate's sovereignty now passed on to the people, the sultanate was abolished in 1922 and the republic was founded officially in 1923. The process continued with the abolishment of the caliphate, the annulment of the Ottoman code of civil law and the closing of the religious courts in 1924. Secularism in education was ensured with the 1924 Unification

---

<sup>113</sup> Turkish Revolution has been called as "Atatürk Revolution", "Atatürk Principles", "Atatürk Reforms" or the "Kemalist Revolution" in a variety of works over the years. However, Atatürk has always liked to attribute these reforms to his people, therefore, in this study, these reforms will be called as the Turkish Revolution.

<sup>114</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Feyzioğlu, p. 4.

Law. By means of this law, a unity in education was ensured, the religious institutions were removed from the national education system and modern schools were founded all over the country. After the changes that took place regarding politics, law and education, it was time for regulations regarding dervish lodges and shrines which took just as an important place as the caliphate in the daily social life. On 2 September 1925, a decision was made related to “the closing of the dervish lodges and shrines, the clothing of the religious agents and the hats of the civil servants”, and in the same year, a law was enacted in the Grand National Assembly announcing the abolishment of all dervish lodges and shrines and removal of certain religious titles. With the Civil Code of 1926, the authority of Islam over the social life was restricted.<sup>115</sup> The provision “religion of the state is Islam” that was present in the 1924 Constitution was removed from the constitution with a law acknowledged issued on 10 April 1928. The religious vows of the deputies and the President of the Republic were removed from the official oaths, and the provision, which stated that The Grand National Assembly would fulfill the sharia was removed from the constitution text. On 3 December 1934 a new law passed prohibiting religious commissaries to wear gowns, turban or any other religious clothing outside the places of worship. This law allowed only the Head of Religious Affairs- who officially represented the religion of Islam- and the plenipotentiaries of other religions to wear clothes that would express their religious identities in public sphere.<sup>116</sup> Finally, in 1937 the laicism provision was added to the constitution, officially ending the process of laicism.<sup>117</sup>

All of these reforms made in the name of laicism did not lead to a fast overall acceptance of laicism within the society. Atatürk foresaw this fact and in the speeches he gave throughout the revolution, he often emphasized that laicism was not atheism, neither a form hostility against religion and that the real enemies of Islam were those

---

<sup>115</sup> Women’s suffrage of 1930 was one of the supplementary laws that accompanied civil code and relived religious pressures upon the lives of women.

<sup>116</sup> Mehmet Emin Kunt. **Aydınlıktan Karanlığa Türkiye Cumhuriyeti**, Pupa Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, pp.46-47.

<sup>117</sup> The Hat Act of 25 November 1925 and the Surname Law of 21 June 1934 could also be considered as supplementary laws issued to protect laicism. Although the motivation for the first of these laws is often interpreted as the necessity of looking Western/modern, and the second one is to eliminate the mix-ups that could take place in daily life, the Hat Act was actually about the prohibition of fez and other hats that were religious symbols at the time, and the Surname Law was a ban implemented on the use of religious titles. Therefore, both of these laws should be considered as steps to generalize laicism in the public sphere.

that made profit out of the religious superstitions. For instance, in a speech dated 1930 he described laicism as follows:

*In Republic of Turkey, everyone worships God the way they would like to. Noone is punished for their religious ideas. Turkish Republic has no official religion. Noone in is Turkey has the right to dictate their ideas upon others. By now, the candid believers have learned the needs of religious freedom. Laicism does not only mean the separation of religion and wordly affairs. It also means the freedom of conscience, worship and religion for all citizens. Laicism, which never means ungodliness, ensures a struggle with fake devotion and sorcery and provides real devotion with a chance to flourish. It must never be forgotten or overlooked that the foundation of the Republic lies on a secular world view. Because the Turkish people had suffered greatly under a theocratic rule. One of the important reasons of backwardness was this fact.<sup>118</sup>*

While in the Ottoman era, the reason for backwardness was explained with losing ties with sharia, in the Turkish Revolution, as it can be seen in Atatürk's speech, this reason was explained with fake devotion and theocratic rule. Without a doubt, this approach required a difficult transformation not only for the fundamentalists, but also for many members of the Muslim community who had developed close ties with religion and caliphate over the years. In this context, laying emphasis on the values of the Islam religion became a necessity. This is why, we can see that Atatürk often pointed out Islam was not a religion that stood against progression<sup>119</sup> and modernization was not a heretic movement against Islam<sup>120</sup> in his speeches. In most of his speeches given in this period, he also remarked that Islam ordered diligence,<sup>121</sup> that the enemies worked hard, and the way to excel was to internalize all contemporary inventions and make use of science.<sup>122</sup> Although the theology and law of Islam advocated certain innate limitations of the human intellect,<sup>123</sup> Atatürk insisted that daily obstacles in life could be solved with reason and that using one's intellect was naturally in accordance with Islam, with the following statement:

---

<sup>118</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Kunt, p. 48.

<sup>119</sup> An example for this discourse: "Turkish nation should be religious, I mean religious in the purest form possible. I believe in my religion, the very same way that I believe in truth. It does not contain anything that is against conscious or hinders progress." Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Feyzioğlu, p. 35.

<sup>120</sup> "Our religion states that the ones who do not like to work have nothing to do with humanity. Some people think that being contemporary means being an infidel. This approach is the actual blasphemy. If the ultimate goal of those that make this description is not the enslavement of Islam by the infidels, then what is?" Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. **Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri**, Volume:2, Second Edition, p. 128 cited by Feyzioğlu, p. 33.

<sup>121</sup> "The religion of Islam orders 'to work as death does not exist,' and condemns slackness and laziness." Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Yaşar Nabi, **Tek yol Atatürk Yolu**, 4th Edition, 1980, pp. 99-102 cited by Feyzioğlu, p. 33.

<sup>122</sup> **Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri**, Volume:2, Second Edition, pp. 91-92 cited by Feyzioğlu, p. 33.

<sup>123</sup> Gökdoğan, p. 394.

*There is a measurement available for everyone regarding our religion. You can evaluate whether something is acceptable for this religion or not by using this measurement. If something is appropriate for intellect, reason and public law, you can be sure that it is also acceptable for our religion. If something is appropriate for intellect and reason, in the interest of the people, in the interest of Islam, do not ask anyone for advice, for that thing is already religion. If our religion was not compatible with intellect and reasons, it would not be so perfect, and it would not come as the latest religion.<sup>124</sup>*

What Atatürk tried to accomplish with this discourse was to recreate a kind of reconciliation between religion and science in public memory, which was long forgotten after the Golden Era of Islam. In this context, it was emphasized that the purpose of laicism was not to demolish religion, the already present hatred towards progressives was being diverted to a new enemy -that is, the people that exploited religion for political profits- and Islam was openly praised for its approach towards intellect and reason. Through the reconstruction of the religious perception of the society the necessity of positive sciences for social life was also being proposed.

The next step of the Turkish Revolutionaries was to face the intellectual-public discrimination and glorify science to create new public opinion. In Atatürk's discourse ignorance was often defined as an illness that directly influenced social life, and that people's dependence on traditions that were not related with intellect and reason not only brought the country backward, but also turned it into a prey for other countries. If this illness and dependency were not cured at once with the help of science, the country could easily be captured by other nations that were more developed than Turkey. In other words, the backwardness of the Ottoman Empire was explained with endemic ignorance and reactionism and the image of captivity that was already fresh in public memory was brought up to find a solution to this problem. In a speech made to teachers in 22 October 1922, Atatürk put forward the religion-ignorance-captivity equation as follows:

*In our nation's political, social life, in its intellectual education, our guide will be science and technique. The stage that we have reached today is not the actual stage of liberation ...The actual liberation begins with the diagnosis and cure of the social illness. If the cure is provided in a manner advised by science and technique, the patient would be saved. Otherwise, the illness would become chronic and to find a cure would be impossible. If ideas are full of meaningless irrational nonsense, those ideas could be called as ill. In the same manner, if the social life is full of certain beliefs and traditions that are not related with intellect and reason, the society gets paralyzed ...For those who want to save the country, the nation, virtue, good will and self-devotion are certainly essential characteristics. However, these characteristics are not enough on their own to be*

---

<sup>124</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. **Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri**, Volume:2, Second Edition, p. 127 cited by Feyzioğlu, p. 34.

*able to diagnose the illness, cure it and move the society forward in accordance with the requirements of the century; science and technique must be used along these characteristics ...Wherever the science and technique is, we are going to take them and place them in the minds of every citizen of this nation. There are no conditions or reservations for science and technique. Those nations that insist on being stuck in traditions that have no reasonable foundation can not move forward easily, or can not even move at all. The nations that can not overcome the conditions and reservations that prevent progress, can not go through life reasonably and practically, therefore, they get condemned to be occupied and captured by those nations that can see the philosophy of life from a wider perspective.*<sup>125</sup>

In the years when ignorance was linked with captivity and denounced as the greatest enemy of the nation, the first step taken to form a modern and secular education system was to unify education. With the Law on Unification of National Education enacted in 1924, all education institutions were bound to Ministry of Education and this way, the state especially tried to regulate the institutions that gave religious education. While previously there was no unity in education due to the variety of different schools prior to the republic, such as, the minority schools, modern military schools, state schools that were established primarily to educate the staff of the ministries, the sıbyan schools and medreses,<sup>126</sup> with this new law of education, all education institutions were brought under the authority of a single management. In this step, the Reformists' aspiration was to form a national conscious that would support the new reforms and national policies that were put into practice.

The reform of education was not limited with the regulation of religious education. A great emphasis was paid to the relationship between education and production and steps were being taken to educate the staff necessary for industrialization and production at an early stage. In a speech given in the Turkish Economy Congress that was held in Izmir on 17 February 1923, Atatürk underlined the place of the education-production concept in the early republic policies as follows:

*All of our new state's, new government's principles, all of our programs should be derived from the economic program. Because, everything is related to economy. This is why we should educate our children accordingly, we should teach them such information and technique that they could succeed in fields of commerce, agriculture and industry, be productive, have a say in the world, in these matters. Because of this, our education program in primary school and secondary school, all the subjects that we have to teach must follow this view. The same goes for the programs to be made in state affairs. We must apply an es-*

---

<sup>125</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. **Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri**, Volume:2, 2nd Edition, Ankara, pp.42-44 cited by Feyzioğlu, p. 5.

<sup>126</sup>Recai Doğan. "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Tevhid-i Tedrisat Çerçevesinde Din Eğitim-Öğretimi ve Yapılan Tartışmalar", **Cumhuriyet'in 75. Yılında Türkiye'de Din Eğitimi ve Öğretimi**, Türk Yurdu Yayınları, Ankara, 1999, p. 227.

*sential program and have all of the nation work in accordance with this program.*<sup>127</sup>

Another change that took place in the education system was the transition from rote learning to pragmatic education. In this period, great reforms like the abolishment of sultanate, the foundation of the republic, the restrictions on religious authority and changes in laws regarding social life took place and the state inherently desired a change of perspective on behalf of its citizens. Those who were used to following the sultan/caliph or religious leaders and were not aware of their innate human rights had to be educated, in order to be able to become integrated to the modern life. Therefore, a new pragmatic education system which emphasized problem-solving and experiment was constructed. In 1924, one of the most reputable education theoretician of the era, John Dewey was invited to Turkey as the guest of the Minister of Education Vasıf Çınar and his ideas on the functional education theories, that were on the rise in the world at the time, were put into use. Dewey, travelled around Turkey, observed several schools and handed a report to the Turkish authorities titled "Report on Turkish Education"<sup>128</sup> including his suggestions for the new education system. Director of the Turkish Board of Education and professor of philosophy Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, who also met Dewey and wrote a foreword for his book *Democracy and Education* summarized the preception of education in 1920's Turkey in an essay that was published in the first issue of *Hayat Dergisi* in 1926. Here is a quote from that essay:

*Our guide is science. Ever since Tanzimat a lot of information has entered the country from the West. However, the real mentality of science has been internalized by few. The brains that were crushed under the old manners collected information from the Western books; Yet, they could not train their minds with the methodology of positive sciences. This is why, the ones that collected information were called as "wise". These people, putting the number of books that they had read aside, were baffled by events ...Our goal is to see a strong and intellectual community that not only knows certain concepts, but may also think over events ...Yesterday, we wanted an independent country. It happened. But this is not enough. The Turkish Nation must have a high position in the world.*<sup>129</sup>

As Mehmet Emin Erişirgil stated, the primary goal of the pragmatic education system that was constructed in Atatürk period was to actualize a new generation that questioned, researched, approached topics critically, and could make use of

<sup>127</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Suna Kili. **Bir Çağdaşlaşma Modeli. Atatürk Devrimi**. 11th Edition. Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, pp. 128-129.

<sup>128</sup>On the claims regarding Dewey's report being related with the foundation of village institutes, see Niyazi Altunya. **Köy Enstitüsü Sistemi: Toplu Bakış**, Cumhuriyet Kitapları, İstanbul, 2010.

<sup>129</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. İsmet Giritli. "Kemalizm İdeolojisi", **Atatürk Yolu**, 3rd Edition, Türk Tarih Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 1995, (Kemalizm), pp.292-293.



information in life. In Atatürk's words (1923) : "Moral, of good character, republican, reformist, positive, bold, capable of completing the tasks started, honest, thoughtful, strong-willed, mighty enough to overcome obstacles, sensible youth"<sup>130</sup> - this was the goal. It was necessary to accomplish this task, because the performance of the reform period, the internalization of the republic's principles and the protection of these principles all depended on having citizens that were intellectually and rationally capable of thinking for themselves and provide solutions when faced with obstacles, people that could make use of their education and talent.

The education of responsible individuals that could give direction to social life, was not an easy task and a unified education system and national education policies were not sufficient to achieve this task. The revolutionists of the Republic Period recognized this fact and they made a series of reforms regarding common-public education alongside opening modern schools. The public education policies were regulated through the Branch of Public Education (1926), and in the Public Classrooms, between the years 1927-1928 only, 64 thousand adults received basic civics education.<sup>131</sup> In the year 1928 an Alphabet Revolution took place, the use of Arabic Alphabet was banned and the Latin Alphabet replaced it. In order to teach the public how to read and write with the new letters, Schools of the Nation and Village Rooms were established, and in the same institutions a free education of health and citizenship was offered. In the same year, while those who were interested in learning a new profession could attend Night Courses of Art and Business, learning vocational and technical information, those who attended the Community Centers (1932) enjoyed the social and sports activities<sup>132</sup> and were being educated through a variety of publications and courses. All of these free activities served to raise awareness and helped ordinary folk to be able to attend cultural activities that were previously thought to be special to intellectuals. Let us look at some statistic to illustrate the extent of these cultural and social activities. In Community Centers, only between the years 1932-1940, "23.750 conferences took place, 12.350 theater plays were staged, 9.050 concerts were given. The number of members increased by 506%. In the first year the number of people that borrowed books from the cen-

---

<sup>130</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Cüneyt Arcayürek. **Atatürk'ten Bugünlere Nasıl Geldik**, 4th Edition, Cumhuriyet Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, pp.73-74.

<sup>131</sup> Geray, p. 119.

<sup>132</sup> Community Centers had nine different educations. These were: Language-literature, history and museums, library-publishing, community classrooms and courses, theatre, sports, social assistance and village works. For more information, see Geray, p.127.

ters' libraries was 149.949 and this number reached 2.557.853 in 1940.”<sup>133</sup> When we consider that in 1940, the population of Turkey was less than 20 million people, we could easily conclude that this reform could actually achieve its goal.

All of these works did not only take place in city centers. In the years that the education reform was taking place, most of the population lived in villages and dealt with agriculture. This is why the primary goal of the Turkish State was actually to be able to reach these people, the villagers, who could not benefit from and reacted to the improvements made in the Ottoman period. Another positive outcome of the education of the villagers would be to increase production and flourish the Turkish economy. In this context, during the ministry of Hasan Ali Yücel<sup>134</sup> with the guidance of İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, a new village school mobilization was started by the Turkish government. This mobilization included the opening of Village Educator Courses, District Boarding Schools, Village Art Courses and Village Institutions, so that the village folk of Turkey could internalize a more vivid social life and improve themselves in cultural practices. These institutions also served the duty of providing all citizens of Turkey with equal opportunities of education. To explain the size of the mobility project with words, after the foundation of the Village Institutes “between the years 1940-1946, 15.000 acres of land was cultivated, 750.000 saplings were planted, 1.200 acres of vineyards were formed. Between 1937-1946 also 150 grand structures, 60 workshops, 210 teacher's lodges, 20 practice schools, 36 warehouses and stores, 48 barns and haylofts, 12 electric plants, 16 water reservoirs, 12 agriculture storages, 3 wholesale fish markets and 100 kms. of roads were built and aside from these works, water pipes were installed and sewage systems were constructed.”<sup>135</sup> All of these constructions were made by the students and teachers of the Village Institutes, with the support of the Turkish state.

The Atatürk period modernization movement's approach towards education could be summarized under the titles; the reconciliation of Islam with science, the definition of ignorance as captivity, the glorification of science, the unification of the education system, the reconstruction of the education-production synergy, pragmatism in education and an overall reform in the public education policies. All of these

---

<sup>133</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Murat Tazegül. **Modernleşme Sürecinde Türkiye**, 1st Edition, Babil, İstanbul, 2005, p. 119.

<sup>134</sup> Village Institutes were a product of the pragmatic education philosophy that was adopted during Atatürk period, and they were founded by the İnönü government following Atatürk's death.

<sup>135</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Şevket Gedikoğlu. **Evreleri, Getirdikleri ve Yanlılarıyla Köy Enstitüleri**, Ankara, 1971, p.245 cited by Çetin Yetkin. **Karşı Devrim: 1945-1950**, Kilit Yayınları, Ankara, 2012, (Karşı), p. 235.

policies have placed the Republic modernization in a higher position than the Ottoman improvements. However, constitution of a modern society with cultured citizens that were free of centuries old religious strains was not an easy task. The Turkish state had to reconstruct a cultural life along the renewed education system. In this matter, the Turkish Revolution, could also be read as a cultural revolution.

The cultural politics of the Atatürk period aimed at terminating the subjects and creating citizens with a contemporary culture. This way, it was thought, the ummah community would dissolve, and the people of the republic would become a nation that internalized a republic culture. While all of the law reforms, the Civil Code being one, guaranteed the basic rights of the citizens to be acknowledged by the state, the reforms such as the Law of Clothing, The Surname Law, Female Suffrage Law, the use of international hours and calendars ensured a transition to Western way of living. All of these laws can be read as the social and judicial infrastructure for the citizens of the republic to acquire a world-view similar to the members of the Western world.

As you will remember, in the United States, during the Industrial Revolution, many of the art and culture institutions were established with the financial support of the middle class. In Turkey, where there was no middle class in the first years of the Republic, the art and culture investments were carried out by the state, mainly in the period between 1930s-1950s. The Turkish cultural revolution began with the reconstruction of Darülbedayi ("The House of Beauty" - with its contemporary name, "City Theaters") and Darül-Elhan ("The House of Melodies" - with its contemporary name, "Istanbul State Conservatory") and continued with the opening of the State Painting and Sculpture Exhibition in Ankara (1939), the conversion of the Ankara Conservatory into State Conservatory (1940),<sup>136</sup> and the re-organization of the Theater and Opera Stage (1940) into the State Theater Opera and Ballet Institution with a law issued in 1949. Istanbul Radio which made its very first broadcast in 1927 through the speakers placed on top of Sirkeci Grand Post Office Building, made its first live broadcast on 3 February 1932.<sup>137</sup> Thanks to the news bulletins and cultural broad-

---

<sup>136</sup> Mithat Atabay. "Cumhuriyet Kültürü", **Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi**, Number:43, Spring 2009, p. 459.

<sup>137</sup> The first broadcast in Turkish radio history was the Turkish call for prayer and the memorial service that were recited on Qadr Night in Hagia Sophia Mosque. The facts that a religious ceremony was chosen as the first broadcast and that the medium of communication in use was a modern one, both point at the same message: that radio was being introduced to the hesitant traditionalist circles as a useful medium.

casts made in the radio,<sup>138</sup> masses could learn about events and innovations in a faster way.

Numerous works of art were produced during the Turkish cultural revolution, inspired by their Western contemporaries, but also great emphasis was paid to the interpretations of the Turkish art with modern perspectives. The first example that comes to mind regarding this matter would be the works of Cemal Reşit Rey, Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Hasan Ferit Anar, Ahmed Adnan Saygun and Necip Kazım Akses that were also known by the name Turkish Cinque. These five young people were sent abroad by Atatürk to receive education in their own fields. After their return, they re-interpreted Turkish melodies with a Western style and gained recognition both within and outside the borders of the country. Cemal Reşit Rey wrote Turkish cantons, Ulvi Cemal Erkin composed köçekçeler (Turkish dance tunes), Hasan Ferit Anar wrote the first zither concerto in the world, Ahmet Adnan Saygun compiled folk music, Necip Kazım Akses wrote miniatures for the piano. These works were mainly written for Western musical instruments so, when they were played in concerts overseas, they also served as a cultural medium and the Turkish tunes began to gain the recognition of the Western world.

In the same period, a major reform took place in literature, as well. While new research on Turkish history and language were carried out by the Turkish History Studies Association (1931) and Turkish Language Studies Association (1932), the foundation of the Language History and Geography Faculty in 1935 marked a new beginning with its Classic Philology Department, as a new interest bloomed in different languages and literatures with the help of this department. During the period that Hasan Ali Yücel served as the Minister of Education, the Translation Bureau (1940) started translating the world classics into Turkish and by 1945, 467 new books were presented to the readers.<sup>139</sup> In these years that are also called as the Turkish Humanism Period in history, under the influence of the German gymnasium schools, classic high schools were founded (1940) and in these schools courses of Latin and Greek were taught.<sup>140</sup>

As it can be seen, the enlightenment movement of the Turkish Revolution was a project of creating a new generation that was “free in thought, free in conscience

---

<sup>138</sup> In this period, the Western classical music broadcasts of Ankara Radio especially helped masses meet with classical music for the first time.

<sup>139</sup> Atabay, p. 459.

<sup>140</sup> Hasan Bülent Kahraman. “İçselleştirilmiş, Açık ve Gizli Oryantalizm ve Kemalizm”, **Doğu-Batı. Oryantalizm-1**, Number: 20/1, Year 5, August- September -October -1, 2002, p.177.

and free in insight” as Atatürk once pointed out. It was an effort shown in the name of freeing the thoughts of people through a modern, pragmatic and secular education system.<sup>141</sup> Through the reforms carried out in the cultural sphere, it was desired to have citizens that could think critically and be free in insight. By removing the restraints of religion on social and cultural life, the reformists were trying to show to masses that it was possible to reach real information by using one’s intelligence, reason and conscience.<sup>142</sup>

Could the enlightenment movement of the republic era reach success? One could answer that question with a yes and no. Many of the institutions that were established before 1946 - the year the multi-party system started- that aimed for modernization through the education of the public are still in use, and they could be called as useful in helping Turkey to find a place among the modern nations of the world. The literacy rate increased, urbanization took place, the education-production policies gave good results, the middle class occurred, and yes, they did invest in flourishing a vivid cultural life. A new intellectual generation that advocated freedom of thought, believed in laicism, regarded intellect and science as a guide was actually created, and these people were able to share their knowledge and experience with different parts of the society in the name of modernization. All of these positive developments took place thanks to the education reforms and the cultural revolution. However, these reforms could not break the binary oppositions of intellectual-ordinary folk, progressivist-reactionary, laicist-devout. The fact that the reforms were made in a very short time period caused many people to fall behind. Especially those that saw Islam as a guide and approached religion as a philosophy of life, were angry at the restrictions made to the religious authority over social life and they began to side against the state and republic. Feroz Ahmad describes these two different approaches in Turkey with the following statement:

*In fact, a gulf was created between the rulers and the ruled who found they had less in common with the new elite which seemed to live in a world totally different from their own; the elite dressed differently and spoke a language they could not understand. And yet the rulers claimed to be populist. This alienation*

---

<sup>141</sup> “Secular education proposes freedom of thought and national sovereignty. The religious education, on the other hand, emphasizes the sovereignty of religion and God, and is therefore closed to freedom of thought... Secular education pays attention to dynamize the student, while in religious education, the student is only a receiver of ideas and stands passive.” Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Geray, p. 117.

<sup>142</sup> The moral conscience that was tried to be formed in Turkish public through the culture reforms was one that a person could reach by himself/herself, regardless of the help of any authorities or religious tenets. In this context, the person with a moral conscience can trust upon his/her own will without leading a life under dogmatic restraints.

*continued to grow throughout the 1930s and was aggravated with the death of the charismatic Atatürk. There were now two cultures: the westernised, secular culture of a tiny but influential minority associated with the bureaucracy, and the indigenous culture of the mass of the people associated with Islam.*<sup>143</sup>

Just as Ahmad states, the republic reforms could not overcome the conservative mentality that was present within the society ever since the early stages of the Ottoman Empire. Although the reformists were brave in making reforms in the name of terminating ignorance, glorifying science and adopting a new and modern culture on behalf of the people, they could not succeed in the enlightenment of the masses that desired the return of the caliphate, could not give up their love of the saltanate and see the reforms as interventions made into their life styles. There were three main reasons behind this outcome. Firstly, during the War of Independence, in order to have the much-needed support of the traditionalist masses, it was told that the war was actually fought to save the caliphate and the saltanate from the enemies, and after the war, within a very short period of time, both the caliphate and saltanate were abolished, forming a great distrust towards the reformists among these masses. Secondly, just as it was the case with the Ottoman improvements, the reforms were made from the top, without the consent of the people, and using force to any form of opposition, and these actions created a reaction to intellectuals and administrators. Thirdly, the reforms were made in a very short period of time and could not take root, and after Atatürk's death, the contents and the aspect of the republic modernization was changed with a counterrevolution.

A thorough evaluation of these reasons would help us understand the foundations of the present-day Islamic awakening of Turkey. More than that, we could understand why and how ignorance came to be favored in a society that went through a modernization period, in which intellect and science were the primary principles. But first, it would be wise to take a look at the history and context of the modernization theory that emerged in the United States after the Second World War. Because, this theory was heavily in effect during the first bilateral relations that were formed between Turkey and United States, and happened to be the direct cause of many wrong political steps that were taken in both of the countries' histories. In order to be able to evaluate the effects of American policies on Turkish modernization, one first has to know what Americans understand from modernization and how and why they tried to modernize other nations.

---

<sup>143</sup> Feroz Ahmad. **The Making of Modern Turkey**, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2003, p. 92.



### **CHAPTER THREE**

#### **MODERNIZATION THEORY AND AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM**

The Modernization Theory was put forward in the United States, in a period where the country just came out of World War II as a super power, and was in spirit to idealize and promote the concepts of freedom, democracy, human rights and commonwealth. The theory was not only applicable to the United States, and it fore-saw the reconstruction of the economic, social and cultural structures of the newly independent countries of the post-war period in accordance with the Western values. The aim of the theory was to form a new world order, where America would be the leader. In this new order, the old colonies that were not fortunate enough to go through an industrial period in the same time and under the same conditions as the Western societies did, would follow through the steps of the Western societies, go through an over-all modernization phase, the urbanization percentages would in-

crease, the literacy rates would rise, their economies would be improved through necessary technical and financial assistance, and this way, free trade would be practiced in a highly efficient way all around the world, including these nations. Other purposes of this theory that ideologically only embraced the democratic nations was to restrict the influence area of the Soviet Union through a variety of institutions and agreements, to avoid new wars to take place and to prevent the spread of communism in the world.

Modernization Theory was based on humanist values and proposed peace in the world. On principle it targeted progression, yet it was also heavily criticized, because this progress was constructed over the success of the American system. Turkey and United States started their bilateral relations, which included the reception of technical and economic assistance on Turkey's behalf, in the same period that Modernization Theory was proposed. Several agreements were signed between the two countries concerning education, agriculture and industry, and many American experts were invited to Turkey at this period to prepare reports on the progress being made. The content of these agreements and the reports influenced the Turkish administration to take a different route than the republic period, in the name of modernization.

Before we move on to the evaluation of these steps under the light of the criticism made to American way of modernization, it would be essential to understand how the terms *modern*, *modernism* and *modernization* were being defined in this theory. Because a closer look at the American foreign relations of the period within the scope of the Modernization Theory reveals that the modernity the "under-developed" or "developing" countries tried to reach by taking America as a model and the modernity that the United States represented as the superpower of the world could have conceptual and structural differences.

*The word modern means clarity of thinking, freedom, freedom from authority, the latest, information on the latest discourse,<sup>144</sup> expresses a stage different than the past and points out to the contemporary. This word, with its Latin version modernus in the fifth century, was used to distinguish the era in which Christianity was accepted officially from the one of the Roman and Pagan past.<sup>145</sup> Nowadays this word is being used to emphasize a difference from the past, to define what is new and belonging to or applicable to present. The word "Modo" comes from Modernus and means "right now" in ancient Latin.<sup>146</sup>*

<sup>144</sup> Ahmet Cevizci. **Felsefe Sözlüğü**, 3rd Edition, Paradigma Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p. 598.

<sup>145</sup> Beylül Dikeçligil. "Dünya 'Modernizm' Diyerek Dönüyor", **Yeni Türkiye**, Cumhuriyet Special Edition: 3, Number: 23-24, September-December 1998, p. 164.

<sup>146</sup> Emre Kongar. **Toplumsal Değişme Kuramları ve Türkiye Gerçeği**, 5th Edition, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1995, p. 228.



*Modern* belongs to the present and may sometimes be used for the fashions that belong to daily life or culture. It defines a disengagement from the past or the traditional. *Modernization*, on the other hand, means “modernism in action.” Marshall Berman states that *modernism*:

*Depends on great discoveries in physical sciences, industrialization, grand demographic changes, urbanization, the widespread use of mass communication, nation-states, mass movements that propose alternatives to dominant systems in power and sources such as capitalist world market... modernism in the twentieth century means ‘the sustainable development’ of these sources.*<sup>147</sup>

In short, *modern*, defines what belongs to the current age, *modernism*, defines the one that was able to perform the greatest change in the current age, while *modernization*, states the effort that is paid to reach the furthest point of development in the current age. The word *contemporary* also has the same meaning as modern, and describes the age that is lived in. None of these terms are specific to one country and whether a country is a modern one or not depends on the point of view. For example, the United States, that has already been through its industrial revolution, a period of urbanization, has high numbers of literacy and a solid preception of secularism and enlightenment principles could be accepted as a modern country when one takes its citizens’ life standards into consideration, while the same country is also known for its unmodern actions such as its discriminating behaviour towards its colored citizens, the unjust wars that it starts in different countries or its imperialistic foreign policies. So, although the term modernism refers to the furthest point of development for all the countries in one period, the description of that point with the name of a country or one specific ideology would be a mistake.

At this stage, in order to avoid any confusions during our evaluation of the modernization theory, it would be good to define the terms *tradition* and *traditionalism*, as well. *Traditions* are behavior patterns that hold societies together. They can be adapted to modern way of thinking and they pass on with each generation regardless of any protection of laws. Societies need traditions for the continuation of their cultures, and they take great care of them knowing that otherwise, their ties would be unfastened. *Traditionalism* is a term used for all authoritarian and oppressive actions that ban the circulation of new ideas, restrain development and encourage

---

<sup>147</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. M.Berman. **Katı Olan Herşey Buharlaşıyor**, Tran. Ü. Altuğ, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p. 28 cited by Fahrettin Altun. **Modernleşme Kuramı: Eleştirel Bir Giriş**, 2nd Edition, Küre Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, p.11.

ties with the past. It means not being able to adapt to new technologies and life styles. In the essence of traditionalism, lies the idea that what is not known or experienced might be dangerous. This is why it is not open to innovations and it can not serve progress and for the same purposes, it is being often criticized in the modernisation theory. In the modernization theory, what is *un-modern* is usually defined as *traditionalist* and the modern is always superior than the traditionalist. Although the theory itself was proposed by American scholars after World War II, the “mentality of being modern” in other words, the otherization of the un-modern dates back in history.

İsmail Coşkun takes the history of the ‘barbaric’ image of the non-Western communities back to Ancient Greece. According to him, the calling of the Easterners as ‘barbaric’ that we see in Herodotus and Homer, continues on with naming the Persians as ‘the other’ in Roman Empire and with the ‘barbaric’ image of the Muslims in Spanish perspective during the occupation of Spain by the Muslims. In 19th century, when the Western societies were able to develop faster than the Eastern societies, this pattern of thought became a systematic movement called Orientalism.<sup>148</sup>

In the period following the Industrial Revolution, many authors that examine East-West relations within the scope of the European Centralism agree on the superiority of the West over the East, however, their arguments focus on the fact that this superiority comes from the impossibility of a development on the Eastern side, due to their origins and cultures. To give a few examples, J.S Mill mentions that the civilization level of the Indians was not advanced enough to be able to understand his ideas or works.<sup>149</sup> Lord Cromer, who governed Egypt for a long period, on behalf of England illustrates the great gap between the East and the West with the following statement:

*The European is a close reasoner; his statements of fact are devoid of any ambiguity; he is a natural logician, albeit he may not have studied logic; he is by nature sceptical and requires proof before he can accept the truth of any proposition; his trained intelligence works like a piece of mechanism. The mind of the Oriental, on the other hand, like his picturesque streets, is eminently wanting in symmetry. His reasoning is of the most slipshod description. Although the ancient Arabs acquired in a somewhat higher degree the science of dialectics, their descendants are singularly deficient in the logical faculty. They are often incapable of drawing the most obvious conclusions from any simple premises of which they may admit the truth... Orientals are inveterate liars, they are lethar-*

---

<sup>148</sup> İsmail Coşkun. “Modernleşme Kuramı Üzerine”, **Sosyoloji Dergisi**, Volume 3, Number 1, 1989, pp. 289-290.

<sup>149</sup> Edward Said. **Orientalism**, Vintage, New York, 1979, p.14.

*gic and suspicious, and in everything oppose the clarity, directness, and nignity of the Anglo-Saxon race.*<sup>150</sup>

In 19th century Orientalism, the Eastern societies were commonly described as stable, unsuitable for administration, under the spell of traditionalism and closed to progress, while the Western society itself was the lead, and it became common knowledge that if humanity was to follow in the footsteps of the West, all nations could go through a similar evolution from agriculture to industrialism, from slavery towards freedom and be developed.<sup>151</sup> However, with World War I, the European Centralization took a great blow. The resistance movements that surfaced in Eastern countries during and after the war - and the Turkish Independence War could be counted as one of these movements- caused a change of perspective in the development theories of the Western thinkers. They began to approach the Eastern societies in a more moderate way. The fact that the Europeans had to collaborate with their colonies (The English receiving support from the Indian military and the French being obliged to use the colonies' soldiers) during the war without a doubt was the primary cause of this change. Also, the other Western countries that were the enemies during the war were often blamed in the press and in the discourses of the Western politicians and these discourses gave way to a new approach, that barbarism was not a characteristic genuine to Easterners.

In the period between the two world wars, the destructive power and the moral damage of the First World War appeared in many philosophical and literary works of the period, and the pessimistic mood of the society soon turned into a form of distrust towards the reality and absoluteness of the pre-war philosophies and principles that were then open to discussion.

Before the war, in the classical colonial period, when one mentioned "great powers" the first countries that would come to mind would be the imperialist powers of the world such as England, France, Portugal, Spain, Holland, but after World War II, the European balance of power changed and the USA and Soviet Union emerged as the two superpowers of the world. During the Cold War period, the United States became the leader of the liberalism and democracy in the world, while the Soviet Union tried to spread the communist ideology. Both sides made propaganda in their own spheres of influence, claiming that the world was under a great threat, and this

---

<sup>150</sup> Lord Cromer. **Modern Egypt**, New York, 1908 cited by Said pp. 38-39.

<sup>151</sup> Coşkun, p.292.

atmosphere of fear was the perfect setting for the United States to claim that the only great force to fight against communism was America and the way to follow through the steps of America was to adapt the American values and democracy.

In the period following World War II, the colonies such as India, Pakistan, Vietnam, Morocco, Egypt, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Malaysia, Indonesia began to gain their independence one by one, and this phase had a great impact on the distribution of power in the world. The European Powers that had great losses after the war admitted the supremacy of America and entered the new world order in the sphere of the United States. Meanwhile the United States set a new goal, that is, to develop the “under-developed” and “developing” countries of the world -which were at the time, two thirds of the world- to protect them against socialism and to find new ways to use their markets.

*In this context, with the guidance of America, several international and even transnational institutions were formed between Western nations that would have a say in the shaping of international politics and these institutions began to be active in giving a new order to the world. In order to be able to carry on with the world politics organized by the United States in a safe manner, on one hand, the threat poised by communism was tried to be eliminated, and in relation with the same issue, on the other hand the potential problems of the new nations were tried to be solved. In the new world order, the values that were dominant in cultural, economic and political dimensions were molded in concepts of democracy, liberalism and pluralism, and the systems that were considered as dangerous and were thought to be against these values were tried to be deactivated.<sup>152</sup>*

In this period, along with the intelligence agencies such as CIA and FBI, institutions and agencies that were constructed for international development such as International Development Association, US Agency for International Development (1961), institutions that supported development such as World Bank (1944) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) were established. New reports like the UN “Precautions for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries Report” (1951) were published. Big foundations such as the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Foundation financed research on social sciences.<sup>153</sup>

### 3.1 MODERNIZATION THEORY

“Modernization theory is a social change approach that was proposed after World War II in American social sciences circles. This theory assumes that the

---

<sup>152</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Altun, pp. 26-27.

<sup>153</sup> Altun p. 31.

communities all around the world can be modernized as long as they take America as a model and presents America as the representative of modernity.”<sup>154</sup> As it can be seen in A. Comte, H. Maine and L. H. Morgan’s studies, this social change would take place as the evolution of the societies from a backward or under-developed stages to the final developed stage.<sup>155</sup> The West, which would be taken as a model in this process of evolution, is identified as urban and industrialized, while the society that is at the beginning of its evolution process is defined as rural and agrarian.<sup>156</sup> The process itself is symbolized with a “Scientific Revolution” that is the change from religious belief to scientific innovations, a “Political Revolution” that shows the change towards the modern, democratic state, a “Cultural Revolution” that illustrates the re-shaping of life with science and secularism and finally an “Industrial Revolution” that points to a change from production with tools into a means of production with machines. The societies that go through these four revolutions are considered as modernized.

After the Great Depression of the capitalist system, new studies were being carried out in America and Europe on development of new public policies and social welfare. The main matter at hand was finding new ways to accelerate the development process of societies without similar economic crisis. Another prospect was to find out exactly which institutions were more beneficial for development and which ones were to go through a change. “Both Western politicians and theoreticians, and the political authorities and the intelligentsia of the under-developed societies believed that the under-development problem could be solved by carrying out a reconstruction strategy heavily based on economy.”<sup>157</sup> Because of this approach, welfare was often seen as an equivalent to modernization and there were times that an important fact was being overlooked: the modernization was a process in which reforms were to take place in all the parts of the social mechanism at the same time. The perception of the West as the sole model and the dissonance of the cultural and historical pasts of the developing countries with this model brought about new problems, as well. The modernization theoreticians took notice of these problems in a short time, and they made a new proposal explaining that in order to carry out the modernization process flawlessly, measures that were compatible with each other

---

<sup>154</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Altun, p. 13.

<sup>155</sup> Coşkun, p. 296.

<sup>156</sup> Coşkun, p. 297.

<sup>157</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Altun, pp. 44-45.

had to be taken in different areas of the society. These areas could be studied under four sections; a modernization in the politics where individuals had the right to vote for and were administrated by parliaments, the cultural modernization that ensured the widespread practice of laicism/secularism in the social structure, economic modernization that could be defined as high technology and department of labour and finally social modernization that would be realized with higher literacy rates, urbanization and the power dissipation of traditionalism.<sup>158</sup>

*Lerner advocates that urbanization forms the essence of modernization. According to him, when the urbanization rate of a country goes over %25 the perfect conditions for a modernization and the necessity for modern production emerge, and so the modernization period begins. This would be followed by the increase in literacy rates, which is both a consequence and a requirement of industrialization. Soon, the advancements in mass communication that increase the participation rates of people to economic and social activities follows and these advancements enhance the impact of communication in the society. The political participation constitutes the last stage. According to Lerner, the people of a modern society develop their empathy skills due to their daily use of mass communication mediums, and in the end, it could be said that a modern society is constructed by the consensus reached by these people.*<sup>159</sup>

In his essay titled as "Social Pattern and Problems of Modernization," Levy points out the distinctions that differentiates the modern societies from others. According to him, the organization in modern societies includes certain areas such as economy, politics and education and the borders of these areas are drawn clearly. As these organizations specialize, their relationship with one another evolves from self-competence to cooperation and forming a common interest. Traditionalism is replaced by rationality and universality. Centralization of a high level is felt as a natural consequence of specialization and cooperation, therefore it is not an obligation. In these societies, money is commonly used and markets are prevalent. Bureaucracy is more specialized than its counterparts in under-developed societies. Family relationships lose their importance in modernized societies. In a modernized society, a large percentage of the population resides in cities, while in unmodernized societies living in rural areas is seen as a common practice.<sup>160</sup>

The framework of the theory could be summarized as this: There are two types of societies in the world, the modern and the traditionalist. The traditionalist societies are static. They are ruled by traditionalist authorities under the influence of dogmas.

---

<sup>158</sup> N. Abercrombie, S. Hill ve Bryan S. Turner. **Dictionary of Sociology**, 2nd Edition, Penguin Books, Londra, pp. 158-159 cited by Altun, p. 12.

<sup>159</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Daniel Lerner. **The Passing of Traditional Society**. The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1964 cited by Tazegül, pp. 28-30.

<sup>160</sup> Coşkun, pp. 298-300.

The people of traditionalist societies live in rural areas. Their rates of literacy and political participation are low. The modern societies, on the other hand, are mobile. They have completed their industrialization periods, and reached a certain level of economic welfare. In these societies, the rates of literacy and urbanization are high. They are ruled by democracy and the participation to politics is seen as common trait. The traditionalist societies would be modernized by going through certain stages, as long as they could be openminded about progress and follow through the footsteps of their Western models. In the case of this modernization, the universal rules of modernization would become common law for all of the societies in the world.

The modernization theory also defines the *modern man*. In order to be able to carry out with the modernization within a society, the people of that society have to know about the limits of their individual rights, they have to open to new developments, take responsibility, and take active roles in modernization of others. In other words, modernization is a phenomenon that starts within individuals first and then works itself up in the society through reforms. However, if the society has modern minded individuals and not a modern governance, or a state dictates its citizens to modernize, yet does not take the necessary steps for the evolution of their mentality, progress could not take place. Therefore, when one defines the modern man, he/she has to keep the relationship of the modern man with the state in mind.

In his "The Modernization of Man" essay, Alex Inkeles lists the characteristics of the modern man, explaining that these characteristics may not be present all at once or developing these characteristics could take years for an individual. According to him, the modern man is open to new experiences and ideas. What he means by "new" could be using a new type of fertilizer or trying a new mode of transportation, following the news from a new agency or adapting to a new type of education system developed for the new generation.<sup>161</sup> So the modern man is a person that is mentally open to innovation, and is the one that personally tries out these innovations. Inkeles misses out an important detail in his definition, but it can be included at this point that the modern man is the person that is careful in his choices regarding innovations. He is the type of person that does not accept new developments imprudently, thinking what is new is simply the best. Therefore, the modern man would be someone that listens to others, researches, evaluates matters in accor-

---

<sup>161</sup> Alex Inkeles. "The Modernization of Man", **Modernization**, (Ed. Myron Weiner), Basic Books, New York, 1966, p. 141.

dance with intellect and reason, decides and knows how to oppose when needed. He already knows that what is new may not always bring value or favor.

Inkeles argues that the modern man interrogates and adopts attitudes towards events and problems not only related with his own environment, but also that do not directly affect him. The traditionalists, on the other hand, are often not interested in issues that directly relates to them, even if they do, they tend to keep their opinions to themselves rather than take any actions.<sup>162</sup> Since, taking up responsibilities is a more difficult path than taking refuge in others' initiatives. The modern man, on the other hand, when faced with an unfair or unlawful situation, takes up responsibility and offers assistance to look for the rights of others, in the name of justice. Modern man offers help in such situations, because simply he believes that every individual has innate human rights. He acts upon injustices, because he believes in the advantages of the enlightenment principles and when the situation calls for it, does not hesitate to protect these principles.

Modern man does not only change social systems through his attitudes, but also uses science and technology to reshape nature and environment. He believes that he can dominate environment by using his own intellect. This is called "effectiveness" and this term is often used as the exact opposite of fatalism.<sup>163</sup> In this context, the possibility of modernization for those that embrace religion as the ultimate guide for life is overruled. Modern man is the one that uses intellect, rationality and science to dominate the environment and acts with a sense of responsibility while doing so.

Modern man believes in equivalence in distribution of justice. According to him, one must be rewarded in accordance with the contributions he makes to the welfare of the society, not according to the desires or qualifications of a person. His life is a calculable one, since he can trust the institutions and other individuals on the fulfillment of their responsibilities. This condition acts an important part in the improvement of his self confidence.<sup>164</sup> In a society, if the laws are enforced in favour of a certain group of people, others would lose their faith and trust in the state and this situation could cause the unfavoured group to commit crimes or the justice system to collapse. This is why in order for the modern man to be able to trust the state and the social system, the country he lives in must have a justice system with checks

---

<sup>162</sup> Inkeles, pp. 141-142.

<sup>163</sup> Inkeles, pp. 141-143.

<sup>164</sup> Inkeles, p. 144.



and balances and must be governed by a democratic state that has an egalitarian approach respecting human rights.

It might be thought that a progressive approach in the education system could be enough for the spread of the modern mentality. However, many of the governments in the world could not modernize their countries by making improvements in their education systems. As long as the education given in schools does not recognize diversity, improve personal skills, be secular, reach all of the students in the country under equal conditions, use nonstandard measurement and evaluation, it is not possible for that education to be able to modernize people. It is because freedom of thought, freedom of speech, secularism and equality make up the essence of modernization.

The only contribution of standardization in education is that through certain standards, the common values and principles which hold the society together can be transferred to each and every member of the society. These shared values might mean religious tenets for some countries and nationalist principles for others. The “common value” that the modernization theory points at, however, is the development of an individual in the name of serving for the well-being of his own country and in the big picture, for the greater good of the humanity. In the education systems of many countries, this matter of fact is often ruled out and individuals are being educated solely for the benefits of the societies that they live in. This happens to be one of the reasons why modernization is being missed.

Another mistake that the developing countries make in order to modernize is to copy the education systems of modern countries. Using standardized test that were prepared for other countries’ students, teaching a foreign language as the primary language of education, importing technologies from abroad prior to making a field study on the needs of the country’s students mean imitation and this approach actually damages the education system of the country.

Every country has to form its own unique education system. Since, the main goal of this system would be to reach commonwealth through the effective use of the human resources, it must be accepted from the start that one country’s education plans or programs may not be suitable for the other. While in one country the system might require a greater number of university graduates or white collars to develop, in another country the progress might be related with the number of artisans or vocational school graduates or even the system could be changed altogether to have more well-educated farmers to increase the agricultural production than

to have the right type of personell for the industrial production. To give an example, currently the Finnish attach more importance to vocational school education than university education and the state prefers to give an overall pragmatic education to all its citizens, avoiding any form of standardization. In Finland, the education planning focuses on fever hours of lessons, higher quality of education, better education for teachers, higher wages for educators, more number of vocational schools that guarantee highly skilled graduates and this system seems to work great for the Finnish, since they are considered to have the best education system in the world. The United States, on the other hand pays less attention to the primary education, prefers to have brain drain, keeps a certain standard in higher education and is considered to have a perfect education-production cooperation, and this is why it can produce new innovations and can still manage a great percentage of the markets in the world. Both countries were able to plan their education systems in accordance with the characteristics of their citizens and the requirements of their societies.

In his essay "Modernization of Education" C. Arnold Anderson claims that it would be open to discussion whether masses that go through a standardized education should actually be considered as educated or not. Social environment has great effects on the quality of education one receives and people could be provided with new skills or behaviours without a formal education.<sup>165</sup> The Village Institutes of Turkey that were established in 1940's could be given as an example in this context. The primary goals of these institutes were developing the personal skills of village kids, providing them with a thorough cultural education as well as farming and husbandry, other than training them only towards a university education. This plan was fruitful in a very short period of time, the institute graduates were able to pass their knowledge on to the new students, new schools were built in rural areas, and education activities were able to be carried out with low costs. The institutes did not carry out any standardized tests. The graduates, simply cultivated the land, produced high quality goods and contributed to the country's economy on a great scale.

The essence of modern though is fairly simple and it can be infused into the education system of any country once the needs of the country and the socio-cultural structure of it is being evaluated in a sensible manner. In order to go through modernization in a unique and profitable way, two principles have to be favoured by all parts of the society: always aiming for the better on the individual basis and giv-

---

<sup>165</sup> C. Arnold Anderson. "Modernization of Education", **Modernization**, (Ed. Myron Weiner), Basic Books, New York, 1966, pp. 68-81.

ing priority to the ultimate welfare of the society as a whole.<sup>166</sup> The planning of an education system which turns these principles into a world-view for the students is a step to be taken for a successful modernization. People have to work to surpass themselves in doing better. And they have to believe that they should do better, not only for personal wealth or happiness, but for the sake of humanity.<sup>167</sup> In order for the individuals to adapt this attitude, the state has to provide all the citizens with equal education rights and ensure justice in all parts of life. When the state fulfills its duties in a complete way and an egalitarian society is being formed, people would want to work harder to achieve success on a personal and social level. David C. McClelland handles this issue in his essay *The Impulse to Modernization* where he claims that a modern education for a new generation could be possible by placing stories about “common good” in children’s books. He claims that when people stop doing things to carry out traditions or customs and start doing things for the good of humanity, they would quit working “enough” and try for “the better”. In his essay, the children’s books of modern countries are compared with the children literature of developing countries and it is seen that in modern societies’ books the children are asked to do kindness for the wishes and needs of others, while in developing countries’ children books actions are taken in accordance with traditions and habits. It is concluded that in developed countries, the idea of “working for the benefit of the whole society” is infused in the minds of the new generation deliberately. In the name of growing distant from traditionalism, the children are educated to aim for the peace and happiness of others even if these are the people that the children “do not know in person.”<sup>168</sup>

As it is seen in the definitions in modern man and modern thought, modernization is a theory that embraces the development of all societies in the name of humanity, for the common good of humanity. The values that the theory tries to reinforce are the use of science for the development of societies, increase in the level of education, guarantee of all individual rights, economic welfare and prevalence of democracy. In this manner, the modernization theory could be read as a rationalist and humanist effort to make world a better place. However, in some cases, the theory loses its humanist characteristics when it offers a speedy modernization to

---

<sup>166</sup> David McClelland. “The Impulse to Modernization”, **Modernization**, (Ed. Myron Weiner), Basic Books, New York, 1966, p. 36.

<sup>167</sup> These two phenomenons come into existence in the United States with Protestant work ethics and American exceptionalism.

<sup>168</sup> McClelland, p. 36.

developing countries through the imitation of modern countries. It can also be seen that an orientalist approach towards the developing countries of the East often goes hand in hand with this theory, deteriorating the effects of its “common good” principle for the most part.

Modernization theory, the effects of which were visible on the American foreign policy of 1950's, began to be criticized by scholars starting from 1970's. In this era, the negative sides of the capitalist system became known to public and the reasons for the failure of the development plans that were carried out in the developing countries by the West were examined. The criticism was not only limited with the changes in the economic indicators. New theories were proposed by scholars who believed that modernization could not be carried out in societies with different cultural and historical backgrounds using one sample. Some authors further claimed that the modernization theory was a new form of colonization.

A closer look at these texts of criticism reveals a widely known, yet often overlooked interpretation of the modernization theory, in which the under-developed countries are requested to follow through the same stages that the modern countries went through, in order to form a progressive assimilation in the end.<sup>169</sup> This idea of progressivism through assimilation is often misinterpreted as the assimilation of the under-developed or developing countries into the Western systems, leading to a widespread imitation and degeneration of unique social values of these countries. This interpretation sees Westernization as an equivalent of modernization and points to the incompatibility of the values of non-Western societies in modernization, as it can be seen in the works of authors like Max Weber.

*Modernization theory tries to explain the backwardness problem of the non-Western societies with their own internal dynamics, leaving out the strategic methods of the West, since the period of colonialism is out of the equation, and does not recognize Western Europe and America as the global actors that created this underdevelopment issue in the first place... Weber, tries to show that ideals seen in Protestantism are not found in any other religions or sects outside of the West. However, the common part in Marx and Weber lies in their vision of the West as dynamic, progressive, enterprising and the East as traditionalist, static and conservative. As opposed to the individualism and rationalism of the West, the Eastern societies are authoritative and collective.*<sup>170</sup>

---

<sup>169</sup> S.P. Huntington. “The Change to Change, Modernization, Development and Politics”, **Comparative Politics**, Volume:3, pp. 289-290 cited by Tazegül, p.27.

<sup>170</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Uğur Kömçeoğlu. “Küreselleşme, Modernleşme, Modernlik”, **Doğu-Batı**, 3rd Edition, Number: 18, July 2006, Doğu Batı Yayınları, Ankara, pp. 15-16.

The idea that Protestant principles support individual success and entrepreneurship is accepted by many contemporary theoreticians. However, attaching the values of dynamism, progressivism and entrepreneurship to only one religion/sect and claiming that the Eastern societies are static due to their religions and traditions should be considered as a limited point of view.

*Not only scholars like Al-Farabi, Fahrettin Razi, El Biruni, İbn-i Rüşd, Avicenna came out of the East, but also the Western world learned about Aristoteles and Platon through the works of Muslim scholars. Numerals were an Eastern invention. Algebra was developed in the Islamic civilization. The Muslim scholars made great contributions to mathematics, astronomy, chemistry and they were the ones that invented the clock. Inventions like alcohol and gunpowder belong to the East, not to mention the fact that, while the West explained the mental illnesses as a work of 'satan' in Turkey patients of mental diseases were cured in hospitals.<sup>171</sup>*

Taking all of these values into consideration, one could conclude that the main obstacles in front of the modernization of the Eastern Muslim countries are not Islam or their traditions. The current holy book of Islam happens to be the same book that was used during the Golden Age of Islam. The commands written in the book have not changed and in no period in history has Quran ordered people to be lazy or not to think. The problem with the Eastern societies, therefore, is not their laziness itself, but it is the fact that they are being encouraged to be lazy. It is not their being unsuitable to produce new ideas, but it is the fact that they are educated in systems that are not pertinent with their cultures and imposes memorization. It is not being unable to produce goods, it is the fact that these goods can not provide them with wealth due to the economic system that they have to live with. The problem is that people in Eastern societies can produce, yet they are unable to gain their shares from the welfare system and this mechanism condemns them to live lives secluded from the joys of and the drive for achievement.

According to the critics, another missing aspect of the theory is its approach that states every society can be modernized in the same way. The miscalculation made here is the fact that different societies start their modernization periods at different levels and all societies go through different historical periods. Every society has its own characteristics and the conditions for one society to get modernized may not be suitable for the social structure of another.<sup>172</sup> In other words, the belief that a formula for modernization that is constructed after a considerate evaluation of the religious,

---

<sup>171</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Feyzioğlu, p. 6-7.

<sup>172</sup> M.J. Levy's 'Social Patterns (Structures) and Problems of Modernization' cited by Tazegül, p. 30.

cultural and economic structures of a society would be suitable for all societies, is a non consistent idea that contradicts with the essence of modernization. In this context, Iranian philosopher Şeriatî “claims that while the West takes on the task of modernizing others, this approach is actually nothing but exploitation presented in the cover of modernization. According to him, modernizing is a project to form a homogeneous society, a society that would consume the products of the West.”<sup>173</sup> The members of the modernizing societies often compare their life styles with that of their Western counterparts and decide whether they are modern or not only within the margins of this comparison. This often leads them to make unfair evaluations and miss the whole essence of the idea of modernization. Moreover, the generations that are being raised under the influence of a foreign culture can not adopt to their own cultures, they fail at forming new modernization models peculiar to their cultures, and in the long run, the cultural values of the under-developed societies get harmed and inferiority complex becomes a common characteristic for those that try and fail in Westernizing themselves.

Some of the critics of modernization theory also presented different solutions for the preservation of the values of non-Western societies in modernization. For instance, Robert Bellah claims that societies do not have to abolish their traditional elements completely in order to modernize. On the contrary, countries have to come up with solutions to make use of these elements. Especially using religion effectively could be a great treat. Bellah compares the modernization periods of Japan and Turkey and concludes that while the Japanese were able to use religion for a fast modernization, this plan did not work. According to him, Turkey was successful in the abolishment of some traditional structures that were related with religion, yet was unable to fill in the gap that surfaced in society after this step with new ideologies.<sup>174</sup> In the Turkish example, he states that during the Republic Period, the pre-republic religious authority was replaced with the six principles of the republic, however, at this period no flexibility was shown to the traditionalist circles. Since İslam could not bring about new approaches, the result was an irreconcilable bilateral setting with an ideology versus religion. Without a doubt, this consequence was closely

---

<sup>173</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Ali Şeriatî, **Medeniyet ve Modernizm**, 4th Edition, Bir Yayıncılık, İstanbul, July 1985, pp. 23-36 cited by Tazegül, pp. 34-35.

<sup>174</sup> The modernizers mentioned in Bellah’s article are the republican authorities. For the rest of the article, see Robert Bellah. “Religious Aspects of Modernization in Turkey and Japan”, **American Journal of Sociology**, Volume: 64, Number: 1, 1958, pp. 1-5.

related with the nature of Islam that interferes in all domains of life. The conflict between religion and ideology can not stop, whereas what was suppose to happen would be an environment where both of these aspects could stay in their own axis without any conflicts. Barrington Moore mentions three different ways to modernize. According to him, describing the Western way of modernization to other societies is completely wrong. Moore advocates that modernization could take place through the use of democracy, as in the case of the US and France, could be possible from above as it was done in Japan and Germany, and communism could as well be considered as a form of modernization as in the cases of Russia and China.<sup>175</sup>

The effects of the Modernization Theory is seen clearly in Turkish politics, during the 1950's, when bilateral relations were formed with the United States. Although Turkey had its own unique modernization policies constructed in the Republic period, these policies went through a change in accordance with the theory of modernization that was newly proposed in America. Many American experts that visited Turkey throughout the 1950's issued reports on a variety of topics concerning economy, education and military fields and it is seen that these reports were adopted as new guiding policies by the Turkish authorities of the period. The reason behind this unconditional adaptation could be explained as the Turkish side's admiration of the America as the leader of modernity in the world. This admiration can be seen clearly in the discourse of politics, in the use of American products in daily life and the imitations of American way of living by certain circles in the society.

Before we look at how the Turkish modernization was converted to the ideal of "being little America" by the Turkish administration, it would be necessary to see how the modernization theory was interpreted by the American administration in the scope of American exceptionalism, since this interpretation seems to have changed many aspects of the theory itself and it was through this approach that the Turks made drastic changes in their own modernization. While the modernization theory aimed at welfare in a society for the sake of progression in the world, a secular education for the benefits of individuals, and the adoption of common values by individuals in the name of humanity, the American interpretation of the theory, which formed the basis of the new world order, was heavily affected by American exceptionalism and often kept the American interests over the interests of humanity.

---

<sup>175</sup> Barrington Moore. **Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World**, 7th Edition, Beacon Press, Boston, 1972. pp. 220-315.

### 3.2 AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

American exceptionalism is a discourse of religious origin that claims America is different than all the other countries in the world. This idea was first seen in American history in Puritan predestination. The Puritans that escaped from the religious pressures of England in a ship called *Mayflower*, settled at Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1620, called themselves the pilgrims and likened the “New World” to the “Holy Land” and their stories to that of the Jews in Exodus. The Puritans were Calvinists. They believed in the five principles of Calvinism: total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace and the perseverance of the saints.<sup>176</sup> According to them, leading a simple life without the worldly pleasures, gaining wealth through hardwork, and acting in accordance with the rules of God were necessary measures that were to be taken in order to be accepted to heaven. In this era, when the concept of democracy was beginning to develop and the idea of the independence of American colonies was yet to be proposed, religion and fear of God were the phenomena that created a type of social consensus.

The strict fundamentalist beliefs of Puritans caused them to believe that the discovery of the New World was a blessing of God that was bestowed upon them, and the idea of being the chosen ones brought along the responsibility of serving as a model for other nations. In a sermon given in 1630, the first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop idealized the Puritan values with his explanation “We shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us” and the notion of “enlightening the world like a light” became a duty that was often assigned to American people by their leaders in the following centuries.

This mission undertaken by the Americans, served the country in the internalization and protection of the founding principles and American values, for a long time. In the years that the United States were founded it was believed that America would be a model for all the other countries in the world as long as the American nation could apply the democratic principles successfully within the borders of the states. For instance, while Thomas Jefferson stated that “a just and durable republic would serve as a monument and example”<sup>177</sup> for other nations of the world, he defined this

---

<sup>176</sup> Cullen, p. 18.

<sup>177</sup> For the letter written by Jefferson to John Dickens on 6 March 1801, see Adrienne Koch and William Peden. **The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson**, Modern Library, New York, 1944, p. 561.



special mission as “a courtesy that was not granted to others.”<sup>178</sup> After the industrial revolution, the need for raw materials forced the American governments to come up with new expansion policies, both in and out of the continent, and different versions of the discourse of “being a model for the world” that was already blended with American ideals was often used with religious references to find support for political and economic policies.

In 19th century, the continental expansion policies of the United States started to be referred as “manifest destiny.” The term, coined by John L. O’Sullivan in 1845, explains the belief that it is the God given destiny of Americans to bring the civilization that they had created in the eastern side of the continent to the west. The real reasons behind this expansionist policy, however, were to use raw materials of the west for the industries set up in the east to increase the production capacity of the country and to be able to use the Pacific routes for world trade. In this context, the idea of “manifest destiny” became a term commonly used in daily language, encouraging the pioneers in their difficult journey from the east to the west thanks to its religious reference.

“Manifest destiny,” which was used only to explain the continental expansion at first, was later associated with the notion of “being a model for the world” and was used to justify the economic and military interventions of the United States in foreign countries. For instance, in 1906, president Theodore Roosevelt declared that “The United States had the right to interfere with the Latin American countries that ‘did bad things.’”<sup>179</sup> In accordance with the same doctrine, after the 1898 Spanish Civil War, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Guam Islands were annexed and the Philippines were sold to the United States. In other words, the goal of being a model and spreading the democratic ideals to the world turned into becoming the leading nation of world trade in a very short period of time. Senator Albert J. Beveridge, illustrates this paradox of “destiny” with the following words, in a speech given in 1898:

*It is the cosmic plan of God that lower civilizations and corrupt races disappear in front of more noble and higher civilizations... American factories produce much more than American people can use; American soil nurtures more than people can consume. Our path is our destiny, world trade should be and will be ours. And we are going to do it the way our mother land (England) exemplified. We are going to establish headquarters all around the world to distribute Ameri-*

---

<sup>178</sup> For the letter written by Jefferson to Joseph Priestley on 19 June 1802, see Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson. **Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson**, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990, p.11.

<sup>179</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Gündoğan, p. 28.

*can goods, we are going to encircle the oceans with our merchant marines, and we are going to form a navy as great as our nation's.*<sup>180</sup>

At the beginning of the new century, America became a candidate to lead the world politics. After World War I, the idea of a new world order was proposed by the American government that had linked the war with the misconstruction of the balances of power in Europe. According to Woodrow Wilson who declared his *14 Points* in 1919 Paris Peace Conference, The United States did not have any obligations regarding the balances of power, but was responsible for extending its own principles around the world<sup>181</sup> and these principles could only be actualized if peace and democracy were prevalent in the world. Once a law order was established based on the equality of all the countries in the world and a security system that would be the warrantor of this order was constructed, new wars would not break out and all countries would be able to substantiate their economic profits in a peaceful environment. In order to create the aforementioned law order League of Nations was established on 28 April 1920. The United Nations took over the duties of the League of Nations after its foundation in 1945.

In forming a new world order, the aim of the United States was not limited with the circulation of the American values around the world or forming a peaceful environment in the world. The primary goal was to have free trade among those nations that adopted democratic values and the removal of all obstacles in the name of economic profit. These “democratic values” point at a liberal economic system. “Free trade” on the other hand, means freedom of trade on behalf of the United States in an environment where the country is identified as the favourite nation. This goal has not changed even after World War II and constituted the basis for the Turkish-American relations.

As it can be seen, the term “American exceptionalism” is actually a religious approach that is originally based on Jewish-Christian philosophy and uses the assistance of Biblical references and the notion of God’s favorite nation. American fundamentalists and politicians have created a new belief that God has chosen and bestowed special duties to the American nation by changing the context and meaning of this approach. In this manner, America becomes a leader that the world nations look up to and its moral mission gives the country the right to reshape the

---

<sup>180</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Türkaya Ataöv. **Amerikan Belgeleriyle Amerikan Emperyalizminin Doğuşu**, Doğan Yayınevi, Ankara, 1968, (Emperyalizm), p.79.

<sup>181</sup>Kissinger, pp. 19-20.

world in order to protect the well being and welfare of the world. This mission does not mention the direct profits of America. The United States is able to interfere in different segments of the world, in the name of protecting “human rights and democracy” and the need for this protection is linked with the American values and founding principles. American exceptionalism, which is often reinforced with a paranoid style political discourse uses a setting where America is always the representative of the good side, saving the world from enemies. The enemies in this setting are identified with ideologies that contradict with the American profits and America often has to break the rules of the international security systems in order to save the world. However, when the greatness and importance of this fight is taken into consideration, breaking the rules could as well mean making sacrifices for the sake of the world. In this setting, America is never considered as a primary threat to the international security systems constructed to save the nations of the world, because, according to this approach, America represents “the good” and simply carries out a divine mission.

A close look at the American domestic and foreign policies carried out after World War II reveals that the enemy at this period was the communist ideology. Between the years 1945-1960 a new phenomenon appeared in American politics: liberal consensus. Through this consensus it was argued that capitalism and democracy were the only economic system and ideology that could provide countries with modernization and welfare. Meanwhile, throughout the Cold War era, American authorities did their best to stop the expansion of the communist ideology and socialism in the world. This political approach had a great impact on the Turkish-American relations, as well. English historian and author Godfrey Hodgson summarizes the American liberal consensus with five points:

- 1- The best economic system in the world is capitalism, not socialism.
2. Capitalism and democracy feeds upon each other and this leads to success.
- 3- American society does not have any organic or structural problems.
4. In order to have equal opportunities for all, the current economy has to grow even more. This way, everyone would have bigger shares of the economic wealth.

5. Americans agree on supporting the liberal consensus because they believe in the fight against communism. As we already know, communism is equal to totalitarianism, inefficiency and economic recession.<sup>182</sup>

By the end of World War II, while great powers of the world like England, France and Germany were struggling with the great economic losses of the war, the United States which had been selling weapons to its European allies became the greatest economic power of the world. Such that, while Americans constituted %4 of the world population, they were ruling over %50 of the world resources. This provided Americans with freedom of action in both economic and political spheres.<sup>183</sup> In order to protect this newly earned power, the United States had to continue with its fight against communism through domestic and foreign policies. In order to boost the economy, Americans demanded equal opportunities for their businessmen in different parts of the world. Meanwhile, the modernization theory was not yet criticized heavily and America was considered as the most modern country in the world, due to American exceptionalism.

---

<sup>182</sup>William H. Chafe. **The Achievement of American Liberalism: The New Deal and Its Legacies**, Columbia University Press, NT, 2003, p. xi.

<sup>183</sup> "The Umbrella of Liberalism", <http://www.csuchico.edu/~gwright/1945intro.htm>, (10.03.2015).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON TURKISH MODERNIZATION

Atatürk's way of modernization paid attention not to imitate any specific Western or Eastern country, including the United States or any European powers of the time, and became a unique modernization movement.<sup>184</sup> The republic authorities most of which also served in the Independence War against the imperialist powers, often used a discourse based on the issue of freedom, insisting that the newly earned freedom could only be enjoyed through the proper education of the public and the spread of rational thought. They defined the commonly practices of religious superstitions, bigotry and ignorance as the greatest obstacles in the way of modernization. The new Turkish education system was planned in this context and served in the development of not only the urban citizens, but also the great number of peasants who commonly had a traditionalist perspective of life. In the political discourse of the period, the previous enemies of the state were now defined as the new rivals of the society in their struggle for a modern civilization, and it was agreed that modern institutions, systems or innovations could be brought in from different countries, be it Eastern or Western, but special emphasis would be paid on the transformation of these entities into the Turkish way of life prior to adaptation. Mustafa Kemal, describes this notion of authenticity in modernization and its affinity with education with the following words:

*I believe that one of the main reasons of our nation's backwardness is the mistakes that were being made in educating and upbringing. This is why, while speaking of a national upbringing program, I'm proposing a culture that is free of past groundless fabrications, foreign ideologies that are unsuitable for our nature, all types of incidences that were imited from the East or the West. I'm proposing a culture that is national and appropriate for our historical character, because the true development of the Turkish dominion could only be possible with such a culture. Resigning to a random culture would be useless, as that would mean repeating the destructive outcomes of previously adopted foreign cultures. The efficiency of a culture is directly related with the place this culture was adopted, and this place is the character of a nation. As we raise our youth, we must teach them to stand against any foreign elements that are opposed to their own entities, rights and unity and to defend their own national values against any opposing ideologies. The maintainability of this sense and attitude in*

---

<sup>184</sup> There is an interesting anecdote on this issue. An American Associated Press reporter named Dorothy Ring attends a Republic Ball and asks Mustafa Kemal "In what ways are you considering to Americanize Turkey?" and Kemal replies: "Turkey is not a monkey, and will certainly not imitate another nation. Turkey will neither be Americanized, nor be Westernized, Turkey is only going to go back to its essence." Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Turgut Özakman cited by Ateş Yalazan. "Mucize: Kul Olanların Yurttaş Olmaları", **Hürriyet Gazetesi**, 27.10. 2010, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/16142420.asp>, (27.10.2010).

*the inner world of the new generation is highly important. The philosophy of the existence of nations, which repeats itself through a cycle of never-ending wars, requires the dominance of these senses and attitudes for any nation that desires to be free and happy.*<sup>185</sup>

Mustafa Kemal knew that modernization was directly related with the prevalence of enlightenment principles and although he tried to limit the authority of religion through a series of secular reforms, he was aware that it was not possible to get rid of the agelong religious superstitions all at once. The Enlightenment of the West was a period a few centuries after all and the republic period of the Turks intended only to draw the framework of this ongoing process through the implementation of efficient principles. In this manner, enlightenment principles of diligence, truthfulness, practices of intellect and rationalism, trust of scientific knowledge were often promoted as the requirements of the Islam religion. Reactions towards modernization were tried to be subsided by giving emphasis on religion, meanwhile the republican principle of nationalism was used to earn people's trust through political statements proposing that the effort of every single citizen was valuable for the common wealth. In short, in Atatürk period, while a unique form of Turkish modernization movement was carried out, religion and traditions were admitted in political and cultural areas in accordance with their compliance with modernization. At the same time the country kept its distance towards the West that was formerly known for its imperialist tendencies.

Before we take a look at the American influence in Turkish modernization, it would be necessary to study the Atatürk and İnönü periods in Turkish history, where bilateral relations were carried out without an excessive adoration towards the Americans, and see the inadequate and inaccurate policies of these periods that caused dissatisfaction towards the Turkish administration in public. It was due to this dissatisfaction that surfaced before Atatürk's death and increased during the Republican People's Party (RPP) administration that turned into an overall reaction towards modernization which led to the election of Democratic Party (DP) once the country started to have multi party elections. Although the election of DP could be read as a positive step in the name of Turkish democracy, since it shows that an opposition party could have the chance to come to power in a relevantly short period of time after the foundation of the republic, the concessions made by both parties in

---

<sup>185</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Behçet Kemal Çağlar. **Bugünün Diliyle Atatürk'ün Söylevleri**, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, Ankara, 1968, pp. 75-76 cited by Kili, s.192.

the elections devalued the republic principles that originally served in the modernization of the country.

There were two main points of criticism made to the Atatürk's Reforms. The first one is the short span of the reforms which caused them not to take root, and the second one is the harsh precautions that were taken to internalize these reforms which were made "for the people despite the people". According to Associate Professor Dr. Sami Selçuk, who likens the Turkish Revolution to a shock treatment:

*Every reform depends on obligations and happens abruptly. Atatürk reforms use the same method and can be considered as an effort to reach the ideal human being that was the outcome of the 2500 years of Western Civilization with its stages of ancient wisdom, renaissance, reformation, cartesianism, positivism and industrial revolution that was compressed into the power of a single man. This way, he did not act as the Tanzimat authorities who tried to pass over the East-West gap with a few hesitant steps and ended up in the abyss, but rather took a single and giant leap. This was a shock treatment for the society.<sup>186</sup>*

Cüneyt Arcayürek examines Atatürk Reforms in a ten year period (1922-1932) and claims that the reforms were made in a short period of time due to need for Atatürk's unshaken will,<sup>187</sup> while Suna Kili, who calls the reforms as the Atatürk's Reform Model, asserts that it was not possible to carry out the reforms in the underdeveloped Eastern countries in a gradual way as in the West, since industrialization was accomplished in a later period in these countries. According to her;

*The Western style of political development depends on becoming a nation, which can be considered as the starting point of modernization and this development takes root in the consolidation of nationalism. Another point about the development of the West that should not be missed is the fact that this development took place in all aspects of life in a gradual and integrated way. It is very difficult, in fact even impossible for the developing countries of the day to be able to carry out this contemplating, gradual, integrated style of development.<sup>188</sup>*

İsmail Cem, who studied the backwardness issue of Turkey, explains the rootlessness of the reforms made in Atatürk period with the inadequacy of the superstructures for a reform. According to him, Atatürk period was successful in protection of the newly earned freedom and founding of the republic, yet was inconclusive at infusing the enlightenment philosophy to the Turkish society. İsmail Cem comments on this inability with the following words:

---

<sup>186</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Doç. Dr. Sami Selçuk. **Zorba Devletten Hukuk Üstünlüğüne**, Yeni Türkiye Yay.1998, p. 284 cited by Ersal Yavi. **Batırılan Bir Ülke Nasıl Kurtarılır**, 4th Edition, Yazıcı Yayıncılık, İzmir, 2009, (Kurtarılan), p. 520.

<sup>187</sup> Arcayürek, p. 25.

<sup>188</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Kili, p.13.

*These reforms were not outcomes of rooted social changes of structure, neither were they carried out in a manner parallel to these kinds of changes. This is why they were rootless, and their effects were limited. We can see examples of this rootlessness in practices such as the use of veils or the disregard towards civil marriage in rural areas even today, due to the fact that the reforms were made only in the superstructures.<sup>189</sup>*

These approaches link the rootlessness of the reforms with the pace and elusiveness of them. There are two other points that should be kept in mind, as well. The fact that the sufficient time period for the adoption of the reforms by the people should not have been limited with Atatürk's life time and that Atatürk reforms were never given the necessary time to be internalized, since a counterrevolution has followed this period shortly after. Today, the historians agree on the fact that the Turkish modernization has started with the reforms made in the 17th century. However, in the three hundred years between the early Ottoman reforms and Atatürk reforms the necessary change of thought for enlightenment could not be actualized. What makes the Turkish Revolution different is the change in perspective in Atatürk's period and taking bolder steps in modernization, especially in the areas of religion and education to start this transformation with the help of secularism. Atatürk was aware of the fact that his reforms would not be internalized by the people in a short period of time. He stated this fact in a speech given on 23 April 1927:

*Friends, the reforms are new: our thoughts that they will get rooted and be adopted may only be actualized through future incidents. For now, we can only be sure of one thing, most of the people that wear a hat, shave their beards and moustaches and take their place in social life with their tuxedos and frocks still believe in turbans and beards in their minds.<sup>190</sup>*

The matter with Atatürk reforms was therefore not that they were unsuitable for the Turkish character or unable to start an enlightenment in the minds of the Turkish people. It was simply a matter of timing. Although Atatürk and the authorities of the Turkish republic did their best in the planning and implementation of the reforms, after Atatürk's death and before the adoption of these reforms a counterrevolution period has started, changing the enlightenment perspective of the early reforms altogether.

Nowadays, it is common to see comments on Atatürk reforms in the context of laicism. Some circles, who actually criticize the essence of the Turkish Revolution in terms of laicism, claim that Islam and laicism conflict with each other, and that ab-

---

<sup>189</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. İsmail, Cem. **Türkiye'de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi**, 20th Edition, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, p.246.

<sup>190</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Giritli, p. 294.



olution of laicism would normalize Turkey. The circles that are often defined as “laicist” on the other hand, often come up with impositions that do not agree with the main principles of laicism itself, in order to inhibit anti-laicism supporters. This laicist-traditionalist showdown that has been going on for decades now in Turkey is full of examples showing that people on both parties often misunderstand the main principles of laicism. At this point, therefore it would be wise to mention the differences between the concepts of laicism and secularism and to define the type of laicism that is in practice in Turkey.

Laicism does not mean religious hostility. On the contrary, it means recognition of religious freedoms and freedom of conscience to all the citizens in a fair manner. It is an egalitarian principle in essence and the fact that the state has no official religion means that it is able to treat all religions and beliefs in an equal way in public sphere. In this system, persons or groups that follow a specific religion or belief can not outclass persons or groups that are non-believers or believers of other religions or sects. All individuals are considered as equal due to their natural rights and all citizens are responsible to the laws that are enforced to each citizen in an equal way.

In the Western world, the decomposition of the public sphere from religion took place in two different ways. The first one was the secularism that is widely seen in Anglo-Saxon countries. Secularism, different than the French laicism, is based on religious tolerance and the secular state sets the religious institutions completely free, hoping to prevent marginalization of religion. In secularism, religion will not be marginalized or dominated by the state will soon become worldly and lose its importance.<sup>191</sup> The problem here is because the state has no control over the religious institutions in a secular setting, as it is seen in countries like the United States, lack of inspection may cause fundamentalism to become a common practice. The second approach of the Western world is laicism.

*Some countries, led by France, have tried to practice laicism in a strict way and started a merciless struggle against religious institutions on behalf of the state. According to them, more than a practice of sovereignty of the people, laicism helped with the defeat of the reactionaries of modernization and development and moved them away from the political arena. As was the case in France, after the revolution, a great reaction occurred against religion, and the jacobins that came to power saw the revolution as a medium to save the social sphere from religion and the religious hegemony. The political and religious institutions went through a structural change and any symbols of the old regime were cleared,*

---

<sup>191</sup> Zeki Duman. “Türkiye’de Laiklik Sorununun Siyasal Temelleri”, **Uluslararası İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi**, Volume: 7, Number: 2, Year: 2010, p. 288.

*including the street names, names of the months, special days or holidays, and in a way the social sphere was reconstructed. We know today that the basis of these efforts was to end the domination of the old regime, namely the aristocracy and clergy. This is why the ruling elite practiced laicism in a very strict way and paid attention not to make any compromises in this matter.*<sup>192</sup>

The laicism in Atatürk period, is quite close to that of France. While the jakobins of France exhibited a strict attitude to end the sovereignty of aristocracy and clergy, the authorities of the Turkish Revolution tried to abolish sharia and its social reflections. Just as in France, all the institutions that belonged to the old regime were closed, and a new republican culture was proposed to be adopted by the public. In order to keep religion away from the social sphere, first the caliphate was abolished, and then the practices of the religious authorities in the social order were dissolved. All of these steps were taken in the name of forming an egalitarian social order. With Prof. Dr. Suna Kili's words:

*There were chalabies, sheiks, heads of the dervish lodges, dervishes, ancestors, begetters, nakips, amirs, leaders or congregations and mullahs aside from the caliph that were less effective than the caliph, yet were considered as religious or congregational leaders, that lived and was respected in society, that guided their co-religionists, their sectarians, who educated them, chaired them in their ceremonies, gave moral orders, issued fines, rewarded people, collected money or goods, cooked in dervish convents and lodges, distributed food for the poor, served as a "patron" in shrines and lays and accepted offerings in return. These people that were active in their circles, among others that shared their beliefs were the reactionaries to the political authority and modernization. They took upon their powers from their beliefs, their partisans and economical opportunities. This is why, the state abolished dervish convents, lodges and shrines, in order to gain political authority and to found political institutions that could stop the people to be exploited through their religious and spiritual beliefs.*<sup>193</sup>

Dervish lodges and shrines are known as religious institutions that officially supported the reactions and riots against the reforms of the state in the Ottoman Empire modernization period. In this manner, the act of removing these institutions which served religious superstitions and drew Islam religion away from science through such acts of writing charms or breathing on sick people<sup>194</sup> was an important step in strengthening the power of the state. More than that, the authority of the intermediaries, who stood between God and his servants, was terminated and equality among all individuals was established. It should also be mentioned that Directorate of Religious Affairs was established in Turkey one year prior to the law that shut down der-

---

<sup>192</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Duman, p. 287.

<sup>193</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Kili, p.162.

<sup>194</sup> Kili, p. 155.

vish lodges and the shrines. The foundation of the Directorate of Religious Affairs, which regulated how the moral principles of Islam would be determined and the divine services would be carried out, could be read as a scientific precaution to fill in the gap that would occur after the enactment of this law. The fact that it was located as a unit under the prime ministry is a sign that reflects the supervision of the state over religion.

It was of great importance for the maintainability of the revolution that religious authority was limited and individualism was featured in Atatürk reforms. All of the reforms regarding laicism were carried out in this perspective. However, could these reforms make a change -different than that of the Ottoman period improvements- and put an end to the alienation between the state and the people is a question worth asking. It is a well known fact that during the Ottoman reign, landlords and gentry built pressure over the peasants. Meanwhile, certain practices of the state, such as expecting long periods of military duty during times of war, appropriating livestock and goods, applying unjust methods of taxation to collect the expenses of wars and reforms alienated the peasants from the state. In the end, the peasants stood closer to patronizing landlords and gentry than the state, because landlords and gentry helped them in times of crisis, while the state always kept its distance and was uninterested about the problems of the peasants.<sup>195</sup> Those that were not supported became deserters or bandits and fought against the sanctions of the state. When Mustafa Kemal and his allies were faced with the problem of establishing an army during the War of Independence, they had to persuade the peasants that were already reacting against the state. Feroz Ahmad describes this period with the following quote:

*The Kemalists, finding the peasantry unreceptive to their call, were compelled to reach the peasants through the agency of their traditional leaders, the local notables and the men of religion, the sheikhs. The price of the collaboration between the Kemalists and the notables was the tacit agreement to maintain, and even strengthen, the status quo in the countryside. This was accomplished by forming a party, the People's Party, in which the landlords were a powerful element. The two-tier, indirect electoral system guaranteed the existence of a powerful landed lobby in parliament which obstructed reform. According to this system, primary voters elected the electoral colleges in each constituency which then chose the deputies for the assembly. The inclusion of Article 74 in the 1924 Constitution which guaranteed private property virtually closed the door to the passage of land reform. Thereafter, the government tried to improve the lot of the peasant through education, hoping that in time general enlightenment would transform the backwardness of rural Anatolia.*<sup>196</sup>

---

<sup>195</sup> Ahmad, p. 75.

<sup>196</sup> Ahmad, p. 76.

According to the 74th Article that was added to the 1924 Constitution, The Republic of Turkey guaranteed that it would not appropriate any citizen's commodities, private properties or lands unless it was proven to be for the public interest and through fair price. This promise, which was a great compromise made on behalf of the state in order to gain the support of the landlords and gentry was kept throughout the Independence War. After the war, however, the RPP government broke this agreement by establishing the village institutes, and bringing the Land Law proposal to the Grand National Assembly. The Law included the removal of large lands from the hands of the landlords and promised to distribute shares of these lands to the peasants. As a reaction to this proposal, four leading deputies of RPP, who were also known as landlords, Adnan Menderes, Refik Koraltan, Fuad Köprülü and Celal Bayar resigned from RPP and united to found the Democratic Party.

Another promise that was made in exchange for public support and was later broken by the Kemailsts concerned the institutions of caliphate and sultanate. In the years of the national struggle, none of the conservatives or profitters knew that a republic regime would be founded and that the caliphate would be abolished. The conservatives,<sup>197</sup> thought that the Grand National Assembly of 1920 was a temporary political body, and that once the war was over and the sultan was saved from the hands of the imperialist powers, the country would be ruled as a constitutional monarchy as before, along the religious support of the caliphate. After the abolition of the sultanate, this group stood by the caliphate opposing the Turkish state, and once the caliphate was replaced with laicism, they supported the newly founded opposition parties. The profitters of the status quo were the wealthy ones that did business with the international companies and dealt with the banks in Istanbul. These people, who would later form the liberal wing of the opposition parties, were against the economic regulations of the state.

On 3 March, 1924, the following sentence was recorded in the National Assembly as the reason for the abolishment of the caliphate: "To cleanse and elevate the Islamic faith, by rescuing it from the position of a political instrument, to which it has been accustomed for centuries"<sup>198</sup> However, this was not an adequate explanation for the conservatives or the liberal circles. In accordance with the same law, all

---

<sup>197</sup> Feroz Ahmad, mentions that some of Mustafa Kemal's friends were of a higher social status and were loyal to the sultanate due to their personal relations with the sultan. For instance, Rauf Orbay and Refet Bele were both supporters of the reforms and were objecting to the abolishment of sultanate.

<sup>198</sup> Ahmad, p. 54.

members of the Ottoman palace were banned from entering Turkey. This way, it became clear that none of the institutions that belonged to the old regime would survive the new reform movement, and the alliance between the people and the state officially came to an end. The promises that were not kept caused distrust towards the state in public and the gentry, and soon the reactions against the modernization movement and the reforms increased.

A group of deputies resigned from RPP and founded the Progressive Republican Party (PRP) on 17 November, 1924. Ali Fuat Cebesoy and Rauf Orbay, who had active roles in the Turkish Independence War, and often stated their servitude to the sultan, were among the leaders of this new political party. The first clause of their program stated the party's loyalty to the republic regime and promised "respecting religious thoughts and beliefs." In this manner, PRP seemed to adopt the laicism principle while paying its respects to democracy and the republic regime. In the following clauses of the program the principles of free domestic and foreign trade, minimum state regulations on trade and economic liberalism were emphasized.<sup>199</sup> The party was successful in unifying conservatives and liberals under its roof in the leadership of Ali Fuat Cebesoy and Rauf Orbay, yet it was closed down once it was linked with the Sheikh Said Riot that began in the eastern side of Turkey in 1925.

Mustafa Kemal was cautious of the riots that took place against the reforms. On March 3, 1925 he assigned İsmet İnönü as the prime minister again and issued The Law On the Maintenance of Order, that would authorize the assembly extraordinary powers for a period of two years. In the newly established Independence Tribunals, more than five hundred people were found guilty of being against the regime and sentenced to death within these two years. In the period 1925-1929, both the adversaries were punished in the most severe way and the most radical reforms that would demolish the political authority of Islam were carried out within the Turkish Revolution.<sup>200</sup>

In the year 1929 the collapse of the stock market in the United States led to the Great Depression. The effects of the depression were felt greatly in Turkey, which was at the time only able to import agricultural goods. When the prices of these goods decreased, the import rates dropped and economic problems began to sur-

---

<sup>199</sup> Ahmad, pp. 57-58.

<sup>200</sup> Ahmad, p. 58.

cafe in society. Just as it was the case in the Ottoman period, precautions to regulate the economy brought about new taxes, which in return created a new wave of reactions among people. While previously the reactions against the state were limited with the opposition of the conservative circles that defied the republic regime, adoption of a civil law, or simply any other reforms regarding the changes in social life, this time a larger percentage of the public began to openly criticize the practices of the state.

*Policies on industrialization, government monopoly on alcohol, tobacco, sugar, salt and marine transport increased the dissatisfaction even more. Statist economic policies followed by the government, caused economic stagnation. Moreover, between the years 1928-1929 the country was left with little harvest. Public reactions increased when some RPP deputies used their status to gain personal profits. Peasants could not pay for their Land Tax or Cattle Tax, and ended up borrowing from loan sharks. When they were unable to pay their debts back, most of their lands were taken away from them by these loan sharks. Due to the construction of railroads, the usual government support for the agriculture fell short. When all of these combined with the 1929 Great Depression, reactions to the government grew and grew.<sup>201</sup>*

The Turkish government was now left with a great problem. The authorities had to prevent these reactions from turning into an opportunity for the reactionaries who could threaten the republic and the new reforms with enough public support. They had to find a way to increase the welfare level of the people who were mainly making a living out of agriculture. The country did not have a middle class. It was necessary to gain the trust of the Western investors and take loans from trustworthy foreign institutions, and for this, the country had to protect its democratic rule and propose a stable environment. Due to these reasons, it was decided that a new and moderate-one that would not threaten the republic regime or the reforms- opposition party should be formed, with the support of the government. Mustafa Kemal invited Paris ambassador Fethi Bey to Turkey and in his leadership, Free Republican Party (FRP) was founded on August 12, 1930.

The FRP program focused on liberalism, just as the party program of the Progressive Republican Party. The party's proposal was to remove arbitrary practices of taxation, to pave the way for foreign investments and to end all statist practices that hindered the entrepreneurship of the citizens in the field of economics.<sup>202</sup> The

---

<sup>201</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Barış Ertem. "Siyasal Bir Muhalefet Denemesi Olarak Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası", ODÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi, Volume 1, Number: 2, December 2010, p. 72.

<sup>202</sup> Ertem, pp. 77-78.

public, highly affected by the policies of the single-party government, showed great interest to Free Republican Party.

The Western Anatolia trip of party's leader Fethi Bey, who had been to İzmir, Aydın,<sup>203</sup> Manisa and Balıkesir between 3-13 September, 1930 received a great media coverage, the leaders of the party were welcomed by a crowd of forty thousand people in İzmir,<sup>204</sup> and the first meeting of the party, which was held in İzmir Alsancak Stadium, drew fifty thousand cheering supporters.<sup>205</sup> In this meeting, Fethi Bey criticized the government's railroad project, stating that it was a luxurious investment, considering the fact that its cost had exceeded thirty million Turkish liras. He opened the strict statist policies of the government into discussion, explained that different roots had to be taken in order to draw foreign investments to the country, and emphasized the issues of monopolies and taxation. Prior to 1930 local elections, Free Republican Party had been called many names by the RPP authorities, "bolshevik" "communist" "reactionary" or even "pickpockets,"<sup>206</sup> to name a few, nevertheless the party joined the elections in 37 cities and won the 31 regions out of 502. After the 1930 local elections, the representatives of both parties blamed each other in the Grand National Assembly sessions. The authorities of Free Republican Party accused Republican People's Party deputies for using fraud in the elections, while the RPP deputies claimed that FRP did separatist propaganda, served political reaction and provoked public against the government. After these heated arguments, though they received a great public support, the FRP representatives abrogated their own party on November 18, 1930.<sup>207</sup>

We had mentioned earlier that Turkey did not have a middle class in the first years of the republic. Bourgeoisie was a new term that surfaced in the Turkish Republic in the early 1930s. However, the formation and the role of bourgeoisie in Turkey differed from that of the Western countries. In the West, bourgeoisie appeared during the industrial revolution, allied with aristocrats to end the authority of the church and helped laicism to get institutionalized. They conquered economics of commerce and trade, and in a short time, overcame feudalism to be the sole arbi-

---

<sup>203</sup> FRP's Aydın representative was Adnan Menderes, who was a young landlord in his 30's at the time.

<sup>204</sup> *Cumhuriyet*, 5 September 1930 cited by Ertem, p. 80.

<sup>205</sup> *Son Posta*, 9 September 1930 cited by Ertem, p. 80.

<sup>206</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. *Son Posta*, 3 December 1930 cited by Ertem, p. 82.

<sup>207</sup> Ertem pp. 85-86.

ters of the administration. During the Reform period, God-vassal relations were reconstructed, and the religious institutions that no longer had a say in the political arena diminished in importance. Religious beliefs and worship became personal practices. Aside from hindering religious authority, bourgeoisie had a great impact on the development of the Western civilization and the formation of the contemporary culture. While examining the enterprising and aggressive characteristics of Western bourgeoisie, İsmail Cem exemplifies the benefits of bourgeoisie as follows:

Bourgeoisie, always embarked on new tasks due to its greed for profit, earned, and invested again with these earnings. Its dissatisfaction caused a constant enrichment. Perhaps, the most characteristic quality of the Western bourgeoisie is its rootedness. The fact that it occurs by itself, as a consequence of a historical period, economic conditions and development in methods of production. This natural birth, natural growth causes it to create its own culture, and produce its own thinkers. This led the Western bourgeoisie to be culturally refined, reach a supremacy of thinking and behaviour, and become what we call today as "refined." European bourgeoisie possessed all of these characteristics and this is why it was the leading actor in the development of the society.<sup>208</sup>

The exact same words could be said for the services of bourgeoisie in America. As we mentioned previously, the United States went through a period during the years of Industrial Revolution in which museums, exhibitions, libraries, universities, newspapers and many other cultural institutions were founded and many of these institutions were established with the individual efforts of the private enterprise and the help of the American government that supported this cultural movement through regulations and reduction on taxes. This way, the American bourgeoisie helped with the cultural, as well as the economical progress of America, by investing into art and culture.

While the bourgeoisie appeared as a natural consequence of historical events and became the primary cause of a cultural revolution in the West, in Turkey, the financiers did not have a similar role in the cultural movement of the early republic. One of the main reasons for this is the fact that the wealthy was never powerful enough to ensure capital accumulation and invest in Turkey. It can be seen that in the Ottoman period and the first years of the Turkish republic a great number of the capital owners were non-Muslims that became rich through trade. While the West had a productive middle class that demolished the feudalist structure and improved its status, Turkey had wealthy people that worked as intermediaries, who collaborated with landlords and the gentry, sold the agricultural products to foreigners and utilized the export products in the domestic market. These circumstances caused

---

<sup>208</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Cem, pp. 289-290.



the supporters of the free market economy to be in close ties with the conservative circles. Also, the Turkish state had a greater responsibility in reconstruction and cultural reforms. In this manner, the state founded İş Bank to support entrepreneurs, made tax reductions for investors, helped increase production by establishing factories in different cities of the country, and tried to reduce unemployment this way. However, a Western style bourgeoisie which would help the state in economic and cultural development did not occur until 1960's.<sup>209</sup>

The two unsuccessful results in multi-party tries obstructed the conservatives and the liberals from having a say as opposition in Turkey. In the end RPP, which suppressed the anti-reform reactions in a bloody manner and found no opposition to balance its policies, changed its guidelines in the 1938 congress and honored its leader İsmet İnönü with the title "national chief." Although the party emphasized national unity through its motto "One party, one nation, one leader" under the leadership of İnönü following Atatürk's death, once the negative economic effects of World War II was felt in the country the reactions against the single party administration reached its highest level in public.

Turkey did not enter World War II, however the Turkish government had to keep army troops of 500.000 soldiers, equipped with weapons in order to protect the country from possible attacks. This was a great burden for a country that did not have a certain level of economy yet. The Turkish government first tried an inflation move and increased the currency in circulation.<sup>210</sup> The inflation increased leading to a drop in purchases, and unluckily a great decline of farm goods occurred following a drought within the same years. Famine led to scarcity of food products<sup>211</sup> and consumer goods in the market in a short time. In the economical environment where the supply could not meet demand, the prices increased, and the purchasing power of the middle and lower classes decreased drastically. In the hope of regulating the economy, National Defence Law was enacted on January 18, 1940. Through this law, the government became the single authority to decide which products would be produced in what quantity and was able to regulate import products. It could be said

---

<sup>209</sup> The pioneer groups of today, such as Koç, Çukurova and Sabancı were founded through the support given to the entrepreneurs in the 1920's. These groups made profits, and as planned, invested back in projects related with economy and culture, leading the way for Turkey to become one of the best economies in the world within a century.

<sup>210</sup> Hard currency would raise from 219 million liras in 1938 to 433 million in 1940 and 994 million liras in 1944. See Cem, p. 257.

<sup>211</sup> On strict regulations of the Turkish government, including the sales of bread with an official document, see Ahmad, p. 70.

that this was an oppressive period in which investments could only be made with the permission of the government and the government could order the use of mandatory labour in the mines. Tithe, which was abolished in 1925 was once again being collected in 1943, with a new name “tax in kind.” The Turkish government also hoped to have a share of the war profits of the wealthy class with the Capital Tax Law that was enacted in 1942. The Capital Tax Law, which was justified by İnönü, who “complained bitterly about the hoarding, the black marketeering, and the profiteering that the business community was engaged in while the common man suffered great deprivation and hardship,”<sup>212</sup> caused a great distrust in the businessworld towards RPP. This law divided citizens as Muslim and non-Muslim, alleged the war period to openly appropriate the revenues of the non-Muslims and aimed at Turkish businessmen to get rich.<sup>213</sup> Those businessmen who could not pay the tax were first faced with a default interest, later their commodities were appropriated, these properties were bought by either Turkish businessmen or the state, and finally those who could still not pay the tax after the enforcement action, namely the 1229 businessmen that were all non-Muslims were taken to a concentration camp in Erzurum Aşkale<sup>214</sup> and were forced to work.

The claim that Capital Tax was a clearance project carried out by the Turkish government against its non-Muslim citizens is generally accepted by historians today. The objective here was more than collecting high income tax. It was a plan activated for bourgeoisie to change hands, in other words, to create a Turkish middle class rather than having a non-Muslim middle class. Meanwhile, the reactions of the public were tried to be subsided through the “black-marketer Jew” stereotype that appeared in many of the newspaper columns and cartoons of the day. The government launched the image that non-Muslim businessmen “were foreigners who were getting richer and richer, causing the ordinary folks to get poorer” in order to mask its own failures in the economic realm.

None of these efforts could stop the alienation of the people from RPP. According to İsmail Cem there were three reasons of the tension between RPP and the public that surfaced between the years 1940-1945. The first one of these was the

---

<sup>212</sup> Ahmad, p. 70.

<sup>213</sup> In a private RPP session, President Şükrü Saraçoğlu is claimed to have made the following statement: “This law is also a revolution law. We are faced with an opportunity to gain our economic freedom. This way, we are going to eliminate the foreigners that dominate our market and give the Turkish market to Turks.” Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Faik Ahmet Barutçu. **Siyasi Anılar 1939-1954**, Milliyet Yayınları, İstanbul, 1977, p.263,

<sup>214</sup> Zaven Biberyan. **Babam Aşkale'ye Gitmedi**, Aras Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2000.

taxes that were being collected in an arbitrary way. The government officers that visited villages to collect taxes, usually demanded higher rates than the ones the peasants were to pay, and a great number of the peasants who were unable to meet these demands had to sell their lands to the landlords. There were also examples of peasants that were faced with higher tax rates or scale manipulations. The second reason was the rumours that the leading names of the RPP drew additional commissions through various market riggings. According to these rumours, the confidential information that the Turkish currency would undergo a devaluation was leaked, causing certain businessmen to earn millions of liras and the people that had leaked this information were bribed. Although these rumours were never proven as true, these rumours circulated among people in these years nevertheless, and cause a distrust to the ruling party. The third reason was regarding the RPP bureaucrats to look down on people. The earlier image of the Republican People's Party was that of an organization for civil servants and the gentry. After DP was established and it was understood that it would become a serious opponent, the RPP officials started to make fun of the DP members with statements like "Hasolar," "Memolar," or "roughnecks" and the situation got out of hand.<sup>215</sup> Such that, even today RPP has an image of a political party that disdains the public.

At the beginning of World War II, Turkey announced its neutrality.<sup>216</sup> However, the perception of Turkey in foreign countries as an advocate of the Nazis, Soviet's insistance regarding the reorganization of the borders between Soviet Union and Turkey and the use of the Straits by all the countries<sup>217</sup> caused the İnönü government to switch to the multi-party system once again. The Turkish government wanted to show the world that it was taking sides with the West against the Soviet threats and that the country was being ruled by a democratic regime. In this manner, necessary changes were made in the Association Law and Penalty code in 1945 and the establishment of new political parties and their rights to enter the elections were emancipated. In these laws there were only two restrictions regarding the programs of the new parties that would be founded: "the clericalism ban, which meant the query of the principle that religion and state affairs would be separate and

---

<sup>215</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Cem, pp. 319-322.

<sup>216</sup> Turkey declared war on Germany on 23 February 1945, weeks before the end of war, to state its side.

<sup>217</sup> Lewis, *Demokrasinin*, p. 10.

the communism ban.”<sup>218</sup> The clericalism ban referred to the previous democracy failures and the protection of the laicism principle, while the communism ban could be read as a message to the Western world that Turkey was a country that internalized democracy rather than communism.

DP was founded during the Land Law discussions that took place in the Grand National Assembly. As we mentioned previously, although the Turkish state guaranteed the rights of the land owners with the 74th article of the 1924 constitution, the RPP brought the Land Law Bill to the Assembly requesting these lands to be taken away from the landlords and distributed to the peasants. Adnan Menderes, who was an RPP deputy back then, sided with plantation owners like Cavit Oral and Emin Sazak, calling this bill “a fascist law”<sup>219</sup> and fought hard to prevent it. When the “Motion of Four” prepared by deputies Celâl Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Fuad Köprülü and Refik Koraltan was turned down by the RPP administration, Menderes reacted to this decision by writing fierce articles in Vatan Newspaper, criticizing the Republican People’s Party. Following the exclusion of Menderes, Koraltan and Köprülü from the party, Celal Bayar also resigned from his position as an RPP deputy and these four politicians established Democratic Party on January 7, 1946.

DP was born as a reaction to the single party administration of 27 years and found great public support in a very short time. Just as it happened in the establishment of The Free Republican Party, “as soon as it was declared that the party would be founded, without prior knowledge of the party program, without even knowing who would be assigned to which office, people rushed to the party to become a member.”<sup>220</sup> Just as Turan Güneş said, DP was not a party, it was “a phenomenon.” It was a new opportunity for the conservatives and liberals who had previously attempted to form an opposition and were crushed down. As for the public, they were not really interested in the party program. What mattered to them was DP to object to all of the policies of RPP “like a hostility front.” As masses were revolting against “Poverty, the oppressive regime, the alienated government, being looked down to, and the image of Westernization that was interpreted to be the cause of all of these.”<sup>221</sup>

---

<sup>218</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Lewis, *Demokrasinin*, p.10.

<sup>219</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Cüneyt Akalın. **Askerler ve Dış Güçler: Amerikan Belgeleriyle 27 Mayıs Olayı**, Cumhuriyet Kitapları, İstanbul, 2000, p. 59.

<sup>220</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Yetkin, *Darbeler*, p. 183.

<sup>221</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. T. Güneş. “DP Neydi”, **Yön Dergisi**, Number 4, 10 January 1962 cited by Cem, p. 323.

In the 1946 general elections, RPP lost votes but kept its position, in the 1950 elections however, DP acquired %53 of the votes and became the leading party in the Assembly and stayed in power until its liquidation in 1960.<sup>222</sup> DP entered the 1950 elections with the slogan “Enough, the People Have the Say” and ironically it was a liberal party that was founded by landlords, and the leading members of it were merchants and the gentry. The conservatives, who blamed the RPP for the poverty of the people and its policies that were believed to have kept them away from Islamic values constituted the substructure. In short, Democratic Party unified all those people that desired the continuation of the old order which was previously destructed by the Turkish Revolution. While doing so, it promised the landlords and the merchants a free economic environment to do business and get wealthy, the gentry getting rid of the RPP bureaucracy and the people to live in a more conservative country. İsmail Cem summarizes these promises with the following words:

*In this complicated environment, DP seemed to be on the same front as the people against “The Western” (RPP) enemy. The public was being told that contradiction was between the devout and the faithless and that poverty was a consequence of staying away from religion...The people who actually supported Westernization and its core principle of private property made use of the ignorance of the public on economic issues and used their already present hatred towards the superficial symptoms of Westernization, while applying the economic order of Westernization.*<sup>223</sup>

On 29 May 1950, on the 15th day of the DP administration, the new PM of Turkey, Adnan Menderes gave a speech in the Grand National Assembly stating that they would divide the Atatürk Reforms into two, “those that are adopted by the people and those that are not” and “keep only the reforms that were internalized by the public.” It would later be understood that the reforms which were “not internalized by the public” were those that eliminated religious exploitation. It was the beginning of a new era that modernization would be considered equal to welfare, development would turn into Americanization, traditionalism would be favoured once again and ignorance would be glorified, if not blessed, by the state. The changes that took place in this period are seen as works of America by some authors today. According to these authors, the United States imposed sanctions on Turkey between the years 1945-1960 when Turkey and America signed bilateral treaties within the scope of Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, in order to obstruct the unique form of Turkish modernization. What really happened was that İnönü administration

---

<sup>222</sup> Akalın, p. 59.

<sup>223</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Cem, p. 297.

that was losing its power over the public and the Menderes government that depended on the votes of the conservatives have made a series of bad decisions due to these attachments in different contexts and time periods, incidentally terminating the republic period enlightenment movement. While RPP took steps to put and end to the distance between the people and the party, DP desired to reconstruct the economy with the help of American liberal policies, while preserving the old order under the name of democracy. In DP's perspective, America was not a bully who requested the removal of the founding principles of the Turkish republic, on the contrary, it was an ally that helped Turkey develop faster in the context of the modernization theory. In other words, the termination of the reforms that were made by Atatürk to enlighten the public was not considered as a compromise. These steps were taken by the Turkish administration, who were highly influenced by the Americans at the time, consciously and deliberately to reach economic welfare.

#### **4.1 AMERICAN AIDS AND THE OBJECTIVE OF “BECOMING LITTLE AMERICA”**

Turkey was neutral in World War II and throughout İnönü administration was able to stay away from the destructive effects of the war. However, the Turkish government had difficulty in putting up with the threats of its neighbor Soviet Union, especially in the last years of the war. The first incident that created tension in Turkey was the efforts of the communists to capture power in Bulgaria, following the Soviet's declaration of war to this country in 1944. In a statement made at the Yalta Conference in 1945, the Soviet leader Stalin proposed the renewal of the Montreux Convention of Straits, claiming that this convention had run its course and could not comply with the conditions of the day. In a meeting held between the leaders of England, America and Russia, the issue was brought up and although England and America did not approach the proposal in an unfavourable way, a decision was not made. In the same year, Soviet Union issued a written note declaring that it would not renew the Turkish-Soviet Fellowship and NonAggression Treaty which was signed between the two countries in 1925. According to the Soviet side, the reason for this decision was the radical changes that surfaced after the war. After this inci-

dent, Turkey joined the United Nations as a charter member on 24 October, 1945. However, the Turkish government still felt insecure, since Turkey was inferior to Soviet Union in armament and technique. In 1945, the Associations Law was renewed and it was prohibited for the newly established political parties to appropriate communist ideology. This way, a message was given to the Western world that Turkey was now ready for the multi-party system, and that it would take its place in the Western Alliance as a country practicing democracy. However, the threats of the Soviet Union continued. In 1946, the Soviets sent a second note to Turkey demanding a military base in the Straits and land in Eastern Anatolia. Turkey, rejected this note, yet took these demands seriously, as the Soviets did not withdraw from Iran.<sup>224</sup>

Turkey was alone against the Soviet threats, yet at the same time it sought the support of the West, especially the United States. However, America refused to be a mediate in the Turkish-Soviet relationships, in order not to change the Soviet's positive stand in matters regarding its own profits. According to the American government land issues that surfaced between the Turks and the Soviets were concerns of these two countries and a review of the Montreux Convention was an offer that it would not object to.<sup>225</sup> In Prof. Dr. Mehmet Gönübol and Associate Professor Dr. Haluk Ülman's words:

*Although Turkey was alone between the years 1945-47 against the Soviet Union, it did not surrender to Soviet demands. There were no signs that the West would be at Turkey's side in case of a Soviet attack at the while... even today, contrary to the claims of some American authorities, the resistance of Turkey against the Soviet threats and the fact that it did not surrender to the Soviet Union had nothing to do with the American aids. It happened solely because of Turkey's own determination to resist.*<sup>226</sup>

Turkey did resist to Soviet Union alone, yet it neither had a powerful military force nor a durable economy to protect itself against these threats. RPP lost public support after the 1946 elections and the country was not yet out of the economic crisis that started in the early 1940's. While these events took place in Turkey, the fellowship and collaboration of the United States and the Soviet Union came to an end, and as a precaution against the expansionist tendencies of the Soviet Union, the United States enacted its containment policy. The containment policy foresaw the prevention of the spread of the Soviet's communist ideology in the long run,

---

<sup>224</sup> Taner Timur, **Türkiye'de çok Partili Hayata Geçiş**, İletişim yayınları, İstanbul, 1991 cited by Şeyhanlioğlu, p. 108.

<sup>225</sup> Cem, pp. 422- 423.

<sup>226</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. M. Gönübol, H. Ülman, "Dış Politikamız-Niteliği ve Sorunları", **Milliyet Gazetesi**, 6.08.1966 cited by Cem, p. 423.

through the reinforcement of the countries bordering the Soviet Union that sided with the West. The economic aids that were made to Turkey and Greece under the Truman Doctrine of 1947 were extensions of this official policy. As part of the Truman Doctrine, Greece received economic and military aids worth 300 million dollars, while Turkish Armed Forces received a share of 100 million dollars through an agreement signed on 12 July, 1947.<sup>227</sup>

In the same years, America proposed a new plan to hinder the rise of the communist parties in Europe and to end the economic depression that was caused by the war. According to this plan, also known as the Marshall Plan, which was first put forward by the American Secretary of State George Marshall (1947) the United States would financially support the 16 countries that entered World War II and these grants would be used in necessary areas in accordance with a plan and program. According to this plan, each country would have a specific role and every country would contribute to the program by filling in for the inadequacy of the other and collaborate. This way, it was hoped that the European economy would regain its strength in a short time. Under the Marshall Plan, America granted Europe with loans of 6 billion dollars for each year. For these loans to be used according to the Marshall Plan, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was founded in 1948 and Turkey was one of the founding members of this organization.<sup>228</sup>

Although Turkey did not join World War II, it requested financial aid from the United States within the Marshall Plan: a sum of 615 million dollars. This request was turned down due to the reasons that Turkey did not suffer any losses during the war, it possessed enough foreign currency and gold stocks, and no decrease in its industrial production was observed.<sup>229</sup> However, after a few meetings and following the insistent attitudes of the Turkish authorities the Economic Cooperation Agreement was signed between the United States and Turkey in 1948. Prof. Dr. Çetin Yetkin's comments on this issue clearly explains the reasons behind the persistence of the Turkish side:

*Naturally, the question to be asked here is whether Turkey, which had 245 million dollars of foreign currency and gold stocks by the end of World War II, could guarantee an economic development just as in Atatürk period, without*

---

<sup>227</sup> Sait Yılmaz. **Türkiye'deki Amerika: İkili İlişkiler ve ABD'nin Örtülü Operasyonları**. Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014, p.115.

<sup>228</sup> Yavi, Batırılan, pp. 554-555.

<sup>229</sup> Yavi, Kurtarılan, pp. 90-91.



*this foreign aid, or not. However, the interest of America on Turkey, especially its economic and military aids, were seen and promoted as an insurance against the Soviets, in those days. As mentioned before, since they were the ones that directly received these aids, and due to the fact that the development of private sector was one of the provisions of the aids, the businessmen were the primary supporters of these events, as they could take advantage of the foreign trade carried out with this country.*<sup>230</sup>

To put it in other words, in the years that the Soviet threats were felt, Turkey could resist these threats on its own without the support of the United States, it joined the United Nations and received financial and technical aid under Truman Doctrine. However, the Turkish government did not find these supports or the country's gold and foreign currency stocks sufficient and used the Soviet threats as a pretext to sign financial agreements with the United States to put the country into debt.

It is possible to summarize the criticism regarding the bilateral agreements of Turkey and the United States in these years under two main titles. The first one of these claims is that the military agreements made with the United States left Turkey in debt, they were providing conveniences for the United States, yet included clauses that did not promise America to protect Turkey as an ally in case of an attack. The first example that could be given is the agreement signed on 23 February, 1945 for the borrowing of weapons. According to this agreement, Turkey would borrow weapons from the United States, and would only be able to use these weapons in instances permitted by the United States, and in return Turkey would provide America with military bases, open its air space to American planes and share its security intelligence with this country. In another agreement signed on 27 February, 1946, the military waste products of the Americans, which the country found too expensive to bring back from Europe after the end of World War II would be bought by Turkey with a loan of 10 million dollars that would be taken from the United States.<sup>231</sup> The 12 July, 1947 agreement was again regarding a one-sided aid of weapons and military utensils and contained no clauses that would guarantee the United States to side with Turkey in case of a foreign threat or attack.<sup>232</sup> Looking at these agreements, it could be concluded that the United States would not protect Turkey in case of a Soviet attack. More than that, Americans actually calculated that it would be

---

<sup>230</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Yetkin, Devrim, pp. 369-370.

<sup>231</sup> Yetkin, Devrim, pp. 346-347.

<sup>232</sup> Oral Sander. **Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964**, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 1979, p. 29.

more beneficial for Turkey to fight against the Soviet Union in such an attack and this is why they preferred to strengthen the Turkish army rather than spending money on placing their own soldiers in Soviet borders. This way, the Americans could control the Soviets through their NATO and Turkish bases and make profit.<sup>233</sup> The second criticism on these agreements is that under the Marshall Plan, Turkey was directed into agricultural production rather than industrial production. The idea behind this plan was to make use of the fertile Anatolian lands and to use Turkey as a provider of goods and raw materials by developing its agriculture. This way, Turkey would provide the raw materials needed for the European industry and in return, it would also be a buyer of industrial goods that would be produced in Europe. In other words, the role of Turkey in the Marshall Plan was to be the provider of raw materials and a market for industrial products. At the same time, it served as a buffer area in case of any future Soviet attacks.

Under the Marshall Plan, Turkey received %21 grants, while a greater percentage of the 352 million dollars financial aid taken between the years 1948-1952 was purchasing of American goods. To exemplify with figures; “ 175 million dollars (%50) of this aid was intended for direct purchases from American markets, 84 million dollars (%24) were loan, 73 million dollars (%21) were grants, 17 million dollars (%5) were paid under certain conditions.”<sup>234</sup> As these numbers show, a small percentage of the financial aids were grants and the rest were loans given under the title of “aids” and served the American economy in return. Not to forget, some of these aids were given as long as Turkey could fulfill certain conditions that the Americans requested. Whether these demands were met or not was controlled by a body called American Economic Mission in Ankara. The members of this mission had all the diplomatic privileges of the American Embassy, moreover, all the American citizens in Turkey were granted freedom of travel,<sup>235</sup> in order to provide American businessmen with exclusive conditions to do trade. İsmail Cem evaluates the debts and grants that were controlled by the American Economic Mission with the following words:

*The first objective of these conditions was to provide the country that gave the financial aids with profits. The other objective was to make it easier for the provider's standards of judgement to be installed, and to strengthen the coopera-*

---

<sup>233</sup>Sander, p. 95.

<sup>234</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Nurullah Aydın. **Türklerin Küresel Güç Doktrini**, Kum Saati Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, pp. 421-422.

<sup>235</sup> Altan Öymen. **Değişim Yılları**, 10. Edition, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 181-182.

*tive groups. The official terms of use used by the Import-Export Bank while giving loans to countries could be an example, since this bank distributed a large part of the American loans and aids:*

- 1) The loans provided, can not be used in areas where it would cause competition with American investments in the country.*
- 2) It must be guaranteed that the payments would be made in American dollars.*
- 3) The revenues made through the use of the loans could only be used in export of American products.*

*Aside from these calculations, the providers also placed restrictions to strengthen their partners in the developing countries and to protect the status quo that best served their profits. For some of the loans given to Turkey, there were also political provisions such as 'in the institutions in which the loans would be used, more than half of the shares should belong to private sector.' Along the foreign finance, also the private sector mentality entered the developing country.<sup>236</sup>*

With the launch of the free market economy between the years 1945-1960, Turkey entered the capitalist system led by the United States and became a member of the new world order. Following the strict statist policies of the İnönü period, the new free economic conditions were greatly appreciated by the businessmen in Turkey and in a short time, many of them, especially those that did business with Americans became wealthy. As we have mentioned earlier, the capitalist economic system was built on the idea that the rich would get richer by investing in projects to develop the country, and this notion was passed on to Turkish businessmen by the Americans, who previously went through the same stages and hoped to see the Turks develop their countries, the same way they did. According to this economic model, which Emily Rosenberg named as "liberal developmentalism"<sup>237</sup> if Turkey was to repeat the American development experience, that is, if it believed in private enterprise, supported trade and investments to be carried out freely, favoured free flow of information and culture and guaranteed private property rights, eventually it would become a country as modern as the United States. In other words, Americans, who believed in the modernization of other nations through the repetition of their own experiences were trying to integrate Turkey into the capitalist system by making regulations to form a free economic order, as their advisories.

America stipulated the loans that it had given to Turkey to be used in the free market order, which would set businesses free in their operations, since Turkish businessmen were considered as natural allies of the U.S. as operators of the capi-

---

<sup>236</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Cem, p. 343.

<sup>237</sup>Emily S. Rosenberg. **Spreading the American Dream. American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945**, Hill and Wang, New York, 1982, p.7.

talist system. This economic system formed a basis for the new world order and relied on the fact that the modern nations of the world could progress through amicable relations in a peaceful environment. Looking at the issue from this perspective, just as İsmail Cem describes;

*The merchants and the gentry did not leave RPP in the lurch in an instant response. The new conditions of the changing world provided new opportunities for the merchant-gentry duo, and pushed them to free themselves of the ward of bureaucracy. It was a brand new world that was being constructed after World War II. The ones sided with freedom and democracy have defeated dark dictatorships. The powerful leader of this front, was handing its beacon of freedom to the old world; and promising its economic order, cooperation and support.*<sup>238</sup>

Meanwhile, Turkey was trying out a new kind of modernization where it practiced the multi-party system, joined political-military organizations and programs such as the United Nations, NATO and Marshall Plan along powerful countries of Europe, implemented the reports of the American experts that were being invited to the country. In this trial, the statist capitalism was replaced with a competitive capitalist system in the economic sphere. It was believed that progress would be made with the help of foreign capital, and the concessions made to America to draw foreign investments were interpreted as a natural outcome of the system.<sup>239</sup>

It is often being interpreted as a hostile act of America that Turkey froze its industrial investments and implemented new policies in developing agriculture<sup>240</sup> as a part of Marshall Plan. Some supporters of this idea claim that the United States deliberately included Turkey in the Marshall Plan to hinder its progress. However, the report published by the World Bank titled as "The Economy of Turkey" (1951) shows that no suggestions were made on behalf of America to make Turkey give up its industrialization. According to this report, the American experts only suggested that the more practical route to take for development would be through the improvement of agriculture.<sup>241</sup> In other words, Turkey leaned to agriculture, because it wished for a fast growth. More than that, it is abided by the agreements that it was Turkey that insisted on attending the Marshall Plan in the first place and that it accepted its role in the plan as the provider of agricultural goods and raw materials in return of the financial aids. The increase in the production capacity of Turkey reflects a breakthrough that happened in a very short period.

---

<sup>238</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Cem, p. 317.

<sup>239</sup> Ahmad, p. 113.

<sup>240</sup> In this period, Turkey stopped its plane production and started producing tractors instead.

<sup>241</sup> Yavi, Batırılan, p.567.

*In order to give a few examples for comparison; before the DP administration, 16.000 families were given 75.000 square meters of land, while in the first years of the DP administration 43.000 families were given 2 million square meters of land. While there were 6600 tractors in Turkey in May of 1950, in May of 1952 this number reached 25.000. The loans given to farmers were 412 million in 1950, while this number increased to 820 million liras in 1952. While the cultivation areas for grains were 7 million 500 thousand hectares between the years 1945-1949, this area reached 9 million hectares by the end of 1951. The cultivation areas for cotton increased from 305 thousand hectares in 1950 to 642 thousand hectares in 1951. 1 million 240 thousand tons of barley were produced in 1949, while this figure reached 2 million 700 thousand tons at the end of 1951, 58 thousand tons of rice in 1949, reached 70 thousand tons in 1951.<sup>242</sup>*

The new economic environment ceased the public discontent. The use of modern technologies in agriculture and the education given to farmers in order to reach higher production capacity were useful changes for Turkey, since a great percentage of the population lived in rural areas. The DP administration made use of the economic conditions provided by the financial aids, and they invested in projects that would increase the life standards of the peasants, who constituted a great percentage of their voters. These projects, which helped DP in earning the trust of the farmers, involved construction of new roads, removal of cattle tax, increase in agricultural loans and high price policies in purchase of agricultural products.<sup>243</sup> Meanwhile, the NATO membership of Turkey found extensive news coverage, along with comments stating Turkey was now in a historical alliance with the civilized nations of the world, and that it became an ally of the United States. The economic growth of Turkey led people to think that the country was on the right track to finally become a contemporary civilization.

The upsurge did not last long. Between the years 1950-1953 which could as well be called as the golden age of the DP administration a high rate of growth was met (%13) due to the agricultural investments that were made, however, the economy entered a stationary stage in 1954-1955, and finally between the years 1956-1959 inflation started to increase, leading to public dissatisfaction once again.<sup>244</sup> The reason for this dramatic fall was bad planning. DP won the elections in 1950 by criticizing the bureaucratic practices of the RPP administration and defined development plans as a communist exercise. Let us take a look at this approach with the words of

---

<sup>242</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Hüseyin Şeyhanlıoğlu. **Demokrat Parti**, Kadim Yayınevi, Ankara, 2011, p. 208.

<sup>243</sup> Cem, p. 328.

<sup>244</sup> Akalın, p. 67.

Adnan Menderes, the party leader of DP, who at the time was speaking at the 1954 elections campaign:

*Take a look at the words of those (RPP) that talk about the importance of industrialization: One is bound to have a plan for industrialization... only a plan and an essential program can help in finding the necessary capital for industry... You see that: they are still talking of totalitarian economy, of five years plans of totalitarian countries (Soviet Union). One must ask, was the European industry of the great American economy constituted with the five years plans?<sup>245</sup>*

When Menderes states his belief that Turkey would develop once the rich got richer<sup>246</sup> and invested, he actually describes an American style of modernization. This notion was already present in Atatürk and İnönü periods, however, different than the American way of modernization, the single-party regime established İş Bank, gave loans to entrepreneurs, provided investors with tax reductions, as well as keeping industrialization under state control, by establishing factories and preparing five-years progress plans. DP administration, on the other hand, preferred a more liberal approach and spent most of the financial aids received in their period in activating the market, and chose to privatize the factories and the institutions under the state monopoly. DP predicted that by selling the factories to companies with foreign-partners, foreign capital would be drawn to the country, while the businessmen that collaborated with foreigners would get wealthy and invest in new projects.

A close study reveals that during the DP administration, due to the unplanned privatization and selling of strategic institutions of transportation, communication and natural resources to foreign companies led American profits to surpass Turkish ones. For instance, in the period between 1950-1960, the Turkish State Maritime Lines and Turkish State Airlines were turned into joint-stock companies and were promoted for foreign capital. The match-lighter monopoly was abolished.<sup>247</sup> 20 years long state monopoly came to an end when Petrol Law was enacted in 1954, letting foreign oil companies to search for and drill oil in Turkey, and it was arranged that the profits to be acquired would be shared half and half. While the primary objective of the developing countries was to have total control over their natural resources, Turkey became the first country in the world that first nationalized its oil resources and then gave them to the control of foreigners.<sup>248</sup>

---

<sup>245</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Şeyhanlıoğlu, p. 267.

<sup>246</sup> This economic system was called as "The Drop Economy" in American modernization.

<sup>247</sup> Yavi, Kurtarılan, p.119.

<sup>248</sup> Sander, p. 103.

The primary reason for Turkish economy to go through a recession period after 1956 was the drop in American aids and the new restrictions on these aids to be limited with the military. While short term profit monetary policies of DP could provide the country with a temporary period of economic development, the unrestrained attitude of stopping state investments and the privatization of a great number of companies for foreign partnerships caused to growing debts and led the government to take more loans. By 1958 the United States was already indecisive about lending more money to Turkey that already had a great amount of debts. According to a report prepared by the American Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey's condition was explained as having "a desire of investment that exceeds domestic savings."<sup>249</sup>

In a speech given in 1959 the American Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Anderson stated that Turkey's problem was seen in numerous developing countries around the world. The resources were scant. In order to develop, the government was taking loans from foreign institutions, yet instead of using this capital to invest "in global projects that are so innovative that they would naturally draw foreign investors," the government invested instead "in superfluous projects" such as building avenues and tall buildings, that would keep the country in its exact position.<sup>250</sup> One of these projects that Anderson would probably call as "superfluous" was the new construction plan of Istanbul. This plan attempted to encourage the use of automobiles through the construction of large avenues and boulevards, and in this context, Ordu Avenue, Vatan Avenue, Eminönü-Unkapanı Road, Sirkeci-Florya Coast Road were built. The promotion of driving was without a doubt an advantage for America that could supply automobiles and oil to Turkey, and though it was a chance to catch up with the transportation innovations of the period, unfortunately it slowed down the progress of public transportation dramatically.

When Turkish-American bilateral relations of 1945-1960 are evaluated in the context of Modernization Theory, American Exceptionalism and American containment policy, it is seen that America was able to protect its own benefits in the agreements made with Turkey, the Soviet Union's expansionist tendencies were able to be kept under control and Turkey was included in the capitalist system successfully. When the bilateral relations are examined in the scope of the Turkish side, it is seen that the alienation of the public from the state ceased in the first years of

---

<sup>249</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Akalın, p. 77.

<sup>250</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Akalın, p. 78.

the DP administration, and that a short period of fast economic growth was enjoyed and numerous public improvements and agricultural investments were completed thanks to the financial aids. Atatürk's envision of having a Turkish middle class was improved through new opportunities offered to the entrepreneurs. In spite of all of these positive developments, however, the status quo was maintained, paving the way for the landlords and the gentry to preserve their powerful status in the rural areas. Although the foreign investments provided temporary gains, the new economic system focused on individual wealth rather than social welfare. Meanwhile, Turkey undertook debts that would surpass its solvency. The suspension of industrial investments that started in the single-party regime, the privatization of strategically important institutions and the free use of the natural resources by foreign companies could be considered as examples to prove that the interests of the country were not protected in an efficient way.

Aside from the new economic perspective, Turkey also went through a major change throughout 1940's and 1950's. In this period, America, claimed to be the most modern nation of the world due to its exceptionalist perspective, was embraced as a model, and the idea that adopting the American culture and values would modernize the country became prevalent. In this manner, the Turkish style of modernization, which was planned out by the leading elite of the republic period was left aside. Turkish authorities that were so taken with the achievements of the United States and the American officials who were being invited to Turkey as experts took active roles in American propaganda that was carried out as a requirement of Marshall Plan.

The propaganda of the American experts could be read as a natural outcome of the historical conditions of the period. These experts were invited to Turkey in 1950's in order to plan and supervise the distribution of the financial aids and grants. They were mostly economists that took active duties in government offices, state-based corporations, education institutions and ministries, who sincerely believed that they could help Turkey develop by using the same methods and practices that they had tried out in their own country. What worked for America and the Americans, however did not always work for Turkey and the Turkish people, so the only criticism that could actually be made regarding the works of these experts could be their mistake in not paying sufficient attention to the social and cultural differences between the two countries. Let us remember that in this period the United States was considered as a "superpower" by the whole world and Turkey would be de-



scribed as a “developing country” and these facts were accepted by both parties. It was a time when Modernization Theory was not yet heavily criticized and both Americans and the Turks believed that they were in an efficient collaboration to help Turkey modernize. It was, after all, a voluntary request on behalf of Turkey to be modernized in the same way the United States was modernized and one could not speak of an American oppression regarding this issue. It can therefore be justified that the propaganda made by the American experts was an act of national pride and they were able to make their country’s propaganda in Turkey, simply due to the course of history. It is not quite possible to say the same things for the Turkish authorities, however, since they turned this American propaganda -which they were required to carry out, due to Marshall Plan- into a phenomenon of Americanism, carrying it out of its official context.

American propaganda activities were carried out in all the countries that joined the Marshall Plan including France, England and Germany, and aimed at praising democratic values and the newly formed cooperation between these states. As a part of the Marshall Plan, through radio broadcasts, leaflets, posters and political discourse, the public was told that the European economy, which was reconstructed under the leadership of the United States, would not fall prey to the communist ideology, and it was hoped that this propaganda would serve as a shield against the Soviet expansion. The newly formed cooperation was highly important for the United States and the European countries, therefore, great emphasis was paid on the advocacy of the American values in countries like France and Italy, where the official communist parties were on the rise. Turkey insisted in taking part in the Marshall Plan and as a requirement of the agreement signed on 12 July 1947, the Turkish state was asked to carry out similar propaganda activities. In this agreement, the clauses regarding the reasons for the financial aids and the ways to use them are explained very clearly:

*The Turkish government is to regularly broadcast the purpose, fund, nature, extent, amount and progression of this aid in Turkey. (Paragraph 3, clause 2)*

....

*Turkish Republic is to share detailed information with the broadcast media, and take any necessary precautions to provide these parties with facilities to carry out their broadcasts in convenience. (Paragraph 7, clause 3)*<sup>251</sup>

After this agreement was signed between Turkey and the United States, new programs were broadcast in state radio highlighting the importance of Marshall Plan

---

<sup>251</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Öylem, pp. 182-183.

and the aids made to Turkey, and the pictures of vehicles, ordnance and military munitions along with positive comments began to appear in the press regularly. Marshall Plan posters emphasized civilization through slogans such as “Thanks to Marshall Plan, civilized people are sharing their experiences and information on modern science, in order to help humanity”<sup>252</sup> and this notion was combined with Atatürk’s discourse of “contemporary civilization” that already had its roots in the public memory causing a new understanding that Turkey would be civilized if it were to follow through the American policies.

This perception was directly related with the description of the United States in the discourse of the Turkish politicians of the day, as a charitable country serving humanity without any imperialist tendencies. In this period, in Grand National Assembly sessions, it was often mentioned that the United States desired the welfare and development of Turkey regardless of its own profits, leading to a public admiration of America. A close examination of this discourse reveals that the promotion of the United States by the Turkish authorities often surpassed the required Marshall Plan propaganda. To give a few examples, describing the American aids as a vital need, Yavuz Abadan claimed that these aids would prevent the harms of hopelessness. He stated: “Financial Aid Law, clearly shows that the United States would use all of its material and moral strengths in order to preserve peace, and that the American nation is always ready to act rapidly in order to achieve this goal.”<sup>253</sup> Ahmet Şükrü Esmer defined Americans as “well-meaning and gracious people,”<sup>254</sup> while Nihat Erim claimed that America had “high moral values” and “abstained from causing any harms to the economic or financial independence of respective countries”<sup>255</sup> when serving for the good of humanity. Falih Rıfkı Atay, one of the famous authors of the period, wrote an article in *Ulus* newspaper, describing America as a pacifist state, and claimed that the United States “intends a world order that is based on freedom and justice and does not seek any profits in war or in hegemony.”<sup>256</sup> A similar approach regarding America’s reluctance in profit could be seen in

---

<sup>252</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Öylem, p. 184.

<sup>253</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Yavuz Abadan. “Demokrasilerin Gerçek Kuvveti”, *Ulus*, 6 April 1946 cited by Yetkin, Devrim, p. 330.

<sup>254</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. T.B.M.M., T.D. C. XIII. Dönem 7, Toplantı 3, Birleşim 48, 8 May 1946 cited by Yetkin, Devrim, p. 330.

<sup>255</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Nihat Erim. “Amerikan Yardımı Dolayısı İle”, *Ulus*, 20 March 1947 cited by Yetkin, Devrim, p. 331.

<sup>256</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Falih Rıfkı Atay. “Barış Kurucu Amerika”, *Ulus*, 15 Mart 1947 cited by Yetkin, Devrim, p. 332.

one of Fuat Köprülü's Grand National Assembly speeches that was made in 1950. He stated: "It is indelible through all political experiences and events that The United States has never followed any imperial objectives anywhere around the world. America's assistance to all of Europe and the other nations of the world is simply an act of self-sacrifice on behalf of this country with great financial opportunities, in the hope to save all of humanity from this terrible subsidence."<sup>257</sup> The most striking comment on the United States and its pacifist policies, came from RPP Bursa deputy Muhittin Baha Pars. Pars, claimed that the American President Franklin D. Roosevelt possessed characteristics of a prophet by his statement: "This voice, the voice of a chaste and perfect man like a prophet, the voice of Roosevelt finally came from America and echoed to horizons..."<sup>258</sup>

All of these comments which identify America as the symbol of peace and goodness also happen to be examples of American Exceptionalism. While the Marshall Plan propaganda carried out by the governments of those countries that joined the plan focused on the humanitarian goals and economic benefits, it is seen that the Turkish interpretations had exceeded the intentions and the notion of "civilizing through the imitation of foreign values" that had been repeatedly detected in the Ottoman period has returned. As we had seen earlier, Turkey was once under the influence zone of countries like France and Germany, yet was able to create a unique form of Turkish modernization in the early republic years. Through this American propaganda carried out by the Turkish state, however, once again the country changed its direction in 1950's and started to follow in the footsteps of another foreign country.

Once the American products entered the Turkish market, consumer behaviours started to change and in a very short time, American products were linked with prestige. The belief that American products were better quality than their Turkish counterparts, caused a decrease in the competitive power of the Turkish producers. It can be said that a new era of consumption has begun in Turkey, since %100 of the transportation vehicles, %97 of agricultural utensils and %99 of other industrial

---

<sup>257</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. TBMM, T.D., C. XXIV/2, Dönem 8, Toplantı 4, Bileşim 48, Oturum 3, 16 Feb 1950 cited by Yetkin, Devrim, p. 334.

<sup>258</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. TBMM, T.D., C.XIII, Dönem 7, Toplantı 3, Bileşim 48, Oturum 1, 8 May 1947 cited by Yetkin, Devrim, pp. 332-333.

equipments were now provided by America.<sup>259</sup> Öymen describes the new consumption behaviours of the Turkish people in his memoirs with the following words:

*It was of great importance to use home made products before and during World War II. Though, there were also those goods that were not being able to be produced in Turkey and were exported, and the most trusted ones among these were the German products. They were known to be sturdy, durable and economical... some of the English products were famous as well. It was a "Turkish idiom" of the period: "If you are to be hanged, be hanged by an English rope." The post-war conditions, on the other hand, were totally different... American products began to take the place of the German products, the English products, and the products of countries that once imported to Turkey, in no time. Not only the tractors that were given to Turkey with the Marshall Plan, but also consumer durables that were sold like radios, refrigerators, automobiles became unrivaled when they were produced by an American brand. They also took advantage of customs reductions, yet there were no home made products to compete with them anyways. In advertisements, being "made in America" was reflected as a "guarantee of quality."<sup>260</sup>*

Another example for the American admiration highly sensed in Turkey in this period, could be the exaggerated arrangements made for the welcoming of the Missouri battleship staff that arrived in İstanbul in 1946. Missouri came to Turkey in a mission to bring back the funeral of Turkey's American Ambassador Münir Ertegün, though this visit was reflected as a showdown in Turkish press and many comments were made interpreting this gesture of Americans as a reply to Soviet Union threats. In order to show Turkish hospitality, the streets were washed, in some sections of the city the walls were painted, preparations were made in brothels for the comfort of the soldiers, special cigarettes made of the best Turkish tobacco were produced by Tekel administration, the Turkish Postal Services printed a special collection of stamps for Missouri, the municipality started a new bus line between Dolmabahçe and Taksim for the services of American soldiers, all public vehicles were free for the soldiers and boxes were reserved only for their use in the movie theatres.<sup>261</sup>

As we have seen in this chapter, between the years 1946-1960, after a series of military and economic agreements signed between Turkey and the United States, Turkey has joined the new world order as a democratic member, left its statist economic policies and adopted free market economy. After this change of economic perspective, along with the effects of the Marshall Plan aids, a fast rate of growth and advancements in agriculture productions were achieved. However, due to wrong policies like the suspension of industrial initiatives in order to invest solely in

<sup>259</sup> Jacques Thobie, "La Turquie et le Plan Marshall", M. Şahinler, "Atatürkçülüğün Kökeni, Etkisi ve Güncelliği", p.285- 290 cited by Akalın, p. 68.

<sup>260</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Öymen, pp. 185-186.

<sup>261</sup> Yetkin, Darbeler, p. 18.

agriculture, the use of special conditions to draw American investors, the privatization and selling of strategically important institutions and corporations the growth rate of the country just as fastly. This boom and bust in economy had a great impact on the state-public relations, as well. The conservative and liberal circles, that were unable to form a lasting opposition party during the single-party years finally came to power, ending the years long tension between the state and the people. However, the increasing inflation rates caused a new wave of discontent among people in the second half of the 1950's.

Once the Turkish side exaggerated its duty of making American propaganda as a member of the Marshall Plan, Americanization began to flourish in Turkish society. In these years, the American way of life became a status symbol, Atatürk's idea of a "modernization through preservation of Turkish values" was renounced, and a new objective of "becoming a little America" was introduced. The notion of "becoming a little America" through imitation of American values and style, as opposed to using the potential of the country to become a big state, first entered Turkish political literature with the words of the prime minister Nihat Erim. In a speech given in the RPP Congress of 1949, Erim said that "Turkey will become a little America in near future"<sup>262</sup> and the same goal was repeated in 1950 by DP leader Adnan Menderes, who was then the new prime minister. Menderes claimed that the country would "become little America" only if "every neighborhood has a millionaire."<sup>263</sup> Another DP leader, Celal Bayar repeated the same objective on 20 October, 1957 in a speech given in Taksim, through his statement: "We hope to see that in a period of 30 years this country will become a little America with its population of 50 million people."<sup>264</sup>

Turkey did seem like a little America by the end of 1950's in the economic and cultural sense. Cadillac and Chevrolet automobiles were roaming in large avenues that were built after the new construction plans, Voice of America started its radio broadcasts, musical arrangements of Turkish singers were popular, Hollywood movies conquered the movie theaters, Frigidaire refrigerators and American household appliances entered homes, a variety of new magazines and comics with American

---

<sup>262</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. **Cumhuriyet**, 20 September 1949 cited by Ahmad, p.77.

<sup>263</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Oktay Ekşi. "Küçük Amerika", *Hürriyet Gazetesi*, 22.04.2010, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/14497349.asp>, (22.04.2010)

<sup>264</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Hür, Ayşe. "Küçük Amerika Büyük Amerika'ya Karşı", **Taraf Gazetesi**. 5.09.2010, <http://arsiv.taraf.com.tr/yazilar/ayse-hur/kucuk-amerika-buyuk-amerika-ya-karsi/12835/> (10.04.2014)

heroes were published, Turkish youth started to have GI Joe haircuts, chewing gums and beverages entered the Turkish market through PX stores, jeans were sold in the black market, all in all, the American life style represented through all of these and many other products penetrated into the daily lives of many Turks as an outcome of free market economy. Meanwhile, the very same society was facing the resurgence of Political Islam.

#### 4.2 THE RE-BIRTH OF POLITICAL ISLAM

1950 parliamentary elections were of great importance for Turkish political history. During the multi-party period, between the years 1945 and 1950 a total of twenty four political parties were founded, most of which emphasized religion and traditionalism in their party programs as a reaction to the “militant laicism”<sup>265</sup> of Atatürk and single-party periods. National Development Party, Social Justice Party, Turkish Conservative Party, Land Property and Private Enterprise Party, Farmer and Peasant Party<sup>266</sup> were some of these parties which competed to be the representative of the conservative circles. At the end of the elections, Nation Party, famous for its harsh criticism of RPP’s secular policies, was able to join the Assembly while Democratic Party de-seated RPP and came to power.

Unexpected results in the previous elections and the religious uptake of the newly founded political parties led RPP to make a concession on laicism. A traditionalist lobby occurred in the party, and in the Seventh Convention (1948) these deputies claimed that religion had to be protected by the state in order to prevent fundamentalism to spread in the country. They believed that laicism was neither correctly understood nor adopted in the society, stating if religion lessons were added to the education program and religious studies were integrated as university courses a new generation with a better religious education could be formed and this way a spiritually peaceful society could be constructed.<sup>267</sup> These reactions concerning the prevention of religious exploitation induced a law amendment and a new clause was added to Turkish Penalty Code in 1949, which stated: “Any acts that intend to

---

<sup>265</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Cem Eroğlu. **Demokrat Parti: Tarihi ve İdeolojisi**, İmge Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1990, p.81.

<sup>266</sup> Tarık Z. Tunaya. **Türkiye’de Siyasi Partiler 1859-1952**, Arba Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995, pp. 638-736.

<sup>267</sup> Sabahattin Nal. “Demokrat Parti’nin 1950-1954 Dönemi Din Siyaseti”, **Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi**, Number 60-3, p.139.

change the social, economic, political, legal order of the state according to any religious tenets without due process of constitutional laws regarding laicism, are regarded as crime.”<sup>268</sup>

Another change that RPP made prior to 1950 parliamentary elections was placing elective religion courses in primary school curriculums in 1949.<sup>269</sup> In order to regulate religious education itself, the state opened private courses in ten different city centers for the education of imams and a School of Theology was established in Ankara University.<sup>270</sup> These steps were taken to fill in the authority gap which occurred in society after the religious reforms of the early republic period, with well-educated religious leaders. This way, the state was taking precautions to prevent fundamentalists or expedient circles to exploit religion for their own political profits. In this manner, these first changes were similar to the religion reforms of Atatürk period. However, when the İnönü government, which had lost a considerable amount of its votes in the previous elections and was ready to give in on religious matters in order to please conservative voters, made changes in the Law Concerning the Closing Down of Dervish Convents, Lodges and Shrines weeks before the elections and permitted 19 shrines to be re-opened<sup>271</sup> the events took a different turn. After this first step taken to please the voters of the opposing ideology, a new era has started in Turkish political history, in which political parties began to renounce their enlightenment policies one by one to please the traditionalist voters, who took up a large percentage of the electorate.

Prior to 1950 elections, DP had stated its position as a political party that would respect the laicism principle and DP chairman Bayar guaranteed that their party would not exploit religion with the following statement: “We consider religious freedoms as sacred just as any other freedoms as stated in our party program. People should be free to choose any religion and fulfill the requirements of this religion as they please. The way that this policy would be implemented will be decided when the right time comes.”<sup>272</sup> Indeed DP was able to evaluate the unsuccessful attempts of the previous oppositions Progressive Republican Party and Liberal Party and was cautious to make no attempts that could trigger its conservative members to start a

---

<sup>268</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Nal, p.140.

<sup>269</sup> İsmet Parmaksızoğlu. **Türkiye’de Din Eğitimi**, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1966, p.31.

<sup>270</sup> Parmaksızoğlu, p.29.

<sup>271</sup> Nal, p.141.

<sup>272</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Nazmi Sevgen. **Celal Bayar Diyor Ki**, Tan Matbaası, İstanbul, 1951, p.216.

revolt prior to the elections. Moreover, some of the election promises were as such: "Guarantee of constitution and fair judgement, freedom of press, prevention of religious exploitation, removal of anti-democratic laws, establishment of normal parliamentary relations between the ruling party and the opposition party."<sup>273</sup>

However, only 15 days after the elections, the new prime minister Adnan Menderes divided Atatürk principles into adoptable and not-adoptable ones, claiming that they would not insist on the not-adoptable ones. Menderes gave a similar speech in 1951 and described DP's stand regarding Turkish Revolution with the following words: "If revolution laws are not internalized by the public; if they are to be enacted through gendarme force, removal of these laws that are contrary to national conscious becomes the primary duty of the democratic administration."<sup>274</sup>

In the same speech, Menderes also claimed that the real ideology to fear was communism, not religion and stated that the government had to exterminate the leftist movement, signaling the future steps that DP would take in the context of religion and anti-communism. DP's take on laicism, statements regarding religious freedoms, and implication of future regulations that would keep religion and politics separate were also part of the same speech:

*We are going to follow through the requirements of religious freedoms and freedom of conscience and we are determined to prevent any reactions to take place. This is what we understand from real laicism... real laicism means that religion has no relation with the state politics, and no religious belief can have control over the regulation and enforcement of laws. In this manner, we are going to take the necessary measures in the issues of religious lessons and the education of imams at once.*<sup>275</sup>

Looking at these words of Menderes, one could define Democratic Party as a political party with a secular approach. After all, throughout their rule of ten years, DP leaders have often emphasized their sensibility in freedoms of religion and conscience while they were explaining the reasons behind the reforms that they had been making. However, their steps in reversing the enlightenment reforms of the previous government and the DP deputies' identification of the RPP rule as "religious hostility" in order to create an image for Democratic Party in public memory as the guardians of religion both point at a paranoid style political discourse. In this plan, in some cases RPP was given the role of "the enemy of

---

<sup>273</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine."Demokrasi Düğümüne Kılıç Darbesi 27 Mayıs 1960", **NTV Tarih**, May 2010, Number: 16, p. 33.

<sup>274</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Cem, p. 326.

<sup>275</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Nuran Dağlı, Belma Aktürk. **Hükümetler ve Programları 1920-1960**, TBMM Basımevi, Ankara, 1988, p.162.



religion” or simply “the infidel” due to its sympathy towards Western values and its disdainful stand, and in others the role of “the communist party” for its statist policies and this way, DP could guarantee its power domain using the already present reactions in public against modernization and Atatürk principles.

Turkish modernization has entered a new phase of a “counterrevolution” through the division made in Atatürk principles. The first step taken by the DP government in this new phase was the cancellation of the ban on call to prayer to be recited in Arabic on 16 June 1950. In the ground of the bill of law, it was emphasized that the reciting of the call for prayer in Arabic was a necessity, and it was mentioned that RPP had turned laicism into “religious hostility.” It was stated that the bill of law was issued upon the request of the “national will” and this way, DP’s desire to please its voters was presented as a requirement of democracy. The following sentences belong to İsmail Cem who evaluated a section of this bill:

*The ban on the call for prayer in Arabic is against the freedom of conscience, since it precludes Muslims from worshipping the way they would like to. It is, therefore also contradictory to laicism, and it causes unrest. In accordance with the will of the Muslim majority the call for prayer should be recited in Arabic. The reason for this ban, which was to free the society from the influence of ancient traditions is completely out of place. The preceding government (RPP) has turned laicism into religious hostility and saw it fit to ban the call for prayer to be recited in Arabic. DP is obliged to have the call for prayer recited in Arabic. Because, the voters specified their requests on this issue by electing DP. National will was responsible for this debt of conscience.*<sup>276</sup>

The cancellation of the Arabic call for prayer ban caused a great stir in conservative circles, and DP’s identification of RPP as “enemies of religion” had a massive impact on society. It can be seen that in several different preaches given in mosques in this period, RPP was accused of being “a blood-sucking party” and was blamed “to have entered a road of blasphemy,” while the congregations prayed for DP government for saving the public from RPP.<sup>277</sup> In a statement that appeared in *Cumhuriyet Newspaper* on 18 March 1951, Menderes emphasized the power of “national will” and his party’s stand as the savior of religion: “The sole warden of Atatürk principles is the Turkish nation, we saved our religion from pre-existing repressions”<sup>278</sup>

DP continued with its religious reforms with the cancellation of the ban on religious radio broadcasts in 1950. Mandatory courses on religion were once again

---

<sup>276</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Cem, p. 325.

<sup>277</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Aydemir, pp. 68-109.

<sup>278</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Nal, p.153.

included in school curriculums and the 1931 ban of “opening private education institutions to instruct with Arabic letters” was removed.<sup>279</sup> This reform once again paved the way for Quran courses and imam-preacher schools. Without a doubt, one of the most important counterrevolutionary change of 1950’s was the re-opening of dervish convents, lodges and shrines on the grounds that the regime was no longer under any threats. The bill concerning the re-opening of these institutions was brought to the Grand National Assembly on 1 March 1950, with the following preamble:

*Law 667 of 1926 was a law that was enacted in order to prevent the western convictions which had nothing to do with real religion and possible reactions against the State regime from taking place. From those days until now, our country has progressed greatly in sciences, culture, and sixty percent of our children that reached the school age are now able to receive education and a real world view has occurred within our society in the ever changing conditions of life. Although it is still possible to come across certain examples of superstitions caused by ignorance, these are no longer in a position to influence our people. All the citizens of this country are fully aware that loyalty to the regime is of utmost importance for our country.*<sup>280</sup>

The re-opening of dervish convents, lodges and shrines is an important example showing the end of the Atatürk period enlightenment movement. It could as well be read as an example of how the path of the Turkish modernization was changed. As we have examined earlier, dervish convents, lodges and shrines were not only institutions for worship. They were also known to be places where religious superstitions were spread, scientific information and enlightenment principles were battered. These institutions were believed to have had bad effects on social and cultural spheres. This is why they were closed and in their places, new social institutions were constructed by the state, in the hope to form a modern republic culture. In the preamble of the law concerning the re-opening of these institutions in 1950, it was stated that within a time span of twenty four years the projected mental enlightenment of the public was completed, the possible threats against the regime were eliminated and a contemporary understanding of the world became widespread in the society.

The re-opening of dervish convents, lodges, shrines, Quran courses, imam-preacher schools<sup>281</sup> and the mandatory religious lessons could be interpreted as the

---

<sup>279</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Arcayürek, p. 185.

<sup>280</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Yetkin, Devrim, p. 453.

<sup>281</sup> Imam-preacher schools were established in 1924 to educate religion officers, yet they were closed in 1930 due to the scantiness of students. In 1939, RPP opened imam-preacher courses to educate new religion officers and to be able to control the religious activities in the public sphere. During the DP rule, Imam-preacher schools were opened once again, and started to give an education of seven

revival of the binary system which was aimed to be eradicated in Atatürk period. DP's goal here, as mentioned previously, was to please its conservative and fundamentalist voters, but the steps taken in this manner eventually led to the removal of secular republic principles which were not yet rooted. Looking at the matter from this perspective, the counterrevolution could also be interpreted as a square of accounts between the fundamentalists that were forced out of the political square and RPP which was considered as primary representative of laicism. The counterrevolution caused the reactionaries to brace up in a short time. To give an example, in a regional DP congress which took place in Konya in 1951, some DP delegates officially demanded the obrogation of the law concerning clothing and requested the use of Arabic letters again. In the same congress, some delegates took the floor and proposed that İnönü was to be sent into exile just like the caliphate that was forced to leave Turkey in 1924.<sup>282</sup>

DP is the first political party that used the "national will" discourse in Turkish history. It entered 1950 elections with its famous "Enough! It's the Nation's Turn to Speak!" motto and in the elections it was able to come to power with the votes of the masses that were distressed by RPP, with the assertion that it was the representative of those who were the "aggrieved" and "oppressed."<sup>283</sup> Once the Democratic Party came to power, it adopted a majoritarian perspective.<sup>284</sup>

At this point, it would be best to clarify the difference between pluralistic democracy and majoritarian democracy. Turkey became a democratic country in a modern sense with the 1946 local elections, however the democratic culture that is commonly seen in Western countries has never been internalized by the Turkish public, because while these countries follow pluralistic democracy, in Turkey a majoritarian democracy is in practice. As Emre Kongar views in *Demokrasi ve Kültür* (Democracy and Culture) pluralistic democracy is a type of democracy that "denies the unrestricted power of the majority, accepts the rights of minorities and guarantees their rights to rule the country some day." In order for the pluralistic democracy to preserve the rights of the majority and the minority, the laws have to approach both parties equally, and the governing party must not build pressure over the justice or the rights of the minorities due to check and balances. Pluralistic democracy can

---

years. Their numbers have doubled within a very short period of time, with the help received from the public.

<sup>282</sup> Şevket Süreyya Aydemir. *İkinci Adam*, 3. Volume, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1968, p. 56.

<sup>283</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Demirel, p.38.

<sup>284</sup> Emre Kongar. *Demokrasi ve Kültür*, Hil Yayınları, İstanbul, 1983, (Demokrasi), p.15.

only be practiced in an environment where political polarization does not exist. In this manner, it is not possible to speak of the presence of a pluralistic democracy in Turkish Republic, since political polarization has been part of the regime ever since its foundation.

Majoritarian democracy symbolizes the notion that the decisions of the majority can rule over all else. Although it is a type of democracy as well, this approach does not recognize minority rights and sees no harm in transgressing the principle of checks and balances. It desires a single authority rather than the share of political power among different focus groups. Governments that practice a majoritarian democracy come to power through democratic elections as well, yet they fulfill the requests of their own voters and often ignore the needs of the rest of the society. While doing so, they legitimize their actions with “national will”<sup>285</sup> discourse, and see it fit to accuse their critics as being undemocratic. In this context, DP’s counterrvolutionary steps in finalizing the enlightenment principles of the early republic period, and its incriminating attitude in blaming RPP and its voters as non-believers can count as examples of majoritarian democracy.

By 1955 political Islam was as powerful as it once was in II. Abdülhamid period. The sharia law was still not in use due to democracy, yet it was officially stated that if the “national will” asked for it, sharia could as well be brought back. Prime Minister Adnan Menderes once addressed his DP Assembly group with the words “You are so powerful that if you really would like to you may as well change the constitution right now and bring back the caliphate.”<sup>286</sup> and the DP administration promised its voters “to turn Istanbul into a second Mecca, and to turn Eyüp Sultan Mosque to Kaaba” prior to 1957 general elections. Between the years 1950-1957 a total of 17 imam-preacher schools were established, 15 thousand new mosques were built, it was promised that new religious schools would be founded and that “a minaret would be built next to every factory chimney”<sup>287</sup> during the DP administration.

Another DP policy that dominated 1950’s was the censor brought to the press by law. The Press Law enacted in 1953 read: “It is resolved that those publish against honor and reputation of individuals and against family privacy, will be sentenced to

---

<sup>285</sup> “National will” was a concept that was first introduced in the Independence War, and it was used to state that the will of the people was above the will of the sultan/the caliphate. The concept became realized on 23 April 1920, through the foundation of the Grand National Assembly.

<sup>286</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Arcayürek, p. 199.

<sup>287</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. **Zafer**, 23 October 1957 cited by Şeyhanlioğlu, p. 241.

prison for 6 months to 3 years and fined a thousand to ten thousand liras.”<sup>288</sup> In instances where these crimes were committed against deputies or ministers these punishments could be increased, and those that published articles to undermine the dignity of the state would be imprisoned. New amendments were made in the Press Law between the years 1954-1956 and it was resolved that “ the publication of false news, information or documents that are offenses against public order or infamize the economic or political dignity of the government officials would be imposed the maximum penalty.”<sup>289</sup> Moreover, it was also included in the article that no evidence of authenticity regarding these publications were requested for the charges to be considered valid. On 27 June 1956, amendments were made to the Law on Meetings and Associations with restrictions on freedom of meeting and demonstration to prevent rallies against the government.<sup>290</sup>

These laws and regulations that restricted the freedoms of expression and meeting could be read as an extension of the anti-communist movement which took place in the same period in the United States. As we have mentioned before, throughout the 1950's the Republicans were in power in America and the American government was carrying out a legal war against the communists under the leadership of senator McCarthy. The imperilment of the capitalist system meant the collapse of the whole economic system for America which was at the time the leader of the liberal economy in the world, education and strengthening its economic policies and investing in different parts of the world. This is why the United States allowed no communist propaganda within its borders or likewise in the countries that it was doing business with. Democratic Party's uptake on communism was the same, since the DP was steering the country's economy with American aids and a significant percentage of its voters were liberals. Therefore, similar precautions to those in America were taken in Turkey in this period. An example would be the inspection and censorship of films shown in movie theaters which held the potency to indoctrinate the leftist ideology in society. A 1948 newspaper report titled as “The Screening of a Film was Outlawed” included the following statements:

The movie “For Whom The Bell Tolls,” which was previously viewed by the inspection commission of Istanbul and found fit for screening, went through a second inspection by the Ankara Commission yesterday morning and the screening of this film was prohibited in Turkey. Due to the reports, this movie infused

---

<sup>288</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Şeyhanlioğlu, p. 215.

<sup>289</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Lewis, Demokrasinin, p. 14.

<sup>290</sup> Lewis, Demokrasinin, p.14.

extremist leftist ideas in a rather skillful way. As you may recall, Bergman and Gary Cooper were in the leading roles in this movie and the same actors were previously under investigation for similar reasons in the United States.<sup>291</sup>

DP government supported the United State's containment policy by expanding Islam's zone of influence in political and cultural arena through re-opening religious institutions, while it issued new laws and constructed inspection mechanism to suppress any form of criticism siding with laicism and communism.<sup>292</sup> This support, which was identified with a political discourse that often vilified communism and glorified religion, caused communism to pair with the opposition party in the public memory and took its final form with the "Motherland Front" organization that was formed in 1958. According to this movement, which was described as "a motherland front against the animosity and hostility created by İnönü"<sup>293</sup> the names of the members of Motherland Front were read in daily radio broadcasts, forming a new perception that membership of an RPP adversary organization was patriotism. As the last step, DP set up the Inquiry Commission in 1960, the opposition party was identified as "an illegal organization that was in cooperation with the press"<sup>294</sup> and went through an inquiry by act of law.

A thorough examination of the period 1945-1960 reveals that the treatment of religion and the communist ideology had great effects on the United States and Turkey. Eisenhower in America and Menderes in Turkey both tried to restrain the communist and leftist tendencies in accordance with their faith in liberal economy as a medium for progress. Both governments implemented heavy handed policies that restricted personal rights and freedoms of their citizens in order to prevent any engagements with communism, used these "patriotic" policies as a weapon against the opposition parties when needed, and identified those people that had criticized their restraining policies as "public enemies." Both governments used a paranoid style political discourse and identified themselves as the saviors of religion and their opponents as non-believers. In both systems, being a communist or a leftist was

---

<sup>291</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. **Ulus**, 27 March 1948 cited by Yetkin, Darbeler, p. 23.

<sup>292</sup> RPP's stand on containment policy was different than that of DP. They believed that making concessions in religion was just as dangerous as the communist ideology itself. For more information, **TBMM Tutanak Dergisi**, V.III, p.428 cited by Çizmeli, p.163.

<sup>293</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. "Demokrasi Düğümüne Kılıç Darbesi", p. 36.

<sup>294</sup>Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. For more information on this Commission and their works, see Tekin Erer. **On Yılın Mücadelesi**, Ticaret Postası Matbaası, İstanbul, 1963, pp.394-395.

paired with “ungodliness” while being religious was paired with “patriotism” and this setup secured and strengthened the position of religion in the society.

#### **4.3 THE ENDING OF THE TURKISH ENLIGHTENMENT**

There were two effects of Turkish-American bilateral relations upon Turkish Enlightenment. The first one was related with the education of the Turkish personnel. The United States was able to implement an American way of thinking through the education of Turkish staff that adopted American values and these experts took active duties as senior officials in the state throughout the 1960's, watching after American profits in agreements made between Turkish and American businesses.<sup>295</sup> This way, the United States had control over the Turkish politics and economy. The second influence was regarding the Turkish education system. In this period, a great emphasis was paid to English language and American culture, new language schools were opened and changes took place in university curriculums to abide by the decisions of the bilateral education commissions. Another side-effect of this cooperation was the new attitudes developed towards religion and communism. Religion found a larger sphere in the education system, while public education institutions such as the Village Institutes were shut down due to false accusations stating they were making communist propaganda. These changes brought back the previously terminated dual-structure in education, causing ignorance and fundamentalism to increase in the rural areas once again.

In accordance with the new world order, the United States was searching for new markets and making bilateral economic agreements around the world. The Americans paid great emphasis to the continuity of their partnerships in foreign countries, therefore the consumer preferences of American products or the American mentality of the partners were of importance for their profits. In order to achieve these goals, they tried to reach millions of people around the world to convey American culture, policies and values. Fullbright Law of 1946 and Smith-Mund Law of 1948 set an

---

<sup>295</sup> Another important point here is that the Turkish administrators that served the profits of the United States in this period, no matter what their ranks were, were also preserving their personal profits through these relations.

example for the regulations made to reorganize cultural relations with foreign countries in this period.<sup>296</sup>

The requirements regarding the promotion of American culture which appeared in the military and economic agreements of the day also point at these goals. The Agreement on the Constitution of a Turkish-American Education Commission issued on 27 December 1949 is one of these agreements. The following statements were in the preamble of this agreement:

*American Government has been making agreements with numerous states regarding the sale of its remaining military supplies after the war, and in order to provide these countries to pay for the aforementioned purchases in dollars, and in the hope to to promulgate American culture, it included sections in these agreements requesting the designated grants to be spent in cultural activities.*<sup>297</sup>

The United States Education Commission was established in Turkey after this agreement. The objective of this commission was to plan and supervise the communication between Turkish and American experts, especially in the field of education. This way, it was thought, the staff members that worked in a variety of professions would share technical information and experiences for development from which both parties would benefit. The Commission was established under the auspices of the Turkish government, however it carried on with its activities without any Turkish supervision, and this drawback drew heavy criticism. Some of these complaints directed were that the members of this commission were collecting information on the Turkish education system in order to use it against the Turks in the future, and that the American experts were educating their own collaborators in schools, universities and ministries and would later use these partners to start a type of cultural imperialism in Turkey.<sup>298</sup>

The 1949 Education Agreement did not limit its activities with the education of the Turkish personnel by the American experts. In accordance with the respective cultural activities, thousands of Turks and Americans have joined exchange programs, travelled to each other's countries, underwent trainings and exchanged professional information and experiences. The reason why these activities were objected by the critics is because many of the students that had joined these exchange programs served in important positions in Turkey in the following years. A report

---

<sup>296</sup> Esra, Pakin. "American Studies in Turkey During the 'Cultural' Cold War", **Turkish Studies**, Volume: 9, Number:3, 2008, p.509

<sup>297</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Yetkin, Darbeler, p. 373.

<sup>298</sup> Yavi, Kurtarılan, p. 98 and Arcayürek, pp. 145-146.



(1968) written by Richard Podol who had served in the American Mission in Turkey includes statements that support these acclaims:

*The aid program which has been in use for the past twenty years finally started to pay back. It is almost impossible to come across a ministry or public economic enterprise where a Turk who went through an American education does not manage. It is expected that soon they will be in higher offices than general directorate or undersecretariat.*<sup>299</sup>

The American side often looked at the same matter from a different perspective, however. According to them, many of the foundations, associations and exchange programs that started to operate in this period, Rockefeller Foundation, Fulbright, British Association for American Studies to name a few, would help the collaborating countries in internalizing values, such as American economic methods, individualism, entrepreneurship, competition, liberal education and private ownership<sup>300</sup> that were considered important for development. In this manner, the United States did indeed educate its own collaborators in the hope to establish a world order with free trade principles in which it would become a leader.

The works carried out by the American Commission in the fields of education and culture has influenced the future policies of Turkey greatly. The American government often made decisions in line with the reports of the American experts that resided in Turkey and in order to make the most out of the situation, one sided flow of information was enabled on behalf of America. Meanwhile, pro-American publications, magazines, studies carried out in universities, art and architecture movements that became popular as a result of acculturation were embraced by the new generation that already acquired an American perspective in school. In this manner, it could be said that the country was also going through a cultural imperialism. However, it must also be reminded that the American propaganda that was made in this period was not limited with the borders of Turkey and that the political discourse of the Turkish administrators was for the most part the main reason for the cultural imperialism that flourished in the country.

The second and indirect effect of the Turkish-American relations on the Turkish education system was the reformation of the system by the DP government in a manner to re-enable religious education. As it should be recalled, Atatürk wanted to end duality in education through the Law on Unity of Education and paid great em-

---

<sup>299</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Arcayürek, p. 146.

<sup>300</sup> Pakin, p.511.

phasis to nationalize the education system. His objective was to terminate the intellectual-common difference that was created due to different approaches, and his remedy was to educate the citizens that lived in rural settings to bring them up to the level of intellectuals in order to modernize the whole country.

However, this duality which was the main obstacle in the way of Turkish Enlightenment was re-activated during the DP period with the re-opening of imam-preacher high schools, Quran courses, dervish convents and lodges. DP's take on the re-activation of these religious institutions and inclusion of mandatory religious courses in school curriculums<sup>301</sup> was, as previously mentioned, to please its voters and to prove to the United States that Turkey was willing to take part in the containment policy, eliminating the communist ideology with religion. In domestic politics, Democratic Party administration was claiming that the new policies of education were reflecting the new understanding of religious freedoms that were constituted in accordance with the requests of the national will. In this context, fundamentalism was on the rise both in America and in Turkey in this period, but it could be said that this rise happened in Turkey due to insistent efforts of the Turkish government. To elucidate with the words of Tefvik İleri, the Turkish Minister of Education:

*A primary school kid is in an age of nurture and indoctrination. The kid would also learn religion only through indoctrination. Therefore, the kid would never ever forget this first information about the presence of God and the prophet. However, in high school if a student had studied cosmography, physics and he does not believe in God, or if he does, you can not change his opinion at that stage (...) If there were two boys and both of them went through the same education, and one of them performed prayer and fasted, and the other spent his leisure time drinking and gambling, I would like to ask you, which one of these boys is more useful for the country. It's a shame... Truman, Churchill etc... they kneel in front of clergymen and kiss hands... They do not count as bigoted... But here people get scared as they would get scared of the plague when they hear the words religion or God... We have no rights to play into the hands of the Reds.*<sup>302</sup>

These statements of Tefvik İleri, which were uttered while presenting the justifications of the mandatory religion lessons in primary schools summarize the spirit of those years. Through this step, the government would give a religious education to children at an early age, in order to cause them to form religious beliefs prior to their introduction to positive sciences. In the very same statements, the youth that “performs prayer” and “fasts” was compared to an atheist youth, the devout one was

<sup>301</sup> The elective courses on religion were placed in the education system by RPP, before the 1950 elections. These courses that were instructed outside the usual curriculums were first included in the programs during the DP administration, and were later turned into compulsory courses.

<sup>302</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Şeyhanlıoğlu, p. 239.

called “useful for the country” or “the patriot”, while the atheist one was linked to “gambling” and “drinking” both of which were actions that could not be admitted by a conservative society. In this discourse, devoutness meant patriotism, the Western leaders were religion-friendly and the nonreligious, who were automatically considered to be atheists, were siding with the communists.

The Red Scare started in Turkey in the early 1940’s after the Soviet threats and it became a part of the daily political discourse during the bilateral relations that were formed with the United States. It was used as a justification for the steps taken to expand the religious sphere and this way it served the counterrevolution. Though the anti-communist propaganda started in Turkey as a medium to request help from the Western countries, soon it started to be used in domestic policies to identify all kinds of opposition as anti-religious.

These policies had a great impact on the Turkish education system, as the village institutes and community centers, which could be called the hallmarks of Turkish Enlightenment, were closed due to the anti-communist propaganda that was manifested in this period. The village institute project that projected the participation of the peasants in the overall production through education and awareness was also a part of the plan that proposed the like-minded citizens to form a new republic culture. This way, the differences between the urban population and the rural population would be smoothened out. However, the village institutes, that were first criticized in the single party rule about being unsuitable with Turkish morals and traditions<sup>303</sup> went through a structural change in the following years, through which the coeducation was finalized and the practical style of “learning by doing” was replaced with a different style that focused only on “learning.” Finally, during the DP administration, the village institutes were turned into Village Teacher’s Training Schools<sup>304</sup> and a few years after that they were finally closed down officially in 1954 with the justification that they were institutions that had been spreading the communist ideology.<sup>305</sup> Likewise, community centers that were established as a part of the republic culture plan and hosted thousands of conferences, theater plays and concerts, served the public with their libraries and helped increase the literacy rate

---

<sup>303</sup> Arcayürek, pp. 195-196.

<sup>304</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Kemal Karpat, **Turkey’s Politics: The Transition to a Multi-party System**, Princeton, 1959, p. 380 cited by Ahmad, p. 104.

<sup>305</sup> Yetkin, p. 244.

of the population were blamed for “being products of fascism”<sup>306</sup> and closed in 1951 in accordance with the law number 5830.<sup>307</sup>

Throughout the 1950’s many intellectualst that sympathized (or claimed to sympathise) with the communist ideology were punished by the American state. A similar campaign took place in Turkey in the same period, and the accusation of the leftist intellectuals as being communists has left an impact on the image of the well-read people as being non-religious in the public memory. While the United States government went through a phase of witch hunt through the McCarthy interrogations, arresting and deporting communist intellectuals, in Turkey a defamatory campaign was carried out in the context of the Öner-Yücel case. In this incident, following DP İstanbul Provincial Chairman Kenan Öner’s claims that Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel was protecting communists and leftists, Yücel brought a libel suit against Öner. Over these events, Democratic Party tried to authenticate that the said intellectuals<sup>308</sup> and the RPP, which Hasan Ali Yücel was a deputy of, were all communists.

As it can be seen, the agreements signed between Turkey and the United States under Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, led Turkey to enter the capitalist system and become a member of the new world order planned out by the US after World War II. In this period, positive changes took place for Turkey as in the case of the increase in agricultural production and the reflection of this outcome to welfare, as well as the bad ones, as in enabling the United States to trade in Turkey with extraordinary benefits. In the end, Turkey became dependent on foreign financial sources. Over and above, after a nationwide American propaganda that was carried out with the assistance of the Turkish authorities, Turkey has left its original purpose of modernization, “reaching the level of contemporary nations” and designated a new one instead, “becoming little America.” In the ten years that the Democratic Party governed the country, the policies carried out in the hope to please the party’s conservative wing and the liberal wing also shaped the country, as DP adopted free market economy to satisfy the business world, and made a counterrevolution to comfort the conservatives. Due to these decisions and steps, the dual structure in

---

<sup>306</sup> Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine. Metin Aydoğan, **Antik Çağdan Küreselleşmeye Yönetim Gelenekleri ve Türkler**, Volume: 2, Umay Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006, pp. 955-956 cited by Seyhanlıoğlu, p. 233.

<sup>307</sup> Kili, p.160.

<sup>308</sup> For further details on Öner-Yücel case, see Hasan Ali Yücel, **Davam**, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011.

society, which was previously removed through the works of Atatürk modernization, re-appeared and the changes made in the education system has caused the traditionalist mentality to become widespread once again. Meanwhile, as a consequence of the anti-communist policies that were confirmed by the paranoid style political discourse, the education projects that aimed for a Turkish enlightenment were terminated.



## CONCLUSION

The history of Turkish modernization starts with Ottoman period reforms. During the reigns of III. Selim and II. Mahmut, a series of reforms took place involving the military and economics fields, however, these improvements were far behind the progress made in European Renaissance and Reformation. While the West was going through popular revolutions that resulted in states to acknowledge main principles of Enlightenment, such as freedom, egalitarianism, laicism and guarantee of individual rights, the objective of the Ottoman Empire reforms was to re-establish the economic and political authority of the state, which was shaken by the end of the period of conquests. The Ottoman state took desperate measures to suppress the riots started by the reactionaries, who were against the new reforms, by liquidating the Guild of Janissaries and a variety of lodges and cults which hindered the reform movement using the religious authority.

Ottoman modernization movement has continued into the next century through the Edict of Reform and Imperial Edict of Gülhane, and in Tanzimat reform era a series of political reforms were made, including the recognition of property rights, state's guarantee of individual freedoms, foundation of people's assemblies and regulations regarding the equality of Muslims and Non-muslims. Tanzimat era embraced the first democratic steps of the Ottoman Empire, and although the country was still far from going through an enlightenment period, the recognition of basic rights and liberties by the Ottoman state, and the foundation of modern schools that gave a high quality of education similar to those in Western countries could still be considered as important attempts. The generation educated in these modern schools was in touch with the recent developments that took place in the Western world and enabled new movements of thought to enter the country. Thinkers and writers of this generation further influenced the reformers of the Republic Period through their ideas and works that circulated in the Constitutional Monarchy Period.

The sultanate of II. Abdülhamid period witnessed two converse approaches to modernization. Construction of railways, widespread use of telegraph, the publication of a variety of newspapers and magazines, and the establishment of the parliaments in two separate constitutional monarchy attempts were positive developments in the name of Turkish modernization. The limitations on freedom of expression, the

imprisonment of opposing newspaper reporters, the liquidation of the parliaments, and the exploitation of religion in the political sphere were the negative policies of the same sultan that brought the country back in modernization.

A thorough evaluation of the Ottoman period reforms reveals that there were three main reasons why these improvements could not count as a modernization in the Western sense. The first reason is that the mentality of modernization did not take hold among the people. Once the conquests came to a halt, an economic depression occurred and it was thought that the old order would regain its long-awaited splendor through military reforms and import of technologies from Europe. However, the state could not afford the pecuniary obligations of the reforms, which had only changed the life standards of the urban population of the empire and levied heavy taxes from the Muslim subjects, who were engaged in farming and were already impoverished. As a result, the people started to blame Western style of modernization for poverty, took refuge in religion, and internalized traditionalism as opposed to progressivists that insisted upon the importance of modernization and had a share in the reform movement. The importation of certain technologies from Europe had caused modernization to be misidentified and in order to progress, the empire started to imitate the powerful countries, which were at the time the Western nations.

The second reason is that the progressivist-reactionist dichotomy, which deepened due to the false interpretations of modernization was not terminated. A sharp contrast occurred between the intellectuals that received a modern education in the schools that were established in Tanzimat period and the coteries that received a religious education in the traditionalist system concerning modernity. While those who received a modern education supported the reforms in the name of progress, the ones that received a religious education adopted traditionalism and insisted that the Ottoman Empire would return to its glorious days only if the status quo was preserved and the sharia law was enforced more frequently. This dichotomy that appeared between the intellectuals and the people was caused due to the preservation of the institutions, which conserved the old values, alongside the foundation of modern superstructures. The old values that did not comply with the contemporary mindset intercepted the traditionalists in accommodating themselves with modernization.

The third reason, which could as well be called a problem, and which also influenced the Turkish Revolution indirectly was the exploitation of religion for political

purposes. In the Ottoman state regulations, the sultan had absolute authority in politics and was also considered the representative of the divine power on earth, as the caliphate. A majority of the society was Muslim, the people were administered with a system based on nations, the state had control over the minorities through religious leaders and the values that kept the Muslims in unity were ummah and the sharia. In the Western world, the authority of the church and the state were separated by laicism after the Reformation made in religion. However, making a similar reform in religion in the Ottoman Empire would mean the collapse of the state, since the whole political and social structure were religion-oriented. This is why, while the Western countries could form new states, adopt laicism, provide their citizens with individual freedoms, and develop through new movements of thought, the Ottoman state made improvements in the old system, banned the teaching of positive sciences and philosophy in its traditionalist education system, and hindered the spread of new movements that could destruct the ummah on the individual and the whole state on the social level. This dilemma that the Ottoman sultans were faced with can clearly be seen in the emphasis given to sharia in the edicts and in the policies of II. Abdülhamid throughout the thirty years period of autocracy. II. Abdülhamid made use of the reactions that occurred in the society against modernization, in the name of protecting the state and his own reign, and emphasized the importance of sharia causing the already-present traditionalist tendencies to become a widespread practice. The glorification of traditionalism by the state prevented enlightenment mentality to enter or make a difference in the society and legitimized the reactions against modernization.

While the novelties were accepted in accordance with their compatibility with sharia in the Ottoman Empire, on the other side of the ocean, The United States was going through its own modernization period. In America, the principles of the Anglo-Saxon past, such as egalitarianism, checks and balances, property rights, freedom of speech were preserved by the law since the founding years and these principles, together with the Protestant values of ambition, individualism and sense of responsibility have formed the *American Dream*. This phenomenon enabled people with different beliefs, cultures or social levels to work together in harmony and serve the welfare of the country and could be read as a manifestation of the pluralistic democracy culture that has been a part of the United States since the beginning. According to this system, every individual that believes in the *American Dream*, chases his/her own personal goals to achieve success, in the meantime the



American State preserves the rights of the individuals and forms the ideal conditions for competition in a fair sense.

Another concept that makes the United States a unique country is American Exceptionalism. Based on the interpretations of the Bible made by the Puritan settlers, the concept of exceptionalism defines the American people as the ones chosen by God and focuses on the unity of the people in a divine mission of "being a model for the world." Though it was a religious tenet at first, this concept has been used effectively by the political authority in different times and events and was the primary justification of the continental and foreign expansion policies of the state.

The United States emerged as an economic power in the world during the Industrial Revolution, due to the clever use of the technical inventions and the advantages of its geographical conditions. Once the resources of the continent began to fall short of the production capacity, the American government started to look for new sources of raw materials and markets abroad. The Monroe Doctrine helped the Americans to stay away from a competition with Europe, and the First World War and focus on their own production potential using the resources in Latin America. After the Second World War, the United States took steps to preserve world peace and to develop free trade in better conditions around the world. Americans have always preferred their collaborators to be democratic countries, since they were in need of an egalitarian understanding guaranteed by law while doing business. In this manner, in those countries that did not provide the best conditions, the Americans have never hesitated to "bring democracy" through military interventions. According to the American perspective, these interventions are made to ensure the adoption of democratic values that are the best option for all the world nations, and are carried out in accordance with America's original "mission."

The post-war environment of the world caused the United States to emerge as an economic superpower and the leader of democracy among the other nations. While the European economy suffered greatly during and after the war, having sold weapons and given loans to the countries that joined the war, the United States made a great breakthrough in economics and increased its welfare. The same period witnessed a Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, in which both of the countries tried to limit the sphere of influence of its opponent.

This was also a war of capitalist and communist ideologies, hence, starting from the early 1940's the American governments adopted a paranoid style political discourse both in domestic and foreign policies to vilify the communist ideology. This

political discourse has caused the communist ideology to be paired with religious hostility in the United States, in which a large percentage of the population were conservatives. However, this policy, which started out as a propaganda to protect the capitalist system and restrain the communists circles from gaining any strength, soon turned into a witch hunt through the McCarthy interrogations. In this new political environment, the leftists were punished or deported for their political beliefs, while the fundamentalists and conservatives were identified as patriots, and these pairings have had a great negative impact on the image of intellectualism and the necessity of education in the public sphere, which would not be able to be changed in the following decades.

The modernization theory was proposed in the same years and shaped the foreign policies of the United States with the ex colonies that were to be included in the capitalist system. The theory projected that the “under-developed” or “developing” countries could be modernized if they were to follow through the policies of the “modern” nations that had been through an industrial revolution, and mainly included humanist values, such as bringing up modern individuals and reconstruction of education systems for the benefit of welfare. However, the misinterpretation of the theory under the context of American exceptionalism could cause these developing countries to imitate the United States in economic, political and cultural spheres while trying to adapt to an American style of modernization. Being a “modern” country was often paired with “having economic welfare” in these countries, and this approach has served the United States well in manipulating the economic systems of these countries in line with American profits. Meanwhile, the anti-communist propagandas yielded an American admiration and the sales of American products in these markets increased as an indirect yet beneficial consequence.

Atatürk’s modernization movement, which is commonly known as the Turkish Revolution, has started almost thirty years before the introduction of the Modernization Theory. This revolution took the European Enlightenment as a model and aspired to end the authority of religion over social life through the liquidation of all institutions of the Ottoman Empire that were related with the old order. The reformists of the Turkish Republic believed that ignorance and traditionalism were the greatest obstacles in modernization and in this respect, they made radical changes in the Turkish education system. The new system was national and pragmatic, and it had the purposes of infusing the enlightenment ideas into the public and materializing the education-production correlation. The main objective of the Turkish Revolution

was to bring the Turkish nation into the level of “contemporary civilizations.” This goal was to be achieved in the guidance of science and reason, and this modernization was to be carried out in a unique way, preserving the national values and characteristics of the Turkish nation along the way.

This modernization objective was altered by the wrong policies of the Turkish governments between the years 1945-1960, in the period that the bilateral relations with the United States have first started. As a consequence of these policies, Turkey entered a new era in which ignorance was blessed by the paranoid style political discourse, scientific information lost its importance as a beacon, imitation of a foreign country was the new medium for reaching the level of contemporary civilizations, modernization was measured with economic data and the Turkish Enlightenment went out of existence. Ignorance and religious superstitions were considered as the greatest enemies of the nation in Atatürk modernization, but as an outcome of the collaborations made with the United States, this perspective had changed also, and the new enemies were identified as communism and leftism. Through the paranoid style political discourse that was adopted after the Turkish-American relations, being religious was paired with patriotism, religion was abused as a political instrument and traditionalism was used as a state policy. In the same period, the concept of “national will” started to be used in political discourse, causing democracy to be perceived in a majoritarian sense in the following years in Turkey. A series of changes made in the education system, excluding national and pragmatic education policies. While in the urban areas, the new generation that interacted with the American culture grew distant to the nature of the national modernization policies, in the rural areas, the termination of the village institute project caused the social structure to change once again paving the way for landlords and the gentry to regain their power.

The negative effects of these policies that were adopted by the Turkish state between the years 1945-1960 are still felt in present day Turkey. Turkey follows a majoritarian democracy and this approach is still supported by the political discourse of “national will.” The country’s modernity is still measured with economic growth, problems regarding freedom of expression still exist, the press is under the pressure of the political authorities, though laicism is one of the main principles of the constitutions, its existence is still a topic of discussion in the context of progressivism and reactionism, and the paranoid style political discourse is still used effectively by the political parties of the day. Religious values are being abused by politicians, people

are being invited to fight against made-up enemies and take the side of the good against the evil, devotion still means patriotism, laicism is still explained through actions that degrade moral values and in order for this system to run, ignorance is being blessed.

All of the aforementioned problems were inherited in a specific period in Turkish history and the reasons behind them can be explained by the counterrevolution policies that kept the country away from its enlightenment approach. Turkey has one of the fastest growing economies today, but is still far from being a modern civilization. In order to achieve this goal, Turkey is yet to ensure pluralist democracy, use its checks and balances system efficiently, regenerate the damaged image of its judicial system, reconstruct its education system to re-enforce critical thinking skills of the coming generations and in order to take all of these steps in a society where the majority of the population is conservative and ignorant, the authorities have to stop using a paranoid style political discourse against the opposition and focus on identification and solution of the real problems of the country.

## REFERENCES

Adams, James Truslow. **The Epic of America**, Simon Publications, Florida, 2001.

Ahmad, Feroz. **The Making of Modern Turkey**, Taylor& Francis e-Library, 2003.

Akalın, Cüneyt. **Askerler ve Dış Güçler: Amerikan Belgeleriyle 27 Mayıs Olayı**, Cumhuriyet Kitapları, İstanbul, 2000.

Altun, Fahrettin. **Modernleşme Kuramı: Eleştirel Bir Giriş**, 2nd Edition, Küre Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011.

Altunya, Niyazi. **Köy Enstitüsü Sistemi: Toplu Bakış**. Cumhuriyet Kitapları, İstanbul, 2010.

Anderson, Arnold C. "Modernization of Education", **Modernization**, (Ed. Myron Weiner), Basic Books, New York, 1966, pp. 68-81.

Arcayürek, Cüneyt. **Atatürk'ten Bugünlere Nasıl Geldik**, 4th Edition, Cumhuriyet Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008.

Atabay, Mithat. "Cumhuriyet Kültürü", **Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi**, No: 43, Spring 2009, pp. 455-465.

Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal. **Medeni Bilgiler: Türk Milleti'nin El Kitabı**. Ed. Afet İnan. Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008.

Ataöv, Türkkaya. **Amerikan Belgeleriyle Amerikan Emperyalizminin Doğuşu**, Doğan Yayınevi, Ankara, 1968.

Ataöv, Türkkaya. **Amerika, NATO ve Türkiye**. 3rd Edition. İleri Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006.

Avrupa Birliği Bakanlığı, “AB Bakanlığı Türkiye İlerleme Raporu 2014”, <http://www.ab.gov.tr/index.php?p=46224&l=1>, (15.03.2014)

Aydemir, Şevket Süreyya. **İkinci Adam**, Volume 3, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1968.

Aydın, Nurullah. **Türklerin Küresel Güç Doktrini**, Kum Saati Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008.

Barutçu, Faik Ahmet. **Siyasi Anılar 1939-1954**, Milliyet Yayınları, İstanbul, 1977.

Becket, Sven and Julia B. Rosenbaum. **The American Bourgeoise: Distinction and Identity in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2010.

Bell, Daniel. “The End of American Exceptionalism”, **The American Commonwealth 1976**, (Ed. Nathan Glazer and Irving Kristol), Basic Books, New York, 1976.

Bellah, Robert. “Religious Aspects of Modernization in Turkey and Japan”, **American Journal of Sociology**, Volume: 64, No: 1, 1958, pp. 1-5.

Berkes, Niyazi. **Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma**, 20th Edition, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014.

Biberyan, Zaven. **Babam Aşkale’ye Gitmedi**, Aras Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2000.

Buluç, Ali. **İslam ve Demokrasi: Teokrasi, Totaliterizm**, İz Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1995.

Carnegie Corporation Libraries, <http://carnegie.org/about-us/foundation-history/about-andrew-carnegie/carnegie-for-kids/libraries/>, (10.04.2014).

Cem, İsmail. **Türkiye’de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi**, 20th Edition, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008.

Cevizci, Ahmet. **Felsefe Sözlüğü**, 3rd Edition, Paradigma Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999.

Chafe, William H. **The Achievement of American Liberalism: The New Deal and Its Legacies**, Columbia University Press, NT, 2003.

Coşkun, İsmail. "Modernleşme Kuramı Üzerine", **Sosyoloji Dergisi**, Volume 3, No 1, 1989, pp. 289-304.

Cullen, Jim. **The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea That Shaped a Nation**, Oxford University Press, New York, 2003.

Çizmeli, Şevket. "Din Eğitimi ve Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuk Hakları Sözleşmesi", **Neden Geri Kaldık? Bitmeyen Kavga: Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013, pp. 149-188.

Dağlı, Nuran and Belma Aktürk. **Hükümetler ve Programları 1920-1960**, TBMM Basımevi, Ankara, 1988.

Delbanco, Andrew. **The Real American Dream**. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1999.

Demirel, Tanel. "Kasketler, Şapkalar ve Üniformalar", **NTV Tarih**, May 2010, No 16, pp.38-40.

"Demokrasi Düğümüne Kılıç Darbesi 27 Mayıs 1960", **NTV Tarih**, May 2010, No 16, pp. 30-37.

Dikeçligil, Beylül. "Dünya 'Modernizm' Diyerek Dönüyor", **Yeni Türkiye**, Cumhuriyet Special Edition: 3, No: 23-24, September-December 1998.

Doğan, Recai. "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Tevhid-i Tedrisat Çerçevesinde Din Eğitimi-Öğretimi ve Yapılan Tartışmalar", **Cumhuriyet'in 75. Yılında Türkiye'de Din Eğitimi ve Öğretimi**, Türk Yurdu Yayınları, Ankara, 1999, p. 227.

Duman, Zeki. "Türkiye'de Laiklik Sorununun Siyasal Temelleri", **Uluslararası İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi**, Volume: 7, No: 2, Year: 2010, pp. 284-303.

World Economic Forum, "Global Gender Parity 2014 Report", 06.03.2015  
<http://www.weforum.org/reports>, (06.03.2015)

Ekşi, Oktay. "Küçük Amerika", **Hürriyet Gazetesi**, 22.04.2010  
<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/14497349.asp>, (22.04.2010)

Erer, Tekin. **On Yılın Mücadelesi**, Ticaret Postası Matbaası, İstanbul, 1963.

Eroğlu, Cem. **Demokrat Parti: Tarihi ve İdeolojisi**, İmge Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1990.

Ertem, Barış. "Siyasal Bir Muhalefet Denemesi Olarak Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası", **ODÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi**, Volume 1, No: 2, December 2010, pp. 71-92.

Eroğlu, Hamza. "Atatürk'e Göre Millet ve Milliyetçilik", **Atatürk Yolu**, 3rd Edition, Türk Tarih Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 1995, pp. 131-159.

Feyzioğlu, Turhan. "Atatürk Yolu: Akılcı, Bilimci, Gerçekçi Yol", **Atatürk Yolu**, 3rd Edition, Türk Tarih Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 1995, pp.3-65.

Gaddis, John Lewis. **Strategies of Containment**, Oxford University Press, New York, 2005.

Gallup. "Four in Ten America Believe in Strict Creationism", 17.12.2010,  
<http://www.gallup.com/poll/145286/Four-Americans-Believe-Strict-Creationism.aspx>,  
(18.02.2015)

Gencer, Mustafa. "Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşme Sürecinde Kültür, Din ve Siyaset İlişkileri", **Turkish Studies**. Volume: 3/2, Spring, 2008, pp. 354-369.

Giritli, İsmet. "Kemalizm İdeolojisi", **Atatürk Yolu**, Volume: 3, Türk Tarih Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 1995, pp. 281-299.



Goloğlu, Mahmut. **Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi-1 1924-1930: Devrimler ve Tepkileri**. 3rd Edition, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011.

Gooch, George Peabody Gooch. **English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century**. Harper, New York, 1959.

Gökdoğan, Melek Dosay. "İslam Dünyası'nda Bilim-Din İlişkisi", **Neden Geri Kaldık? Bitmeyen Kavga: Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013. pp. 391-398.

Gülalp, Haldun. "Türkiye'de Modernleşme Politikaları ve İslamcı Siyaset". **Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik**. ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998.

Gündoğan, Ünal. **Amerikan Yüzyılı: Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin Yükselişi ve 11 Eylül 2001**, Adres Yayınları, Ankara, 2008.

Hoffman, Stanley. "More Perfect Union: Nation and Nationalism in America", **Harvard International Review**, Winter: 1997/1998.

Hofstadter, Richard. **Anti-Intellectualism in American Life**. Knopf Inc., New York, 1963.

Hofstadter, Richard. **The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays**, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1996.

Huntington, Samuel P. **Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity**, Simon & Schuster, Sydney, 2004.

Hür, Ayşe. "Küçük Amerika Büyük Amerika'ya Karşı", **Taraf Gazetesi**. 5.09.2010, <http://arsiv.taraf.com.tr/yazilar/ayse-hur/kucuk-amerika-buyuk-amerika-ya-karsi/12835/> (10.04.2014)

Hür, Ayşe. “Muzır Kelimeler ve 2. Abdülhamid”, **Taraf Gazetesi**, 19.02.2012, <http://arsiv.taraf.com.tr/yazilar/ayse-hur/muzir-kelimeler-ve-ii-abdulhamid/20030/>, (20.02.2014).

Inkeles, Alex. “The Modernization of Man”, **Modernization**, (Ed. Myron Weiner), Basic Books, New York, 1966, pp. 138-153.

“İmam Hatip Patlaması!” **Radikal Gazetesi**. 22.08.2014. [http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/imam\\_hatip\\_patlamasi-1208331](http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/imam_hatip_patlamasi-1208331)

İnalçık, Halil. “Türklerin Rönesans’a Etkisi ve Günümüzde Avrasya”, **Neden Geri Kaldık? Bitmeyen Kavga: Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013. pp. 27-44.

Jackoby, Susan. **The Age of American Unreason**, Pantheon Books, New York, 2008.

“Kabineyi Meyhanelerde Toplarlar”, **Haber Türk Gazetesi**, 22.02.2012, <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/718492-kabineyi-meyhanelerde-toplarlar>, (25.11.2012)

Kahraman, Hasan Bülent. “İçselleştirilmiş, Açık ve Gizli Oryantalizm ve Kemalizm”, **Doğu-Batı**. Oryantalizm-1, No: 20/1, Year 5, August- September -December-1, 2002.

Karaçay, Timur. “Çağdaşlaşmanın Önüne Konulan İki Engel: Eğitim ve İnanç Kurumları”, **Neden Geri Kaldık? Bitmeyen Kavga: Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013, pp. 379-390.

Karpat, Kemal. **Osmanlı Modernleşmesi: Toplum, Kurumsal Değişim ve Nüfus**. Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014.

Kili, Suna. **Bir Çağdaşlaşma Modeli. Atatürk Devrimi**. 11. Edition. Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008.

Kissinger, Henry. **Diplomacy**, Touchstone, New York, 1995.

Koch, Adrienne, William Peden. **The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson**, Modern Library, New York, 1944.

Koçbaş, Uğur. "Şeriat İsteyen Türkler'in Oranı", **Vatan Gazetesi**, 9.01.2014, <http://www.gazetevatan.com/ugur-kocbas-599333-yazar-yazisi-seriat-isteyen-turkler-in-orani/>, (9.01.2014)

Kodaman, Bayram. "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Çağdaşlaşma Sorunları", **Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi**, No:18, Year:2005, pp. 149-158.

Kongar, Emre. **Demokrasi ve Kültür**, Hil Yayınları, İstanbul, 1983.

Kongar, Emre. **Toplumsal Değişme Kuramları ve Türkiye Gerçeği**, 5th Edition, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1995, p. 228.

Kuban, Doğan. "Çağdaşlaşmayı Maddi Yaşamınızla Tanımlıyorsunuz", **Neden Geri Kaldık: Bitmeyen Kavga Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011.

Kunt, Mehmet Emin. **Aydınlıktan Karanlığa Türkiye Cumhuriyeti**, Pupa Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011.

Kömçeoğlu, Uğur. "Küreselleşme, Modernleşme, Modernlik", **Doğu-Batı**, 3rd Edition, No : 18, July 2006, Doğu Batı Yayınları, Ankara, pp. 11-29.

Lewis, Bernard. **Demokrasinin Türkiye Serüveni**, Tran. Hamdi Aydoğan and Esra Ermert, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007.

Lewis, Bernard. **The Emergence of Modern Turkey**, 2nd Edition, Oxford University Press, London, 1967.

Lipset, Seymour and Martin Lipset. **American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword**, Norton, New York, 1996.

Luedtke, Luther S. "The Search For American Character". **Making America: The Society and Culture of the United States**. Ed. Luther S. Luedtke. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1992.

Mardin, Şerif. **Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey**, Syracuse University Press, New York, 2006.

McClelland, David. "The Impulse to Modernization", **Modernization**, (Ed. Myron Weiner), Basic Books, New York, 1966, pp.28-39.

Merdan, Yanardağ. **Bir ABD Projesi olarak AKP**. Siyah Beyaz Kitap, İstanbul, 2007.

Moore, Barrington. **Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World**, 7th Edition, Beacon Press, Boston, 1972.

Myrdal, Gunnar. **An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy**, Volume: 1, Harper, New York, 1962.

Nal, Sabahattin Nal. "Demokrat Parti'nin 1950-1954 Dönemi Din Siyaseti", **Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi**, No: 60-3, pp.138-171.

OECD, "OECD Kaliteli Yaşam Endeksi, 2013", <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/turkey/>, (18.12.2013)

Okumuş, Ejder. "Toplumsal Değişme ve Din". **Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi**, Fall-2009, Volume 8, No: 30, pp.323-347.

O'Leary, Cecilia Elizabeth. **To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism**, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1999.

Öymen, Altan. **Değişim Yılları**, 10th Edition, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul, 2010.

Özay, Yaşar. "İşte Türkiye'nin Eğitim Atlası", **Sabah Gazetesi**, 12.02.2014, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/egitim/2014/02/12/iste-turkiyenin-egitim-atlasi>, (12.02.2014)

Özek, Çetin. **Türkiye’de Gerici Akımlar**, Gerçek Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1968, p. 168.

Pak, Namık Kemal. “Bilimde Çağdaşlaşma Mücadelemiz: Tübitak ve Tüba Vakaları”, **Neden Geri Kaldık? Bitmeyen Kavga: Çağdaşlaşma**, (Ed. Varol Ataman), Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013, pp.235-276.

Pakin, Esra. “American Studies in Turkey During the ‘Cultural’ Cold War”, **Turkish Studies**, Volume: 9, No:3, 2008, pp.507-524.

Parmaksızoğlu, İsmet. **Türkiye’de Din Eğitimi**, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1966.

Rosenberg, Emily S. **Spreading the American Dream. American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945**, Hill and Wang, New York, 1982.

Said, Edward. **Orientalism**, Vintage, New York, 1979.

Sander, Oral. **Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri 1947-1964**, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 1979.

Sevgen, Nazmi. **Celal Bayar Diyor Ki**, Tan Matbaası, İstanbul, 1951.

Şeyhanlıoğlu, Hüseyin. **Demokrat Parti**, Kadim Yayınevi, Ankara, 2011.

Tazegül, Murat. **Modernleşme Sürecinde Türkiye**, Babil, İstanbul, 2005.

“The Umbrella of Liberalism”, <http://www.csuchico.edu/~gwright/1945intro.htm> (10.03.2015).

“The United States Constitution,” <http://turkish.turkey.usembassy.gov/media/pdf/abd-anayasasi.pdf> (10.06.2015).

Tucker, Robert W., David C. Hendrickson. **Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson**, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990.

Tunaya, Tarık Z. **Türkiye’de Siyasi Partiler 1859-1952**, Arba Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995.

“TÜİK’ten Utandıran Kitap Okuma Raporu”, **Bugün Gazetesi**, 22.04.2014, <http://www.bugun.com.tr/yasam/avrupada-son-siradayiz-haberi/1071994>, (23.04.2014)

“Türkiye Yoksullukta En kötü Üçüncü Ülke!”, **T24**, 22.05.2015. <http://t24.com.tr/haber/turkiye-yoksullukta-en-kotu-ucun-ucuncu-ulke,297434>, (22.05, 2015)

“Türkiye’yi Muasır Medeniyetler Seviyesine Çıkarmak İçin Başkanlık Sistemi Şart”, **Milliyet Gazetesi**, 18.04.2015, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-turkiye-yi-muasir-kocaeli-yerelhaber-736746/>, (18.04.2015)

UNDP, “UNDP 2014 Human Development Report”, 22.04.2015. <http://www.tr.undp.org/content/turkey/en/home/countryinfo/> , (22.04.2014)

Ülken, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, **Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi**, 4th Edition, Ülken Yayınları, İstanbul, 1994.

Ünal, Çiğdem. “İnsani Gelişmişlik Endeksine Göre Türkiye’nin Bölgesel Farklılıkları”, **Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi**, Volume:6, No:2, 2008, pp.89-113.

Trachtenberg, Alan. **The Incorporation of America. Culture and Society in the Gilded Age**, Hill and Wang, New York, 1988.

Yahudi Kadınlar Arşivi. <http://jwa.org/thisweek/dec/21/1919/emma-goldman->, (10.01.2014).

Yalazan, Ateş. “Mucize: Kul Olanların Yurttaş Olmaları”, **Hürriyet Gazetesi**, 27.10. 2010, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/16142420.asp>, (27.10.2010).

Yavi, Ersal. **Batırılan Bir Ülke Nasıl Kurtarılır**, 4th Edition, Yazıcı Yayıncılık, İzmir, 2009.

Yetkin, Çetin. **Karşı Devrim: 1945-1950**, Kilit Yayınları, Ankara, 2012.

Yetkin, Çetin. **Türkiye’de Askeri Darbeler ve Amerika**, 5th Edition, Kilit Yayınları, Ankara, 2011.

Yılmaz, Sait. **Türkiye’deki Amerika: İkili İlişkiler ve ABD’nin Örtülü Operasyonları**. Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2014.

Yurttaş, Muzaffer. "35. Madde Derhal Kaldırılmalıdır", 06.02.2013  
<http://www.muzafferyurttas.com.tr/makaledetay.php?id=10>, (06.02.2013)

Yücel, Hasan Ali. **Davam**, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011.

Zürcher, Erik Jan. **Turkey: A Modern History**, I.B. Tauris, New York, 2004.