

**Kemalist İdeolojinin Yerleşmesinde Şevket Süreyya Aydemir'in
Katkıları ve Kadro Dergisi'ndeki Yazıları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme**
*An Assessment on the Contribution of Şevket Süreyya Aydemir to the Establishment of
Kemalist Ideology and his Writings in the Kadro Journal*

Dr. Meral KUZGUN
(ORCID:0000-0003-1314-0128)
Kilis 7 Aralık Üniversitesi - Kilis

Öz: Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra başlayan Atatürk devrimleri belli bir programa dayanmamakla birlikte gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Cumhuriyetin siyasi elitleri, toplumu çağ dışı gerilikten kurtarmak ve ülkeyi ekonomik olarak kaldırmak istemişlerdir. Böyle bir atmosferde devrim sürecinde olan Türkiye'nin, devriminin ideolojisi olabilecek bir düşünce sistemi üretmemesi, Kadrocuları bir araya getiren en önemli etken olmuştur. Böylelikle Kadro dergisi, yayın hayatına Ocak 1932'de başlamakla birlikte temel hedeflerinden biri, Ankara rejimi için özgün bir ideoloji üretmek olmuştur. Kadro, Kemalizm temsil edildiği sol çizgide yer almakla birlikte yalnızca Türkiye'de değil aynı zamanda yakın gelecekte kurtuluşa kavuşacakları umulan sömürge ve yarı sömürgelerde de uygulanacak bir ideoloji yaratmaya çalışmıştır.

Kadro dergisinin Türk düşünce hayatında çok önemli bir yeri olmakla birlikte derginin en önemli isimlerinden biri olan Şevket Süreyya Aydemir'i ayrı bir yere koymak gerekir. Bu çalışmamızdaki amacımız; derginin yayın hayatındaki akışına yön veren Şevket Süreyya'nın çalkantılı geçen ömründe yaşadıklarının fikir hayatına nasıl yansımalarını ortaya koyabilmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Kadro, Marksizm, Kemalizm, Devletçilik

Abstract: Although not based on a specific program, Atatürk's reforms which started after the proclamation of the Republic were tried to be realized. The political elites of the Republic had an intention of setting the society free from the anachronous bigotry and developing the country in economic terms. The failure of Turkey, undergoing a reformist process in such an atmosphere, was to establish a thought system that could serve as the ideology of the reform and this was the most important factor bringing Kadrocular (columnists of the Kadro Journal) together. Thus, one of the primary objectives of the Kadro Journal which began its publication life in January 1932 was creating a unique ideology for Ankara regime. Although it stood within the leftist line where Kemalism was represented, the Kadro attempted to create an ideology that could be applied not only in Turkey, but also in colonies and semi-colonies which were expected to be saved in the near future.

In addition to the critical role that he plays in the Turkish opinion community, one needs to open a specific parenthesis for Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, one of the most important names of the journal. Our aim in this study is to set forth how the turbulent life experience of Şevket Süreyya who shaped the flow of the journal in literature was reflected in his life of ideas.

Keywords: Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Kadro, Marxism, Kemalism, Statism

Introduction

We are of the opinion that the performance of an assessment on Kemalism and Kemalist reforms would help us have a better insight into the Kadro movement before addressing the Kadro Journal and Şevket Süreyya's columns.

The phrase "ideology" was first put forward during the French Revolution and we see that it was first used by Destut de Tract in 1796. As emphasized by Maurice Duverger, a renown French political scientist of our era and a Constitutional Law Professor, ideologies are systems of thoughts, ideas and beliefs. The ideology, being a school of thought rather than a philosophy, comprises a political action scheme, not the policy itself.¹

The concept of Kemalism was first included in the expression "the French seem to be well-intentioned towards Kemalists" as used by De Robeck, an English High Commissioner, in 1920. Thus, the term of Kemalism was first used by the English as a concept of foreign origin. In general, Kemalism is used to refer to "Pro-Mustafa Kemal view" and Kemalist is expressed to mean "a supporter of Mustafa Kemal" due to the fact that Atatürkism is not defined within the frame of the National Struggle. In publications made during the national struggle, Kemalism was characterized by the foreign media as a nationalist movement against invaders and imperialists. Domestically, those who were engaged in a national sovereignty struggle against the padishah, caliph and Istanbul government with intent to establish a new state were called Kemalists. However, Atatürk opted for using the phrase "Turkish Reform" instead of Kemalism which was put forward by Europeans by using his own name.²

On the one hand, Kemalism is characterized as pragmatist since it is based on intelligence and science. On the other hand, it is included in pragmatic and democratic ideologies since it originates from the principle of national sovereignty and stipulates the creation of a libertarian pluralistic state". Therefore, Kemalism is an ideology undoubtedly. Kemalism is an ideology of "national modernization".³

Kemalism emerged as a political ideology that came into existence as the outcome of the quest for what kind of a society the Turkish Republic, which was recently established in a sense, would incorporate and on which foundations the national would be built as based on the concept of "classless-unproblematic-uniform" nation. In this context, it is impossible to consider Kemalism independent from political developments emerging after the Tanzimat reform era, the modernization of Ottomans, the movement of Young Turks and the Committee of Union and Progress. In addition to a historical background, some persons and developments further contribute to the shaping of Kemalist ideology.⁴

Kemalism is not only a doctrine composed of ideas and ideals, but also a scheme for movement. It is a doctrine that incorporates the elements of idealism and realism. Independence and unconditional sovereignty of people, one of the primary fundamentals of Kemalism, stands out in the era of National Struggle including the period from 1919 to 1922. However, the primary development of this doctrine took place during the congress of CHP (Republican People's Party) convening periodically. The doctrine of Kemalism consists of six

¹ İsmet Giritli, "Kemalizm İdeolojisi", *Atatürk Yolu*, Subedited By Turhan Feyzioğlu, Mustafa Aysan, Hamza Eroğlu, İsmet Giritli, Mehmet Gönübol, Ankara 1995, pg. 281-283.

² Süleyman İnan, Atatürkçülük (Kemalizm) ve İdeoloji, visit <http://www.libertedownload.com/LD/arsiv/36/08-suleyman-inan-ataturkculuk-kemalizm-ve-ideoloji.pdf>, 04.01.1016.

³ İsmet Giritli, "Kemalizm, Bir Ulusal Modernleşme İdeolojisidir", *Milliyet*, 25.02. 1981, pg.2.

⁴ Mustafa Doğanoglu, Kemalist İdeolojinin Şekillenmesinde Ziya Gökalp'ın Etkileri", *Çukurova University Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences Journal*, V: 19, Issue: 1, 2015, pg. 28.

pillars, four of which are fundamental. Four fundamental pillars are people, statesmanship and political and civil rights of citizens. Six pillars are the principles referring that Turkey is a nationalist, populist, statist, secular and reformist republic.⁵

Besides being a national sovereignty struggle, the Kemalist Reform is a great enlightenment project and cultural revolution. It aimed at building a totally new and modern Republic that would eliminate all drawbacks of the former regime and creating a new and modern human. However, the Kemalist Reform, which was already weak against the societal structure whose central base was grounded on the Ottoman heritage, intensified the breaking of poor bonds with the community due to its strong reformist methods employed in an attempt to create a secular and modern state. Under these circumstances, a gap emerged between the state and the community. In the Kemalist Reform, resolutions were adopted and implemented by a limited number of elites and attempts were made to impose such resolutions on a top-down basis. The community broke loose from the state and elites as a result of the pattern of Westernization reforms. The political and economic quest of 1930's initiated by Pro-Mustafa Kemal and Republican elites and the inclusive discourse of Kemalism led to the emergence of more than one Kemalism concept at that time. In this period, three Kemalism concepts were prevalent in particular. The first one was the statist and strictly Kemalist concept which was shaped under the leadership of prominent figures such as İsmet İnönü and Recep Peker who were recognized as the bureaucratic group within CHP. The second one was the group of İş Bankası comprised of liberal economy supporters under the leadership of Celal Bayar. The third group consisting of "Republican Conservatives" led by Peyami Safa and İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu attempted to interpret Kemalism in a different context as a result of their view that supports the gradual change and refrains from excluding morale.⁶

In Turkey, Kemalism was first promulgated during the 4th Congress convened by CHP in 1935. "Kemalism" was set forth as the new name of the regime by the incorporation of the phrase "All principles pursued by the party are the principles of Kemalism" into the new scheme of CHP. Following the death of Atatürk, Kemalism was fully abandoned during the era of the President İsmet İnönü (1939-1950). As a result of resolutions adopted in the 7th Congress convened by CHP in 1947, "six fundamentals and Kemalism" were officially terminated.⁷

Life of Şevket Süreyya Aydemir and the Shaping of His Views

So-called originator and theoretician of the Kadro movement, Şevket Süreyya was born in Edirne in 1897. Having moved to this frontier province together with his family, Şevket Süreyya followed the path of his elder brothers and enrolled in the Military Junior High School of Edirne. Having turned 11 on 23 July 1908 when the Constitutionalism was promulgated, Şevket Süreyya was under the influence of religious discipline of his mother. His elder brothers, who served as officers during the rebellion of 31 March (1909) at the beginning of the 20th century when the Ottoman Empire underwent hard times, were relocated in Istanbul together with the voluntary battalions of the Movement Army. In 1911, the Italians started an assault on Tripoli and Benghazi, the so-called Ottoman Africa, and Aegean islands and some officers, particularly Enver Pasha, used some efforts to save the Northern Africa, but failed to do so.⁸

⁵ Suna Kili Gürsoytrak, "Kemalizm", *Milliyet*, 17.08.1965, pg. 2.

⁶ Ozan Ömerci, "Kadro Hareketi", *Journal of Political*, Year: 3, Iss: 24, pg. 92.

⁷ Süleyman Kocabaş, *Atatürk Dönemi 1923-1938*, Vatan Publ., İstanbul 2007, pg.244-259.

⁸ Halil İbrahim Göktürk, *Bilinmeyen Yönleri İle Şevket Süreyya Aydemir*, 1977, pg. 12-21.

The Ottoman Empire was engaged in various battles between 1897, the year in which he was born, and 1914 and lost so many lands that Edirne became a frontier province in 1914. Şevket Süreyya was influenced by such losses of vast lands and the empire's rapid downfall, leading him to being oriented towards the Pan-Turanism movement. Şevket Süreyya, who was a student at a teaching school during the World War One, discontinued his education and joined the military forces in the Caucasian front after his elder brother was martyred in the Caucasian front.⁹

With the outbreak of revolution in Russia in February 1917, the Russian Tsar was dethroned and the Russian soldiers retreating due to the great turmoil in the Russian army were replaced the Caucasian Armenian troops. When the Armenian army controlled by Taschnak committees started massacre particularly in Erzurum, Şevket Süreyya felt desire to liberate the entire Caucasia from the enemy. As the Armenians retreated from Sarıkamış, the Muslim people suffered pain and misery. The sorrowful stance of Sarıkamış was another source of sadness to Şevket Süreyya. Additionally, he lost his elder brother whom he adored here. Şevket Süreyya was wounded in the Caucasian front and he would read a book titled "*AYDEMİR*" which would have an enormous impact on him at the time of his treatment. This book was authored by a woman named Müfide Ferit around 1917's and published in Istanbul. Each chapter of the book's pages begins with the words of the prophet. Aydemir, the hero mentioned in the novel, represents the good and kind core of the community. Thus, the "Supporters of Aydemir" who believe in him and following his path increase in number. The impact of this book that Şevket Süreyya read in his youth was so considerable that he designated his surname as Aydemir consequently with the introduction of the surname act.¹⁰

Şevket Süreyya pointed out that he dreamed of himself in the deserts of Turan with the desire to cultivate the hopes of local people there as he read the book titled Aydemir. After his treatment at the hospital was completed, Şevket Süreyya returned to his troop and stayed in Yerevan, Yenice and Noraşın by crossing through Aras first. Having been further influenced by the writings of Ziya Gökalp, Şevket Süreyya read Gökalp's poem titled; ¹¹"*Home is neither Turkey for Turks nor Turkistan, it is a great and perpetual country, Turan!*"¹² many times.

Şevket Süreyya returned to Istanbul after losing the battle and then moved to Edirne¹³ and completed his discontinued education, graduating from the Teaching School of Edirne in 1918. Having set off with the ideal of Turanism, Şevket Süreyya served in Azerbaijan, Dagestan and Georgia as a teacher.¹⁴

Until 1919, Şevket Süreyya read the journal titled "Türk Yurdu" that played an active role in the development and spread of Turkish nationalism and he was influenced by this journal. However, he would start believing more in the course of time that the Turanist view which was the ideal of bringing Turks from Adriatic to China together was a mere dream. The reins of government passed into other hands for a couple of times during Şevket Süreyya's stay in Azerbaijan and in September 1918, the Turkish army stepped in Baku, but it retreated from here as replaced by the English army in November 1918. After the retreat of the English from Baku, the Azerbaijan Republic was promulgated only to last from August 1919 to April 1920.

⁹ Temuçin Faik Ertan, *Kadroculuk ve Kadro Hareketi*, Ministry of Culture Publ., Ankara 1994, pg. 33-34.

¹⁰ Halil İbrahim Göktürk, *ibid.*, pg. 42-58.

¹¹ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, Remzi Bookstore, Istanbul 2015, pg. 111-115 and 126.

¹² Zekeriya Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım*, Remzi Bookstore, Istanbul 2001, pg. 63; Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, pg. 126.

¹³ Temuçin Faik Ertan, *ibid.*, pg. 33-34.

¹⁴ Milliyet, 26. 03. 1976, pg. 1.

The Red army led by the Bolsheviks invaded Azerbaijan. In the meantime, the Bolsheviks convened the *First Congress of the Peoples of the East* in Baku between September 1-8, 1920. This congress attended by Şevket Süreyya (as the delegate from Nuha) was influential in his political ideas, resulting in the development of anti-imperialist vision.¹⁵

Introduced to Enver Pasha in the Congress, Şevket Süreyya started to adopt a different view on Enver Pasha. The failure by Enver Pasha, who was no longer the War Minister, to realize his dream of Turan had an impact on this view.¹⁶

However, Şevket Süreyya, who failed to find what he sought in these lands thinking that the ideology by which he set off was a mere dream, enrolled in¹⁷ the Communist University of the Toilers of the East of Moscow in 1921 with intent to overcome his lack of knowledge. Having met Nazım Hikmet and Vala Nurrettin here, Şevket Süreyya studied social science involving Communist theory and tactics at this university. As a result of this study, he became a theoretician capable of introducing ideas on Marxism-Leninism. It is likely that the Sultan Galiev had an impact on him regarding the national sovereignty movement that Şevket Süreyya would defend in the Kadro Journal in subsequent years. We stand a good chance to mention that he was indirectly influenced by the Sultan Galiev, who approached to the idea of proletarian dictatorship, comprising the main idea of Marxism, with skepticism and asserted that the replacement of bourgeois dictatorship with another class of dictatorship would yield no good result and thus who was deemed as the father of "Third World Revolutions".¹⁸

Şevket Süreyya joined the Communist Party of Turkey (TKF) and maintained his activities and struggle of organization at the Socialist Laborers and Farmers Party of Turkey, a legal organization acting as the extension of TKF as he returned to homeland in 1923. Şevket Süreyya started to write columns for the *Aydınlık* journal which was the media organ of this party. He issued this journal together with Dr. Şefik Hüsnü and Sadrettin Celal. Having collaborated with these persons, Şevket Süreyya wrote columns promoting Marx, Lenin and their ideologies in the journal. On 1 January 1925, the Third Congress was convened by TKF in Istanbul. As Şefik Hüsnü was elected as the general secretary of the party, Şevket Süreyya was one of 21 members of the Central Committee of TKF with active service in the Executive Committee comprised of 7 members. In line with a resolution adopted in the Congress as based on the ground that the *Aydınlık* journal was a media organ intended for intellectuals, another resolution was adopted for the issuance of an individual media organ intended for workers. Having consequently assumed the responsibility to a considerable extent, Şevket Süreyya¹⁹ started to publish the journal *Orak-Çekiç*. In 1925, he was arrested due to his activities²⁰ and sentenced to 10-year imprisonment by the Independence Tribunals. Having served 18 months²¹ in the Penitentiary of Afyon, Şevket Süreyya took advantage of amnesty, which was effective as from the 3rd anniversary of the Republic Day, on 28 October 1926 and

¹⁵Mustafa Türkeş, *Ulusçu Sol Bir Akım :Kadro Hareketi*, İmge Publ., Ankara 1999, pg. 70-74.

¹⁶Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, pg. 165-168.

¹⁷Milliyet, 26. 03. 1976, pg. 1.

¹⁸Fatih Demirci, " Kadro Hareketi ve Kadrocular", *Dumlupınar University Journal of Social Sciences*, Iss: 15, August 2006, pg. 37.

¹⁹İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, *Kadrocuları ve Kadro'yu Anlamak*, Historical Foundation Publ., Istanbul 2003, pg. 65-67.

²⁰Eray Yılmaz, " Şevket Süreyya Aydemir ve Milli Sol Yaklaşım", *Journal of Republican History Studies*, Year: 8, Iss: 16, (Fall 2012), pg. 94

²¹Milliyet, 26. 03. 1976, s. 1

returned to Istanbul. However, Şevket Süreyya, who was included in the blacklist, was remotely followed by official authorities for a given period.²²

The period following 1925 is of great importance to TKP. In this period, two opposing views appeared within the party. On the one side was the group led by Şefik Hüsnü having the intention of strictly following the orders issued by Comintern and on the other side emerged another group opposing the active control of Comintern under the leadership of Vedat Nedim.²³

A role was assigned to Şevket Süreyya, who continued his association with the party, at ARCOS, a company based in the Soviet Union. Working at ARCOS like Şevket Süreyya, Vedat Nedim Tör assumed the secretary position at TKP. Şevket Süreyya protested at the official who was assigned to investigate the dispute between the party management and Comintern. As a result of his weakening ties with the party in this period, Şevket Süreyya began to break the bond with his comrades. It being understood that no global revolution would break out, the revolution of the Soviet Union ended as limited to its own boundaries. As the Soviets were getting prepared to implement the initial 5-year scheme, Şevket Süreyya sought a new way out with the thought that communism would not be an option for Turkey.²⁴ This was primarily caused by recent changing circumstances in the world. Every nation needed to establish its own order within its own boundaries in line with its own procedures and facilities in quest for being independent. Defending that Turkey had to realize its own development of its own free will in this context, Şevket Süreyya faced a second case of arrest in 1927. After a four-month conviction in Istanbul, Şevket Süreyya was set free.

The arrests of 1925 and 1927 were a crucial milestone for Şevket Süreyya and Vedat Nedim. These two figures began to put up more resistance to the directives by Comintern and further attempted to make this ideology prevalent in the Party as they were under the influence of nationalist ideology. In consequence, they lost the fight against the party, resulting in their expulsion from the party. Having ended his affiliation with the Communist Party, Şevket Süreyya would have decided to head to Anatolia for a new ideal and objective.²⁵

Having decided to work in Anatolia by moving from Istanbul to Ankara, Şevket Süreyya submitted his book titled "Muasır Türkiye'nin İktisadi İnkişaf İstikametleri" that he wrote during his imprisonment at the Penitentiary of Afyonkarahisar to the Ministry of Education even before he arrived in Ankara in 1926. In those years, the Ministry of Education caused such works to be analyzed and caused the publication of those which it deemed advantageous. Şevket Süreyya, who fancied being a teacher in Anatolia after arriving in Ankara, had an interview with Kemal Zaim Sunel, the Adviser to the Ministry of Education, and he was appointed as the adviser to the General Director of Higher Technical Education as his new position at the Ministry of Education. Additionally, Şevket Süreyya submitted a survey, the subject of which deals with the character of price fluctuations in Turkish currency and the establishment of a bank of issue for the regulation of such fluctuations, prepared in Istanbul to Nurullah Esat Sümer, the General Secretary of the Higher Economics Council. Having meanwhile filed an application to the Ministry of Education, to which he was affiliated, for a position, Şevket Süreyya was informed that he was assigned to the position of the Deputy

²²Halil İbrahim Göktürk, *ibid.*, pg. 134.

²³Temuçin Faik Ertan, *Atatürk Döneminde Devletçilik-Liberalizm Tartışmaları (Şevket Süreyya Aydemir-Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın Polemiği)*, Phoenix Publ., Ankara 2010, pg. 31.

²⁴İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, *ibid.*, pg. 70.

²⁵ Temuçin Faik Ertan, *Atatürk Döneminde Devletçilik-Liberalizm Tartışmaları*, pg. 33.

General Secretary of the Higher Economics Council at the time when he started serving at the Ministry of Education.

The above-mentioned book by Şevket Süreyya was reviewed by the Istanbul University and reported to the Ministry of Education after his arrival in Ankara and his assignment to the Ministry of Education. The said report mentioned that the economic development of Turkey was outlined.²⁶ One should point out that Ahmet Cevat from the leftist wing, who took shelter in Kemalism like Şevket Süreyya and instructed Şevket Süreyya during his education in Moscow, was considerably influential in Şevket Süreyya's service performed as a public officer. Thanks to Ahmet Cevat, Şevket Süreyya was appointed as the Deputy General Director of Higher Technical Education at the Ministry of National Education as specified above and he assumed the position of the Trading Director thereafter and continued serving until 1937.²⁷

We see that Şevket Süreyya's stance on the state changes in time as he starts serving as a public officer. In the state initially looked like a cruel internal organ of a class dominated by capitalists to Şevket Süreyya. As he had more knowledge of Anatolian locals, his desire to contribute to his country and people increased and Şevket Süreyya witnessed how devotedly patriotic public officers who founded a new state in Ankara and had willingness to take the state further worked until late.²⁸

Having served as the Director of Economy in Ankara from 1937 to 1939, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir was first appointed as the Deputy Subsistence Adviser to the Ministry of Trade and then assigned as the Industrial Survey Committee President at the Ministry of Economy in 1943. Between 1947 and 1951, Şevket Süreyya assumed the position of the General Audit Member. However, he was force resign from this position after DP (the Democrat Party) came into power. In the last period of DP's power, the circumstances changed and Şevket Süreyya began to publish anonymous columns supporting the party in power in the newspaper *Ankara Telgraf*. The works performed by Şevket Süreyya whose life was full of ultimate discrepancies ended as a result of military coup d'état of 27 May 1960. Having focused on columns relating to literature and ideas after 1960, Şevket Süreyya began to write in line with his old views in the *Yön* journal which was asserted to be influenced by the *Kadro* journal.²⁹

After assuming a number of positions at the Ministry of Economy, the Presidency of Audit Committee and the Prime Ministry Higher Audit Committee, Şevket Süreyya was admitted to the Numune Hospital as a result of being stricken with influenza on his last legs and he died on 25.03.1976 in Ankara as the influenza turned into meningitis.³⁰

1.1. Emergence of the *Kadro* Journal and Its Characteristics

1930's that marked the time of great economic depression experienced in the global capitalist system were the years in which Turkey also felt the unabated economic depression. The community showing no indication of financial betterment after the war of independence was not contented with the government, suffering much more troubles as a result of the global depression of 1929. The government which was aware that an adjustment needed to be

²⁶ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, pg. 344-361.

²⁷ Temuçin Faik Ertan, *Atatürk Döneminde Devletçilik-Liberalizm Tartışmaları*, pg. 33.

²⁸ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, pg. 351-353.

²⁹ Temuçin Faik Ertan, *Atatürk Döneminde Devletçilik-Liberalizm Tartışmaları*, pg. 37.

³⁰ *Milliyet*, 26. 03. 1976, pg. 1.

introduced to the guiding policy embarked on the establishment of the Liberal Party in political arena and began to implement a statist policy at economic level.³¹

The global economic depression originating in New York in September 1929 had an adverse effect on Turkey as in many countries. Public revenues were reduced in Turkey and there were cases where large-scale bankruptcies emerged. As the state had to take a new economic action and seek for a new policy, the Liberal Party adopting a liberal point of view opposed this struggle. In consequence of the actual economic depression, Mustafa Kemal went on a nationwide tour together with his comrades in an attempt to take the pulse of the community. Şevket Süreyya described this process as follows: " *CHP featured no dynamism that would enable it to explain and understand the importance of the principles of the National Sovereignty Movement and of the War of Independence in terms of our age and for all other countries similar to us. It was a fact that CHP actually suspended or had the intention of suspending both the state and reformist movements and desires in an bureaucratic fashion. Atatürk was so engrossed in new studies on Turkish language and history that expecting the reformist dynamism required by 1930 from CHP or rather leaving it in the hands of CHP could yield ineffective results. Consequently, younger and more contentious intellectuals needed to discuss the role and international meaning of the Turkish Sovereignty Movement in theoretical and ideological aspects even if in line with the same party and contribute to the re-discussion of the same and attribute it to both modern youth and subsequent developments. Because the world was under the dominion of autarchy; that is to say every nation became introverted in economic terms. We were introverted too.*"³²

Before commencing the publication of the Kadro journal, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu first discussed with Recep Peker, the General Secretary of CHP, with a concern over any act conflicting with the party discipline. During his discussion, Yakup Kadri pointed out that they had the intention of describing Atatürk's reforms in intellectual and scientific aspects and issuing a journal that would serve as an "avant-garde" organ of CHP. However, Recep Peker asked Yakup Kadri from which source they obtained such an authorization and added that such a duty remained vested in the party only. Thus, Yakup Kadri stated they obtained the authorization for publishing the journal in consultation with Atatürk and İsmet Pasha.³³

As a result of what is put forward herein, the government, realizing the need for an adjustment to the policy pursued after 1929, was forced to put the statist policy into practice in order to achieve what the private enterprise system failed to do at economic level by the hand of the state. In this period, the writing staff of the Kadro Journal consisted of Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tör, İsmail Hüsrev Tekin, Burhan Belge, Şevki Yazman and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu. Şevket Süreyya and Vedat Nedim Tör jointly assumed the role of editor-in-chief of the journal. Both writers were the members of the Communist Party of Turkey until they were arrested in 1927. In addition, Vedat Nedim Tör assumed the position of the general secretary of the party as Şefiğk Hüsnü Değmer was abroad between 1925 and 1927. The last group of the Kadro broke away from the Turkish communist movement after being arrested in 1927.³⁴

The National Economy and Saving Society, which was established in 1929, did not only bring the columnists of the Kadro together, but also played a critical role in the involvement of

³¹ Ömür Sezgin, " Kadro Hareketi", " Kadro", *Kadro*, Iss: 1, V: 1, Code II, 1932, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg. 11.

³² Milliyet, 09.11.1970, pg. 1 and 9.

³³ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Politikada 45 Yıl*, İletişim Publ., 8th Edition, İstanbul 2013, pg. 87.

³⁴ Turhan Aytul, " Türkiye'de Gürültülü Günler", Milliyet, 19.09.1979, pg. 5.

Kadro columnists in the cycle of Kemalist bureaucrats and intellectuals. The National Economy and Saving Society brought Aydemir, Tör, Tökin and Belge together.³⁵

One of the regular columnists of the Kadro, Yakup Kadri was distinct from other columnists of the Kadro due to his position and background and one of the rare persons who were close to Atatürk and invited to the table of Atatürk. In accordance with an act introduced in 1931, public officers were unable to assume the role of a managing editor in newspapers and journals. Under these circumstances, neither Aydemir nor his colleagues - Tör, Tökin and Belge - could be the proprietor of the journal after being a public officer. In consequence, Yakup Kadri managed to be the proprietor of the journal as a congressman.³⁶

The Kadro Movement started to emerge in Ankara in the process of new formation triggered by the state in economic terms after domestic tours performed following the closing of the Liberal Party. The views that would be defended by this journal were revealed during a conference by Şevket Süreyya Aydemir in a Turkish Hearth on 5 January 1931. Şevket Süreyya expressed his opinions about this process after many years: "*Almost the entire Europe was dominated by doctrine or indoctrination efforts in the era of Atatürk. Revolutionary Socialism (Marxism) efforts were active in Russia, while Fascism was on the rise in Italy and reformist socialism regimes or communism efforts in European states. All of them featured the patterns of indoctrination. However, such efforts never gained strength as dominant values within the scope of the Turkish reform. It seems that we face with a reform reality in Turkey. As a matter of fact, a group of intellectuals strived to collect, clarify and compose the ideology of Turkish reform in the life of and before the eyes of Mustafa Kemal from its own point of view. This movement is the "Kadro Movement".*"

The Kadro journal began its publication life in January 1932. One of its primary objectives was to create a unique ideology for Ankara regime. The failure by Turkey, undergoing a reformist process in such an atmosphere, to establish a thought system that could serve as the ideology of the reform brought Kadrocular (columnists of the Kadro journal) together. Although it stood within the leftist line where Kemalism was represented, the Kadro attempted to create an ideology that could be applied not only in Turkey, but also in colonies and semi-colonies which were expected to be saved in the near future. At this point, we see the origination of the concept "Third-Worldism".³⁷

The thought system of the Kadro was built and developed on the injustice and inequality of capitalism and on the incapacity of Marxism to eliminate this injustice and inequality. To the columnists of the Kadro, the capitalist system underlain all national and international inequalities around the world. The columnists of the Kadro considered capitalism in line with its wild nature during the early 19th and 20th centuries and reacted to all kinds of political, social and economic values associated with capitalism under the influence of economic depression of 1929. They disapproved Marxism as it aimed for the proletarian dictatorship and placed no importance on national sovereignty movements to a satisfactory extent, asserting that Marxism remained incapable of resolving issues caused by capitalism. The columnists of the Kadro accused of being Marxist after the commencement of publication were exposed to unfavorable epithets such as "renegade, agent" from time to time. The primary factor in their being accused of Marxism was that some columnists such as Şevket Süreyya and Vedat Nedim were the members of the former Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) and their employment of historical materialism as a method, whereas their departure from TKP was effective in their

³⁵Mustafa Türkeş, *ibid.*, pg. 69 and 90.

³⁶Mustafa Türkeş, *ibid.*, pg. 92-93.

³⁷Feroz Ahmad, *İttihatçılıktan Kemalizme*, Kaynak Publ., 7th Edition, Istanbul 2014, pg. 210.

being accused of acting as renegades. However, the columnists of the Kadro presented a view which fully contradicted the Marxist ideology. As the most striking example of this stance, they strongly reacted against the Marxism's outlook on national sovereignty movements as a satellite or a reserve of class struggles. In this context, the columnists of the Kadro displaying a negative attitude towards International sought for a national ideology, not class-based ideology. The primary intention of the columnists of the Kadro is to create a classless, unprivileged and homogenous society. Thus, it is seen that the mentality of the Kadro fully matches the objectives of existing Kemalist party in power.³⁸

The columnists of the Kadro underlined two elements when formulating the ideology of national sovereignty movements. One of them was independence, while the other one was statism. This was an attitude imposed by the autarchic period and the columnists of the Kadro, stating the difficulty of mentioning about economic independence under those circumstances, adopted historical materialism and dialectical materialism as their methods. Additionally, the columnists of the Kadro attached importance to the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and based their analyses on the conflict between the nations exploited and imperialism. The objective of creating a reform ideology and the obsession with the originality of the reform caused statism to be perceived as a system rather than a economic policy. As statism was considered to be a economic system, the tendency to change statism into a developed society with no class distinction by means of industrialization of the society where no class distinction was already apparent became evident. In addition, historical materialism and dialectical materialism were regarded the key to understand the society. The core of the policy pursued by the columnists of the Kadro in economic arena was shaped in this manner.³⁹

The elitist characteristics of the Kadro ideology reflects a tendency to a typical Turkish intellectual. One of the typical intellectual characteristics of Turkish intellectuals is to behave in accordance with the bureaucratic role assigned the political authority. Although the columnists of the Kadro promoted the top-down change process by attempting to influence the policies of policy makers through the display of a close attitude towards the party, they conflicted particularly with some groups within CHP in terms of the goal of creating the ideology of the reform. First of all, the columnists of the Kadro introduced a great theoretical initiative by drawing attention to the gap between the industrialized and non-industrialized nations. Focusing on the necessity that colonized or semi-colonized nations had to achieve their independence in order to break the capitalist dominance, the columnists of the Kadro asserted that the 20th century was the age of national sovereignty movements. The columnists of the Kadro stated that the capitalist progress hindered the development of colonized nations and put forward that class societies originated from these circumstances. The columnists of the Kadro disapproved the establishment of dominion by any class over another. However, we see that the columnists of the Kadro basically adopted a socialist anti-imperialist attitude, allowed for fascism-authoritarianism and used Marxist historical materialism as a method.⁴⁰

Şevket Süreyya discussed the group of intellectuals in his work titled *İnkılap ve Kadro* as follows: "*The group of intellectuals in the new Turkish Society shall not be "Staff (Kadro) of Aides" who monopolizes capital and keeps hold of know-how as working under the command or to the account or benefit of a class. On the contrary, it shall be a staff of employees, organizers and administrators that retains the majority of national capital meaning the*

³⁸ Temuçin Faik Ertan, *Atatürk Döneminde Devletçilik-Liberalizm Tartışmaları*, pg. 40-41.

³⁹ Kurtuluş Kayalı, *Türk Düşünce Dünyasının Bunalımı*, İletişim Publ., 4th Edition, İstanbul 2014, pg. 16-17.

⁴⁰ Murat Kazancı, "Özgün ve Yerli Bir Hareket Olarak Kadro ve İdeolojisi", *Historical School*, Iss: III, Spring 2009, pg. 51-52.

*accumulative power of a Nation and high technology and operates them to the benefit of the community, namely works to the advanced benefit of the entire community."*⁴¹

When we analyze the views of the columnists of the Kadro on Reforms, there is an understanding of introducing the society whatever is beneficial to the society despite the society itself. The primary purpose is to set out the principles for the ideology of Turkey undergoing a Reform process. To the columnists of the Kadro, the intention is to establish a classless and unprivileged societal structure in consideration of the principles of Turkish reform. In addition, Turkish reforms promote the adoption of high advanced technology in the form of the society's resolute response, namely in the form of a planned state control or social state. Therefore, they defended a public order free from great discrepancies and severe reactions.⁴²

In his speech delivered to the Kadro journal in the tenth anniversary of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk stated that the goal pursued by the Kadro served the development of nation and its people and wished success to the staff at Kadro.⁴³

1.2. On Şevket Süreyya's Columns Included in the Kadro Journal

Likening the reform a battle front, Şevket Süreyya thinks that the Turkish reform is under an insidious siege. To Şevket Süreyya, the enemy used its own psychology called "pessimism" to suppress the Reform psychology. He thinks that the cost is not clear when it comes to the Reform and a bitter struggle takes place between the Turkish reform and those standing against it. He is of the belief that a regime will cause another to change its form as a result of this struggle and the society will put itself together again even if the said struggle within the society leads to some disintegrations. In Şevket Süreyya's opinion, pessimism is the "social psychology" of the former society disintegrated against the recent society established. To him, one should believe in and cling on to reforms against the pessimist psychology which is the opposite of reforms and this attitude is called Optimism and the enthusiasm of Reforms.⁴⁴

Describing the enthusiasm of the Reform in his another column, Şevket Süreyya points out that the passionless and motionless state of societies which are as stagnant as still waters causes those societies become introverted and melt down. To Şevket Süreyya, a society undergoing a reform is not a stagnant society and the structure of the society functions as a whole in the order of reforms. He points out that the Turkish society struggled against all outdated administrative and intellectual organizations by constantly progressing from low-tech to high-tech and from inferior institutions to superior institutions and the "Enthusiasm of Reform", i.e. the belief in and adoration of reform, was the most important element of such struggles. To Şevket Süreyya describing this concept, the Enthusiasm is a matter of awareness which can revive only in an organized society. Therefore, he believes that particular attention should be paid to the reformist generation growing up.⁴⁵

To Şevket Süreyya, the Reform is the reflection of conditions encircling the society onto the society and the expression of this reflection in the form of specific formulas and doctrines. Having divided these conditions encircling the society into two, Şevket Süreyya stated that

⁴¹Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *İnkılap ve Kadro*, Bilgi Publ., Ankara 1968, pg. 135.

⁴²Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *İnkılap ve Kadro*, s. 83-93.

⁴³Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Tek Adam (1922-1938)*, V: III, Remzi Bookstore, 24th Edition, Istanbul 2008, pg. 439-440.

⁴⁴Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "Pesimist", *Kadro*, Iss: 1, V: 1, Code II, 1932, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.4-7

⁴⁵Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "İnkılap Heyecanı (Antuziasm)", *Kadro*, 2 February 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.5-8.

technical conditions (means of production) were the primary condition and they had an impact on arts, law, ethics and concepts relating thereto. Şevket Süreyya, who put forward that no one would mention about an advanced cultural life in any nation lacking advanced technical conditions, asserted that another condition arose from the relationship between people. Consequently describing the ideology of a society in line with the specific principles of technical and social conditions under which that society lived, Şevket Süreyya stated that any society refraining from intellectual movements would not be able to create its own ideology.⁴⁶

Referring to the young generation issue in terms of the protection and maintenance of the Reform, Şevket Süreyya pointed out that the scheme of People's Houses aiming at raising young generation and centralizing cultural movements among the society were not satisfactory within the scope of the large-scale activity of "raising youth". To Şevket Süreyya, the nation should be organized at the highest level of management and control and the political discipline of young generation should be handled through this organization for the purpose of raising a young generation in line with the reformist principles.⁴⁷

When we analyze Şevket Süreyya's views on economy, he stated that the technique progressing in a modern society resulted in the emergence of another contrast (the manifestation of class and ownership contrast arising from the progress of means of production). Hence, Şevket Süreyya asserted that the conditions leading to any contrasts emerging particularly in post-war nations (shortage of production, unemployed population, social conflicts etc.) had to be controlled in a planned manner and further attempted to explain the planned national economy program devised by Warner Sombart, a German economist, who was recognized as an authority in both capitalist and socialist world. Şevket Süreyya believes that the coordination of high technique will be possible only through the intervention and supervision by an economic statism which is national, individual and planned due to the lack of mass production means and large cash-ownership activities based on this technique in Turkey and the non-existence of liberal struggles of individuals and liberal capital accumulation as in the 19th century Europe.⁴⁸

Şevket Süreyya gave the journal "Die Tat" published by Hans Zehrer, one of the new representatives of German intellectualism as an example of economic developments in Turkey. Hans Zehrer is the most renowned figures of large scale cultural movement that pursues the liberation and rebirth of Germany, whose political and economy is recorded after the war, without any order that neither exploits nor is exploited. The journal Die Tat defends the idea that neither democracy and liberalism nor class dictatorship and revolution is an instrument that liberates the society and that the contrasts within the party should be eliminated and removed by subjecting technique to a planned development with intent to re-establish the world order.

Bearing this in mind, Şevket Süreyya considers the Turkish Independence Struggle the greatest post-war reform due to the victory over foreign invaders as a result of his assessment on the Turkish National Sovereignty movement. Having additionally distinguished the Turkish National Sovereignty reform from the Russian reform in terms of its class and social nature, Şevket Süreyya attached a particular importance to the Turkish reform among other

⁴⁶ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "Kadro", *Kadro*, 4 Nisan 1932, S: 1, C: 1, Yay. Haz. Cem Alpar, (Tıpkı Basım), Ankara İktisadi ve Ticari Bilimler Akademisi Yay., Ankara 1978, s.3-4.

⁴⁷ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "Genç Nesil Meselesi", *Kadro*, 4 April 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg. 8.

⁴⁸ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "Plan Mefhumu Hakkında", *Kadro*, 5 May 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg. 5-8.

sovereignty movements initiated by other colonized or semi-colonized nations and segregated it from others. Stating that the economic development was the most significant issue for a nation as preceded only by the political victory, Şevket Süreyya further pointed out that measures needed to be taken against foreign economic effects and Turkey needed to develop its own economic forces.⁴⁹

As a result of an overall assessment on the general nature of intellectuals in Turkey, Şevket Süreyya indicated that the philosophical culture of Turkish intellectuals, which was outdated and based on ideas belonging to the pre-war period, as one of the first issues that needed to be handled. To Şevket Süreyya, the enhancement of industry in the West caused to the labor to its value in colonized and semi-colonized nations. In his opinion, the purpose of Turkish industry, which is the extreme example of national sovereignty movement, should be based on the evaluation of labor. Associating the evaluation of labor with the advanced technique, Şevket Süreyya stipulated the existence of a national economy as dependent on a national government located within national boundaries free from any kind of intervention and on the advanced technique, planned development and evaluation of labor.⁵⁰

To Şevket Süreyya, national sovereignty movements are defined as a part of political and economic contrasts between colonist states and colonized states. What he intends by the term contrast is nothing but the circumstances arising from the dependence of colonized states on colonist states in political and economic aspects. Believing that high technique and production means should be controlled by a specific mechanism developed by the society itself in order to achieve the economic development, Şevket Süreyya thinks that the contrast of economic interest within the society (powerful class struggles) should be eliminated. However, Şevket Süreyya likened the Turkish industrial and technical advancement to an embryo and stated that those nations giving a fight of national sovereignty could have neither colonies to share nor liberal markets to conquer for their national capitals for the purpose of developing in an individualist and liberal system of Europe. Therefore, he advocates the idea that any nations engaged in the struggle of national sovereignty should make the development of its own economic instruments controlled by the society itself. He thinks that this can be possible by a planned statist policy.⁵¹

Şevket Süreyya, who set off with the ideal of Turan once upon a time and harped on the poems by Ziya Gökalp, criticized the views of Ziya Gökalp in the *Kadro* journal in parallel to his ideas that changed over the years. In the second issue of the *Kadro*, Şevket Süreyya dealt with "Ziya Gökalp'in Hayatı ve Malta Mektupları" by Ali Nüzhet Bey and pointed out that the living conditions at the time when he was influenced by Gökalp were the not the same as the conditions that emerged after the war. Şevket Süreyya demonstrated and attempted to explain that all issues such as the trio of Islamism, Ottomanism or Turkism or Easternization or Westernization which were influential at the time of Gökalp and which occupied the agenda of that period were not significant any longer.⁵²

⁴⁹ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "Kadro ve Die Tat", *Kadro*, 6 June 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.5-8.

⁵⁰ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "Geri Teknik ve Say'ın Sefaleti", *Kadro*, 6 June 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg. 9-13.

⁵¹ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "Milli Kurtuluş Hareketlerinin Ana Prensipleri" *Kadro*, 8 August 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Code II, 1932, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.6-8.

⁵² Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "Ziya Gökalp", *Kadro*, 2 February 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Code II, 1932, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.35.

To Şevket Süreyya, Gökalp was influenced by Durkheim in terms of solidarism (interclass economic solidarity) and Şevket Süreyya expressly stated that they did not recognize solidarism and Gökalp misinterpreted historical materialism, whereas the columnists of the Kadro adopted historical materialism. In a sense, the columnists of the Kadro preferred the classless society view stipulated by Marxism to the interclass solidarity stipulated by Durkheim. However, they did not expressly demonstrate this preference at the Kadro journal. Naturally, the reflection of solidarist tendency into the party agenda of CHP was influential in this non-demonstration.⁵³

1.3. Closure of the Kadro Journal

Although the Kadro journal was established with intent to communicate intellectual principles that will vitalize and render the Kemalist reform effective, it suggested statism as a social system and failed to yield the desired results. In consequence, the Kadro journal failed to go beyond an organ of view that lacked a social base. Some negative reactions were displayed due to the fact some columnists of the journal studied Marxism and used Marxism as an analysis method. As the official stance of the state favored a classless Turkish society, the class struggle which was one of the important elements of Marxism was disregarded. However, the class struggle was ignored in connection with the proletariat, whereas there was no such a willingness displayed by capitalist groups. Capitalist groups never ended interest conflicts.⁵⁴ The oppression applied by capitalist groups would bring the end of the Kadro journal.

Published on a monthly basis, the Kadro journal was continuously referred to the Çankaya Palace by the central administrative committee of CHP for two and half years since its establishment and it became a nuisance for Mustafa Kemal. The most important cause of this was the name given to the journal, which was derived from the phrase "cadre" of foreign origin indicating the inclusion of foreign ideologies in the journal as particularly mentioned by Recep Peker and central administrative committee of CHP.⁵⁵

In addition to negative criticisms raised by Recep Peker who was struggling for institutionalizing the single party rule and thus defending the idea that the party was the sole organ responsible for creating the Turkish reform ideology, the Kadro journal received the harshest reactions from the business world. Capitalist groups were influential in Mustafa Kemal's attitude towards closing the journal. As the columnists of the Kadro considered the state a powerful entity superior to classes, the statism suggested by the columnists of the Kadro resulted in the reaction of capitalist groups. The socio-economic solutions offered by the Kadro movement conflicted with the interests of such groups. The groups which are likely to be characterized as capitalist or liberal under the leadership of İş Bankası increased their influence on the state after Celal Bayar took office as the Ministry of Economy.⁵⁶

Yakup Kadri, the proprietor of the Kadro, was quite aware that there were some words against the Kadro journal and himself exchanged at the table of Atatürk. Having witnessed one of these negative criticisms, Falif Rıfki called Yakup Kadri and informed him of such circumstances. At his meeting with Atatürk, Yakup Kadri strived to tell that their intention was to establish the ideological front of the reform and to act in harmony with the Republican

⁵³Mustafa Türkeş, *ibid.*, pg. 101-103.

⁵⁴Korkmaz Alemdar, " Basında Kadro Dergisi ve Kadro Hareketi İle İlgili Bazı Görüşler", Iss: 1, V: 1, II, 1932, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg. 38-39.

⁵⁵Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Politikada 45 Yıl*, pg. 88.

⁵⁶Temuçin Faik Ertan, *Kadroculuk ve Kadro Hareketi*, pg. 67; Güngör Uras, " Müstemleke İktisadiyatından Millet İktisadiyatına" , Milliyet, 29. 10. 1999, pg. 9.

People's Party. In response, Atatürk pointed out that the journal would not be closed and added that he would have a chance to require an explanation from the columnists about what was meant in case of any column that would disturb himself. Yakup Kadri experienced a similar case with his friend Vasıf Çınar at the end of 1934.⁵⁷ After this incident, Yakup Kadri would be appointed to Tirana, making the closure of the Kadro journal inevitable.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Born in Edirne, a frontier province, in 1897, Şevket Süreyya witnessed several challenging wars, sufferings and troubles and the facts of his life and his experiences caused a change in his ideas over time. With the greatest ambition of being an officer or pasha in his childhood, Şevket Süreyya decided to be a teacher in a village after the Balkan War that he witnessed and made up his mind to enroll in the Teaching School. Believing that the nation could be saved out of its current state of desperateness only through teachers, Şevket Süreyya failed to graduate as a teacher as a result of the outbreak of the World War One. Thus, Şevket Süreyya ran to defense of his nation and the limits of ideal were broadened. He decided to strive not only for his fellow countrymen, but also for all Turkic tribes.⁵⁹

His experiences left a trace at every stage of Şevket Süreyya's life. The book titled AYDEMİR, which he read during his treatment after being wounded on the Caucasian front, would later become his surname. Witnessing the sufferings incurred by the Anatolian people on the front, Şevket Süreyya would intend to do something for them. Şevket Süreyya strived for doing good for people around him and enlightening the mankind. In search of this, he was influenced by various ideas and ideologies. Şevket Süreyya, who realized that his idea of Turan would not come true, would move to Moscow and start his education at the university, influenced by those communist ideas there.

Having returned to his homeland in 1923, Şevket Süreyya analyzed the policies of the introverted Soviets and the global and national circumstances. As a result, he departed from the leftist line and rendered himself at the disposal of the Reform to contribute to the progress of his nation and began to put its thoughts on paper through his columns in the Kadro journal with intent to explain and make the reform understandable, which he considered lacking. After his public service, Şevket Süreyya embarked on a career of long-term authorship and created some works such as “ Tek Adam, II. Adam, Menderes'in Dramı, Enver Paşa, İhtilalin Mantığı ve 27 Mayıs İhtilali”. To Vedat Nedim Tör, one of his close friends, the greatest and most unfortunate service fulfilled by Şevket Süreyya was acting as the pioneer of the Kemalist Kadro movement that would redeem the Turkish nation and society from the status of a ideological and political satellite.⁶⁰ Having used considerable efforts in the Turkish thought life and in terms of the description of Republic Reforms, Şevket Süreyya strived to serve his nation and enlighten the society until his last breath regardless of his contradiction regarding his thought.

⁵⁷ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Zoraki Diplomat*, İletişim Publ., 8th Edition, İstanbul 2014, pg. 15- 17.

⁵⁸ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Politikada 45 Yıl*, pg. 103.

⁵⁹ Şevket Süreyya, *Sıyrı Arayan Adam*, pg. 350.

⁶⁰ Vedat Nedim Tör, “Kemalizm, Kadro ve Aydemir”, *Milliyet*, 14. 05. 1977, pg. 2.

Bibliography

1-Newspapers

- AYTUL, Turhan, “ Türkiye’de Gürültülü Günler”, Milliyet, 19.09.1979, pg.5.
- GİRİTLİ, İsmet, “ Kemalizm, Bir Ulusal Modernleşme İdeolojisidir”, Milliyet, 25.02.1981, pg.2.
- GÜRSOYTRAK, Suna Kili, “Kemalizm”, Milliyet, 17.08.1965, pg. 2.
- TÖR, Vedat Nedim , “Kemalizm, Kadro ve Aydemir”, Milliyet, 14. 05. 1977, pg. 2
- URAS, Güngör, “ Müstemleke İktisadiyatından Millet İktisadiyatına” , Milliyet, 29. 10. 1999, pg. 9.
- Milliyet, 26. 03. 1976.
- Milliyet, 09.11.1970.

2-Books

- AHMAD, Feroz, *İttihatçılıktan Kemalizme*, Kaynak Publ., 7th Edition, Istanbul 2014.
- AYDEMİR, Şevket Süreyya, *İnkılap ve Kadro*, Bilgi Publ., Ankara 1968.
- _____, *Tek Adam (1922-1938)*, V: III, Remzi Bookstore, 24th Edition, Istanbul 2008.
- _____, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, Remzi Bookstore, Istanbul 2015.
- ERTAN, Temuçin Faik, *Kadroculuk ve Kadro Hareketi*, Ministry of Culture Publ., Ankara, 1994.
- _____, *Atatürk Döneminde Devletçilik-Liberalizm Tartışmaları (Şevket Süreyya Aydemir-Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın Polemiği)*, Phoenix Publ., Ankara 2010.
- GÖKTÜRK, Halil İbrahim, *Bilinmeyen Yönleri İle Şevket Süreyya Aydemir*, 1977.
- KARAOSMANOĞLU Yakup Kadri, *Politikada 45 Yıl*, İletişim Publ., 8th Edition, Istanbul 2013.
- _____, *Zoraki Diplomat*, İletişim Publ., 8th Edition, Istanbul 2014.
- KAYALI, Kurtuluş, *Türk Düşünce Dünyasının Bunalımı*, İletişim Publ., 4th Edition, Istanbul 2014.
- KOCABAŞ, Süleyman, *Atatürk Dönemi 1923-1938*, Vatan Publ., Istanbul 2007.
- SERTEL, Zekeriya, *Hatırladıklarım*, Remzi Bookstore, Istanbul 2001.
- TEKELİ, İlhan, Selim İlkin, *Kadrocuları ve Kadro'yu Anlamak*, Historical Foundation Publ., Istanbul 2003.
- TÜRKEŞ, Mustafa, *Ulusçu Sol Bir Akım : Kadro Hareketi*, İmge Publ., Ankara 1999.

3-Articles

- ALEMDAR, Korkmaz, “ Basında Kadro Dergisi ve Kadro Hareketi İle İlgili Bazı Görüşler”,
Kadro, Iss: 1, V: 1, Code II, 1932, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.21-40.
- AYDEMİR, Şevket Süreyya, “Pesimist”, *Kadro*, Iss: 1, V: 1, Code II, 1932, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.4-7.
- _____, “İnkılap Heyecanı (Antuziasm)”, *Kadro*, 2 February 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.5-8.
- _____, “Kadro”, *Kadro*, 4 April 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Cem Alpar, (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg. 3-4.
- _____, “Genç Nesil Meselesi”, *Kadro*, 4 April 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Cem Alpar, (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg. 5-9.
- _____, “Plan Mefhumu Hakkında”, *Kadro*, 5 May 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Cem Alpar, (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg. 5-12.
- _____, “Kadro ve Die Tat”, *Kadro*, 6 June 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.5-8
- _____, “Geri Teknik ve Say’ın Sefaleti”, *Kadro*, 6 June 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg. 9-12.
- _____, “Milli Kurtuluş Hareketlerinin Ana Prensipleri” *Kadro*, 8 August 1932, Iss: 1, V:1, II. II, 1932, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.6-12.
- _____, “Ziya Gökalp” , , *Kadro*, 2 February 1932, Iss: 1, V: 1, Code II, 1932, Subedited By Cem Alpar (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg.29-40.
- DEMİRCİ, Fatih, “Kadro Hareketi ve Kadrocular”, *Dumlupınar University Journal of Social Sciences*, Iss: 15, August 2006, pg. 35-54.
- DOĞANOĞLU, Mustafa, Kemalîst İdeolojinin Şekillenmesinde Ziya Gökalp’ın Etkileri”, *Çukurova University Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences Journal*, V: 19, Iss: 1, 2015, pg. 27-45.

GİRİTLİ, İsmet, “Kemalizm İdeolojisi”, *Atatürk Yolu*, Subedited By Turhan Feyzioğlu, Mustafa Aysan, Hamza Eroğlu, İsmet Giritli, Mehmet Gönlübol, Ankara, 1995, pg. 281-298.

KAZANCI, Murat, “Özgün ve Yerli Bir Hareket Olarak Kadro ve İdeolojisi”, *Historical School*, Iss: III, Spring 2009, pg. 41-58.

ÖMERCİ, Ozan “Kadro Hareketi”, *Political Journal*, Year: 3, Iss: 24 pg. 92. Iss. 90-101.

SEZGİN, Ömür, “Kadro Hareketi”, *Kadro*, Iss: 1, V: 1, Code II, 1932, Subedited By Cem Alpar, (Facsimile), Ankara Academy of Economics and Trading Sciences Publ., Ankara, 1978, pg. 11-20.

Eray Yılmaz, “Şevket Süreyya Aydemir ve Milli Sol Yaklaşım”, *Journal of Republican History Studies*, Year: 8, Iss: 16, (Fall 2012), pg. 93-111.

4-Internet Address

Süleyman İnan, Atatürkçülük (Kemalizm) ve İdeoloji, visit

<http://www.libertedownload.com/LD/arsiv/36/08-suleyman-inan-ataturkculuk-kemalizm-ve-ideoloji.pdf.04.01.1016>.